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THE MORPHOLOGICAL MEANS FOR CODING MODALITY IN THE SUMERIAN

VERBAL COMPLEX

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For Michelle.

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ABSTRACT

The Morphological Means for Coding Modality in the Sumerian Verbal Complex

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This thesis examines the inventory of morphemes Sumerian utilizes to denote modal

notions on the verb. Sumerian is an agglutinative linguistic isolate that was spoken in southern

Mesopotamia from at least the fourth millennium BCE to sometime early in the second

millennium BCE. With respect to its morphology, the Sumerian language utilizes a set of affixes

that can occupy certain slots in the agglutinative verbal prefix chain to code modality – a

notional category that expresses a speaker's stance on utterances relative to reality and unreality.

Understanding the ways modal notions are coded in any language is crucial as they are linguistic

means to express high degrees of nuance. As such, the study of modality in ancient languages

such as Sumerian will pave the way for an increasingly sophisticated understanding of the texts,

peoples, languages, and cultures that are millennia removed from our own.

This study is a corpus-based inquiry that follows the guidelines of Functional Discourse

Grammar and implements an onomasiological methodology. In CHAPTER ONE, I provide an

overview of previous Sumerological scholarship and a general sketch of this dissertation's

method, theory, and layout. CHAPTER TWO includes an overview of modality as a linguistic

category and the basics of its expression in Sumerian. CHAPTER THREE is the first

argumentative chapter. In this chapter, I cover how all epistemic modal notions are marked

morphologically on the verb. The ways in which all deontic modal notions are marked

morphologically on the verb are outlined in CHAPTER FOUR. The various morphological

manifestations of evidential modality on Sumerian verbs are covered in CHAPTER FIVE. All

modal phenomena that were unable to be included in a dedicated content chapter are discussed in

CHAPTER SIX. In CHAPTER SEVEN, I organize all my findings by form, not function, to help scholars in search of a more traditional presentation of data. CHAPTER EIGHT includes my concluding remarks. APPENDICES outlining the corpora and remaining uncited Asseveratives, an INDEX of cited Sumerian verbs, and a standard BIBLIOGRAPHY conclude the dissertation.

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The entirety of the Near Eastern Studies department at Cornell University deserves acknowledgement. Given space constraints, however, I will limit my thanks to Alexandra Kleinerman, David Owen, and Jonathan Tenney, all of whom played important roles in my academic journey.

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LIST OF BIBLIOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATIONS

All abbreviations employed in this thesis are adapted from those appearing in Volume 20 (U & W) of the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* pp. vii-xxxii. Some of the more common abbreviations encountered in this dissertation, as well as several additional abbreviations not included in Volume 20 of the *CAD*, are given below.

A	Museum siglum for tablets in the collections of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures (West Asia and North Africa), University of Chicago.
ABAW NF	Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Philospohisch-Historische Klasse Neue Folge.
AbS-T	Field numbers of tablets excavated at Tell Abū Ṣalābīkh.
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung.*
AnBi	Analecta Biblica.
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia.
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament.
AOS	American Oriental Society.
ARET	Archivi reali di Ebla.
AS	Assyriological Studies.
AUAM	Tablets in the collections of the Andrews University Archaeological Museum.
AUCT	Andrews University Cuneiform Texts.
ASJ	*Acta Sumerologica.*
AuOr	*Aula Orientalis.*
AuOrS	Aula Orientalis Supplements.
BA	Beiträge zur Assyriologie (und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft).
BBDCP	*Babylonian Business Documents of the Classical Period.*
BELLS	*Belgrade English Language and Literature Studies.*
BiMes	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica.
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis.*
BM	Museum siglum of the British Museum, London.
BMECCJ	Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan.
BMO	Barcino Monographica Orientalia.
CAD	*Chicago Assyrian Dictionary.*
CBS	Museum siglum of the University Museum in Philadelphia (Catalogue of the Babylonian Section).
CDL	Cuneiform Digital Library.
CDLI	Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative.
CILT	Current Issues in Linguistic Theories.
CLAM	*The Canonical Lamentations of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Mark E. Cohen).
CLS	Chicago Linguistic Society.
CM	Cuneiform Monographs.
CSLI	Center for the Study of Language and Information.
CST	*Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library.* (T. Fish) (Manchester, 1932).
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum.
CUNES	Tablet siglum of Cornell University (Department of) Near Eastern Studies.

CUSAS   Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology.
DCCLT   Digital Corpus of Cuneiform Lexical Texts.
DISUCOM   Dipartimento di Scienze Umanistiche, Comunicazione e Turismo.
EALT   Empirical Approaches to Linguistic Theory.
ETCSL   Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature.
FAOS   Freiburger Altorientalische Studien.
FLP   Museum siglum of the Free Library of Philadelphia.
GAG   *Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik.*
GMTR   Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record.
HdOr   Handbook of Oriental Studies.
HS   Tablet siglum of the Hilprecht Collection, Jena.
HSAO   *Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient.*
HSM   Tablet siglum of the Harvard Semitic Museum.
HSS   Harvard Semitic Series.
HTS   Tablets from the Hartford Theological Seminary Collection (now at Yale and
             Andrews University).
HUCA Supp.   Hebrew Union College Annual Supplement.
IB   Isin excavation siglum (Ishan Bahriyat).
Ist EŞEM   Museum siglum of Eski Şark Eserleri Müzesi, Arkeoloji Müzeleri (Istanbul,
             Turkey).
IOSR-JHSS   *International Organization of Scientific Research-Journal of Humanities and
             Social Sciences.*
ITT   Inventaire des tablettes de Tello.
JAC   *Journal of Ancient Civilizations.*
JANER   *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions.*
JAOS   *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JCS   *Journal of Cuneiform Studies.*
JNES   *Journal of Near Eastern Studies.*
JRL   Siglum of tablets in the John Rylands Library, University of Manchester (UK).
KBo.   Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi.
Kish   Tablets excavated at Kish, in the collection of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
L   Tablet siglum of texts in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Lagaš/Girsu).
LEM   *Letters from Early Mesopotamia* (Piotr Michalowski, 1993)*.*
LSB   Linguistic Society of Belgium.
MEE   Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla.
MM   Tablet siglum of the Abbey of Montserrat (Barcelona).
MNB   Accession siglum of the Louvre, Paris.
MS   Siglum of the tablet numbers in the Schøyen Collection.
MSL   *Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon/Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon.*
N   Museum siglum of the University Museum, Philadelphia (Nippur).
N-T   Field numbers of tablets excavated at Nippur (in Chicago and Baghdad).
NABU   *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires.*
Ni   Museum siglum of the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Nippur).
NSGU   *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden.*

OBGT	Old Babylonian Grammatical Texts.
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis.
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications.
OIS	Oriental Institute Seminars.
OPSNKF	Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund.
Or	*Orientalia.*
OrNS	*Orientalia Nova Series.*
OSTL	Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics.
P&BNS	Pragmatics & Beyond New Series.
PBS	University of Pennsylvania, Publications of the Babylonian Section.
PUL	Siglum of the University of Liége (Patrimoine de l'Université de Liége).
RA	*Revue d'Assyriologie d'archéologie orientale.*
RÉC	*Recherches sur l'origine l'Écriture Cunéiforme.*
RIME	Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Early Periods.
RlA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie (und Vorderasiatische Archäologie).*
RTC	Recueil des tablettes chaldéennes.
SAKI	*Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften* (F. Thureau-Dangin, 1907).
Sb	Museum siglum of the Louvre (Susa).
SF	*Schultexte aus Fara* (Anton Deimel, 1923).
SGG	Studies in Generative Grammar.
SM	Museum siglum of the Semitic Museum of Harvard University.
StBot	Studien zu Bogazköy-Texten.
StOr	Studia Orientalia.
StPohl SM	Studia Pohl Series Maior.
StSemNS	Studi Semitici Nuova serie.
TCL	Textes cuneiforms: Musée du Louvre.
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources.
TÉL	Tablettes écomomiques de Lagash.
TIL	Trends in Linguistics.
TLB	Tabulae Cuneiformes a F.M.Th. de Liagre Böhl Collectae.
TM	Find siglum for Tell Mardikh.
TSL	Typological Studies in Language.
TUT	Tempelurkunden aus Telloh.
U	Find siglum, Ur (London/Philadelphia/Baghdad).
UBCWPL	University of British Columbia Working Papers in Linguistics.
UM	Tablet siglum of the University Museum, Philadelphia.
UAVA	Untersuchtungen zur Assyriologie und Verderasiatischen Archäologie. Ergänzuingsbända zu *ZA*.
VA	Museum siglum of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin (Vorderasiatische Abteilung, Ass. = Assur).
VAS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmaler.
VAT	Museum siglum of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin (Vorderasiatische Abteilung. Tontafeln).
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World.

LIST OF BIBLIOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATIONS (CONT.)

WO	*Die Welt des Orients. Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes.*
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffenlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.
YBC	Tablet siglum, Yale Babylonian Collection (New Haven).
YNER	Yale Near Eastern Researches.
YOS	Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts.
VS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der (Königlichen) Museen zu Berlin.
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie.*

NOTATIONAL CONVENTIONS

The notational conventions listed here represent some common uses of a given sign in the prose of this dissertation. Some signs have more than one use, but any alternative usage will be clear in context. Conventions restricted to the glossing in examples is presented elsewhere.

/ /	Encloses phonemes.
[ ]	Encloses a phonetic representation of a group of phonemes, word, syllable, or larger utterance.
{ }	Primarily used to enclose bound morphemes but can also enclose clitics and particles.
*{ }	Encloses hypothetical bound morphemes in the proto-language.
**{ }	Encloses nonexistent forms proposed by some scholars; when curly braces are absent, double asterisks denote that the following element is a nonexistent/impossible form/sequence/etc.
| |	Encloses how an individual phoneme is represented in transcription.
⟩ ⟨	Encloses lexemes that constituted part of a syntactic construction that has been elided but is necessary to represent in the glossing for the syntax to make sense.
=	Morpheme boundary.
¿	Indicates that the following sentence is agrammatical.
Ø	Zero morpheme.
CP	Conjugation Prefix.
CV	Compound Verb.
DI	Dimensional Infix.
FDG	Functional Discourse Grammar.
FG	Functional Grammar.
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet.
MP	Modal Prefix.
NP	Noun Phrase.
OB	Old Babylonian.
PN	Personal Name.
TAM	Tense-Aspect-Mood.
TN	Temple Name.
VR	Verbal Root.

Sumerian Transcription:
- Lowercase, non-italic.
- Subscript numbers for sign numbers (i.e., not the accent system).
- Sign readings largely preserve *auslaut* (i.e., dug$_4$ instead of du$_{11}$).
- No diacritic on the fricative equated with Akkadian /ḫ/ (i.e., |h|).
- Nasal velar represented with engma (i.e., |ŋ|).
- The phoneme /d^r/ is represented with |ř|.

Akkadian Transcription:
- Lowercase, italic.
- Accent system for sign numbers (i.e., not subscript number system).
- Diacritic on the voiceless velar fricative (i.e., |ḫ|).

LEIPZIG GLOSSING CONVENTIONS

This dissertation conforms to the standards of the Leipzig Glossing Rules for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glossing when citing examples.[1] As many Sumerologists have not adopted these standards, a sketch of how examples are cited in this thesis is given below.

SKETCH (Sumerian):

Transcription without individual words separated to allow for vertically left-aligned glosses.[2]
Transcription with individual words separated to allow for vertically left-aligned glosses.
Normalized forms (spacing matching above line) with discrete morphemes separated by "=".
Vertically left-aligned morpheme glosses ("=" separates morphemes; "+" represents combined categories within the gloss that are represented by a single element in the language; the translations of lexical roots are presented in regular Latin lower-case font and the abbreviations of morpheme classifications are given in small caps. When further specification is given to a morpheme class gloss, they are given in subscript and separated by periods.).

Translation.

> Right-justified metadata (exs., source, line number(s), manuscript siglum, and museum number/artifact identifier).

EXAMPLE (Sumerian):

[#.###] lugal-e e_2 mu-un-du_3

lugal-e	e_2	mu-un-du_3
lugal=e	e_2=ø	mu=n=du_3=ø
king=ERG	house=ABS$_{DO}$	CP$_{TR.ACT}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to build$_{tl}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

"The king built the house."

> COMPOSITION: *TITLE*
> COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: ###
> MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: ABBREVIATION (XXX ###)
> MUSEUM NUMBER/ARTIFACT IDENTIFIER: XXX ###

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[1] For the current Leipzig Glossing Rules, see: Bernard Comrie and Martin Haspelmath (Department of Linguistics of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology) and Balthasar Bickel (Department of Linguistics of the University of Leipzig)(eds.), "The Leipzig Glossing Rules: Conventions for Interlinear Morpheme-by-Morpheme Glosses." eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php (accessed May 2, 2023).

[2] If only one word is being cited this line does not occur as it would be redundant.

SKETCH (Akkadian):

Transcription without individual words separated to allow for vertically left-aligned glosses.[3]
Transcription with individual words separated to allow for vertically left-aligned glosses.
Normalized forms (spacing matching above line) according to conventions of the field.
Vertically left-aligned morpheme glosses (For Akkadian, words have not been separated into
        their constituent morphemes. Rather, ":" separates lexemes and glosses as segmentation
        has been deemed irrelevant; the translations of lexical roots are presented in regular Latin
        lower-case font and the abbreviations of morpheme classifications are given in small
        caps. When further specification is given to a morpheme class gloss, they are given in
        subscript and separated by periods.).

Translation.

<div align="right">

Right-justified metadata (exs., source, line number(s),
manuscript siglum, and museum number/artifact identifier).

</div>

EXAMPLE (Akkadian):

[#.###]	*šar-rum bi-tam ib-ni*		
	šar-rum	*bi-tam*	*ib-ni*
	šarrum	*bītam*	*ibni*
	king:NOM.SG	house:ACC.SG	to build:G.PRET.3.COMM.SG

"The king built the house."

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *TITLE*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: ###
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: ABBREVIATION (XXX ###)
MUSEUM NUMBER/ARTIFACT IDENTIFIER: XXX ###

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[3] If only one word is being cited this line does not occur as it would be redundant.

LEIPZIG GLOSSING ABBREVIATIONS

This dissertation conforms to the standards of the Leipzig Glossing Rules for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glossing when citing examples with a few key exceptions. Specifically, "=" and not "-" separates morphemes because Assyriological transcription conventions use hyphens in a way that might create confusion. Additionally, the glossing system used here does not distinguish between morphemes, clitics, and particles with regards to constituent dividers. This decision was motivated by the unclear nature of certain Sumerian elements. In the Leipzig Glossing system, a variety of abbreviations are utilized to gloss morpheme classifications. These abbreviations are given below.

:	= Separates glosses where segmentation has been deemed irrelevant.
⋮	= Separates reduplicated roots in the morpheme segmentation line.
—	= Connects discrete lexical elements that are uninflected but combine to create one lexical meaning (ex., head nouns and VRs in participles of CVs).
=	= Separates bound morphemes, clitics, certain particles, etc.
+	= Separates combined categories within a gloss that are represented by a single element in the language.
^{x2}	= Glosses root reduplication in the morpheme glossing line.
(!)	= Indicates the morpheme analysis and glossing represents what one would expect from normative grammatical Sumerian but was represented "incorrectly"/"differently" in the transcription/script.
?	= Element not understood
1	= First Person
2	= Second Person
3	= Third Person
ABIL	= Abilitative
ABL	= Ablative
ABS	= Absolutive
ABSTR	= Abstractive
ABSV	= Absentive
ACC	= Accusative
ACT	= Active Voice
ADV	= Adverb(ial)
ADVIS	= Advisory
AFEV	= Affirmative (Evidential)
AG	= Agent
ALL	= Allative
ANT	= Anteriority
AOR	= Aorist
AP	= Active Participle
ASP	= Aspect
ASRT	= Assertion
ASSUM	= Assumptive
ASV	= Asseverative

BAG   = Backgrounded Agent[4]
BINS   = Bare Imperative Nominal Stem
BIVR   = Bare Imperative Verbal Root
BOUND = Bound form of Noun (Akkadian)
C   = Common (Gender)
CASRT = Categorical Assertion
CM   = Conjugation Marker
CMPL   = Completive Aspect
CMT   = Comitative
CNTR   = Contrast
COHOR = Cohortative
COM   = Comment on the focus marker, particle tá (Hdi)
COMM   = Common Gender (Akkadian)
COMP   = Complementizer
COMPL = Compulsive
COND   = Conditional
CONJ   = Conjunction or Conjunctive
CONT   = Continuative Aspect
COP   = Copula
COPVB = Copula Verbalizer
CP   = Conjugation Prefix
CULT   = Cultural Knowledge (Reportative)
CVB   = Converb
CVNE   = Compound Verb Nominal Element (no discernable independent lexical semantics)
CVR   = Compound Verbal Root
CVVE   = Compound Verb Verbal Element (no discernable independent lexical semantics)
D   = D-stem of Verb (Akkadian)
DAT   = Dative
DECL   = Declarative
DED   = Deductive
DEM   = Demonstrative
DEO   = Deontic
DES   = Desiderative
DI   = Dimensional Infix
DIFF   = Different (Subject)
DISJ   = Disjunctive
DO   = Direct Object[5]
DTREL = Determinative-Relative Pronoun (*ša*)(Akkadian)

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[4] In Sumerian, there are occasionally predicates that preserve pronouns in the slot immediately to the left of the VR that would be erroneous according to normative Sumerian grammar. In one instance, I have glossed a {b} before the VR (henceforth "pre-verbal {b}") as a sort of backgrounded agent. Pre-verbal {b}s are rarer than pre-verbal {n}s, which are discussed in a coming footnote.

[5] When a case other than the absolutive is erroneously acting as the direct object this gloss will be added in subscript (exs., LOC_{DO} and $LOCTR_{DO}$).

DUAL = Dual
DUB = Dubitative
DUR = Durative
EMP = Emphatic
EMPY = Empathy
EPI = Epistemic
ERG = Ergative
EQU = Equative
EV = Evidential
EXCLM = Exclamative
EXCLU = Exclusive
EXIST = Existential
EXT = Extension (Epistemic or Mirative)
F = First-hand
FEM = Feminine Grammatical Gender
FIN = Finite
FOLK = Folkloric
FUT = Future Tense
G = G-stem of Verb (Akkadian)
GEN = Genitive
GO = Goal
Ḫ = *ḫamṭu*
HUM = Human
IMP = Imperative
IMPRS = Impersonal
INCL = Inclusive
IND = Indicative
INF = Infinitive
INFR = Inferential (Evidentiality)
INFO = Information (i.e., first-hand, emphatic, etc.)
INST = Instrumental Case
INTN = Intentive
INTR = Interrogative Marker
INTS = Intense
IO = Indirect Object
IRR = Irrealis Mood
JUS = Jussive
LIG = Ligature
LOC = Locative
LOC_{ADV} = Locative serving as an adverbial marker (Sumerian)
LOCTR = Locative-Terminative
M = *marû*
MASC = Masculine Grammatical Gender
MID = Middle Voice

MIR = Mirative
MP = Modal Prefix
MYTH = Mythic (Past)
NARR = Narrative (Past)
NEG = Negative, Negation
NEUT = Neutral (with respect to Voice and Transitivity distinctions)
NHUM = Non-Human
NMZ = Nominalizer
NOM = Nominative
NR = Near Remote
NTR = Intransitive
OBJT = Objective (Modality)
OBLG = Obligation, Obligative
OPT = Optative
ORD = Ordinal Number Marker
PART = Participial Marker
PASS = Passive Voice
PAST = Past Tense
PER = Period (a type of non-emphatic in Hidatsa)
PERM = Permission, Permissive
PF = Perfect Tense
PL = Plural
PN = Personal Name
POL = Polite Register Marker
POSS = Possessive
PP = Perfective Participle
PPP = Past Passive Participle
PREC = Precative
PRED = Predicator
PRES = Present
PRET = Preterit
PRF = Perfect
PRO = Pronoun
PROH = Prohibitive
PROM = Promissive
PROX = Proximal (Demonstrative)
PST = Past Tense
PTCL = Particle
PURP = Purpose

PVN   = Pre-Verbal {n}[6]
QUOT   = Quotative
RPT   = Reportative
SBJ   = Subject
SBJT   = Subjective (Modality)
SIMP   = Simple (Reportative)
SG   = Singular
SJV   = Subjunctive
SM   = Subject Marker
SOCV   = Semantic Object of Compound Verb
SPC   = Specific
SPEC   = Speculative
S.R.   = Secondary Root (Seminole Creek)
SS   = Same Subject
SUBR   = Subordinator
SUBZ   = Substantive
š   = Š-stem of Verb (Akkadian)
TERM   = Terminative
THM   = Theme
TOP   = Topic
TR   = Transitive
UR   = Unrealized
VEN   = Ventive
VETIT   = Vetitive
VOC   = Vocative
VOL   = Volitive
WH   = *wh*-word (Interrogative Pronoun)

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[6] In Sumerian, there are occasionally predicates that preserve pronouns in the slot immediately to the left of the VR that would be erroneous according to normative Sumerian grammar. Most commonly this pronoun is {n} (henceforth "pre-verbal {n}"). This pre-verbal {n} is notoriously difficult as it seems capable of marking background agency, perhaps location as an allomorph of the DI {ni}, and in cases something that aligns with neither function. Furthermore, there are indications that certain pre-verbal {n}s are errors due to an increasing misunderstanding/reinterpretation of certain minutia of Sumerian grammar by the Old Babylonian period. Rather than attempt assigning a function to all these pre-verbal {n}s, it was decided to simply gloss them as such and acknowledge the issue in this footnote. For a treatment of pre-verbal {n}, see: Paul Delnero, "Pre-verbal /n/: function, distribution, and stability," in *Analysing Literary Sumerian: Corpus-Based Approaches*, eds. Jarle Ebeling and Graham Cunningham. (London: Equinox, 2007), 105-143.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This dissertation examines the ways in which modality – i.e., the grammatical means whereby a speaker express his or her intention in producing an utterance to denote nonveridical notions – is marked morphologically on the Sumerian verb.[7] Typologically, Sumerian is an agglutinative linguistic isolate with split-ergative alignment that was spoken in southern Mesopotamia from at least the fourth millennium BCE to sometime early in the second millennium BCE.[8]

In Sumerian, modality is predominantly conveyed via a set of optional prefixes that belong to the first slot of the verbal prefix chain. These optional prefixes are commonly referred to as modal prefixes (MPs). As they have been traditionally understood, the MPs consist of nine or so morphemes, but their exact number, phonological shapes, and functions are not unanimously agreed upon.[9] Some scholars, such as Miguel Civil, include a null indicative prefix {ø} (in-du₃ : ø=i=n=du₃=ø : "he built it") and its negative counterpart {nu} (**nu**-un-du₃ :

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[7] As a linguistic notion, veridicality is "used primarily within formal semantics. [Veridicality] is crucially based on the concept of truth commitment: if an epistemic agent is committed to the truth of a given proposition, then the latter is veridical; if there is no such truth commitment, then the proposition is nonveridical." Iliyana Krapova, Tomislav Socanac, and Björn Wiemer, "Veridicalty," in *Encyclopedia of Slavic Languages and Linguistics Online*, ed. Marc L. Greenberg. Consulted online on 21 April 2023 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2589-6229_ESLO_COM_032492>. As this concept is likely foreign to many readers, another definition stated in formal semantics terms from linguist Anastasia Giannakidou will be provided: "A propositional operator *Op* is veridical iff [i.e., if and only if] *Op* entails *p*, that is, an operator *Op* is veridical iff whenever *Op p* is true, *p* is true too (where *p* is an arbitrary proposition). *Op* is nonveridical iff *Op* does not entail *p*, i.e. iff whenever *Op p* is true, *p* may or may not be true. Note that nonveridical operators do not entail the falsity of *p*. Entailing the falsity of *p* is the defining property of antiveridical operators. [… A]ntiveridical operators form a subset of the nonveridical: *Op p → p* is not logically valid for antiveridal operators either. Hence, every antiveridical operator is also nonveridical but not *vice versa*." Anastasia Giannakidou, *Polarity Sensitivity as (Non)Veridical Dependency*. Linguistik Aktuell 23. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1998), 107.

[8] These terms as well as more typological information about the Sumerian language are discussed in §1.2.

[9] To provide just a few examples, scholars debate if the MP interpreted as {he} in this dissertation is better understood as {ha}, if {nuš} is functionally modal, if there is a terminal nasal consonant on either the negative deontic MP {na} or the evidential MP understood here as {naM}, etc.

nu=n=du$_3$=ø : "he did not build it") among the MPs.[10] Formally, these morphemes belong to the same slot as the MPs, but functionally they are markers of veridical polarity and should be considered members of their own set. Negation and veridicality, however, are conceptually related to modality so their co-occurrence with the MPs in a single slot is unproblematic. An unmarked indicative form does not merit attention in this thesis since it is neither modal nor typologically remarkable. The negative prefix {nu}, however, is relevant to a study of modality and will therefore be discussed on occasion. A full-scale investigation of negation in Sumerian is a desideratum, but such an endeavor is outside scope of this dissertation. Thus, any remarks on the veridical polarity negator {nu} will be non-exhaustive and at points provisional.

The proper MPs have been identified, classified, and described to various degrees of accuracy in the secondary literature. For example, the cohortative {ga} (**ga**-ab-du$_3$: **ga**=b=du$_3$: "I want to build it") has been accurately identified but could be described and classified in a more nuanced manner via a study using modern linguistic theory. The vetitive {bara} (**ba-ra**-ab-du$_3$-e : **bara**=b=du$_3$=e : "he shall not build it!") is a case where scholars agree on its negative semantics but disagree on the type(s) of modality it codes. The most problematic MPs are those that seem to have been largely untreated in a systematic fashion and are in legitimate need of a fresh functional analysis and description. These include the precative {he} (**he$_2$**-eb-du$_3$-e : **he**=b=du$_3$=e : "may he build it"), the affirmative {he} (**he$_2$**-en-du$_3$: **he**=n=du$_3$=ø : "he has indeed built it"), the negative affirmative {bara} (**ba-ra**-an-du$_3$: **bara**=n=du$_3$=ø : "he indeed never built it"), the prohibitive {na} (**na**-ab-du$_3$-e : **na**=b=du$_3$=e : "may he not build it"), the affirmative

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[10] Miguel Civil, "Modal Prefixes," *ASJ* 22 (2000), 30-31. The glossing of an unmarked indicative with ø= is unnecessary and will not occur elsewhere in the thesis. Additionally, some readers might find the lack of a restored Conjugation Prefix (CP) after {nu} in the glossing peculiar. This thesis will argue that the CP {i} should not be assumed and restored after a Slot One morpheme when no other CP is present; relatedly, it will be argued that it need not be assumed to underlie every example of the veridical negator {nu} not followed by an overt CP. See: §3.3.1 for a discussion of {i} and vowel-final MPs and fn. 170 for a discussion of {i} and the veridical negator {nu}.

{na} (**na**-an-du$_3$: **na**=n=du$_3$=ø : "he indeed built it"), and the contrapuntive/affirmative {ši} (**ši**-in-du$_3$: **ši**=n=du$_3$=ø : MEANING NOT AGREED UPON/UNDERSTOOD).[11] Additionally, some grammars include the prefix of anteriority {u} (**u$_3$**-un-du$_3$: **u**=n=du$_3$=ø : "when he has built it, then…") and the conjunctive {inga} ("and, also") in their description of the MPs. It will be argued that {u} has a quasi-modal function in specific environments as a marker of conditionality.[12] Thus, it receives a full treatment. The conjunctive {inga}, however, is non-modal and thus only mentioned in passing, and it does not receive a full treatment.

There are two other morphemes/constructions that some have argued might belong to the class of proper MPs (i.e., {nuš} and {ene}/**{eneba}), but due to their rarity their functions have been difficult to ascertain.[13] It will be shown that {nuš} is a proper MP. Concerning {ene}/**{eneba}, it will be argued that it is not an MP but rather a syntactic construction of the shape {ene} (…) {ba} operating as an exclamative/interrogative (for {nuš}, see: §4.11.2; for

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[11] The terminology in this paragraph is meant to reflect what is common in the field. More linguistically descriptive terms will be offered as replacements elsewhere in the thesis.

[12] It will be argued that {u} can code generic conditionality on the predicate of a protasis that is best translated as "When you have *X*-ed, then you will *Y*" when referring to a future action the completion of which allows for a subsequent action. This function is not prototypically modal, but it does concern the quasi-modal state of present unfulfillment. Furthermore, this usage of {u} stands in opposition to conditional structures with predicates in epistemic {he}, which imbue conditional notions with Speculative, Deductive, and Assumptive nuances. Within this paradigm, it will be argued that these quasi-modal {u} forms are examples of *if*-backshift whereby modality is more or less bleached from the protasis. This phenomenon has been described well by Barbara Dancygier: "It should now be clear why the elimination of modality, which I called *if*-backshift, appears also in temporal clauses. In a sentence like *When the lights go out, the performance will start* the speaker is also making a prediction in the main clause, but the assumption in the *when*-clause is backgrounded to the prediction and not predicted itself. The difference between *if*- and *when*-clauses in this case is that an *if*-clause informs the hearer about an additional assumption which is not known to the speaker but used in arriving at the prediction, while the *when*-clause presents a similar assumption (also assumed, not predicted) to set the temporal parameter of the prediction" (emphasis original to source). Barbara Dancygier, *Conditionals and Prediction: Time, Knowledge, and Causation in Conditional Constructions*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 48. {u} is given its own section in CHAPTER 3 due to its relationship with epistemic {he}. See: §3.10.

[13] The "prefix" **{iri} was omitted from this list as Civil has convincingly demonstrated that it is not a bound morpheme but "a stereotyped writing for **a-ar/ar$_2$** 'praise' with vocalic assimilation, mostly before the connective **-inga-**, and is limited to the lexical item **mi$_2$ (zi) ar$_2$ — dug$_4$/e** 'to praise.'" (emphasis original to source). Civil, "Modal Prefixes," 39. Similarly, the possible MP **{ra} hesitantly proposed by Civil was omitted as it occurs far too infrequently and in contexts where it can easily be explained as either an allomorph or a scribal error to be a unique bound morpheme (for a full discussion, see: §3.3.1). Ibid.

{ene} (…) {ba}, see: §6.3). The most recent study dedicated exclusively to the MPs was a cursory and incomplete overview by Miguel Civil in *ASJ* 22 (discussed below, see: §1.3.6), who began the conversation about the field's poor understanding of these prefixes and demonstrated the potential for future research.[14] Modality in Sumerian, however, is not restricted to the MPs. This dissertation aims to describe all the morphemes that code modal notions within the verbal complex. To accomplish this goal, the present inquiry has not been restricted to the MPs alone.

1.2 THE SUMERIAN LANGUAGE

Sumerian has certain linguistic features that might be foreign to some readers. For accessibility reasons, two of them (i.e., agglutination and ergative alignment) are briefly discussed here. An agglutinative language is one whose word structure is such that individual words are composed of a sequence of discrete morphemes (generally, root-lexical morphemes with strings of grammatical-bound morphemes glued either before or after in a specific sequence). In a prototypical agglutinative language, the grammar is such that each unit of meaning has its own individual morpheme that can occur in said sequence of discrete morphemes. The following contrived examples juxtapose a modern agglutinative language (i.e., Turkish (Turkic, Common Turkic)) with Sumerian:

	TURKISH:	**SUMERIAN:**
[1.1]	evlerinden	e_2-a-ni-ta
	ev=ler=i=nden	e_2=ani=ta
	house=PL=POSS.3SG=ABL	house=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABL
	"from his houses"	"from his houses"[15]

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[14] Ibid., 29-42.

[15] There is no corresponding plural marker in the Sumerian as plurality is frequently unmarked for non-human nouns.

The role of agglutination in Sumerian is particularly relevant for this dissertation, which restricts its inquiry to the agglutinative morpheme chain on the verb. The following example shows a finite verb in Sumerian that is modal and heavily marked with various affixes:

[1.2]   ha-ma-kuř-re
he=mu=*A=(b)=kuř=e(ne)
MP_{DEO.JUS}=CP_{TR.ACT.EMPY}=DI_{DAT.1SG}=(PRO_{3SG.NHUM.DO})=to cut_{M.CVR}=PRO_{3PL.AG}

"Let them cut it for me!"[16]

The other potentially unfamiliar feature that will be discussed here is ergativity. Ergativity is a complex phenomenon, but most commonly the term has been used to refer to alignment systems in which one or both of the following criteria are fulfilled:

1) The transitive subject (i.e., Agent) is marked differently from the subject of an intransitive verb (i.e., Subject) and the object of a transitive verb (i.e., Patient).

2) The object of a transitive verb and the subject of an intransitive verb receive the same marking.[17]

Systems that meet these criteria are referred to as Ergative-Absolutive. The opposite type of alignment is called Nominative-Accusative alignment. The following examples juxtapose a Nominative-Accusative language (i.e., Akkadian) with Sumerian.

AKKADIAN (Intransitive):

[1.3]   *šar-rum it-ta-la-ak*
šar-rum   *it-ta-la-ak*
šarrum   *ittalak*
king:NOM.SG   to go:G.PF.3.COMM.SG

"The king went."

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[16] This example has been excerpted from a genuine Sumerian text but recontextualized. In its original context, this form is the verbal part of the CV meaning "to swear." It has been presented here without the head noun since the purpose is to highlight the agglutinative chain. For the example this is excerpted from, see: [4.120].

[17] Jessica Coon, Diane Massam, and Lisa Travis (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ergativity*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 1.

SUMERIAN (Intransitive):

[1.4]   lugal ba-ŋen

lugal	ba-ŋen
lugal=ø	ba=ŋen=ø
king=ABS$_{SBJ}$	CP$_{NTR}$=to go$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

"The king went."

AKKADIAN (Transitive):

[1.5]   *šar-rum bi-tam ib-ni*

šar-rum	*bi-tam*	*ib-ni*
šarrum	*bītam*	*ibni*
king:NOM.SG	house:ACC.SG	to build:G.PRET.3.COMM.SG

"The king built the house."

SUMERIAN (Transitive):

[1.6]   lugal-e e₂ mu-un-du₃

lugal-e	e$_2$	mu-un-du$_3$
lugal=e	e$_2$=ø	mu=n=du$_3$=ø
king=ERG	house=ABS$_{DO}$	CP$_{TR.ACT}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to build$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

"The king built the house."

Much more could be presented about potentially confusing points of Sumerian grammar, but in the interest of brevity this section limited itself to the two deemed most relevant.

1.3 Previous Scholarship

1.3.1 Introduction

Dating back to the pioneering work of François Lenormant, scholars writing grammars of Sumerian have broached the topic of modality, but it has evaded systematic study with only some individual elements of it being discussed in a few cursory articles.[18] The MPs (and modal

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[18] François Lenormant, *Études accadiennes.* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Cie, Libraires-Éditeurs, 1873). Some examples of smaller treatments of Sumerian modality include: A. Cavigneaux, "Le pluriel du cohortative," *ASJ* 9 (1987), 47-48; Adam Falkenstein, "Untersuchungen zur summerischen Grammatik: 4. Das affirmative Präformativ ši-/ša-," *ZA* 48 (1944), 69-118; R. Jiménez Zamudio, "Observaciones sobre el prefijo afirmativo /na-/ en el verbo sumerio," in *Esta Toledo, aquella Babilonia. Actas del V Congreso Español de Antiguo Oriente Próximo*, ed. J. Marín and J. Olivia. (Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2011); I. T. Kaneva, "Parataxe und Hypotaxe im Sumerischen: die Rolle der Modalpräfixe," in *Studi sul Vicino Oriente Antico Dedicati allo*

marking on the verb in general) are one of the last great frontiers of grammatical research within Sumerology (that and the *ḫamṭu – marû* debate), and the marked absence of a comprehensive treatment was the inspiration for this dissertation.[19] Although Lenormant was the first scholar to publish a complete grammar of Sumerian in 1873, the following discussion of the pre-existing literature on the MPs begins with the inception of modern Sumerian grammar studies in the early to mid-20th century CE by acknowledging two preeminent scholars: Arno Poebel and Adam Falkenstein (§1.3.2). Afterwards, the publications of Marie-Louise Thomsen (§1.3.3), Pascal Attinger (§1.3.4), and Dietz Otto Edzard (§1.3.5) that formed next major wave in Sumerian grammatical studies post-Falkenstein are discussed. Finally, the most recent discussions of Sumerian modality that have been spearheaded by Miguel Civil (§1.3.6), Gonzalo Rubio (§1.3.7), Abraham H. Jagersma (§1.3.8), and Gábor Zólyomi (§1.3.9) are presented.[20]

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memoria die Luigi Cagni, ed. S. Graziani. (Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 2000), 521-537; J. Keetman, "The form of the affirmative ḫé- according to ḫé-na-nam," *N.A.B.U.* 2016/33; Maurice Lambert, "Le préfixe sumérien HÉ-, indice de l'inéluctable," *RA* 55 (1961), 35-40; Erika Marsal, "La evidencialidad en lengua sumeria," in *Séptimo centenario de los estudios orientales en Salamanca*, eds. A. Agud et al. (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2012), 127-134; N. Schneider, "Die Wunschpartikel ha-, hé- und hu- in den Ur III-Texten," *Or* 15 (1946), 89-94; W. Schramm, "Performative Verbalformen im Sumerischen," in *Festschrift für Rykle Borger*, ed. S. Maul. (Groningen: Styx, 1998), 313-322; R. Stola, "Zum sumerischen Prekativ in späten zweisprachigen Texten," *AfO* 32 (1985), 23-37; M. Witzel, *Untersuchungen über die Verbal-Präformative im Sumerischen*, BA 8/5. (Leipzig: August Pries, 1912); Mamoru Yoshikawa, "The Origin of Sumerian Verbal Preformatives," *ASJ* 11 (1989), 293-304.

[19] The *ḫamṭu – marû* debate is complex and multifaceted, but it mainly centers on how to best interpret the {e} morpheme that suffixes to a *marû* verb as well as how to best describe what functions these two categories code. Although not yet resolved, the bulk of the debate surrounding *ḫamṭu – marû* issues occurred in the 1960's and 70's between Yoshikawa and Edzard; see: Mamoru Yoshikawa, "On the Grammatical Function of -e- of the Sumerian Verbal Suffix -e-dè/-e-da(m)," *JNES* 27 (1968a), 251-261. Mamoru Yoshikawa, "The *Marû* and *Ḫamṭu* Aspects in the Sumerian Verbal System," *OrNS* 37 (1968b), 401-416. Mamoru Yoshikawa, "The *Marû*-Conjugation in the Sumerian Verbal System," *OrNS* 43 (1974), 17-39. Dietz Otto Edzard, "ḫamṭu, marû und freie Reduplikation beim sumerischen Verbum. I." *ZA* 61 (1971), 208-232. Dietz Otto Edzard, "ḫamṭu, marû und freie Reduplikation beim sumerischen Verbum. II." *ZA* 62 (1972), 1-34. Dietz Otto Edzard, "ḫamṭu, marû und freie Reduplikation beim sumerischen Verbum. III." *ZA* 66 (1976), 45-61.

[20] These surveys only discuss how scholars have interpreted the MPs. How the imperative and other modal forms have been previously understood in the secondary literature is discussed elsewhere.

1.3.2 POEBEL AND FALKENSTEIN

Poebel was a prolific scholar who can be credited with writing the first unified description of Sumerian grammar that still has some merit in the present day, and Falkenstein can be viewed as the scholar who expanded and refined the foundations laid out by Poebel decades prior. Both scholars are giants in the field whose contributions influenced many, but naturally both of their works have become dated. Concerning modality, Poebel and Falkenstein both placed the MPs into Indo-European categories (a not uncommon practice at the time).[21] Furthermore, the classification they gave to the set of MPs would by modern standards be seen as either overly restrictive (ex., Poebel's "Wunschformen"), or functionally non-descript (ex., Falkenstein's "Präformativen"). Although these pivotal contributions to Sumerian grammatical studies are dated, they deserve recognition as they informed the field for decades.

1.3.3 THOMSEN

Thomsen's monograph has remained a staple in the field for its cogent and broad description of Sumerian grammar, and it was a much-needed resource in its time as no comprehensive description of Sumerian grammar had been published since Falkenstein's. Thomsen's grammar culled from all available Sumerological resources and presented a sketch of Sumerian grammar that included the best modern proposals in a succinct and digestible manner. Given the state of the research into Sumerian modality at the time, however, her discussion of the MPs is dated and requires reevaluation. Although she refers to them as "modal prefixes," nowhere does she mention the modal categories utilized in general linguistics (i.e., epistemic,

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[21] Arno Poebel, *Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik.* (Rostock: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1923), 261-279. Adam Falkenstein, *Grammatik der Sprache Gudeas von Lagaš. I: Shrift- und Formenlehre. AnOr 28.* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1949), 217-227.

deontic, dynamic, etc.) and typological parallels are absent.[22] These omissions are understandable given the state of Sumerology in the 1980's, but it is nonetheless important to highlight them here since her work is still a mainstay in the field (especially in introductory courses).

Finally, it should be noted that Thomsen claims that the functions of polysemous MPs are dependent on the conjugation of the verb as either *ḫamṭu* or *marû*. Certain MPs naturally co-occur more frequently with either the *ḫamṭu* or *marû* conjugation due to their respective tense-aspect nuances, but this affinity is due to the modal semantics of the MP, not any formal constraints. Outside of Civil's article in *ASJ* 22, this stance has been the *communis opinio*. This dissertation deviates from the prevailing doctrine and agrees with Civil that the correlation between certain MPs and the *ḫamṭu* or *marû* conjugation is due to the nature of modal semantics, not formal constraints.

Outlining all of Thomsen's claims about the MPs would overburden this survey. In lieu of adopting such a comprehensive approach, this section and the following six will conclude with tables that outline the morphological forms, classifications, and functions of the MPs as asserted by the author under discussion. These tables convey the terminology and arguments of the relevant author.[23]

<center>Table on Following Page</center>

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[22] Marie-Louise Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language: An Introduction to its History and Grammatical Structure.* 3rd ed. Copenhagen Studies in Assyriology 10. (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1984), 190-213.

[23] The only exception is that the tables use the terms *ḫamṭu* and *marû* even when the sources use alternative designations.

TABLE 1.1. *Thomsen's "Modal Prefixes"*[24]		
Form	**Classification**	**Function**
{nu}	Negative	Negates finite and non-finite verbs; acts as the negative enclitic copula in enclitic position after nouns.
{bara}	(1) Vetitive (*marû*) (2) Negative Affirmative (*ḫamṭu*)	(1) Expresses negative wishes. (2) Expresses negative commitment to truth value of the assertion.
{na}	(1) Prohibitive (*marû*) (2) Affirmative (*ḫamṭu*)	(1) Expresses negative commands and wishes. (2) Expresses commitment to truth value of the assertion.
{ga}	Cohortative (*ḫamṭu*)	Expresses exhortation (1st person only).
{ha}	(1) Precative (*marû*) (2) Affirmative (*ḫamṭu*)	(1) Expresses wishes and indirect commands. (2) Expresses commitment to truth value of the assertion.
{ša}	NONE PROPOSED (*ḫamṭu* or *marû*)	NONE PROPOSED
{u}	Prospective (*ḫamṭu*)	Designates the first in a succession of events or a condition.
{iri}	NONE PROPOSED (*marû*)	NONE PROPOSED
{nuš}	NONE PROPOSED (*ḫamṭu* or *marû*)	Hypothetical wishes (VERY UNCLEAR).

1.3.4 ATTINGER

Pascal Attinger published the next substantial outline of Sumerian grammar in 1993 as

the first half of his monograph about the Sumerian verb du₁₁/e/di "to say."[25] Although Attinger's

terminology (i.e., classifying the MPs as "préformatifs"), scope of inquiry, and extensive citation

differentiate him from Thomsen, his conclusions about how Sumerian codes modality on the

verb are largely the same. For example, Attinger also makes no mention of the modal categories

utilized in general linguistics. Attinger strongly advocates for typological plausibility in his

chapter on methodology, but his chapter on modality does not include typological parallels or

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[24] In these tables, the original author's stance on whether a given function is conditioned by the *ḫamṭu* or *marû* status of the VR will be provided in parentheses. No position is provided when not stated clearly by the author.

[25] Pascal Attinger, *Eléments de linguistique sumérienne. La construction de du₁₁/e/di «dire»*. OBO Sonderband. (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck und Riprecht, 1993), 61-318.

appeals to general linguistics.[26] Attinger's contributions to the modern understanding of

Sumerian grammar are numerous and his grammatical sketch has been a massive boon to the

field due to its size and his meticulousness. His discussion of Sumerian modality, however,

warrants renewed attention considering developments within both Sumerology and linguistics.

TABLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[26] Attinger does make certain remarks that are informed by general linguistics (ex., speaking of {bara} as marking categorical negation ("négation catégorique")). What is meant here specifically is that references are not made to independent linguistic studies of modality nor does the phraseology reflect the language of such works. Ibid., 29 and 288-297.

	TABLE 1.2. *Attinger's "Préformatifs"*[27]	
Form	**Classification**	**Function**
{nu}	Negative	Negates finite and non-finite verbs; acts as the negative enclitic copula in enclitic position after nouns.
{bara}[28]	(1) Vetitive (2) Negative Affirmative	(1) Expresses negative wishes. (2) Expresses negative commitment to truth value of the assertion.
{na}[29]	(1) Prohibitive & Admonitive (2) Assertive	(1) Expresses negative commands, wishes, and advice. (2) Expresses commitment to truth value of the assertion.
{ga}	Cohortative	Expresses exhortation (1st person only).
{ḫe}[30]	(1) Precative (2) Affirmative (3) Concessive	(1) Expresses wishes and indirect commands. (2) Expresses commitment to truth value of the assertion. (3) Expresses a circumstance that might be expected to preclude a circumstance in an adjoining clause but does not (very rare)
{ši}	NONE PROPOSED	Introduces a verbal form dependent on a previous sentence.
{u}	NONE PROPOSED	ARGUED TO BE NON-MODAL
{iri}	NONE PROPOSED	NONE PROPOSED
{nuš}	NONE PROPOSED	Expresses rhetorical questions (VERY UNCLEAR).

[27] Attinger does not state his views on the influence the *ḫamṭu* or *marû* status has on the modal notion conveyed by a prefix as strictly as Thomsen. Accordingly, his views are not included in the table itself but rather in footnotes.

[28] For this prefix, Attinger slightly emends the strict *ḫamṭu* vs *marû* split advocated by Thomsen (and originally stated by Edzard in his article in *ZA* 61 (1971) on the *ḫamṭu* and *marû*). Informed by an article by Kienast in *ZA* 70 (1980), Attinger states his position thusly: "La règle énocée par Edzard devrait être en conséquence reformulée de la manière suivante : avec une form *ḫamṭu* – et pour autant que l'opposition *ḫamṭu* vs *marû* ne soit pas neutralisée! – /bara/ marque toujours une négation catégorique ; dans les autres cas, il marque soit une négation catégorique, soit – plus rarement – un vétitif." Attinger, *Eléments de linguistique sumérienne*, 289. Edzard, "*ḫamṭu, marû* und freie Reduplikation beim sumerischen Verbum. I," 216-219. Burkhart Kienast, "Probleme der sumerischen Grammatik," *ZA* 70 (1980), 8.

[29] For this prefix, Attinger does not advocate for a simple binary split based on the *ḫamṭu* or *marû* status of the VR. Instead, he argues thusly: "–Dans les f.ḫ. trans. : assertif. –{na} précédé ou suivi de {(i)nga} : assertif. –{na (+i) + B(*m.*) + en/e/(…)} : assertif (type na-ĝa2-ĝa2). –na-mu-(…) : assertif (type na-mu(-un)-e). –{na (+i) + x1 (+ x2 …) + B(*m.*) + en/e/(…)} : prohibitif (na-ab-be2(-e), nam-me, na-an-(n)e(-en), nam-ba/bi2-(…), etc.). –nam-mu-(…), na-am2-mu-(…) : prohibitif (nam-mu-e, nam-mu-na-ab-be2, etc.)." Attinger, *Eléments de linguistique sumérienne*, 290.

[30] Regarding the influence the *ḫamṭu* or *marû* status of a VR has on the meaning conveyed by this MP, Attinger says the following: "Avec une forme *ḫamṭu* – et pour autant que l'opposition *ḫamṭu* vs *marû* ne soit pas neutralisée! –, {ḫe} marque normalement une 'affirmation catégorique', à partir de l'ép. pB sporadiquement aussi un précatif (akkadisme). […] Dans les autres cas, il marque soit un précatif (passim) soit une 'affirmation catégorique.'" Ibid., 293-294.

1.3.5 EDZARD

Edzard's treatment is much like Thomsen's and Attinger's in that he avoids typological parallels and linguistic classifications.[31] The only major difference is that he explicitly states that his grammar "is not under the obligation of a more recent method – generative, structural, or transformational."[32] His candor is appreciated, and his logic is reasonable for such a short descriptive grammar. Since this dissertation relies heavily on a linguistic methodology, interpretations are liable to vary at points.

TABLE 1.3. *Edzard's "Modal Indicators"*[33]		
Form	**Classification**	**Function**
{ø}	Indicative	Expresses veridical utterances.
{nu}	Negative Indicative	Negates finite and non-finite verbs; acts as the negative enclitic copula in enclitic position after nouns.
{ga}	Cohortative (*ḫamṭu*)	Expresses exhortation (1st person only).
{bara}	(1) Vetitive (*marû*) (2) Negative Affirmative (*ḫamṭu*) (3) Negative Cohortative (*marû*)	(1) Expresses negative wishes. (2) Removes doubt from the listener about what is being said. (3) Expresses negative exhortation.
{he}	(1) Precative (*marû*) (2) Affirmative 1 (*ḫamṭu*)	(1) Expresses wishes and indirect commands. (2) Removes doubt from the listener about what is being said.
{na}	(1) Prohibitive[34] (2) Affirmative 2 (*ḫamṭu*)	(1) Expresses negative commands, wishes, and advice. (2) Marks the importance of something previously existing with present-future relevance.
{ša}	Affirmative 3	Reconfirms a past statement or occurrence with present-future relevance.
{nuš}	Frustrative	Expresses hypothetical wishes.
{u}	Prospective	DEEMED A CONNECTIVE (NON-MODAL); designates the first in a succession of events or a condition; polite imperative.
{iri}	NONE PROPOSED	DEEMED A CONNECTIVE (NON-MODAL); NO FUNCTION PROPOSED

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[31] Dietz Otto Edzard, *Sumerian Grammar*, HdOr 71. (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 113-121.
[32] Ibid., 179.
[33] Edzard also argues transitivity place a role in interpreting MPs. Those views are not summarized here.
[34] Edzard does not state whether this meaning takes the *ḫamṭu* or *marû*, but his examples are in the *marû.*

1.3.6 CIVIL

As previously mentioned, Miguel Civil wrote the most linguistically informed and systematic study of the Sumerian MPs, but it was limited to a cursory overview in a journal article.[35] Civil employed a functional-typological approach and grouped the MPs according to an epistemic/deontic split. The present dissertation owes much to Civil's article in both method and theory, but it is not derivative. For all its strengths, Civil's treatment has its weaknesses. By his own admission, the article was overly brief. Additionally, while Civil cites F. R. Palmer (one of the leading experts on modality), the citations refer to a work that was thoroughly altered and republished after Civil's article had been submitted for publication.[36] Finally, the study of modality within linguistics has grown since the writing of Civil's article, and there is much more that can now be said about the topic for Sumerian. Civil was on the correct path with his hypothesis, but neither he nor anyone else has since endeavored to produce a systematic, well-exemplified, and comprehensive study of Sumerian modality.

TABLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[35] Civil, "Modal Prefixes," 29-42.

[36] Civil was citing: F. R. Palmer, *Mood and Modality*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). That work, however, has now become obsolete due to the publication of the massively revised second edition: F. R. Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). This statement might seem hyperbolic, but the revision was so thorough that Eran Cohen remarked in his monograph on modality in Akkadian that the second edition "is radically revised, and may be considered another book." Eran Cohen, *The Modal System of Old Babylonian*, HSS 56. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 10 fn. 11.

	Form	Classification	Function
			TABLE 1.4. *Civil's "Modal Prefixes"*
	Form	**Classification**	**Function**
Indicative	{ø}	Indicative	Expresses veridical utterances.
	{nu}	Negative Indicative	Negates finite and non-finite verbs; acts as the negative enclitic copula in enclitic position after nouns.
Epistemic	{bara}	Negative Subjunctive (Epistemic)	Negates epistemic functions of {he}.
	{ša}	NONE PROPOSED	Expresses affirmations; might have a stylistic or archaizing function (MOSTLY UNCLEAR).
Deontic	{ga}	Cohortative	Indicates the speaker has arrived at a decision regarding his or her will and intentions (1st person only).
Epistemic and Deontic	{he}	Subjunctive-Optative	(Epistemic) Marks that the predicate with {he} depends on a condition expressed by an adjacent clause (ability, causality, result, etc.). (Deontic) Denotes speaker obligations and desires.
	{na}	(1)(Epistemic) Marker of Reported Speech (2)(Deontic) Negative Subjunctive-Optative	(1)(Epistemic) Marks reported speech. (2)(Deontic) Negates deontic functions of {he}.
Non-modal	{u}	Prefix of Anteriority	Designates first in a succession of events.
	**{iri}	NONE NEEDED (NOT A BOUND MORPHEME)	Stereotyped writing of a-ar$_2$ with vocalic assimilation.
	{nuš}	NONE PROPOSED	Acts as a rhetorical interrogative.
	{ene} or {eneba}	NONE PROPOSED	Marks exclamations.
Debated	{ra}	NONE PROPOSED	Said to occur in letters (NO FUNCTION PROPOSED).

1.3.7 RUBIO

Another work that deserves mention here is Gonzalo Rubio's 2007 overview of Sumerian morphology published in an edited volume.[37] This publication was an important contribution to the field for a variety of reasons. Firstly, it maintains the epistemic/deontic distinction proposed by Civil but also problematizes aspects of this distinction in a productive way. Rubio argues that deontic modality should be replaced by the categories agent-oriented modality and speaker-oriented modality. Ultimately, he maintains Civil's epistemic/deontic distinction, but his linguistically-informed objections set the tone for the present dissertation, which rejects parts of the foundation set forth in Civil's seminal article while also adopting, refining, and adding to it. Rubio's description of individual MPs mostly aligns with Civil's, but he differs on some main points.

Firstly, he agrees with Civil by asserting that Sumerian had an indicative marked with the MP {ø}; he goes further than Civil, however, by arguing that this indicative MP {ø} "corresponds to the most neutral category of epistemic modality, which pertains exclusively to the possibility or neccessity [*sic*] of the truth of a proposition."[38] While Rubio and Civil both correctly state that indicative statements can receive modal nuance through discourse pragmatics, Rubio's argument that the indicative is best understood as a neutral epistemic MP {ø} is misleading and unnecessarily complicates any description of the indicative mood and epistemic modality in Sumerian. Secondly, even though Rubio's publication postdates Civil's, he nevertheless maintains that the functions of polysemous MPs depends on whether the verb is in

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[37] Gonzalo Rubio, "Sumerian Morphology," in *Morphologies of Asia and Africa*, ed. A. S. Kaye. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 1327-1379.
[38] Ibid., 1324.

the *ḫamṭu* or *marû* conjugation. This dissertation also differs from Rubio's description on other

matters that are discussed elsewhere.

TABLE 1.5. *Rubio's "Modal Prefixes"*		
Form	Classification	Function
{ø}	Neutral Epistemic Indicative	Establishes a direct link between an utterance and its reality or truth.
{nu}	Negative Neutral Epistemic Indicative	Negates finite and non-finite verbs; acts as the negative enclitic copula in enclitic position after nouns; can be an independent word; can occur with the enclitic copula.
{he}	Modal Prefix {he} ((1) Epistemic Affirmative (*ḫamṭu*) (2) Deontic Precative (*marû*))	(1) Marks that the predicate with {he} depends on a condition expressed by an adjacent clause (ability, causality, result, etc.). (2) Expresses wishes and indirect commands.
{bara}	Negative Subjunctive (*ḫamṭu* or *marû*)	Negates epistemic functions of {he}; occasionally acts as a vetitive.
{na}	Modal Prefix {na} ((1)(Epistemic) Marker of Reported Speech (*ḫamṭu*) (2)(Deontic) Negative of Deontic {he} (*marû*))	(1)(Epistemic) Marks reported speech. (2)(Deontic) Negates deontic functions of {he}.
{ga}	Cohortative (*ḫamṭu*)	Indicates the speaker has arrived at a decision regarding his or her will and intentions (1st person only).
{ša}	None Proposed	Might express affirmatives or the contrapunctive (meaning "correspondingly," "he on his part," etc.).
{u}	Prospective (*ḫamṭu*)	Designates first in a succession of events.

1.3.8 JAGERSMA

Jagersma's dissertation is an invaluable resource as it is perhaps the most exhaustive

treatment of Sumerian grammar to date. Methodologically, he mostly follows a semasiological

approach whereby he views grammatical forms within his corpus in context and then ascertains

their meanings with little reference to linguistics. As a result, his dissertation includes

idiosyncratic proposals that are used to justify other idiosyncratic proposals, creating a

precarious grammatical system that does not easily allow for emendation in light of newer

studies with differing methodologies.[39] For example, Jagersma claims that the MP {ḫa} is written with the ḪE2-sign when it contracts with a following unexpressed vocalic morpheme {ʔi} to generate the syllable [ḫē]; this argument is predicated on his approach to Sumerian phonotactics and necessitated by his unique system of vocalic prefixes that places strict formal requirements on finite verbs.[40] Additionally, Jagersma, like Rubio, maintains that the functions of polysemous MPs depends on whether the verb is in the *ḫamṭu* or *marû* conjugation (contra. Civil). Finally, Jagersma also does not adopt the modal categorizations used within linguistics that had been introduced to Sumerology years prior by Civil.[41]

TABLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[39] Many morphemes and functions posited by Jagersma are not adopted in this dissertation. Many of these views do not belong to Jagersma alone, he is simply the easiest to reference given his exhaustive coverage of Sumerian grammar. This dissertation also does not adopt a variety of Sumerian grammar interpretations advocated by scholars other than Jagersma. For a brief discussion about the school of Sumerian grammar followed by this dissertation, see: §1.7. The decision to prefer some positions to others is not intended to be an absolute or contentious outright dismissal of their respective frameworks and adherents. Rather, it is a matter of necessity given the vast differences in interpretation among Sumerian grammar specialists. The author has sincere respect for Sumerologists of all schools of thought.

[40] Abraham H. Jagersma, "A Descriptive Grammar of Sumerian." (PhD. diss., Leiden University, 2010), 517-549 and 551-581. For a detailed discussion, see: §3.3.1.

[41] Ibid., 551-581.

TABLE 1.6. *Jagersma's "Preformatives"*		
Form	**Classification**	**Function**
{nu}	Negative Proclitic {nu} (*ḫamṭu* or *marû*)	Negates finite and non-finite verbs; acts as the negative enclitic copula in enclitic position after nouns; can be an independent word.
{ḫa}	Modal Proclitic {ḫa} ((1) Expressing a wish or command (*marû*) (2) Expressing an assertion (*ḫamṭu*))	Expresses assertions, wishes, or commands.
{na(n)}	Negative Modal Prefix {na(n)} (*marû*)	Expresses negative commands and negative requests.
{ga}	Modal Prefix {ga} (*ḫamṭu*)	Expresses the speaker's firm intention to perform a certain action (1ˢᵗ person only).
{bara}	Negative Modal Prefix {bara} (*ḫamṭu* or *marû*)	Expresses a categorical negation.
{ši}	Preformative {ši} (*ḫamṭu* or *marû*)	NONE PROPOSED (only asserted to be non-negative).
{na}	Non-Negative {na} (*ḫamṭu* or *marû* (rarer))	NONE PROPOSED (only asserted to be non-negative).
{ʔu}	Relative-Past Prefix {ʔu} (Vocalic Prefix) (*ḫamṭu*)	Marks its associated predicate as subordinate to the following verb and expresses an anterior action.

1.3.9 ZÓLYOMI

The final work that needs to be discussed here is the recent teaching grammar written by Zólyomi.[42] This work's coverage of modality is admirable. Zólyomi adopts the phraseology utilized in linguistics introduced to the field by Civil. Furthermore, he integrates a concept from linguistics that was absent from Civil's article (i.e., grading certain MPs weak or strong).[43] On various topics, however, Zólyomi's interpretations differ from those outlined in this thesis (ex., maintaining that MP/conjugation co-occurrence is due to formal constraints).

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[42] Gábor Zólyomi, *An Introduction to the Grammar of Sumerian.* (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University Press, 2017), 237-249.

[43] These gradations, however, have not been formalized as such in this dissertation. Rather, strength/weakness is discussed organically in various functional descriptions and not presented as an easily formalized cline.

TABLE 1.7. *Zólyomi's "Modal Prefixes"*		
Form	**Classification**	**Function**
{nu}	Negative Particle	Negates finite and non-finite verbs; acts as the negative enclitic copula in enclitic position after nouns; can be an independent word; can occur with the enclitic copula.
{ga}	Modal Prefix {ga} (Positive Deontic) (*ḫamṭu*)	Meaning can be paraphrased as "it is my/our intention to VERB" (1st person only).
{ḫa}[44]	Modal Prefix {ḫa} ((1) Positive Epistemic (possibility = *marû*)(certainty = *ḫamṭu*) and (2) Deontic (*marû*))	(1)(Positive Epistemic) Expresses possibility or certainty. (2)(Deontic) Expresses a realizable wish, request, or advice.
{bara}	Negative Modal Prefix ((1) Strong Epistemic (*ḫamṭu*) and (2) Deontic(*marû*))	(1)(Strong Epistemic) Expresses strong uncertainty. (2)(Deontic) Meaning can be paraphrased as "it is not my/our intention to VERB."
{na(n)}	Negative Modal Prefix ((1) Weak Epistemic (*marû*) and (2) Deontic (*marû*))	(1)(Weak Epistemic) Expresses weak negative commands. (2)(Deontic) Expresses a negative wish, request, or advice.
{na}	Non-Negative {na} (Positive Epistemic)	Expresses affirmative epistemic modality; might be a marker of "hearsay" evidentiality.
{ši}	Non-Negative {ši} (Positive Epistemic)	Expresses affirmative epistemic modality.
{u}	Prefix of Anteriority (*ḫamṭu*)	IMPLIED TO BE NON-MODAL; denotes anteriority relative to the event of a following clause.
{nuš}	Modal Prefix {nuš} (Positive Deontic)	Expresses an unrealizable wish.

1.4 METHOD AND THEORY

Methodologically, this thesis applies an onomasiological approach that is in conversation

with the current linguistics literature on modality. The decision to use this approach was

motivated by the belief that it is most important to understand how modality operates cross-

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[44] Zólyomi proposes that a verb's transitivity or stative-status relates to the *ḫamṭu* or *marû* status of the VR. "A special feature of the verbal forms prefixed with /**ḫa/-** is that intransitive and stative verbs always use the preterite tense [i.e., *ḫamṭu*] in whatever function, epistemic or deontic, the prefix is used." (emphasis original to source). Ibid., 245.

linguistically before conducting a pointed investigation into the ways in which Sumerian codes modal notions morphologically on the verb. Onomasiological approaches to linguistics maintain that it is most important to *first* understand how a grammatical phenomenon works cross-linguistically and to *then* construct a well-informed and pointed investigation into the operation of said phenomenon in the language being studied. In onomasiological studies, one asks "how do you express *X* in language *Y*?" The opposite of an onomasiological approach is a semasiological approach, which maintains that scholars *first* start from observing the language in situ, identifying peculiarities, patterns, and areas of interest, and *then* asking, "what does *X* do/mean?"[45]

The inspiration for this dissertation arose semasiologically with the realization that there was insufficient Sumerological literature about the role of modality in the language. This thesis aims to fill that gap in the Sumerological literature and motivate further research into the topic. To accomplish this task, it seems most productive to prioritize an onomasiological methodology because semasiological studies (ex., the various reference grammars of Sumerian) have already convincingly demonstrated that the MPs are the main mechanism for marking modality on the verb. Their full functional span and where else modality might be expressed on the verb, however, had remained unclear in many regards until present. To best ascertain the intricacies of Sumerian modality, a decision was made to structure this dissertation within an onomasiological framework that emphasizes both the importance of proposing typologically plausible interpretations and the relevance of how modality is understood cross-linguistically and

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[45] For a succinct overview of onomasiological and semasiological methodologies, see: John R. Taylor, *Linguistic Categorization*, 3rd ed. Oxford Textbooks in Linguistics. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 54. For an exhaustive discussion of these two methodologies, see this foundational work: Dirk Geeraerts, Stefan Grondelaers, and Peter Bakema, *The Structure of Lexical Variation.* Cognitive Linguistics Research 5. (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1994).

discussed in modern linguistics.

The theoretical underpinnings of any thesis are important, but this is especially the case for theses that investigate the grammar of a dead linguistic isolate such as Sumerian. These sorts of investigations can be perilous undertakings as linguistic description can easily go awry when not meticulously structured according to guiding principles. This dissertation takes as its guiding principles those espoused by the theory of Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG).[46] Before delving into FDG, the broader functionalist paradigm and Functional Grammar (FG), the predecessor of FDG, are discussed.[47] According to the functionalist paradigm of linguistics, language is first and foremost understood "as an instrument of social interaction among human beings, used with the intention of establishing communicative relationships."[48] Operating under this paradigm, it is the job of the linguist to investigate how language is utilized and manipulated by practitioners to achieve specifiable goals via social interaction.[49] In order to study language as a communicative social tool, functionalist theories of grammar assert that normative communication is ordered (i.e., non-random) and thus subject to Grice's maxims, among other constraints.[50] A foundational theory that operates within the functionalist paradigm is FG.

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[46] FDG is a theoretical approach within the functionalist paradigm that was devised as the successor to Simon Dik's Functional Grammar (FG), for which see: Simon C. Dik, *The Theory of Functional Grammar. Part 1: The Structure of the Clause*, 2nd revised ed., ed. Kees Hengeveld, Functional Grammar Series 20. (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997). The principles of FDG were codified and published in: Kees Hengeveld and J. Lachlan Mackenzie, *Functional Discourse Grammar: A typologically-based theory of language structure.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). Since the principles of FG are largely characteristic of the functionalist paradigm as a whole and the foundation of FDG, they are presented first. Then the various nuances that differentiate FDG from FG are discussed. This is an important point of clarification to make as any grammatical research using FDG is implicitly using aspects of FG so omitting a discussion of Dik's work and the functionalist paradigm in general would be disingenuous.

[47] For an exhaustive discussion of linguistic functionalism and its various manifestations (prior to the development of FDG), see: J. Nichols, "Functional Theories of Grammar," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 13 (1984): 97-117.

[48] Simon C. Dik, *The Theory of Functional Grammar. Part 1: The Structure of the Clause*, 3.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Grice's maxims are four generalized rules that explain what a listener commonly assumes when judging the speech of others. Assuming that a speaker does not choose to flout one of the maxims, a listener presumes that the speaker is being as informative as possible (Maxim of Quantity), conveying truthful information to the best of his or her ability (Maxim of Quality), providing relevant and pertinent information (Maxim of Relation), and making a

According to Simon Dik, FG dictates that linguists grapple with two rule systems bound by the social norms of a given discourse community:

1) The rules that govern the constitution of linguistic expressions (semantic, syntactic, morphological, and phonological rules)

2) The rules that govern the patterns of verbal interaction in which these linguistic expressions are used (pragmatic rules)[51]

In sum, "the basic requirement of the functional paradigm is that linguistic expressions should be described and explained in terms of the general framework provided by the pragmatic system of verbal interaction."[52]

The preceding discussion of functionalism accounts for the general paradigm and FG, but it omitted important theoretical points that were introduced by FDG. Although they will not be discussed in detail, the most prominent theoretical positions introduced by FDG can be enumerated thusly:

1) FDG has a top-down organization.

2) FDG takes the Discourse Act as the basic unit of analysis.

3) FDG includes morphosyntactic and phonological representations as part of its underlying structure, alongside representations of the pragmatic and sematic properties of Discourse Acts.

4) FDG, as the Grammatical Component of the theory of verbal interaction, systematically links up with a Conceptual, a Contextual, and an Output Component.[53]

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concerted effort to be clear and unambiguous in his or her conveyance of information (Maxim of Manner). For a detailed discussion, see: H. P. Grice, "Logic and Conversation," in *Syntax and Semantics*, vol. 3, eds. Peter Cole and Jerry L. Morgan. (New York: Academic Press, 1975), 41-58.

[51] Dik, *The Theory of Functional Grammar. Part 1: The Structure of the Clause*, 3-4.

[52] Ibid., 4.

[53] Hengeveld and Mackenzie, *Functional Discourse Grammar*, 1.

Importantly, FDG was a particularly attractive theory for this sort of research because "it is a grammatical model that constitutes one component of an overall theory of verbal interaction and aims to be equally valid for all types of language" and as "a result the notions of functionalism, language typology, language modelling, and Discourse Act all play a central role."[54]

The choice to write this thesis in accordance with the principles of FDG has broad and significant implications. Perhaps the most important of those implications is that an approach through FDG is predicated on the idea that grammar is best understood as a resource for meaning making, which is particularly applicable given the role of modality.[55]

Although belonging to the functionalist paradigm of linguistics, FDG is not a purely functionalist theory. Rather, FDG combines key attributes of functionalism with the merits of its opposing framework (i.e., formalism). FDG achieves a harmony between these two often opposed frameworks by adopting from the formalist paradigm the desire to "describe the knowledge that underlies a language user's potential to communicate in his/her language in an explicit and highly formalized way;" FDG integrates this formalist understanding into its theoretical framework by embracing the functionalist principle that the manner in which language users understand and combine grammatical units in various discourse contexts "is instrumental in interpersonal communication and has arisen as a result of historical processes:

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[54] Ibid., 25.

[55] FDG's understanding of grammar is in opposition to the principles espoused by the generative theory of grammar (the foremost linguistic theory in the formalist paradigm). According to the generative theory of grammar, a language is "a set (finite or infinite) of sentences, each finite in length and constructed out of a finite set of elements. All natural languages in their spoken or written form are languages in this sense, since each natural language has a finite number of phonemes (or letters in its alphabet) and each sentence is representable as a finite sequence of these phonemes (or letters), though there are infinitely many sentences. Similarly, the set of 'sentences' of some formalized system of mathematics can be considered a language. The fundamental aim in the linguistic analysis of language L is to separate the *grammatical* sequences which are the sentences of L from the *ungrammatical* sequences which are not sequences of L and to study the structure of the grammatical sequences. The grammar of L will thus be a device that generates all of the grammatical sequences of L and none of the ungrammatical ones" (emphasis original to source). Noam Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2002), 13.

forms that have served Speakers well through the ages have sedimented into the repertory now available to language users and are well-adapted to their purposes."[56]

All the aforementioned tenets of FDG are commendable and form a coherent theoretical framework. Nevertheless, FDG admittedly has some shortcomings for studying Sumerian. For example, FDG places a strong emphasis on the pragmatic- and culturally-bounded rules that mediate verbal interaction. Obviously, there is no record of spoken Sumerian and even its phonemic inventory is only imperfectly understood. As a result, all data comes from written texts that were constructed according to genre conventions, which can be viewed as a subset of societal conventions. Furthermore, the antiquity of Sumerian civilization — a society that was anything but monolithic — limits one's ability to fully grasp its social mores. Additionally, the material preserved in the written and archaeological record can present a misleading or biased view of Sumerian society given the chance nature of preservation. None of these qualms disqualify the functionalist paradigm — in fact many dissertations and monographs in the field have fruitfully employed it — or FDG specifically, but it would be foolish to ignore their limitations.[57]

Even taking into account these shortcomings, however, a functionalist approach is still preferable to a generativist approach for researching Sumerian modality. Applying the generative theory of linguistics would be problematic for studying modality in the domain of Sumerian verbal morphology for a few reasons. One major problem the generativist approach poses for

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[56] Hengeveld and Mackenzie, *Functional Discourse Grammar*, 26-27.

[57] Important works within the field that operate under the functionalist paradigm include but are not limited to: Dennis Campbell, *Mood and Modality in Hurrian*, Languages of the Ancient Near East 5. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015); Petra Goedegebuure, *The Hittite Demonstratives: Studies in Deixis, Topics and Focus*, StBoT 55. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014); Fumi Karahashi, "Sumerian Compound Verbs with Body-Part Terms," (PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 2000); Christopher Woods, *The Grammar of Perspective: The Sumerian Conjugation Prefixes as a System of Voice*, CM 32. (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

researching Sumerian is that it relies heavily on elicitation from native speakers.[58] Obviously, it is impossible to obtain native speaker judgements for Sumerian. Scholars have, however, successfully studied ancient languages (including Sumerian) using a generative approach.[59] In these studies, scholars typically employ the generative method to examine the ways in which surface structures with well-understood functions might be expressed at lower levels of representation. In such an endeavor, the scholar attempts to ascertain which universal principles and applications attested in the Universal Grammar exist at said lower levels and generate the surface structures being studied. By doing this, it is possible to determine why structures that serve seemingly identical functions (ex., expressing possession) might appear differently on the surface (ex., why left-dislocated possessors in Sumerian take different cases).[60] In this way, the generative approach can "shed light on previously unrecognized structures, operations, and constraints of the languages in question."[61] For these generative analyses to work, however, the function of the surface phenomenon being examined must be thoroughly understood. As this is not the case for the way modality is coded morphologically in the Sumerian verb, employing a generative method and proposing underlying levels of representation and transformational parameters for them would be imprudent at this time.

As a final theoretical remark, it must be mentioned that this dissertation also approaches grammar with an eye for typological viability. Typological linguistic research dictates that grammatical explanations/descriptions are most secure when they are attested elsewhere in another linguistic system. The typological approach and its relationship to functionalism has

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[58] Éva Dékány, "Foundations of generative linguistics," *Acta Linguistica Academica* (2019), 322-323.
[59] Gábor Zólyomi, "Left-dislocated possessors in Sumerian," in *Universal Grammar in the Reconstruction of Ancient Languages*, ed. Katalin É. Kiss. SGG 83. (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2005), 161-188.
[60] Ibid., 181-182.
[61] Katalin É. Kiss, "Introduction," in *Universal Grammar in the Reconstruction of Ancient Languages*, ed. Katalin É. Kiss. SGG 83. (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2005), 6.

already been so perfectly summarized by linguist William Croft that it seems most instructive to cite him in full here:

> The third and final linguistic definition of typology is that typology represents an approach or theoretical framework to the study of language that contrasts with prior approaches, such as American structuralism and generative grammar. In this definition, typology is an approach to linguistic theorizing, or more precisely a methodology of linguistic analysis that gives rise to different kinds of linguistic theories than found in other approaches. Sometimes this view of typology is called the Greenbergian, as opposed to the Chomskyan, approach to linguistic theory (after their best known practitioners; see for example, Smith 1982:256). This view of typology is closely allied to **functionalism**, the view that linguistic structure should be explained primarily in terms of linguistic function (the Chomskyan approach is contrastively titled **formalism**). For this reason, typology in this sense is often called the **(functional-)typological approach**, and will be called so here. More precisely, we may characterize this definition of typology as **functional-typological explanation**.[62]

When the term "functional-typological" is used in this thesis in reference to a linguistic method or theory, it is to be understood as outlined by Croft above.

1.5 THE CORPORA

This dissertation is essentially a corpus-based inquiry. As such, the corpora are used as a repertoire of examples to support a pre-existing linguistic theory.[63] The counterpart to corpus-based linguistics is corpus-driven linguistics, according to which the goal of the research is "to derive linguistic categories systematically from the recurrent patterns and the frequency distributions that emerge from language in context," namely, as they appear in a corpus.[64]

Before establishing and defining the bounds of the principal corpus and discussing the nature of the secondary corpus, it is necessary to consider the various stages of the language and

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[62] (emphasis original to source). William Croft, *Typologies and Universals*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 2.

[63] Elena Tognini-Bonelli, *Corpus Linguistics at Work.* Studies in Corpus Linguistics 6. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2001), 10-11.

[64] Ibid., 87.

the orthography used to represent it. To research Sumerian grammar as it was understood by native speakers, one must decide when the language ceased to be a mother tongue. This dissertation adopts the view of Piotr Michalowski that Sumerian had likely died as a spoken language by the early second millennium BCE, and therefore it is generally assumed that texts written prior to this date should most accurately reflect Sumerian grammar.[65]

The process of Sumerian language obsolescence, however, is nuanced and requires deeper consideration when conducting grammatical research. Specifically, it is necessary to not just consider a singular terminal point but also how and why Sumerian died. Christopher Woods has convincingly demonstrated that Sumerian — like the majority of languages that are not lost due to tragic anomalies such as mass and sudden population depletion — died after a period of asymmetrical bilingualism in which another language (in this case the Semitic language Akkadian) was introduced, proliferated, and then replaced it.[66] As Sumerian became obsolete via a process of asymmetrical bilingualism, it inevitably underwent phases of grammatical change due to close contact with a typologically dissimilar language (i.e., Akkadian). Accordingly, both corpora were constructed carefully with the understanding that one must be cognizant of language-contact phenomena when comparing data from different phases along this continuum of asymmetrical bilingualism. The death of spoken Sumerian also did not occur evenly across geography; for example, from the Sargonic (2334-2154 BCE) through the Isin-Larsa (2003-1793 BCE) periods southern Mesopotamia became increasingly bilingual (speaking both Sumerian and Akkadian), but northern Mesopotamia was characterized by Akkadian monolingualism,

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[65] Piotr Michalowski, "The Life and Death of the Sumerian Language in Comparative Perspective," *ASJ* 22 (2007): 1-29.

[66] Christopher Woods, "Bilingualism, Scribal Learning, and the Death of Sumerian," in *Margins of Writing, Origins of Cultures*, ed. Seth L. Sanders. OIS 2. (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2007), 95-124.

which would become the norm throughout the region in the following decades.[67] As discussed

below, the corpora were constructed to have chronological and geographical restrictions to

minimize these difficulties inherent to researching Sumerian grammar.

Not all texts written during the spoken life of Sumerian, however, are equally useful for

grammatical studies. For example, texts written before 2800 BCE are written in an abbreviated

form with such a deep orthography that it is often impossible to glean significant grammatical

data from them.[68] Because of this, they have been omitted from consideration. Therefore, texts

composed between 2800 BCE and the early second millennium BCE have been included in both

corpora under the assumption that these are the best sources for the Sumerian language while it

was likely spoken and written in an unabbreviated and relatively transparent orthography. Texts

of this date feature more prominently, however, in the secondary corpus because the

compositions selected for inclusion in the principal corpus were determined to underrepresent

earlier periods during the writing of this thesis.

None of this is to say that texts written after the Isin-Larsa period are devoid of any value.

Quite the contrary, many of the texts written later in the Old Babylonian period were composed

by highly educated scribes who seem to have understood the language quite well. Furthermore,

these later texts can be invaluable because the grammatical morphemes are more fully expressed

than they were previously. During this period, one also sees a dramatic increase in the number of

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[67] Ibid., 96. This dissertation treats the Isin-Larsa period as a sub-period within the Old Babylonian period (2003-1595 BCE). All dates in this thesis follow the Middle Chronology.

[68] Jerrold S. Cooper, "Babylonian beginnings: the origin of the cuneiform writing system in comparative perspective," in *The First Writing: Script Invention as History and Process*, ed. Stephen D. Houston. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 80. Orthographies can be labelled as "deep" or "shallow," "depending on the ease of predicting the pronunciation of a word from its spelling. In shallow orthographies, the spelling-sound correspondence is direct: given the rules, anyone can immediately 'name' the words correctly. In contrast, in deep orthographies the relationship is less direct, and readers must learn the arbitrary or unusual pronunciations of irregular words such as 'yacht.'" Derek Besner and Marilyn Chapnik Smith, "Basic Processes in Reading: Is the Orthographic Depth Hypothesis Sinking?," in *Orthography, Phonology, Morphology, and Meaning*, eds. Ram Frost and Leonard Katz. (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1992), 45.

literary texts, which record complex grammatical structures and several less common MPs. Any text composed after the Old Babylonian period, however, was examined more critically and on a case-by-case basis. The later the date of composition, the less likely it is that the text accurately reflects Sumerian grammar. Fortunately, these later texts will only be referenced sparingly in reference to potentially confusing orthographic phenomena. Finally, later copies of earlier texts were also evaluated individually since some copies are more faithful than others. This was particularly the case for the Sargonic bilinguals.

Having addressed the chronological bounds of the corpora, it is necessary to discuss the various subcorpora that were initially selected for inclusion in the principal corpus to represent the most varied, clear, and accurate view of the morphemes that code modality in the verb. Royal inscriptions constitute a significant part of the main corpus. They are excellent candidates for grammatical studies since they employ consistent, institutionalized language to record their messages. Institutionalized language does not necessarily reflect the speech of the common individual, but it does provide a standardized grammatical rubric against which to judge any deviations from the norm. This rubric, however, is only applicable to texts within this genre, and it is also influenced by geographic and chronological variables. Finally, not all Sumerian royal inscriptions were admitted to the principal corpus as this would have created an unwieldy dataset rampant with redundancy. Citations from unilingual royal inscriptions outside of the Gudea subcorpus were admitted to the secondary corpus as necessary.

As was just mentioned, the body of Gudea inscriptions (ca. 2100 BCE) constituted an invaluable group of unilingual royal inscriptions included in the primary corpus.[69] Gudea was a

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[69] The many Gudea inscriptions that occur on objects other than statues or cylinders have been omitted from this study as they record zero MPs. While the MPs are not the only place modality is coded on the verb, modal morphemes outside of Slot One are scarce in these texts and exemplified sufficiently elsewhere. The exception to this rule is the composition published in CUSAS 17, which records a later bilingual copy of a Gudea inscription.

ruler of Lagaš who commissioned numerous royal inscriptions, votive statues, and two monumental cylinders, all of which were written in remarkably transparent orthography. These texts preserve sophisticated grammatical structures and were composed when the language was likely still spoken. Within Sumerology, the importance of the Gudea corpus is well established, even serving as the basis for Falkenstein's three-volume grammar, *Grammatik der Sprache Gudeas von Lagaš*.

Alongside the Gudea texts, the Sumerian-Akkadian bilingual royal inscriptions dating from the Sargonic through the Old Babylonian periods were also admitted to the corpus. As with most grammatical phenomena, insight can be gained into the Sumerian modal system by comparing the Sumerian and Akkadian versions of a composition. There is one bilingual corpus some might expect to find in the corpus but is noticeably absent: The Old Babylonian Grammatical Texts (OBGT). The OBGT include two types of texts: verbal paradigms and grammatical vocabularies. Only the verbal paradigms would be relevant to this dissertation, but they have been omitted for a few reasons. The verbal paradigms were disqualified on formal grounds because they are structured as two column lists that juxtapose Sumerian verbal forms with their Akkadian counterparts.[70] Texts in this list format are of limited use in this dissertation since the grammatical forms lack a narrative discourse context, which is crucial for determining the complexities of modal nuance. Furthermore, it is debated how closely the verbal forms in the OBGT would have mirrored spoken Sumerian.[71] For these reasons, the OBGT were omitted

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This composition was admitted due to its bilingual character and preservation of MPs. Claus Wilke, "Eine Weihinschrift Gudea von Lagaš mit altbabylonischer Übersetzung." in *Cuneiform Royal Inscriptions and Related Texts in the Schøyen Collection*, ed. A. R. George. CUSAS 17. (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2011), 29-47.

[70] R. Hallock and B. Landsberger, "Part II: Old Babylonian Grammatical Texts," in *MSL IV, Introduction. Part I: Emesal-Vocabulary (Series dimir-dingir-ilum). Part II: Old Babylonian Grammatical Texts. Part III: Neobabylonian Grammatical Texts. Nachträge zu MSL III*, ed. B. Landsberger. MSL 4. (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1956), 45-127.

[71] As Jeremy Black remarks: "[…] as a subsidiary result of a study of this system, some insights can be gained into the grammatical structure of Sumerian: but with reservations. Material from the grammatical texts must be used

from both corpora.

Unlike the OBGT, Sumerian literary texts from the Old Babylonian period proved to be indispensable sources for studying modality.[72] As previously mentioned, these texts contain some of the most complicated sentences of the Sumerian corpus, and as such they record many verbs with complex modal marking. Furthermore, their later date of composition means that they have rather full orthography, and their sophisticated subject matter means that the upper echelons of student scribes wrote them, which increases the likelihood that the texts are largely grammatical. Within the corpus of Old Babylonian literary texts, compositions that have many exemplars and a relatively secure base text (exs., texts in the Decad) make the best sources of evidence. The Decad is a set of ten narratives tales, "poems," "songs," and "hymns" (modern designations) that were learned and copied by Old Babylonian scribal students in the advanced stages of education.[73] Compositions within the Decad are known from numerous exemplars and many of them were produced at Nippur, the epicenter of scribal education during the Old Babylonian period. Due to the wealth of manuscripts and the reliability of the base texts, the

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only very circumspectly. Many false conclusions have been drawn from evidence indiscriminately cited from them. Essentially the Babylonians, as good teachers, had developed a 'method' for teaching Sumerian, but it was inevitably oriented from the point of view of a native speaker of the quite different Akkadian, so that confusion resulted in certain areas, e.g. in regard to the tense system and causative system of the Akkadian verb." Jeremy Black, *Sumerian Grammar in Babylonian Theory: Second, revised edition.* StPohl SM 12. (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 2004), 7. See also: Niek Veldhuis, *History of the Cuneiform Lexical Tradition.* GMTR 6. (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014), 194-197. Peter Huber, "On the Old Babylonian Understanding of Grammar: A Reexamination of OBGT VI-X," *JCS* 59 (2007): 1.

[72] It is somewhat difficult to succinctly describe what constitutes "Sumerian literature" beyond the usage of elevated language. A variety of themes and structures are attested in literary texts, and there is no discernable metrical pattern that can identify a text as literary. Thorkild Jacobsen has written an excellent summation of what can be considered Sumerian literature: "The strictly literary Sumerian works can be defined generally as works of praise. The praise can be for something extant and enjoyed, a temple, a deity, or a human king. It can take narrative form as myth or epic, or descriptive form as hymn. The praise may also, however, be praise of something cherished and lost, a destroyed temple, a god who has died, or a dead human relative." Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Harp that Once…: Sumerian Poetry in Translation.* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987), xiii.

[73] Steve Tinney, "On the Curricular Setting of Sumerian Literature," *Iraq* 61 (1999): 168. The ten compositions in the Decad are: (1) *Šulgi A*, (2) *Lipit-Eštar A*, (3) *Song of the Hoe*, (4) *The Exaltation of Inana*, (5) *Enlil in the Ekur*, (6) *Keš Temple Hymn*, (7) *Enki's Journey to Nippur*, (8) *Inana and Ebih*, (9) *Nungal Hymn*, and (10) *Gilgameš and Huwawa (Version A)*.

Decad was included in the principal corpus. Additionally, these texts were especially attractive candidates for admission since they have recently been expertly collated and refined by Paul Delnero in his 2006 dissertation.[74] Given the strength of this corpus and the secondary literature around it, citations from the Decad feature prominently in this dissertation.

Although literary texts from the Decad hold a privileged position in the corpus, manuscripts from this subcorpus were not simply admitted *en masse* and without vetting. As has been noted, texts from the Decad (and often Old Babylonian literary texts in general) are attested in multiple manuscripts. Any citation from a composition with numerous exemplars took into consideration the quality of the relevant source manuscripts because not all ancient student scribes were equally talented, and errors can abound. Given the status of Nippur as an elite scribal training center in Mesopotamia and the wealth of excavated and published material it has produced, Nippur manuscripts were prioritized during the construction of both corpora and the argumentation of the thesis.

Finally, it was also necessary to cull evidence from functional documents (ex., legal texts). This body of evidence provides insight into a lower register of Sumerian and demonstrates how the modal verbal morphemes might have been employed by speakers to achieve specifiable goals in everyday life (exs., convincing others of their innocence, explaining the severity of a matter, etc.). The *ditila*s were selected as the main body of functional texts in the principal corpus given their thorough publication history, number of unique exemplars, and inclusion of discourse contexts in which one would expect to find modal expressions.[75]

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[74] Paul Delnero, "Variation in Sumerian Literary Compositions: A Case Study Based on the Decad." (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2006).

[75] Adam Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden, erster Teil: Einleitung und systematische Darstellung.* ABAW NF 39. (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1956). Adam Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden, zweiter Teil: Umschrift, Übersetzung und Kommentar.* ABAW NF 40. (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1956). Adam Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden, dritter Teil: Nachträge und Berichtigungen, Indizes und Kopien.* ABAW NF 44.

To summarize the preceding paragraphs, the primary corpus is comprised of the following (order is not an indication of utility):

- The Gudea Inscriptions

- Sumerian-Akkadian Bilingual Royal Inscriptions (Sargonic through Old Babylonian)

- The Decad

- *ditila*s

These corpora include sufficient data for the majority of the Sumerian modal verbal morphemes, but they are in no way the only place one finds modal expressions in the entire body of Sumerian texts and proved to be lacking for certain MPs and modality types. Therefore, examples were admitted to the secondary corpus on a case-by-case basis. This was necessary to provide adequate coverage of every modal morpheme and thereby faithfully describe the full functional span of the system. For a detailed list of the compositions and manuscripts admitted into this dissertation's corpora, see APPENDIX A.

1.6 LAYOUT OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation is organized in the following manner. CHAPTER ONE is this introduction. In CHAPTER TWO, the linguistic concepts of mood and modality are discussed abstractly as a primer for a Sumerological audience that is likely not entrenched in the linguistic discussions surrounding them. After this overview, the ways in which Sumerian codes modality on the verb are discussed. CHAPTERS THREE through FIVE are each dedicated to one of the three types of modality deemed most relevant to Sumerian verbal morphology (THREE = epistemic, FOUR = deontic, FIVE = evidential). At the beginning of these chapters, a linguistic

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(Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1957).

overview of the relevant category is provided. This overview is followed by a section covering the most relevant prior Sumerological treatments. Next, the phonological base form of the relevant morphemes as well as certain grammaticalization matters are discussed. Following these background sections, the relevant subtypes of that chapter's modality are enumerated, exemplified, and discussed. Each of these three chapters concludes with a section delineating the more problematic or debatable instances attested in the corpus. CHAPTER SIX covers modal functions that are encoded morphologically on the Sumerian verb but are either notionally ill-suited for any of the preceding chapters or too semantically ambiguous to confidently assign to any individual category; additionally, nouns that derive from modal predicates are also discussed in this chapter. CHAPTER SEVEN provides a sketch of Sumerian modal verbal morphemes organized by form, not function. This chapter serves as a quick reference for Sumerologists who want a short digestible overview that can be easily referenced for teaching or scholarship. In CHAPTER EIGHT, some concluding remarks and avenues for future research are presented. Appendices, an index, and a standard bibliography follow CHAPTER EIGHT.

1.7 BRIEF SKETCH OF THE SUMERIAN VERB

Throughout this dissertation, frequent reference is made to the morphological slot within the verbal complex to which a given morpheme belongs. To assist the reader, a maximalist sketch of the Sumerian verbal complex as understood by the author is given on the following pages.

<div align="center">TABLES BEGIN ON FOLLOWING PAGE</div>

TABLE 1.8. *A Maximalist Sketch of the Sumerian Verbal Complex (Finite)*

MP (S.1)	Conjunc. (S.2)	CP (S.3)	Adv./ IO Pron.s (S.4)	DI (S.5)	Ag. or Obj. Pron.s (S.6)	Verbal Root (S.7)	{ed} (S.8)	Ag. or Obj. or Subj. Pron.s (S.9)	Subord. / Nom. (S.10)	Suffixes (S.11)	Enclitic Copula (S.12)
{he} {bara} {ga} {na} {naM} {nu} {u} {ši} {nuš}	{inga}	{mu} {ba} {imma} {amma} {i} {a} {im} {al}	SEE TABLE 1.9	DATIVE (SEE TABLE 1.10) {da} {ši} {ni} {*l} {ta}	SEE TABLE 1.11 for (ḫ.) Agent Pron.s; SEE TABLE 1.12 for (m.) Direct Object Pron.s	ROOT ROOT²	{ed}	SEE TABLE 1.13 for (m.) Agent Pron.s; SEE TABLE 1.14 for (ḫ.) Direct Object Pron.s; SEE TABLE 1.15 for (ḫ./m.) Subject Pron.s	{a}	{ra} {še} {ta} {a} {e} {da} {gin} {e} {ø} {ak} {ri} {eše} {ŋišen}	SEE TABLE 1.16

TABLE 1.9. *Indirect Object Pronouns*		
	Singular	**Plural**
1st	…=e?=DI=…	…=me=DI=…
2nd	…=e=DI=…	…=(e)ne=DI=…
3rd [+hum]	…=n=DI=…	…=(e)ne=DI=…
3rd [-hum]	…=n=DI=…	TYPICALLY UNMARKED

TABLE 1.10. *Dative Dimensional Infixes*		
	Singular	**Plural**
1st	…=*A=…	…=me=…
2nd	…=ra=…	…=(e)ne=…†
3rd [+hum]	…=na=…	…=(e)ne=…
3rd [-hum]	[-HUM] INCOMPATIBLE WITH DATIVE	[-HUM] INCOMPATIBLE WITH DATIVE
		†unattested outside of grammatical texts

TABLE 1.11. *Ergative Agent Pronouns of Transitive Verbs (ḫamṭu)*		
	Singular	**Plural**
1st	…=e?=VR=…	…=(e?)=VR=enden
2nd	…=e=VR=…	…=e=VR=enzen
3rd [+hum]	…=n=VR=…	…=n=VR=eš
3rd [-hum]	…=b=VR=…	TYPICALLY UNMARKED

TABLE 1.12. *Absolutive Direct Object Pronouns of Transitive Verbs (marû)*		
	Singular	**Plural**
1st	…=VR=en	…=VR=enden
2nd	…=VR=en	…VR=enzen
3rd [+hum]	…=n=VR=…	…=VR=eš
3rd [-hum]	…=b=VR=…	TYPICALLY UNMARKED

TABLE 1.13. *Ergative Agent Pronouns of Transitive Verbs (marû)*		
	Singular	**Plural**
1st	…=VR=en	…=VR=enden
2nd	…=VR=en	…=VR=enzen
3rd [±hum]	…=VR=e	…=VR=ene

TABLE 1.14. *Absolutive Direct Object Pronouns of Transitive Verbs (ḫamṭu)*			
	Singular	**Plural**	
1st	…=VR=en	…=VR=enden	
2nd	…=VR=en	…VR=enzen	
3rd [±hum]	…=VR=ø	**[+hum]**	…=VR=eš
		[-hum]	TYPICALLY UNMARKED

TABLE 1.15. *Absolute Subject Pronouns of Intransitive Verbs (ḫamṭu/marû)*				
	Singular		**Plural**	
1ˢᵗ	…=VR=en		…=VR=enden	
2ⁿᵈ	…=VR=en		…VR=enzen	
3ʳᵈ [±hum]	…=VR=ø	**[+hum]**	…=VR=eš	
		[-hum]	TYPICALLY UNMARKED	

TABLE 1.16. *Enclitic Copula*		
	Singular	**Plural**
1ˢᵗ	…=me:en	…=me:enden
2ⁿᵈ	…=me:en	…=me:enzen
3ʳᵈ	…=am	…=me:eš

This sketch might give pause to a reader who is an adherent of a different school of Sumerian grammar than the author. Attempting to explain every deviation from other schools would be misguided and risk turning this subsection into a longwinded treatise on Sumerian grammar. Rather than discussing what this dissertation's understanding of Sumerian does not adopt from certain scholars, the scholars who have had the greatest influence on the school of Sumerian grammar implemented here are listed. These scholars are Miguel Civil, Dietz Otto Edzard, Gene Gragg, Fumi Karahashi, Piotr Michalowski, Marie-Louise Thomsen, Christopher Woods, and Mamoru Yoshikawa.[76]

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[76] Naturally, these scholars disagree with each other on various points of grammar. Disagreement is an unavoidable trait of Sumerian grammar studies and multiple interpretations within a school occur (ex., Edzard and Yoshikawa's dispute about the *marû*).

2. MOOD AND MODALITY

2.1 MOOD AND MODALITY AS CATEGORIES

2.1.1 BROAD OVERVIEW

The importance of modality as a grammatical property in linguistics is well established. Although it plays a major role in the language, modality has never been fully investigated and described for Sumerian. Before delving into the way Sumerian encodes modal notions morphologically on the verb, however, the linguistic concepts of mood and modality must be sufficiently defined and discussed.

Defining the linguistic terms "mood" and "modality" is no simple task. They are notionally related concepts, but they have significant differences. "Mood" is the grammatical term that refers to the grammatical means through which a language codes the semantic notions subsumed under the term "modality." Neither term is used monolithically, however, so they must be defined independent of their relation to one another. Semanticist Jan Nuyts identified the three most prominent referents of the term "mood" as:

> (i) the domain of grammatical coding of modal (and related) meanings on the verb (cf. the classical notion of "tense-aspect-mood marking," in which the term is used this way); (ii) the domain of basic sentence types and the illocutionary categories expressed by them (this is, e.g., the way the term is generally used in systemic linguistics cf. Halliday 1994); and (iii) the domain of indicative vs subjunctive or realis vs irrealis coding and its semantics (whereby the former pair, which involves a grammatical category on the verb, is fairly closely related to the first concept of mood mentioned, but the latter pair, though semantically closely related to the former, is much less so).[77]

Due to the term's inherent ambiguities, attempts were made to avoid using "mood" as a designation throughout this thesis. Furthermore, the decision was made to structure this thesis according to modal categories (exs., epistemic, deontic, evidential) and not by mood distinctions

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[77] Jan Nuyts, "Surveying Modality and Mood: An Introduction," in *The Oxford Handbook of Modality and Mood*, eds. Jan Nuyts and Johan van der Auwera. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 1-2.

(exs., realis and irrealis) as the former prioritizes function and the latter form.[78] One could say, however, that Sumerian makes a distinction between realis and irrealis mood. Accordingly, the various modal markers would be the grammatical means of marking the cline of irrealis mood, which is subdivided into various modal notions assigned to individual markers. Conversely, the realis mood would be expressed via the absence of a modal marker. This perspective, however, paints a misleading picture of a binary system that does not do the variegated Sumerian modal system justice. Nonetheless, it was important to include a discussion of the term "mood" in a dissertation of this ilk. Whenever the term does occur, it is used in the third sense outlined by Nuyts above.

Unfortunately, the term of greater interest for this dissertation (i.e., "modality") is also quite difficult (perhaps impossible) to define in a succinct and universally agreed upon fashion. It is necessary, however, to attempt exactly that. Providing such a definition is the most judicious way to contextualize and present this dissertation's findings in an intelligible fashion to a broad audience of Sumerologists, many of whom have understandably never been exposed to the gordian innerworkings of linguistic "modality" or the complex discussions surrounding it.

In its broadest sense, the term "modality" can "refer to any kind of speaker modification of a state of affairs, even including dimensions such as tense and aspect."[79] This usage of the term is more frequently found in philosophical literature, but it occasionally occurs within the linguistics literature as well. According to this definition, "modality" would be synonymous with

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[78] One can conceive of "mood" as a "formal category which relates to 'modality' in the way that 'tense' relates to 'time.'" Johan van der Auwera and Alfonso Zamorano Aguilar, "The History of Mood and Modality," in *The Oxford Handbook of Modality and Mood*, eds. Jan Nuyts and Johan van der Auwera. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 27.

[79] Jan Nuyts, "Analyses of the Modal Meanings," in *The Oxford Handbook of Modality and Mood*, eds. Jan Nuyts and Johan van der Auwera. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 32.

what most scholars refer to as "qualificational categories" (i.e., Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM) categories).[80] This definition is too broad to be useful here.

A more precise definition of modality can be given in the context of the "qualificational categories" introduced above. From this perspective, "modality" can be defined as "one semantic subfield of the wider domain of qualificational categories, which stands next to domains such as time and aspect."[81] This definition accurately situates "modality" within the greater network of grammatical notions, but it says nothing about the function of the semantic domain to which the term refers. Attempts to define "modality" in a fashion that accounts for the functions of the corresponding semantic domain have failed to receive unanimous support and remain contentious.

Before attempting to define that semantic domain, another usage of the term must be briefly introduced. Specifically, "modality" is often used to refer to mediums of expression (ex., sign language and spoken language as different modalities for the expression of language). This usage, however, is not easily confused with the distinctly different one being employed in this thesis.

The term "modality" as employed in this dissertation is used unambiguously to refer to the same semantic domain, but adequately defining that domain and the term's relationship to it is a borderline Sisyphean task.[82] One instructive definition that is often utilized in modern linguistics defines "modality" as "a functional-semantic (notional) category, which expresses the relation of the utterance to reality-unreality as stated by the speaker."[83] This definition is accurate

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[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.
[82] For example, scholars have claimed that "it may be impossible to come up with a succinct categorization of the notional domain of modality." Joan L. Bybee, William Pagliuca, and Revere D. Perkins, *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect and Modality in the Languages of the World.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 176.
[83] Tamara N. Khomutova, "Mood and Modality in Modern English," *Procedia – Social and Behavioral*

and useful, but in order to more precisely capture the sense in which "modality" is used in the present work another definition that is directly informed by this thesis is given below.

To put it broadly, "modality" as it is understood here is defined as a linguistic designation that refers to the grammatical means whereby a speaker expresses his or her intention in producing an utterance to denote nonveridical notions, which themselves can be divided into the semantic domains of Propositional and Event Modality (which themselves can be divided into the domains of epistemic possibility, deontic obligation, dynamic ability, and evidentiality).[84]

These subdomains of modality are discussed in detail below. It seems wise, however, to first comment on the preceding discussion and reframe it in a more constrained and cogent way that builds upon the aforementioned definition of "modality." Doing so will help codify precisely how this dissertation understands modality as a multifaceted grammatical category.

2.1.2 NARROW APPROACH

The preceding discussion of mood and modality as linguistic concepts and terminological designations was purposefully broad in scope. Maintaining such a scope, however, would be problematic and ill-advised. Before narrowing the scope of the definition, it was necessary to lead with this broad description in order to inform the reader about the complexity of these topics and make the wealth of linguistic literature cited in this thesis more accessible to those who desire to read further. At this juncture, however, the discussion must narrow its scope to the size of that adopted in this thesis. To achieve this goal, the debates that are rampant in the linguistics literature are set aside and a neater description of modality that is informed by the functional-

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Sciences 154 (2014): 396.

[84] Going forward, the terms epistemic, deontic, and dynamic will not be pigeonholed to the domains of possibility, obligation, and ability, respectively. It should also be noted here that dynamic modality will not feature heavily in this dissertation, but it merits mention here in this broader linguistic discussion.

typological paradigm, FDG, and the work of one scholar that has had a particularly large influence on this dissertation is presented. Since this dissertation is not endeavoring to resolve these debates, this is unproblematic.

Like other works that have researched modality in ancient Near Eastern languages, this dissertation has been heavily influenced by the publications of linguist F. R. Palmer.[85] According to Palmer, modality in its simplest definition can be described as a grammatical category that, unlike tense and aspect, "does not refer directly to any characteristic of the event but simply to the status of the proposition."[86] By referring to the status of the proposition, modality is concerned with the intention of the speaker in constructing the utterance as delivered. Palmer's definition of "modality" is stated differently than the definition given by this thesis. Its understanding, however, is fundamentally the same and his phraseology is instructive because it introduces the concept of "the status of the proposition" and includes the notion of speaker intention, which is a fundamental component of this thesis's definition. Speaker intention serves as a useful criterion for dividing the umbrella term of "modality" into its constituent parts.

There are two types of speaker intention both of which allow for the bifurcation of modality as a category. Firstly, speaker intention can be classified according to the speaker's "attitude to the truth-value or factual status of the proposition."[87] The type of modality that is characteristic of this type of speaker intention is referred to as Propositional Modality. Secondly, speaker intention can be classified according to what the speaker's attitude is towards a potential future event, to "events that are not actualized, events that have not taken place but are merely

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[85] Such works include: Campbell, *Mood and Modality in Hurrian*.; Civil, "Modal Prefixes," *ASJ* 22 (2000); Cohen, *The Modal System of Old Babylonian*. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005); Nathan Wasserman, *Most Probably: Epistemic Modality in Old Babylonian*, Languages of the Ancient Near East 3. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012).

[86] Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 1.

[87] Ibid., 8.

potential."[88] The type of modality that is characteristic of this type of speaker intention is referred to as Event Modality. Propositional and Event Modality are themselves umbrella terms. Subsumed under Propositional Modality are epistemic and evidential modality, and subsumed under Event Modality are deontic and dynamic modality. The dissection of modality into its constituent parts can be schematized thusly:
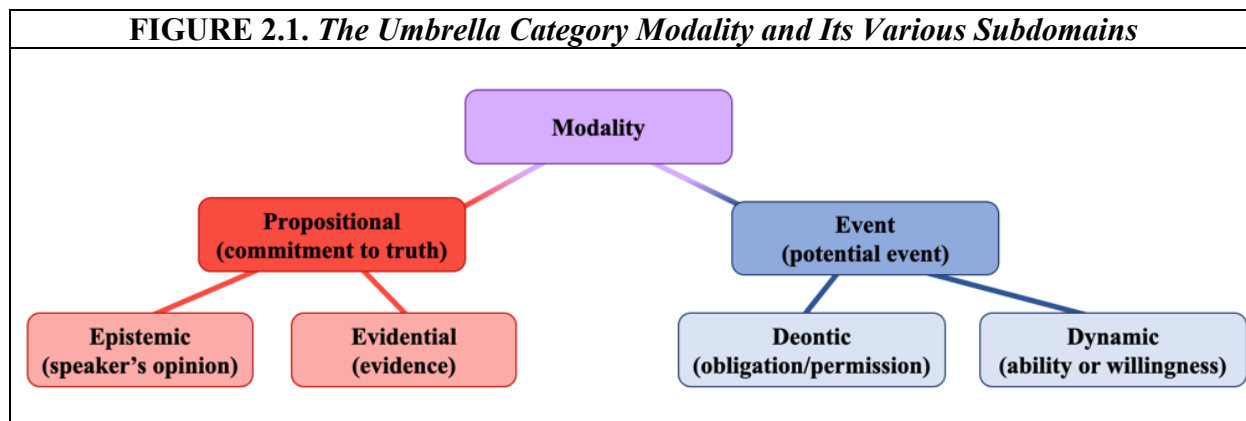
FIGURE 2.1. *The Umbrella Category Modality and Its Various Subdomains*

Epistemic modality expresses a speaker's estimation "of the chance or the likelihood that the state of affairs expressed in the clause applies in the world" (exs., "The flight *may* be delayed." "David *must* be in the library since he is not in his office.").[89] Deontic modality encodes in an utterance the degree of possibility, necessity, permissibility, or obligation given the real world the speaker inhabits and alternative worlds that he or she could imagine developing from said given world (exs., "Group B *may* now board." "Jeannie *must* appear before the court next week.").[90] Dynamic modality describes an agent's ability or need to carry out the state of affairs expressed in the clause (exs., "Michelle *can* read Finnish." "Allyson *must* complete her grading, or she will miss her deadline.").[91] Evidentiality describes the ways in which a speaker communicates the evidence he or she has for the truth of the proposition expressed (exs., "***They***

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[88] Ibid.
[89] Nuyts, "Analyses of the Modal Meanings," 37.
[90] Ibid., 36.
[91] Ibid., 34.

say Ryan has been arrested again." "Ryan *obviously* has not learned from his mistakes.").[92]

These four types of modality are the most agreed upon within linguistics, but only epistemic, deontic, and evidential modality are prominently marked by verbal morphemes in Sumerian.[93] Accordingly, dynamic modality has not received a dedicated chapter. The three categories that have dedicated chapters are discussed in greater depth in the first section of their respective chapters.[94]

2.2 THE EXPRESSION OF MODALITY IN SUMERIAN

Sumerian has a robust system of modal morphemes that can occur on the verb. Modality is primarily coded in the verb via the addition of one (and only one) optional prefix (i.e., an MP) in the first slot of the agglutinative verbal prefix chain. Most modal forms are easily identifiable in Sumerian as they usually have an MP in Slot One that is never graphically (and very likely never phonologically) confusable with either the conjunctive {inga} that can occupy Slot Two or any of the conjugation prefixes (CPs) that can occupy Slot Three of the prefix chain. The only exception is that the MP {bara} (wr. ba-ra-…) can look like the sequence medio-passive CP {ba} + ablative-instrumental dimensional infix (DI) {ta} when the second element is written to express a certain allomorphic specificity (i.e., ba=ta=… can be written ba-ra-…).[95] This almost

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[92] Not all scholars believe that evidentiality should be considered a type of modality. For an argument against viewing evidentiality as a type of modality, see: Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald, *Evidentiality*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 7-8. The reasons behind this dissertation's decision to consider evidentiality a type of modality are discussed in §5.1.

[93] Two other types of modality include: Alethic Modality (concerns the necessary or contingent truth of propositions) and Boulomaic Modality (concerns the degree of the speaker's (dis)like of the state of affairs). Nuyts, "Analyses of the Modal Meanings," 38-40.

[94] Similarly, other linguistic categories that are either closely related to or commonly interact with modality (exs., negation, tense, aspect, illocutionary force modification, etc.) will be introduced and defined when they are relevant to the ways in which Sumerian morphologically codes modality on the verb.

[95] The dative second person singular DI {ra} is omitted here as it almost always follows the CP {mu} and thus does not prototypically generate a ba=ra=… form (wr. ba-ra-…).

never creates confusion as the MP {bara} is often followed by a CP whereas the sequence

ba=ta=… written as ba-ra-… is never followed by an element that can be confused with a CP.[96]

If no CP or DI is present after the MP {bara}, context almost always makes the identification of

the verb as modal or non-modal indisputable. Where modality occurs in the verb outside Slot

One has essentially been unexplored up until now and is introduced as a concept in the following

section.

2.3 THE CODING OF MODALITY IN THE VERB OUTSIDE SLOT ONE

This dissertation marks a significant departure from most prior Sumerological literature

by asserting that Sumerian codes modality in the verbal complex via morphemes other than the

MPs. There is no reason to assume a priori that one grammatical function (ex., coding modality)

should be confined to one morphological position (ex., Slot One). This claim has been

convincingly argued in the linguistics literature:

> […] within a language affixes are not positioned according to membership in these
> supercategories [exs., aspect, tense, mood, person, number, etc.], but rather correlations
> of meaning with form apply to individual affixes. That is, it is not true that languages
> tend to have all of their tense affixes in a single position, all of their aspect affixes in a
> single position, and so on. On the contrary, it is just as common to find, for example, a
> future affix in a different position from the past affix in the same language. The reason
> for this is that in most cases such affixes have developed independently of one another,
> and their positioning is governed by the source constructions from which the affixes
> arose diachronically, which in turn is governed by the general typological features of the
> language at that time.[97]

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[96] The only DI that can follow {ta} is the Locative {ni} (or its allomorph {*I}) which could only be confused
with the neutral CP {i} (wr. i₃-… [NI-sign]). As will be argued elsewhere (see: §3.3.1), this will never create
confusion because the CP {i} is never overtly expressed after a vowel-final MP such as {bara} nor is there any
reason to expect or restore one. The DI {ni}, however, poses one issue. It is possible for the DI {ni} to directly
follow the MP {bara} thus meaning that the sequence ba-ra-ni-… can represent either bara=ni=… or ba=ta=ni=….
Context will usually make clear which of the two options is correct.

[97] Joan L. Bybee, William Pagliuca, and Revere D. Perkins, "Back to the Future," in *Approaches to
Grammaticalization: Volume 2*, eds. Elizabet Cross Traugott and Bernd Heine. TSL 19:2. (Amsterdam: John
Benjamins Publishing Company, 1991), 33.

In accordance with this principle, this dissertation attempts to identify all Sumerian verbal

morphemes with modal functions, not just those that occupy Slot One. Importantly, however, the

research conducted for this thesis was carried out with the MPs as a starting point since they are

the most overt and robust morphological set that codes modality. As a consequence, it is possible

that future research will discover modal coding on the verb outside Slot One that has not been

included here.

One example of a morpheme with modal marking outside of Slot One is the comitative

DI {da}. Although it has long been known that this morpheme has an Abilitative function, Gene

Gragg is one of the few scholars who have remarked on this being a modal function:

> 5.31 "*Abilitative*" Part of this greater freedom of occurrence of the comitative infix arises
> from its ability to add the notion of "to be able to perform the action signified by the
> verb" to the verb phrase, thus functioning like a modal in English. […]
> There can be no doubt however that in the text here being studied the comitative infix in
> its modal function is relatively independent of the comitative infix in its other functions.
> It is noteworthy that the NB grammatical tradition, which certainly relied on older
> traditions, clearly distinguishes the two principle functions of the comitative infix, one
> which it translates by the preposition *itti* "with", and the other of which it translates by
> the verb *le'û* "to be able."[98]

Notably, Gragg only mentions this fact in passing and never identifies the type of modality as

dynamic. For a discussion of the DI {da}'s dynamic modal function, see: §6.1.

Another morpheme that codes modality but has never been fully explored in its modal

capacity is the verbal suffix {ed}. Scholars have spilled much ink debating the function of {ed}

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[98] Gene Gragg, *Sumerian Dimensional Infixes.* AOAT Sonderreihe. (Neukirchen: Butzon und Bercker, 1973),
53-54. Other scholars cite Gragg when discussing this function of the DI {da} but never with any mention of the
function being inherently modal. See: Attinger, *Eléments de linguistique sumérienne*, 251. Jagersma, "A Descriptive
Grammar of Sumerian," 453. Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language*, 226. Some scholars mention the Abilitative
function of {da} but neither cite Gragg nor discuss the dynamic modal nature of the function. See: Franco
D'Agostino, Gabriella Spada, Angela Greco, and Armando Bramanti, *La Lingua dei Sumeri.* Lingue antiche del
Vicino Oriente e del Mediterraneo. (Milan: Hoepli, 2019), 140. Aleksi Sahala, *Johdatus Sumerin Kieleen.* Suomen
Itämaisen Seuran Suomenkielisiä Julkaisuja 44. (Helsinki: Suomen Itämainen Seura, 2017), 197-198. Edzard does
not include any mention of the Abilitative function in his grammar. See: Edzard, *Sumerian Grammar*, 94-109.

and no unanimous consensus has ever been met.[99] To the best of the author's knowledge,

Thomsen, Rubio, and Civil are the only scholars who have commented on {ed}'s association

with modality. For example, in her discussion of {ed}, Thomsen remarks in a footnote that this

morpheme's relationship with future time and notions of obligation has modal implications.[100]

Interestingly, Thomsen notes that {ed} might occur less frequently on finite forms because its

function "is first of all to express […] modal implications in nonfinite forms, whereas the finite

forms will use modal prefixes."[101] The suffix {ed}'s relationship to modality in nonfinite forms

is significant and borne out in the bilingual evidence (discussed below).

Rubio similarly remarks that {ed} "is much more frequent in nonfinite than in finite

verbal constructions, with which it indicates future in diverse modalities."[102] How he is using the

term "modalities" here is not completely transparent; nonetheless, his other comment that {ed}

"refers to an event that has not yet taken place, or that is beginning or about to begin (inchoative

and ingressive aspects), as well as to the obligatoriness or impossibility of a future event" seems

to convey that Rubio understands the morpheme as having some sort of relationship with

modality.[103] Civil has made the clearest case for {ed}'s modal function. Specifically, he has

stated that {ed} (which he understands as {d}) "has the modal meaning of *obligation towards the*

subject/agent, as an objective situation that differs from the obligations expressed by the modal

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[99] Just a few of the various proposal surrounding {ed} will be cited here. Poebel understands {ed} as an active transitive participial marker as well as a marker of the present-future for intransitive verbs. Poebel, *Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik*, 255. Edzard argues {ed} serves to mark *marû* participles and his "Conjugation Pattern One" (i.e., intransitive verbs) as being in the future tense. Edzard, *Sumerian Grammar*, 82 and 132. Jagersma argues that {ed} is predominantly a marker of the imperfective participle with a variety of functions that sometimes occurs with finite forms to mark similar nuances. Jagersma, "A Descriptive Grammar of Sumerian," 369-370 and 659-672.

[100] Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language*, 129-130.

[101] Ibid., 130.

[102] Rubio, "Sumerian Morphology," 1347.

[103] Ibid., 1348.

prefixes, which are result [*sic*] of the speaker's judgement or resolve."[104] In their descriptions of {ed}, these scholars have made some astute observations about the morpheme's relationship to modality, but it seems that only Civil explored the matter thoroughly. His description of {ed} is cogent and well argued, but it is non-exhaustive and incomplete. Accordingly, this controversial morpheme is covered in this dissertation.

Building upon the work of these three scholars, this dissertation argues that {ed} is best understood as a marker of Event modal notions as well as Future-as-Modal notions. The linguistic notion of "Future-as-Modal" derives from the fact that as a temporal domain the future has some conceptual differences from the other tenses. Taking the past tense as a point of comparison, one observes that while "the past subsumes what may already have taken place, and barring science fiction, is immutable, beyond the control of our present actions," the "future […] is necessarily more speculative, in that any prediction we make about the future might be changed by intervening events, including our own conscious intervention."[105] In this sense, the future can be considered a modal notion of sorts. It is possible, however, to have future time reference that is not modal.[106] It will be argued that this potential for future coding elements to also have modal coding functions is relevant to the Sumerian verbal suffix {ed}.

Beyond its Future-as-Modal coding, it will be demonstrated that {ed} can express forms of Event Modality. The bilingual subcorpus utilized in this dissertation provides clear insight into this phenomenon. In this subcorpus, there are many instances where forms with {ed} correlate with infinitives in Akkadian. This correspondence is interesting because the function of these

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[104] (emphasis original to source). Miguel Civil (published posthumously under the supervision of Lluís Feliu), *Esbós de Gramàtica Sumèria/An Outline of Sumerian Grammar*. BMO 14. (Barcelona: Edicions la Universitat de Barcelona, 2020), 151.

[105] Bernard Comrie, *Tense*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 43.

[106] Ibid., 44. For example, "It will rain tomorrow" is a non-modal future sentence as it makes an absolute claim about a future occurrence whose truth is empirically testable and can be unambiguously ascertained at said future time.

infinitives is frequently modal.[107] For example, Akkadian infinitives can be used to express types of Event Modality, (exs., Purposive, Resultative, Indirect Command, Abilitative, etc.) and Future-as-Modal notions when they follow certain prepositions (exs., *ina*, *ana*, *kīma*, etc.). Furthermore, Akkadian infinitives declined in the genitive can also denote modal notions that are usually expressed via their own conjugational paradigms (i.e., Imperative, Precative, Prohibitive, and Vetitive) when they follow a noun in the bound form or the determinative-relative *ša*.[108] There are other uses of the Akkadian infinitive that are non-modal (exs., functioning as the subject of a sentence, standing as the direct object compliment of a verb, etc.) that are correlated with Sumerian {ed}-forms. It appears, however, that this was a secondary extension of the correlation not the motivating factor for the correlation itself.

Finally, it is not going to be argued that these modal functions were the only functions of {ed}. Rather, it seems that in origin {ed} had modal semantics and at some point in the history of Sumerian grammaticalized to have a future tense orienting function (i.e., orienting the event perspective towards the future) even in veridical contexts. Given that the future as a concept is inherently quasi-modal as it refers to unrealized states and events, and given the fact that tense as a category has a close functional relationship with modality (hence why scholars speak of TAM systems), this grammaticalization pathway seems plausible. Furthermore, this type of

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[107] The close relationship between infinitives and mood is typologically justified. As semanticist Paul Portner has remarked: "The study of infinitives is closely connected to the analysis of verbal mood. In many languages, we find infinitives in contexts which are very similar to those in which the subjunctive is used. We see this point in English with the fact that infinitives are typically used in the complement of desiderative and directive verbs […] and can also be used to express meanings similar to root subjunctives." Paul Portner, *Mood*. Oxford Surveys in Semantics and Pragmatics 5. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 114-115.

[108] All these functions of the Akkadian infinitive are well established (although rarely, if ever, discussed as being notionally modal). For the most exhaustive, albeit dated, description of the Akkadian infinitive in these functions, see: Jussi Aro, *Die Akkadischen Infinitivkonstruktionen*. StOr 26. (Helsinki: Societas Orientalis Fennica, 1961), 46-67 and 119ff. Aro's work, however, is structured according to syntax, not semantics, and thus finding an individual function can be difficult. For more succinct discussions of the Akkdian infinitve in these uses, see: John Huehnergard, *A Grammar of Akkadian*. 3rd ed. HSS 45. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 339-341. Wolfram von Soden, *Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik*. 3rd ed. AnOr 33. (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1995), 249-252.

grammaticalization is typologically viable as there are various cross-linguistic examples of future tense markers deriving diachronically from modal markers.[109] Frequently, this process generates a new additional function for a morpheme rather than replacing said morpheme's original function outright. With enough time, however, absolute functional supplantation can occur. This is an exceptionally complex topic that is argued in detail with cross-linguistic evidence in §4.3.4 and §4.7.

Finally, there are two optional and rare markers that occupy Slot Eleven (i.e., the slot for suffixes on nominalized verbs) that code modal notions, namely: {eše} and {ŋišen}. The latter never seems to occur before the Old Babylonian period.[110] The marker {eše} has been correctly identified as a Quotative marker that concludes direct speech, but discussions of it in the secondary literature rarely go into further detail about the implications of that function.[111] Falkenstein, however, did write an article dedicated to this form and proposed viewing it as a marker of potentialis- and irrealis- mood. Although Falkenstein is incorrect in his assessment, he is partially correct in observing a modal nuance in this suffix.[112] Specifically, as a Quotative marker {eše} performs an evidential modal function. For a detailed examination of this marker and its relationship to other markers of evidentiality in the Sumerian verbal complex, see: §5.5. The suffix {ŋišen} is traditionally understood as a marker of irrealis mood. Given the rarity of this morpheme and its later dates of occurrence, it will only be discussed briefly in §6.2.

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[109] Comrie, *Tense*, 45.

[110] Some scholars argue that {eše} also did not occur before the Old Babylonian and only cite one possible occurrence of {eše} in an Ur III letter as an exception (there is likely a better explanation for the form in question). This dissertation, however, argues that {eše} can be found in the Gudea corpus. See: §5.5. H. de Genouillac, *Tablettes de Dréhem*. TCL 2. (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1911), pl. XXXVIII, 5557 F., ln. 3. William W. Hallo, "The Neo-Sumerian Letter Orders," *BiOr* 26 (1969), 171-176.

[111] Edzard, *Sumerian Grammar*, 157-158. Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language*, 279.

[112] Adam Falkenstein, "Das Potentialis- und Irrealissufix -e-še des Sumerischen," *Indogermanische Forschungen* 60 (1952), 113-130.

Although non-exhaustive, the preceding paragraphs demonstrate that the ways modality is coded in the verb outside Slot One are varied and complicated. Frequently, these morphemes code modality either as a secondary function or as a primary function that has grammaticalized secondary non-modal functions.

3. EPISTEMIC

3.0 CHAPTER ABSTRACT

This chapter provides a functional description of the Sumerian verbal morphemes that code epistemic modal notions (i.e., those which relate to a speaker's evaluation of the truth or possibility of the state of affairs expressed in a clause in the world at the time of utterance). Epistemic notions are crucial in communication as they allow speakers to denote their confidence in their statements and provide the most accurate information to their audience with respect to their own personal knowledge.[113]

Before I outline which morphemes take which functions in dedicated sections, I will first provide a general linguistic overview of epistemic modality that is typologically exemplified and provides additional nuanced perspectives on the category that have not been expressed in CHAPTER TWO. This overview serves to prime the reader for a thorough investigation of epistemic modality in Sumerian by outlining what essential communicative functions belong to it as well as what mechanisms different languages have for expressing it. After this overview, I address a selection of pre-existing Sumerological literature on epistemic modality whose views have informed the trajectory of the investigation in the chapter. My intent here is to accurately present the arguments of these authors early in the chapter so as to limit burdensome engagement with them in the body of the chapter, which would in my opinion hinder the argumentative progression of the sections.

After the Sumerological literature has been reviewed, I provide an in-depth formal discussion about the MPs that Sumerian uses to code epistemic notions (i.e., {he}, {bara}, and {u}). Of the three morphemes under consideration here, {he} has required the most discussion.

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[113] Epistemic modals are critical to upholding Grice's Maxim of Quality (i.e., a speaker should convey truthful information to the best of his or her ability). Grice, "Logic and Conversation," 41-58.

While exploring the phonological shape of {he}, I have been forced to grapple with the thorny question of whether the CP {i} underlies vowel-final MPs that are not followed by an explicit CP. I contend that such a CP is not hidden and ought not be expected. Ultimately, the existence of this hidden CP {i} has played a long role in the Sumerological literature surrounding whether the vowel of the positive epistemic MP should be /e/ or /a/ (i.e., {he} or {ha}). Via my arguments against proposing an underlying {i} that would motivate the /a/ of {ha} becoming /e/ thereby generating a surface form [he] – alongside other key supporting evidence – this section argues strongly in favor of interpreting the base form of the MP as {he} and not {ha}.

Following this phonological discussion, I provide a series of sections, each of which is dedicated to a core epistemic modal notion (exs., §3.4 Speculative, §3.4.1 Dubitative, §3.5 Deductive, §3.6 Assumptive, and §3.7 Asseverative). When discussing the various modal notions, each function's section includes typological evidence from languages both similar and dissimilar to Sumerian. These parallels are intended to support the viability of the system argued to exist in Sumerian as well as to contrast it with other well-known systems.

After the core notions that comprise epistemic modality are treated and exemplified for Sumerian, a few more peripherally epistemic verbal phenomena are explored. In §3.8, I explain how the occurrence of epistemic forms in the protases of conditionals is a complicated semantic phenomenon in general, and then I detail how its manifestation in Sumerian affects our interpretation of texts by citing evidence form the *Proverb Collections* as a case study. Afterwards, in §3.9, I outline more generally how clauses with epistemic predicates can occur in a variety of paratactic constructions. Finally, the last substantial section is §3.10, which is dedicated to explaining anterior {u}'s relationship with epistemic {he}. The chapter is concluded

with a section dedicated to one problematic example from the corpus that is representative of a broader phenomenon in §3.11 as well as some concluding remarks in §3.12.

3.1 LINGUISTIC OVERVIEW

Epistemic modality expresses a speaker's estimation "of the chance or the likelihood that the state of affairs expressed in the clause applies in the world" (exs., "The flight *might* be delayed." "David *must* be in the library since he is not in his office.").[114] The Asseverative is also subsumed under epistemic modality as it denotes a strong statement regarding a speaker's estimation in the shape of certainty. It is remarkable, however, in that it has prominent co-occurrent illocution modifying functions. Naturally, it is taken as an epistemic function here, but its uniqueness merited mention at the outset and will be discussed further below.

The subtypes of epistemic modality that are described in this chapter include the Speculative (§3.4), Dubitative (§3.4.1), Deductive (§3.5), Assumptive (§3.6), and Asseverative (§3.7). Before a general typological survey of these categories, the designation of the Asseverative as a type of epistemic modality needs to be addressed further. In the Sumerological literature on modality, the Asseverative (sometimes called the Emphatic or the Affirmative) is arguably the most established function of epistemic {he}, but its relationship with modality is perhaps the most complex.[115] To understand why the Asseverative has a complicated relationship

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[114] Nuyts, "Analyses of the Modal Meanings," 37.

[115] The assignment of this function is attested at least as early as 1922 in Poebel's grammar (there referred to as one of the "Beteurungsformen"). The first English example seems to date to 1924 in C. J. Gadd's Sumerian primer where {he} is called the "Optative-Emphatic." The best of the author's knowledge, this function has been noted most recently in the Italian grammar of Sumerian by D'Agostino, Spada, Greco, and Bramanti; these scholars explicitly present the Asseverative as an epistemic notion: "Il prefisso /ha/ possiede sempre un valore positivo, che può risultare sia *epistemico* (*asseverazione* o possibilità) che deontico (ottatività, obbligatorietà)" (emphasis added). Poebel, *Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik*, 260-261. C. J. Gadd, *A Sumerian Reading-Book.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924), 35-36. D'Agostino, Spada, Greco, and Bramanti, *La Lingua dei Sumeri*, 157. It should be noted here that the negative Asseverative is marked with the MP {bara}. For simplicity's sake, however, the present discussion will only speak of {he} (i.e., the positive Asseverative).

with epistemic modality it will be helpful to provide a cline detailing the full span of epistemic notions. This cline has been adapted from one given in Kasper Boye's chapter in the *Oxford Handbook of Modality and Mood*; it is "arranged along a scale which goes from high epistemic support for a proposition over neutral epistemic support to high epistemic support for the negative counterpart of a proposition:"[116]

TABLE 3.1. *Boye's Cline of Epistemic Modality*
Knowledge — Certainty — Epistemic Necessity — Probability — Likelihood — Uncertainty — — Epistemic Possibility — Doubt — Unlikelihood — Epistemic Impossibility

On this cline, the Asseverative falls somewhere at the leftmost periphery near "Knowledge" and "Certainty."[117] By occurring near this pole, the Asseverative comes close to escaping the class of epistemic modals as speakers frequently convey information about which they have knowledge and are certain with simple indicative declaratives.

The Asseverative, however, is marked differently than the indicative and conveys a sort of speaker certainty that entails a level of doubt (anticipated, perceived, or otherwise) somewhere in the sphere of discourse. The following English (Indo-European, West Germanic) examples underscore this distinction:

[3.1]   Antonio is not lying.
[3.2]   Antonio *really* is not lying!

In [3.1], the speaker is most likely self-assured and has no reason to believe that the audience will doubt the validity of the claim. Conversely, in [3.2] the speaker has felt the need to add a

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[116] Kasper Boye, "The Expression of Epistemic Modality," in *The Oxford Handbook of Modality and Mood*, eds. Jan Nuyts and Johan van der Auwera. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 117.

[117] "Knowledge" in this sense is not the same as a simple indicative declarative. Whereas indicative declaratives do not entail speaker evaluation at the time of utterance (ex., "All men will die someday."), epistemic Knowledge always does (ex., "I know what to do.").

boosting qualifier (i.e., "*really*") and co-occurrent stress and intonation contour adjustments.[118]

These choices by the speaker indicate that he or she believes that the audience will not believe

his or her claim. To this end, the speaker has formed an Asseverative construction in [3.2] to

emphasize his or her extreme commitment to the truth of the utterance. This discourse function

secures the Asseverative's identification as an epistemic notion because it relates to the speaker's

stance on the validity of the state of affairs expressed in the clause.

Having established how the Asseverative is a proper epistemic notion, its relationship

with illocutionary acts and force needs to be addressed as this elucidates much about the notion's

assignment to this modal domain.[119] Illocutionary acts are what a speaker intends to perform via

the issuance of an utterance (exs., asking a question, issuing a command, etc.). Illocutionary

force is a more nebulous notion that can most easily be defined as the speaker's intention in

forming the utterance associated with an illocutionary act. As a marker of strong epistemic

commitment to the truth value of an utterance, {he} in its Asseverative capacity serves as

Sumerian's primary way of boosting the illocutionary force of an illocutionary act and thereby

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[118] A "boosting qualifier" is a linguistic item that increases the illocutionary force of a speech act and thereby further entrenches the speaker's commitment to a proposition; Guangwei Hu and Feng Cao, "Hedging and boosting in abstracts of applied linguistics articles: A comparative study of English- and Chinese-medium journals," *Journal of Pragmatics* 43 (2011), 2796; the notion of speech acts with "illocutionary force" was first proposed by John L. Austin in *How to Do Things with Words*, but for the sake of brevity the following is a convenient summary: "an illocutionary act is an instance of a culturally defined speech act type, characterised by particular illocutionary force [...]. The illocutionary force of an utterance is the speaker's intention in producing that utterance," Adebola Omolara Adebileje, "Analysing the Correlation between Closed Interrogative English Clauses and Speech Acts in Osita Ezenwanebe's *Adaugo*," *IOSR-JHSS* 20 (2015), 80.

[119] For discussions of illocution and its relationship to modality, see: Kees Hengeveld, "Illocution, mood, and modality," in *2 Halbband: Ein internationales Handbuch zur Flexion und Wortbildung*, eds. Geert Booij, Christian Lehmann, Joachim Mudgan, Stavros Skopeteas, and Wolfgang Kesselheim. (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2008), 1192 ff.; Kai von Fintel, "Modality and Language," in *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 2nd ed., eds. Donald M. Borchert. (Detroit: MacMillan Reference, 2006), 7; Irina Nikolaeva, "Analyses of the Semantics of Mood," in *The Oxford Handbook of Modality and Mood*, eds. Jan Nuyts and Johan van der Auwera. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 69-70.

bolstering its strength.[120] In this sense, {he} is a highly productive grammatical tool speakers of Sumerian could use to imbue an utterance with modal nuance and to manipulate a metadiscourse in a way most beneficial to themselves.[121] The usage of Asseverative {he} as a metadiscursive tool of illocution modification is important to understand because it is unique to this robust polyfunctional morpheme (and its negative counterpart {bara}, which has an inverse function).

With all necessary preliminaries taken care of, the remainder of this section will be dedicated to surveying of the various ways in which epistemic modality is coded across a selection of languages. An overview of this sort will be included at the outset of every chapter dedicated to a type of modality and will share a common structure. First, data will come exclusively from well-studied European languages. Although these languages may only provide slight parallels to Sumerian, it is instructive to include them in these discussions. These languages are often the most rigorously studied for modality and likely ones with which the reader will be familiar. Second, languages that are the closest to Sumerian (and often non-European) will be cited. These languages will have morphological means for marking modality on the verb that are near or exact parallels to those in Sumerian. Finally, languages that have little to nothing in common with Sumerian occasionally conclude these overviews as attestations to just how variegated the methods of modal marking can be cross-linguistically.

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[120] This statement does not account for whatever role prosody might have played in illocutionary force modification in Sumerian. It is possible that prosody was a more prominent method of this type of modification than Asseverative {he}. Unfortunately, however, prosodic factors are essentially irrecoverable for Sumerian and cannot be adequately accounted for.

[121] The notion of a metadiscourse requires comment. "Metadiscourse is a widely used term in current discourse analysis, and is a relatively new approach that refers to the ways writers or speakers project themselves in their texts to interact with their receivers. It is a concept which is based on a view of writing or speaking as a social engagement [...]. It is, therefore, believed to play an important role in organizing the discourse, engaging the audience and signaling the writer's or speaker's attitude [...]" Mohammad Amiryousefi and Abbass Eslami Rasekh, "Metadiscourse: Definitions, Issues and Its Implications for English Teachers," *English Language Teaching* 3/4 (2010), 159.

The first typological evidence to be presented here comes from English, which like most

languages of European origin exploits polysemous modal markers in the denotation of epistemic

notions. For example, the modal verbs *may* and *must* can be interpreted either epistemically or

deontically:

[3.3] a.) She *may* be seeing someone else.   [Epistemic]
       b.) He *may* enter now.   [Deontic]

[3.4] a.) I *must* have been drunk.   [Epistemic]
       b.) You *must* go right away.   [Deontic][122]

Whereas in [3.3]a.) *may* expresses a possible conclusion (i.e., the Speculative), in [3.3]b.) the

same verb denotes that a third party is allowed to do something (i.e., the Permissive). In [3.4]a.),

must conveys what the speaker believes to be the only possible conclusion (i.e., the Deductive),

but in [3.4]b.) it marks the obligation that an individual has (i.e., the Obligative). While

Sumerian is unlike English in that it does not use separate polysemous modal verbs as the

primary means of conveying epistemic and deontic modality, it is similar in that its primary

means (i.e., the MPs) are multifunctional. The polysemous nature of modal markers is not unique

to Sumerian and English. Rather, the situation is widely attested across languages. Linguist

Jakob Maché has summarized the phenomenon:

> A lot of typologically unrelated languages use the same items for expressing
> circumstantial modality (dynamic, deontic, volitive) and epistemic modality. Apart from
> Germanic, Romanic and Slavic languages this phenomenon also occurs in Finnish *täytyy*
> ('must') and *voi* ('can'), Greek *prepi* ('must') and *bori* ('may'), Yoruba *gbòdó* ('must'),
> Tamil *ñum* ('must') and *-laam* ('may') and finally, Malay *mesti* ('must') and *boleh* (*jadi*)
> ('may') […][123]

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[122] (emphasis added). Daniël van Olmen and Johan van der Auwera, "Modality and Mood in Standard Average European," in *The Oxford Handbook of Modality and Mood*, eds. Jan Nuyts and Johan van der Auwera. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 365.

[123] Jakob Maché, "Exploring the Theory of Mind Interface," in *Modality and Theory of Mind Elements Across Languages*, eds. Werner Abraham and Elisabeth Leiss. TIL 243. (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2012), 112.

Swedish (Indo-European, North Germanic) provides further evidence for the manner in which epistemic modality can be coded. In Swedish, modal particles act as a core method of expressing epistemic modality. The particle *nog*, for example, can denote that something is a reasonable conclusion (i.e., the Assumptive, as in: [3.5]) as well as the only possible conclusion (i.e., the Deductive, as in: [3.6]):

[3.5]   den   har   nog   bara   blivit   mörare
        the   to have   ASSUM   only   to become   tenderer

It is probably only a bit more tender.[124]

[3.6]   och   han   hade   nog   just   en   sådan   här   koja
        and   he   to have   DED   just   one   such   here   hut

He must have had a hut just like this one.[125]

The Swedish modal particles are like the Sumerian MPs in that they are polyfunctional, but they also might share another trait with the MPs. Namely, it has been proposed that the MPs were once independent linguistic units like the Swedish modal particles, but in Sumerian they eventually grammaticalized into proper morphemes (whereas the Swedish particles are currently still particles).[126]

A final European language to be cited here is Hungarian (Uralic), which commonly conveys epistemic modality via suffixes. In Hungarian, the verbal suffix {hᵃ/ₑt} is one method of

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[124] Karin Aijmer, "Swedish Modal Particles in a Contrastive Perspective," *Language Sciences* 18 (1996), 394.
[125] Ibid., 406.
[126] This dissertation does not attempt to determine the exact historical origin of the MPs (though a plausible origin is given on occasion). Rather, the author is in general agreement with the positions asserted by Yoshikawa in *ASJ* 11. To summarize Yoshikawa's findings: {he} might derive from an independent concessive conjunction (possibly a correlative conjunction), {nu} from an adverb, {ga} from an interjection (though Yoshikawa admits this is especially speculative), {u} from either a conjunction or a noun, {naM} from an adverb, {bara} from an adverb, and {na} from an emphatic adverb. Yoshikawa also proposes origins for prefixes not considered MPs here. His views on these morphemes have not been summarized. Although Yoshikawa's views are at points highly speculative and not necessarily the exact view of the author, they are sufficient in that they convincingly demonstrate that the MPs were very likely independent linguistic units in origin that grammaticalized into the verbal prefix chain. Yoshikawa, "The Origin of Sumerian Verbal Preformatives," 293-304.

expressing epistemic possibility (i.e., the Speculative). As the examples below hint, the vowel of

the morpheme is conditioned by the rules of vowel harmony (i.e., the vowel quality does not

mark a functional difference), and linguists seem non-committal on the exact vowel in the base

morpheme:

[3.7]   Péter   játsz=hat   a   kert=ben
        PN♂   to play=SPEC   the   garden=LOC

        Peter can be playing in the garden.

[3.8]   Anna   le=het   az   iskolá=ban
        PN♀   to be=SPEC   the   school=LOC

        Ann can be at school.[127]

Additionally, the suffix {hᵃ/ₑt} has a deontic function, specifically coding permissibility (i.e., the

Permissive). In their deontic readings, [3.7] would be "Peter is allowed to play in the garden"

and [3.8] would be "Ann is allowed to be at school." One instructive way of understanding the

Speculative nuance of an example in this chapter is by reformulating the translation with the

following paraphrase: "In view of what I know, it is possible that VERB (PHRASE)."[128]

Reliance on such formulaic paraphrases has been avoided in this work but might prove helpful to

some readers. Hungarian is quite similar to Sumerian in that it has dedicated polysemous verbal

morphemes for marking epistemic and deontic notions, but the two differ in that Hungarian uses

suffixes whereas Sumerian predominantly uses prefixes.

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[127] Ferenc Kiefer, "Two kinds of epistemic modality in Hungarian," in *Epistemic Modalities and Evidentiality in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, ed. Zlatka Guentchéva. EALT 59. (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2018), 283.

[128] Should they assist the reader the following paraphrases are provided. Dubitative: "In view of what I know, it is possible that VERB (PHRASE), but I doubt it." Deductive: "In view of what I know, it is the only possible case that VERB (PHRASE)." Assumptive: "In view of what I know, it is reasonable that VERB (PHRASE)." The Asseverative does not have a convenient one-size-fits-all paraphrase.

One language that closely parallels Sumerian in its use of verbal prefixes to code epistemic modality is the indigenous North American language Keresan (Isolate), specifically the Acoma dialect:

[3.9]   čúwačáwanA
        č^{ʔ}u=uẘa=učawan=n̊A
        DUB.3.SBJ=PL=to steal=PL.SBJ

        "Apparently they stole."[129]

In Acoma Keresan, the Dubitative is coded via a set of prefixes that inflect for subject and object (when present). In [3.9], the prefix {č^{ʔ}ú} codes that the subject is in the third person. Although the Sumerian epistemic MPs do not inflect for person and number, they share a formal similarity with the Acoma Keresan epistemic morphemes in that they occupy the first agglutinative slot in a verbal prefix chain. Having cited a language nearly parallel to Sumerian in its mechanism for marking epistemic notions, this broad typological discussion is concluded and an overview of prior Sumerological literature on epistemic modality follows below.

3.2 PRIOR SUMEROLOGICAL TREATMENTS

Secondary literature relating to epistemic modality in Sumerian is sparse as the notion was only introduced to the field in the early 2000s; prior to that, most discussions centered around a nebulous "Affirmative" function.[130] The main treatments that do exist are in comprehensive works dedicated to Sumerian grammar and have already been examined in §1.3. Accordingly, the only topic with enough dedicated literature to survey here is the peripherally

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[129] Joel Marvyl Maring, "Grammar of Acoma Keresan." (PhD. diss., Indiana University, 1967), 85. "Apparently" was added to the translation to more directly convey that the form expresses the speaker's doubt as to the truth of the statement. See also: Marianne Mithun, *The Languages of Native North America.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 438-440; Wick R. Miller, *Acoma Grammar and Texts.* (Berkely, CA: University of California Press, 1965).

[130] To cite two examples: Attinger, *Eléments de linguistique sumérienne*, 293-294. Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language*, 202-206.

epistemic MP {u}, which has two articles dedicated to it. The first to be discussed is Gene

Gragg's article in *JNES* 32.[131] Afterwards, Miguel Civil's piece in *AuOr* 26 will be examined.[132]

3.2.1 DIFFERING VIEWS ON {U}

The principal discussions concerning {u} center on what exactly its modal nuances are

(or if it has any at all) and what role it plays in clauses (i.e., is it a simple connective, a temporal

indicator, a protasis marker, or something else altogether). It will be argued in this chapter that

{u} should be grouped with the epistemic MPs as it has a quasi-modal function that best aligns

with their semantics. Gragg and Civil have different stances on the matter, but their publications

nonetheless provide valuable insight into the nuances of this morpheme that has led to the

discovery of its quasi-modal nature.

3.2.1.1 GRAGG

In his article on "when"-clauses in Sumerian, Gragg primarily focuses on the way in

which clauses are subordinated "by making a sentence or the verbal part of the sentence into a

noun-phrase, or a constituent of a noun-phrase, whereupon the relation of the subordinate clause

to the main clause is indicated by the same system of relational markers as for noun-phrases

generally."[133] Within this discussion, however, Gragg also outlines his view on {u}, especially as

it relates to other subordinating methods. According to Gragg, the "basic function of ù- is to

designate the first of a succession of events, without a great deal of precision as to the exact way

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[131] Gene Gragg, "A Class of 'When' Clauses in Sumerian," *JNES* 32 (1973), 124-134.
[132] Miguel Civil, "A Sumerian Connective Particle and Its Possible Semitic Counterparts," *AuOr* 26 (2008), 7-15.
[133] Gragg, "A Class of 'When' Clauses in Sumerian," 124.

in which the point of time designated by the ù- clauses relates to the time of the main clause."[134] This statement summarizes what the standard scholarly opinion of {u} was up until the early 2000s when publications began to re-examine the nature of preverbal morphemes in general.

The remainder of Gragg's treatment is purposefully brief, but it provides useful information about certain tendencies of {u}-clauses. For example, Gragg notes that "the relation between the ù-clause and the main clause can be rendered by a simple 'and then'" and that the "ù-clause is also characteristically used in the conjunction of two imperatives in the sense of 'do X and then do Y.'"[135] Regarding tense, Gragg remarks that predicates in {u} are prototypically restricted to the past tense, but he also notes that exceptions occur.[136] The penultimate aspect of {u} addressed by Gragg is its relationship with modality. Although never explicitly stated, Gragg does not seem to interpret {u} as having any modal nuance as he consistently uses quotation marks when using the term "modal" in relation to this morpheme. His discussion in this section of the article centers around how {u} structurally groups with the MPs and as such disallows the occurrence of another Slot One morpheme.[137] Gragg concludes his overview of {u} by outlining various co-occurrence tendencies to argue in favor of viewing the morpheme as unmarked and interpreting {u}-clauses as designating the "most unmarked, most general situation […] of simple logical or temporal precedence."[138] Gragg's comment about the role of {u} in expressing logical precedence here is particularly important and its influence will be apparent later in the chapter (see: §3.10). While Gragg makes several astute observations about {u}'s general

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[134] Ibid., 131.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid., 132.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid., 133.

functions and environments of occurrence, his view about its relationship with modality and the MPs is not maintained here.

3.2.1.2 CIVIL

At the outset of his article, Civil provides a succinct overview of the independent conjunction "u" (wr. u_3) which was almost certainly loaned from Akkadian due to the lack of native connectives in Sumerian. After a brief but thorough synopsis of the conjunctive verbal prefix {inga} ({nga} in Civil) and the coordinating usage of {he}, Civil shifts his focus to the MP {u}. The main points addressed in the bulk of Civil's article concern {u}'s status as a verbal proclitic and its possible origins as either "a reflex of some latent feature of Proto-, or Early, Semitic (or even perhaps Afroasiatic), or, on the contrary, […] the result of some internal morphosyntactic process within the Sumerian language itself, so that any morphological or syntactic similarity with Semitic would be due to chance, or to some infrequent crosslinguistic tendencies."[139]

Before engaging in a functional discussion of {u}, Civil provides a formulaic and transparent outline of the morpheme's phonological manifestations. These are cited verbatim here in the form of a table as they will prime the reader for the dedicated phonological discussion to come later in §3.3.3:[140]

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[139] Civil refers to {u} as a proclitic throughout the article, and he provides a convincing cliticization pathway. Civil, "A Sumerian Connective Particle and Its Possible Semitic Counterparts," 8. Nonetheless, it is considered a prefix in the present work. In general, this dissertation is not preoccupied with whether a given verb-first modal element is a true affix or more akin to a proclitic. Determining if an item is a (pro)clitic is complicated because (pro)clitics "lie on the interfaces between the major modules according to which grammar is organized" and they "represent various stages in the processes of grammaticalization." Andrew Spencer and Ana R. Luís, *Clitics: An Introduction.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 3. Furthermore, since function is given preference to form in this dissertation, the author considers all Sumerian modal grammatical items here as affixes and sets aside the "clitic vs. affix" debate for future discussions elsewhere.

[140] Civil, "A Sumerian Connective Particle and Its Possible Semitic Counterparts," 8-9.

TABLE 3.2. *Civil's Phonotactic Outline of {u}*
ù > V /_ba-, bí-: ù-ba-an-dab$_5$ > a-ba-an-dab$_5$, ù-bí-ús > ì-bí-ús
ù-im-ma > um-ma-: ù-im-ma-ni-in-dé-dé > um-ma-ni-in-dé-dé
ù-VC > (ù)-uC: ù-al-gaz > ul-gaz, ù-V-b-sì-ke > ub-sì-ke, ù-V-n-gen > un-gen

After his phonological sketch, Civil asserts that the function of {u} is to convert "a regular declarative clause into a temporal clause of anteriority subordinated to the following main clause, or rather, we should perhaps say, *combined* with it."[141] In this function, {u} is said to commonly occur either on the predicate of narrative or declarative main clauses or on the verb in a prescriptive text with a general deontic sense.[142] In the first case, Civil states that the predicate can denote something in the past, present, or future and the adjoining clause in the majority of cases takes a verb in the perfective aspect; more broadly, "the ù-clause (C$_1$) describes a situation prior to the main event (C$_2$)."[143]

After establishing the anterior temporal function of {u}, Civil outlines how clauses with {u}-predicates often precede main clauses with deontic functions in prescriptive contexts. In such cases, "[o]ne or more ù-clauses enumerate successive steps in a process," with the predicate of the main clause "in the imperfective (with future function), or in the optative-subjunctive."[144] Civil lists the following prescriptive environments in which {u} commonly occurs: (1) instruction for the manufacture of medicine, (2) at the end of certain rituals, (3) the formulation of procedural rules, (4) the expression of penalties, (5) the introduction of direct speech.[145] It is important to keep in mind, however, that this association with deontic modality does not equate

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[141] (emphasis original to source). Ibid., 9.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Ibid., 11.
[145] Ibid., 11-12.

with a deontic function for {u}; rather, as Civil remarks, "[t]he deontic orientation, if present, comes from the main clause, not from the proclitic ù-."[146]

3.3 THE MORPHEMES AND THEIR SHAPES

The epistemic MPs (i.e., {he}, {bara}, and {u}) will have their formal qualities outlined here before embarking on a discussion of their various functions. This section (and parallel ones in future chapters) will go morpheme by morpheme and establish a base phonological form for each. Then, allomorphic variations will be discussed when they are detectable. Each treatment will take a diachronic approach and cite attestations from the Early Dynastic, Sargonic, Ur III, and Old Babylonian periods, when possible. Finally, matters of grammaticalization are occasionally discussed when relevant to the formal nature of a given morpheme.

3.3.1 {HE}

Establishing the phonological shape of {he} is a complicated matter. The first element to be addressed here is the initial consonant (i.e., /h/). As with all matters of Sumerian phonology, the data provides an imperfect and occluded view via the lens of Akkadian. Accordingly, proposals must be carefully constructed and cognizant of their own limitations. With this in mind, it is argued here that the best one can do for {he} is propose that the initial consonant was a fricative and that it might have shared features with or been the same as the voiceless velar fricative /ḫ/ in Akkadian.[147] Whereas the nature of Akkadian /ḫ/ can be established genealogically, the exact features of the Sumerian fricative cannot be ascertained with any real

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[146] Ibid., 13.
[147] Technically, this phoneme should be written /x/ in accordance with IPA rules. This, however, is not done in the Assyriological literature, and this thesis maintains the tradition of representing it with "ḫ."

precision.[148] Due to these inherent uncertainties, it is represented here as |h| with no

presumptions made as to its precise phonemic specifications.

Before moving on to the nature of the vowel in this MP, there are two more aspects of the

consonant that need to be addressed. Firstly, it is possible that the Sumerian /h/ had some

features in common with /g/. This matter is given a full treatment in §4.9.1, but the basics of the

proposal will be outlined here. The argument behind the potential phonological similarity

between /h/ and /g/ is predicated on the fact that the MPs {he} and {ga} both manifest in the

emesal register of Sumerian as [da], [de], or [du] (written da-…, de₃-…, and du₅-…

respectively).[149] It has been proposed that since they are seemingly identical in *emesal* the

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[148] Some scholars such as Jagersma are confident that this fricative is the same in both Akkadian and Sumerian (i.e., it is the voiceless velar fricative in both languages). Jagersma cites loan words in defense of this proposal. Given the depth of Sumerian cuneiform, however, all these loans indicate is that there was a fricative in a Sumerian lexeme that was equated in Akkadian with /ḫ/. There is no reason to assume that a form loaned into Akkadian is a one-to-one reflection of a Sumerian source word's phonology. As Stephen Lieberman has observed: "This study of the Sumerian influence on the Akkadian lexicon is confined to loanwords, i.e. words *created* in Akkadian when the speakers of that language reproduced a linguistic form of Sumerian by *imitating* it phonetically. *The question of how completely the speaker imitated the phonemes of the language of origin is one which we cannot answer.* Since we have only written records from which to judge the matter, it will be necessary to assume that the words were fully assimilated into the Akkadian phonological system." (emphasis added). Stephen J. Lieberman, *The Sumerian Loanwords in Old Babylonian Akkadian. Volume One: Prolegomena and Evidence.* HSS 22. (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977), 21-22. Jagersma also argues that since scribes used the same signs to express the fricative in both languages the phonemes were identical. This fact, however, is due to graphic economy (i.e., signs are not commonly added to an adopted script when a perfectly acceptable approximation already exists), not phonological parity. Take as an example Hurrian, which adopted cuneiform from either the Akkadians or the Sumerians. The Hurrian language has phonemes absent from both languages. Hurrian represents them by using graphemes that code approximate phonemes in either language rather than creating new ones *ex nihilo* (ex., Hurrian /f/ is written with /p/-signs since both are voiceless and feature the lips in articulation; *faban(i)=ne=ž* is written pa-pa-an-ni-iš = "the mountain (ERG)" [KBo 32.14 col. i ln. 3]). Campbell, *Mood and Modality in Hurrian*, 23. Jagersma, "A Descriptive Grammar of Sumerian," 47. Some scholars argue that there was a second fricative in Sumerian, but this view has been omitted here as it does not add to the discussion of the consonant in {he}, which has been left here as indeterminable beyond being a fricative. For a discussion of this proposed second fricative, see: Jagersma, "A Descriptive Grammar of Sumerian," 48-49.

[149] *Emesal* was a phonologically distinct register of Sumerian that has been described in many different ways. Some scholars contend it was a "women's language," others a literary genre, and others a dialect or something else altogether. What exactly *emesal* should be classified as is of no real importance here. This dissertation is only concerned with how morphemes appear in *emesal*. Nonetheless, the following description is provided for context: "Emesal, ,feine Sprache', ist eine phonologische Sprachvarietät des Normalsumerischen. Da es eine phonologische Sprachvarietät des Normalsumerischen bei gleicher Grammatik ist, beschränkt sich die Verwendung des Emesal auf einzelne Wörter innerhalb eines normalsumerischen Textes. Emesal wurde nur in literarischen Texten mit religiösem Charakter verwendet. Dazu zählen zunächst mythologische und hymnische Texte, in denen Göttinnen in Emesal reden, und die sogenannten ,Städteklagen', deren Funktion im Aufarbeiten historischer, durch göttliche Abkehr verursachte, Stadtzerstörungen lag. In viel größerem Maße findet sich Emesal außerdem in bestimmten

consonants /g/ and /h/ might have shared some features in the standard register (i.e., *emeŋir*).[150]

What exactly those might have been, however, are irrecoverable because of the uncertainty

surrounding both the general phonemic inventory of Sumerian and the exact feature

specifications of /h/.

The final aspect to be addressed concerning the consonant /h/ is its potential

susceptibility to rhotacism. In a few but significant number of instances there is evidence of {he}

written as [ra].[151] Miguel Civil has cited these forms as proof of either an independent MP

**{ra} or a defective spelling of {bara}.[152] These [ra]-forms occur too infrequently to posit an

additional MP and the semantics of the sentences they occur in disallow them from being

defective spellings of {bara}. The semantics align neatly with the functions of {he} so a solution

is best sought in relation to this MP. Before turning to the implications of rhotacism with /h/ in

{he}, examples of this [ra]-spelling are given below:

EXAMPLES ON FOLLOWING PAGE

Kulttexten, mit denen der befürchtete Verlust göttlicher Gunst abgewendet werden soll te. Texte in Emesal wurden seit dem Ende des 3. Jts. v. Chr. bis weit in das 1. Jt. v.Chr. hinein tradiert, wobei sich die in Emesal verfassten Textgattungen im Laufe der Zeit als weniger veränderlich erweisen als die sumerischen Textgattungen. Das Corpus der Emesaltexte beläuft sich im 2. Jt. v. Chr. auf Hunderte von Texten, im 1. Jt. v. Chr. auf Tausende." Anne Löhnert, "Was reden die da? Sumerisch und Emesal zwischen Alltag und Sakralität," *WO* 44 (2014), 210. For a dedicated overview of *emesal* studies in recent years, see: Agnès Garcia-Ventura, "Emesal studies today: a preliminary assessment," in *The First Ninety Years: A Sumerian Celebration in Honor of Miguel Civil*, eds. Lluís Feliu, Fumi Karahashi, and Gonzalo Rubio. SANER 12. (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2016), 145-158.

[150] There is also orthographic evidence behind this proposal, for which see the discussion in §4.9.1.

[151] There are other possible examples of rhotacism elsewhere in Sumerian. For example, in certain words (ex., the lexeme for "red") /r/ and /h/ alternate (i.e., ruš and huš = "red"). Similarly, in some words (ex., the lexeme for "firewood") /l/ and /r/ alternate (i.e., ᵍⁱgibil₂ and ᵍⁱkibir₂ = "firewood"). Additionally, the ablative-instrumental DI {ta} has the allomorph [ra]. For a more detailed discussion on the first two phenomena, see: Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language*, 45-46.

[152] Civil, "Modal Prefixes," 39. It should also be noted that Civil asserts that this potential **{ra} MP occurs in "*UK C: 61*." This is presumably a reference to the disputation poem "Urudu and Kug," but no such form could be found in any published edition. For the main treatment of this composition, see: J.J.A. van Dijk, *La Sagesse Suméro-Accadienne: Recherches sur les Genres Littéraires des Textes Sapientiaux*. (Leiden: Brill, 1953), 58-64.

[3.10] tukum še i$_3$-ŋal$_2$ / ra-na-ab-šum$_2$-mu

tukum	še	i$_3$-ŋal$_2$	/
tukum	še=ø	i=ŋal$_2$=ø	/
if	barley=ABS$_{SBJ}$	CP$_{NEUT}$=to exist$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$	/

ra-na-ab-šum$_2$-mu
he=na=b=šum$_2$=e
MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to give$_M$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

If there is barely, let him give it to him.[153]

[3.11] kug-bi ud 4-kam-ka / ^{lu_2}kiŋ$_2$-gi$_4$-a-ŋu$_{10}$ / ra-an-tum$_2$

kug-bi	ud	4-kam-ka	/
kug=bi=ø	ud	4=ak=am=ak=a	/
silver=DEM=ABS$_{DO}$	day	four=GEN=COP.3SG=GEN=LOC	/

^{lu_2}kiŋ$_2$-gi$_4$-a-ŋu$_{10}$ /
kiŋgia=ŋu=(e) /
messenger=POSS.1SG.HUM=(ERG) /

ra-an-tum$_2$
he=b(!)=tum$_2$=(e)
MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to bring$_{M.SG}$=(PRO$_{3SG.AG}$)

My messenger / will indeed bring (back to you) / this silver (with)in four days![154]

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[153] Interestingly, there is a [ha]-form earlier in this composition that is spelled in the traditional fashion with the HA-sign: tukum nu-ŋal$_2$ / a$_3$-zal$_2$-ta / ha-mu-na-ra-pad$_3$-de$_3$ = "If there is not, / let him fetch (some) for him / from the Azal" (rev. 4′-6′). The significance of such document-internal inconsistencies is unclear.

[154] As with [3.10] above, this text also has a conventionally spelled verb with {he}: 1 giŋ$_4$ kug-babbar-am$_3$ / mu-ŋu$_{10}$-še$_3$ / Ba-sag$_9$-ga / he$_2$-na-ab-šum$_2$-mu = "Let him give / to Basaga / 1 shekel of silver / on my behalf" (obv. 3-6).

[3.12] u₃ *Lú-ša-lim* guₓ(KUG)-ŋal₂-e / ka a-naŋ(?) id₂ ed₂-ka / še-bi 120^{iku} (bur₃)
a-šag₄-kam / ra-ra-si-ge-ša ma-an-dug₄

u₃	*Lú-ša-lim*	guₓ(KUG)-ŋal₂-e	/	ka	a-naŋ(?)
u₃	*Lu-šalim*	guŋal=e	/	ka	anaŋ(?)
and	PN♂	canal inspector=ERG	/	mouth	drink(?)

id₂	ed₂-ka	/	še-bi
id₂	ed₂=ø=(a)k=a	/	še=bi
canal	to go out_M=AP=GEN=LOC	/	barley=POSS.3SG.NHUM

120^{iku}	(bur₃)	a-šag₄-kam
120	(bur₃)	ašag=(a)k=am
one hundred twenty	(~6.48 ha.)	field=GEN=COP.3SG

/	ra-ra-si-ge-ša
/	he=ra=sig=eš=a=ø
/	MP_EPI.ASV=DI_DAT.2SG=to fill_M(?)=PRO3PL.HUM.SBJ=NMZ=ABS_DO

ma-an-dug₄
mu=*A=n=dug₄=ø
CP_TR.ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.1SG=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to say_H.SG=ABS3SG.DO

Also: Lu-šalim, the canal inspector, has told me that he will really fill for you
(your granary with) barley (from) a 120 *bur* field (~777.6 ha.), at the "drink(?)"-
mouth of the outflowing(?) canal.[155]

It is impossible to discern what phonotactic conditions might have caused the presumably
optional rhotacism of the /h/ in {he}. Nonetheless, positing this phonological solution seems to
be the most viable explanation for these verb-first [ra]s.

Having provided an exhaustive discussion of {he}'s consonant, attention will now shift to
the quality of its vowel, which is also a matter of scholarly disagreement. Some scholars view the
vowel as /a/ while others take it to be /e/ (the latter is the position advocated here). Ultimately
this is of little consequence to a functional account, but a stance nonetheless will be taken here.

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[155] As with [3.10] and [3.11] above, this text also has a conventionally spelled verb with {he}: a₂-aŋ₂-ŋa₂-bi šu
ha-mu-na-a[b]-taka₄ = "Let him (i.e., my king) send him (i.e., Lu-šalim) instructions" (rev. 14).

First, the logic behind the argument that the morpheme has an /a/-vowel will be presented. Then

evidence supporting the view that it has an /e/-vowel will be given. Jagersma provides the

clearest articulation of the /a/-vowel position. According to him and other proponents, the base

form of the MP is [ḫa] and it realizes as [ḫē] when followed by the "Vocalic Prefix" {ʔi} (i.e.,

[ḫaʔi] > [ḫē]).[156] This logic is said to hold for the entire corpus of Old Sumerian texts and to only

show deviations diachronically beginning near the end of the Old Akkadian period.[157] By the end

of the Old Akkadian period, this distribution and the rules underlying it are said to have become

unstable. Jagersma argues that following the onset of this instability the /a/-vowel of {ḫa} began

to assimilate to the vowel of a following syllable thereby creating a short-vowel variant (exs.

[ḫamu] > [ḫumu], [ḫame] > [ḫeme], etc.).[158] Following this development, he contends that the

ḪE$_2$-sign became the orthographic norm for representing the MP, regardless of the form's

spoken realization.[159] Finally, he remarks that in Ur III texts [ḫe] and [ḫa] appear to be in free

variation.[160]

The /a/-vowel hypothesis needs to be investigated bit by bit. The first matter that requires

comment is the existence of the so-called "Vocalic Prefixes" that play a critical role in the

argument. This dissertation does not accept the "Vocalic Prefix" hypothesis and instead follows

the traditional view that {u} is an MP and {i} and {a} are CPs.[161] Regardless of what one calls

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[156] As is the case throughout this dissertation, when discussing scholars who use different diacritics, the ones they use will be maintained when outlining their position(s). Jagersma, "A Descriptive Grammar of Sumerian," 558-559.

[157] In his own words, Jagersma claims that "[t]he straightforward distribution between /ḫa/ and /ḫē/ accounts for every form of {ḫa} attested in the Old Sumerian and early Old Akkadian periods." Ibid.

[158] Ibid.

[159] Ibid., 560.

[160] Ibid.

[161] For a dedicated discussion on the CP status of {i} and {a}, see: Woods, *The Grammar of Perspective*. It is impossible to succinctly address here, but Jagersma also views the CPs differently (most radically {mu}), which will have significant ramifications when discussing the evidence below.

them, there is no obvious functional or formal reason to assume that {i} underlies all realizations of {he} as [hě]. Before addressing this claim, however, the nature of {i} must be discussed.

Scholars are divided on {i}'s position in the verbal prefix chain. One camp view it as a CP and the other view it as one of the "Vocalic Prefixes" that occupy a slot before the CPs. This dissertation is written in the tradition of the former. Before explaining what {i} does as a CP, it is important to outline what it would do were it a "Vocalic Prefix." The most recent suggestion for this function of {i} has been proffered by J. Nicholas Postgate who views it as a marker of dynamic mode (i.e., it "directs the listener's attention to the performance of the action of the verb, whereas static forms focus more on the result").[162] Before addressing his functional claims, it must first be shown how Postgate's formal proposal is based on a questionable methodological foundation. Most notably, the argument that {i} occupies the slot before the CPs is predicated on reasoning whereby the premise is in need of as much evidence as (if not more than) the conclusion.

Postgate starts from the supposition that "[i]n analysing the Sumerian verbal prefix chain it is important to distinguish strong from weak syllables," which entails that one can retrieve such information from the exceedingly deep cuneiform script.[163] From this starting point, he maintains that Sumerian is like Akkadian in that the vowel of a second consecutive weak syllable is elided in most scenarios by rule. This belief is predicated on a dubious equation between the phonological systems of these two radically dissimilar languages. These rules are said to explain sequences such as im-da-…, im-ši-…, and im-ta-… as deriving from i=mu=da=…, i=mu=ši=…,

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[162] Postgate does not provide a term for what {i} is, but his description aligns with the label "Vocalic Prefix" offered by Jagersma. J. Nicholas Postgate, "More Points of Grammar in Gudea: Resuscitating the Dynamic Mode," in *Current Research in Early Mesopotamian Studies: Workshop Organized at the 65th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Paris 2019*, eds. Armando Bramanti, Nicholas L. Kraus, and Palmiro Notizia. Dubsar 21. (Münster: Zaphon, 2021), 211.
[163] Ibid. Why the distinction between strong and weak syllables must be important in the verbal prefix chain is not explained in the work.

and i=mu=ta=…, respectively; these transformations only hold if one accepts that second weak syllables in pairs have their vowel elided in this position, and if {mu} is a weak syllable, which is argued to be the case because it elides.[164] One cannot argue that X is a weak syllable because it elides in Y context on the basis that all weak syllables elide in Y context because X does. This position ignores viable alternatives with more straightforward supporting logic, such as the fact that these sequences could easily be interpreted as CP_{VEN}=DI=… (exs., im=da=…, im=ši=…, and im=ta=…) or as an allographic writing of CP_{NEUT}=PRO3SG.NHUM.IO=DI=… (exs., i=b=da=…, i=b=ši=…, and i=b=ta=…).[165]

Additionally, Postgate does not acknowledge the sizable body of evidence outlined by Woods in CM 32 that shows that {i} plays an important role as a member of the CP class that stands in functional opposition with the others as a designator of grammatical voice and scalar transitivity. Although not the principal matter of investigation, the matter merits mention as it has ramifications for how one understands the MPs' interaction with other prefix chain elements. While the preceding discussion exposed a fundamental logical deficiency inherent to the "Vocalic Prefix" hypothesis's viability, it is necessary to briefly outline the function of {i} and examine Postgate's view of it as a marker of dynamic mode.

Before returning to {he} specifically, it will first be explained from a functional perspective why {i} most likely does not underly any vowel-final MP with no overt following CP. The main reason the CP {i} is argued here to not underly the terminal vowel of any MP when no other CP is explicitly expressed lies in the semantic mismatch between the MPs and {i}. In accordance with the understanding of {i} as demonstrated by Woods in CM 32, {i} is best

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[164] Ibid., 218.

[165] It is also possible that the pronoun in the first scenario could be the third singular human indirect object pronoun {n} (ex., i=n=DI=…, etc.). This is not the prototypical case, however, and thus has been relegated to this footnote.

seen as a CP that marks a neutral voice distinction (in contrast to the other CPs) and serves as "a pragmatic option for the neutral reporting of information, for relating a message without particular emphasis on any one part or participant."[166] Woods does not argue one way or another whether {i} belies MPs in certain scenarios. Rather, he explains that there is no consensus on the matter and explains the logic as to why it *could* occur hidden behind the vowels of MPs. Woods most clearly explains this in his discussion of how the negative prefix {nu} could obscure an underlying {i}, which is formally equated with the MPs.[167] It is argued by Woods that {i} could functionally underlie {nu} as "there is an association with a decrease in transitivity, as it will be recalled that *affirmation* and *mode* are two of the parameters that govern scalar transitivity."[168]

What is of interest to the present discussion about MPs is Woods' position on the relationship of "mode" (i.e., mood or modality) with {i}. Woods observes that a shift from realis to irrealis "mode" triggers a shift from high to low transitivity. Since {i} is the prototypical CP of low transitivity, one could theoretically understand how it could be hidden behind MPs if one is only considering its role in transitivity. This, however, is not the only function of {i} and while there is a correlation between modal notions and low-grade transitivity there is a stronger mismatch between the semantics of {i} and the MPs. Specifically, {i}'s backgrounding function as a defocalizing agent and a minimizer of topicality and salience, as well as its pragmatic function for reporting neutral information without emphasizing either part of the action or a participant are fundamentally at odds with modal notions.[169]

As has been explained at numerous points earlier in this work, modality is inextricably linked with participants and events. Within the domain of Propositional Modality, modal notions

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[166] Woods, *The Grammar of Perspective*, 135.
[167] The possibility of {i} furtively co-occurring with {nu} is discussed in an upcoming footnote.
[168] (emphasis original to source). Ibid., 139.
[169] Ibid., 135.

convey a speaker's stance regarding the truth of the proposition (i.e., epistemic modality) or what evidence a speaker has for reported information (i.e., evidential modality). Accordingly, modality is heavily associated with the speaker and the addressee he or she is trying to inform (i.e., the discourse participants). Within the domain of Event Modality, modal notions relate directly either to the obligation or permission one has to perform an action (i.e., deontic modality) or to the ability or willingness one has to act (i.e., dynamic modality). This shows a direct link between modality and events. The inseparability of modal notions from participants and events disallows the MPs from co-occurring with {i} on fundamental semantic grounds.

There are also formal reasons for arguing against assuming that {i} belies the terminal vowel of MPs when no other CP is written. There are the occasional spellings of MPs followed by a plene vowel, but these are not proof positive of an assimilated underlying {i}. Such spellings could be indicators of the vowel having been lengthened to mark emphasis or even phonological glosses on the MP. Stylistic motivations for such orthographic choices also cannot be dismissed in some instances.

Rather than seeking a solution that relies on the ability of Sumerian orthography to consistently and transparently represent that an assumed {i} has assimilated, it is perhaps better to approach the problem by looking for a sufficient body of morphographemic spellings that betray the hidden presence of {i} behind the spellings of vowel-final MPs. Sumerian is written in such a highly morpho-logographic fashion that one could reasonably expect to find at least a few morphographemic spellings of the sort MP-i_3-… (exs., he_2-i_3-…, ba-ra-i_3-…, na-i_3-…, etc.). These spellings, however, seem to be entirely unattested.[170] Returning now exclusively to the MP

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[170] There are a few possible morphographemic spellings of nu=i=… (i.e., nu-i_3-…) in the Ebla corpus and in tablet MS 4287 (an Old Babylonian compendium of legal forms). This dissertation treats {nu} as functionally distinct from the MPs. Accordingly, its potential co-occurrence with {i} is irrelevant to the MPs. Furthermore, the significance of the forms in question are open to debate. There are also examples of the spelling nu-u_3-… in certain

under consideration (i.e., {he}), there are attestations of the HE₂-sign followed directly by an I₃-sign, but in such cases the I₃-sign is always to be read …-ni-… standing for the locative DI. To cite one example:

[3.13] dub₃ he₂-ni-dub₂ a zal-le he₂-ni-tu₅

dub₃	he₂-ni-dub₂	a
dub₃=ø	he=ni=(e?)=dub₂=ø	a
knee=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)=to tremble$_{H.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$	water

zal-e	he₂-ni-tu₅	
zal=e(d)=ø	he=ni=(e?)=tu₅=ø	
to pass$_M$=PURP=AP+ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)=CVVE$_{H.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$	

Indeed, I bent the knee there; indeed, I washed there at the flowing water.

COMPOSITION: *Šulgi A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 55
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Šul.A*_N$_{III7}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: Ni 2770

In this example, reading the I₃-sign as …-ni-… for the locative DI is secure because the event is taking place at a certain location that is known in the discourse but not marked with an adverbial complement in the clause.[171]

Additionally, some Sumerologists have claimed that spellings he₂-im-… argue in favor of {i}'s ability to co-occur with MPs and potentially hide behind their terminal vowels. Such interpretations rely on an independent ventive prefix {m} that is proceeded either by the CP or "Vocalic Prefix" {i} and propose that he₂-im-… should be understood as MP="VOCALIC PREFIX"=VEN=….[172] This is not taken as proof of the sequence MP=i=… for two main reasons.

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environments (particularly the *ditila*s) where the plene vowel might mark an assimilated {i} (i.e., nu=i=…). It could also, however, denote an elongated vowel marking emphasis. The Ebla data, lexical data, and certain plene spellings indicate that {nu}, unlike the MPs, might co-occur with {i}, but there is also logic in asserting that it need not occur in all cases. The Ebla data is too expansive to cite here but MS 4287 is published in: Andrew R. George and Gabriella Spada, *Old Babylonian Texts in the Schøyen Collection: Part 2: School Letters, Model Contracts, and Related Texts.* CUSAS 43. (University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns, 2019), 147-153 and Plates LXIII and LXIV.

[171] Gragg, *Sumerian Dimensional Infixes*, 78.

[172] One such proponent is Åke Sjöberg who interprets the sequence nu-im-me as "nu-i₃-m-e 'he does not say' [in] Lamentation over Sumer and Ur 95-97." Although Sjöberg is discussing the co-occurrence of the veridical negator prefix and {i} here, his logic for the interpretation of the ventive is what is important. Åke Sjöberg, "Sumerian Texts and Fragments in the University of Pennsylvania Museum," in *dubsar anta-men Studien zur Altorientalistik: Festschrift für Willem H.Ph. Römer zur Volllendung seines 70. Lebensjahres mit Beiträgen von*

Firstly, the notion of "Vocalic Prefixes" in general has been set aside as problematic. Secondly, the ventive prefix is seen as the CP {im} that stands in marked opposition to the CP {i} and is not a dissectible sequence of two discrete morphemes (at least not as it manifests as a CP in historical Sumerian). Furthermore, one could easily read the IM-sign as "em" in these cases. This would negate the need to explain a vocalic difference between the two graphemes (i.e., he_2-em-… would represent an allomorph of he=im=…). Such an orthographic explanation holds even if one wishes to maintain that {mu} is a ventive CP whose vowel drops in certain environments.

While one cannot argue conclusively from a lack of morphographemic spellings alone, their nonexistence when paired with the semantic mismatch between {i} and the MPs paints a convincing picture that one ought not assume the presence of {i} behind the final vowel of an MP when no CP is written explicitly.

As was mentioned above, there is evidence of MP spellings with plene vowels that should be taken as evidence for something other than the obscured existence of {i} in the position after an MP. Before arguing what the functions of these seemingly superfluous vowels are, examples from the corpus will be given (note: this plene vowel evidence is not restricted to {he}):[173]

<center>EXAMPLES ON FOLLOWING PAGE</center>

Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen, eds. Thomas E. Balke, Manfried Dietrich, and Oswald Loretz. AOAT 253. (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1998), 361.

[173] Manuscript *ExIn*_N_{III38} of *The Exaltation of Inana* has a form that looks like it could be a "superfluous" vowel in what corresponds to composite line 138 (*ExIn*_N_{III38}, composite line 138 = $eš_2$-dam-kug ma-ra-an-[$ŋal_2$] / $šag_4$-zu ha-A-[...]). Said form, however, is broken and erroneous when compared to the other manuscripts (most manuscripts have na-ma-sed_4-de_3).

[3.14] mu lugal / Ur-ƊAR dumu-ŋu₁₀ / Um-ma-sag₉-ga dumu Ur-ᵈBa-U₂-ka-ke₄ /
ha-a-tuku bi₂-in-dug₄-ga

mu	lugal	/	Ur-ƊAR	dumu-ŋu₁₀	/
mu	lugal=(ak)=ø	/	Ur-ƊAR	dumu=ŋu	/
name	king=(GEN)=VOC	/	PN♂	child=POSS.1SG.HUM	/

Um-ma-sag₉-ga	dumu	Ur-ᵈBa-U₂-ka-ke₄	/
Ummasaga	dumu	Ur-BaU=ak=ak=e	/
PN♀	child	PN♂=GEN=GEN=ERG	/

ha-a-tuku
he=a=(n)=tuku=ø
MP$_{DEO.PERM}$=CP=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to get$_H$=ABS3SG.DO

bi₂-in-dug₄-ga
ba=*I=n=dug₄=ø=a
CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to say$_{H.SG}$=ABS3SG.DO=SUBR

"that he said 'By the name of the king! Concerning Ur-ƊAR, my son, Ummasaga, the daughter of Ur-BaU, may marry him.'"

[3.15] di ba-ra-a-da-ab-be₂-en₆

di	ba-ra-a-da-ab-be₂-en₆
di=ø	bara=e=da=b=e=en
lawsuit=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{EPI.NEG.ASV}$=PRO2SG.IO=DI$_{CMT}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to say$_{M.SG}$=PRO1SG.AG

"(Then) I *really* will not sue you!"

[3.16] Nin$_9$-ab-ba-na dumu Ur-ƝAR / ha-a-tuku bi$_2$-in-dug$_4$-ga

Nin$_9$-ab-ba-na	dumu	Ur-ƝAR	/
Nin-abbana	dumu	Ur-ƝAR=(ak)=ø	/
PN♀	child	PN♂=(GEN)=ABS$_{DO}$	/

ha-a-tuku
he=*A=(e$^?$)=tuku=ø
MP$_{DEO.COHOR}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)=to get$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

bi$_2$-in-dug$_4$-ga
ba=*I=n=dug$_4$=ø=a
CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to say$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=SUBR

"that he said 'Nin-abbana, the daughter of Ur-ƝAR, / let me marry her unto myself!'"

[3.17] ⌜ur⌝-saŋ kur-ra ‹tuš›-a-zu / ⌜ba⌝-ra-a-zu / kur-ra ⌜tuš$^?$⌝-⌜zu⌝ he$_2$-zu-am$_3$

⌜ur⌝-saŋ	kur-ra	‹tuš›-a-zu
ursaŋ=ø	kur=a	‹tuš›=a=zu=ø
hero=VOC	mountain=LOC	‹to dwell$_{H.SG}$›=PP=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS$_{SBJ}$

/	⌜ba⌝-ra-a-zu	/	kur-ra
/	bara=*I=zu=ø	/	kur=a
/	MP$_{EPI.NEG.ASV}$=DI$_{LOC}$=to know$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$	/	mountain=LOC

⌜tuš$^?$⌝-⌜zu⌝
tuš=(a)=zu=ø
to dwell$_{H.SG}$=(PP)=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS$_{SBJ}$

he$_2$-zu-am$_3$
he=zu=ø=a=am
MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=to know$_M$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$=NMZ=COP.3SG

"Oh hero, your dwelling place in the mountain is certainly unknown (currently), (but) let your dwelling place in the mountain be known (henceforth)!"

As the glossing in these examples demonstrates, there always seems to be an explanation for a plene vowel following an MP that is preferable to positing an assimilated {i}.

Even though the "Vocalic Prefix" hypothesis has already been disregarded in this chapter, it is necessary to finish investigating how other arguments in favor of it bear out in the evidence. Returning to Jagersma, the claim that the [ḫa] and [ḫē] are in perfectly predictable distribution in Old Sumerian merits attention. This matter is complicated firstly by the relative scarcity of modal forms in this corpus. Secondly, examining Jagersma's position here is difficult as his argumentation relies on the existence of an unexpressed "Vocalic Prefix" {ʔi} that is formally constrained to never occur before a CV-syllable (in such instances a null form is posited). Even though his position has not been adopted here, the data must be examined using his formal constraints for {ʔi} to show how this explanation for the phonological shape and allomorphic distribution of {he} does not hold as neatly as has been claimed. The first piece of evidence from an Old Sumerian text that seems to problematize Jagersma's formal rules for the distribution of [ḫa] and [ḫē] comes from a record of silver for different purposes published in CUSAS 23 (which in all fairness post-dates Jagersma's writing):[174]

[3.18] […] x-ta he$_2$-še$_3$-si / […] he$_2$-še$_3$-si
      […]   x-ta   he$_2$-še$_3$-si
      […]   x=ta   he=ši=(b)=sig=(e)
      […]   ?=ABL   MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=DI$_{TERM}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to fill$_M$=(PRO$_{3SG.AG}$)

      /   […]   he$_2$-še$_3$-si
      /   […]   he=ši=(b)=sig=(e)
      /   […]   MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=DI$_{TERM}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to fill$_M$=(PRO$_{3SG.AG}$)

      […] from/each(?) *X*, let one fill it / […] let one fill it.[175]

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Account of Silver for Different Purposes (CUSAS 23, 067)*
LINE NUMBER: obv. col. i lns. 6-7
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: Misc.13_Umma$_3$
MUSEUM NUMBER: CUNES 51-04-012

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[174] Vitali Bartash, *Miscellaneous Early Dynastic and Sargonic Texts in the Cornell University Collections. CUSAS 23.* (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2013).

[175] The original editor of this text did not provide a translation of these lines. That is valid given the goal of CUSAS 23, but a viable translation that adheres to the grammatical form (with little consideration for the economic context) has been given here. It must be noted, however, that the interpretation of this {he}-form is largely arbitrary given the breaks. This is unproblematic here as the evidence is being cited for formal, not functional, purposes. It must also be noted that Jagersma might posit unwritten indirect object pronouns before DIs in cases like this. In general, this dissertation disagrees with such a practice. Jagersma, "A Descriptive Grammar of Sumerian," 447.

This example is evidence of the syllable [he] expressing the MP {he} before a CV-syllable. In Jagersma's system, this form should have a zero marked "Vocalic Prefix" by rule. According to the rules of the paradigm concerning texts from the Early Dynastic period, the MP should invariably manifest as [ha] in such scenarios. This is not the case in [3.18].

Evidence challenging the idea that a supposed "Vocalic Prefix" belies all forms of {he} that occur before a CV-syllable is not restricted to this text. Additional evidence undermining the supposed distribution of [ḫa] and [ḫē] is attested on numerous occasions elsewhere:

[3.19] ŊEŠ.PI.[TUG₂] he₂-m[a]-ak
       ŊEŠ.PI.[TUG₂]   he₂-m[a]-ak
       ŋiz[zal]=ø   he=mu=[*A]=ak=ø
       hear[ing]=ABS$_{SBJ}$ MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=CP$_{EMPY}$=[DI$_{DAT.1SG}$]=to do$_M$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

       "Let attention be paid [to me]."

<div align="right">COMPOSITION: Instructions of Šuruppak
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 10
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: obv. i 8
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: IŠ_AbŠ
ARTIFACT IDENTIFIER: AbS-T 323+AbS-T 393</div>

[3.20] ⌜ŋizzal⌝ he₂-⌜ma⌝-⌜ak⌝
       ⌜ ŋizzal ⌝   he₂-⌜ma⌝-⌜ak⌝
       ŋizzal=ø   he=mu=*A=ak=ø
       hearing=ABS$_{SBJ}$ MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=CP$_{EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=to do$_M$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

       "Let attention be paid to me."[176]

<div align="right">COMPOSITION: Instructions of Šuruppak
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 10
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: Fr. 10 i 1′
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: IŠ_Adab
MUSEUM NUMBER: A 649 & A 645</div>

<div align="center">EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE</div>

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[176] Alster transcribes: "ḫé-x-x (=-⌜ma-ak⌝?)." Bendt Alster, Wisdom of Ancient Sumer. (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2005), 57. The author has collated the tablet and accepts Alster's parenthetical suggestion.

[3.21] Barag-he₂-ni-dug₃ / ensiₓ(ŊAR.PA.TE.SI)

Barag-he₂-ni-dug₃	/	ensiₓ(ŊAR.PA.TE.SI)
Barag-henidug	/	ensiₓ
PN♂	/	ruler

Barag-henidug, / the ruler.[177]

[3.22] ŋiri₃-bi / Nin-ki¹(DI)-ke₄ / ki he₂-da-kar-re₂

ŋiri₃-bi	/ Nin-ki¹(DI)-ke₄	/	ki
ŋiri₃=bi=(e)	/ Ninki=(a)k=e	/	ki=ø
foot=POSS.3SG.NHUM=(LOCTR_SOCV)	/ DN♀=GEN=ERG	/	place=ABS_DO

he₂-da-kar-re₂
he=da=(b)=kar=e
MP_DEO.OPT=DI_CMT=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to flee_M.CVR=PRO3SG.AG

May the goddess Ninki remove its feet from the ground!

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[177] This [he]-form occurs in a PN. Since this PN is a sentence, as is common in Sumerian, it can be a valuable source of evidence. Frayne is uncertain on the correct reading of the NI-sign, but it is argued here that it indeed should be read …-ni-…. Accordingly, this name would be Barag-henidug meaning "May good things be there upon the dais!" (alt. "There are indeed good things upon the dais!"). Morphological analysis: barag=ø he=ni=dug₃=ø. Early Dynastic sentence names are exceedingly common and only one will be cited here: ᵐDiŋir-i₃-kuš₂ "The (personal) god is satisfied." Thomas E. Balke, *Das altsumerische Onomastikon. Namengebung und Prosopografie nach den Quellen aus Lagas.* Dubsar 1. (Münster: Zaphon, 2017), 120. Personal names from this period that preserve Slot One morphemes (i.e., MPs or the veridical negator {nu}) are seemingly less common but still attested (citations are non-exhaustive): A-ha-til₃ "The father is truly alive!" (Balke has "(?)" after his translation of the name but such doubt seems unnecessary); E₂-he₂ "This be a temple!" or "Be this a temple?" (the latter seems less likely); ᵐLugal-an-da-nu-huŋ-ŋa₂ "King who does not rest with An" (technically not a sentence name but it does attest to {nu} in a personal name); ᵐLugal-he₂ "He be a king!" Ibid., 69, 134, 236, and 246.

[3.23] En-TE.ME-me-na / ensi$_2$ / Lagaš^{ki}-ke$_4$ / bar-e-ba-ka / Il$_2$-še$_3$ / lu$_2$ he$_2$-še$_3$-gi$_4$-gi$_4$

En-TE.ME-me-na	/	ensi$_2$	/	Lagaš^{ki}-ke$_4$	/
Enmetena	/	ensi$_2$	/	Lagaš=(a)k=e	/
PN♂	/	ruler	/	GN=GEN=ERG	/

bar-e-ba-ka	/	Il$_2$-še$_3$	/	lu$_2$
bar=e=bi=ak=a	/	Il=še	/	lu$_2$=ø
outside=?=DEM=GEN=LOC	/	PN♂=TERM	/	individual=ABS$_{DO}$

he$_2$-še$_3$-gi$_4$-gi$_4$
he=ši=(n)=gi$_4$:gi$_4$=ø
MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=DI$_{TERM}$=(PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$)=to return$_H$^{x2}=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

On account if this, Enmetena, ruler of Lagaš, sent envoys to Il (ruler of Ðiša).

[3.24] bar še-ba-ka / lu$_2$ he$_2$-ši-gi$_4$-gi$_4$-a-ka

bar	še-ba-ka	/	lu$_2$
bar	še=bi=ak=a	/	lu$_2$=ø
back	barley=DEM=GEN=LOC	/	individual=ABS$_{DO}$

he$_2$-ši-gi$_4$-gi$_4$-a-ka
he=ši=(n)=gi$_4$:gi$_4$=ø=a=ak=a
MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=DI$_{TERM}$=(PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$)=to return$_H$^{x2}=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=NMZ=GEN=LOC

Because of that barley, / he (i.e., Enanatum I) sent envoys to him (Ur-Lumma)!

[3.25] munus me-a-ne bala tab / he$_2$-ta-e$_3$

munus	me-a-ne	bala	tab	/
munus	meane	bala	tab	/
woman	?	to turn	to double	/

he$_2$-ta-e$_3$
he=ta=e$_3$=ø
MP=DI$_{ABL}$=to go out$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

UNTRANSLATED[178]

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[178] Citations from this composition have been left untranslated due to various difficulties with the text. Since form, not function, is the topic under consideration, however, this is unproblematic.

[3.26] nita me-a-ne illar tukul / he$_2$-ta-[e$_3$]

nita	me-a-ne	illar	tukul	/
nita	meane	illar	tukul	/
man	?	ball	weapon	/

he$_2$-ta-[e$_3$]

he=ta=[e$_3$=ø]

MP=DI$_{ABL}$=[to go out$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$]

UNTRANSLATED

Given the preceding examples, there is sufficient evidence to question the viability of the "Vocalic Prefix" hypothesis. Grammatical rules are not expected to be adhered to unfalteringly in all instances, but the system does not seem to be perfectly predictable for Old Sumerian texts as has been asserted. Furthermore, it is argued here that the number of deviations from the espoused rules likely indicates that there is something fundamentally unsound about the hypothesis. The claim that texts from the Early Dynastic period always have a [ha]-form of this MP before CV syllables is not borne out in the evidence. This is unproblematic for the proposal advocated in this dissertation, but it shows a deficiency in the idea that some hidden prefix motivates the phonological realization of {he} by rule. In sum, there seems to be neither formal nor functional justification for positing an unexpressed "Vocalic Prefix" in all forms with [he] standing for {he}.

Even when understood as a CP, there seems to be no phonological reason to believe that {i} is hidden behind the vowel of MPs that are not followed by an overt CP. As has already been detailed, the presence of an underlying CP {i} contradicts the semantics of the MPs. Proponents of the "Vocalic Prefix" hypothesis and the CP hypothesis seem to see a more exact relationship between Old Sumerian orthography and the phonemic nature of the language than the author of

this dissertation is comfortable with, which is one of the many reasons both have been set aside here in search of an alternative.

Having problematized the competing proposals for the base form of {he}, it is necessary to find a solution that does not rely on the presence of an unseen morpheme whose occurrence is conditioned by formal constraints. The fact that from the Early Dynastic period onwards {he} realizes as [he] (wr. HE$_2$-sign) when used as an independent disjunctive word is strong evidence of [he] being the base form of the MP. To form disjunctive pairs, Sumerian places independent {he}s after two nouns in sequence, thereby creating a sort of synchysis syntax of the type "NP$_1$ {he} NP$_2$ {he}" meaning "whether it be NP$_1$ or NP$_2$." The following examples all come from Early Dynastic texts (citations from later texts would be superfluous for this line of argumentation):

[3.27] lu$_2$ ĐEŠ.KUŠU$_2$^{ki} he$_2$ / lu$_2$-kur-ra he$_2$ / ^{d}En-lil$_2$-le / he$_2$-ha-lam-me

lu$_2$	ĐEŠ.KUŠU$_2$^{ki}	he$_2$	/	lu$_2$-kur-ra
lu$_2$	Điša=(ak)=ø	he	/	lukura=ø
individual	GN=(GEN)=ABS$_{DO}$	DISJ	/	stranger=ABS$_{DO}$

he$_2$	/	^{d}En-lil$_2$-le	/	he$_2$-ha-lam-me
he	/	Enlil=e	/	he=(n)=halam=e
DISJ	/	DN$_♂$=ERG	/	MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=(PRO$_{3SG.HUM.DO}$)=to destroy$_M$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

Whether he be a leader (lit. individual) of Điša / or some other (ruler)(lit. stranger) / may Enlil / destroy him!

[3.28] ⌜gala⌝ ⌜he₂⌝ / ⌜lu₂⌝-⌜bappir₃⌝ ⌜he₂⌝ / agrig he₂ / ugula he₂ / bar sila₄ gaba-ka-ka /
kug a-ŋa₂-ŋa₂-a

⌜gala⌝	⌜he₂⌝	/	⌜lu₂⌝-⌜bappir₃⌝	⌜he₂⌝	/	agrig	he₂
gala	he	/	lubappir	he	/	agrig	he
singer	DISJ	/	brewer	DISJ	/	steward	DISJ

/	ugula	he₂	/	bar	sila₄-gaba-ka-ka
/	ugula	he	/	bar	silagaba=ak=ak=a
/	foreman	DISJ	/	outside	offering lamb=GEN=GEN=LOC

/	kug	a-ŋa₂-ŋa₂-a
/	kug=ø	a=(b)=ŋa₂:ŋa₂=e
/	silver=ABS$_{DO}$	CP=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to put$_M^{x2}$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

because – whether he be a singer, / or brewer, / or steward, / or foreman, – / one
pays in silver / in place an offering lamb

These examples have been cited previously by Mamoru Yoshikawa to argue for a base form [he]
for {he}.[179] The present author agrees with Yoshikawa, but his proposal has not gained universal
support (as the preceding pages attest).

The only counterargument to independent {he} proving the MP's base form is [he] that is
known to the author is the position originally proposed by Edmond Sollberger (and most recently
explicated by Jagersma) that the independent disjunctive form only realizes with an /e/-vowel
because it is a reduced form of the MP affixed to an independent copula.[180] According to
Sollberger, independent disjunctive [he] is an example of "[l]a [c]opule réduite au [p]refixe," and
the /e/-vowel is the CP of the independent copula that remains after the deletion of said

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[179] Yoshikawa, "The Origin of Sumerian Verbal Preformatives," 293.
[180] Jagersma's modified position is that the form was [hem] in speech but the mimation was not expressed in
writing in the Early Dynastic period. For a full outline of his position, see: Jagersma, "A Descriptive Grammar of
Sumerian," 678-681.

copula.[181] Sollberger rightly questions why the form would manifest as a combination of two prefixes with a deleted copula, and he is forced to grapple with the matter because asserts the base form of the MP is {ha}; to support his position, Sollberger asserts that MPs are required by rule to co-occur with CPs (a position which has been dismissed here).[182] While Sollberger's position does result in an independent disjunctive form realized as [he], his proposal unnecessarily complicates the matter by positing that the form is a combination of two verbal prefixes left behind after copula deletion. With Sollberger's counterproposal dismissed and the hidden CP and/or "Vocalic Prefix" hypotheses problematized, the only natural recourse seems to be interpreting the base form of {he} as [he]. Nonetheless, one final line of evidence will be cited below to conclude this discussion.

The final pieces of evidence concerning the shape of {he} come from the Sumerian texts written at Ebla (ca. 2400-2300 BCE). This corpus is difficult to work with and has minimal explanatory power when used as the sole source. In the broader context of this work, however, evidence from Sumerian texts from Ebla provides interesting insight into the shape of {he} and the nature of the MPs in general (at least as perceived by the Eblaites, speakers of a Semitic language).[183]

For the purposes of this dissertation, the only Ebla data on {he} that will be cited is that which is published in *Il Sistema Verbale Sumerico nei Testi Lessicali di Ebla: Saggio di linguistica tassonomica* (1990) by Franco D'Agostino because such attestations are

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[181] Edmond Sollberger, *Le Système Verbal dans les Inscriptions «Royales» Présargoniques de Lagaš.* (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz, 1952), 224. The CP {e} has thus far been unmentioned in this thesis. It is common in Early Dynastic texts and functionally parallel to {i}. It is unclear if this {e} is actually an allomorph of {i}, but the question is ultimately of no consequence here.
[182] Ibid.
[183] The Ebla corpus also elucidates much about the nature of the veridical negator {nu}, as has been mentioned in an earlier footnote.

representative of the morpheme in the broader Ebla corpus and sufficient as evidence here.[184]

What is of present interest is the consistency with which this morpheme is written with the HI-sign (as opposed to the prototypical HE$_2$-sign) regardless of any following CP or potential surface allomorphy.[185] D'Agostino transcribes this MP in texts from Ebla as hi-… and this practice will be followed in the presentation of the data, but ultimately dismissed in favor of the reading he-…. To begin, evidence from the monolingual lexical texts from the site will be given in the table below:

TABLE 3.3. *{he} in Monolingual Lexical Texts from Ebla (StSemNS 7)*	
Form	**Source**
hi-DU	MEE I, 2540, col. ii, obv. 7′
hi-dab$_5$	MEE I, 1364, col. iii, rev. 9′
hi-dab$_5$	MEE I, 4580, col. ii, obv. 4
hi-la$_2$	MEE III, 44, col. vii, rev. 10
hi-maš	MEE I, 1364, col. iii, obv. 15
hi-ra-ra	MEE I, 4275, col. iii, obv. 3′
hi-til	MEE I, 1364, col. iv, rev. 27′
hi-til	MEE I, 3349, col. i, obv. 12′
hi-til	MEE I, 4915, col. v, rev. 8′
hi-til	MEE III, 53, col. v, rev. 19
hi-tum$_3$	MEE I, 3349, col. iii, obv. 5′
hi-mu-DU	MEE I, 1364, col. v, obv. 14
hi-mu-DU	MEE I, 2146, col. v′, rev. 2′
šu hi-mu-taka$_4$	MEE I, 1440, col. ii, rev. 7′
šu hi-mu-taka$_4$	MEE I, 3349, col. v, obv. 2
šu hi-mu-taka$_4$	MEE III, 44, col. iii, rev. 12
hi-na-šum$_2$	MEE I, 2540, col. iv, obv. 7′
hi-na-šum$_2$	MEE I, 4591, col. v′, rev. 1′
hi-na-šum$_2$	MEE III, 53, col. v, rev. 15

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[184] Franco D'Agostino, *Il Sistema Verbale Sumerico nei Testi Lessicali di Ebla: Saggio di linguistica tassonomica.* StSemNS 7. (Roma: Universita degli Studi "La Sapienza," 1990).

[185] Upon a cursory search of DCCLT/ebla, the HE$_2$-sign at Ebla seems reserved for representing [he] in the DN ^{d}He$_2$-ŋir$_2$ and the word he$_2$-ŋal$_2$ (= "plenty"); importantly, it is unclear if the he$_2$-… in either form is the same as the MP {he}. At least for he$_2$-ŋal$_2$, Miguel Civil has argued that they are not the same, and the usage of this grapheme at Ebla might support his position. The HE$_2$-sign at Ebla is also occasionally used for representing [gan]. The use of the HE$_2$-sign for [gan] occurs as a phonetic complement in some places, as part of the lexeme munus-ama-gan (= "breeding female animal; child-bearing mother"), and occasionally as an alternate spelling for "field" (prototypically written gana$_2$). Albeit non-exhaustive and limited to the lexical texts published on DCCLT/ebla, this data seems to indicate that the HE$_2$-sign was not the graphic convention for representing the MP {he}. Rather the HE$_2$-sign was reserved for highly specific environments. Civil, "Modal Prefixes," 31.

As this table demonstrates, {he} was written with the HI-sign on conjugated verbs listed asyntactically in monolingual lexical lists from Ebla. Entries with the forms hi-mu-DU and šu hi-mu-taka₄, however, show that {he} at Ebla was not realized as [hi] to represent an underlying he=i=… because {i} is a CP and as such cannot co-occur with another CP by rule. Rather, this evidence indicates that the HI-sign was the grapheme of choice for {he} at Ebla and should best be transcribed he-… (i.e., it is not evidence of Ebla texts displaying a shallow orthographic representation of he=i=…).

Next, evidence from the bilingual lexical list corpus from Ebla will be given below in TABLE 3.4. (as per above, D'Agostino's transcriptional convention for the MP is maintained):

TABLE 3.4. *{he} in Bilingual Lexical Texts from Ebla (StSemNS 7)*		
Sumerian Form	**Eblaite Form**	**Source**
hi-muš₃	*ma-ḫa-rí-nu*	MEE IV, 063 + MEE IV, 064 obv. vii 12-13
hi-ra	*bir₅*-LUM	MEE IV, 013 rev. xvii 7-8
hi-tar	*i-si-ma-a-ma*	MEE IV, 080 obv. ii 3-4
hi-tum₃	LACUNA	MEE III, 041 rev. i′ 3′
igi hi-du₈	*mu-ša-gu-um*	MEE IV, 065+ obv. xx 9′-10′
hi-mu-tum₂	*su-lu-wu-um*	MEE IV, 063 + MEE IV, 064 rev. iii 12-13
hi-mu-sar	NO PARALLEL	MEE IV, 115 rev. xiii 17

The data in this table does not a add a new explanatory layer on top of that provided by TABLE 3.3. Nonetheless, it has been cited here simply as supporting evidence.

Having exhausted the lexical evidence from the body of texts under consideration, evidence from connected texts from Ebla will now be given. Although this data affords the best look into Sumerian as it was understood organically in practice at Ebla, the {he}-forms provide no new dimensions of evidence and are simply included here for the sake of completeness:[186]

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[186] None of these texts have been morphologically analyzed, glossed, or translated as doing so would add nothing to the present discussion.

[3.29] šušana$_x$ 6 (giŋ$_4$) kug:babbar / *sá-ù-um* / sukkal maškim / ŋeš-dug-du / hi-DU

[3.30] 1 ma-na kug:babbar / *ip-qí-tum* / ma$_2$:hu *Ga-šur$_x$*^{ki} / AB×AŠ$_2$-AB×AŠ$_2$ hi-DU

[3.31] igi-[igi] / nu-igi-hi-du$_8$ / ʾ*mi-in*ʿ / 2 e$_2$:duru$_5$^{ki}-*sù* / *a-dì-ma* / *al$_6$* / ŋeš-uštil / a-mu-[*sù*]

The attestations of the sequence hi-CP-… demonstrate that these Ebla spellings should not be cited as evidence of {i}'s underlying presence in all verbs that begin with the HE$_2$-sign that are not followed by an overt CP. As has been mentioned, the above Ebla evidence was presented with {he} transcribed as hi-… in keeping with the tradition of the original editor, but this is most likely not best practice. Rather, the HI-sign as {he} in the Ebla corpus should be transcribed he-… (as done by Civil elsewhere) because this better represents the phonology of the base morpheme and does not give a misleading picture about some hidden CP.[187] In sum, the Ebla evidence provides insight into orthographic practices at the site, not native Sumerian phonology.

At this point, no further evidence that [he] should be understood as the base form of {he} will be cited as such evidence would be either redundant or unnecessary. As such, attention will now turn to the shape of the MP {bara}.

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[187] One article in which Civil transcribes the HI-sign as he-… in these contexts is: Miguel Civil, "Bilingualism in Logographically Written Languages: Sumerian in Ebla," in *Il Bilinguismo a Ebla: Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Napoli, 19-22 aprile 1982)*, ed. Luigi Cagni. (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1984), 75-97.

3.3.2 {BARA}

The next MP to be examined here is the negative epistemic {bara}. Unlike {he}, {bara} shows remarkable phonological stability and as such there is no scholarly disagreement about its shape. In the texts from the Early Dynastic period, {bara} is invariably written ba-ra-…:

[3.32] da-ri$_2$-da gal-la-še$_3$ / ki-sur-ra / ^{d}Nin-ŋir$_2$-su$_2$-ka-ke$_4$ / ba-ra-mu-bala-e

da-ri$_2$-da	gal-la-še$_3$	/	ki-sur-ra	/
dari=da	gal=a=še	/	kisura=ø	/
eternal=CMT	to be big$_H$=PP=TERM	/	border=ABS$_{DO}$	/

^{d}Nin-ŋir$_2$-su$_2$-ka-ke$_4$ /
Ninŋirsu=(a)k=ak=e   /
DN$_♂$=GEN=GEN=ERG   /

ba-ra-mu-bala-e
bara=mu=(b)=bala=e(n)
MP$_{EPI.NEG.ASV}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to detain$_M$=PRO$_{1SG.AG}$

For all of eternity, / I will never transgress / the territory / of Ninŋirsu!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *RIME 1.9.3.1 (E-anatum : Stele of the Vultures)*
LINE NUMBER: col. xx lns. 16-19
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: E-anatum_1_S
MUSEUM NUMBER: AO 16109

</div>

[3.33] eg$_2$ pa$_5$-bi / ⌜šu⌝ ⌜bala⌝ ⌜ba⌝-⌜ra⌝-⌜ak⌝-⌜ke$_4$⌝

eg$_2$	pa$_5$-bi	/	⌜šu⌝ ⌜bala⌝
eg$_2$	par=bi=(e)	/	šu—bala=ø
levee	canal=POSS.3SG.NHUM=(LOCTR$_{SOCV}$)	/	hand—to turn$_{H.CVR}$=AP+ABS$_{DO}$

⌜ba⌝-⌜ra⌝-⌜ak⌝-⌜ke$_4$⌝
bara=(b)=ak=e(n)
MP$_{EPI.NEG.ASV}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to do$_M$=PRO$_{1SG.AG}$

I will never shift / (the course of) its irrigation channels and canals!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *RIME 1.9.3.1 (E-anatum : Stele of the Vultures)*
LINE NUMBER: col. xx ln. 1-col. xxi ln. 2
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: E-anatum_1_S
MUSEUM NUMBER: AO 16109

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EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[3.34] ⌜na⌝-⌜ru₂⌝-⌜a⌝-⌜bi⌝ / ba-ra-bu₁₅(PAD)-re₆

   ⌜na⌝-⌜ru₂⌝-⌜a⌝-⌜bi⌝   / ba-ra-bu₁₅(PAD)-re₆

   narua=bi=ø   / bara=(b)=buřₓ=e(n)

   stele=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS_DO / MP_EPI.NEG.ASV=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)= to tear out_M=PRO1SG.AG

   I will never rip out / its stelae!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *RIME 1.9.3.1 (E-anatum : Stele of the Vultures)*
LINE NUMBER: col. xxi lns. 2-3
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: E-anatum_1_S
MUSEUM NUMBER: AO 16109

</div>

[3.35] mu lugal / Ur-lum-ma-ra / lu₂ ba-ra-ba-du₃

   mu lugal   / Ur-lum-ma-ra   / lu₂

   mu lugal=(ak)= ø   / Ur-lumma=ra   / lu₂=ø

   name king=(GEN)=VOC / PN♂=DAT   / individual=ABS_SBJ

   ba-ra-ba-du₃

   bara=ba=du₃=ø

   MP_EPI.NEG.ASV=CP_PASS=to detain_Ḫ=ABS3SG.SBJ

   "By the name of the king! / Concerning Ur-lumma, / the man has indeed not been detained![188]

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Mesag Letter (LEM 53)*
LINE NUMBER: 3-5
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: Misc.12_Tello₂
MUSEUM NUMBER: L.7001

</div>

This consistency continues from the Sargonic through the Old Babylonian period. Because of this, only two additional examples will be given here (Ur III = [3.36]; Old Babylonian = [3.37]):

<div align="center">

EXAMPLES ON FOLLOWING PAGE

</div>

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[188] Piotr Michalowski, the original editor, translates: "In the name of the king (I declare that) no one is to detain Ur-lumma!" Piotr Michalowski, *Letters from Early Mesopotamia*, ed. Erica Reiner. WAW 3. (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 43. Michalowski's translation does not seem to represent the valence of the verbal form, the NP marking, or the type of modality present (i.e., his translation is deontic, not epistemic).

[3.36] mu lugal / ᵐUr₂-ni₃-dug₃ arad E₂-lu₂-ta u₃-mu-du₈ / ba-ra-ba-g[i₄-gi₄-d]e₃ /
bi₂-in-[dug₄-g]a

mu	lugal	/	ᵐUr₂-ni₃-dug₃	arad	E₂-lu₂-ta
mu	lugal=(ak)=ø	/	Ur-ni-dug	arad=ø	Elu=ta
name	king=(GEN)=VOC	/	PN♂	slave=ABS_DO	PN♂=ABL

u₃-mu-du₈ /
u=mu=(e)=du₈=ø=(a) /
MP_EPI.ANT=CP_TR.ACT=(PRO_2SG.AG)=to ransom_H=ABS_3SG.DO=(SUBR) /

ba-ra-ba-g[i₄-gi₄-d]e₃ /
bara=ba=g[i₄:gi₄=ed]=e(n) /
MP_EPI.NEG.ASV=CP_NTR.MID=to re[turn_M^{x2}=FUT]=PRO_1SG.SBJ /

bi₂-in-[dug₄-g]a
ba=*I=n=[dug₄]=ø=a
CP_MID=DI_LOC=PRO_3SG.HUM.AG=[to say_H.SG]=ABS_3SG.DO=SUBR

That "By the name of the king! / Once you have ransomed Ur-ni-dug-the slave,
from Elu / I will *never* g[o ba]ck to it/that!" / he [swore], / (…)

[3.37] ᵈAš-im₂-babbar₂-e di-ŋu₁₀ ba-ra-bi₂-in-dug₄

ᵈAš-im₂-babbar₂-e	di-ŋu₁₀
Ašimbabbar=e	di=ŋu=ø
DN♂=ERG	verdict=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS_DO

ba-ra-bi₂-in-dug₄
bara=ba=*I=n=dug₄=ø
MP_EPI.NEG.DED=CP_MID=DI_LOC=PRO_3SG.HUM.AG=to say_H.SG=ABS_3SG.DO

"Ašimbabbar must not have pronounced my verdict,"

Although the phonological shape of {bara} is secure, one occasionally encounters
spellings that are either defective or deceptive. In the corpus, there are only three aberrant
spellings of this MP. These forms do not indicate that the morpheme had undergone any sort of
phonotactic changes or had a different underlying phonological shape. Rather, they are evidence
of scribal errors. Nonetheless, they are given here in the interest of full transparency:

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[3.38] diŋir lu₂ gu-la-ta ni₂ ba-ri-ba-da-te

diŋir	lu₂	gu-la-ta	ni₂
diŋir	lu₂	gula=a=ta	ni₂=ø
god	individual	to be big$_H$=PP=ABL	fear=ABS$_{DO}$

ba-ri-ba-da-te
bara=ba=da=(n)=te=ø
MP$_{EPI.NEG.ASV}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{CMT}$=(PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$)=to approach$_{H.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

He never (stands in) fear (before) the greatest deity!

[3.39] ŋa₂-e ᵈNanna-ŋu₁₀ en₃-ŋu₁₀ ba-⌈e⌉-ra-tar / ki-lul-la he₂-eb-gul-gul-e

ŋa₂-e	ᵈNanna-ŋu₁₀	en₃-ŋu₁₀
ŋaʾe	Nanna=ŋu=(e)	en₃=ŋu=ø
me	DN$_♂$=POSS.1SG.HUM=(ERG)	CVNE=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

ba-⌈e⌉-ra-tar	/ ki-lul-la
bara=(n)=tar=ø	/ kilula=a
MP$_{EPI.NEG.DED}$=(PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$)=to cut$_{H.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$	/ renegade territory=LOC

he₂-eb-gul-gul-e
he=n(!)=gul:gul=e(n)
MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to destroy$_H$^{x2}=PRO$_{1SG.DO}$

"My Nanna must not have paid heed to me/must not have decided my case,
(and I assume it to be true since I know that) he has utterly destroyed me in
renegade territory."

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[3.40] ŋiri$_3$ kur-še$_3$ gub-ba-ŋu$_{10}$ ud-še$_3$ ma-ra-⌜gub$^?$⌝-[be$_2$]

ŋiri$_3$ kur-še$_3$ gub-ba-ŋu$_{10}$
ŋiri$_3$ kur=še   gub=a=ŋu=ø
foot   mountain=TERM   to stand$_{H.SG}$=PP=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{SBJ}$

ud-še$_3$ ma-ra-⌜gub$^?$⌝-[be$_2$]
ud=še   bara=gub=[e(n)]
day=TERM   MP$_{EPI.NEG.ASV}$=to stand$_{H.SG}$=[PRO1SG.SBJ]

 "My feet having been set towards the mountain, I will never stand facing the day!"[189]

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 88
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A_*N$_{III20}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: N 1787

</div>

[3.41] [ŋiri$_3$ kur-še$_3$ gub-ba-ŋu$_{10}$] IRI×A-še$_3$ ma-ra-ab-⌜dug$_4$⌝ he$_2$-me-en

[ŋiri$_3$ kur-še$_3$ gub-ba-ŋu$_{10}$]
[ŋiri$_3$ kur=še   gub=a=ŋu=ø]
[foot   mountain=TERM   to stand$_{H.SG}$=PP=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{SBJ}$]

IRI×A-še$_3$ ma-ra-ab-⌜dug$_4$⌝
IRI×A=še   bara=b=dug$_4$=ø
city=TERM   MP$_{EPI.NEG.ASV}$=?=to say$_{H.SG}$=ABS3SG.SBJ

he$_2$-me-en
he=me:en
MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=COP.1SG

"[My path having been set towards the mountain] will never be directed back towards the city! I am thus (i.e., I am committed to this course of action)!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 88
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A_*N$_{III32}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: IM 58509

</div>

[3.42] di ba-ra-a-da-ab-be$_2$-en$_6$

di   ba-ra-a-da-ab-be$_2$-en$_6$
di=ø   bara=e=da=b=e=en
lawsuit=ABS$_{DO}$ MP$_{EPI.NEG.ASV}$=PRO2SG.IO=DI$_{CMT}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to say$_{M.SG}$=PRO1SG.AG

"(Then) I *really* will not sue you!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *NSGU.II.20*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 8
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *dit.20*
MUSEUM NUMBER: L.759

</div>

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[189] Other manuscripts indicate one should normally expect iri "city" in place of ud "day."

Outside the corpus, different sorts of variant spellings are attested. For example, in one Old

Babylonian *eršemma* this MP is written ab-ra- after the word sa$_{(2)}$ ("advice")(i.e., the head noun

of a CV):[190]

> [3.43] ŋuruš lu$_2$ me-e-de$_2$-˹kar˺-ra-na sa ab-ra-mu-ni-dug$_4$
> ŋuruš   lu$_2$
> ŋuruš=(e)   lu$_2$=ø
> young man=(ERG)   individual=ABS$_{SBJ}$
>
> me-e-de$_2$-˹kar˺-ra-na
> mu=(m)e$^?$=da=kar=ø=ani=a=(e)
> CP$_{ACT.EMPY}$=PRO$_{1PL.IO}$=DI$_{CMT}$=to flee$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$=POSS.3SG.HUM=SUBR
>
> sa   ab-ra-mu-ni-dug$_4$
> sa$_2$=ø   bara=mu=ni=(n)=dug$_4$=ø
> advice=ABS$_{DO}$ MP$_{EPI.NEG.ASV}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$)=to say$_{H.SG.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$
>
> "The lad – who has escaped us – has indeed not succeeded(?)!"
>

In much later texts from the Neo-Babylonian period (626-539 BCE), {bara} is sometimes written

bar-ra-…, but this is a matter of orthography not phonology:

EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[190] An *eršemma* is a composition type in the liturgy of the *gala*-priests that means "wail of the šem drum." The translation "wail," however, might be misleading since their content does not always seem to be mournful or despondent. There are four main characteristics of the OB *eršemma*: (1) they are written in *emesal*; (2) they only concern deities (never the king); (3) the structure consists of a single literary unit; (4) their opening lines contain a list of epithets, cities, or buildings. Mark E. Cohen, *Sumerian Hymnology: The Eršemma*. HUCA Supp. 2. (Cincinnati: KTAV Publishing House, 1981), 18.

[3.44] ^{d}En-lil$_2$-le sag$_9$-ga sag$_{10}$-ga bar-ra-mu-un-da-ab-dug$_4$

^{d}En-lil$_2$-le	sag$_9$-ga	sag$_{10}$-ga
Enlil=e	sag$_9$=a	sag$_{10}$=a=ø
DN$_\male$=ERG	to be good$_H$=PP	to be rare$_H$=PP=VOC

bar-ra-mu-un-da-ab-dug$_4$
bara=mu=n=da=n(!)=dug$_4$=ø
MP$_{\text{EPI.NEG.ASV}}$=CP$_{\text{TR.ACT}}$=PRO$_{\text{3SG.HUM.IO}}$=DI$_{\text{CMT}}$=PRO$_{\text{3SG.HUM.AG}}$=to say$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{\text{3SG.DO}}$

"Enlil has not said a word to me at all, oh most exquisite one!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Enlil and Ninlil*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 71h
LINE NUMBER: rev. 23
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Enl&Ninl*_Ba$_1$ (C)
MUSEUM NUMBER: BM 38600

</div>

Although texts from the Neo-Babylonian period are not under consideration in this dissertation, this example was included here because the spelling bar-ra-… for {bara} is identical to a rare spelling of ba=ta=… in the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods (Ur III = [3.45]; Old Babylonian = [3.46] and [3.47]):

[3.45] 1?+4 bar-ra-ab-ed$_2$

1?+4	bar-ra-ab-ed$_2$
1?+4=ø	ba=ta=b=ed$_2$=ø
five(?)=ABS$_{\text{SBJ}}$	CP$_{\text{PASS}}$=DI$_{\text{ABL}}$=?=to go out$_M$=ABS$_{\text{3SG.SBJ}}$

5(?) will be removed.

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Barley and Wool Rations (HSS 4 2)*
LINE NUMBER: obv. iii lns. 16
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: Misc.2_Tello$_1$
MUSEUM NUMBER: HSM 1668

</div>

[3.46] ub-e$_2$-ta bar-ra-ed$_2$-a

ub-e$_2$-ta	bar-ra-ed$_2$-a
ube=ta	ba=ta=ed$_2$=ø=a=a(m$_3$)
neighborhood=ABL	CP$_{\text{NTR.MID}}$=DI$_{\text{ABL}}$=to go out$_M$=ABS$_{\text{3SG.SBJ}}$=NMZ=COP.3SG

It is the case that he will go out from the neighborhood.

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *A Sumerian Laws Exercise Tablet (YOS I 28)*
LINE NUMBER: rev. iv lns. 33
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: Misc.3_WAW$_6$.A.5_Warka$_1$
MUSEUM NUMBER: YBC 2177

</div>

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EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[3.47]   e$_2$ niŋ$_2$-gur$_{11}$-ra bar-ra-ed$_2$-a

e$_2$	niŋ$_2$-gur$_{11}$-ra	bar-ra-ed$_2$-a
e$_2$	niŋgur=a	ba=ta=ed$_2$=ø=a=a(m)
house	property=LOC	CP$_{NTR.MID}$=DI$_{ABL}$=to go out$_M$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$=NMZ=COP.3SG

It is the case that he will go out from the treasury.

This evidence concludes the present discussion of the shape of {bara}, which has never been open to much, if any, scholarly debate.

3.3.3   {U}

Determining the phonological shape of {u} is a rather straightforward matter. Given its derivation from either the Akkadian conjunction *u* (wr. *ù*) or the use of u$_4$(d) as the head of temporal constructions (as will be advocated later in the section), the base phonological shape of the prefix has securely been determined to be [u]. In Early Dynastic texts, {u} seems to realize as [u] regardless of the vowel quality of the following syllable:

EXAMPLES ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[3.48] ^dNin-ŋir₂-su-ke₄ / sa-šuš gal-ni / u₃-ni-šuš / šu-mah ŋiri₃ mah-ni / an-ta he₂-ŋa₂-ŋa₂

^dNin-ŋir₂-su-ke₄	/	sa-šuš-gal-ni	/
Ninŋirsu=ak=e	/	sašušgal=ani=ø	/
DN$_\sigma$=GEN=ERG	/	net=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$	/

u₃-ni-šuš		/	šu	mah
u=ni=(n)=šuš=ø		/	šu	mah
MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to cover$_H$=ABS3SG.DO		/	hand	great

ŋiri₃	mah-ni		/	an-ta
ŋiri₃	mah=ani=ø		/	an=ta
feet	great=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$		/	upper=ABL

he₂-ŋa₂-ŋa₂
he=(b)=ŋa₂:ŋa₂=(e)
MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to put$_M$^{x2}=(PRO3SG.AG)

May Ninŋirsu, after casting his great battle-net upon him, bring down upon him his giant hands and feet!

[3.49] gi ^dEn-ki-ka-ka / lu₂ u₃-de₆

gi	^dEn-ki-ka-ka	/	lu₂
gi	Enki=ak=ak=a	/	lu₂=ø
reed	DN$_\sigma$=GEN=GEN=LOC	/	individual=ABS$_{SBJ}$

u₃-de₆
u=de₆=ø
MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=to bring$_{H.SG}$=ABS3SG.SBJ

When a man was brought to the "reeds of Enki" (for burial), (…)

[3.50] nam-lu$_2$-lu$_7$ iri-na / šu u$_3$-na-zig$_3$ / šag$_4$ iri-na-ka / ha-ni-gaz-ze$_x$(AB$_2$.ŠAG$_4$.GE)

nam-lu$_2$-lu$_7$	iri-na	/
nam=luʾulu	iri=ani=a(k)=(e)	/
ABSTR=humanity	city=POSS.3SG.HUM=GEN=(ERG)	/

šu	u$_3$-na-zig$_3$	/
šu=ø	u=na=(b)=zig$_3$=ø	/
hand=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.AG)=to raise$_H$=ABS3SG.DO	/

šag$_4$	iri-na-ka	/
šag$_4$	iri=ani=ak=a	/
heart	city=POSS.3SG.HUM=GEN=LOC	/

ha-ni-gaz-ze$_x$(AB$_2$.ŠAG$_4$.GE)
he=ni=(b)=gaz=e
MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to kill$_M$=PRO3SG.AG

May the populace of his own city, after rising up against him, kill him there within his (own) city!

COMPOSITION: *RIME 1.9.5.1 (En-metena)*
LINE NUMBER: col. vi lns. 26-29
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: En-metena_1_S
MUSEUM NUMBER: AO 3004

Although this evidence does not attest to the lack of allomorphy in the spoken language, it does support the claim that the base form was [u]. During the time of Gudea of Lagaš (2144-2124 BCE), {u} does not to show any overt allomorphic realizations in writing, which might simply indicate the stability of this morpheme's morphographic tendencies. The Gudea corpus is one of the earliest corpora that provides significant insight into allomorphic variation in Sumerian. Accordingly, one might expect for {u} to occasionally show allomorphic variation in these texts if they had featured prominently in the spoken language of the time and region. It is impossible, however, to support this argument with full confidence as the depth of cuneiform orthography presents an inexact picture of the spoken language. Although non-exhaustive, the following examples are given to show that {u} in the Gudea corpus does not demonstrate any allomorphy in any environment that could theoretically condition it:

[3.51] en-ne₂ ki-bala kur-‹da› saŋ-ki-ni u₃-ma-da-gid₂-da / inim mi-ri₂-a-ni u₃-ma-ra

en-ne₂	ki-bala	kur-‹da›
en=e	kibala	kur=‹da›
lord=ERG	rebel land	mountain=‹CMT›

saŋ-ki-ni
saŋki=ani=ø
forehead=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

u₃-ma-da-gid₂-da   /
u=mu=da=(n)=gid₂=ø=a   /
MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=DI$_{CMT}$=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to be long$_{H.CVR}$=ABS3SG.DO=SUBR   /

inim	mi-ri₂-a-ni
inim	mir=a=ani=ø
word	to be angry$_H$=PP=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

u₃-ma-ra
u=mu=(n)=ra=ø=(a)
MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to beat$_H$=ABS3SG.DO=(SUBR)

(...) / after the lord raged/frowned at the rebel lands, and / after he pounded (in) his furious words, / (...)

[3.52] (...) / a-gin₇ u₃-mi-「ŋar」 「šag₄」 「x」 「x」 「(x)」 gu₂-bi gi₄-a-ni A.HA$^{?!}$ suř-da / (...)

(...) /	a-gin₇	u₃-mi-「ŋar」	「šag₄」
(...) /	a=gin	u=mu=*I=ŋar=ø=(a)	šag₄
(...) /	water=EQU	MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=CP$_{ACT}$=DI$_{LOC}$=to put$_H$=ABS3SG.SBJ=(SUBR)	heart

「x」 「x」 「(x)」	gu₂-bi	gi₄-a-ni
「x」 「x」 「(x)」	gu₂=bi=ø	gi₄=ani
「x」 「x」 「(x)」	bank=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS$_{DO}$	to return$_H$=POSS.3SG.HUM

A.HA$^{?!}$	suř-da	/ (...)
A.HA$^{?!}$	suř=a	/ (...)
?	to be long$_H$=PP	/ (...)

(...) / and having laid on them like water, he returns to its banks, ... – / (…)

[3.53] ambar-bi ^{ku_6}HI+SUHUR ^{ku_6}suhur u$_3$-de$_6$

ambar-bi	^{ku_6}HI+SUHUR	^{ku_6}suhur
ambar=bi=(e)	HI+SUHUR	suhur=ø
marsh=POSS.3SG.NHUM=(ERG)	perch(?)	carp=ABS$_{DO}$

u$_3$-de$_6$
u=(b)=de$_6$=ø=(a)
MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.AG)=to bring$_{H.SG}$=ABS3SG.DO=(SUBR)

After its (i.e., Lagaš's) marsh had brought forth perch(?) (and) carp / (…)

[3.54] lu$_2$ diŋir-ŋu$_{10}$-gin$_7$ / ^{d}Nin-ŋir$_2$-su-ke$_4$ / diŋir-ra-ni / uŋ$_3$-ŋa$_2$ gu$_3$ u$_3$-ma-ni-de$_2$-a / e$_2$ diŋir-ŋa$_2$-ke$_4$ / igi-tum$_3$-la / na-ab-ak-ke$_4$

lu$_2$	diŋir-ŋu$_{10}$-gin$_7$	/	^{d}Nin-ŋir$_2$-su-ke$_4$	/
lu$_2$	diŋir=ŋu=gin	/	Ninŋirsu=(a)k=e	/
individual	god=POSS.1SG.HUM=EQU	/	DN$_♂$=GEN=ERG	/

diŋir-ra-ni	/	uŋ$_3$-ŋa$_2$	gu$_3$
diŋir=ani=(e)	/	uŋ$_3$=a	gu$_3$=ø
god=POSS.1SG.HUM=(ERG)	/	populace=LOC	voice=ABS$_{DO}$

u$_3$-ma-ni-de$_2$-a	/	e$_2$
u=imma=ni=(n)=de$_2$=ø=a	/	e$_2$
MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to pour$_{H.CVR}$=ABS3SG.DO=SUBR	/	house

diŋir-ŋa$_2$-ke$_4$	/	igi-tum$_3$-la	/
diŋir=ŋu=ak=e	/	igitumla	/
god=POSS.1SG.HUM=GEN=LOCTR	/	?	/

na-ab-ak-ke$_4$
na=b=ak=e
MP$_{DEO.NEG.OPT}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to do$_M$=PRO3SG.AG

When (there is) someone (in the future) whom Ninŋirsu, his god – as my god (addressed me) – has (directly) addressed within the crowd, may he, thereafter, not be envious(?) with regard to the house of my (personal) god![191]

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[191] There is a verbatim duplicate of this section in *Gudea Statue P* (col. iv lns. 6-8).

In the century after Gudea's reign during the Ur III dynasty, {u} begins to show some allomorphic variation in writing. It is possible that these sound changes occurred earlier in the spoken language, but the nature of the evidence only allows for the earliest written manifestations to be determined. Before delving into the allomorphic evidence, it will first be shown how {u} might not have necessarily been required by rule to undergo phonetic mutation in every environment that it theoretically could at this time:

[3.55] di u$_3$-bi$_2$-in-eš
di
di=ø
lawsuit=ABS$_{DO}$

u$_3$-bi$_2$-in-eš
u=ba=*I=n=e=eš=(a)
MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3PL.HUM.AG}$=to say$_{H.PL.CVR}$=PRO$_{3PL.HUM.AG}$=(SUBR)

After they have carried out the lawsuit, / (…)

COMPOSITION: TCS.1.203
LINE NUMBER: rev. 2
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: Letter Order_5
MUSEUM NUMBER: SM 1911.05.030

[3.56] im-a ⌈igi⌉ ⌈u$_3$⌉-ba-kar$_2$
im-a   ⌈igi⌉
im=a   igi=ø
clay=LOC   eye=ABS$_{DO}$

⌈u$_3$⌉-ba-kar$_2$
u=ba=(n)=kar$_2$=ø=(a)
MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=CP$_{MID}$=(PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$)=to blow$_{H.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=(SUBR)

After he has examined the tablet, / (…)

COMPOSITION: *Barley Ration (MVN 18 679)*
LINE NUMBER: obv. 3
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: Misc.5_Umma$_1$
MUSEUM NUMBER: MM 1002

Again, it is possible that the lack of allomorphy in these instances is purely a matter of the cuneiform script displaying a deep form, but the possibility of {u}'s allomorphy being optional in this period deserved mention.

The following examples show that by the Ur III period {u} had acquired all its detectable allomorphic variations (even if not necessarily required by rule). Namely, they demonstrate that while [u] is possible in any environment, the allomorph [a] is occasionally conditioned when followed by a syllable with an /a/ (see: [3.57]) and the allomorph [i] when followed by a syllable with an /i/ (see: [3.58]):[192]

[3.57] I-pa$_2$-li$_2$-is-e / 16 še gur ib$_2$-sug$_6$-sug$_6$ / 2 še gur a-šag$_4$ u$_3$-gid$_2$ / maš$_2$ a-šag$_4$-ga a-ba-ra-zig$_3$ /dab$_5$-ba maš$_2$ i$_3$-ib$_2$-ŋa$_2$-ŋ[a$_2$]

I-pa$_2$-li$_2$-is-e	/	16	še	gur
Ipallis=e	/	16	še	gur
PN$_♂$=ERG	/	sixteen	barley	~300 L

ib$_2$-sug$_6$-sug$_6$			/	2	še	gur
i=b=sug$_6$:sug$_6$=(e)			/	2	še	gur
CP$_{NEUT}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to replace$_M$^{x2}=(PRO$_{3SG.AG}$)			/	two	barley	~300 L

a-šag$_4$	u$_3$-gid$_2$		/
ašag=ø	u=(e)=gid$_2$=ø=(a)		/
field=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=(PRO$_{2SG.AG}$)=to drag$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=(SUBR)		/

maš$_2$	a-šag$_4$-ga
maš$_2$=ø	ašag=a
interest=ABS$_{DO}$	field=LOC

a-ba-ra-zig$_3$
u=ba=ta=(n)=zig$_3$=ø=(a)
MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{ABL}$=(PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$)=to raise$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=(SUBR)

/ dab$_5$-ba	maš$_2$	i$_3$-ib$_2$-ŋa$_2$-ŋ[a$_2$]
/ dab$_5$=a=a	maš$_2$=ø	i=b=ŋa$_2$:ŋ[a$_2$=(e)]
/ to seize=PP=LOC	interest=ABS$_{DO}$	CP$_{NEUT}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to p[ut$_M$^{x2}=(PRO$_{3SG.AG}$)]

(... then) / Ippalis / will replace/repay 16 *gur* barley. / If, after you cultivate a field (you only have) 2 *gur* barley, / he will levy an interest rate on the field for you, / he will a[dd] (the) interest to the borrowed barley; / (…)

---

[192] No examples of {u} surfacing as [e] before a syllable with an /e/-vowel are known to the author.

[3.58] lu₂ e₂ a-ba-sumun / u₃-un-du₃ / mu-sar-ra-bi / u₃ ^{ŋeš}šu-kar₂-bi ki-gub-ba-bi /
nu-ub-da-ab-kur₂-re-a

lu₂	e₂	
lu₂=(e)	e₂=ø	
individual=(ERG)	house=ABS$_{SBJ}$	

a-ba-sumun		/
u=ba=sumun=ø=(a)		/
MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=CP$_{NTR.MID}$=to be old$_{H}$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$=(SUBR)		/

u₃-un-du₃	/ mu-sar-ra-bi	
u=n=du₃=ø=(a)	/ musara=bi	
MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to build$_{H}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=(SUBR)	/ inscription=POSS.3SG.NHUM	

/ u₃	^{ŋeš}šu-kar₂-bi	ki-gub-ba-bi	/
/ u₃	šukar=bi	kiguba=bi=ø	/
/ and	implement=POSS.3SG.NHUM	station=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS$_{DO}$	/

nu-ub-da-ab-kur₂-re-a
nu=b=da=b=kur₂=e=a
NEG=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.IO}$=DI$_{CMT}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to change$_{M}$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$=SUBR

(When) the man who / (re-)builds the temple having aged, / and its inscription /
and wooden fixture and its standing place, / does not alter / (…)

At this juncture, the shape of {u} and its allomorphs (and their diachronic appearance in writing)
have been sufficiently described. Before turning to the historical origin of {u}, some evidence
from the Old Babylonian period will be cited below without commentary. This evidence simply
serves to show that {u} did not undergo any further detectable phototactically motivated changes
following the Ur III period:

EXAMPLES ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[3.59] niŋ₂-me-ŋar ŋiri₃-bi u₃-mu-ri-gub
    niŋ₂-me-ŋar   ŋiri₃-bi
    niŋmeŋar=ø   ŋiri₃=bi=(e)
    silence=ABS_SBJ   feet=POSS.3SG.NHUM=(LOCTR)

    u₃-mu-ri-gub
    u=mu=ra=*I=gub=ø=(a)
    MP_EPI.ANT=CP_EMPY=DI_DAT.2SG=DI_LOC=to stand_H.SG=ABS3SG.SBJ=(SUBR)

    After it stood silently before you, / (…)

[3.60] inim kug-zu u₃-bi₂-in-dug₄ ki ŋiri₃-zu he₂-eb-⌜gi₄⌝
    inim   kug-zu
    inim   kug=ø=zu=ø
    word   to be holy_H=AP=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS_DO

    u₃-bi₂-in-dug₄
    u=ba=*I=n=dug₄=ø=(a)
    MP_EPI.ANT=CP_MID=DI_LOC=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to say_H.SG=ABS3SG.DO=(SUBR)

    ki   ŋiri₃-zu
    ki=(e)   ŋiri₃=zu=ø
    place=(ERG)   foot=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS_DO

    he₂-eb-⌜gi₄⌝
    he=b=gi₄=ø
    MP_EPI.ASV=PRO3SG.NHUM.AG=to return_H=ABS3SG.DO

    When/After one speaks your holy words (and) thus can the earth has returned
    under your feet, / (…)

To begin an examination of its historical origin, an anomalous spelling of {u} in an Old Babylonian manuscript of the lament *Edena Usagake ("In the Steppe in the Early Grass")* that might hint at a possible etymology for the MP will be cited:

[3.61] [… mu-lu]-ŋu₁₀ u₄-mi-ib-dug₄-ga-ta [me-l]i-i-a ta am₃-gi-gi

    […]   mu-lu]-ŋu₁₀
    […]   mulu]=ŋu=ø
    […]   man]=POSS.1SG.HUM=VOC

    u₄-mi-ib-dug₄-ga-ta
    u=imma=*I=b=dug₄=ø=a=ta
    MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=CP$_{NTR.MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=?=to say$_{H.SG}$=ABS3SG.SBJ=SUBR+NMZ=ABL

    [me-l]i-i-a   ta   am₃-gi-gi
    [mel]iea   ta   a=b=gi₄:gi=(en)
    [al]as!   WH   CP=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to return$_M$^{x2}=(PRO1SG.AG)

    […] With "My [man]!" having been uttered, [al]as, what else can I say?[193]

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Edena Usagake*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: b+63
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *EdUs*_Si₁ (A)
MUSEUM NUMBER: VAT 611 + (VAS 2 26)

</div>

Traditionally, {u} is understood as originating from the Akkadian conjunction *u* (wr. *ù*) "and" that was loaned into Sumerian very early where it could be used independently or as a verbal prefix.[194] This proposal is perfectly valid, but the spelling in [3.61] might lend credence to an alternative position outlined below. It will not be argued that the Old Babylonian scribe was aware of the etymology, but it is possible he might have accidentally stumbled upon a valid origin hypothesis for {u} while indulging in a bit of scribal play.

    The spelling in [3.61] is remarkable because the MP is written with the U₄-sign, which can be read u₄(d) "day." The word u₄(d) is commonly used in Sumerian for generating temporal constructions via NPs and is an attractive candidate for the historical origin of {u}.[195] In such constructions, u₄(d) serves as the head of an NP that is declined in one of three cases to mark a specific temporal nuance. If the NP is declined in the locative, it constitutes a temporal subordinating clause denoting occurrence at a specified time (i.e., u₄(d) NP=a : "when"):

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[193] This composition is in *emesal*.
[194] Civil, "A Sumerian Connective Particle and Its Possible Semitic Counterparts," 7-15.
[195] Thomas E. Balke, *Das sumerische Dimensionalkasussystem.* AOAT 331. (Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2006), 42-43, 123-126, and 197-201. See also: Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language*, §184, §200, §207, §208, and §489.

[3.62] ud e₂-an-na / mu-du₃-a

    ud   e₂-an-na   /

    ud   E-ana   /

    day   TN   /

    mu-du₃-a

    mu=(n)=du₃=ø=a=a

    CP$_{TR.ACT}$=(PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$)=to build$_{H}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=SUBR+NMZ=LOC

    When he built / the E-ana temple, (…)

If the NP is declined with the sequence genitive+ablative, the resultant phrase denotes an

intervening period between a time mentioned and the time under consideration (i.e., u₄(d)

NP=ak=ta : "since"):

[3.63] ud e₂-gal-e ba-ab-tum₂-ma-ta / igi nu-ni-du₈-a

    ud   e₂-gal-e

    ud   egal=e

    day   palace=ERG

    ba-ab-tum₂-ma-ta

    ba=b=tum₂=ø=a=ak=ta

    CP$_{MID}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.AG}$=to bring$_{M.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=SUBR+NMZ=GEN=ABL

    /   igi   nu-ni-du₈-a

    /   igi   nu=ni=(n)=du₈=ø=a

    /   eye=ABS$_{DO}$ NEG=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$)=to loosen$_{H.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=SUBR

    (He has sworn) / that he has not seen him / since the palace took him away.[196]

Finally, if the NP is declined in the terminative, the construction marks the period of time up to

the reference point under consideration (i.e., u₄(d) NP=še : "until"):

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[196] The pronominal patterning on tum₂ is clearly in accordance with *ḫamṭu* rules, but the root is undoubtedly the *marû* singular form given the following MA-sign.

[3.64] ud ul-še₃ mu-ni i₃-gal-e kur šuš-mu-un-na-ab-ze₂-en

ud	ul-še₃	mu-ni
ud	ul=ø=še	mu=ani=ø
day	to be distant$_H$=AP=TERM	name=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

i₃-gal-e		kur
i=(b)=gal=e		kur=ø
CP$_{NEUT}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to be big$_M$=PRO3SG.AG		land=ABS$_{DO}$

šuš-mu-un-na-ab-ze₂-en

šuš=mu=na=b=enzen

to cover$_H$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.2SG}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=PRO2PL.AG

(So that) his name will be great until distant days, you all overwhelm the land for him!

Of the above u₄(d)-constructions, u₄(d)+locative constructions can on rare occasion take a predicate with the MP {u}.[197] It should also be remarked here that the expression of anteriority could always be done in historical Sumerian by either the MP or the syntactic formula (i.e., one did not replace the other). The viability of such co-occurrences has led some scholars to doubt the possibility that this morpheme originated from the noun u₄(d) "day." Mamoru Yoshikawa, for example, has remarked that it is "difficult to explain the fact u₄(-da) is concurrently used with /ù-/."[198] The unease Yoshikawa and others feel with this co-occurrence tendency, however, is unfounded. As will be explained below, one frequently encounters grammaticalized morphemes co-occurring with their source lexical items so the occurrence of {u}-predicate in u₄(d)-clauses is typologically unproblematic.

The tendency for grammaticalized items to co-occur with their historical source has been well explained by linguist Paul J. Hopper. Within Hopper's paradigm, this phenomenon is most

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[197] Jagersma, "A Descriptive Grammar of Sumerian," 523.
[198] Yoshikawa, "The Origin of Sumerian Verbal Preformatives," 301.

closely associated with the Layering and Divergence Principles of grammaticalization. According to the Layering Principle, "[w]ithin a broad functional domain, new layers are continually emerging[, and a]s this happens, the older layers are not necessarily discarded, but may remain to coexist with and interact with the new layers."[199] Summarized slightly differently, the Layering Principle "refers to the prominent fact that very often more than one technique is available in a language to serve similar or even identical functions."[200] As it relates here to the Sumerian data, the Layering Principle indicates that it is perfectly acceptable for the language to have grammaticalized u_4(d) into the MP {u} while retaining the u_4(d) temporal constructions. Retaining the old syntactic constructions is also functionally logical as they denote more specific temporal nuances than {u}, which in its purely temporal role only denotes general anteriority. Additionally, it is likely that {u}'s grammaticalization into a Slot One morpheme (i.e., into an MP) was partially due to the quasi-modal nuance general anteriority can entail. Naturally, however, its grammaticalization into Slot One also reflects its original syntactic role as a clause header.

One typological example of the Layering Principle will be cited here. The techniques for forming past tense verbs in English are remarkably transparent examples of this phenomenon. In the oldest stage of the language, ablaut was the standard technique, then affixation was introduced, and most recently periphrasis was added as the newest layer:

[3.65]	"We **have** used it."	=	Periphrasis (newest layer)
	"I admir**ed** it."	=	Affixation (older layer)
	"They s**a**ng."	=	Ablaut (oldest layer)[201]

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[199] Paul J. Hopper, "On Some Principles of Grammaticalization," in *Grammaticalization*, 2nd ed., eds. Paul J. Hopper and Elizabeth Close Traugott. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 22. In this definition, Hopper understands a "functional domain" as "some general functional area such as tense/aspect/modality, case, reference, etc., of the kind which frequently becomes grammaticalized." Ibid., 22-23.
[200] Ibid., 23.
[201] Ibid., 24.

All three sentences cited above are currently viable ways of forming the past tense in English and the creation of a new technique did not obviate the viability of an older one. This is parallel to how Sumerian grammaticalized {u} from u$_4$(d) without losing u$_4$(d)-constructions.

According to the Divergence Principle of grammaticalization, "when a lexical form undergoes grammaticalization, for example to an auxiliary, clitic, or affix, the original form may remain as an autonomous lexical element and undergo the same changes as any other lexical items."[202] Regarding Sumerian, this principle explains that just because u$_4$(d) grammaticalized into the MP {u} the language did not lose it as an independent lexical item. The degree to which the grammaticalized form reflects its origin can vary. In French the word *pas* "not; NEGATIVE PARTICLE" is identical with its cognate *pas* "pace, step;" in English, however, the relationship between the indefinite article *a(n)* and its cognate *one* is entirely opaque.[203] For the Sumerian case of u$_4$(d) and {u}, the degree of similarity is obscured by the cuneiform script.

Firstly, u$_4$(d) might have sometimes been realized as [u] (hence the reading u$_4$) due to auslaut loss.[204] If this were sometimes (or always) the case then the lexeme and the MP would have been identical in speech. Although the spoken language is lost to time, the orthography can provide insight into the matter at hand. To begin, the historical origin of the MP {u} might have been lost well before the advent of writing, and as such there would be no reason to expect the orthography of the MP to reflect the semantics of the source lexeme. If one were to assume, however, that the relationship between {u} and u$_4$(d) was known as the script was being created and underwent natural developments, there is still an explanation for the usage of different signs

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[202] Ibid.
[203] Ibid.
[204] Some scholars are confident in the predictability of consonantal auslaut loss in Sumerian. This dissertation, however, takes a cautious approach and transcribes full forms while acknowledging the possibility of certain word-final consonants dropping. This hesitance was motivated by the fact that the same sign is often used for both the long and short form of a lexeme and as such the data is subject to much interpretation.

to represent the two. Put simply, one can understand how a word-first morpheme might want to have a graph assigned to it that is distinct from its source lexeme so that the independent usage of said lexeme when occurring directly before a verb can be disambiguated from the usage of the MP. The logic of employing different graphs for marking functional distinction in the case of u_4(d) and {u} is explored in detail below.

The word for "day" is almost invariably written with the U_4-sign whereas the MP (when it has not been written to denote allomorphic specificity) is prototypically written with the U_3-sign. Some cite this as evidence for the MP deriving from the Semitic connective u (wr. $\grave{u}$). It will be argued here, however, that these spelling tendencies actually reflect general principles of Sumerian orthography. It seems as if the U_3-sign was selected to represent the MP because it was the $U_\#$-sign the script assigned the function of representing grammatical items. Whereas the U-sign and U_2-sign seem reserved for representing numerals/units and certain lexemes, the U_3-sign seems prototypically reserved for representing grammatical notions such as conjunction (when standing for the independent conjunction) and anteriority (when standing for the MP).[205] It is argued here that the Sumerians primarily designated the U_3-sign as a morphograph and reserved other $U_\#$-signs for lexical items. This case is parallel to how Sumerian never uses the AK-sign to represent the genitive morpheme {ak}, presumably because the AK-sign is reserved for the highly productive VR ak "to do; to make; to act, perform." Although none of the above conclusively excludes the theoretical possibly of a Semitic origin for {u}, the evidence does support the viability of a language-internal explanation. As has been asserted as a rule of thumb for grammatical research by linguist Talmy Gívon: "(a) Explain externally, i.e. by contact, only

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[205] As the wording of this sentence indicates, the U_3-sign is not entirely morphographic; most commonly it is used in the spelling of certain onomatopoeic exclamations, a word for a type of planking, and the VR "to be tired" (wr. kuš$_2$-u$_3$). Nonetheless, the U_3-sign's main usage seems to be as a morphograph.

what has no reasonable internal explanation; and (b) Explain by contact only changes that are

counter-intuitive, i.e. go against the more common diachronic drift."[206]

3.4 SPECULATIVE ("MOLLI MIGHT BE ALIVE, BUT I HAVE NOT SEEN HER IN DECADES.")

The Speculative is the epistemic function that allows a speaker to communicate what he

or she believes to be a possible conclusion given the information available. This nuance can be

seen in the following examples from Danish (Indo-European, North Germanic) [3.66] and Italian

(Indo-European, Romance) [3.67], which code the Speculative via modal auxiliary verbs:[207]

[3.66] det   kan   være   sandt
       that   may+3SG+PRES   to be true

       "That may be true."

[3.67] può   essere nell   ufficio
       can/may+3SG+PRES   to be in   the office

       "He may be in the office."

In Danish and Italian, these modal auxiliaries are polysemous in that they can code deontic

notions as well as other epistemic notions. With regards to the epistemic, these auxiliaries can

also denote the Deductive function. The typological tendency for a single form to code epistemic

and deontic notions as well as display the binary epistemic set Speculative-Deductive is upheld

in Sumerian.[208] Specifically, the MP {he} is used to code all prototypical positive epistemic

notions (not just the simple binary systems more commonly attested) and it is also a highly

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[206] Talmy Gívon, "Dependent Clause Morpho-Syntax in Biblical Hebrew," in *Approaches to Grammaticalization: Volume 2*, eds. Elizabet Cross Traugott and Bernd Heine. TSL 19:2. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1991), 301.
[207] Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 26.
[208] Ibid., 26-28.

productive marker of deontic modality. With this functional distribution of {he} introduced, the remainder of this section will be dedicated to exemplifying how it can code the Speculative.[209]

Unfortunately, most types of epistemic modality are underrepresented in the corpus given the nature of the sources. Since most literary compositions record powerful actors or despondent individuals, the language typically records directives and wishes (i.e., deontic notions). Furthermore, the functional documents and royal inscriptions also skew towards deontic notions. People in court and dedicators of inscriptions usually communicate what they demand/want to happen as befits the discourse environment. One epistemic notion that is well attested is the Asseverative (see: §3.7) since all these contexts easily permit a speaker to convey high confidence in the validity of his or her assertion. Unlike the Asseverative, there are no incontrovertible examples of the Speculative in the main corpus. Accordingly, evidence has been sought elsewhere.

A critical set of texts that has been considered for inclusion in the secondary corpus is the body of legal literary texts. Compositions in this small corpus record detailed accounts of dramatic hypothetical court cases. These texts were intended to instruct student scribes in legal matters, proper document formatting, and complex grammar. The intricate, and often provocative, legal cases detailed in these compositions are particularly adept pedagogical tools because, as Marth Roth has remarked: "that which is unusual is interesting, and makes excellent teaching material."[210] Pedagogical compositions recounting complex legal disputes between opposing parties is precisely where one would expect to find epistemic modals used by speakers

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[209] It can be logically ascertained that {bara} codes the negative Speculative but no such forms are attested in the corpus. Additionally, have been identified and admitted to the secondary corpus. The plan is to find such an example and include it in future publication stemming from this dissertation.

[210] Martha T. Roth, "The Slave and the Scoundrel: CBS 10467, a Sumerian Morality Tale?" *JAOS* 103 (1983), 279.

to nuance their stance in the pursuit of a certain goal.[211] Given this, the epistemic forms to be

cited from this corpus provide unique insight into the polyfunctional nature of {he} as that seems

to have been one of the intended lessons for the ancient student. While these model cases have

ramifications for the modern understanding of Mesopotamian jurisprudence, their legal character

will only be examined here insofar as it establishes the discourse environment that conditions

modal nuance.

The only literary legal case formally admitted to the secondary corpus is *The Nippur*

Murder Trial. This composition is attested in three exemplars: (1) CBS 7178, published by

Edward Chiera in PBS 8; (2) 2NT-54, published by Thorkild Jacobsen in AnBi 12; (3) A

30240+UM 44-21-436 (3NT-273, 3NT-340, and 3NT-403), unpublished.[212] In this contrived

court case, the reader learns of a widow named Nin-adda who is informed of her husband Lu-

Inana's murder by the three men who committed the crime. Nin-adda willingly conceals her

knowledge thereby making her an accessory after the fact. Then Nin-adda and the three

murderers stand trial before the Assembly of Nippur which announces the nature of the crime

and the capital punishment to be imposed on all four. For Nin-adda alone, however, two

individuals speak on her behalf as character witnesses of sorts. The Assembly considers this

appeal but ultimately upholds its original decision and condemns all four to death. What is of

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[211] To cite just a few studies of epistemic modality's close relationship with the legal sphere: Winnie Cheng and Le Cheng, "Epistemic modality in court judgements: A corpus-driven comparison of civil cases in Hong Kong and Scotland," *English for Specific Purposes* 33 (2014), 15-26. Dariusz Koźbiał, "Epistemic Modality: A Corpus-Based Analysis of Epistemic Markers in EU and Polish Judgements," *Comparative Legilinguistics* (2020), 39-70. Katarzyna Strębska-Liszewska, "Epistemic Modality in the Rulings of the American Supreme Court and Polish Sąd Najwyższy: A Corpus-Based Analysis of Judicial Discourse." (PhD. diss., University of Silesia, 2017). Lejla Zejnilović, "Lexical Marking of Epistemic Modality in Legal Texts: Focuses on ECHR Summeries [*sic*] of Judgements," *Belgrade BELLS* (2015), 193-217.

[212] Edward Chiera, *Legal and Administrative Documents from Nippur Chiefly from the Dynasties of Isin and Larsa.* PBS 8. (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1914). Thorkild Jacobsen, "An Ancient Mesopotamian Trial for Homicide," in *Studia Biblica et Orientalia. Edita a Pontifico Instituto Biblico ad celebrandum annum L ex quo conditum est institutum 1909-vii maii-1959: Volumen III: Oriens Antiquus*. AnBi 12. (Roma: Pontificium Istitutum Biblicum, 1959), 130-150.

particular interest here is the speech of the character witnesses and the response of the Assembly. In this exchange both parties use legal logic to outline what they believe to be accurate even though they lack direct evidence. The drawing of conclusions via logical thought processes is securely within the semantic domain of epistemic modality.

The speech of the character witnesses does include an epistemic modal form (specifically an Asseverative), but as it is not a Speculative it is not treated here.[213] To provide context for the Speculative form in the Assembly's reply, however, an unglossed transcription and translation of the character witnesses' speech will be given here:

[3.68] Nin-ad-da dumu-munus Lu$_2$-^{d}Nin-urta / dam Lu$_2$-^{d}Inana-ke$_4$ he$_2$-en-gaz / munus-e a-na i$_3$-ak al-gaz-de$_3$

"Did Nin-adda, the daughter of Lu-Ninurta, / the wife of Lu-Inana, *really* kill him? What did this woman do in order to be killed?"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Nippur Murder Trial*
LINE NUMBER: col. i ln. 34-36
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *NMT_3*
MUSEUM NUMBER: A 30240 + UM 44-21-436

</div>

These men's defense of Nin-adda calls into question whether she can truly be worthy of the death sentence since she was not an actor in the crime and was made an unwilling accessory after the fact. The Assembly responds to these men with three sentences expounding on why their initial ruling will stand. The Speculative occurs in the second sentence, but first the initial sentence will be provided unglossed for context:

[3.69] munus-e dam-a-ni nu-mu-na-kal-la / lu$_2$-kur$_2$-⌜ra⌝-a-ni he$_2$-en-zu-am$_3$ / ⌜dam⌝-a-ni ⌜he$_2$⌝-en-gaz

"A woman that did not value her husband, / (and) it is the case that she must have known his enemy, / has indeed killed her husband."

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Nippur Murder Trial*
LINE NUMBER: 44-46
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *NMT_2*
MUSEUM NUMBER: IM 58943

</div>

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[213] This example is not included in the Asseverative section (§3.7) because examples of this function are plentiful enough in the principal corpus.

In the above sentence, the Assembly establishes the conditions for a woman to be implicated in the murder of her spouse. Speaking in the abstract, they establish a woman's lack of affection for her husband as a baseline factual presupposition, then combine a deduction with said presupposition to determine the logical conclusion if both presupposition and deduction are true.[214] The Assembly's goal here is to establish that in a world where a woman did not value her husband (who is later murdered) and it can be logically deduced that she did indeed know his enemy (presumably the one who killed him), then said woman is as guilty of murder as the one who carried out the deed.

Having established the theoretical conditions for guilt, the Assembly addresses the matter at hand (i.e., Nin-adda's culpability in her husband's murder). To this end, they pose a rhetorical question to help communicate the logic behind upholding Nin-adda's guilt:[215]

EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[214] This Deductive has not been included in §3.5 since examples from the principal corpus were already sufficient.

[215] This portion of the composition is unfortunately not well enough preserved in any single manuscript to cite one exemplar exclusively. Rather, a composite edition has been provided. The first line comes from manuscript *NMT*_3 (with the ŋeš restored and validated from Ni. 7178 (i.e., *NMT*_1)). The second and third lines come from *NMT*_1 (rev. 4-5) and match what is preserved in the other two manuscripts; the only differences are that a-na-aš-am₃ was assigned to the first line in accordance with *NMT*_3 and the VR of the second line is taken to be si (contra. *NMT*_1 which has ze₂).

[3.70] ŋeš ha-ba-an-tuku-am₃ a-na-aš-am₃ / u-gu₂-na li-bi₂-in-si / e-na-am₃ dam-a-ni
in-gaz

ŋeš   ha-ba-an-tuku-am₃
ŋeš=ø he=ba=n=tuku=ø=a=am
tree=ABS$_{DO}$ MP$_{EPI.SPEC}$=CP$_{MID}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to get$_{H.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=NMZ=COP.3SG

a-na-aš-am₃   /   u-gu₂-na
anaš=am   /   ugu=ani=a
WH=COP.3SG   /   CVNE=POSS.3SG.HUM=LOC$_{DO}$

li-bi₂-in-si   /
nu=ba=*I=n=sig=ø   /
NEG=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to be silent$_{H.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$ /

e-na-am₃   dam-a-ni
ene=am   dam=ani=ø
she=COP.3SG   spouse=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

in-gaz
i=n=gaz=ø
CP$_{NEUT}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to kill$_{H}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

"He (i.e., the murderer) might have let her hear (of the murder), (but) why / (then)
did he not silence her? / She herself (as good as) killed her husband."

These lines convey that the Assembly can conceive of logically possible worlds in which Nin-adda could have been informed of the crime after the fact and been innocent. In all such worlds, however, her silence would have been coerced. Since they know that she was willingly silent, they believe that she must have known at least one of the murderers priorly (either as a co-conspirator or adulterer), and they thus reassert her guilt. In this case, the Speculative form allows the speaker (i.e., the Assembly) to rhetorically question how the situation could possibly be in alternate hypothetical worlds. The speaker knows that the speculation does not match the known facts. Nonetheless, the Speculative allows them to stress that while there are theoretically possible worlds in which a woman is made an accessory after the fact by force and thereby remains innocent, Nin-adda's case inarguably does not meet the criteria to be included in this set

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of possible worlds. As only women whose cases are members of said set can be judged innocent, Nin-adda's exclusion proves her guilt.

Although the quantity of Speculative examples does not compare to that of other functions such as the Asseverative, the evidence provided in this section secures the Speculative as one of {he}'s many epistemic functions. The relative scarcity of Speculatives in the corpora (and seemingly in the wider Sumerian corpus) does not invalidate the existence of the function or its assignment to {he}. The Speculative is a cross-linguistically validated grammatical function and its paucity is a product of the discourse environments best preserved in the written record.

3.4.1 DUBITATIVE

The Dubitative is a subfunction of the Speculative in that it conveys the speaker's belief that the proposition could possibly be true. Unlike the Speculative, however, the Dubitative also encodes that the speaker has sincere doubts about this possibility. While some languages (such as Lithuanian (Indo-European, Eastern Baltic), see: [3.71] and [3.72]) mark the Speculative and Dubitative with the same morpheme, others (such as Mina (Afro-Asiatic, Chadic), see: [3.73] for the Dubitative and [3.74] for the Speculative) have distinct means for marking the Dubitative:

EXAMPLES ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[3.71] tai dary=dam=as širvintišk=is   atseit
    this to do=CVB=MASC.SG Širvintos dweller=NOM.SG DUB

    ne=žinojo   kad į jo   sąskait=ą
    NEG=to know+PST.3 that into GEN.3SG.MASC account=ACC.SG

    perves=t=i   pinig=ai
    to transfer=PPP=NOM.PL.MASC money=NOM.PL

    "In doing this the dweller of Širvintos allegedly did not know money was being transferred to his account."[216]

[3.72] ten man atrodo   kad atseit
    there 1SG.DAT to seem+PRES.3 that PTCL$_{SPEC/DUB}$

    naujausi=os   technologij=os   ir
    newest=NOM.PL.FEM technology=NOM.PL and

    gali   su   kazkoki=u
    to be able+PRES.2SG with   some=INST.SG.MASC

    preietais=u   ak=yse   užfiksuoti,
    device=INST.SG   eye=LOC.PL to fix+INF

    matyti   prieš=us   ir kt.
    to see+INF enemy=ACC.PL etc.

    "It seems (that's what I've heard), that the newest technologies [are used] there [sc. in that computer game] and that with the aid of some device in your eyes you can locate and see enemies etc."[217]

[3.73] à lùw=á=h   zá hà nék skù ngà vú?
    3SG to say=GO=2SG COMP 2SG good NEG DUB INTR

    "Will he tell you that you are not good?" (I doubt he will.)[218]

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[216] Axel Holvoet, "Epistemic modality, evidentiality, quotativity and echoic use," in *Epistemic Modalities and Evidentiality in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, ed. Zlatka Guentchéva. EALT 59. (Berlin: Walther de Gruyter, 2018), 251-252. It should be noted that Holvoet mentions that it is possible for this particle (i.e., *atseit*) to have an evidential reading as well (as is marked parenthetically in the translation). Additionally, the glossing has been adjusted here to better represent the conventions established for this thesis. This is also the case for other citations from this source.

[217] Ibid., 251. It should be noted that the verb *atrodo* triggers the epistemic stance and the particle *atseit* narrows it down to the either the epistemic Speculative (including a Dubitative sub-reading) or the Hearsay evidential.

[218] Zygmunt Frajzyngier, "Modality and Mood in Chadic," in *The Oxford Handbook of Modality and Mood*, eds. Jan Nuyts and Johan van der Auwera. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 267. Zygmund Frajzyngier, Eric Johnston, and Adrian Edwards, *A Grammar of Mina*. (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2005), 228.

[3.74]	yí	zá		mbù		fés	ngà	cíŋ	á	dámù
	3PL	COMP		child		small	like	DEM	PRED	bush

	kómɓì	mə̀	ɮ=ú	nók	sə́n	skù.
	maybe$_{DUB}$	REL	to cut=3SG	1PL.EXCLU	EXCLU	NEG

"They said, 'there is a small child like that in the bush, maybe he cut it out, we do not know'."[219]

When compared to the above languages, Sumerian is probably most like Lithuanian because it likely uses the same markers to convey the Speculative and the Dubitative (namely, {he} for positive and {bara} for negative).

This discussion of the Dubitative has been included here since it is an important epistemic notion cross-linguistically. It does not, however, seem worth positing as an independent type of epistemic modality in Sumerian. Rather, it seems as if the Speculative is the principal grammatical notion and any doubt on the part of the speaker is inferred from context, not entailed by the MP. No indisputable examples of a Speculative predicate with a Dubitative nuance were discovered in the corpus and none have yet to be identified elsewhere. As such, this section has only been provided to briefly introduce this category for comparative purposes for future research into the expression of doubt in Sumerian.

3.5 DEDUCTIVE ("MICHAEL MUST BE ALIVE SINCE HE IS STANDING NEXT TO ME.")

The function through which a speaker is able to express what he or she believes to be the only possible conclusion is referred to as the Deductive. Because this function often pairs with the Speculative cross-linguistically, evidence from the European languages cited above in §3.4 will be given first. The first example comes from Danish and the second from Italian:[220]

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[219] Frajzyngier, "Modality and Mood in Chadic," 267. Frajzyngier, Johnston, and Edwards, *A Grammar of Mina*, 94.

[220] Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 26.

[3.75] det må   være sandt
        that must+3SG+PRES to be true

"That must be true."

[3.76] deve   essere nell ufficio
        must+3SG+PRES   to be   in   the office

"He must be in the office."

As was the case in §3.4, Danish and Italian are only partial parallels to Sumerian in that all three

languages employ a polyfunctional mechanism to express multiple epistemic notions and at least

one deontic notion. Otherwise, Sumerian differs in the number of epistemic notions coded via a

single construction and in that it uses a bound prefixal verbal morpheme to mark them.

Before turning to the Sumerian evidence, typological evidence of the Deductive being

marked affixally will be given. In the Californian indigenous language Wintu (Wintuan,

Northern Wintuan), the Deductive is conveyed by the verbal suffix {m}:[221]

[3.77] heke   maˑn   haraˑki=reˑ=m
        somewhere EXCLM   to go+CMPL=INF=DED

"He must have gone somewhere." (I do not see him)

[3.78] piya   maytoˑn deknaˑstoˑn piya maˑn   biyaki=reˑ=m
        those   feet   steps   that EXCLM   to be+CMPL=INF=DED

"Those tracks of steps! That must have been him."

Wintu provides a closer parallel to Sumerian than Danish and Italian because it marks the

Deductive affixally. The fact that it does so via a suffix rather than a prefix is a difference, but

not a substantial one. The preceding typological overview from Danish, Italian, and Wintu

provides sufficient insight into the coding of the Deductive cross-linguistically. As such, the

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[221] Ibid., 29-30. Alice Schlichter, "The Origins and Deictic Nature of Wintu Evidentials," in *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology*, eds. Wallace L. Chafe and Joanna Nichols. (Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1986), 51-53.

investigation into the MPs {he} and {bara} as the Sumerian markers of positive and negative

epistemic deduction, respectively, can now begin.[222]

Although the Deductive is not widely attested in the corpus (as is the case with most

epistemic notions), there are some clear examples that support assigning {he} this function (in its

positive nuance). A nice pair of parallel Deductive forms occurs in *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*

when Enkidug explains to Gilgameš how he thinks his mother is certain to react upon hearing

about either Gilgameš's survival or demise. The first of the pair refers to how she is bound to

respond after being told Gilgameš is alive:

[3.79] ama-zu-ur$_2$ i$_3$-til$_3$-zu ga-na-ab-dug$_4$ / zu$_2$-zu$_2$ he$_2$-bar$_7$-bar$_7$

ama-zu-ur$_2$ i$_3$-til$_3$-zu

ama=zu=r(a)   itil=zu=ø

mother=POSS.2SG.HUM=DAT   life=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

ga-na-ab-dug$_4$ /   zu$_2$-zu$_2$

ga=na=b=dug$_4$ /   zu$_2$:zu$_2$=ø

MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to say$_{H.SG}$ /   tooth^{x2}=ABS$_{DO}$

he$_2$-bir$_9$-bir$_9$

he=(n)=bir$_9$:bir$_9$=ø

MP$_{EPI.DED}$=(PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$)=to shred$_{H.CVR}$^{x2}=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

"I shall discuss your living with your mother – / she will have no recourse but to laugh!"[223]

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 98
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_N$_{III19}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: Ni 42

</div>

The nuance here is clearly Deductive as Enkidug is explaining what he believes Gilgameš's

mother will certainly do upon hearing the good news. A joyous response conforms to all known

societal expectations for how a mother should react to hearing that her son is alive and well.

There is no logic in assuming that Enkidug thinks Gilgameš's mother's happy response is only a

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[222] The negative form of this function has not been given its own section.
[223] To better understand the hypothetical nature of this statement, one could paraphrase it thusly: "I shall discuss your living with your mother (should circumstance allow) – / she will have no recourse but to laugh!"

mere possibility or a reasonable outcome. Rather, he seems to be expressing near certainty, which conforms to the discourse goals. Since Enkidug is trying to appeal to Gilgameš's adoration of his mother in an attempt to persuade him not to incite a conflict with the monstrous Huwawa, he employs Deductives to assert confidence in his assessment of what effects will almost certainly befall his dear mother should he pursue a battle.

This persuasive usage of the Deductive is also implemented in the other half of this pair of lines:

[3.80] eŋir-ra ba-uš₂-zu ga-na-ab-dug₄ er₃-zu he₂-⌈šeš₄⌉?-⌈šeš₄⌉?

eŋir-ra	ba-uš₂-zu
eŋir=a	ba=uš₂=ø=(a)=zu=ø
back=LOC	CP_{NTR.MID}=to die_{H.SG}=ABS3SG.SBJ=(NMZ)=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS_{DO}

ga-na-ab-dug₄	er₃-zu
ga=na=b=dug₄	er₃=zu=ø
MP_{DEO.PROM}=DI_{DAT.3SG}=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to say_{H.SG}	tear=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS_{DO}

he₂-⌈šeš₄⌉?-⌈šeš₄⌉?
he=(n)=šeš₄:šeš₄=ø
MP_{EPI.DED}=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to weep_H^{x2}=ABS3SG.DO

"(Then if) I shall say to her that you have died, she will certainly weep tears for you."

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: <i>Giglameš and Huwawa A</i>
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 99
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: <i>GH.A</i>_N_{III35}
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 55-21-378 + IM 58700
</div>

As was the case with [3.79], the Deductive is the only function of {he} that makes sense in context. There is no logic in interpreting Enkidug's statement as an expression of simply a possible or reasonable conclusion. The stakes of the discourse are higher than they would prototypically be for either of those options. Rather, it seems clear that Enkidug is communicating what he believes to be a near inevitability should Gilgameš choose to act in a certain fashion.

Clear negative Deductive forms marked by {bara} are attested in *The Exaltation of Inana* when En-hedu-ana is explaining to the goddess that she has ascertained that the gods have abandoned her. Specifically, she laments that Nanna has turned a blind eye to her situation:

[3.81] ŋa₂-e ᵈNanna-ŋu₁₀ en₃-ŋu₁₀ ba-⌜e⌝-ra-tar / ki-lul-la he₂-eb-gul-gul-e

ŋa₂-e	ᵈNanna-ŋu₁₀	en₃-ŋu₁₀
ŋaʾe	Nanna=ŋu=(e)	en₃=ŋu=ø
me	DN♂=POSS.1SG.HUM=(ERG)	CVNE=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS_DO

ba-⌜e⌝-ra-tar	/ ki-lul-la
bara=(n)=tar=ø	/ kilula=a
MP_EPI.NEG.DED=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to cut_H.CVR=ABS3SG.DO	/ renegade territory=LOC

ba-⌜e⌝-ra-tar
he=n(!)=gulːgul=e(n)
MP_EPI.ASV=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to destroy_H^{x2}=PRO1SG.DO

he₂-eb-gul-gul-e
he=n(!)=gulːgul=e(n)
MP_EPI.ASV=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to destroy_H^{x2}=PRO1SG.DO

"My Nanna must not have paid heed to me/must not have decided my case, (and I assume it to be true since I know that) he has utterly destroyed me in renegade territory."[224]

COMPOSITION: *The Exaltation of Inana*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 100-101
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *ExIn*_N_III33
MUSEUM NUMBER: IM 58799

Understanding this {bara} form as a negative Deductive is the best recourse in this discourse environment. Firstly, it would make little sense for this form to be Speculative as En-hedu-ana knows that Nanna has utterly destroyed her; thus, she has enough evidence to go beyond simple speculation. Secondly, she knows that the possibility that Nanna's absence is to blame is more than reasonable (as an Assumptive would denote). Rather, it is the only possible conclusion as he is the only god capable of causing these ends for her. Finally, a negative Asseverative could make sense in context but interpreting it as a Deductive seems to better reflect the sentiment of the speaker. It does not seem to be that En-hedu-ana is merely exclaiming that she truly believes

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[224] The spelling ba-⌜e⌝-ra-… for {bara} is seemingly idiosyncratic (the motivation for its occurrence here is unclear). On rare occasion, one does find this sign sequence in the verbal prefix chain, but in such cases the spelling is representing a morpheme sequence beginning with the CP {ba}; upon a cursory search of the CDLI, only two attestations of such as sequence are recorded: UET 6, 151 rev. 1 (*Enki-manšum and Girini-isag – Dialogue 3*) and BM 113234 obv. col. ii 7 (*Dumuzid's Dream*).

that Nanna has abandoned her case and that he has indeed destroyed her. Rather, it seems she is outlining for Inana that she believes divine abandonment is the only possible source of her destruction. In this sense, this excerpt is not simply a speaker exclaiming what she believes to be the case in a pair of brief sentences. Instead, she seems to be explaining to Inana why her situation is so dire that she needs divine help to resolve it.

The next sentence in this composition also records a negative Deductive to reiterate this position. Given the parallelism between these examples, the following will be cited without additional commentary:

[3.82] ^{d}Aš-im$_2$-babbar$_2$-e di-ŋu$_{10}$ ba-ra-bi$_2$-in-dug$_4$

^{d}Aš-im$_2$-babbar$_2$-e	di-ŋu$_{10}$
Ašimbabbar=e	di=ŋu=ø
DN♂=ERG	verdict=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

ba-ra-bi$_2$-in-dug$_4$
bara=ba=*I=n=dug$_4$=ø
MP$_{EPI.NEG.DED}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to say$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

"Ašimbabbar must not have pronounced my verdict, / (…)"

<div align="right">COMPOSITION: The Exaltation of Inana
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 102
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: ExIn_N$_{12}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: Ni 9660 + Ni 4590 + Ni 1167 + Ni 2755 + CBS 10868</div>

Before claiming that she has suffered divine abandonment, En-hedu-ana explains to Inana how she has determined that this must be the source of her troubles. Specifically, she employs a positive Deductive form marked with {he} to describe how she had been deceived:

<div align="center">EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE</div>

[3.83] ⌜tab⌝ mu-ši-in-⌜kur₉⌝-ra-na ninim-ma-ni hu-mu-un-⌜te⌝

    ⟩ud⟨   ⌜tab⌝
    ⟩ud⟨   tab=ø
    ⟩day⟨   companion=ABS$_{DO}$

    mu-ši-in-⌜kur₉⌝-ra-na
    mu=ši=n=kur₉=ø=a=ani=a
    CP$_{TR.ACT}$=DI$_{TERM}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to enter$_{tr}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=NMZ=POSS.3SG.HUM=LOC

    ninim-ma-ni
    ninim=ani=ø
    envy=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

    hu-mu-un-⌜te⌝
    he=mu=n=te=ø
    MP$_{EPI.DED}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to approach$_{tr}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

    While he entered (before me) as a companion, (subsequent logical deduction indicates that) he actually must have really approached out of his envy.

This {he}-form is undeniably Deductive for a few reasons. Firstly, the reality of the situation is now known by En-hedu-ana and cannot be assumed. Secondly, the event is very real and cannot be doubted. Thirdly, she is making a claim about a fixed reality, so speculation seems unlikely and inappropriate. Finally, it is possible that this form denotes the speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition but only as a secondary function. It would be illogical for this form to be a pure Asseverative as it would create a contradiction (i.e., one cannot logically claim that simultaneously one both did and did not do something). Accordingly, the {he}-form must be a Deductive.

The examples cited in this section only come from two Decad compositions, but they nonetheless secure {he} and {bara}'s ability to code positive and negative deduction, respectively. In both compositions, the narrative has a character in a situation that requires him or her to deduce something about the circumstances at hand. In sum, while the examples are not

extraordinary in number, they are strong evidence because no other interpretation of the modal

forms are viable in these cases.

3.6 ASSUMPTIVE ("WYNNE WILL BE IN HIS OFFICE SINCE HE IS NOT IN THE BREAK ROOM.")

      The Assumptive is the epistemic function a speaker employs to communicate what he or

she believes to be a reasonable conclusion given the information at his or her disposal. Since

evidence from European languages that use modal auxiliaries to code epistemic notions has

already been given in §3.4-§3.5, such typological evidence will be forgone here to avoid

argumentative redundancy. Instead, only evidence from Wintu will be given. In Wintu, the

Assumptive is coded via a verbal suffix whose base form is difficult to establish, but it generally

contains an /l/ and often an /e/ or /ʔ/ as well:[225]

[3.84]   tima   min=elʔ   pira˙=ʔel
            cold   to die=ASSUM   to starve=ASSUM

            "He might freeze to death, he might starve." (It is cold and he is alone, helpless,
            and sick)

[3.85]   ʔimto˙n   nuqa˙ʔ=l
            berries   to be ripe=ASSUM

            "The berries must be ripe." (It is that time of year)

Once again, Wintu serves as a good parallel for Sumerian as it too codes the Assumptive

affixally. With this brief typological sketch completed, attention will now shift to Sumerian's

mechanism for coding the Assumptive (i.e., the MP {he} for the positive and {bara} for the

negative).

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[225] Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 29-30. Schlichter, "The Origins and Deictic Nature of Wintu Evidentials," 51-53.

As with most epistemic notions (the Asseverative excluded), evidence of the Assumptive is not plentiful in the principal corpus given the nature of the sources. Rarely do these compositions include speakers that clearly express that they are somewhat uncertain about a state of affairs but still have enough confidence to remark about what is reasonably assumed to be true. One example of the negative Assumptive occurs in *Šulgi A*:

[3.86] lugal-me-en ni$_2$ ba-ra-ba-da-te / su ba-ra-ba-da-zig$_3$

lugal-me-en	ni$_2$
lugal=me:en	ni$_2$=ø
king=COP.1SG	fear=ABS$_{DO}$

ba-ra-ba-da-te	/
bara=ba=da=(e$^?$)=te=ø	/
MP$_{EPI.NEG.ASSUM}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{ABIL}$=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)=to approach$_{H.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$	/

su	ba-ra-ba-da-zig$_3$
su=ø	bara=ba=da=(e$^?$)=zig$_3$=ø
flesh=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{EPI.NEG.ASSUM}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{ABIL}$=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)=to raise$_{H.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

I am the king, (and therefore) I cannot be scared; / I cannot have gooseflesh.[226]

COMPOSITION: *Šulgi A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 21
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Šul.A*_N$_{III23}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: IM 58530

In this example, the modal form conveys that because Šulgi is the king he assumes he is superhuman and lacks fear (or any reason to fear). Alternatively, the negative Assumptive here denotes that as the sovereign he believes that he cannot have normal human emotions because his station prevents it. Given the braggadocious nature of the composition, the former seems more likely. It should also be noted here that this modal form also displays a dynamic modal notion (specifically the Abilitative via the DI {da}) that are secondary to the epistemic notion.[227] It is not that Šulgi literally had a condition such that he mentally could not fear or physically

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[226] A verbatim duplicate of this line occurs in composite line 67.
[227] Dynamic modality has not received a dedicated chapter in this dissertation as it seems to have been largely unrepresented in the morphology of Sumerian (the Abilitative usage of the DI {da} being the primary exception). Rather, discussions of it have been relegated to CHAPTER SIX.

could not get goosebumps. Rather, it is that Šulgi assumes certain restrictions inherent to his

regnal status and therefore cannot afford to do such things lest he appear weak.

Although uncommon in the main corpus, a fair number of Assumptives have been

identified in the *Proverb Collections* and a selection were admitted to the secondary corpus.

Sumerian Proverbs often recount general advice that expresses what societal convention says is a

reasonable conclusion to a specified action. For example, the proverb in [3.87] records

conventional wisdom about what happens when one shares secrets:

[3.87] puzur$_5$ u$_3$-bi$_2$-dug$_4$ / ama$_5$-e he$_2$-bur$_2$-e

puzur$_5$ u$_3$-bi$_2$-dug$_4$ /
puzur$_5$=ø   u=ba=*I=dug$_4$=ø=(a)   /
secret=ABS$_{SBJ}$ MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=CP$_{PASS}$=DI$_{LOC}$=to say$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$=(SUBR)   /

ama$_5$-e   he$_2$-bur$_2$-e
ama$_5$=e   he=bur$_2$=e(d)=ø
women's quarters=LOCTR   MP$_{EPI.ASSUM}$=to reveal$_M$=FUT=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

When a secret is spoken, it is liable to be revealed in the women's quarters
(eventually).[228]

COMPOSITION: *Proverb 82 Collection 1*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 1-2
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Pr.82.Coll.1*_N$_2$ (Y)
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 13852 + CBS 13861

This proverb is clearly asserting that secrets once shared never remain secret and that a Sumerian

could expect his or her shared private information to become gossip in the women's quarters.

Setting aside the patriarchal overtones, the {he}-form doubtlessly encodes in the utterance what

a Sumerian could reasonably assume to happen should he or she divulge a secret.

Rather than cite further evidence of the Assumptive from the *Proverb Collections* here,

the reader is directed to examples [3.127] and [3.128] in §3.8, which have been reserved for that

section due to the syntactic construction in which they occur.

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[228] Alster translates: "What has been spoken in secret will be revealed in the women's quarters." Bendt Alster, *Proverbs of Ancient Sumer: The World's Earliest Proverb Collections*, Volume 1. (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1997), 20.

3.7 ASSEVERATIVE

The Asseverative denotes a speaker's strong belief in the truth of the utterance. This function has a variety of manifestations cross-linguistically, a few of which will be cited here. In the Imbabura dialect of Quechua (Quechuan, Quechua II B), the Asseverative is formed via a verbal suffix that conveys emphatic first-hand information. In [3.88], the predicate is an Asseverative, and in [3.89] the predicate communicates first-hand information without any specific commitment to the truth of the utterance on the part of the speaker:

[3.88] ñuka=ta   miku=naya=n=mari
        I=ACC   to eat=DES=3=EMP.F.INFO (i.e., ASV)

"I want to eat!"

[3.89] kan=paj   ushi=wan   Agatu=pi=mi
        you=of   daughter=with   GN=in=F.INFO

"I met your daughter in Ageto."[229]

In Ngiyambaa (Pama-Nyungan, Wiradhuric), the Asseverative and its non-emphatic counterpart are coded via a set of "belief clitics." In [3.90], the sentence conveys what the speaker believes to be absolute truth (sometimes referred to as a "categorical assertion") in an emphatic fashion (i.e., the Asseverative), whereas in [3.91] the speaker is simply drawing the addressee's attention to the statement without coding any special degree of commitment to the truth:

[3.90] waŋaːy=baːɽ=na   yana=nhi
        NEG=CASRT (i.e., ASV)=3.ABS   to walk=PAST

"He absolutely did not walk (again)!" / "He never walked again!"

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[229] Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 68; Peter Cole, *Imbabura Quechua.* Lingua Descriptive Series 5. (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1982), 164. Morphemes such as {paj} and {wan} could have been given proper functional glosses, but it was decided to simply maintain the conventions of the original scholar as these forms are irrelevant to the present discussion (such a practice occasionally occurs elsewhere in the dissertation).

[3.91] waŋaːy=baː=na   yana=nhi
       NEG=ASRT=3.ABS   to walk=PAST

"He did not walk (again)."[230]

In Hidatsa (Siouan, Western Siouan), the grammar distinguishes between the Asseverative and its non-emphatic counterpart via sentence final particles. To mark the Asseverative, the particle {ski} is placed in sentence-final position (as in [3.92]), and to mark a non-emphatic assertion the particle {c} is employed (as in [3.93]):

[3.92] wacéo   íikipi kurè héo   ski
       man   pipe   carried   EMP (i.e., ASV)

"The man sure did carry the pipe!"

[3.93] wacéo   íikipi kurè héo   c
       man   pipe   carried   PER

"The man sure did carry the pipe."[231]

In the secondary literature on Hidatsa, the non-emphatic particle is called the "Period." It is said to indicate that the speaker believes the statement is true but that he or she will not be considered a liar should it prove untrue; rather, he or she will simply be seen as mistaken.[232] The notion of the "Period" in Hidatsa is important to keep in mind when reviewing the Sumerian evidence because it helps highlight what makes Asseveratives different from simple declarative statements. Asseveratives mark the speaker's strong commitment to the truth of the utterance and as such the stakes of the discourse are heightened. Should the utterance be false, the speaker is at risk of being deemed a liar and thereby losing face.[233]

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[230] Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 68-69; T. Donaldson, *Ngiyambaa: The Language of the Wangaaybuwan.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 252-255.

[231] Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 69; G. H. Matthews, *Hidatsa Syntax*. (The Hauge: Mouton, 1965), 99-100.

[232] Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 69.

[233] The concept of "losing face" was introduced by the Politeness Theory of communication. Within this paradigm, "face" refers to "the self-image projected by a speaker in an interaction such as a conversational exchange." When one "loses face," one might feel that his or her standing in the community has decreased or that he or she is worthy of less trust or respect. Keith Brown and Jim Miller, *The Cambridge Dictionary of Linguistics.*

In Sumerian, the positive Asseverative is one of the many functions of the MP {he} (the negative Asseverative is coded by {bara}).[234] Prototypically, it occurs in the *ḫamṭu* tense-aspect, but it is by no means restricted from occurring in the *marû*. Given the nature of the texts in the primary corpus, the Asseverative is exceptionally common. This is logical as this body of texts records many high-status and powerful individuals taking credit for their deeds by asserting their absolute commitment to the truth of their claims (exs., kings recounting deeds in royal inscriptions, gods and heroes explaining their exploits in literature, narrators describing the deeds of gods and heroes, etc.). The preponderance of evidence for the Asseverative necessitates that only a sampling of its attestations be provided here lest the section become tedious and overburdened. Nonetheless, in the interest of thoroughness and evidential transparency any Asseveratives not listed here have either been given previously as supporting evidence in §3.3 or are provided in APPENDIX B (where examples are glossed but not commented upon). For the purposes of this section, Asseveratives from each branch of the main corpus (i.e., the Decad, the Gudea corpus, royal inscriptions, and the *ditila*s) will be provided.

The Decad composition *Šulgi A* is an excellent starting point for this discussion as the discourse semantics neatly align with the prototypical environment for Asseveratives. This composition is replete with first-person speech through which Šulgi asserts his supremacy by stating his grandeur with absolute confidence in the truthfulness of said assertions. Take for example the following instances of Šulgi's braggadocio whereby he extols his own ability as the perfect ruler:

<div align="center">EXAMPLES ON FOLLOWING PAGE</div>

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), s.v. "face" 166. See also: Penelope Brown and Stephen C. Levinson, *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Use.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

[234] The evidential MP {naM} has an epistemic extension that marks asseveration, but that function is not under consideration here. For {naM} as an Asseverative marker, see: §5.4.3.

[3.94] ŋeštug₂-ga šu hu-mu-ni-du₇-am₃

ŋeštug₂-ga	šu
ŋeštug₂=a	šu=ø
wisdom=LOC	hand=ABS_DO

hu-mu-ni-du₇-am₃
he=mu=ni=(e$^?$)=du₇=ø=a=am
MP_EPI.ASV=CP_TR.ACT=DI_LOC=(PRO_1SG.AG)=to push_H.CVR=ABS_3SG.DO=NMZ=COP.3SG

It is the case that I have perfected wisdom!

[3.95] inim gen₆-na-bi ha-ma-da-sa₂-am₃

inim	gen₆-na-bi
inim	gen₆=a=bi=ø
word	to establish_H=PP=DEM=ABS_SBJ

ha-ma-da-sa₂-am₃
he=mu=*A=da=sa₂=ø=a=am
MP_EPI.ASV=CP_ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.1SG=DI_ABIL=to equal_H=ABS_3SG.SBJ=NMZ=COP.3SG

Reliable words can indeed reach me!

[3.96] niŋ₂-si sa₂-e ki ha-ba-da-aŋ₂-ŋa₂-am₃

niŋ₂-si sa₂-e	ki
niŋ₂=si—sa₂=e	ki=ø
ABSTR=horn—to equal_H.CVR=LOCTR_SOCV	place=ABS_DO

ha-ba-da-aŋ₂-ŋa₂-am₃
he=ba=da=(e$^?$)=aŋ₂=ø=a=am
MP_EPI.ASV=CP_MID=DI_ABIL=(PRO_1SG.AG)=to measure_H.CVR=ABS_3SG.DO=NMZ=COP.3SG

It is the case that I cherish justice!

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[3.97] inim niŋ$_2$-erim$_2$ dug$_4$-ga / hul ha-ba-ra-gig-ga-⌜am$_3$⌝

    inim   niŋ$_2$-erim$_2$ dug$_4$-ga   /   hul

    inim   niŋ$_2$=erim$_2$ dug$_4$=a   /   hul=ø

    word   ABSTR=enemy   to say$_{H.SG}$=PP   /   to be bad$_H$=AP+ABS$_{DO}$

    ha-ba-ra-gig-ga-⌜am$_3$⌝

    he=ba=ta=(e$^?$)=gig=ø=a=am

    MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{ABL}$=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)=to be sick$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=NMZ=COP.3SG

    It is the case that I detest words spoken malevolently!

<div align="right">COMPOSITION: <i>Šulgi A</i>
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 25
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: <i>Šul.A</i>_N$_{13}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 15095</div>

In [3.94]-[3.97], Šulgi establishes that he corresponds to the idealized version of a Mesopotamian ruler (i.e., a wise man who has divine counsel and pursues justice within his dominion). By doing so with Asseverative predicates, Šulgi imbues his claims with personal confidence and tries to minimize the room for contrary stances in the sphere of discourse.

    After he boasts about being the paragon of Mesopotamian kingship, Šulgi praises his excellence as an athlete all the while recounting his civic accomplishments:

[3.98] ŋiri$_3$ hu-mu-gur kaskal kalam-ma-ke$_4$ / si he$_2$-em-sa$_2$-sa$_2$

    ŋiri$_3$ hu-mu-gur   kaskal

    ŋiri$_3$=ø   he=mu=(e$^?$)=gur=ø   kaskal

    foot=ABS$_{DO}$ MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)=to lift$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$ road

    kalam-ma-ke$_4$ /   si

    kalam=ak=e   /   si=ø

    land=GEN=LOCTR$_{SOCV}$ /   horn=ABS$_{DO}$

    he$_2$-em-sa$_2$-sa$_2$

    he=imma=*I=(e$^?$)=sa$_2$:sa$_2$=ø

    MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)=to equal$_{H.CVR}$^{x2}=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

    Indeed, I lifted my feet! Indeed, I prepared (to set out) / on the roads of the land![235]

<div align="right">COMPOSITION: <i>Šulgi A</i>
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 28
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: <i>Šul.A</i>_X$_2$
MUSEUM NUMBER: W.B. 171</div>

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[235] The interpretation of he$_2$-em-sa$_2$-sa$_2$ as a verb including the morpheme string …=imma=*I=… is validated by other manuscripts which have a MI-sign in place of the EM-sign.

[3.99]   danna hu-mu-gen₆ e₂ gal-la he₂-bi₂-du₃

danna   hu-mu-gen₆
danna=ø   he=mu=(e$^?$)=gen₆=ø
double-mile=ABS$_{DO}$ MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)=to establish$_{H}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

e₂   gal-la
e₂   gal=a=ø
house   to be big$_{H}$=PP=ABS$_{DO}$

he₂-bi₂-du₃
he=ba=*I=(e$^?$)=du₃=ø
MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)=to build$_{H}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

Indeed, I established the *danna*! Indeed, I built great (lodging-)houses there!

[3.100]   zag-ba kiri₆ he₂-bi₂-gub / ki ni₂ dub₂-bu he₂-bi₂-ŋar

zag-ba   kiri₆
zag=bi=a   kiri₆=ø
side=POSS.3SG.NHUM=LOC   garden=ABS$_{DO}$

he₂-bi₂-gub
he=ba=*I=(e$^?$)=gub=ø
MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)=to stand$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

/   ki   ni₂ dub₂-bu
/   ki   ni₂—dub₂=e(d)=ø
/   place   self—to tremble$_{H.CVR}$=PURP=AP+ABS$_{DO}$

he₂-bi₂-ŋar
he=ba=*I=(e$^?$)=ŋar=ø
MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)=to put$_{H}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

Indeed, I planted gardens by their sides! / Indeed, I established places for resting!

[3.101]   ki-bi lu$_2$ zu-a he$_2$-em-mi-in-tuš

    ki-bi   lu$_2$ zu-a
    ki=bi=(e)   lu$_2$ zu=a=ø
    place=DEM=(LOCTR)   individual   to know$_H$=PP=ABS$_{DO}$

    he$_2$-em-mi-in-tuš
    he=imma=*I=n=tuš=ø
    MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PVN=to establish$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

    Indeed, I (wr. he) settled knowledgeable individuals in those places![236]

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: Šulgi A
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 30a
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: Šul.A_X$_1$
MUSEUM NUMBER: A 7533
</div>

[3.102]   danna 1-gin$_7$ šu niŋin-da / šag$_4$-ŋu$_{10}$ ha-ma-ab-dug$_4$

    danna   1-gin$_7$ šu niŋin-da   /
    danna   1=gin   šu—niŋin=ed=ø   /
    double-mile   one=EQU   hand—to encircle$_{H.CVR}$=INF+PURP=ABS$_{DO}$ /

    šag$_4$-ŋu$_{10}$
    šag$_4$=ŋu=(e)
    heart=POSS.1SG.HUM=(ERG)

    ha-ma-ab-dug$_4$
    he=mu=*A=b=dug$_4$=ø
    MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$= PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.AG}$=to say$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

    Indeed, my heart prompted me to traverse (it) / like it was 1 danna!

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: Šulgi A
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 39
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: Šul.A_N$_{III16}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: IM 58947
</div>

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EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[236] Other manuscripts do not have the pre-verbal {n} and as such validate the translation with a first-person agent.

[3.104] tum₁₂ᵐᵘšᵉⁿ nir-⌜DU⁷⌝ saŋ-bi dal-la-gin₇ a₂-ŋu₁₀ hu-mu-suř-suř

tum₁₂ᵐᵘšᵉⁿ	nir-⌜DU⁷⌝	saŋ-bi
tum₁₂	nirDU=(ak)	saŋ=bi=(e)
dove	*šibbu*-snake=(GEN)	head=POSS.3SG.NHUM=(LOCTR)

dal-la-gin₇	a₂-ŋu₁₀
dal=a=gin	a₂=ŋu=ø
to fly*ₕ*=PP=EQU	arm=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS_DO

hu-mu-suř-suř
he=mu=(e⁷)=suř:suř=ø
MP_EPI.ASV=CP_TR.ACT=(PRO_1SG.AG)=to be distant*ₕ*.CVR^{x2}=ABS_3SG.DO

Indeed, like a dove having firstly(?) flown (from?) a *šibbu*-snake, I swung my arms!

[3.105] anzudᵐᵘšᵉⁿ kur-bi-še₃ igi il₂-la-gin₇ / dub₃-ŋu₁₀ hu-mu-bad-bad

anzudᵐᵘšᵉⁿ	kur-bi-še₃	igi il₂-la-gin₇
anzud	kur=bi=še	igi—il₂=a=gin
anzud-bird	mountain=DEM=TERM	eye—to lift*ₕ*.CVR=PP=EQU

/	dub₃-ŋu₁₀
/	dub₃=ŋu=ø
/	knee=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS_DO

hu-mu-bad-bad
he=mu=(e⁷)=bař:bař=ø
MP_EPI.ASV=CP_TR.ACT=(PRO_1SG.AG)=to open*ₕ*.CVR^{x2}=ABS_3SG.DO

Indeed, like the *anzud*-bird having looked towards the mountain, / I went swiftly!

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[3.105] dub₃ he₂-ni-dub₂ a zal-le he₂-ni-tu₅

dub₃   he₂-ni-dub₂   a
dub₃=ø   he=ni=(e?)=dub₂=ø   a
knee=ABS_DO   MP_EPI.ASV=DI_LOC=(PRO_1SG.AG)=to tremble_H.CVR=ABS_3SG.DO   water

zal-e   he₂-ni-tu₅
zal=e(d)=ø   he=ni=(e?)=tu₅=ø
to pass_M=PURP=AP+ABS_DO   MP_EPI.ASV=DI_LOC=(PRO_1SG.AG)=CVVE_H.CVR=ABS_3SG.DO

Indeed, I bent the knee there! Indeed, I washed there with flowing water!

This has been a mere sampling of the Asseveratives in *Šulgi A*. The remaining examples are provided in APPENDIX B. At this juncture, evidence from *Lipit-Eštar A* will be presented.

Asseveratives are well at home in *Lipit-Eštar A* because the composition recounts the grandeur of the titular ruler. These Asseveratives are interspersed throughout the composition and seem to serve as a sort of braggadocious refrain to always keep the augustness of Lipit-Eštar at the forefront of the audience's minds:

[3.106] nundum inim-inim-ma he₂-du₇-me-en

nundum   inim-inim-ma he₂-du₇-me-en
nundum=ø   inim:inim=a   he=du₇=ø=(a)=me:en
lip=ABS_SBJ   word^{x2}=LOC MP_EPI.ASV=to be fitting_H=ABS_3SG.SBJ=(NMZ)=COP.1SG

I am one who has lips indeed befitting all words!

[3.107] nam-lugal-la he₂-du₇-bi-me-en

nam-lugal-la   he₂-du₇-bi-me-en
nam=lugal=a(k)=ø   he=du₇=ø=(a)=me:en
ABSTR=king=GEN=ABS_SBJ   MP_EPI.ASV=to be fitting_H=ABS_3SG.SBJ=(NMZ)=COP.1SG

I am one whose kingship is indeed perfection!

[3.108] niŋ₂ de₆-de₆ kaš₄-e he₂-du₇-me-en

    niŋ₂   de₆-de₆   kaš₄-e

    niŋ₂=ø   de₆:de₆=ø   kaš₄=e=ø

    thing=ABS$_{DO}$ to bring$_H$^{X2}=AP+ABS$_{SBJ}$ runner=DEM=ABS$_{SBJ}$

    he₂-du₇-me-en

    he=du₇=ø=(a)=me:en

    MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=to be fitting$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$=(NMZ)=COP.1SG

    As for one who brings many things, I am the epitome of a runner!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Lipit-Eštar A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 60
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *LiA*_N$_{III15}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: IM 50409

</div>

[3.109] suř-ra₂ ud ul-li₂-a-še₃ / gu₂-da hu-mu-ni-in-la₂

    suř-ra₂   ud   ul-li₂-a-še₃   / gu₂-da

    suř=a   ud   ulli=a=še   / gu₂=da

    to be distant$_H$=PP   day   to be distant (in time)$_H$=PP=TERM   / neck=CMT

    hu-mu-ni-in-la₂

    he=mu=ni=n=la₂=ø

    MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to hang$_{H.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

    She indeed has embraced me / eternally and forever![237]

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Lipit-Eštar A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 101
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *LiA*_N$_{17}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: HS 1492 + HS 1493 + HS 1557 + HS 2532 + HS 7432 + HS 2986

</div>

A final Asseverative from a Decad composition worthy of independent mention here occurs in *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*. This form merits mention in the main body of this chapter as it is an instance of Asseverative {he} appended to the independent copula in a question. This Asseverative occurs when the sun god Utu questions Gilgameš about what type of being he would be in the far-off mountain of the cedar forest:

<div align="center">

EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[237] Prototypically, gu₂—la₂ is a CV, but gu₂ is clearly marked here with the comitative suffix, not the absolutive.

<div align="center">

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</div>

[3.110] ŋuruš dumu-ŋir₁₅ [ni₂-zu]-a he₂-me-en kur-ra a-na-[bi-me]-en

ŋuruš	dumu-ŋir₁₅	[ni₂-zu]-a
ŋuruš=ø	dumuŋir=ø	[ni₂=zu]=a
young man=VOC	native son=ABS$_{SBJ}$	[self=POSS.2SG.HUM]=LOC

he₂-me-en	kur-ra	a-na-[bi-me]-en
he=me:en	kur=a	ana=[bi=me]:en
MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=COP.2SG	mountain=LOC	WH=[DEM=COP].2SG

Oh young man, you [yourself] are indeed a native son, but what are you in the mountains?

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 20
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_N$_{III5}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: N 2785 + N 3071 + N 4234

As this form occurs in a question, the Asseverative serves to engender doubt in the listener. By heightening his commitment to the fact that Gilgameš is a genuine denizen of Sumer, Utu is thereby strongly questioning what status he would have as a stranger in a foreign land. By juxtaposing a certainty with an uncertainty, Utu is trying to demonstrate to Gilgameš that his belonging in one locale does not equate universally to belonging in all others.

In the interest of brevity, the aggregate number of Asseveratives from the composite lines of all Decad compositions is given below in TABLE 3.5. This table does not account for manuscript variation and the numbers are representatives of all forms (i.e., both those cited in the chapter and those provided in APPENDIX B).

TABLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

TABLE 3.5. *Asseveratives in the Decad (According to Composite Lines)*	
Composition	**Number of Asseveratives**
Šulgi A	56
Lipit-Eštar A	4
The Song of the Hoe	0
Inana B	7
Enlil A	2
Keš Temple Hymn	1[238]
Enki's Journey to Nippur	2
Inana and Ebih	5[239]
Nungal A	1
Gilgameš and Huwawa A	10

To begin an examination of Asseveratives in the Gudea corpus, evidence will first be

cited from *Gudea Cylinder A*:

[3.111]   sa-tu-˹bi˺ eren duru$_5$ ha-š[u]-ur$_2$-ra šu he$_2$-tag-ga-am$_3$

sa-tu-˹bi˺		eren	duru$_5$	ha-š[u]-ur$_2$-ra
satu=bi		eren	duru$_5$=ø	haš[u]rra=(a)
upper part=POSS.3SG.NHUM		cedar	to be fresh$_H$=AP	cypress=(LOC$_{SOCV}$)

šu	he$_2$-tag-ga-am$_3$
šu=ø	he=(n)=tag=ø=a=am
hand=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to touch$_{H.CVR}$=ABS3SG.DO=NMZ=COP.3SG

"Concerning its upper part, it is indeed decorated with fresh cedar and cypress!"

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 596
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.A*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1512

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[238] This form occurs in a non-canonical line of the composition and is only fully preserved in one manuscript.

[239] One of these forms is highly broken in all manuscripts but has been deemed an Asseverative because it occurs in the context of other Asseveratives.

[3.112] hur-saŋ za-gin₃-na an-ki-a ki he₂-us₂-sa-am₃

hur-saŋ   za-gin₃-na   an-ki-a
hursaŋ   zagin=a(m)   anki=a
mountain range   lapis lazuli=COP.3SG   universe=LOC

ki   he₂-us₂-sa-am₃
ki=ø   he=(b)=us₂=ø=a=am
place=ABS_DO   MP_EPI.ASV=(PRO3SG.NHUM.AG)=to lean_H.CVR=ABS3SG.DO=NMZ=COP.3SG

"It is a lapis lazuli mountain rainge (and) indeed it reaches from earth to heaven!"

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 687
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.A*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1512

[3.113] urin e₂-da sig₁₀-sig₁₀-ga-bi / anzud₂^mušen kur-muš-a a₂'(DA) he₂-bad-ra₂-am₃

urin   e₂-da   sig₁₀-sig₁₀-ga-bi   /
urin   e₂=da   sig₁₀:sig₁₀=a=bi   /
standard   temple=CMT   to place_H^x2=PP=POSS.3SG.NHUM   /

anzud₂^mušen   kur-muš-a   a₂'(DA)
anzud₂=(e)   kurmuš=a   a₂=ø
anzud-bird=(ERG)   snake-mountain=LOC   arm=ABS_DO

he₂-bad-ra₂-am₃
he=(b)=bař=ø=a=am
MP_EPI.ASV=(PRO3SG.NHUM.AG)=to open_H.CVR=ABS3SG.DO=NMZ=COP.3SG

"Concerning its standards rammed in around the temple, / it is the case that all of them are (like) the *anzud*-bird that spreads its wings over the Snake-Mountain!"

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 750-751
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.A*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1512

The above examples constitute the entirety of Asseveratives in *Gudea Cylinder A*. Evidence from

Gudea Cylinder B would normally be presented at this juncture. Interestingly, however, *Gudea*

Cylinder B preserves no Asseverative forms, which seems peculiar for a royal inscription of its

length (i.e., 550 lines).[240]

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[240] As the Gudea cylinders constituted parts of one large composition, perhaps the lack of Asseveratives here reflects how in this part of the narrative the primary focus was on the inauguration of the temple. As the inauguration was focused on the gods and their relationship with the temple and had a less boisterous tone than *Gudea Cylinder A*, which focused on Gudea's great endeavor of building the temple, the lack of Asseveratives would be logical.

For the Gudea statues, only one Asseverative form is preserved. Since this form does not provide any new formal or functional insight, it is cited below without additional commentary:

[3.114] tukum_x(ŠU.TUR)-bi / mu-bi šu ur₃-de₂ / ŋeštug₂ he₂-em-ši-gub / mu-ni e₂
diŋir-ra-na-ta / dub-ta he₂-em-ta-ŋar

tukum$_x$(ŠU.TUR)-bi	/	mu-bi
tukumbi	/	mu=bi=ø
if	/	name=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS$_{DO}$

šu ur₃-de₂	/	ŋeštug₂
šu—ur₃=ed=e	/	ŋeštug₂=ø
hand—to drag$_{M(?)}$=INF=LOCTR$_{SOCV}$	/	ear=ABS$_{DO}$

he₂-em-ši-gub	/
he=im=ši=(n)=gub=ø	/
MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{VEN}$=DI$_{TERM}$=(PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$)=to stand$_{H.SG.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$	/

mu-ni		e₂	diŋir-ra-na-ta	/
mu=ani=ø		e₂	diŋir=ani=a(k)=ta	/
name=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS$_{SBJ}$		house	god=POSS.3SG.HUM=GEN=ABL	/

dub-ta	he₂-em-ta-ŋar
dub=ta	he=im=ta=ŋar=ø
tablet=ABL	MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=CP$_{VEN}$=DI$_{ABL}$=to put$_{H}$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

If / he has indeed set his mind / to erasing its name, / may / his name be removed from the house of his god, / from the tablet![241]

<div align="right">COMPOSITION: <i>Gudea Statue B</i>
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 347-351
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: <i>G.St.B</i>
MUSEUM NUMBER: AO 2</div>

As was done for the Decad, the aggregate number of Asseveratives from the composite lines of each composition in the Gudea corpus is given below in TABLE 3.6. As the inscriptional Gudea corpus does not have multiple manuscripts per composition, manuscript variation is a nonfactor. The numbers provided below are representatives of all forms (i.e., both those cited in the chapter and those provided in APPENDIX B).

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[241] Prototypically, ur₃ is a reduplication class *marû*. The semantics, however, seem to align more neatly with the *marû* tense-aspect.

TABLE 3.6. *Asseveratives in the Gudea Corpus*				
Composition	**Asseveratives**		**Composition**	**Asseveratives**
Cylinder A	3		*Statue I*	0
Cylinder B	0		*Statue K*	0
Cylinder Frag. 1	0(?)[242]		*Statue L*	0
Cylinder Frag. 10	0(?)[243]		*Statue M*	0
Cylinder Frag. 11(+2) & 12	0		*Statue N*	0
Cylinder Frag. 6	0(?)[244]		*Statue O*	0
Cylinder Frag. 7	0		*Statue P*	0
Cylinder Frag. 8+3+5+4	0		*Statue Q*	0
Cylinder Frag. 9	0		*Statue R*	0
Statue A	0		*Statue S*	0
Statue AA	0		*Statue T*	0
Statue B	1		*Statue U*	0
Statue C	0		*Statue V*	0
Statue D	0		*Statue W*	0
Statue E	0		*Statue X*	0
Statue F	0		*Statue Y*	0
Statue G	0		*Statue Z*	0
Statue H	0		*CUSAS 17.22*[245]	3

The data in the above table might strike some readers as peculiar because one might expect to find numerous Asseveratives in dedicatory inscriptions. The paucity of Asseveratives in this subcorpus, however, can be explained in a few ways. Firstly, many of these artifacts are fragmentary; therefore, it is possible that some Asseveratives have been lost. Secondly, some of these inscriptions are quite brief. In such instances, the inscription tends to record only the most important parts of the dedicatory act (i.e., benefactor and epithets, dedicator and epithets, purpose of dedication, verb of dedication, curse formulae; not all elements always present).

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[242] This fragment records various {he}-forms. Some are clearly deontic Optatives and two are independent {he}s serving a correlative function. The ones that are uninterpretable are likely Optatives in parallel with the interpretable ones, but technically the matter is open to debate.

[243] This fragment preserves two HE₂-signs. Neither are in contexts complete enough to determine if they belonged to a noun or a verbal prefix chain. As such, they have been left uninterpreted and merely mentioned here as potential (though ultimately undiscernible) evidence of more Asseveratives in the Gudea corpus.

[244] This fragment preserves two HA-signs. Neither are in contexts complete enough to determine if they belonged to a noun or a verbal prefix chain. As such, they have been left uninterpreted and merely mentioned here as potential (though ultimately undiscernible) evidence of more Asseveratives in the Gudea corpus.

[245] This text is preserved in a later copy. It is unclear on what sort of monument it might have originally been written. It has been included in the principal corpus because it is a bilingual royal inscription.

When the dedicatory act is reduced to this formula, the braggadocious claims of the dedicator are omitted from the text. Although the dedicator's self-aggrandizement is absent from the text in these cases it is not absent from the communicative event. Rather, the aggrandizement is conveyed to the audience via the high-quality material of the statue and the artistry of its manufacture. As such, the Asseverative – a grammatical function – has been removed from the linguistic dimension of the communicative event and placed fully into its visual dimension.[246] In this way, the inherent self-aggrandizing function of royal inscriptions is not lost, the functional burden is relegated to the visual dimension.

As has been done for the preceding corpora, only a smattering of evidence from the royal inscription subcorpus will now be cited. While the royal inscriptions in the principal corpus were limited bilingual compositions, monolingual inscriptions were admitted to the secondary corpus to allow for more representative diachronic data. Only the Old Babylonian bilinguals record Asseveratives and as such it was necessary to admit another composition simply to have a more representative body of data.[247] Specifically, one example from the Ur III period has been added (see: [3.115]) and is given alongside one from the Old Babylonian period (see: [3.116]) are given:

<div align="center">EXAMPLES ON FOLLOWING PAGE</div>

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[246] All royal inscriptions have a visual self-aggrandizing dimension parallel to the Asseverative function in the linguistic dimension. Some royal inscriptions, however, lack Asseveratives in their textual composition and instead convey that messaging purely visually in the communicative event.

[247] This composition has only been considered for this Asseverative analysis. Otherwise, it has been unsampled and excluded from any tables. It should also be noted that very few Sumerian Asseveratives from Early Dynastic or Sargonic royal inscriptions seem to be attested, hence the lack of any examples here (a few negative Asseveratives from this time and text type have been given earlier in §3.3.2). In fact, epistemic uses of {he} and {bara} are generally lacking in this subcorpus and largely restricted to denoting uncertainty in a protasis and in one instance affirmation via the independent usage of {he}. As will be discussed below, these realities might reflect the fact that Asseverative functions are usually acquired late in the development of epistemic modals; given this, it is possible that {he} and {bara} were less productive as markers of the Asseverative in the earlier texts (at least as MPs).

[3.115] Urim₂^{ki}-e gil-sa-aš / he₂-mi-ak

$$\text{Urim}_2{}^{ki}\text{-e} \qquad \text{gil-sa-aš} \qquad /$$

Urim₂^{ki}-e   gil-sa-aš   /
Urim₂=e   gilsa=š(e)   /
GN=LOCTR   treasure=TERM   /

he₂-mi-ak
he=mu=*I=(n)=ak=ø
MP_{EPI.ASV}=CP_{TR.ACT}=DI_{LOC}=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to do_ḫ=ABS3SG.DO

He indeed laid it out / for perpetuity at Ur!

[3.116] id₂-bi / hu-mu-ba-al

id₂-bi   / hu-mu-ba-al
id₂=bi=ø   / he=mu=(e?)=baʾal=ø
canal=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS_{DO} / MP_{EPI.ASV}=CP_{TR.ACT}=(PRO1SG.AG)=to dig_ḫ=ABS3SG.DO

I indeed dug / its canal!

ID₂-*šu lu aḫ-ri*
ID₂-*šu*
nāršu
river:BOUND.ACC.SG.POSS.3.MASC.SG

lu   *aḫ-ri*
lū   *aḫri*
EPI.ASV   to dig:G.PRET.1.COMM.SG

The distribution of the evidence from the royal inscriptions indicates that the Asseverative was poorly attested (at least in this bilingual corpus) in the earlier periods (i.e., the Early Dynastic and Sargonic periods) and became increasingly productive from the Ur III period onwards. This will become even more apparent below when the distribution is presented numerically in TABLE 3.7. The fact that the Asseverative as a function of the MPs {he} and {bara} seemingly increases overtime has significant typological implications that are explored in detail below.

First, however, a numerical summation of Asseveratives attested in the bilingual royal inscription subcorpus is given below in TABLE 3.7 (to see glossed examples of the forms not cited above, see: APPENDIX B). As with the preceding tables, the numbers reflect the count from the composite texts not the total when all manuscripts are considered:

TABLE 3.7. *Asseveratives in the Bilingual Royal Inscription Corpus (Composite Lines)*	
Composition	**Asseveratives**
RIME 2.1.1.1 (Sargon)	0
RIME 2.1.1.11 (Sargon)	0
RIME 2.1.2.18 (Rīmuš)	0
RIME 2.1.5.4 (Šar-kali-šarrī)	0
RIME 3/2.1.2.38 (Šulgi)	0
RIME 4.3.6.2 (Ḫammu-rāpi)	12
RIME 4.3.6.12 (Ḫammu-rāpi)	6
RIME 4.3.6.14 (Ḫammu-rāpi)	0
RIME 4.3.7.3 (Samsu-iluna)	4
RIME 4.3.7.5 (Samsu-iluna)	5
RIME 4.3.7.7 (Samsu-iluna)	0
RIME 4.3.7.8 (Samsu-iluna)	0
RIME 4.3.8.1 (Abī-ešuḫ)	0
RIME 4.3.9.2. (Ammī-ditāna)	0
RIME 4.3.10.1 (Ammī-ṣaduqa)	0

The change in productivity of {he} and {bara} as Asseverative markers in royal inscriptions over time might reflect an internal development in Sumerian that is well-attested typologically. In general, grammatical items that serve to modulate the illocutionary force of an utterance often derive from epistemic forms; in Japanese (Japonic), for example, the epistemic verb *daroo* (meaning "it seems…") has developed a secondary function of requesting confirmation (meaning "right?").[248] In the case of *daroo*, the illocutionary force of the associated utterance is modulated such that the act of pure questioning becomes an act of requesting confirmation in the form of an interrogative. In the case of the Sumerian Asseverative (positive and negative), the form seems to

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[248] Heiko Narrog and Toshio Ohori, "Grammaticalization in Japanese," in *The Oxford Handbook of Grammaticalization*, eds. Bernd Heine and Heiko Narrog. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 779-780.

have developed from the Deductive aspect of {he} and {bara} as markers denoting what the speaker has deduced to be the only possible case into markers denoting what the speaker insists is indeed the case at the time of utterance. It seems possible that the increase in Asseveratives over time indicates that the development of illocutionary force modifiers in Sumerian followed the prototypical grammaticalization pathway. With this viable account of the Sumerian Asseverative's diachronic background completed, the remainder of the evidence to be cited from the corpus will now be given.

To conclude the presentation of evidence, all Asseveratives from the *ditila*s are provided below. For this subcorpus, all examples can be cited here as the number is not overwhelming and there is no manuscript variation to consider (interestingly, all examples here are negative Asseveratives conjugated with {bara}):

[3.117] di ba-ra-a-da-ab-be$_2$-en$_6$
di   ba-ra-a-da-ab-be$_2$-en$_6$
di=ø   bara=e=da=b=e=en
lawsuit=ABS$_{DO}$ MP$_{EPI.NEG.ASV}$=PRO$_{2SG.IO}$=DI$_{CMT}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to say$_{M.SG.CVR}$=PRO$_{1SG.AG}$

"(Then) I *really* will not sue you!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *NSGU.II.20*
LINE NUMBER: 8
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *dit.20*
MUSEUM NUMBER: L.759

</div>

[3.118] [m]u lugal ba-ra-ab-gi$_4$-gi$_4$-de$_3$
[m]u   lugal   ba-ra-ab-gi$_4$-gi$_4$-de$_3$
[m]u   lugal=(ak)=ø   bara=b=gi$_4$:gi$_4$=ed=e
[na]me king=(GEN)=VOC   MP$_{EPI.NEG.ASV}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to return$_M^{x2}$=FUT=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

(He has sworn) / by the [na]me of the king that he will *never* return to the matter (in court)!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *NSGU.II.164*
LINE NUMBER: 3′
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *dit.164*
MUSEUM NUMBER: L.6734

</div>

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[3.119] mu lugal / $^{\text{m}}$Ur$_2$-ni$_3$-dug$_3$ arad E$_2$-lu$_2$-ta u$_3$-mu-du$_8$ / ba-ra-ba-g[i$_4$-gi$_4$-d]e$_3$ /
bi$_2$-in-[dug$_4$-g]a

mu	lugal	/	$^{\text{m}}$Ur$_2$-ni$_3$-dug$_3$	arad	E$_2$-lu$_2$-ta
mu	lugal=(ak)=ø	/	Ur-ni-dug	arad=ø	Elu=ta
name	king=(GEN)=VOC	/	PN♂	slave=ABS$_{\text{DO}}$	PN♂=ABL

u$_3$-mu-du$_8$ /
u=mu=(e)=du$_8$=ø=(a)   /
MP$_{\text{EPI.ANT}}$=CP$_{\text{TR.ACT}}$=(PRO$_{\text{2SG.AG}}$)=to ransom$_H$=ABS$_{\text{3SG.DO}}$=(SUBR)   /

ba-ra-ba-g[i$_4$-gi$_4$-d]e$_3$ /
bara=ba=g[i$_4$:gi$_4$=ed]=e(n)   /
MP$_{\text{EPI.NEG.ASV}}$=CP$_{\text{MID}}$=to re[turn$_M$$^{\text{x2}}$=FUT]=PRO$_{\text{1SG.AG}}$ /

bi$_2$-in-[dug$_4$-g]a
ba=*I=n=[dug$_4$]=ø=a
CP$_{\text{MID}}$=DI$_{\text{LOC}}$=PRO$_{\text{3SG.HUM.AG}}$=[to say$_{H.\text{SG}}$]=ABS$_{\text{3SG.DO}}$=SUBR

That "By the name of the king! / Once you have ransomed Ur-ni-dug-the slave, from Elu / I will *never* g[o ba]ck to it/that!" / he [swore], / (…)

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[3.120] mu lugal tukum-bi / ud 7-kam di ^{ŋiš}kiri$_6$-še$_3$ nu-gub-be$_2$-en$_6$ / ^{ŋiš}kiri$_6$ Du-du
in-ši-sa$_{10}$-a / kišib-bi nu-mu-de$_6$ ^{ŋiš}kiri$_6$ / ba-ra-ba-du$_7$-de$_3$-en$_6$ / bi$_2$-in-dug$_4$-ga

mu	lugal	tukum-bi	/	ud	7-kam
mu	lugal=(ak)=ø	tukumbi	/	ud	7=ak=am
name	king=(GEN)=VOC	if	/	day	seven=GEN=COP.3SG

di	^{ŋiš}kiri$_6$-še$_3$	nu-gub-be$_2$-en$_6$	/
di=(e)	kiri$_6$=še	nu=gub=en	/
lawsuit=(LOCTR)	garden=TERM	NEG=to stand$_{H.SG}$=PRO2SG.AG	/

^{ŋiš}kiri$_6$	Du-du
kiri$_6$	Dudu=(ak)=ø
garden	PN$_♂$=(GEN)=ABS$_{DO}$

in-ši-sa$_{10}$-a	/
i=n=ši=(e)=sa$_{10}$=ø=a	/
CP$_{NEUT}$=PRO3SG.HUM.IO=DI$_{TERM}$=(PRO2SG.AG)=to buy$_{L̯}$=ABS3SG.DO=SUBR	/

kišib-bi	nu-mu-de$_6$
kišib=bi=ø	nu=mu=(e)=de$_6$=ø
sealed tablet=DEM=ABS$_{DO}$	NEG=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=(PRO2SG.AG)=to bring$_{H.SG}$=ABS3SG.DO

^{ŋiš}kiri$_6$	/ ba-ra-ba-du$_7$-de$_3$-en$_6$
kiri$_6$=ø	/ bara=ba=(b)=du$_7$=ed=en
garden=ABS$_{DO}$	/ MP$_{EPI.NEG.ASV}$=CP$_{MID}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to be fitting$_{M(?)}$=FUT=PRO2SG.AG

/	bi$_2$-in-dug$_4$-ga
/	ba=*I=n=dug$_4$=ø=a
/	CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to say$_{H.SG}$=ABS3SG.DO=NMZ

That he has declared / "By the name of the king! If / you have not appeared at trial for the garden in(?) 7 days, / (and if) you have not brought a sealed document / that you bought Dudu's garden, / you will indeed *never* be fit (to own/dwell at) the garden!" / (…)[249]

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: NSGU.II.109
LINE NUMBER: 8-12
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: dit.109
ARTIFACT IDENTIFIER: TÉL 111L
</div>

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[249] Prototypically, du$_7$ seems to be a reduplication class *marû*. The pronoun patterning on this form, however, makes its identification as *marû* here secure.

[3.121] [Geme₂-ᵈNin-ŋir₂]-su-ka-ke₄ / [x x x x-d]i[b₂-e]-ra / [mu] lugal / [dumu A]-kal-la /
[in-tak]a₄-de₃-en₆ / [Geme₂-ᵈKal]-kal-la ba-ra-[tu]ku-tuku / [in- na-an]-dug₄-ga

[Geme₂-ᵈNin-ŋir₂]-su-ka-ke₄ /	[x x x x-d]i[b₂-e]-ra	/	[mu]
[Geme-Ninŋir]su=ak=ak=e /	[x x x x-d]i[b₂-e]-ra	/	[mu]
[P]N♀=GEN=GEN=ERG /	?	/	[name]

lugal	/	[dumu	A]-kal-la	/
lugal=(ak)=ø	/	[dumu	A]kala=(ak)=ø	/
king=(GEN)=VOC	/	[child	P]N♂=(GEN)=ABS_DO	/

[in-tak]a₄-de₃-en₆	/ [Geme₂-ᵈKal]-kal-la
[i=n=tak]a₄=ed=en	/ [Geme-Kal]kala
[CP_NEUT=PRO3SG.HUM.DO=to] abandon_M(?)=PURP=PRO2SG.AG	/ [P]N♀

ba-ra-[tu]ku-tuku	/
bara=(n)=[tu]kuːtuku=(en)	/
MP_EPI.NEG.ASV=(PRO3SG.HUM.DO)=to have_M^x2=(PRO2SG.AG)	/

[in-na-an]-dug₄-ga
[i=na=n]=dug₄=ø=a
[CP_NEUT=DI_DAT.3SG=PRO3SG.HUM.AG]=to say_Ḫ.SG=ABS3SG.DO=SUBR

That [Geme-Ninŋir]su / said / to [xxxx]-dibera / "By the [name] of the king! / The [daughter] of [A]kala, / (since) you abandoned her, / you will *never* marry [Geme-Kal]kala!" / (…)²⁵⁰

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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²⁵⁰ Prototypically, taka₄ is a reduplication class *marû*. The pronoun patterning on this form, however, makes its identification as *marû* here secure.

[3.122] Gem[e$_2$-šul dumu x]-nir-ra-a-tu [sip]ad anše / [Geme$_2$-šul]-e / [Ur-^{d}Lama]-ra /
[igi-ni in]-na-$^{\eta a_2}$ŋar-ra / mu lugal / ba-ra-mu-dug$_4$-dug$_4$ ^{tug_2}šu-g[ur-ra]-ŋu$_{10}$
saŋ-zu-še$_3$ ba-ra-ŋa$_2$-ŋa$_2$ / bi$_2$-in-dug$_4$-ga

Gem[e$_2$-šul	dumu	x]-nir-ra-a-tu	[sip]ad	anše	/
Gem[e-šul	dumu	x]-niratu=(ak)	[sip]ad	anše=(ak)	/
P[N♀	child	P]N♂=(GEN)	[shep]herd	donkey=(GEN)	/

[Geme$_2$-šul]-e	/	[Ur-^{d}Lama]-ra	/	[igi-ni
[Geme-šul]=e	/	[Ur-Lama]=ra	/	[igi=ani=ø
[PN♀]=ERG	/	[PN♂]=DAT	/	[eye=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

in]-na-$^{\eta a_2}$ŋar-ra	/	mu
i]=na=(n)=ŋar=ø=a	/	mu
CP$_{NEUT}$]=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to put$_H$=ABS3SG.DO=SUBR	/	name

lugal	/ ba-ra-mu-dug$_4$-dug$_4$
lugal=(ak)=ø	/ bara=mu=(e)=dug$_4$:dug$_4$=ø
king=(GEN)=VOC	/ MP$_{EPI.NEG.ASV}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=(PRO2SG.AG)=to say$_H$.SG^{x2}=ABS3SG.DO

^{tug_2}šu-g[ur-ra]-ŋu$_{10}$	saŋ-zu-še$_3$
šug[ura]=ŋu=ø	saŋ=zu=še
tur[ban]=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$	head=POSS.2SG.HUM=TERM

ba-ra-ŋa$_2$-ŋa$_2$	/
bara=(b)=ŋa$_2$:ŋa$_2$=(en)	/
MP$_{EPI.NEG.ASV}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to put$_M$^{x2}=(PRO2SG.AG)	/

bi$_2$-in-dug$_4$-ga
ba=*I=n=dug$_4$=ø=a
CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to say$_H$.SG=ABS3SG.DO=SUBR

Gem[e-šul, the daughter of X]-niratu, the donkey herdsman – / that [Geme-šul], /
before [Ur-Lama], / has appeared (and) said: "By the name of the king! / You
never spoke to me at all! You will *never* put my turban on your head!" / (…)

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COMPOSITION: *NSGU.II.26*
LINE NUMBER: 3-8
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *dit.26*
MUSEUM NUMBER: L.931

</div>

The *ditila*s are a logical place to find Asseveratives as they include parties in legal disputes.

Given the discourse context of a legal dispute, it is natural to have opposing parties that are

responding to a perceived doubt in the addressee by boosting their own commitment to the truth

of the assertion. As was mentioned before, all examples of Assveratives from the *ditila*s are

negative forms with {bara}. This is likely coincidence as it is equally possible for a party at court

to ameliorate a perceived doubt in the addressee via a positive Asseverative (ex., "Heath *really did* comply with the terms of his probation!").

Finally, it is worth highlighting here the difference between an epistemic Asseverative and a deontic Promissive (for which, see: §4.10) since the two can seem highly similar. The Promissive is the grammatical means by which a speaker commits his or herself to do something (ex., "I shall go."). First-person Asseveratives can seem like Promissives as they can entail a promise (ex., "I *really* will come to court tomorrow!"), but in these instances this is not a feature of the modal form. In an Asseverative, the speaker is taking a stance at the time of utterance that affirms his or her belief in the truth of the proposition. When said propositions refer to a future act to be done by the speaker there is an entailed promise. In sum, the promise is a secondary entailment. In Promissives, on the other hand, the express purpose is to commit the speaker to the future event. Stated more broadly, Asseveratives relate to the proposition (hence their inclusion in epistemic modality, a type of Propositional Modality) whereas Promissives relate to the event (hence their inclusion in deontic modality, a type of Event Modality). Finally, it is also worth noting that these two functions are also fundamentally different in that Asseveratives can be conjugated in any person, but Promissives are restricted to the first person.

At this point, the assignment of the Asseverative function to the MP {he} (when positive) and {bara} (when negative) has been sufficiently exemplified via a selection of data from multiple genres. This function seems to have been highly productive in Sumerian since many textual discourses have speakers asserting strong belief in the truth of the utterance. Naturally, however, the fact that the Asseveratives outnumber the other epistemic functions for these MPs is likely a reflection of the types of discourses preserved in the written record and not an unbiased representation of the distribution of epistemic notions in everyday speech. Simply put,

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there is no reason to believe that Mesopotamians did not communicate their speculations, doubts, deductions, and assumptions to one another in common discourse. Rather, written texts with modal language often reflect the self-interest of powerful individuals or the impassioned statements of individuals in tense legal disputes (i.e., environments suited for Asseveratives). While this section has not been exhaustively exemplified, the reader is directed to APPENDIX B to see the remaining Asseveratives (presented with glossing but without commentary) that were acknowledged during research but not selected for presentation here.

3.8 EPISTEMIC FORMS IN THE PROTASES OF CONDITIONALS

Epistemic modality's relationship to the protases of conditional sentences is a complex matter. Before it is possible to delve into this topic, the nature of conditional structures and their constituents must first be outlined. To this end, a summary from linguist Bernard Comrie will be cited here:

> In logic, conditionals (material implications) are defined as a relation between two propositions, the protasis (p) and the apodosis (q), such that either p and q are both true, or p is false and q is true, or p is false and q is false; excluded is the possibility of p being true while q is false. I maintain that this logical characterization is part of the characterization of conditionals in natural language (though, as will be seen below, a further restriction is necessary in natural language).[251]

> If a language has any conditional construction, then it will have one where the logical relation between the two propositions is the same as that given for material implication in the propositional calculus. From this, it follows that a language should not *just* have a construction with the meaning: 'p if an only if q' (i.e. the conditional is true if p and q are both true or both false, but not otherwise). This does not exclude the possibility that a language might have, in addition, conditionals with this more restricted truth table.[252]

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[251] Bernard Comrie, "Conditionals: A Typology," in *On Conditionals*, eds. Elizabeth Closs Traugott, Alice ter Meulen, Judy Snitzer Reilly, and Charles A. Ferguson. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 78.
[252] (emphasis original to source). Ibid., 79.

The linguistics literature on conditionals is vast, but the above quotes from Comrie sufficiently define their base function and their components. To summarize, conditionals are constructions that express that one thing is contingent upon another; structurally, they contain a protasis (alternatively referred to as the antecedent or hypothesis; commonly introduced by "if") that conveys the contingent element(s) required for the consequence(s) of the consequential clause, namely, the apodosis (alternatively referred to as the consequent or conclusion; commonly introduced by "then").

With the function and components of conditionals established, it is now important to investigate how said components interact with epistemic modality. Concerning apodoses, the situation is simple as any sort of epistemic predicate can logically occur in this environment. Apodoses constitute the main clause of the conditional sentence, and as such they convey assertions (i.e., speaker commitment to the truth value of the proposition). Since the apodosis contains a proposition and assertion it can easily be modulated by epistemic modality, which broadly has to do with the speaker's evaluation of the truth of a proposition. The protasis is a much trickier environment for epistemics to occupy because it is largely non-assertive (according to some scholars it is completely non-assertive).[253] The non-asserting power of protases is not as absolute as presented by some. This will be expanded upon below. Additionally, exactly why the environment of the protasis is largely non-conducive to most epistemic notions will be detailed in the ensuing paragraphs.

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[253] One scholar that argues against the assertive power of protases is Edward John Garrett. According to Garrett, "[i]n contexts where assertions cannot be made – for example, in the protasis of a condition – performatives do not occur." As will be shown, this dissertation does not follow Garrett's position on this matter. Edward John Garrett, "Evidentiality and Assertion in Tibetan." (PhD. diss., University of California Los Angeles, 2001), 9.

Based on cross-linguistic evidence, epistemics can clearly occur in protases, but this should be disallowed due to their supposed non-assertive character.[254] Clearly, the position that protases are entirely non-assertive is overly restrictive and must be nuanced to investigate how epistemic MPs work in Sumerian protases. To accomplish this, the general nature of epistemic modality will be re-examined once again.

As has been done for divvying up the sections of this chapter, epistemic modality can be subdivided into the various functions that convey the speaker's belief concerning the truthfulness of a proposition (i.e., Speculative, Deductive, etc.). This, however, is not the only way to understand the structure of epistemic modality as a category. It can also be bifurcated more generally into subjective and objective notional domains. Subjective epistemic modality expresses the speaker's belief concerning the validity or accuracy of a proposition based on a restricted set of personally available evidence at the time of utterance. Rarely do subjective modals contribute to the truth conditions of propositions.[255] Objective epistemic modals, on the other hand, contribute to the truth conditions of the proposition by staking a claim that is supported by a broad set of universally available evidence (i.e., that which is generally known to be the case) that is accessible to a well-informed speaker. Whereas subjective epistemics take conversational backgrounds that are dependent on the time of utterance, objective epistemics are

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[254] The exact nature of epistemic modals in protases is a hotly contested issue in linguistics. Rather than delving into the minutia, it is simply asserted here that epistemics can demonstrably occur in the protasis environment without delving into every linguistic difficulty that reality can or might entail. To cite one example of an epistemic modal in a protasis, consider the following English sentence: "If Paul may get drunk, I am not coming to the party." Anna Papafragou, "Epistemic modality and truth conditions," *Lingua* 116 (2006), 1696.

[255] Truth conditions are the variables that allow for a given world to be actualized (i.e., for *X*-world to be true, truth conditions α, β, and γ must be met). Subjective epistemic modals can generate truth-evaluable modals in certain environments, but they absolutely cannot occur in protases. As that environment is the sole focus of this discussion, the ways in which subjective epistemic modals can contribute to a proposition's truth conditions will not be presented in any greater depth here.

not limited to the immediacy of the here-and-now and can also refer to future and past possibilities.[256]

These two notions can be seen in the following example. In this sentence, the statement can be interpreted either subjectively or objectively depending on the status of the speaker:

[3.123]   It might be a close mayoral race.

If the speaker in [3.123] is an acritical thinker who strictly adheres to the biased views of a single news source, his or her opinion here would be subjective as his or her set of evidence would be severely limited and open to significant deficiencies. In such a scenario, the statement expresses the situation as he or she evaluates it at the time of utterance, but the truth conditions of the proposition are still up in the air given the speaker's unreliable background. Conversely, if the speaker is a wonkish pollster who follows such races as a profession, it is most likely that one would interpret the modal as objective and therefore as a reliable indicator of the proposition's truth conditions since his or her set of evidence would be considered completer and more reliable than the previously mentioned speaker. Objective interpretations such as this "contribute to truth conditions, since they mark an inference which is guaranteed by a stable and reliable body of data."[257]

The difference between the two can sometimes be subtle and only discernable by the hearer evaluating the authority of the speaker, but nonetheless the distinction is important as it conditions the distribution of epistemics in protases. Specifically, if the sentence in [3.123] is reformulated to occupy the protasis of a conditional it will only be grammatical if it is interpreted objectively:

[3.124]   If it might be a close mayoral race, people should expect delayed results.

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[256] Ibid., 1695.
[257] Ibid., 1691.

The protasis "If it might be a close mayoral race," in [3.124] can only be interpreted objectively. A subjective reading is disallowed because the "environment inside the antecedent of a conditional cannot be an environment in which the speaker performs a mental evaluation of a proposition with respect to [his or] her belief-set."[258] To make this more explicit, consider the agrammatical conditional in [3.125] where the modal in the protasis can only be interpreted subjectively:

[3.125] ¿If you must be joking, I'll be mad at you.[259]

As this example shows, a speaker cannot evaluate the truth conditions of a proposition in a protasis because the contingencies it establishes are not present realities available to the speaker for assessment.

Now that the theoretical principals underlying the role of objective epistemic modals in protases have been established, it is possible to examine the Sumerian data and explore how it aligns with linguistic expectations. An overview of how Sumerian constructs conditionals has been reserved for the following section (see: §3.10). For the purposes of this section, it is only important for the reader to know that epistemic {he} can occur on verbs in protases regardless of if they are marked by an overt clause-first "if"-particle.

Although it is clear that Sumerian permits epistemic modals in the protases of conditionals, it has yet to be explicitly formulated in the Sumerological literature exactly what epistemic nuance of {he} or {bara} is viable in such environments. The *Proverb Collections* are one set of texts where one finds a significant number of protases with epistemic {he} that can only make sense if the predicates are objective modals. Although these proverbs are brief and at

[258] Ibid., 1696.
[259] Ibid.

times highly abstruse, when their meanings are discernable, they elucidate much about Sumerian

epistemic protases. Consider the following example:

[3.126] ninda he$_2$-ŋal$_2$-la ^{d}nin-kilim i$_3$-ib$_2$-gu$_7$ / ninda ha-ma-ŋal$_2$-la / lu$_2$-kur$_2$-ra ib$_2$-gu$_7$

ninda	he$_2$-ŋal$_2$-la	^{d}nin-kilim
ninda=ø	he=ŋal$_2$=ø=a	ninkilim=(e)
bread=ABS$_{SBJ}$	MP$_{OBJT.EPI.SPEC}$=to exist$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$=SUBR	mongoose=(ERG)

i$_3$-ib$_2$-gu$_7$	/	ninda
i=b=gu$_7$=(e)	/	ninda=ø
CP$_{NEUT}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to eat$_M$=(PRO$_{3SG.AG}$)	/	bread=ABS$_{SBJ}$

ha-ma-ŋal$_2$-la	/ lu$_2$-kur$_2$-ra
he=mu=*A=ŋal$_2$=ø=a	/ lukura=(e)
MP$_{OBJT.EPI.SPEC}$=CP$_{EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=to exist$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$=SUBR	/ stranger=(ERG)

ib$_2$-gu$_7$
i=b=gu$_7$=(e)
CP$_{NEUT}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to eat$_M$=(PRO$_{3SG.AG}$)

"If there might be leftover bread, (then) the mongoose will eat it. / If I might have leftover bread, / (then) a stranger will eat it."

Here the speaker is taken to be an abstraction of a wise everyman who is privy to all Sumerian

cultural knowledge. By being an abstracted ideal, this speaker is not an entity that could logically

make a truth conditional evaluation in the protasis. More importantly, however, with this sort of

speaker, the epistemic form in the protasis makes good sense as an objective form. Since the

modal is uttered by an all-knowing concept of a speaker, it conveys that if the possibility of

leftover bread is actualized then an unintended entity will consume it. In this sense, it

communicates aphoristically that one must be careful apportioning present joy for future times

because the present is a certainty whereas innumerable things could prohibit future plans. This is

an objective epistemic expression since it asserts the inarguable possibility of having leftovers in

general without committing an individual speaker to the truth-evaluation of the presence of

leftovers at the time of utterance. In this case, the modal is a Speculative as it relates to a possible

conclusion, but given the specific constraints on epistemics in protases it is probably best

described as an "Objective-Speculative."[260]

Further evidence of objective epistemic forms in protases is attested elsewhere in the

Proverb Collections. Take as an example the following proverb which contemplates the nature of

good and evil:

[3.127] niŋ₂-erim₂-e / a₂-bi he₂-eb₂-kuš₂-u₃ / ᵈUtu me-da tum₃

niŋ₂-erim₂-e	/	a₂-bi
niŋ₂=erim₂=e	/	a₂=bi=ø
ABSTR=evil=ERG	/	power=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS$_{DO}$

he₂-eb₂-kuš₂-u₃	/	ᵈUtu
he=b=kušu=(e)	/	Utu=ø
MP$_{OBJT.EPI.ASSUM}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to be tired$_M$=(PRO$_{3SG.AG}$)	/	DN$_{\sigma}$=ABS$_{SBJ}$

me-da	tum₃
meda	(i)=tum₃=ø
WH	(CP$_{NEUT}$)=to bring$_{M.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

If Wickedness / will have exhausted its power, / then of what use will Utu be?

COMPOSITION: *Proverb 2 Collection 1*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 1-3
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Pr.2.Coll.1*_N₁ (F)
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 8044

Bendt Alster, the most recent editor, seems to take the {he}-form in the protasis as an

Asseverative and translates "If Wickedness exerts itself, how will Utu succeed!"[261] Alster's

translation is grammatically viable, but when the modal verb in the protasis is interpreted as an

objective epistemic evaluation whereby an authoritative speaker makes a highly informed

evaluation of possibility at the time of utterance, one arrives at a translation that better matches

the worldview of the Mesopotamians.

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[260] Including an "Objective-" or "Subjective-" qualifier is unnecessary outside of protases, but it is important to include the "Objective-" qualifier in these cases as it better describes how a modal form that is infelicitous in many of its manifestations is permitted in this environment in a given context.

[261] Alster, *Proverbs of Ancient Sumer*, Volume 1, 6.

In the context of this proverb, understanding the speaker as objective allows us to make sense of the epistemic {he}-form as a wiseman's informed perspective on the implications the elimination of wickedness would have on goodness, which a layman might not consider. In this proverb, the objective epistemic form has an Assumptive function (i.e., it expresses what the speaker deems to be a reasonable conclusion).

When a nuanced understanding of objective epistemic Assumptive {he}-forms in protases is combined with a philological approach that integrates the Mesopotamians' conception of Utu as judge in the netherworld at night, one arrives at a new perspective on this arcane proverb.[262] It is argued here that this proverb is a Mesopotamian expression of the Yin and Yang phenomenon in the guise of a rhetorical question (i.e., it draws attention to the interconnectedness of good and evil by questioning the implications of the elimination of one and not the other). Understanding the {he}-predicate here as an objective epistemic Assumptive in a protasis leads to the opposite interpretation of Alster. It is not "Utu cannot function if Wickedness exerts itself" (thus Alster) but "Utu cannot function if Wickedness can no longer function."

Another objective epistemic protasis occurs in the second proverb of *Collection One*, which relates to the nature of observation:

EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[262] For a discussion of Utu's role in the netherworld at night (along with his other functions associated with the eastern horizon), see: Christopher Woods, "At the Edge of the World: Cosmological Conceptions of the Eastern Horizon in Mesopotamia," *JANER* 9 (2009), 183-239.

[3.128] šag₄ ŋidru-ka i₃ ˹he₂˺-˹en˺-de₂ lu₂ na-m[e nu-z]u

     šag₄   ŋidru-ka   i₃

     šag₄   ŋidru=ak=a   i₃=ø

     heart   scepter=GEN=LOC   oil=ABS$_{DO}$

     ˹he₂˺-˹en˺-de₂   lu₂

     he=n=de₂=ø   lu₂

     MP$_{OBJT.EPI.ASSUM}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to pour$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$ individual

     na-m[e   nu-z]u

     nam[e=ø   nu=z]u=ø

     somebo[dy=ABS$_{SBJ}$ NEG=to kn]ow$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

     If one poured oil into the interior of a scepter, nobo[dy kn]ew.[263]

The message here seems to be that if one can reasonably assume that someone might have done something in private at some point in the past then that thing remains both done and undone if unchecked given the nature of observation. Until someone observes the resultant state (or lack thereof) it is unknown to all non-participants in the supposed act. In a sense, the objective epistemic Assumptive predicate in this protasis generates a sort of philosophical thought experiment regarding the nature of observation and perception akin to the famous question "If a tree falls in a forest and no one is around to hear it, does it make a sound?" The Proverbs can be mined further for additional examples of epistemic modals in protases, but the above citations sufficiently established the viability of the phenomenon. Accordingly, attention will now shift away from epistemic modal verbs in paratactic protases to the way they can occur in other paratactic constructions.

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[263] Alster translates: "If one pours oil into the inside of a scepter, nobody will know." Alster, *Proverbs of Ancient Sumer*, Volume 1, 24.

3.9 PREDICATES WITH {HE} OR {BARA} IN PARATACTIC CONSTRUCTIONS

At various points in this chapter, paratactic uses of clauses with predicates conjugated with epistemic {he} or {bara} have been presented without any discussion of their syntactic properties. This section will explain the various uses of these MPs to form paratactic constructions, but it will not cite data presented elsewhere in the chapter (in the interest of minimizing redundancy). These uses of {he} and {bara} are not directly related to the expression of epistemic notions. Rather they allow for the structuring of complex utterances in which modals occur. Given this, only one example per construction will be presented; this decision has been motivated by the fact that this dissertation is more interested in the modal predicates in said constructions than the constructions themselves. Nonetheless, these paratactic constructions merit attention.

The first construction to be mentioned here is the usage of an epistemic {he}- or {bara}-predicate in a sentence-initial clause to convey the protasis of a conditional. In these sorts of protases, there is no "if"-particle tukum(bi) (i.e., they are paratactic). Since the preceding section was dedicated to these sorts of protases, they will not be further discussed or exemplified. A type of paratactic conditional construction with modal predicates, however, was not mentioned in §3.8 and this requires comment here. Namely, when both clauses of a sentence have predicates in epistemic {he} and/or {bara} the resulting conditional is counterfactual (ex., "If I were a rich man, I would want for nothing"). A classic Sumerian example of a counterfactual conditional comes from the literary composition *Bilgames and Akka*:

EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[3.129] ⌈lu₂⌉-še lugal-ŋu₁₀ he₂-me-a / saŋ-ki huš-a-ni he₂-me-a

⌈lu₂⌉-še	lugal-ŋu₁₀	he₂-me-a	/
lu₂=še	lugal=ŋu=ø	he=me:a(m)	/
individual=DEM	king=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS_SBJ	MP_EPI.ASV=COP.3SG	/

saŋ-ki	huš-a-ni	he₂-me-a
saŋki	huš=ø=ani=ø	he=me:a(m)
forehead	to be angry_ḫ=AP=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS_SBJ	MP_EPI.ASV=COP.3SG

If that man over yonder were really my king, / his forehead would be terrifying!

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: Bilgames and Akka
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 71-72
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: Bil&Ak_N₁ (L)
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 6140
</div>

At this point in the composition, Bilgames's man Bihar-tura has gone out of the city to meet the rival king Akka only to be captured and questioned. At first, Akka catches sight of a common solider upon the rampart and asks Bihar-tura if that man is Bilgames. Bihar-tura elaborately replies in the negative by expressing how that man is obviously not his king because if he actually were then multiple things would be true that are currently not.

When a clause has a predicate in epistemic {he} or {bara} and it follows a clause that expresses a reality that allows for a possibility, the resultant construction expresses a causal relationship. In these causal constructions, the relationship is one of possibility, not ability. This is crucial to understand as the former is an epistemic notion and the latter a dynamic one.[264] The modal clauses in these constructions express what the speaker has mentally adjudicated to be possible at the time of utterance and not some general ability to perform in a certain fashion. This sort of causality is common for many different types of epistemic modal notions. Rather than citing examples here, the reader is directed to [3.86] for an attestation of one such construction.

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[264] As is mentioned elsewhere in this dissertation, dynamic modality is an important type of modality, but it has not been given a chapter here as it is generally not coded morphologically on the verb in Sumerian (with the obvious exception being the Abilitative use of the DI {da}).

A final paratactic construction to be mentioned here is the disjunctive usage of {he}. As was mentioned in §3.3.1, Sumerian forms disjunctive pairs by placing independent {he}s after two nouns in sequence thereby creating a sort of synchysis syntax of the type "NP₁ {he} NP₂ {he}" meaning "whether it be A or B." In some instances, disjunctive {he} occurs with the third-person singular enclitic copula (as in [3.130] below). An example of this construction from a *ditila* will be cited without additional commentary:

[3.130] kug-bi he₂-a / še-bi he₂-a / ki A-tu-ta [š]u la-ba-an-ti-a

kug-bi	he₂-a	/	še-bi	he₂-a
kug=bi=ø	he=a(m)	/	še=bi=ø	he=a(m)
silver=DEM=ABS_SBJ	DISJ=COP.3SG	/	barley DEM=ABS_SBJ	DISJ=COP.3SG

/	ki	A-tu-ta	[š]u
/	ki	Atu=ta	[š]u=ø
/	place	PN♂=ABL	[h]and=ABS_DO

la-ba-an-te₉-a
nu=ba=n=te=ø=a
NEG=CP_MID=PRO_3SG.HUM.AG=to approach_ḫ.CVR=ABS_3SG.DO=SUBR

(He swore …) / that, be it this silver / or be it this barley, / he did not receive it from Atu.

Although more could be said about Sumerian paratactic constructions involving modal forms, such discussions are best left for future work.

3.10   ANTERIOR {U}'S RELATIONSHIP WITH EPISTEMIC {HE}

The prefix {u}'s ability to convey that the clause its predicate occupies is temporally anterior to the following clause is uncontroversial and has been discussed elsewhere (see: §3.2 and its subsections). As such, its role as a purely temporal marker will not be discussed further

and no examples will be cited here.[265] What has been a matter of debate is {u}'s relationship to modality. Currently, most scholars dismiss {u} as non-modal and argue that it is either a "Vocalic Prefix" or an MP in form but not function. Continuing from the careful investigation into objective epistemic modality in protases, the quasi-modal nature of {u} will become readily apparent.

This section is dedicated to outlining {u}'s relationship with modal notions as well as its relationship to the MP class. Additionally, Sumerian protases in general will be briefly explored since they relate to anterior {u} conceptually. This is necessary because the phenomenon has seemingly never received dedicated attention and the formal mechanisms for constructing protases as well as the different nuances the various constructions convey have been unacknowledged. This dissertation, however, cannot fully delve into this important topic so the coverage will be non-exhaustive. A thorough investigation must be reserved for future research. Before delving into {u}, a description of protases marked with the prototypical Sumerian "if"-particle (i.e., tukum(bi)) will be given first to establish a baseline. Sumerian can also form unmarked protases with verbs in epistemic {he} or {bara}; these have been discussed elsewhere (see: §3.8) and thus will not be recounted here. Only after providing this background coverage of tukum(bi)-protatses will protases with {u} be investigated.

To begin, Sumerian places the particle tukum(bi) in the clause initial position to mark overtly that an indicative clause functions as an "if"-clause. This sort of clausal format is well-attested diachronically ([3.131] = Early Dynastic, [3.132] = Ur III, and [3.133] = Old Babylonian):

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[265] For an example of a purely temporal {u}-predicate, see [3.59] in §3.3.3.

[3.131] tukum$_x$(ŠU.TUR) / ^{d}En-lil$_2$ / lugal kur-kur-ra-ke$_4$ / An diŋir ki aŋ$_2$-ni / nam-šita$_6$-ŋu$_{10}$ / he$_2$-na-be$_2$ / nam-til$_3$-ŋu$_{10}$ / nam-til$_3$ / ha-ba-tah-he

tukum$_x$(ŠU.TUR)	/	^{d}En-lil$_2$	/	lugal
tukum(bi)	/	Enlil	/	lugal
if	/	DN$_♂$	/	king

kur-kur-ra-ke$_4$	/	An	diŋir
kur:kur=ak=e	/	An	diŋir
lands^{x2}=GEN=ERG	/	DN$_♂$	god

ki aŋ$_2$-ni	/
ki—aŋ$_2$=ø=ani=(ra)	/
place—to measure$_{H.CVR}$=AP=POSS.3SG.HUM=(DAT)	/

nam-šita$_6$-ŋu$_{10}$	/
nam=šita$_6$=ŋu=ø	/
ABSTR=entreaty=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$	/

he$_2$-na-be$_2$	/
he=na=b=e=e	/
MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to say$_{M.SG}$=PRO3SG.AG	/

/	nam-til$_3$-ŋu$_{10}$	/ nam-til$_3$
/	nam=til$_3$=ø=ŋu=ø	/ nam=til$_3$=ø
/	ABSTR=to live$_{H.SG}$=AP=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$	/ ABSTR=to live$_{H.SG}$=AP+ABS$_{DO}$

/	ha-ba-tah-he
/	he=ba=(b)=tah=e
/	MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=CP$_{MID}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to add$_M$=PRO3SG.AG

"If / Enlil, / king of the lands, / indeed supplicates / on my behalf / to An, his loving god, / may he add (additional) / life / to my life!"

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[3.132] tukum-bi nu-un-sug$_6$ / šer$_7$-da-am$_3$

tukum-bi	nu-un-sug$_6$	/
tukumbi	nu=n=sug$_6$	/
if	NEG=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to replace$_H$=ABS3SG.DO	/

šer$_7$-da-am$_3$
šerda=am
crime=COP.3SG

If he has not replaced it, / it is a crime.

[3.133] tukum-bi / ^{m}⌜Šu⌝-^{d}Lugal / u$_3$ Teš$_2$-me-^{d}Nin-gal dam-a-ni / u$_2$-gu ⌜ba⌝-an-de$_3$ / ^{m}Ar-bi-tu-⌜ra⌝-am / saŋ kug-babbar u$_3$ kug maš$_2$-bi / i$_3$-la$_2$-e-me-eš

tukum-bi	/	^{m}⌜Šu⌝-^{d}Lugal	/	u$_3$	Teš$_2$-me-^{d}Nin-gal
tukumbi	/	Šu-Lugal	/	u$_3$	Tešme-Ningal
if	/	PN♂	/	and	PN♀

dam-a-ni	/	u$_2$-gu
dam=ani	/	ugu=ø
spouse=POSS.3SG.HUM	/	CVNE=ABS$_{DO}$

⌜ba⌝-an-de$_3$	/	^{m}Ar-bi-tu-⌜ra⌝-am	/
ba=n=de$_3$=ø	/	Arbi-turam	/
CP$_{MID}$=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to pour$_{H.CVR}$=ABS3SG.DO	/	PN♂	/

saŋ	kug-babbar	u$_3$	kug	maš$_2$-bi	/
saŋ	kugbabbar	u$_3$	kug	maš$_2$=bi=ø	/
head	silver	and	silver	interest=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS$_{DO}$	/

i$_3$-la$_2$-e-me-eš
i=(b)=la$_2$=e=(a)=me:eš
CP$_{NEUT}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to hang$_M$=PRO3SG.AG=(NMZ)=COP.3PL

If / Šu-Lugal / and Tešme-Ningal, his wife, / disappear, / (then) Arbi-turam, / the capital silver and the silver (of) its interest / will pay.

Protases with modal nuances denoted by the MP {u} seem to be largely disallowed from taking the particle tukum(bi). Only one example of a tukum(bi)-protasis with its predicate conjugated with the MP {u} is known to the author:[266]

[3.134]   tukum-bi / Ur-am₃-ma sipad / nam-NE.RU-bi u₃-un-kuř / kišib₃-bi zi-re-dam

tukum-bi	/	Ur-am₃-ma	sipad	/
tukumbi	/	Ur-amma	sipad=(e)	/
if	/	PN♂	shepherd=(ERG)	/

nam-NE.RU-bi	u₃-un-kuř
namNE.RU=bi=ø	u=n=kuř=ø
oath=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS_DO	MP_EPI.ANT=PRO_3SG.HUM.AG=to cut_H.CVR=ABS_3SG.DO

/ kišib₃-bi	zi-re-dam
/ kišib₃=bi=ø	zir=ed=am
/ sealed tablet=DEM=ABS_SBJ	to destroy_M=OBLG=COP.3SG

If / (and?) when Ur-amma, the shepherd, / has taken the oath (about this matter), / (then) this sealed tablet ought to be destroyed.

COMPOSITION: *Fleecy Sheep Administrative Document (CST_533)*
LINE NUMBER: rev. 2-5
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: Misc.8_Umma₂
MUSEUM NUMBER: JRL 533

It is unclear if this sentence is purely anomalous and ultimately redundant. If, however, it is conveying some semantic distinction via this uncommon co-occurrence, it is possible that it means something along the lines of "if and when *X* does *Y*." In such sentences, the speaker would be explaining that the matter is hardly a conditional but rather an inevitability, which is generally marked with a predicate in {u} alone. The implementation of a tukum(bi) alongside an {u}-predicate in such cases would serve a rhetorical effect that highlights how in many similar cases the situation would be a mere possibility but in the present case is an absolute certainty that is only a matter a time. One could see such a rhetorical effect in modern American English if one imagined an FBI director telling the press "If and when we catch the President's would-be

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[266] Protases introduced by tukum(bi) that have modal predicates marked with MPs other than {u} are not under consideration here.

assassins…." Such a case would not be a matter of "if" as the nation's top investigative authority would not cease such a search and would have the means to make the criminals' capture an inevitability. To be clear, however, this nuance might be absent from the Sumerian and this co-occurrence could be purely idiosyncratic without some semantic dimension in need of teasing out.

The underlying logic behind predicates marked in {u} not occurring in tukum(bi) protases seems to be that once a clause has a marked modal form in final position then the cue is triggered in the listener to determine if the ensuing clause is standing as the apodosis via parataxis (see: §3.9). Some have also argued that a conditional can be formed paratactically when both the protasis and apodosis are in the indicative.[267] Such cases, however, are difficult to adjudicate as it is never entirely clear whether the particle tukum(bi) was omitted by semanto-pragmatically conditioned speaker choice or if the two options were equally productive and viable (rather than one being resultant of the other). At this juncture, prototypical Sumerian protases have been sufficiently discussed for the present purposes and attention can now shift exclusively to the function of {u}.

To begin, it will be argued that {u} can code generic conditionality on the predicate of a protasis that is best translated as "When/After *X*, then *Y*" when referring to a future action the completion of which allows for a subsequent action/state. This function is not prototypically modal, but it does concern the quasi-modal state of present unfulfillment. Within the environment of the protasis, it will be argued that these quasi-modal {u}-forms are examples of

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[267] W.H.Ph. Römer, *Einführung in die Sumerologie.* (Nijmegen: Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, 1984), 81.

if-backshift whereby modality is more or less bleached from the protasis.[268] This phenomenon

has been described well by linguist Barbara Dancygier:

> It should now be clear why the elimination of modality, which I called *if*-backshift, appears also in temporal clauses. In a sentence like *When the lights go out, the performance will start* the speaker is also making a prediction in the main clause, but the assumption in the *when*-clause is backgrounded to the prediction and not predicted itself. The difference between *if-* and *when*-clauses in this case is that an *if*-clause informs the hearer about an additional assumption which is not known to the speaker but used in arriving at the prediction, while the *when*-clause presents a similar assumption (also assumed, not predicted) to set the temporal parameter of the prediction.[269]

Before outlining {u}'s quasi-modal function as a conditional marker of *if*-backshift, the

phenomenon will be discussed further.

While on its surface an *if*-backshifted construction might seem to convey purely temporal

notions this is not the case. Rather, such constructions are the most common case of "a basic

linguistic metaphor of temporal distance, which consists in expressing various kinds of non-

temporal distance by using a temporally more distant form;" Sumerian {u}-clauses conform to

the typologically most common sort of metaphorical distance – namely, the distance is one "of

non-actuality ('distance' from reality or belief)."[270] The type of non-actuality related to *if*-

backshifted clauses is epistemic modality. Epistemic speaker stance "is a central parameter in

any analysis of conditional form and meaning" and "refers to the speaker's mental association

with or dissociation from the world of the protasis."[271] When the following examples are

compared, the difference between an "if"-protasis and an *if*-backshifted "when"-protasis

becomes readily apparent:

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[268] "The term 'backshift' should be applicable to every case of language use such that the time marked in the verb phrase is earlier than the time actually referred to." Dancygier, *Conditionals and Prediction*, 37.

[269] (emphasis original to source). Ibid., 48.

[270] Ibid., 38. The next most common types of metaphoric distance concern speaker subjectivity and evidentiality. See also: Suzanne Fleischman, "Temporal Distance: A Basic Linguistic Metaphor," *Studies in Language* 13.1 (1989), 1-50.

[271] Barbara Dancygier and Eve Sweetser, *Mental Spaces in Grammar: Conditional Constructions.* Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 108. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 45.

[3.135] If he decides to file the suit, the hospital's lawyer's will be allowed to interview him for discovery.

[3.136] When he decides to file the suit, the hospital's lawyers will be allowed to interview him for discovery.[272]

In [3.136], "when" "marks identification with an assumption," as is characteristic of epistemic modality, whereas "if" in [3.135] "in itself does not mark such identification with the protasis." With this in mind, the fact that {u} groups with the MPs in Slot One might be more than pure formal coincidence resulting from the process of grammaticalization. Rather, it might have grammaticalized most easily into Slot One precisely because it encodes in a clause a shade of speaker assumption (i.e., because it is peripherally epistemic).

Before turning to the Sumerian evidence, one brief typological parallel will be presented. In Japanese, one can mark a protasis with the suffix {ba} to unambiguously mark a clause as a hypothetical condition the fulfillment of which will bring about the results conveyed in the adjoining clause (i.e., the apodosis):

[3.137] omae ga   ike=ba   ore   wa   ika=nai
        you   NOM   to go=COND   I   TOP   to go=NEG

If you go, I will not go.[273]

It also possible, however, to mark protases ambiguously via the suffix {tara} to denote that the speaker assumes the condition is a near inevitability given what he or she generally knows to be the case in his or her everyday world:

EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[272] Ibid., 46. Dancygier and Sweetser sourced [3.135] from SP.HT.316; for information on this system of abbreviation, see: ibid., xvii.

[273] Anna Wierzbicka, "Conditionals and Counterfactuals: Conceptual Primitives and Linguistic Universals," in *On Conditionals Again*, eds. Angeliki Athanasiadou and René Dirven. CILT 143. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1997), 24.

[3.138] syuzin   ga   kaette   ki=tara   tazune=mas=yoo
         husband   SBJ   returning   to come=if/when   to ask=POL=FUT

If/When my husband comes home, I will ask.[274]

In the above examples, it can be seen how Japanese has a formal mechanism for *if*-backshifting a

protasis into a clause of anteriority (i.e., {tara}) that is functionally distinct from the

unambiguous hypothetical protasis marker (i.e., {ba}). In this way, Japanese is parallel to

Sumerian in that both have separate means of marking true protases and *if*-backshifted ones.

Sumerian uses tukum(bi) or parataxis to mark the former and {u} to mark the latter. Having

outlined how {u} is quasi-modal given its relationship to conditionality, supporting evidence

from the corpus will now be cited.

To begin, evidence of {u} as a marker of quasi-modal anteriority will be cited from a

Gudea statue. In the following example, Gudea is stating how an ideal future ruler of Lagaš will

behave with respect to his reign and building accomplishments:

<div align="center">EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE</div>

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[274] Ibid., 23.

[3.139] lu₂ diŋir-ŋu₁₀-gin₇ / ᵈNin-ŋir₂-su-ke₄ / diŋir-ra-ni / uŋ₃-ŋa₂ gu₃ u₃-ma-ni-de₂-a / e₂
diŋir-ŋa₂-ke₄ / igi-tum₃-la / na-ab-ak-ke₄

lu₂	diŋir-ŋu₁₀-gin₇	/	ᵈNin-ŋir₂-su-ke₄	/
lu₂	diŋir=ŋu=gin	/	Ninŋirsu=(a)k=e	/
individual	god=POSS.1SG.HUM=EQU	/	DN♂=GEN=ERG	/

diŋir-ra-ni	/	uŋ₃-ŋa₂	gu₃
diŋir=ani=(e)	/	uŋ₃=a	gu₃=ø
god=POSS.1SG.HUM=(ERG)	/	populace=LOC	voice=ABS_DO

u₃-ma-ni-de₂-a	/	e₂
u=imma=ni=(n)=de₂=ø=a	/	e₂
MP_EPI.ANT=CP_MID=DI_LOC=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to pour_H.CVR=ABS3SG.DO=SUBR	/	house

diŋir-ŋa₂-ke₄	/	igi-tum₃-la	/
diŋir=ŋu=ak=e	/	igitumla	/
god=POSS.1SG.HUM=GEN=LOCTR	/	?	/

na-ab-ak-ke₄
na=b=ak=e
MP_DEO.NEG.OPT=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to do_M=PRO3SG.AG

When (there is) someone (in the future) whom Ninŋirsu, his god – as my god (addressed me) – has (directly) addressed within the crowd, may he, thereafter, not be envious(?) with regard to the house of my (personal) god![275]

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Statue I*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 35-41
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.St.I*
MUSEUM NUMBER: AO 3293 + AO 4108

In this sentence, Gudea is not referring to the possibility of Lagaš having another ruler at some point in the future. Gudea was a mortal man and was well aware of his inevitable death. Furthermore, he was by all accounts a dutiful steward of Lagaš and one could reasonably assume that he wanted another ruler to protect his beloved land following his death. Given this, the "when/after"-clause expresses the conditions under which a future ruler will have the opportunity to meet Gudea's expectation (i.e., his death and the need for a successor). These conditions are not matters of pure hypothetical possibility – Gudea would one day die like all rulers before him, and someone would assume authority over Lagaš to fill the power vacuum just as he had done.

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[275] There is a verbatim duplicate of this section in *Gudea Statue P* (col. iv lns. 6-8).

Because the text is describing an inevitable reality the occurrence of which would be necessary for a resultant action/state, the predicate was marked with {u}. Had this protasis been marked in tukum(bi), these conditions would have been stated as mere possibilities, which was known by speaker and audience alike not to be the case.

The next sentence to be cited occurs in an Ur III royal inscription of Amar-Suʾena. Like [3.139] above, this sentence refers to a situation that the speaker believes to be an inevitability:[276]

[3.140] lu_2 e_2 a-ba-sumun / u_3-un-du_3 / mu-sar-ra-bi / u_3 ^{ŋeš}šu-kar_2-bi ki-gub-ba-bi / nu-ub-da-ab-kur_2-re-a

lu_2	e_2	a-ba-sumun
lu_2=(e)	e_2=ø	u=ba=sumun=ø=(a)
individual=(ERG)	house=ABS$_{SBJ}$	MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=CP$_{NTR.MID}$=to be old$_{tf}$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$=(SUBR)

/	u_3-un-du_3	/
/	u=n=du_3=ø=(a)	/
/	MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to build$_{tf}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=(SUBR)	/

mu-sar-ra-bi	/	u_3
musara=bi	/	u_3
inscription=POSS.3SG.NHUM	/	and

^{ŋeš}šu-kar_2-bi	ki-gub-ba-bi	/
šukar=bi	kiguba=bi=ø	/
implement=POSS.3SG.NHUM	station=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS$_{DO}$	/

nu-ub-da-ab-kur_2-re-a
nu=b=da=b=kur_2=e=a
NEG=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.IO}$=DI$_{CMT}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to change$_M$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$=SUBR

(When) the man who / (re-)builds the temple having aged, / and its inscription / and wooden fixture and its standing place, / does not alter / (…)

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[276] This sentence refers to the refurbishment of a temple by a future ruler. Technically, a future ruler could choose not to refurbish the temple. The dedicator (i.e., the speaker), however, does not believe that to be a realistic possibility given his belief in the augustness of the deity, the greatness of his own work, and the polity's deservedness to have dutiful rulers in the future.

This example is conceptually parallel to [3.139] as the dedicator knows that the event will inevitably occur given the nature of time. To communicate the cause-and-effect relationship here the clause whose realization will trigger a consequence has its predicate marked with {u}.

The next set of evidence comes from the *ditila*s. These texts are natural environments for predicates marked with {u} because they often recount legal dilemmas that have cause-and-effect aspects colored by the epistemic stance of the speaker. In the following two examples, the speakers refer to events that are most likely to be the case in the future and whose completion will trigger a resultant act/state:

[3.141] mu lugal / ^{m}Ur$_2$-ni$_3$-dug$_3$ arad E$_2$-lu$_2$-ta u$_3$-mu-du$_8$ / ba-ra-ba-g[i$_4$-gi$_4$-d]e$_3$ / bi$_2$-in-[dug$_4$-g]a

mu	lugal	/	^{m}Ur$_2$-ni$_3$-dug$_3$	arad	E$_2$-lu$_2$-ta
mu	lugal=(ak)=ø	/	Ur-ni-dug	arad=ø	Elu=ta
name	king=(GEN)=VOC	/	PN♂	slave=ABS$_{DO}$	PN♂=ABL

u$_3$-mu-du$_8$ /
u=mu=(e)=du$_8$=ø=(a)   /
MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=(PRO$_{2SG.AG}$)=to ransom$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=(SUBR)   /

ba-ra-ba-g[i$_4$-gi$_4$-d]e$_3$ /
bara=ba=g[i$_4$:gi$_4$=ed]=e(n)   /
MP$_{EPI.NEG.ASV}$=CP$_{MID}$=to re[turn$_M$^{x2}=FUT]=PRO$_{1SG.AG}$ /

bi$_2$-in-[dug$_4$-g]a
ba=*I=n=[dug$_4$]=ø=a
CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=[to say$_{H.SG}$]=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=SUBR

That "By the name of the king! / Once you have ransomed Ur-ni-dug, the slave, from Elu, / I will *never* g[o ba]ck to it/that!" / he [swore], / (…)

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: NSGU.II.28
LINE NUMBER: 8′-11′
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: dit.28
MUSEUM NUMBER: L.6534
</div>

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[3.142] I-pa$_2$-li$_2$-is-e / 16 še gur ib$_2$-sug$_6$-sug$_6$ / 2 še gur a-šag$_4$ u$_3$-gid$_2$ / maš$_2$ a-šag$_4$-ga
a-ba-ra-zig$_3$ /dab$_5$-ba maš$_2$ i$_3$-ib$_2$-ŋa$_2$-ŋ[a$_2$]

I-pa$_2$-li$_2$-is-e	/	16	še	gur
Ipallis=e	/	16	še	gur
PN$_\male$=ERG	/	sixteen	barley	~300 L

ib$_2$-sug$_6$-sug$_6$	/	2	še	gur
i=b=sug$_6$:sug$_6$=(e)	/	2	še	gur
CP$_{NEUT}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to replace$_M$^{x2}=(PRO3SG.AG)	/	two	barley	~300 L

a-šag$_4$	u$_3$-gid$_2$	/
ašag=ø	u=(e)=gid$_2$=ø=(a)	/
field=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=(PRO2SG.AG)=to drag$_H$=ABS3SG.DO=(SUBR)	/

maš$_2$	a-šag$_4$-ga
maš$_2$=ø	ašag=a
interest=ABS$_{DO}$	field=LOC

a-ba-ra-zig$_3$
u=ba=ta=(n)=zig$_3$=ø=(a)
MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{ABL}$=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to raise$_H$=ABS3SG.DO=(SUBR)

/ dab$_5$-ba	maš$_2$	i$_3$-ib$_2$-ŋa$_2$-ŋ[a$_2$]
/ dab$_5$=a=a	maš$_2$=ø	i=b=ŋa$_2$:ŋ[a$_2$=(e)]
/ to seize=PP=LOC	interest=ABS$_{DO}$	CP$_{NEUT}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to p[ut$_M$^{x2}=(PRO3SG.AG)]

(... then) / Ippalis / will replace/repay 16 *gur* barley. / If, after you cultivate a field (you only have) 2 *gur* barley, / he will levy an interest rate on the field for you, / he will a[dd] (the) interest to the borrowed barley; / (…)

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *NSGU.II.144*
LINE NUMBER: 11-15
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *dit.144*
MUSEUM NUMBER: AO 6170

</div>

A final group examples will be cited to conclude this section. First, the remaining attestations from the principal corpus will be given in [3.143]-[3.151]. Example [3.143] comes from *The Exaltation of Inana* during the narrator's opening prayer. Examples [3.144] and [3.145] are from *Enlil in the Ekur*, specifically near the end when the narrator is praising the titular god. A sizable set of {u}-clauses from the *Nungal Hymn* follow in [3.146]-[3.151]. Finally, an example from the *Instructions of Šuruppak* is given in [3.152]. These examples provide a neat terminus to this section and are presented without additional commentary.

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[3.143] inim kug-zu u₃-bi₂-in-dug₄ ki ŋiri₃-zu he₂-eb-「gi₄」

    inim   kug-zu
    inim   kug=ø=zu=ø
    word   to be holy$_H$=AP=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

    u₃-bi₂-in-dug₄
    u=ba=*I=n=dug₄=ø=(a)
    MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to say$_{H.SG}$=ABS3SG.DO=(SUBR)

    ki   ŋiri₃-zu
    ki=(e)   ŋiri₃=zu=ø
    place=(ERG)   foot=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

    he₂-eb-「gi₄」
    he=b=gi₄=ø
    MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.AG=to return$_H$=ABS3SG.DO

    When/After one speaks your holy words (and) thus can the earth return under your feet, / (…)

[3.144] [an]-ne₂ um-ma-te 「he₂」-ŋal₂-la-am₃

    [an]-ne₂   um-ma-te
    [an]=e   u=imma=te=ø=(a)
    [heaven]=LOCTR   MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=CP$_{NTR.MID}$=to approach$_H$=ABS3SG.SBJ=(SUBR)

    「he₂」-ŋal₂-la-am₃
    heŋal=am
    abundance=COP.3SG

    When it approaches heaven, it is (approaching with) abundance;

[3.145] [ki] um-ma-te giri$_{17}$-$^{\ulcorner}$zal$^{\urcorner}$-la-am$_3$

 [ki] um-ma-te
 [ki]=(e) u=imma=te=ø=(a)
 [place]=(LOCTR) MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=CP$_{NTR.MID}$=to approach$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$=(SUBR)

 giri$_{17}$-$^{\ulcorner}$zal$^{\urcorner}$-la-am$_3$
 girizal=am
 joy=COP.3SG

 When it approaches earth, it is (approaching with) joy;

COMPOSITION: *Enlil in the Ekur*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 148
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *EnlEk* N$_{16}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: IM 58420

[3.146] saŋ$^{\urcorner}$(KUŠ$_2$) um-de$_6$ lu$_2$-lu$_7$$^{\urcorner}$(IRI) me-lim$_4$-ba saŋ nu-mu-un-de$_3$-ŋa$_2$-ŋa$_2$

 saŋ$^{\urcorner}$(KUŠ$_2$) um-de$_6$ lu$_2$-lu$_7$$^{\urcorner}$(IRI)
 saŋ=ø u=im=de$_6$=ø=(a) luʾulu =(e)
 head=ABS$_{SBJ}$ MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=CP$_{VEN}$=to bring$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$=(SUBR) humanity=(ERG)

 me-lim$_4$-ba saŋ
 melim=bi=a saŋ=ø
 aura=POSS.3SG.NHUM=LOC$_{SOCV}$ head=ABS$_{DO}$

 nu-mu-un-de$_3$-ŋa$_2$-ŋa$_2$
 nu=mu=n=da=(b)=ŋa$_2$:ŋa$_2$=(e)
 NEG=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.IO}$=DI$_{CMT+ABIL}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to put$_{M.CVR}$^{x2}=(PRO$_{3SG.AG}$)

 When an individual is brought in, he cannot resist its aura.

COMPOSITION: *Nungal Hymn*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 34
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Nu_* N$_{I1}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 13931 + UM 29-16-49

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[3.147] šul diŋir-ra-na li-bi$_2$-in-dug$_4$-ga sa$_2$ um-ma-ni-⸢dug$_4$⸣

šul	diŋir-ra-na
šul	diŋir=ani=a(k)=ø
young man	god=POSS.3SG.NHUM=GEN=ABS$_{DO}$

li-bi$_2$-in-dug$_4$-ga
nu=ba=*I=n=dug$_4$=ø=a=(e)
NEG=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to say$_{H.SG}$=ABS3SG.DO=SUBR+NMZ=(ERG)

sa$_2$	um-ma-ni-⸢dug$_4$⸣
sa$_2$=ø	u=imma=ni=n=dug$_4$=ø=(a)
advice=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to say$_{H.SG.CVR}$=ABS3SG.DO=(SUBR)

When a young man of whom his god disapproves(?) arrives, / (…)

[3.148] [e$_2$]-⸢gal⸣ lugal-la-ke$_4$ saŋ um-de$_6$ / lu$_2$ šer$_7$-da ba-šum$_2$-mu

[e$_2$]-⸢gal⸣	lugal-la-ke$_4$	saŋ
[e]gal	lugal=ak=e	saŋ=ø
[p]alace	king=GEN=LOCTR	head=ABS$_{SBJ}$

um-de$_6$	/	lu$_2$
u=im=de$_6$=ø=(a)	/	lu$_2$
MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=CP$_{VEN}$=to bring$_{H.SG}$=ABS3SG.SBJ=(SUBR)	/	individual

šer$_7$-da	ba-šum$_2$-mu
šerda=ø	ba=(b)=šum$_2$=e
crime=ABS$_{DO}$	CP$_{MID}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to give$_M$=PRO3SG.AG

"When someone has been brought to the [p]alace of the king / who is accused of a capital offense," / (…)

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[3.149] šag₄ diŋir-ra-na u₃-mu-un-⌈na⌉-an-[huŋ]

šag$_4$ diŋir-ra-na
šag$_4$ diŋir=ani=a(k)=ø
heart god=POSS.3SG.NHUM=GEN=ABS$_{DO}$

u₃-mu-un-⌈na⌉-an-[huŋ]
u=mu=na=b(!)=[huŋ=ø=(a)]
MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.AG}$=[to pacify$_{tf}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=(SUBR)]

"When it has [appeased] the heart of his god for him," / (…)

[3.150] kug sag₉-ga-gin₇ šu u₃-ni-ib-su-ub? / […] sahar u₃-mu-un-ta-zalag

kug sag₉-ga-gin₇ šu
kug sag₉=a=gin₇ šu=ø
silver to be good=PP=EQU hand=ABS$_{DO}$

u₃-ni-ib-su-ub? / […] sahar
u=ni=b=sub=ø=(a) / […] sahar=ø
MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.AG}$=to rub$_{tf}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=(SUBR) / […] dust=ABS$_{DO}$

u₃-mu-un-ta-zalag
u=mu=b(!)=ta=(n)=zalag=ø=(a)
MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.IO}$=DI$_{ABL}$=(PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$)=to shine$_{tf}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=(SUBR)

"When it has polished him like good quality silver, / […] when it has made him shine forth through the dust," / (…)

[3.151] kug saŋ bar kug-ge šud$_x$(KA.ŠU)-a gub-ba-gin$_7$ / sahar u$_3$-mu-un-ta-luh-luh

kug	saŋ	bar	kug-ge	šud$_x$(KA.ŠU)-a
kug	saŋ	bar=ø	kug=e	šud$_3$=a
silver	head	outside=ABS$_{DO}$	silver=ERG	prayer=LOC

gub-ba-gin$_7$	/	sahar
gub=a=gin	/	sahar=ø
to stand$_{H.SG}$=PP=EQU	/	dust=ABS$_{DO}$

u$_3$-mu-un-ta-luh-luh
u=mu=b(!)=ta=(n)=luh:luh=ø=(a)
MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.IO}$=DI$_{ABL}$=(PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$)=to
        clean$_H$^{x2}=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=(SUBR)

"When it has cleansed him of dirt / like silver of the best quality," / (…)

[3.152] saŋ kur-ra kur-bi um-ta-a-e$_{11}$ / lu$_2$ ki nu-zu-a-ni-ta u$_3$-me-de$_6$ / dumu-ŋu$_{10}$ ki ^{d}Utu
e$_3$-a-še$_3$ / a hu-mu-ra-an-de$_2$-e igi-zu-še$_3$ he$_2$-du

saŋ	kur-ra	kur-bi
saŋ	kur=a(k)=ø	kur=bi=(ta)
person	mountain=GEN=ABS$_{DO}$	mountain=DEM=(ABL)

um-ta-a-e$_{11}$	/
u=b=ta=e=e$_{11}$=ø=(a)	/
MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.IO=DI$_{ABL}$=PRO2SG.AG=to go down$_{H}$=ABS3SG.DO=(SUBR)	/

lu$_2$	ki	nu-zu-a-ni-ta
lu$_2$=ø	ki	nu=zu=a=ani=ta
individual=ABS$_{DO}$	place	NEG=to know$_{H}$=PP+NMZ=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABL

u$_3$-me-de$_6$	/
u=b=(ta)=e=de$_6$=ø=(a)	/
MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.IO=(DI$_{ABL}$)=PRO2SG.AG=to bring$_{H.SG}$=ABS3SG.DO=(SUBR)	/

dumu-ŋu$_{10}$	ki	^{d}Utu	e$_3$-a-še$_3$	/
dumu=ŋu=ø	ki	Utu	e$_3$=ø=a(k)=še	/
child=POSS.1SG.HUM=VOC	place	DN$_♂$	to leave$_{H}$=AP=GEN=TERM	/

a	hu-mu-ra-an-de$_2$-e
a=ø	he=mu=ra=b(!)=de$_2$=e
water=ø	MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.2SG}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to pour$_{M.CVR}$=PRO3SG.AG

igi-zu-še$_3$	he$_2$-du
igi=zu=še	he=du=ø
eye=POSS.2SG.HUM=TERM	MP$_{DEO.COMPL}$=to go$_{M.SG}$=ABS3SG.SBJ

When/Once you have brought a slave down from the mountains, / when/once you
have brought a man from his unknown place, / oh my son, towards the place
where the sun rises / he will then walk in front of you libating water for you!

3.11   DEBATABLE

As will be the case for the "Debatable" sections in every chapter, the discussion here

cannot be truly exhaustive. The interpretation of modal semantics is highly difficult at times and

frequently open to alternate interpretations. To make sections such as this manageable, only a

selection of forms that have been deemed particularly confusing and/or problematic will be cited.

This section will cite only one verb in *Gudea Statue B* whose orthography could be argued to include the MP {u}. It will be shown, however, that this form is best understood as a non-modal predicate with no MP. This form occurs within a series of clauses that explain what a future rule might do that would warrant him being cursed. These lines can be translated thusly (italicized portions correspond to {u}-clauses):

> He who removes from the E-ninnu the statue of Gudea, the ruler of Lagaš, who had built Ninŋirsu's E-ninnu; who rubs off the inscription thereon; who destroys (the statue); at the beginning of a prosperous New Year – *(when there is) someone (in the future) whom Ninŋirsu, his god – as my god (addressed me) – has (directly) addressed within the crowd*, (and it is the case that) said man (wr. he) disregards my judgements and feels compelled to make a reduction in my food allotments; who, *after he adds his own name*, he deletes my name from the collections of songs addressed to me; (…)

Both {u}-predicates in this series are transparently written with the U_3-sign and show no allomorphic specificity (exs., ln. 284: gu₃ u₃-na-de₂-a; ln. 290: u₃-ta-ŋar). The verb in the clause between these two, however, begins with the sequence i₃-ib₂-…, which some might be tempted to interpret as an {u}-predicate written to show allomorphy given the surrounding forms:

[3.153] di kuř-a-ŋa₂ / šu i₃-ib₂-bal-e-a

      di kuř-a-ŋa₂   /

      di—kuř=a=ŋu=a   /

      lawsuit—to cut_{H.CVR}=PP=POSS.1SG.HUM=LOC   /

      šu   i₃-ib₂-bala-e-a

      šu=ø   i=*I=b=bala=e=a=a(m)

      hand=ABS_{DO}   CP_{NEUT}=DI_{LOC}=PRO_{3SG.NHUM.DO}=to turn_{M.CVR}=PRO_{3SG.AG}=NMZ=COP.3SG

      (and it is the case that) said man (wr. he) disregards / my judgements

It would not necessarily be unreasonable to interpret certain forms in the Gudea statues as allographic writings of {u}-predicates considering that the corpus is one of the earliest that

exhibits allomorphic variation. In the above example, however, the semantics disallow the predicate from being an {u}-predicate. In these lines, conditions for becoming cursed in the future are being outlined. In this context, anterior {u}-predicates only occur to describe a precondition for a subsequent action the latter of which would merit becoming cursed. The clause in [3.153] describes the subsequent action permitted by the preceding {u}-clause (i.e., "when there is) someone (in the future) whom Ninŋirsu, his god – as my god (addressed me) – has (directly) addressed within the crowd"). As the clause in [3.153] is not temporally anterior to a subsequent action expressed in an adjoining clause, the seemingly superfluous plene vowel in spelling (i.e., i$_3$-ib$_2$-…) must be explained differently.

Predicates with a seemingly superfluous plene vowel in the initial position are not uncommon. Although these can represent an underlying {u}, this need not be the case as demonstrated by [3.153], which semantically disallows such a solution. Therefore each such form must be analyzed carefully with consideration for context. In the context of [3.153], there is a simple solution: the plene vowel represents the morpheme sequence i=*I=b=… understood as CP$_{NEUT}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=…. This solution is ideal for a few reasons. Firstly, it does not generate any semantic conflicts. Secondly, there is an NP in the locative case (i.e., di kuř-a-ŋa$_2$: di—kuř=a=ŋu=a : lawsuit—to cut$_{H.CVR}$=PP=POSS.1SG.HUM=LOC), which validates a locative DI {*I} as a co-referential element. Finally, all predicates in this section describing the future tense, transitive actions of a hypothetical ruler after Gudea take the CP {i} (or {im} when a ventive nuance is present) as a pragmatic means for neutrally reporting information without emphasizing the agent (exs., ln. 275: im-ta-ab-e$_3$-e$_3$-a; ln. 277: šu ib$_2$-ta-ab-ur$_3$-a; ln. 278: ib$_2$-zi-re-a). In sum, while certain verb-initial plene vowel spellings can represent an underlying {u}, there are alternative interpretations that must considered in context as well.

3.12   CONCLUDING REMARKS

Epistemic modal notions provide interlocutors with a crucial arsenal of techniques for expressing their evaluation of the truth or possibility of the state of affairs expressed in a clause in their world at the time of speaking. The situation was no different for speakers of the Sumerian language. Those who spoke Sumerian in their daily lives needed grammatical mechanisms to convey both their confidence in their statements and information to their audience as accurately as possible given their personal knowledge.

As has been demonstrated in the preceding pages, Sumerian has a rather monolithic morphological system for encoding the prototypical epistemic notions in which all positive notions could be conveyed by appending the MP {he} to Slot One of the predicate and all negative ones by appending {bara}. No epistemic coding mechanisms were identified outside Slot One. In this sense, Sumerian's epistemic system is quite different from its deontic one, which is far more variegated (as shown in the following chapter). The significance of this difference between paradigms can be explained when epistemic and deontic modal marking are approached cross-linguistically from a diachronic perspective.

Without delving into the minutia, it has been demonstrated that modals often shift from deontic to epistemic and weak epistemic to strong epistemic.[277] Accordingly, it is unsurprising for Sumerian's deontic system to be more robust than its epistemic one. The general tendency for epistemics to develop from weak to strong also accounts for why Asseveratives become better represented overtime in the corpus as displayed by their significant increase in productivity in the Old Babylonian period compared to the preceding ones.

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[277] Elizabeth Closs Traugott, "On the Rise of Epistemic Meanings in English: An Example of Subjectification in Semantic Change," *Language* 65 (1989), 43.

One point made in this chapter warrants a few summary comments. Although this dissertation is primarily concerned with functional matters, the formal examination of {he} led to an excursus on the CP {i} that has significant implications. In this excursus, I argued in favor of avoiding rulesets that impose the presence of an unexpressed element that is semantically incompatible with the MPs and predicated on phonotactic variables whose existence are open to serious debate. Put more simply, the old canard that all Sumerian finite verbs must have CPs can be dismissed. The grammatical situation can be restated thusly: all Sumerian finite verbs that lack a Slot One morpheme must have a CP and any verb with a Slot One morpheme can take a CP but an underlying unexpressed {i} should not be posited due to the absence of an overt CP.

As a terminus for this chapter, I would like to outline one potentially fruitful avenue for further research that I intend to explore in future work. Namely, it seems worth exploring if the epistemic MPs developed into interrogative markers of sorts. This is cross-linguistically viable and there are hints of this phenomenon in my dataset.[278] For example, in [3.68] one could argue that the Asseverative form contributes to the interrogative force of the utterance. The use of epistemic markers to denote questions, however, need not be limited to Asseveratives. In *Gudea Cylinder A*, for example, there seems to be strong evidence of a Speculative {he} contributing to the interrogative force of the utterance:[279]

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[278] For one discussion of the relationship between epistemic markers and interrogative marking, see: Karolina Grzech, "Epistemic primacy, Common Ground management and epistemic perspective," in *Evidentiality, Egophoricity, and Engagement*, eds. Henrik Bergqvist and Seppo Kittilä. (Berlin: Language Science Press, 2020), 23-60.

[279] This example was not presented in §3.4 as I wanted to reserve it for this discussion of interrogativity.

[3.154]   ŋiškim-ŋu₁₀ ha-mu-u₃-zu

          ŋiškim-ŋu₁₀   ha-mu-u₃-zu
          ŋiškim=ŋu=ø   he=mu=e=zu=ø
          sign=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS_DO   MP_EPI.SPEC=CP_TR.ACT=PRO_2SG.AG=to know_H=ABS_3SG.DO

          "Might you (now) understand my sign?"

At this point in the inscription, Ninŋirsu had just finished explaining the building process of the E-ninnu to a sleeping Gudea. There are no prototypical markers of interrogativity in this line, but it seems possible that the use of an epistemic Speculative {he}-predicate could have served a question-marking function. Further research with a different or modified corpus, however, is needed to determine if this is a genuine function of Sumerian's epistemic MPs.

4. DEONTIC

4.0 CHAPTER ABSTRACT

In this chapter, I provide a functional-typological sketch of every verbal morpheme that encodes in an utterance either the possibility, necessity, permissibility, or obligatoriness of a non-actualized event (i.e., deontic modality).[280] This is a critical type of modality because it allows speakers to issue commands, express exhortation and pleas, and give advice. Before delving into which morphemes take which functions, I first provide a general linguistic overview of deontic modality that is typologically exemplified and provides additional nuanced perspectives on the category that were not expressed in CHAPTER TWO. My aim is for this overview to prime the reader by outlining what essential communicative functions belong to deontic modality as well as what mechanisms different languages have for expressing them. After this overview, I address a selection of pre-existing literature on deontic modality in Sumerian whose views have been challenged in the chapter. The intent here is to represent the arguments of these authors at the outset and limit cumbersome engagement with them in the body of the chapter, which would in my opinion bog down the argumentative progression of the sections. A section dedicated to the Sumerian deontic morphemes and their phonological shapes follows the review of secondary literature. The most significant contribution in this section is my proposal that {ed} should be interpreted as a morpheme that grammaticalized from a periphrastic construction of the *marû* root ed₂ "to go out" into a bound morpheme at an early stage of the language that originally only coded obligation. I also discuss the morpheme's attraction to nonfinite forms and contend that as

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[280] The suffix {ŋišen} could arguably be included in this chapter as it codes irrealis notions that might have deontic characteristics. Nonetheless, I have dedicated a short section to this morpheme in CHAPTER SIX as its functions are difficult to ascertain, its historical origin largely inaccessible, and its attestations heavily restricted. Since my discussion of this enigmatic morpheme is cursory, I decided not to include it here as I did not want to give the false appearance of it being a securely deontic morpheme with well-defined functions. For {ŋišen}, see: §6.4.

a secondary function, {ed} acquired an optional future-tense-orienting function that filled a paradigmatic gap in Sumerian's grammar, which originally lacked a rigid tense opposition.

The Imperative is the first modal notion detailed in the chapter and I provide a novel interpretation for its unique affix sequencing rules that is predicated on viewing it as a nominalized constituent. Afterwards, the focus shifts to other means of issuing commands (i.e., the Jussive and the Prohibitive). The section on the Obligative and the subsections on its functional relatives outline heretofore unrecognized or misunderstood modal phenomena in Sumerian. Specifically, I explain why the Obligative has an affinity for nonfinite forms and occurs in a unique post-verbal slot whereas irrealis obligations (exs., Counterfactual Obligative, Compulsive, Advisory, and Negative Advisory) are marked via MPs in Slot One. I will also explain in this section why Negative Obligatives take the negator {nu}, even though it has been described as an indicative negator and therefore should be incompatible with modal notions. My explanation for this co-occurrence phenomenon is rooted in the concept of veridical stance (i.e., a speaker's personal belief in the truth of what he or she is saying). My discussion of the Permissive is brief and need not be prefaced here.

A key departure I take in this chapter is that I distinguish between two functions of {ga}: the Cohortative and the Promissive. This split has been stated implicitly in the secondary literature, but here it is formalized as these notions have different communicative functions and merely share a morpheme because they are similarly restricted to first-person agent/subjects. In this section, I also provide a plausible phonological explanation for Cohortative forms that are seemingly marked with the [ha]-allomorph of the MP {he}. I conclude the chapter with one of the hallmark deontic functions, namely, the Optative and its subtypes. My presentation here is not radically different from other treatments of this function and its morphemes in Sumerian, but

I contextualize the discussion with typological parallels and glossed examples from my corpora

One particularly important aspect of this portion is my pronounced agreement with Edzard's interpretation of the enigmatic MP {nuš} as a Desiderative morpheme. The chapter concludes with the presentation of problematic data from the principal corpus and a few brief summarizing remarks.

4.1 LINGUISTIC OVERVIEW

Deontic modality encodes in an utterance the degree of possibility, necessity, permissibility, or obligation given the real world the speaker inhabits and alternative worlds that he or she could imagine developing from said given world (exs., "Group B *may* now board." "Jeannie *must* appear before the court next week.").[281] To begin this chapter, a clarification needs to be made concerning why certain functions were classified as deontic in this thesis. Specifically, the inclusion of the modals that express speaker wishes and desires (i.e., the Cohortative (§4.9), Promissive (§4.10), Optative (§4.11), Negative Optative (§4.11.1), and Desiderative (§4.11.2)), all of which can be referred to as "want"-functions, require comment. Some linguists advocate separating these "want"-functions into their own category called boulomaic modality.[282] While there are some convincing arguments in favor of having a separate category for boulomaic modal notions, support is not universal.[283] The category has not been adopted here, however, as it is not necessarily a helpful distinction in Sumerian, which groups deontic and boulomaic modals formally in the polyvalent MP {he} and has only one purely boulomaic MP (i.e., {ga}). Referring to the functions of {ga} as boulomaic-Cohortative or

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[281] Nuyts, "Analyses of the Modal Meanings," 36.
[282] Heiko Narrog, "The Expression of Non-Epistemic Modal Categories," in *The Oxford Handbook of Modality and Mood*, eds. Jan Nuyts and Johan van der Auwera. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 89.
[283] Nuyts, "Analyses of the Modal Meanings," 39.

boulomaic-Promissive could prove useful in future Sumerological publications, but in this

dissertation the {ga}-functions are classified as deontic since linguists are still debating the

existence of boulomaic modality as a unique class.

Before delving into cross-linguistic mechanisms for expressing deontic modality, it is

necessary to further nuance the category one final time. When describing deontic subfunctions,

FDG advocates separating them into the categories of Event-Oriented modality (not to be

confused with the classification Event Modality under which deontic modality is subsumed) and

Participant-Oriented modality. In deontic Event-Oriented modality, the events that are

established in the discourse are characterized "in terms of what is obligatory or permitted within

some system of moral or legal conventions."[284] As such, this sort of modality refers to

obligations that "do not rest upon a particular participant, but represent general rules of

conduct."[285] Accordingly, the general nature of deontic modality oriented towards an event is

commonly seen in impersonal expressions; Hengeveld and Mackenzie (citing an unpublished

paper by van Schaaik) provide the following examples from Turkish (Turkic, Common Turkic):

[4.1] bura=da   ayakkabı=lar=ı   çıkar=mak   var
      DEM=LOC   shoes=PL=POSS   to take off=INF   EX

One has to take off one's shoes here.
(lit. There is taking off of shoes here.)

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[284] Hengeveld and Mackenzie, *Functional Discourse Grammar*, 176. In FDG, "events" are referred to as "States-of-Affairs." "States-of-Affairs" (and by association "events" as understood here) are defined thusly: "States-of-Affairs are entities that can be located in relative time and can be evaluated in terms of their reality status. States-of-Affairs can thus be said to '(not) occur', '(not) happen', or '(not) be the case' at some point or interval in time. States-of-Affairs are distinguishable by this temporal feature from Individuals on the one hand and Propositional Contents on the other. Compare the following examples: (184) *The chair was at six o'clock. (185) The meeting was at six o'clock. (186) *The idea was at six o'clock." Ibid., 166. The term "event" was preferred to "States-of-Affairs" in an effort to make clear the relationship between the concept and its categorization as well as to avoid introducing an excessive amount of FDG jargon.
[285] Ibid., 176.

[4.2] avuç   aç=mak   yok.
       hand   to open=INF   EX.NEG

       Begging prohibited.
       (lit. There is not begging here.)[286]

The types of deontic Event-Oriented modality that are presumed most relevant for Sumerian

include the following categories (in their impersonal usages): Prohibitive (§4.6), Obligative

(§4.7), Counterfactual Obligative (§4.7.1), Negative Obligative (§4.7.2), Compulsive (§4.7.3),

Advisory (§4.7.4), and Negative Advisory (§4.7.4.1). Given the types of discourse recorded in

the corpus, impersonal uses of all these categories are not reported here. Nonetheless, these are

the functional domains one expects them. Although not exhaustively exemplified in this chapter,

the tendency of deontic Event-Oriented modality to occur most often with impersonal

constructions is a language universal that need not be doubted for Sumerian.

The opposing counterpart of this conceptual subdivision is deontic Participant-Oriented

modality. By orienting the notion towards the participant, this type of modality describes a

participant's obligation or permission to involve his or herself with the event referred to by the

predicate.[287] Hengeveld and Mackenzie (citing Cole) provide the following example from the

Imbabura dialect of Quechua (Quechuan, Quechua II B):

[4.3] miku=na   ka=rka=ni
       to eat=OBLG   COP=PST=1

       I must eat.
       I am to eat.[288]

The types of deontic Participant-Oriented modality that are presumed most relevant for Sumerian

include the following categories (in their personal usages): Imperative (§4.4), Jussive (§4.5),

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[286] Ibid.; Gerjan van Schaaik, "Verb based terms and modality in Turkish" (unpublished paper). University of Amsterdam, 1985.
[287] Hengeveld and Mackenzie, *Functional Discourse Grammar*, 213.
[288] Ibid.; Cole, *Imbabura Quechua*, 151.

Prohibitive (§4.6), Obligative (§4.7), Counterfactual Obligative (§4.7.1), Negative Obligative (§4.7.2), Compulsive (§4.7.3), Advisory (§4.7.4), Negative Advisory (§4.7.4.1), Permissive (§4.8), and Promissive (§4.10). As was the case with deontic Event-Oriented modality above, personal uses of all these categories are not found in the corpora given the nature of the data. Regardless, the relationship between these categories and personal constructions has been established as a language universal through typological study. As such, it is assumed to have held in Sumerian even if it evaded the written record at points. Since both types are imperfectly preserved in the data, this chapter merely suggests that these correlations are likely to be true but does not rely on them for any line of argumentation.

FDG also distinguishes between deontic Event-/Participant-Oriented modality and volitive Event-/Participant-Oriented modality. According to this system, volitive Event-Oriented modality characterizes events "in terms of what is generally desirable or undesirable," and it rarely receives specialized marking cross-linguistically but rather groups with deontic modals.[289] Given that it is typologically rare for a language to formally distinguish between deontic and volitive Event-Oriented modality, both notions are understood here as part of the category "deontic Event-Oriented modality." Regarding the other type of volitive modality distinguished in FDG, volitive Participant-Oriented modality describes a participant's desire to engage in the event designated by the predicate. Hengeveld and Mackenzie (citing Bendor-Samuel) provide the following example from the Guajajara dialect of Tenetehára (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní):

[4.4] za=hem   rəm.
   1PL.INCL=to leave VOL

   We want to leave.[290]

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[289] Hengeveld and Mackenzie, *Functional Discourse Grammar*, 176.
[290] Ibid.; David Bendor-Samuel, *Hierarchical Structures in Guajajara.* Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields 37. (Norman, OK: Summer Institute of Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma, 1972), 95.

This type of volition is relevant to both deontic and dynamic modality. With respect to deontic modality, this volition corresponds to the boulomaic "want"-functions introduced at the outset of the section. Whereas these deontic "want"-functions are highly productive cross-linguistically, dynamic volitive notions are less prevalent and operate more as a nuance of speaker-desire for a specific Abilitative notion.

According to the framework adopted here, these two types of volitives are classified as subcategories of deontic or dynamic modality – not as an independent category as espoused by FDG. Including the volitive functions as subtypes of deontic and dynamic modality better represents the functions of the Sumerian verbal modal morphemes, of which only {ga} codes purely volitive notions. For dynamic modality, no types of volitive notions were found to be encoded via verbal morphemes; hence, the absence of a discussion in this work.[291] For deontic modality, the types of volitive notions that are most relevant for Sumerian are the following: Cohortative (§4.9), Optative (§4.11), Negative Optative (§4.11.1), and Desiderative (§4.11.2). With these preliminary clarifications taken care of, examples of deontic modality sampled from a variety of languages will be cited below to provide a glimpse into the notion's various manifestations cross-linguistically.[292]

In the case of German (Indo-European, West Germanic), deontic modality is typically conveyed with either one of two auxiliary verb constructions. To express permissibility, the modal auxiliary verb *mögen* is conjugated and paired with an infinitive in the terminal position of the clause; obligation is coded with an analogous construction except with *müssen* as the auxiliary verb:[293]

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[291] Further research is planned.

[292] Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 71-72. All examples here come from Palmer so he will not be cited redundantly. When Palmer cites another scholar, however, the relevant citation will be given its own footnote.

[293] Martin Durrell, *Hammer's German Grammar and Usage*, 7th edition. (London: Routledge, 2021), Chapter

[4.5]	du	magst	herein	kommen
	you	can/may+2SG.PRES	in here	to come

You may come in.

[4.6]	du	musst	herein	kommen
	you	must+2SG.PRES	in here	to come

You must come in.

Both modal auxiliary verbs are polysemous and code epistemic notions as well (i.e., *mögen* expresses the Speculative and *müssen* the Deductive).[294] This polysemy mirrors what is attested in Sumerian (ex., {he} as both an epistemic and deontic MP).

Italian (Indo-European, Romance) is another well-known European language that uses auxiliary modal verb constructions to express deontic modality. The lexical items Italian utilizes as the auxiliaries in these constructions are *potere* (to express permission) and *dovere* (to express obligation). Italian is unlike German, however, in that the modal auxiliary is frequently conjugated in the third-person singular instead of the second person singular for the sake of politeness:[295]

[4.7]	puó	entrare
	can/may+3SG.PRES	to come in

"You may come in."

[4.8]	deve	entrare
	must+3SG.PRES	to come in

"You must come in."

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[294] Tanja Mortelmans, "Konjunktiv II and Epistemic Modals in German," in *Constructions in Cognitive Linguistics: Selected Papers from the Fifth International Cognitive Linguistics Conference, Amsterdam, 1997*, eds. Ad Foolen and Frederike van der Leek. CILT 178. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2000), 213 fn. 7.

[295] Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 71.

Like their German counterparts, these Italian auxiliary verbs can also encode epistemic notions (i.e., *potere* = Speculative; *dovere* = Deductive).[296]

Modern Greek (Indo-European, Hellenic) is like the above two languages in that it employs polysemous auxiliary verb constructions to express Deontic modal notions. It differs, however, in that it uses an impersonal form in the Obligative:[297]

[4.9]   boris   na   fiɣis
        can+2SG.PRES   that   you leave

You may leave.

[4.10] prepi   na   fiɣis
        must+IMPRS   that   you leave

You must leave.

Danish provides an interesting example as it uses the same modal auxiliary verb (i.e., *måtte*) to express epistemic deduction as well as deontic permission and obligation:[298]

[4.11] du   må   danse   en   dans til
        You   MÅTTE+PRES to dance   a   dance more

You may dance another dance.

[4.12] vi   må   bare   tage   chancen
        we   MÅTTE+PRES just   to take   the chance

We will just have to take the chance.

Examples [4.5]-[4.12] were all taken from European languages since these are languages with which many readers are likely familiar. Outside their employment of polysemous grammatical

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[296] Andrea Rocci, "On the nature of the epistemic readings of the Italian modal verbs: the relationship between propositionality and inferential discourse relations," *Cahiers Chronos* 13 (2005), 229.

[297] For one discussion on the use of an impersonal form in modern Greek to express the Obligative, see: Brian Newton and Ionnis Veloudis, "Necessity, Obligation and Modern Greek Verbal Aspect," *Lingua* 50 (1980), 27ff.

[298] Niels Davidsen-Nielsen, *Tense and Mood in English: A Comparison with Danish.* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1990), 187 and 194.

elements, however, they code deontic modality rather differently than Sumerian, which does so via affixation on the verb.

To provide a more illuminating typological background for Sumerian, more analogous cross-linguistic evidence will be cited. In Tamil (Dravidian, Southern Dravidian), one finds deontic coding mechanisms resembling those attested in Sumerian. For example, in this language permission and obligation are expressed via verbal suffixes (i.e., {laam} and {ŋum}, respectively):[299]

[4.13] veŋum=ŋŋaakkaa,   naalekki   avan   peeca=laam
        to want=COND   tomorrow   he   to speak=PERM

If he wants, he can speak tomorrow.

[4.14] avan   aŋke   poola=ŋum
        he   there   to go=OBLG

He must go there.

As was the case with the European languages, Tamil also assigns certain epistemic modal notions to these suffixes. This method of deontic coding via affixation on the verb with polysemous morphemes closely parallels the situation in Sumerian. The only difference between the two is the site of affixation relative to the VR.

A final pair of examples from Lisu (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman) will be cited to demonstrate an uncommon mechanism for conveying deontic notions. In Lisu, permission and obligation are coded via modal verbs in the intransitive stem suffixed with a declarative marker:[300]

EXAMPLES ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[299] R. E. Asher, *Tamil*. Lingua Descriptive Series 7. (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1982), 167-170.
[300] E. R. Hope, *The Deep Syntax of Lisu Sentences: Transformational Case Grammar.* Pacific Linguistics B 34. (Canberra: Australian National University Department of Linguistics, 1974), 122 and 126.

[4.15] Ása   nya   ami   khwa   wạ=ạ
       PN   TOP   field   to hoe to be obligatory=DEC

       It is obligatory for Asa to hoe fields.

[4.16] Ása   nya   ami   khwa   da=ạ
       PN   TOP   field   to hoe to be acceptable=DEC

       It is acceptable for Asa to hoe fields.

Although Lisu and Sumerian are dissimilar in their modal marking strategies, these examples serve as a nice terminus for this cross-linguistic survey as they highlight just how varied the coding of deontic modality can be.

Having nuanced the category of deontic modality in general and provided a brief typological survey for some encoding mechanisms, it is now possible to begin a dedicated discussion about the ways in which Sumerian expresses deontic modal notions morphologically on the verb.

4.2 PRIOR SUMEROLOGICAL TREATMENTS

As was the case for prior Sumerological treatments of epistemic modality (see: §3.2), it would be highly difficult to provide exhaustive coverage utilizing consistent language for the secondary literature on the way Sumerian codes deontic modality. Rather than attempt such a colossal undertaking, this section will only outline those proposals deemed most relevant and unique.

4.2.1 WILCKE'S "PASSIVE PRECATIVE"

One influential work concerning deontic modality in Sumerian is Claus Wilcke's article published in the Moran festschrift (1990) entitled "Orthographie, Grammatik und literarische

Form: Beobachtungen zu der Vaseninschrift Lugalzaggesis (*SAKI* 152-156)."[301] In part of this chapter, Wilcke examines *ḫamṭu* verbs that have one participant with clear deontic semantics marked via the MP {he} (these forms are referred to here as "Passive Precatives"). His main interest is explaining why a *ḫamṭu* verb would take an MP that some would argue is incompatible with it (at least according to the secondary literature of the time). Wilcke makes the following observations about the pronominal patterning on verbs of differing tense, aspect, and/or conjugation and proposes an underlying framework that is said to motivate the selection of either the *ḫamṭu* or *marû* base:

> Mit der Unterscheidung zwischen intransitiven Verbalformen und Passiva scheinen Vorbehalte nicht mehr nötig. Während im Präsens-Futur (als Zeitstufe) und im kursiven Aspekt das intransitive Verbum dieselbe Basisform (*marû*-Basis) gebraucht wie das transitive Verbum, sich aber in der Wahl und der Stellung der verbalen Morpheme, der Patiens- und Absolutiv-Zeichen deutlich von diesem unterscheidet, bilden (auf dieser Zeitstufe und in diesem Aspekt) das transitive Verbum und die als Passiv bezeichnete Form ein System privativer morphologischer Opposition, die nicht nur das Verbum sondern auch den nominalen Satzteil betrifft, ein System dem auf der Zeitstufe der Vergangenheit (und im nicht kursiven Aspekt) die privative morphologische Opposition zwischen intransitiv-passivischen Formen und dem transitiven Verbum entspricht.[302]

A key ramification of these observations and the system said to underlie them is that the *marû* conjugation becomes inextricably linked with notions of marked agency and goes beyond a tense-aspect designator. Wilcke states this explicitly:

> Agens-Bezeichnung und *marû*-Basis sind also so eng aneinander gebunden, daß das Fehlen des Einen das des Anderen bedingt.[303]

To make his system clear to readers, Wilcke provides the following as a figure (modified here to be a table but otherwise reproduced faithfully):

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[301] Claus Wilcke, "Orthographie, Grammatik und literarische Form: Beobachtungen zu der Vaseninschrift Lugalzaggesis (*SAKI* 152-156)," in *Lingering Over Words: Studies in Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran*. (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 455-504.
[302] Ibid., 496.
[303] Ibid., 496-497.

TABLE 4.1. *Wilcke's Base Selection Paradigm*							
Präteritum:	AG-e	ABS-ø	…	-AG	-B*ḫamṭu*	-ABS	= Ergativ-Konstruktion
	~~AG-e~~	ABS-ø	…	~~-AG~~	-B*ḫamṭu*	-ABS	= intran.pass. Normalform
Präsens-Futur:	AG-e	PAT-ø	…	-(PAT)	-B*marû*	-AG	= Ergative-Konstruktion
	~~AG-e~~	PAT-ø	…	-(PAT)	-B*ḫamṭu*	~~-AG~~	= Passiv
		ABS-ø			-B*marû*	-ABS	= intransitive Normalform

The idea that the *ḫamṭu* or *marû* status of the verb determines the modal nuance of a form with an MP goes back to Poebel and Falkenstein.[304] As this dissertation does not assert that the *marû* or *ḫamṭu* status of a VR has any bearing on what modal nuance is coded in an associated MP, Wilcke's concept of the "Passive Precative" and the explanatory scheme it entails have not been adopted. A certain modality can sometimes occur more commonly in one tense-aspect than in another, but such a correlation reflects a semantic similarity between the two, not an invariable correspondence fixed by a formal constraint inherent to the grammar. There is certainly a correlation between deontic semantics and imperfectivity, but it is not determinative. Deontic notions are commonly imperfective in nature since they generally relate to actions/states that are unactualized/unresolved, but there are situations where this need not be the case.[305] As such, one should not rely on the *ḫamṭu* or *marû* status of a VR to determine the semantics of an attached MP.

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[304] Poebel, *Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik*, §639, §642, and §664. 298-301. According to Falkenstein, "[d]ie Setzung des Präsens-Futurs ist verpflichtend nach den Präformativen des Prekativs, des Prohibitivs und im 'Nachsatz' zum Prospectivpräformativ ù-." Adam Falkenstein, *Grammatik der Sprache Gudeas von Lagaš. II: Syntax.* AnOr 29. (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1950), 157.

[305] For instance, in Russian (Indo-European, Balto-Slavic) it has been demonstrated via a corpus study that in non-negative examples deontic readings are found to be expressed by imperfective infinitives approximately 68% of the time and by perfective infinitives approximately 32% of the time. Studies such as this demonstrate that a relationship between deontic modality and imperfectivity certainly exists, but it is not a determinative one. Dagmar Divjak, "Mapping between Domains. The Aspect-Modality Interaction in Russian (Выбор аспекта в русскнх модальных конструкциях)," *Russian Linguistics* 33 (2009), 261.

4.2.2 DIFFERING VIEWS ON {ED}

Debates surrounding the verbal morpheme {ed} have a long history and no consensus has ever been reached as to its exact form or function. Providing an exhaustive overview of every discussion of {ed} is beyond the scope of this section.[306] Rather, the theories of four scholars will be briefly outlined as they are arguably the most influential recent treatments of the subject.[307] First Jagersma's view (§4.2.2.1) will be discussed as it is the most recent manifestation of the traditional hypothesis that {ed} is an imperfective (i.e., *marû*) participial marker. This position is not adopted here, but it is crucial to note as it has been advocated by influential scholars (including Poebel, Falkenstein, and Edzard) for almost a century. After this, Yoshikawa's competing view (§4.2.2.2) will be presented. Finally, the stances of Civil (§4.2.2.3) and Keetman (§4.2.2.4), which are more oriented towards the morpheme's modal characteristics, will be outlined.

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[306] The following is a thorough (albeit non-exhaustive) overview of the secondary literature on {ed} that is not discussed in the ensuing sections: Attinger, *Eléments de linguistique sumérienne*, 299-308. Viktor Christian, *Beiträge zur sumerischen Grammatik*. (Vienna: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1957), 34-36. Edzard, *Sumerian Grammar*, 132-137. Falkenstein, *Grammatik der Sprache Gudeas von Lagaš. I: Shrift- und Formenlehre*, 132-145, 171-173, and 178-179. Thorkild Jacobsen, "About the Sumerian Verb," in *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday, April 21, 1963*, eds. Hans G. Güterbock and Thorkild Jacobsen. AS 16. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 98-99. Raymond Jestin, *Le Verbe Sumérien: Déterminations Verbales et Infixes.* Études Orientales 7. (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1943), 292-299. Poebel, *Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik*, 298-301. Sollberger, *Le Système Verbal dans les Inscriptions «Royales» Présargoniques de Lagaš*, 185-186. Gerd Steiner, "The Vocalization of the Sumerian Verbal Morpheme /=ed/ and its Significance," *JNES* 40 (1981), 21-41. Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language*, 254-268. Mamoru Yoshikawa, "The Sumerian Verbal Aspect," in *DUMU-E₂-DUB-BA-A: Studies in Honor of Åke Sjöberg*, eds. Hermann Behrens, Darlene Loding, and Martha T. Roth. OPSNKF 11. (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1989), 585-590.

[307] Jagersma, "A Descriptive Grammar of Sumerian," 369-370 and 655-672. Mamoru Yoshikawa, "The Sumerian Verbal Suffixes -dè/-da(m)," *ASJ* 5 (1983), 163-172. Miguel Civil (Published posthumously under the supervision of Lluís Feliu), *Esbós de Gramàtica Sumèria/An Outline of Sumerian Grammar*. BMO 14. (Barcelona: Edicions la Universitat de Barcelona, 2020), 150-161. Jan Keetman, "Der auf /-e(d)/ gebildete Stamm des Sumerischen Verbums," *RA* 102 (2008), 9-16.

4.2.2.1 JAGERSMA

In his dissertation, Jagersma essentially reasserts the traditional view that {ed} is best seen as the marker of the imperfective (i.e., *marû*) participle that is suffixed directly to the right of the verbal base (prototypically conjugated in the *marû*).[308] He goes further than some of his predecessors, however, in that he acknowledges that vis-à-vis its function as a future form of sorts {ed} also has modal meanings.[309] To this end, Jagersma asserts that {ed} can convey notions of necessity or obligation as well as impossibility or inability (when negated). Aspectually, Jagersma identifies that in its role as an imperfective marker it most often denotes a future action but can also express a present action (i.e., an action ongoing at the time of utterance) and a past progressive action (i.e., ongoing at the time under discussion).[310] When an {ed}-form is nonfinite, he argues that it forms either a verbal adjective or a verbal noun. When the form is a verbal adjective, he contends that an {ed}-form refers to a participant associated with the action of the verb and serves either an attributive or predicative role.[311] Jagersma explains that as a verbal noun, an {ed}-form refers not to a participant of an action but rather to the action of the associated verb. From this observation, he details how as a type of noun, these {ed}-forms can function as an agent, subject, or direct object as well as an adverb.[312] Since such forms are also partially verbal, however, he posits that they can operate as predicates in nonfinite clauses and take NPs as either agents, subjects, direct objects, or adjuncts.[313] All these functions are said to occur regardless of whether or not the {ed}-form is finite or nonfinite. Although Jagersma's categorization and functional description of {ed} have not been adopted here

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[308] Jagersma, "A Descriptive Grammar of Sumerian," 369-370 and 655-672.
[309] Ibid., 657.
[310] Ibid.
[311] Ibid., 662.
[312] Ibid., 665.
[313] Ibid.

outright, his observations on the syntactic qualities of this morpheme are accurate and have been maintained.

4.2.2.2 YOSHIKAWA

According to Yoshikawa, the element identified as {ed} in this thesis is better understood as either {de} or {da}, which occur after what he refers to as aspectual markers (exs., {ø}, {a}, {e}). Yoshikawa's proposal relies on his system of aspect marking that he has expressed across numerous publications, which has not received universal support. Because of this, his views on {de}/{da} as outlined in his article in *ASJ* 5 will be presented here without delving into the aspectual system that underlies his analysis.

In this article, Yoshikawa asserts that there is one morpheme {de} that can occur after either the {e} or {ø} aspectual marker (though never after {a} unless one assumes [de] > [da] after /a/ universally).[314] Within his system, {de} is a suffix that denotes the "*relative* prospective aspect" and most often occurs "in the so-called '-dè extension' and in the non-prefixal prospective conjugation."[315] To this {de}, Yoshikawa argues that the locative-terminative case-marker {e} could be suffixed, which would generate a compound morpheme whose primary function is to form infinitival constructions.[316] As was stated earlier, Yoshikawa contends that there is a morpheme {da} that is distinct from {de}, which he proposes "may be derived from *-dè-a, of which -a- is the nominalization suffix," and its function is to form infinitival constructions and part of the non-prefixal conjugation.[317] Unlike {de}, {da} is said to occur after

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[314] Yoshikawa, "The Sumerian Verbal Suffixes -dè/-da(m)," 165-166 and 171.
[315] (emphasis original to source). Ibid., 171.
[316] Ibid.
[317] Ibid.

any aspectual marker without any caveats.[318] Finally, Yoshikawa posits a {dam} suffix that includes the third singular enclitic copula {am}, but he does not decide between the following three underlying forms: *…=de=am, *…=de=e=am, or *…=de=a=am.[319] Functionally, he argues that this copular-based form is unique from its relatives in its ability to code Obligative notions, which distinguishes him from Civil and others who see this function across the set of these morphemes.[320] These views of Yoshikawa have not been maintained in this chapter but nonetheless merited mention.

4.2.2.3 CIVIL

Various grammatical proposals that were never properly published or fully articulated by Miguel Civil in his lifetime have recently been made available in a single volume published posthumously under the direction of Lluís Feliu with the help of various scholars. While it is obviously unfortunate that his ideas could only be published in an unfinished state, the positions espoused in this volume were those that he had developed over decades of teaching and research, and they were presumably his most current views at the time of his passing. As such, his discussion there of what this dissertation understands as {ed} is the clearest window into his understanding of it. According to Civil (and in keeping with the compositional tradition of Yoshikawa), the morpheme is actually a combination of two: {e} and {d}. Civil asserts that this {d} on both finite and nonfinite forms "has the modal meaning of *obligation towards the subject/agent*, as an objective situation that differs from the obligations expressed by the modal prefixes, which are result [*sic*] of the speaker's judgement or resolve."[321]

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[318] Ibid., 165.
[319] Ibid., 170-171.
[320] Ibid.
[321] (emphasis original to source). Civil, *Esbós de Gramàtica Sumèria/An Outline of Sumerian Grammar*, 151.

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This {d}, according to Civil, can combine with other small one-element morphemes to express assorted concepts. When appended to a verbal noun and depending on the quality and positioning of vocalic morphemes around it, Civil argues that the nuance of {d} is modulated in slight but significant ways. Civil does not always explicitly classify the exact nuance of {d} in these composite forms, but he always outlines the semantics of the entire form. As such, parts of the following overview will speak of {d}-constructions rather than the morpheme alone. First, Civil posits that the sequence VR=e=d=e forms subordinate Purposive clauses in which the VR is in the imperfective (i.e., *marû*) stem and precedes the main clause.[322] Second, he asserts that in the construction VR=e=d=a, the VR is in the imperfective with {e}, coding subjective modality with {d}, and relativized with {a}.[323] As a subjective modal form, he explains that the meaning of this construction could be either deontic or epistemic; in its deontic sense it would express an obligation imposed by human or divine law, and in its epistemic meaning the obligation would come "from the very nature of the referent of the head of the relative clause."[324] Civil acknowledges a degree of ambiguity in this bipartite system as there are examples where it is unclear what type of modality is operating.[325]

Another construction that Civil distinguishes is VR=e=d=a=am, which is identical to the aforementioned VR=e=d=a form except for the suffixation of the third singular form of the enclitic copula. Civil contends that the addition of the enclitic copula makes the entire construction predicative and that otherwise the two are functionally identical. The final {d}-construction he outlines is VR=a=POSS.1/2SG.HUM=d=e. He interprets this as a temporal construction in which the VR is in the imperfective and denotes that "the action of the

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[322] Ibid., 156-157.
[323] Ibid., 159.
[324] Ibid.
[325] Ibid., 160.

subordinate clause is simultaneous with the clause that it usually precedes."[326] Traces of Civil's

proposals are preserved in the argumentation presented later in the chapter, but his views have

not been adopted en masse.

4.2.2.4 KEETMAN

The final interpretation of {ed} to be outlined here is the one put forth by Keetman in a

2008 article. Keetman – contra. Jagersma – dismisses the concept of {ed} as a marker of the

marû participle and instead advocates viewing it as verbal stem extender almost exclusively used

in the *marû*.[327] By interpreting {ed} in this fashion, Keetman argues that the following barriers to

our understanding of Sumerian morphology can be better understood:

> 1) Die „Pronominale Konjugation" verbunden mit -ed verlangt ein anschließendes -a, für
> das es bisher keine Erklärung gab und das auch in der Pronominalen Konjugation nach
> *hamṭu* erscheint (natürlich dann ohne -ed). Dies kann nun einfach das -a der
> Nominalisierung sein, das nun folgerichtig auch nach -ed gebraucht wird. Die
> Pronominale Konjugation kann so problemlos als Ableitung von nominalisierten Verben
> gedeutet werden. Dazu passt die Verwendung der Possessivsuffixe des Nomens zur
> Bezeichnung der Person.
>
> 2) Es ist nun kein Problem mehr, dass die Endung -ed immer direkt hinter der Wurzel
> steht und darauf noch die Personalsuffixe des Verbums folgen können. Es handelt sich
> einfach um die finiten Formen des /-e(d)/-Stammes.
>
> 3) Es verwundert nicht mehr, dass sich in abhängigen Sätzen mit *marû*-Basis Sätze mit -a
> und mit -eda gegenüberstehen (zu -ede siehe gleich).
>
> 4) Das Verhältnis abhängiger Sätze mit -ed zum übergeordneten Satz lässt sich leichter
> erklären. Nach Edzard wäre das a in -eda rundweg als Lokativ zu erklären. In seiner
> Rezension zu Edzard weist Bram Jagersma auf weitere Möglichkeiten hin. Demnach
> könnte auch ein antizipatorischer Genitiv vorliegen. Weniger kompliziert jedoch ist die
> Annahme, dass es sich größtenteils um Objektsätze handelt, die so wie entsprechende
> Sätze im *hamṭu* und gelegentlich auch nach finitem *marû* ohne -ed mit dem -a der
> Nominalisierung gebildet werden.[328]

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[326] Ibid., 161.
[327] Keetman, "Der auf /-e(d)/ gebildete Stamm des Sumerischen Verbums," 9.
[328] Ibid., 10.

Keetman makes two other claims about {ed} that are pertinent to this chapter. Firstly, he casts

significant doubt on Poebel's proposal that {ed} is a marker of the Future Exactum (i.e., future

perfect tense) by noting that it is typologically uncommon (if not unheard of) to have a language

whose only tense distinction is non-future perfect vs. future perfect.[329] Secondly, Keetman

acknowledges the role of {ed} as a modal marker, its affinity for nonfinite forms, and the

difficulties inherent to defining its functions and distribution.[330] All four authors discussed in this

section have contributed in some fashion to the present investigation, but none of their proposals

have been adopted wholesale. Because of this, a significant portion of this chapter will be

dedicated to elucidating the nature of {ed} and its historical origin (see: §4.3 and §4.7).

4.3 THE MORPHEMES AND THEIR SHAPES

The core deontic notions are coded in Sumerian via the MPs {he}, {ga}, {na}, and {nuš}

as well as the verbal suffix {ed}. The Imperative – which is only peripherally deontic – is formed

via its own unique construction. As such, there are no allomorphic variations to discuss for it

here.[331] The MP {he} and its allomorphic realizations are not discussed in this section as they

have already been treated elsewhere (see: §3.3).[332]

4.3.1   {GA}

Dating back to when Sumerian first began to be written such that morphology was more

readily expressed, the MP {ga} was unambiguously written with the GA-sign. This seems to

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[329] Ibid., 13-14.
[330] Ibid., 12-13.
[331] The common proposal that the Imperative marker {a} is an allomorph of the CP {i} (i.e., /i/ > /a/ after an Imperative VR) is discussed elsewhere (see: §4.4).
[332] §3.3 also includes the argument for not assuming the CP {i} after an MP when no CP is explicitly written.

indicate that this morpheme was understood as having the base form [ga]. For example, in the

Early Dynastic manuscript of the *Instructions of Šuruppak* from Abū Ṣalābīkh (ca. early ED IIIa

period (~2600 BCE)), the extant {ga}-forms are written with the GA-sign regardless of

phonological environment:[333]

[4.17] dumu-ŋu$_{10}$ na ga-deg$_x$(RI)

dumu-ŋu$_{10}$		na
dumu=ŋu=ø		na=ø
child=POSS.1SG.HUM=VOC		CVNE=ABS$_{DO}$

ga-deg$_x$(RI)
ga=(b)=deg$_x$
MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to collect$_{H.CVR}$

"Oh my son, I shall give instructions!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Instructions of Šuruppak*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 9
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: obv. i 7
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IŠ* AbṢ
ARTIFACT IDENTIFIER: AbS-T 323+AbS-T 393

</div>

[4.18] ninda lu$_2$ BU ga-šum$_2$-š[um$_2$]

ninda	lu$_2$	BU
ninda	lu$_2$=(ak)=ø	BU
bread	individual=(GEN)=ABS$_{DO}$	?

ga-šum$_2$-š[um$_2$]
ga=(b)=šum$_2$:š[um$_2$]
MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to gi[ve$_H$^{x2}]

(To say about) a man's bread "I shall give it (to you)" (is easy enough).

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Instructions of Šuruppak*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 97
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: rev. ii 11
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IŠ* AbṢ
ARTIFACT IDENTIFIER: AbS-T 323+AbS-T 393

</div>

If the orthography in [4.17] and [4.18] above reflects a spoken reality (which is far from certain),

then these examples indicate that in the Sumerian of the mid-third millennium BCE the /a/-vowel

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[333] For the dating of the manuscript, see: Robert D. Biggs, *Inscriptions from Tell Abū Ṣalābīkh.* OIP 99. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), 24-26. For the most up to date edition of the manuscript, see: Alster, *Wisdom of Ancient Sumer*, 31-220. For a handcopy of the manuscript (which includes joins identified after the publication of OIP 99), see: Miguel Civil, "Notes on the 'Instructions of Šuruppak'," *JNES* 43 (1984), 282-283.

of {ga} did not harmonize with an /e/-vowel or /u/-vowel in an immediately following syllable. If these forms do not reflect speech, however, then [4.17] and [4.18] at least demonstrate that during the earliest morphologically transparent phases of written Sumerian, this MP was understood to have a base form [ga] since that was the form selected by scribal convention. Accordingly, it seems possible that in speech (and certain in writing) that {ga} was highly resistant to phonotactically induced changes.

Additional Early Dynastic evidence for the shape of {ga} can also be found in the so-called *"Reform" Texts* of Iri-KA-gina (ca. 2500-2350 BCE (EDIIIb)):

[4.19] ugula-ni ga-še$_3$-sa$_{10}$ / u$_3$-na-dug$_4$
      ugula-ni   ga-še$_3$-sa$_{10}$
      ugula=ani=(e)   ga=ši=(b)=sa$_{10}$
      overseer=POSS.3SG.HUM=(ERG)   MP$_{DEO.COHOR}$=DI$_{TERM}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to buy$_H$

      /   u$_3$-na-dug$_4$
      /   u=na=dug$_4$
      /   MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to say$_{H.SG}$

      When his overseer says to him "Let me buy it (from you)," (…)

This example further supports the view that a following syllable with /e/ did not motivate any graphically identifiable allomorphy for the MP {ga}. Although these are not all the examples of {ga}-forms in the body of Early Dynastic texts, they are representative of {ga}'s phonological character and behavior during the early to mid-third millennium BCE. Examples of following syllables with /a/ have been omitted because they add no information about allomorphy due to {ga} sharing the same vowel.

Although the Early Dynamic evidence suggests that {ga} was phonologically and/or orthographically resistant to vowel coloring, data from later periods shows that {ga} might have

been susceptible to vowel harmony in certain scenarios. By the Old Babylonian period the following allomorphic variations are attested before certain CPs (albeit only on very rare occasion):

[4.20] dumu-ŋu₁₀ na ge-deg$_x$(RI) na-deg$_x$(RI)-ŋu₁₀ he₂-d[ab₅]

dumu-ŋu₁₀	na
dumu=ŋu=ø	na=ø
child=POSS.1SG.HUM=VOC	CVNE=ABS$_{DO}$

ge-deg$_x$(RI)	na-deg$_x$(RI)-ŋu₁₀
ga=(b)=deg$_x$	nadeg=ŋu=ø
MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to collect$_{H.CVR}$	advice=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{SBJ}$

he₂-d[ab₅]
he=d[ab₅=ø]
MP$_{DEO.ADVIS}$=to s[eize$_M$=ABS3SG.SBJ]

"Oh my son, I shall give instructions! My instructions should be ta[ken]!"

COMPOSITION: *Instructions of Šuruppak*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 79
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: rev. 1
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IŠ*_Ur₃
ARTIFACT IDENTIFIER: U.16879 I

[4.21] zi-bi-a bir₅ šuš₂-šuš₂-a-gin₇ ⌜sahar⌝ sis-sis gi₄-bi₂-ib₂-gu₇

zi-bi-a	bir₅	šuš₂-šuš₂-a-gin₇
zi=bi=a	bir₅	šuš₂:šuš₂=a=gin
life=POSS.3SG.NHUM=LOC	locust	to cover$_M^{x2}$=PP=EQU

⌜sahar⌝ sis-sis	gi₄-bi₂-ib₂-gu₇
sahar sis:sis=ø	ga=ba=*I=b=gu₇
dust to be bitter$_H^{x2}$=AP+ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$= PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to eat$_H$

"I shall make them eat bitter dust during their lifetime, like the locust which consumes (everything)!"[334]

COMPOSITION: *Šulgi D*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 176
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: obv. i 24
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Šul.D*_N₁ (D)
MUSEUM NUMBER: Ni 4571

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[334] While this allomorphic variation is on rare occasion found elsewhere, it occurs frequently in this composition and consistently across its manuscripts. Jacob Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns: Sumerian Royal Hymns Glorifying King Šulgi of Ur.* (Ramat-Gan, Israel: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1981), 68-69. The significance of this correlation is unclear.

[4.22] gu$_2$-mu-ra-ra-ba-al

ga=mu=ra=ta=(b)=bala

MP$_{\text{DEO.PROM}}$=CP$_{\text{TR.ACT.EMPY}}$=DI$_{\text{DAT.2SG}}$=DI$_{\text{ABL}}$=(PRO$_{\text{3SG.NHUM.DO}}$)=to turn$_H$

"I shall return it to you."[335]

These examples serve as transparent evidence of {ga}'s rare allomorphic variations that can occur from the Old Babylonian period onwards. In [4.20], {ga} realizes as [ge] before a syllable with /e/. In [4.21], {ga} becomes [gi] before a syllable with /i/. Finally, in [4.22] {ga} has been influenced by the /u/ of the following syllable to become [gu]. It must be reiterated, however, that such allomorphic writings are exceptionally uncommon.

One example requires additional comment. Concerning [4.20], Alster has suggested interpreting the form ge-deg$_x$(RI) as ga=e=ri.[336] This proposal, however, seems untenable. Firstly, it must be noted that Alster reads the VR as "ri" instead of "deg$_x$," and because of this he seems to have sought a solution that inserts an /e/-vowel into the verbal chain somewhere after {ga}. To this end, he seems to posit an underlying first singular agent pronoun with *ḫamṭu* patterning.[337] This would be unexpected since all transitive {ga}-forms take an implied first singular agent and a direct object marker in the pre-verbal slot in accordance with *marû* rules. Therefore, Alster's form seems unlikely given the unusual presence of an explicit agent pronoun

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[335] The spelling ba-al for the VR bala "to turn" is abnormal. Nonetheless, bala is clearly the correct interpretation in the context of this *ditila*.

[336] Alster, *Wisdom of Ancient Sumer*, 135.

[337] In no place does Alster articulate that he interprets the {e} in this way. He simply states the equation "na ge-ri = na ga-e-ri." Since Alster does not gloss the form and has no personal grammar to consult, his interpretation of this {e} is only assumed here based off his translation of the line: "My son, *let me give you instructions*; let my instructions be taken!" (emphasis added). Ibid., 72 and 135. It is possible that Alster viewed this {e} as a locative-terminative DI.

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and its aberrant patterning. If one interprets the RI-sign as the VR "deg_x," it becomes evident that the /a/ of {ga} has assimilated to the /e/ of the root.[338]

The preceding paragraphs cover the various representations of {ga} in writing – and perhaps speech on occasion – that are secure and expressed in the *emeŋir* register of Sumerian. Before turning to {ga}'s shape in the *emesal* register, one peculiar example from the corpus will be cited. In an unprovenanced manuscript of *Lipit-Eštar A*, there is evidence for a [gu] allomorph of {ga} in the position before the [mi] allomorphic variant of the CP {mu}:

EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[338] Why Alster prefers the reading RI to de_5 or deg_x is unclear. These readings of the RI-sign have been established since at least the 1980's with the publication of Jacob Klein's seminal article on the VRs designated by it. Jacob Klein, "Some Rare Sumerian Words Gleaned from the Royal Hymns of Šulgi," in *Studies in Hebrew and Semitic languages: Dedicated to the Memory of Prof. Eduard Yechezkel Kutscher*, eds. Pinchas Artzi et al. (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1980), 9-28. Walther Sallaberger maintains Alster's interpretation of this spelling. According to Sallaberger, the {e} is a directive DI (directive = locative-terminative)(see: Walther Sallaberger, "The Sumerian Verb na de_5(-g) "To Clear," in *"An Experienced Scribe Who Neglects Nothing": Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Jacob Klein*, eds. Sefati Yitschak et al. (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2005), 238). Since Alster does not gloss his form, and due to the author's belief that there may not be such a DI (for the view closest to that of the author, see: Fumi Karahashi, "The Locative-Terminative Verbal Infix in Sumerian," *ASJ* 22 (2000), 113-133), it was assumed above that Alster interprets the morpheme as a pronoun (in better accordance with his translation). Even if one does accept a directive DI {e}, its function here is inexplicable. Zólyomi has written the most current reference work for this DI and according to him only non-human second singular indirect objects are marked with it (whereas a corresponding human referent is marked with the second singular dative DI {ra})(see: Gábor Zólyomi, "Directive infix and oblique object in Sumerian: An account of the history of their relationship," *OrNS* 68 (1999), 215-253). According to the rules of this {e} DI, the form posited by Salleberger would be agrammatical as the son of speaker (i.e., the indirect object of the sentence) in the *Instructions of Šuruppak* is undeniably human. Furthermore, only one of the instances of "ga-e-de_5(g_x)" that Sallaberger cites has the /e/-vowel potentially acting as a DI written with an independent grapheme (namely in an Old Babylonian manuscript of *Gilgameš, Enkidug, and the Netherworld*, ln. 183: ⌜na⌝ ⌜ga⌝-⌜e⌝-deg_x ⌜na⌝-[deg_x]-⌜ŋu₁₀⌝ ⌜he₂⌝-dab₅ [UET 6/1 56 = U 9364]). Since the author has been unable to find any more evidence of such spellings elsewhere, this example is seen as evidence of either phonetic glossing on the VR (i.e., ⌜na⌝ ⌜ga⌝-⌜e⌝deg_x) or an unusual type of "medium depth orthography" (i.e., the GA-sign is morpho-graphemic and the E-sign glosses the surface phonology). In sum, the Old Babylonian spellings of the type "ge-deg_x" are best understood as evidence of {ga}'s increasing susceptibility to phonetic change over time or one of many instances of Sumerian orthography gradually becoming shallower.

[4.23] in-nin-ra ud gu$_2$-mi-ni-ib-zal(-)[…]

    in-nin-ra   ud
    innin=ra   ud=ø
    mistress=DAT   day=ABS$_{DO}$

    gu$_2$-mi-ni-ib-zal   (-)[…]
    ga=mu=*I=b=zal   (=?)[…]
    MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to pass$_{H.CVR}$ (=?)[…]

    For the mistress, I shall spend all day with her there!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Lipit-Eštar A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 103
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *LiA_X$_2$*
MUSEUM NUMBER: NBC 7270
</div>

This transformation is interesting but since it is idiosyncratic (to the best of the author's knowledge), it likely adds no reliable insight into {ga}'s phonotactic interactions.[339]

    In texts written in the *emesal* register of Sumerian, {ga} is phonetically realized as [da] (wr. with the DA-sign) or [du] (wr. with the DU$_5$-sign), depending on the vowel in the following syllable:

[4.24] ^{ŋeš}ma$_2$ si-bi da-an-u$_5$ me-e e$_2$-še$_3$ da-an-u$_5$

    ^{ŋeš}ma$_2$ si-bi
    ma$_2$=a(k)   si=bi=ø
    boat=GEN   prow=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS$_{DO}$

    da-an-u$_5$
    ga=b(!)=u$_5$
    MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to mount$_{H.SG}$

    me-e   e$_2$-še$_3$ da-an-u$_5$
    ŋaʾe   e$_2$=še   ga=b(!)=u$_5$
    I   home=TERM   MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to mount$_{H.SG}$

    "I, the lady, shall mount my boat's prow – I shall ride it home!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Nanše B*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 14
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: rev. ii 14
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *NšB* 1
MUSEUM NUMBER: VAT 7025
</div>

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[339] This example is phonologically interesting because it seems to indicate that the vowel of the MP was colored by the vowel of the CP {mu} before said CP was colored by the vowel of the DI {*I}. Further research into the layering of phonological rules in Sumerian is warranted.

[4.25] [i]-⌜lu⌝ za-ra i-lu za-ra [i-lu] du$_5$-mu-ri-ib-dug$_4$

      [i]-⌜lu⌝   za-ra   i-lu   za-ra

      [i]lu=ø   zaʾe=ra   ilu=ø   zaʾe=ra

      [l]ament=ABS$_{DO}$ you=DAT   lament=ABS$_{DO}$ you=DAT

      [i-lu]   du$_5$-mu-ri-ib-dug$_4$

      [ilu]=ø   ga=mu=ra=*I=b=dug$_4$

      [lament]=ABS$_{DO}$ MP$_{DEO.COHOR}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.2SG}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to say$_{H.SG}$

"The [l]ament, for you, the lament, for you, let me utter the [lament] for you!"[340]

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Inana and Bilulu*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 165
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *In&B* N$_1$
MUSEUM NUMBER: Ni 4486

</div>

Having covered all details concerning the various phonological and/or orthographic variations of {ga}, focus will now shift to the MP {na}.

4.3.2 {NA}

As was the case with {ga}, this discussion will begin by examining Early Dynastic evidence. In the Early Dynastic manuscript of the *Instructions of Šurrupak* from Abū Ṣalābīkh, this morpheme is always written with the NA-sign, regardless of the following syllable's vowel quality.[341] In the Early Dynastic Adab manuscript of the *Instructions of Šurrupak* the MP {na} is usually written with the NA-sign, except in five instances where it is represented with a CVC-sign.[342] Importantly, the vowel of each CVC-sign is still /a/. Additionally, the terminal consonant of each CVC-sign can be explained as the result of orthographic choice on the part of the scribe rather than cited as evidence of either a different underlying shape for {na} or an allomorph. In

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[340] For the logic behind analyzing …-ri-… as …=ra=*I=…, see: Gragg, *Sumerian Dimensional Infixes*, 102-105.

[341] Rather than cite each example, the relevant composite line numbers followed by the corresponding artifact line numbers as taken from Alster's grammatical and orthographic commentary are given in this footnote (format = [composite line number : artifact line number]); [28 : obv. iii 4], [29 : obv. iii 6], [31 : obv. iii 7], [32 : obv. iii 8], [33 : obv. iv 1], [35 : obv. iv 4], [39 : obv. v 6-7], [42 : obv. v 10], [44 : obv. v 12], [45 : obv. vi 1], [47 : obv. vi 2-3], [48 : obv. 4-5], [49 : obv. vi 6-7] – after this point Alster simply writes "etc." Alster, *Wisdom of Ancient Sumer*, 214.

[342] For information on the Adab manuscript, see: Ibid., 47.

some instances, the explanation is less secure than in others, but nonetheless there generally

appears to be options as to why the CVC-sign is used that do not resort to altering the base form

or positing allomorphy. The five aforementioned variant writings are given below:

[4.26] e$_2$ nam-m[u]-⌜bur$_3$⌝-[en$^?$ …]

    e$_2$ nam-m[u]-⌜bur$_3$⌝-[en$^?$ …]

    e$_2$=ø   na=m[u]=(b)=bur$_3$=[en   …]

    house=ABS$_{DO}$ MP$_{DEO.PROH}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to breach$_M$=[PRO$_{2SG.AG}$ …]

[D]o not break into a house!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Instructions of Šuruppak*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 29
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: Fr. 10 ii 7
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IŠ*_Adab
MUSEUM NUMBER: A 649 & A 645

</div>

[4.27] niŋ$_2$ nam$_2$-zuh-zuh (…)

    niŋ$_2$ nam$_2$-zuh-zuh   (…)

    niŋ$_2$=ø   na=b=zuh:zuh=(en)   (…)

    thing=ABS$_{DO}$ MP$_{DEO.PROH}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to steal$_M$^{x2}=(PRO$_{2SG.AG}$)   (…)

Do not steal things! (…)

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Instructions of Šuruppak*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 28
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: Fr. 1 ii 4
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IŠ*_Adab
MUSEUM NUMBER: A 649 & A 645

</div>

[4.28] [ki]ri$_6$-k[a da]g-ga nam$_2$-/-bi$_2$-du$_8$-e

    [ki]ri$_6$-k[a   da]g-ga

    [ki]ri$_6$=ak=[a(k)$^?$ da]ga=ø

    [or]chard=GEN=[GEN$^?$ ag]reement$^?$=ABS$_{DO}$

    nam$_2$-/-bi$_2$-du$_8$-e

    na=ba=*I=(b)=du$_8$=e(n)

    MP$_{DEO.PROH}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to loosen$_M$=PRO$_{2SG.AG}$

[Of the *X*] o[f the or]chard, concerning it, do not break the [ag]reement!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Instructions of Šuruppak*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 58
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: Fr. 1 ii 1-2
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IŠ*_Adab
MUSEUM NUMBER: A 649 & A 645

</div>

<div align="center">

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

</div>

[4.29] ANŠE(-)[K]A gu$_3$ di nab$_3$(AN+AN)-/-sa$_{10}$-sa$_{10}$ (…)
  ANŠE(-)[K]A   gu$_3$ di
  ANŠE(=$^?$)[K]A   gu$_3$—di=ø
  donkey(=$^?$)?   voice—to say$_{H.CVR}$=AP+ABS$_{DO}$

  nab$_3$(AN+AN)-/-sa$_{10}$-sa$_{10}$ (…)
  na=b=sa$_{10}$:sa$_{10}$=(en)   (…)
  MP$_{DEO.PROH}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to buy$_M$^{x2}=(PRO$_{2SG.AG}$)   (…)

  Do not buy a donkey that brays!

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: Instructions of Šuruppak
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 14
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: Fr. 10 i 2-3
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: IŠ_Adab
MUSEUM NUMBER: A 649 & A 645
</div>

[4.30] ni$_2$-zu / nab$_3$(AN+AN)-MUNŠUB
  ni$_2$-zu   / nab$_3$(AN+AN)-MUNŠUB
  ni$_2$=zu=ø   / na=b=MUNŠUB=(en)
  self=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$ / MP$_{DEO.PROH}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to kill$_M$$^?$=(PRO$_{2SG.AG}$)

  Do not kill / yourself![343]

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: Instructions of Šuruppak
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 28
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: Fr. 10 ii 4-5
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: IŠ_Adab
MUSEUM NUMBER: A 649 & A 645
</div>

In [4.26], the implementation of a CVC-sign ending /m/ to express {na} seems to have been an optional choice by the scribe intended to mirror the initial consonant of the following syllable [mu]. This is the only example of the NAM-sign used this way in this manuscript. Thus, it seems to reflect the scribe's orthographic agency, not an allomorphic reality. The usage of the NAM$_2$-sign to represent na=b=… in [4.27] and na=ba=… [4.28] is a more complicated matter. Concerning [4.27], it is possible that the spelling with the NAM$_2$-sign was chosen due to the scribe's desire to express that the third singular non-human direct object pronoun {b} nasalized to become /m/ because of contact with the initial consonant of the following syllable. This is highly speculative and the motivation behind /b/ > /m/ in the position before /z/ is not readily

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[343] Alster suggests that MUNŠUB represents some verb for "to kill." This is a complicated matter, for which see: Ibid., 113.

apparent. Positing such uncertain phonological rules, however, should be avoided. If they did exist, they certainly were not employed consistently in writing. It is also possible that this writing was another product of scribal agency. Given the inherent difficulty in martialing Early Dynastic texts as evidence of Sumerian phonology, the spelling in [4.27] is best left as a curiosity.

In [4.28], it is possible that the NAM$_2$-sign was selected so that the terminal /m/ could approximate the quality of the initial /b/ in the following syllable. This could make sense as /m/ is a voiced bilabial closure and /b/ is a voiced bilabial plosive; since the two phonemes share similar linguistic features and the first represents a sound terminating with the closure of the mouth and the second a sound beginning with the occlusion of the vocal tract by way of the mouth's closure that is then opened, this sort of spelling could mirror the physiological mechanics of speech. Again, this proposal is highly speculative, and the inconsistency of its application is inexplicable. Unexpected terminal /m/s, however, do appear elsewhere in the principal corpus occassionally in the writing of {na} followed by syllables beginning with /b/. This reality makes such an explanation that does not rely entirely on scribal choice attractive (albeit unprovable).

Finally, the reason for the two NAB$_3$-sign spellings in [4.29] and [4.30] needs to be addressed. In both examples, the NAB$_3$-sign was chosen to represent two morphemes with one sign (i.e., nab$_3$-… for na=b=… understood as MP$_{\text{DEO.PROH}}$=PRO$_{\text{3SG.NHUM.DO}}$=…). Again, it cannot be established why the scribe would choose the NAB$_3$-sign to express this morpheme sequence in some instances and not others. Nonetheless, the /b/ in these spellings stands for a separate morpheme (i.e., the 3sg non-human direct object pronoun {b}) and is irrelevant to understanding the shape of this MP.

The same situation found in the Early Dynastic evidence is also found in the texts from later periods, where, in all cases the author is aware of, {na} is written with a grapheme that has an /a/-vowel (most frequently the NA-sign). As shown in the corpus, when this MP is not written with the NA-sign, it is written with the NAM-sign. Unlike the evidential MP {naM}, the /m/ in these writings is not a part of the morpheme but rather the product of the scribe writing with an unconventional orthography. The following examples are all the attestations in the principal corpus of {na} written with the NAM-sign:

[4.31] $^\text{d}$Aš-im$_2$-babbar nam-kuš$_2$-u$_3$-de$_3$
$^\text{d}$Aš-im$_2$-babbar
Ašimbabbar=ø
DN$_\text{♂}$=ABS$_\text{DO}$

nam-kuš$_2$-u$_3$-de$_3$
na=n=kušu=ed=e(n)
MP$_\text{DEO.NEG.ADVIS}$=PRO$_\text{3SG.HUM.DO}$=to be troubled$_M$=FUT=PRO$_\text{2SG.AG}$

"You shan't be anxious about Ašimbabbar."

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Exaltation of Inana*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 84
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *ExIn*_Ur$_3$
MUSEUM NUMBER: IM 85460

</div>

[4.32] gu$_3$ mu-un-na-de$_2$-a inim nam-ma-suř-[suř]$^\text{ud}$
gu$_3$ mu-un-na-de$_2$-a
gu$_3$=ø   mu=na=(b)=de$_2$=e=a
voice=ABS$_\text{DO}$ CP$_\text{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_\text{DAT.3SG}$=(PRO$_\text{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to pour$_{M.\text{CVR}}$=PRO$_\text{3SG.AG}$=SUBR

inim   nam-ma-suř-[suř]$^\text{ud}$
inim=ø   na=imma=(b)=suř:[suř]=(e)
word=ABS$_\text{DO}$ MP$_\text{DEO.NEG.ADVIS}$=CP$_\text{MID}$=(PRO$_\text{3SG.HUM.DO}$)=to be long$_M[^{x2}]$=PRO$_\text{3SG.AG}$

"When he speaks to someone, he shan't be to made to speak at length."

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 117a
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_K$_1$
ARTIFACT IDENTIFIER: Kish 1932, 155

</div>

[4.33] niŋ$_2$-a$_2$-zig$_3$-ga-ka / lu$_2$ nam-mi-gul-e

  niŋ$_2$-a$_2$-zig$_3$-ga-ka   /   lu$_2$
  niŋ$_2$=azig=ak=a   /   lu$_2$=(e)
  ABSTR=violence=GEN=LOC$_{ADV}$ /   individual=(ERG)

  nam-mi-gul-e
  na=imma=*I=(b)=gul=e
  MP$_{DEO.NEG.OPT}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to destroy$_M$=PRO3SG.AG

  Let no man destroy it / violently![344]

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: *Gudea Statue B*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 264-265
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.St.B*
MUSEUM NUMBER: AO 2
</div>

[4.34] ama ⌜ugu⌝-bi tilla$_3$ iri^{ki}-za-ka eš$_2$ nam-⌜bi$_2$⌝-ib-sar

  ama   ⌜ugu⌝-bi   tilla$_3$
  ama   ugu=ø=bi=(e)   tilla$_3$
  mother   to bear$_H$=AP=POSS.2SG.NHUM=(ERG)   street

  iri^{ki}-za-ka   eš$_2$
  iri=zu=ak=a   eš$_2$=ø
  city=POSS.2SG.HUM=GEN=LOC   yarn=ABS$_{DO}$

  nam-⌜bi$_2$⌝-ib-sar
  na=ba=*I=b=sar=(ene)
  MP$_{DEO.NEG.ADVIS}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to hasten$_M$=(PRO3PL.AG)

  "Their (wr. its) mothers who bore them shan't be made to spin yarn in the streets
  of your city (as a result)."

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 77
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_N$_{III33}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: IM 58478
</div>

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[344] Prototypically, gul is a reduplication class *marû*. The pronoun patterning on this form, however, makes its identification as *marû* here secure.

[4.35] ŋi₆ u₃-na ad nam-da-⌈gi₄⌉-[gi₄]

ŋi₆	u₃-na	ad
ŋi₆	una=a	ad=ø
night	wild, proud=LOC	voice=ø

nam-da-⌈gi₄⌉-[gi₄]
na=n=da=(b)=⌈gi₄⌉:[gi₄=e]
MP$_{DEO.PROH}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.IO}$=DI$_{CMT}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to return[$_{M.CVR}$^{x2}=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$]

In the dead of night(?), she may no longer take coun[sel] with him.

[4.36] niŋ₂ kug šag₄-ga-na nam-mu-da-an-bur₂-re

niŋ₂	kug	šag₄-ga-na
niŋ₂=ø	kug	šag₄=ani=a
thing=ABS$_{DO}$	pure	heart=POSS.3SG.HUM=LOC

nam-mu-da-an-bur₂-re
na=mu=da=b(!)=bur₂=e
MP$_{DEO.PROH}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=DI$_{CMT}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to reveal$_{M}$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

She may no longer divulge to him the things in her pure heart.

4.3.3 {NUŠ}

As far as can be ascertained in the written record, {nuš} does not occur prior to the Old Babylonian period. By occurring in these later texts that have fuller spellings, one can gain a fair amount of insight into its susceptibility to phonological change, but the later date of its occurrences also prevents any significant discussion about its historical origin and shape. Civil argues that {nuš} is best understood not as an MP but as an independent word that functions as a rhetorical interrogative (trans. "why not?"). His proposal seems partially correct. It is likely that {nuš} was originally an independent rhetorical interrogative derived from the veridical negator

{nu} suffixed with the terminative case-marker {še} (i.e., *nu=še > *nuš).[345] Its life as an independent form, however, seems to have been prior to historical Sumerian and at the very least before the Old Babylonian period when it begins to occur in texts.

One key textual variant in which the writing of {nuš} seems to betray a morpho-phonological interaction with an indisputable member of the verbal prefix chain is cited here to argue it had grammaticalized into a proper MP by the time it was written (i.e., *nu=še > *nuš > {nuš}):

[4.37] [ud] ⌜tur⌝-bi-še₃ ki-nud ŋeš-la₂-a-ba ki-nud-ŋu₁₀ ŋeš-la₂-⌜a⌝-⌜bi⌝ /
⌜nu⌝-ši-in-ga-mu-ni-ib-du

[ud]	⌜tur⌝-bi-še₃	ki-nud	ŋeš-la₂-a-ba
[ud]	tur=ø=bi=še	kinud	ŋešlabi=a(m)
[storm]	to be small$_H$=AP=DEM=TERM	bedroom	silence=COP.3SG

ki-nud-ŋu₁₀	ŋeš-la₂-⌜a⌝-⌜bi⌝	/
kinud=ŋu=(e?)	ŋešlabi=ø	/
bedroom=POSS.1SG.HUM=(LOCTR?)	silence=ABS$_{DO}$	/

⌜nu⌝-ši-in-ga-mu-ni-ib-du
nuš=inga=mu=ni=b=du=(e)
MP$_{DEO.DES}$=CONJ=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to go$_{M.SG}$=(PRO$_{3SG.AG}$)

As regards this debilitating(?) [storm], concerning bedroom silence, / would that it were it would let silence come about in my bedroom![346]

COMPOSITION: *Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 101 (ETCSL = 100)
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: col. iii lns. 14-15 (Ln. 12 in AS 12)
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *LamDU*_N₁ (Aa)
MUSEUM NUMBER: Ni 2780

This variant is significant because it preserves the scribe's decision to write {nuš} followed by {inga} such that the terminal /š/ of the former and the initial /i/ of the latter appeared in one grapheme (i.e., the ŠI-sign). This seems to indicate that at least to this Old Babylonian scribe {nuš} was a proper verbal morpheme that was in direct morphological contact with the

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[345] Civil, "Modal Prefixes," 39-40.
[346] Samiel Noah Kramer, *Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur.* AS 12. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940), PLATE I. Wolfgang Heimpel, *The Structure of the Sumerian Prefix Chain.* (Berkeley: Unpublished Manuscript, 1974), 220.

conjunctive {inga}, whose status as a verbal morpheme is secure. One could interpret this spelling as an instance of Sandhi writing, but given the tendency for satellite elements to incorporate into the body of verbal morphology proper (ex., case-markers > DIs, *marû* participles of e₃ > {ed}, etc.) it seems best to interpret this example as evidence of {nuš}'s status as an MP.[347]

The situation concerning allomorphs of {nuš} is complicated. In the vast majority of cases, {nuš} appears stably as [nuš] regardless of the vowel quality of the following syllable. On rare occasion, however, {nuš} realizes as [neš] (wr., ne₂-eš-…) before a syllable with an /e/-vowel and [niš] (wr., ni-iš-…) before a syllable with an /i/-vowel.[348] Since these variant forms of {nuš} are so uncommon, it is difficult to ascertain if they are fully productive allomorphs or idiosyncratic byforms. Given the general rarity of {nuš} and the extreme rarity of its variants, it seems safest to simply note the possibility of {nuš}'s allomorphs without positing their existence outright.

4.3.4 {ED}

Having discussed the shape of the MPs, the phonological shape, historical origin, and grammaticalization pathway of the deontic verbal suffix {ed} will now be examined. In origin,

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[347] The way in which the phrase "Sandhi writing" is used within Assyriology has been described by Andrew George: "In Assyriology the term 'Sandhi writing' has been used to describe those rare spellings that reflect a pronunciation in which one word is run into another, i.e. crasis. Sometimes this coupling involves elision, as when a word-final vowel that precedes a word beginning with a syllable normally written with a V or VC sign is lost, e.g. *is-sa-ḫi-iš*, etc., for *issi aḫîš*, *la-ma-ri* for *lā* (*w*)*âri* or *lā amāri* (see further *GAG³* §17, 'Krasis'). More common are cases in which a word-final consonant in the same position is written as if opening the following word, e.g. *pu-zu-ra-mi-ip-te*-(*e*) for *puzzuram ipte* (OB Ishchali 38′ // OB IM obv. 18), *i-ni-li* for *in ilī* (elided from *ina ilī*)." Andrew R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts Volume II.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 821.

[348] Attinger, *Eléments de linguistique sumérienne*, 297. Examples of these rare byforms can be found in YNER 6, 54 B I 6, TLB 2, 6 III 4f., and CT 15, 14, 34f. Joachim Krecher, "Review of: Oliver R Gurney and Samuel Noah Kramer. Oxford Edition of Cuneiform Texts, Vol. V: Sumerian Literary Texts in the Ashmolean Museum. VII, 46 pp., [67] plates (= pp. 47-113). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976," *AfO* 25 (1975-1974), 194.

{ed} was likely a participle of the complementary verb e₃ "to go out, bring out" in the *marû*

tense-aspect. As a complementary verb, the VR e₃ presents as ed₂ in the *marû.* According to this

theory, an independent participial form of ed₂ would have stood after a finite verb to form a

periphrastic construction that coded obligation and developed a secondary future-tense-orienting

function. Semantically, this construction is parallel to what is found in Mamvu (Central Sudanic,

Mangbutu-Lese) where the future is expressed periphrastically with a form of "to do:"

[4.38] tùfu   m=ibu
         to tear   1.SG=to do

         "I shall tear down"

[4.39] ɔɓɛ   mu=tàju
         to dance   1.SG=to sit

         "I was dancing"[349]

This "to do" periphrasis "contrasts with non-periphrastic sentences in [Mamvu] that lack the

respective shade of meaning and on the other hand with sentences that contain other auxiliaries

associated with different functions."[350] As will be shown to be the case for Sumerian, periphrasis

in Mamvu denotes a function that the grammar originally had no morphological mechanism for

expressing. Unlike Mamvu, however, Sumerian fully grammaticalized its periphrastic

construction into a bound morpheme. The logic and justification for this origin of {ed} as well as

its grammaticalization will be discussed first. Only afterwards will the phonological shape of the

morpheme and its allomorphs be explored within the paradigm of the ed₂ origin hypothesis.

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[349] Andreas Jäger, "Grammaticalization paths of periphrastic 'do'-constructions," *Papers of the LSB* 2 (2007), 13. Jäger takes these examples from the following: John Newman and Sally Rice, "Patterns of usage for English verbs SIT, STAND and LIKE: a cognitively inspired exploration on corpus linguistics," *Cognitive Linguistics* 15 (2004), 352.
[350] Jäger, "Grammaticalization paths of periphrastic 'do'-constructions," 13.

The process by which participles of ed₂ "to go out, bring out" became incorporated into the morphological repertoire of Sumerian and assumed various functions over time is complex and multifaceted. Typologically, the incorporation of a periphrastic word into a language's morphology is common. In a typological study on grammaticalization phenomena, Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca observe that a general pathway of grammaticalization can be diagrammed, which accounts for the transformation of a periphrastic into a bound morpheme. This diagram consists of two intersecting scales – a diachronic one reflecting the change from a lexical item to non-bound morpheme to inflectional morpheme and one "based on the degree of fusion present between the expression units for two concepts, in particular a concept that could be grammatical, such as gender or aspect, and a lexical concept, expressed as a root or stem" which ranges from syntactic/periphrastic expression to full lexicalization.[351] This grammaticalization diagram has been faithfully adapted here from the one given in Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca:[352]

FIGURE 4.1. *A General Sketch of Grammaticalization (Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca)*		
Lexical Items / Words → Non-Bound Morphemes →	Syntactic / Periphrastic ↓ Non-Bound Morphemes ↓ Inflection ↓ Derivation ↓ Lexical	Greater Grammaticalization ↓
Greater Fusion →		
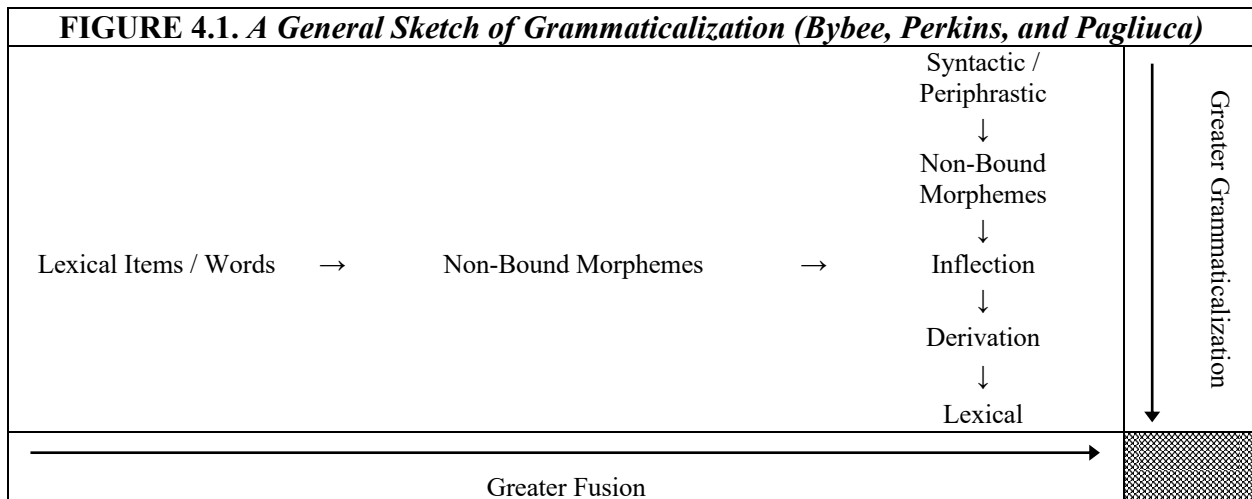
The phenomenon of paraphrastic constructions grammaticalizing into bound morphemes is widespread and impossible to cite exhaustively. Accordingly, only two examples will be

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[351] Bybee, Pagliuca, and Perkins, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 39-40.
[352] Ibid., 41.

given. This type of grammatical change has occurred many times throughout the history of the Romance languages. For example, the Italian future (i.e., *cantaremo* "we will sing") and the French future (*(nous) chantarons* "we will sing") both derive from an original Latin periphrastic construction (*cantare habemus*, lit. "we have to sing").[353] To cite a non-European language, another overt transformation of a periphrastic construction into bound morphology is attested in Zulu (Bantu, Southern Bantu). In this language, there was originally a periphrastic construction in which a form of the verb *ya* "to go" was used to express the future that has grammaticalized such that now there is an inflectional morpheme {ya} for future marking:

[4.40] ba=ya   e=Goli
   3SG.SM=to go LOC=GN

   They are going to Johannesburg (i.e., Goli).

[4.41] ba=ya=ku=fika
   3SG.SM=FUT=INF=to arrive

   They will arrive.[354]

The above examples conform to cross-linguistic expectations concerning how periphrastic constructions grammaticalize into bound morphemes. As will be discussed below, however, the grammaticalization of {ed} in Sumerian has one uncommon feature.

What is peculiar about {ed} is the fact that it is a deontic Agent-Oriented modal marker that has incorporated into the repertoire of inflectional morphology without undergoing a significant reduction in grammatical meaning or phonological form; prototypically, one might

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[353] Paul J. Hopper and Elizabeth Closs Traugott, *Grammaticalization*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 8.

[354] The main line of argumentation here is informed by: Rasmus Bernander, *Grammar and Grammaticalization in Manda: An Analysis of the Wider TAM Domain in a Tanzanian Bantu Language.* (Gothenburg: Department of Languages and Literatures University of Gothenburg, 2017), 126-127. Bernander references the following source: Bernd Heine and Tania Kuteva, *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 161. The Zulu examples in Bernander by way of Heine and Kuteva come from the following resource: Simon Nyana Mkhatshwa, "Metaphorical Extensions as a Basis for Grammaticalization with Special Reference to Zulu Auxiliary Verbs." (MA. diss., University of South Africa, 1991), 98.

expect the morpheme to have lost its element of meaning that denoted conditions on an agent and expanded to take the entire proposition within its scope.[355] On the contrary, {ed} has retained its original Obligative function in addition to having acquired a future-tense-orienting function. Given this, it is important to justify why Sumerian seems to act counter to cross-linguistic expectations.

While it is uncommon for a language to convey deontic Agent-Oriented modality affixally, let alone do so by incorporating a periphrastic into its morphology, neither is unattested. For example, Tiwi (an Australian Aboriginal isolate), marks the Obligative with an affix:

[4.42] a=u=kərimi
he=OBLG=to do

"He has to do it."

[4.43] a=u=ra=kərimi
he=OBLG=FUT=to do

"He will have to do it."[356]

Concerning grammaticalization, in Quileute (Chimakuan) there is evidence of morphological mechanisms for marking the Optative and the Obligative that derive from independent adjunct verbs.[357] Similarly, in Malayalam (Dravidian, Southern Dravidian), there are two modal suffixes that have retained their original functions whose periphrastic origin is readily apparent. One of these suffixes is the Obligative {aNam}, which derives from the verb *ventum* "it is necessary."[358]

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[355] Joan L. Bybee, *Morphology: A Study of the Relation Between Meaning and Form*. TSL 9. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1985), 169.

[356] Ibid., 167. Bybee cites Osborne, who refers to this Obligative as Compulsional. The terminology employed here, however, better represents the morpheme's function. C. R. Osborne, *The Tiwi Language*. (Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1974), 44.

[357] Bybee, *Morphology*, 168.

[358] Ibid., 167. In some of the literature on Malayalam (ex., George 1971), this modal is called the Optative, but this conflicts with the understanding of the Optative adopted in this chapter. Therefore, the function is referred to as the Obligative here. For dedicated discussions of Malayalam, see: K. M. George, *Malayalam Grammar and Reader*.

The other is the Permissive {aam}, which derives from the Malayalam verb for "to become"

conjugated in the future tense.[359] Turkish also attests to the validity of coding deontic Agent-

Oriented modality inflectionally on the verb as it also marks the Obligative morphologically.[360]

All the languages just cited as evidence for this type of incorporation phenomenon share

much in common with Sumerian. These typological similarities are the grammatical

characteristics that allow a language to behave as they do. Specifically, these languages can

incorporate periphrastic elements into their morphology without bleaching their modal nuance or

obscuring their origin because they are either polysynthetic (ex., Tiwi) or highly agglutinative

(ex., Turkish). Sumerian, as is well known, is highly agglutinative and has verbal morphology in

the prefix chain that is the transparent result of demonstrable incorporation (the clearest being the

DIs).[361]

Sumerian is also like Malayalam in that both incorporated a periphrastic verb into their

morphology because the incorporated element constituted a new type of morphological material

(either formally, functionally, or both). Due to the uneven distribution of grammatical coding

mechanisms in the Sumerian verbal complex, {ed} was able to grammaticalize into a morpheme

in the slot immediately to the right of the VR because the right periphery of the verbal complex

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(Kottayam, India: National Book Stall, 1971). P. S. Subrahmanyam, *Dravidian Verb Morphology.* (Tamilnadu: Annamalai University, 1971).

[359] Bybee, *Morphology*, 167.

[360] Ibid. For a discussion of the Turkish Obligative (referred to as the Necessitative in the cited literature), see: Geoffrey Lewis, *Turkish Grammar*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 126-128.

[361] Although the theory that the DIs are the result of the case-markers incorporating into the set of verbal morphemes has been around latently for decades, Miguel Civil is the only modern scholar, to the best of the author's knowledge, who has outlined the theory explicitly in print: "The basic idea of taking the Sumerian verbs with the so-called 'dimensional' infixes (DI) as a combination verbal base + adposition is not new: it was already proposed, under the label *Wurzelerweiterung*, by Delitzsch 1914 (who explicitly compared the process to the Greek and Latin preverbs)." Civil also equates the incorporation of case-markers to "the concept of *applicatives*, said of the morphemes incorporated to the verb that modify the valence pattern." (emphasis original to source). Miguel Civil, "Sumerian Compound Verbs: Class II," in *Language in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the 53e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Vol. 1, Part 2*, eds. L. Kogan, N. Koslova., S. Loesov, and S. Tishchenko. Babel und Bibel 4/2. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 523-524.

had proportionally less functional weight already assigned to it than the left. In other words, the prefix chain already had the burden of coding most modalities, voice, semantic modification of the VR, interaction with NPs elsewhere in the sentence, and Agent/Object alignment. The suffix chain, on the other hand, only coded some pronominal alignment phenomena and matters of nominalization.

Furthermore, {ed}'s grammaticalization to the righthand VR-adjacent slot was conceptually logical as it mirrored the original periphrastic construction's lexical sequence. The ed_2 participle would have followed the associated predicate originally just as modifiers prototypically follow their referent in Sumerian. The intimate link between an agent's obligation to act and the nature of the act itself was likely a key conditioning factor that motivated {ed}'s assignment to the slot immediately to the right of the VR thereby interrupting the traditional model of pronominal marking on the verb by occurring where agents and subjects are often marked. This sort of patterning interruption is a form of iconicity that conveys the semantic inextricability of one who is obligated and what one is obligated to do. The newness of {ed} also relates to its secondary function of future-tense-orienting, which had always been a logical corollary of coding obligation but subsequently grammaticalized into a discrete function. Grammatical markers that orient events or states to the future frequently do so as a secondary function.[362]

Thus far only {ed}'s function as an Obligative marker has been discussed, but its secondary ability to code future-tense-orientation also plays a crucial role in understanding how and why it successfully incorporated into Sumerian's repertoire of verbal morphology. Firstly, both the Obligative and the future share a degree of underlying modal nuance. Obligatives are

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[362] Comrie, *Tense*. 45-46.

fully modal and the future as a concept is quasi-modal as it refers to unrealized states or events. Secondly, Obligatives naturally entail orientation towards a future state/event. Specifically, an action or state that one is expected to perform or abide is expected to hold into the future unless there is significant intervention (exs., changes in law, radical shifts in religious morality or personal ethics, etc.). Independent of its role as an Obligative marker, {ed} was also a natural candidate for marking the future as it derives from a verb of motion that was already entering into the grammar. Typologically, the most common source of future markers are verbs of motion. This cross-linguistic tendency further supports interpreting {ed} as a grammaticalized form of e_3 "to go out, bring out."[363] Furthermore, since Sumerian lacked a rigid tense distinction, the introduction of a future marker filled a gap in the grammatical paradigm of the language by generating a future/non-future opposition.[364] The Hua dialect of Yagaria (Trans-New Guinea, Kainantu-Goroka) is an example of a linguistic system that has such a binary tense opposition.[365]

By understanding {ed} as a morpheme that originated from a *marû* participial form of the VR e_3 that grammaticalized and incorporated into the morphology of the verb, the phonological shape of both the base form {ed} and its primary allomorph (i.e., [eda]) can be explained. Specifically, the base morpheme with a terminal /d/ originated as the *marû* active participle of e_3 (i.e., ed_2=ø). The allomorph [eda], in origin, was the *marû* passive participle of e_3 (i.e., ed_2=a). It seems that whatever factor motivated the selection of *{ed} or *{eda} on VRs in the early life of the language (i.e., when these participles began the process of incorporation and grammaticalization) was thoroughly bleached by the historical stage of the language.

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[363] Volitive and desiderative verbs are similarly productive sources for future markers, but neither were the source of the future marker in Sumerian. Bernd Heine and Mechthild Reh, *Grammaticalization and Reanalysis in African Languages.* (Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 1984), 131.

[364] Prior to the development of a future marker, tense in Sumerian could only be discerned contextually as a secondary nuance of the predicate's aspect (i.e., *ḫamṭu*/perfective and *marû*/imperfective), the semantics of the VR, and/or the discourse context.

[365] Comrie, *Tense.* 49.

Accordingly, forms of the shape [eda] should be interpreted as being in free variation with the

shape of the base form (i.e., [ed]) in historical Sumerian except when a clear semantic function

can be assigned to the /a/-vowel (discussed below). In sum, given this loss of semantic

distinction, the proto-morphemes *{ed} and *{eda} are argued here to have coalesced into a

single morpheme (i.e., {ed}) that has an allomorphic variant [eda] whose conditioning factors are

at times opaque.

As was briefly touched upon in the preceding paragraph, there are some instances in

which [eda] is not an allomorph but rather a representation of an underlying …=ed=ø=a (i.e.,

…=ed=AP=LOC) or …=ed=ø=a(m) (i.e., …=ed=AP=COP.3SG). Since there seems to be no

functional variable behind the distribution of [eda] vs. [ed] it is also theoretically possible that

[eda] represents an underlying passive/perfective participial form of the VR suffixed with {ed}

(i.e., …=ed=a equates to …=ed=PP). It is also possible that [eda] represents a passive/perfective

participial form with an additional element (i.e., …=ed=a=a equates to …=ed=PP=LOC

and=ed=a=a(m) equates to …=ed=PP=COP.3SG). Unfortunately, in most scenarios it is difficult

(perhaps impossible) to discern if an [eda]-form is a participial form of {ed} with or without an

additional affix. As such, it seems wisest to interpret [eda]-forms as allomorphic realizations of

{ed} unless the function of either the type of participle or the following affixal element can be

established without doubt.

A final form of {ed} that is not a straightforward allomorph needs to be addressed.

Specifically, the sequence [ede] appears frequently, and unlike [eda] this is not a simple

allomorph with a historical origin that is in free variation with {ed}. Rather, [ede] is usually a

sequence that represents {ed} followed by an {e}-morpheme. In nonfinite forms, that {e}-

morpheme is either the locative-terminative or ergative case-marker (depending on the syntactic

role of the associated NP), and in finite forms it is the *marû* third singular agent pronoun. Eventually, somewhere along the cline of Sumerian's obsolescence, [ede] became an allomorph alongside [eda]. It is also possible, however, that [ede], which is frequently written -de₃, is simply a morpho-graphemic rendering of {ed}. In these cases, the surface reality would be [ed], not [ede].

4.4 IMPERATIVE ("GO!")

The form a language uses to issue orders or instructions to a second person addressee is referred to as the Imperative. As a type of modal notion, the Imperative is most closely related to deontic modality. The Imperative has the most in common with the Jussive (§4.5), Obligative (§4.7), Permissive (§4.8), and Promissive (§4.10) in that it is directive and utilized to issue a type of order. Cross-linguistically, however, the Imperative often distinguishes itself formally and functionally from other, more normative, deontic modal methods of issuing commands. For example, in the Dolakha dialect Newar (Tibeto-Burman, Newaric) the Imperative is restricted to a specific binary set of forms (one for singular and one for plural) that are oriented exclusively to second person addressees (for a second singular example see [4.44] below); to issue an order to a first person addressee (as in [4.45] below), however, Dolakha Newar grammar conventions dictate the usage of a unique Hortative suffix, and when ordering a third-person addressee a specific Optative prefix is required (as in [4.46] below).[366] This tripartite split system according to the number of the addressee is shown in the following examples:

[4.44] jana   mica   ya=ŋ
        1SG.GEN   daughter   to take=IMP.SG:TRANS

        "Take my daughter!"

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[366] Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald, *Imperatives and Commands.* Oxford Studies in Typology and Linguistic Theory. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 63.

[4.45] u=ri   thijin   kā=i=lau
        this=IND   1INCL.ERG   to take=INF=HORT

        "Let's take this one!"

[4.46] tha=hat
        OPT=to speak

        "May he speak!"[367]

Languages like the Dolakha Newar where second person commands (sometimes referred to as "canonical Imperatives") are formally distinct from commands oriented towards a first- or third-person (sometimes referred to as "non-canonical Imperatives") are said to have minimal Imperative systems.[368] When a language has a single formal paradigm for issuing commands in all persons it is said to have a maximal Imperative system (one such language is Finnish (Uralic, Finno-Ugric)).[369] As will be demonstrated at many points throughout this chapter, Sumerian has a minimal Imperative system in which second person commands are structured radically differently than orders oriented towards the first- or third-persons. Specifically, canonical Imperatives are expressed in Sumerian with a unique affix ordering scheme whereas commands oriented at a first-person addressee maintain normal morphological ordering rules and have the MP {ga} in Slot One. Orders oriented at a third-person addressee also follow the normal conventions of morphological sequencing, but they require the MP {he} in the first prefix slot.

Another characteristic that differentiates the Imperative from the proper deontic modals is the fact that it "is performative and subjective in that the speaker actually gives the 'command' in the act of speaking," which generally prevents it from being embedded in the sentence.[370] As can

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[367] Ibid.
[368] van Olmen and van der Auwera, "Modality and Mood in Standard Average European," 379.
[369] Ibid.
[370] Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 80.

be seen in the following examples, embedding an Imperative in English (Indo-European, West

Germanic) is ungrammatical:

> [4.47] "You must come." I said that she must come.
> [4.48] "Come in!" *I said that come in.[371]

As these examples clearly demonstrate, a subordinated Imperative (as in [4.48]) generates a

sentence that seems awkward and agrammatical to a native speaker of English. Sumerian, like

English and most other languages, has an Imperative that cannot occur in a subordinate clause.[372]

Although the Imperative is not a prototypical deontic notion, it has been included in this chapter

as this is the most appropriate classification functionally (albeit only approximate). Furthermore,

it made most sense to group the Imperative with the other directives.

Traditional Sumerian grammars usually describe the Imperative as a form generated by

swapping the positions of the VR and the prefix chain (while retaining the prefix chain elements

in the sequence of a corresponding indicative declarative form):[373]

> [4.49] ma-an-šum₂
> mu=*A=n=šum₂=ø
> CP$_{\text{TR.ACT.EMPY}}$=DI$_{\text{DAT.1SG}}$=PRO$_{\text{3SG.HUM.AG}}$=to give$_H$=ABS$_{\text{3SG.DO}}$
>
> He/She gave it to me.
>
> [4.50] šum₂-ma-ab
> šum₂=mu=*A=b
> to give$_H$=CP$_{\text{TR.ACT.EMPY}}$=DI$_{\text{DAT.1SG}}$=PRO$_{\text{3SG.NHUM.DO}}$
>
> Give it to me!

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[371] Ibid.

[372] An example of a language that allows embedded Imperatives is Korean (Koreanic)(as demonstrated in the following example – unfortunately, the English translation cannot reflect this adequately):

Inho=ka	Sooni=ekey	cip=ey	ka=la=ko	malha=ess=ta
PN=NOM	PN=to	home=to	to go=IMP=COMP	to say=PAST=DECL

"Inho said to Sooni to go home."
Paul Portner, "Imperatives and Modals," *Natural Language Semantics* 15 (2007), 357.

[373] To cite just a few treatments: Attinger, *Eléments de linguistique sumérienne*, 298-299. Falkenstein, *Grammatik der Sprache Gudeas von Lagaš. I: Schrift- und Formenlehre*, 227. Poebel, *Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik*, 276-279. Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language*, 251-253.

This description correctly explains how these forms appear statically in writing. Descriptions alone, however, are insufficient as they fail to address why these forms appear as they do. It will be demonstrated below that the odd shape of the Imperative in Sumerian is not a consequence of the VR being fronted. Rather, the Imperative manifests as it does because it is a VR that has been nominalized to express a functional shift which necessitates a change in affix placement.

Before advocating for the view of the nominalized Imperative, a few remarks must be made about its affix chain. The morphological elements of the Imperative affix chain are subject to the same sequencing rules as their indicative declarative counterparts (i.e., CPs precede DIs, DIs precede Agent/Object pronouns, etc.). There are, however, two key differences between these types of affix chains. Firstly, the Imperative's chain cannot include an MP as there is no modal notion that can logically co-occur on an Imperative form.[374] This is analogous to the fact that two MPs cannot co-occur in Slot One. Secondly, a morpheme {a} whose function has been debated frequently and argued might have no direct parallel in a standard prefix chain commonly occurs after an Imperative VR. The conventional view is that this {a} is an allomorph of the CP {i} that only realizes as such when suffixed to an Imperative VR. It has also been suggested that this {a} is actually the rather infrequently attested and poorly understood CP {a} (most often viewed as a stative marker).[375] Mamoru Yoshikawa advocates viewing this {a} as a marker of

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[374] Technically, it is possible for an Imperative form to co-occur with certain modal markers in some languages. The instances in which this occurs are limited, however, and unattested in Sumerian. This phenomenon has been explained from a typological perspective by linguist Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald: "Imperative can occur together with a limited subset of modality markers if the morphemes are not mutually exclusive (that is, if imperative does not enter the same paradigm as mood, as it does in Wakashan, Eskimo, Samoyedic, and numerous other languages). Imperatives typically do not co-occur with markers of deontic modalities involving obligation – since obligation is part of the imperative meaning itself. Markers of epistemic modalities (…) often cannot be used with imperatives. Modal auxiliaries in English – some of which are exponents of epistemic meanings – have no imperative forms. If they can, their meanings tend to be different. As we saw in the previous section, imperatives are often not compatible with epistemic meanings. Consequently, modal words and markers of epistemic modalities are often used to 'soften' a command." Aikhenvald, *Imperatives and Commands*, 142.
[375] Jacobsen, "About the Sumerian Verb," 76.

the completive aspect.[376] Finally, some argue that this morpheme is a unique and distinct Imperative marker (i.e., neither an allomorph of {i} nor the CP {a}).[377]

None of these options, however, are ideal. Rather, it will be argued that it makes most sense to view the {a} that occurs immediately to the right of an Imperative VR as the same morpheme as the nominalizer {a}.[378] This interpretation of the Imperative {a} is rooted in a few different lines of argumentation. Firstly, it makes typological sense for this {a} to be the same as the nominalizer {a} since nominalized verbal roots as Imperatives are well attested cross-linguistically.[379] The following are just a few examples ([4.51] is from Yakut (Turkic, Siberian Turkic) and [4.52] is from Korean):

[4.51] cej   ih=erge!
        tea   to drink=INF

        "(Come) and have tea!"

[4.52] chwul=ip=ul   kumha=m
        exit=entrance=ACC   PROH=NOM

        "No admission."[380]

This typological justification provides a valid starting point for arguing that the Imperative {a} and nominalizing {a} are one and the same, but it alone is insufficient evidence.

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[376] Mamoru Yoshikawa, "Aspectual Morpheme /a/ in Sumerian," *ZA* 69 (1979), 161-175.

[377] For a literature review of most of these theories, see: Ibid., 165.

[378] Raymond Jestin has suggested the connection between these "two" {a}s by remarking that the Imperative is commonly suffixed with "un -a qui est selon toutes probabilities à identifier avec celui des noms verbaux." Jestin, *Le Verbe Sumérien: Déterminations Verbales et Infixes*, 98. Unfortunately, he never explores the importance of this connection in great depth. Furthermore, he maintains that the relativizer {a} and nominalizing {a} are separate morphemes with a common origin, but that view is not maintained here; ibid., 200-201. Jestin's observation seems to have never found supporters in the field, but the re-examination of this {a}-morpheme and the presentation of additional evidence of its variegated functionality (bolstered by typological evidence) should provide credence to his intuition, which seems to have been essentially correct but insufficiently pursued and justified by him.

Fellow French Sumerologist Maurice Lambert includes Jestin's proposal in his own grammar, but he advocates against it and supports a modified version of Poebel and Falkenstein's theory that {a} is an allomorph of a verbal prefix. Sollberger, *Le Système Verbal dans les Inscriptions «Royales» Présargoniques de Lagaš*, 194-195.

[379] Aikhenvald, *Imperatives and Commands*, 280-288.

[380] Ibid., 282.

A second reason for interpreting the Imperative {a} as simply a function of the nominalizing {a} becomes readily apparent when the Imperative's idiosyncratic affix ordering method is brought into consideration. As has been noted, in Imperative forms what would have been the prefix chain of a corresponding indicative declarative form is suffixed to the VR. According to normative Sumerian grammar, the right periphery of the VR is where nominalization occurs (exs., suffixation of {ø} or {a} to create participles, {ed} on nonfinites for infinitives and certain participial forms, and the addition of a case-marker and/or enclitic copula form after a VR has been nominalized in {a}). Righthand marking is also the pattern utilized in Sumerian to decline NPs. All of this suggests that the Sumerian Imperative's strikingly unique method of affix ordering is a reflex of the VR having been nominalized.

It should be noted, however, that at least in the data taken from the principal corpus when an Imperative with a long affix chain has the CP {mu} or {ba} this {a} is sometimes unexpressed in writing. Whether the morpheme was unwritten or lost to grammatical rule is unclear.[381] Regardless, there are enough examples of {a} before CPs to disqualify {a} from being a CP or an allomorph of one (see, [4.66] dug$_3$-ga-ma-ni-ib$_2$: dug$_3$=a=mu=*A=ni=b : to be good$_{tf}$=NMZ$_{IMP}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$ and [4.70] [ŋe$_{26}$]-nam-ma : [ŋe]n=a=imma : to go$_{H.SG}$=NMZ$_{IMP}$=CP$_{MID}$).[382] This Imperative {a} seems unlikely to be an allomorph of the CP {i} due to its occurrence before CPs (contra. sequencing rules). Additionally, there is no clear phonological motivation for such a pattern in the data (admittedly the cuneiform script complicates the matter). Furthermore, the relative rarity of the CP {a} and the seeming semantic mismatch between the Stative and Imperative functions makes it an ill-

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[381] When an Imperative has an overt CP and {a} is unwritten, this dissertation will not restore an {a}. It is likely that the placement of the affix chain to the right of the VR was enough to signal that the form was nominal.

[382] The gloss for this Imperative {a} morpheme is NMZ$_{IMP}$.

suited candidate to be identified as the Imperative {a}. In sum, the {a} that is frequently found immediately to the right of an Imperative VR is best understood as the same morpheme as the nominalizing {a}.

One final quality of the Sumerian Imperative requires comment. Specifically, it is important to remark that the Imperative VR is prototypically conjugated in the *ḫamṭu* tense-aspect (standard or reduplicated). There do, however, seem to be exceptions to this rule and thus conjugation in the *ḫamṭu* (i.e., perfective aspect) should be seen not as a formal constraint but rather a co-occurrence tendency conditioned by the modal semantics of the Imperative. This phenomenon has been explained by Mamoru Yoshikawa. The *ḫamṭu*, as Yoshikawa argues, codes the perfective aspect, which can emphasize the completion of the associated predicate in certain clauses.[383] Accordingly, Yoshikawa suggests that since Imperatives communicate the desired action that the speaker wants immediately performed in the best-case scenario, they naturally co-occur with verbs in the *ḫamṭu* aspect due to its ability to express the culmination of the act conveyed by the predicate.[384]

Having outlined the Imperative's relationship to deontic modality and its formal characteristics in Sumerian, examples from the primary corpus will now be cited. Although all canonical Imperatives are nominal in Sumerian, they manifest differently with regards to how many affixes are present. Occasionally, only the bare VR is used for the Imperative. Given the nature of cuneiform writing, however, it is not clear if the correlating spoken forms were truly bare or if a morpheme was omitted in writing:

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[383] Mamoru Yoshikawa, "The Sumerian Verbal Aspect," in *DUMU-E₂-DUB-BA-A: Studies in Honor of Åke Sjöberg*, eds. Hermann Behrens, Darlene Loding, and Martha T. Roth. OPSNKF 11. (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1989), 585. Yoshikawa's aspect system for Sumerian seems to be correct at points but possibly incorrect at others. A dedicated study into aspect in Sumerian is a desideratum and will greatly aid future research on Sumerian modality.
[384] Yoshikawa, "The Sumerian Verbal Aspect," 587.

[4.53] e₂ Kešᵏⁱ ⌜iri⌝-še₃⌐(KI) lu₂ te na-teŋ₃

    e₂   Kešᵏⁱ   ⌜iri⌝-še₃⌐(KI)   lu₂   te

    e₂   Keš   iri=še   lu₂=ø   te

    house GN   city=TERM   individual=ABS_DO   to approach_H.BIVR

    na-teŋ₃

    na=teŋ₃

    MP_DEO.PROH=to approach_M

Draw near, man, to the house of Keš, to the city – but do not draw near!

[4.54] ur-saŋ-bi ᵈAšgi(AŠ.ŠIR.GI₄)-še₃ lu₂ te na-teŋ₃

    ur-saŋ-bi   ᵈAšgi(AŠ.ŠIR.GI₄)-še₃   lu₂

    ursaŋ=bi   Ašgi=še   lu₂=ø

    hero=POSS.3SG.NHUM   DN♂=TERM   individual=ABS_DO

    te   na-teŋ₃

    te   na=teŋ₃

    to approach_H.BIVR   MP_DEO.PROH=to approach_M

Draw near, man, to Ašgi, its hero – but do not draw near!

[4.55] nin-bi ᵈNin-tu-še₃ lu₂ te na-teŋ₃

    nin-bi   ᵈNin-tu-še₃   lu₂

    nin=bi   Nintur=še   lu₂=ø

    lady=POSS.3SG.NHUM   DN♀=TERM   individual=ABS_DO

    te   na-teŋ₃

    te   na=teŋ₃

    to approach_H.BIVR   MP_DEO.PROH=to approach_M

Draw near, man, to Nintur, its lady – but do not draw near!

The examples of bare root Imperatives in [4.53]-[4.55] were all taken from one manuscript (i.e., *KTH*_N_III12) of a single composition (i.e., the *Keš Temple Hymn*). According to Paul Delnero, the bare root Imperative in [4.53] is best understood as a scribal error of omission

(i.e., te for te-a) that also occurs in four other manuscripts (i.e., *KTH*_N$_{III9}$, *KTH*_As$_1$, *KTH*_X$_3$, and *KTH*_X$_5$). He also interprets the bare forms in [4.54] and [4.55], which are unique to manuscript *KTH*_N$_{III12}$, as errors of omission. In Delnero's view, all these errors are the product of a scribe copying a text from memory.[385] It is certainly possible that Delnero is correct in his assessment and these forms are merely errors and not viable linguistic evidence for bare root Imperatives. These are not, however, the only pieces of evidence. Were that the case, Delnero's suggestion would be the only possible interpretation. The following evidence supports the idea that the short forms in *KTH*_N$_{III12}$ could be understood as instances of a scribe substituting a viable grammatical form when copying from memory rather than the erroneous omission of a mandatory morpheme. This proposal is not intended as a dismissal of Delnero's position but rather as a logical alternative substantiated by outside evidence, both Sumerological and typological. Even if one prefers Delnero's analysis of the forms in *KTH*_N$_{III12}$ as errors to the alternate hypothesis proffered here, the following examples from multiple compositions bolster the claim that bare root Imperatives are viable in Sumerian:

EXAMPLES ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[385] Delnero, "Variation in Sumerian Literary Compositions: A Case Study Based on the Decad," 1351-1352.

[4.56] a-šag₄ kiŋ₂-zu ak na-an-na-ab-be₂

a-šag₄	kiŋ₂-zu	ak
ašag	kiŋ₂=zu=ø	ak
field	work=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$	to do$_{H.BIVR}$

na-an-na-ab-be₂
na=na=b=e=e
MP$_{DEO.NEG.ADVIS}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to say$_{M.SG}$=PRO3SG.AG

One should not have to say: "Do your field work!"[386]

COMPOSITION: *The Farmer's Instructions*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 37
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *FIs*_N₁ (F)
MUSEUM NUMBER: Ni 2276 + Ni 4583 + UM 29-13-922

[4.57] kur gal [ᵈ]En-lil₂-ᶦraᶦ u₃-na-a-dug₄ niŋ₂ šag₄-za ak-e-še

kur	gal	[ᵈ]En-lil₂-ᶦraᶦ
kur	gal	Enlil=ra
mountain	big	DN$_♂$=DAT

u₃-na-a-dug₄
u=na=e=dug₄=ø
MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO2SG.AG=to say$_{H.SG}$=ABS3SG.DO

niŋ₂	šag₄-za	ak-e-še
niŋ₂	šag₄=zu=a(k)=ø	ak=eše
thing	heart=POSS.2SG.HUM=GEN=ABS$_{DO}$	to do$_{H.BIVR}$=QUOT

When you have told to Enlil, the Great Mountain: "Do as you wish!"[387]

COMPOSITION: *Enlil and Sud*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 69
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *En&Sud*_N₁ (E)
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-15-255B

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[386] All manuscripts have the bare root Imperative. For the score of this line, see: Miguel Civil, *The Farmer's Instruction: A Sumerian Agricultural Manual.* AuOrS 5. (Barcelona: Editorial AUSA, 1994), 213. Bare root Imperatives of ak : "to do," however, do pose a potential problem. Namely, the AK-sign can be read "aka." If one prefers this reading, then one could argue that the root is not bare. Given the typological viability of bare root Imperatives, however, it does not seem unreasonable to consider that examples such as [4.56] might be better read "ak" and not "aka." Furthermore, it will be shown in this section that traditional NPs (ex., zamin : "praise") can stand unmarked as Imperatives so it seems reasonable that a VR could be nominalized via a lack of marking (as is the case with active participles of the form VR=ø) to stand as Imperatives, which are nominalized constituents. Although his positions have not been adopted here outright, Attinger has the most thorough discussion of ak : "to do." Pascal Attinger, "A propos de AK «faire»," *ZA* 95 (2005), 46-64.

[387] The construction "niŋ₂ šag₄-za ak-e-še" also occurs in composite lines 68, 97, and 98. All the Nippur manuscripts that contain these lines have bare root Imperatives. The only preserved manuscript that attests to an Imperative form in {a} in these lines is *En&Sud*_S₁ from Susa (Sb 12521). For a complete edition of this composition, see: Miguel Civil, "Enlil and Ninlil: The Marriage of Sud," *JAOS* 103 (1983), 43-66.

[4.58] nam-til₃ ba

       nam-til₃   ba

       nam=til₃=ø   ba

       ABSTR=to live$_{H.SG}$=AP+ABS$_{DO}$ to allot$_{H.BIVR}$

"Allot life!"[388]

Although it cannot be established with absolute certainty due to the orthographic depth of the cuneiform script, it seems highly likely that Sumerian could form Imperatives with a bare VR. Orthographic concerns aside, such minimally marked Imperatives are well attested cross-linguistically. For example, in Hdi (Afro-Asiatic, Chadic), a bare Imperative has no contrastive features that distinguish it from a bare indicative form.[389] Accordingly, Hdi might be a perfect parallel to Sumerian in this regard. It cannot be ruled out, however, that Sumerian had a distinctive phonological feature (ex., tone) that marked these bare forms as Imperatives. This is what one finds in Hausa (Afro-Asiatic, Chadic), which distinguishes a bare root Imperative from a bare root indicative form via the addition of a low-high tonal pattern.[390] The deep nature of cuneiform orthography does not allow for the recovery of such contrastive features (if they existed at all). The lack of a contrastive feature here, however, is unproblematic. There would have been no need for a formal mechanism in Sumerian to distinguish bare Imperatives from active participles (both of which are designated by an unmarked VR) as the context of issuing

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[388] This bare root Imperative unfortunately occurs on a verb that ends in an /a/-vowel. Therefore, it is possible that {a} was simply omitted in writing. It must be noted, however, that this statue is not brief and employs a rather full orthography. As such, it does not appear that orthographic omissions were standard practice for this composition. This form also receives its own dedicated register in the inscription, and the signs are ordered and scaled such that the scribe could have easily included an A-sign to represent {a} without cluttering the layout. Finally, this form occurs in the statue's name (i.e., "My lady you selected me. On the day I set to work, allot life!"). Perhaps the short form was motivated by its inclusion in a name, but this seems unlikely as other verbs in it are fully written (ex., "you selected me" is written ba-zig₃-ge). Regardless, even if the form were shortened due to convention it would still stand as evidence for bare root Imperatives at least in certain discourse contexts.

[389] Frajzyngier, "Modality and Mood in Chadic," 277.

[390] Ibid.

commands would make the coding of the bare form as an Imperative immediately clear to the addressee(s).

The existence of bare root Imperatives seems highly probable, but they certainly were not the most productive method of constructing Imperatives. More commonly, Sumerian generates Imperatives that have a suffixed affix chain. Although these chains can be quite long, short chains with only the nominalizer {a} serving in its Imperative marking capacity are most common. There are many examples of {a}-form Imperatives in the principal corpus, and the next few pages are dedicated to contextualizing and discussing them. The following form occurs in *The Exaltation of Inana* when the *en* priestess En-hedu-ana (the alleged author of the text) begs the moon god Suʾen to intercede on her behalf to An. Her appeals are made in an effort to seek revenge against a certain Lugal-ane who is said to have destroyed the E-ana temple:

[4.59] gub-ba šag₄-ga-na ha-ma-sed₄-ꜥeꜥ-de₃
gub-ba   šag₄-ga-na
gub=a   šag₄=ani=a
to stand$_{H.SG}$=NMZ$_{IMP}$ heart=POSS.3SG.HUM=LOC$_{DO}$

ha-ma-sed₄-ꜥeꜥ-de₃
he=mu=*A=(b)=sed₄=ed=e
MP$_{DEO.PREC}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to cool$_M$=FUT=PRO3SG.AG

Arise so that she may cool her heart for me!

COMPOSITION: *The Exaltation of Inana*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 80
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *ExIn* N$_{III31}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: IM 58702

Formally, this Imperative is unremarkable, but it is a model example of a short Imperative in {a} as it occurs in an indisputably directive context. Against the backdrop of En-hedu-ana desperately praying for divine assistance, no other possible interpretation of gub-ba is feasible.

More evidence of short Imperatives in {a} occurs in *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*. The first one to be cited here occurs when Gilgameš is trying to calm his companion Enkidug in an effort

to convince him that they should pursue and fight Huwawa, the monstrous creature of the cedar

forest:

[4.60] ŋar-ra ᵈEn-ki-dug₃ ⌜lu₂⌝ 2 nu-ug₇-e / ma₂-da-lal nu-su-⌜su⌝

ŋar-ra	ᵈEn-ki-dug₃	⌜lu₂⌝	2
ŋar=a	Enkidug=ø	lu₂	2=ø
to put$_{tf}$=NMZ$_{IMP}$	PN$_{♂}$=VOC	individual	two=ABS$_{SBJ}$

nu-ug₇-e		ma₂-da-lal	nu-su-⌜su⌝
nu=ug₇=e(š)		madalal=ø	nu=suːsu=ø
NEG=to die$_{M.PL}$=ABS$_{3PL.HUM.SBJ}$		raft=ABS$_{SBJ}$	NEG=to sink$_M$^{x2}=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

"Settle down, Enkidug! Two men will not die; / a raft cannot sink."

Despite Gilgameš's metaphor-filled speech calling upon Enkidug to be brave and join him,

Enkidug is hesitant and speaks in a series of short sentences punctuated with Imperative forms in

{a}:

[4.61] ni₂ i₃-ŋal₂ ni₂ i₃-ŋal₂ ⌜gi₄⌝-a

ni₂	i₃-ŋal₂	ni₂
ni₂=ø	i=ŋal₂=ø	ni₂=ø
fear=ABS$_{SBJ}$	CP$_{NEUT}$=to exist$_M$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$	fear=ABS$_{SBJ}$

i₃-ŋal₂	⌜gi₄⌝-a
i=ŋal₂=ø	gi₄=a
CP$_{NEUT}$=to exist$_M$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$	to return$_{tf}$=NMZ$_{IMP}$

"There will be terror! There will be terror! Turn back!"

[4.62] ⌜umun⌝ i₃-ŋal₂ umun i₃-ŋal₂ gi₄-a […]

⌜umun⌝	i₃-ŋal₂	⌜umun⌝
umun=ø	i=ŋal₂=ø	umun=ø
blood=ABS$_{SBJ}$	CP$_{NEUT}$=to exist$_M$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$	blood=ABS$_{SBJ}$

i₃-ŋal₂	gi₄-a	[…]
i=ŋal₂=ø	gi₄=a	[…]
CP$_{NEUT}$=to exist$_M$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$	to return$_{tf}$=NMZ$_{IMP}$	[…]

"There will be blood! There will be blood! Turn back! […]"

A final short Imperative in {a} in *Gilgameš and Huwawa A* occurs in the last line of the composition, where the disembodied speaker offers their praise to the composition's protagonist:

[4.63] ⌜kalag⌝-[ga] ᵈŊEŠ.BIL₂-ga-mes mi₂ dug₄-ga

⌜kalag⌝-[ga]	ᵈŊEŠ.BIL₂-ga-mes	mi₂ dug₄-ga
kalag=[a]	Bilgames=ø	mi₂—dug₄=a
to be mighty$_{tf}$=[PP]	PN/DN$_σ$=ABS$_{DO}$	CVNE—to say$_{H.CVR}$=NMZ$_{IMP}$

"Praise might[y] Gilgameš!"

In some instances, these short forms take third singular enclitic copulae serving as markers of emphasis.[391] This is the case in composite lines 111 and 112 of *Gilgameš and Huwawa A* in manuscript *GH.A*_N$_{I2}$ (compare with [4.61] and [4.62] above from manuscript *GH.A*_N$_{III20}$):

EXAMPLES ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[391] The emphatic function of the enclitic copula has been discussed in a variety of ways in the Sumerological literature. Zólyomi provides the following description in his thorough monograph on copular clauses and focus marking: "In the sumerological literature, the construction [i.e., the emphatic use of the third singular enclitic copula] is usually thought to emphasize the sentence as a whole. This characterization is inaccurate as the construction relates not to the sentence, but to the truth or factualness of its proposition" (for a discussion of the secondary literature see Zólyomi's footnote 148 on the cited page). Gábor Zólyomi, *Copular Clauses and Focus Marking in Sumerian.* (Warsaw: De Gruyter Open Ltd., 2014), 171.

[4.64] ni₂ i₃-ŋal₂ ni₂ i₃-ŋal₂ gi₄-am₃

ni₂	i₃-ŋal₂	ni₂
ni₂=ø	i=ŋal₂=ø	ni₂=ø
fear=ABS$_{SBJ}$	CP$_{NEUT}$=to exist$_M$=ABS$_{3SG.SUBJ}$	fear=ABS$_{SBJ}$

i₃-ŋal₂	gi₄-am₃
i=ŋal₂=ø	gi₄=a=am
CP$_{NEUT}$=to exist$_M$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$	to return$_{tf}$=NMZ$_{IMP}$=COP.3SG

"There will be terror! There will be terror! Turn back!"

[4.65] ⌜umun?⌝ i₃-ŋal₂ ⌜umun⌝ i₃-ŋal₂ gi₄-am₃

⌜umun?⌝	i₃-ŋal₂	⌜umun⌝
umun=ø	i=ŋal₂=ø	umun=ø
blood=ABS$_{SBJ}$	CP$_{NEUT}$=to exist$_M$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$	blood=ABS$_{SBJ}$

i₃-ŋal₂	gi₄-am₃
i=ŋal₂=ø	gi₄=a=am
CP$_{NEUT}$=to exist$_M$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$	to return$_{tf}$=NMZ$_{IMP}$=COP.3SG

"There will be blood! There will be blood! Turn back!"

Given the opaque view of Sumerian phonology permitted by the morpho-logographic cuneiform script, one could argue that a third singular enclitic copula could underlie any short Imperative in {a} (i.e., one could assume an auslaut loss rule /m/ > ø in terminal position, which would generate identical forms for VR=a and VR=a=am). Such a proposal would be misguided for two reasons. Firstly, if the third singular copula would be performing an emphatic function, then the loss of its only distinguishing feature in short Imperatives (i.e., its terminal /m/) would negate said function as its presence would be undetectable (at least in writing). Secondly, the rules of Sumerian phonotactics (specifically the rules concerning degree and frequency of terminal consonant amissability) are too poorly understood to convincingly posit the obscured obligatory existence of an emphatic element on these forms, which are already emphatic by nature.

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So far, only short Imperatives with either the bare VR, the nominalizing suffix {a}, or {a} plus the enclitic copula have been presented. As was discussed at the outset, however, Imperatives can have long morpheme chains with any of the prefix chain elements except the MPs.[392] Accordingly, Imperatives with varying sizes of complex affix chains are attested. The next set of examples includes evidence from both literary texts and functional documents, but no further context for the source compositions will be given as the forms are indisputably Imperatives. Additional context would provide little to no useful information for the presentation and understanding of the forms:

[4.66] ki-tuš dug₃-ga-ma-ni-ib₂
       ki-tuš
       kituš=ø
       dwelling=ABS$_{DO}$

       dug₃-ga-ma-ni-ib₂
       dug₃=a=mu=*A=ni=b
       to be good$_H$=NMZ$_{IMP}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$

       "Move in in comfort!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder B*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 45
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.B*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1511
</div>

[4.67] An-ra dug₄-mu-na-ab
       An-ra   dug₄-mu-na-ab
       An=ra   dug₄=mu=na=b
       DN♂=DAT   to say$_{H.SG}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$

       Tell it to An!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Exaltation of Inana*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 75
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *ExIn*_N₁₁
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-15-422 + CBS 7847
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EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE
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[392] To the best of the author's knowledge, no Imperatives with the Conjunctive {inga} are attested. The grammaticality of such hypothetical forms, however, cannot be adjudicated on a lack of attestations alone.

[4.68] An-ra dug$_4$-mu-na-ab-be$_2$

    An-ra   dug$_4$-mu-na-ab-be$_2$

    An=ra   dug$_4$=mu=na=b=e(n)

    DN$_\sigma$=DAT   to say$_{H.SG}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=PRO$_{2SG.AG}$

Tell it to An![393]

[4.69] za-e ŋa$_2$-e tah-ma-ab u$_3$-en$_3$-zu ga-mu-ra-tah a-na-me lu$_2$ ba-an-tum$_3$

    za-e   ŋa$_2$-e   tah-ma-ab

    za'e=ø   ŋa'e   tah=mu=*A=b

    you=VOC   me   to aid$_H$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$

    u$_3$-en$_3$-zu

    u'en=(a)=zu=ø

    to release$_H$=(PP)=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

    ga-mu-ra-tah

    ga=mu=ra=(b)=tah

    MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.2SG}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to aid$_H$

    a-na   me   lu$_2$ ba-an-tum$_3$

    ana   me   lu$_2$ ba=b=tum$_3$=(e)

    WH   COP.3SG   individual   CP$_{MID}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to bring$_{M.SG}$=(PRO$_{3SG.AG}$)

"Oh you, help me! I shall aid you in your release! What can one take from us?"

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[393] This example is interesting because it seems that the scribe wanted to mark the implicit second singular agent on the Imperative via the terminal BE$_2$-sign (i.e., …-be$_2$: …=b=e(n) : …=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=PRO$_{2SG.AG}$).

[4.70] [ŋe$_{26}$]-nam-ma ga-an-ši-re$_7$-en-de$_3$-⌜en⌝ / ⌜igi⌝ hu-mu-ni-ib-du$_8$-ru-NE-en-de$_3$-en
[ŋe$_{26}$]-nam-ma
[ŋe]n=a=imma
[to g]o$_{H.SG}$=NMZ$_{IMP}$=CP$_{MID}$

ga-an-ši-re$_7$-en-de$_3$-⌜en⌝   /
ga=n=ši=re$_7$=enden   /
MP$_{DEO.COHOR}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.IO}$=DI$_{TERM}$=to go$_{H.PL}$=PRO$_{1PL.SBJ}$ /

⌜igi⌝   hu-mu-ni-ib-du$_8$-ru-NE-en-de$_3$-en
igi=ø   he=mu=ni=b=du$_8$=enden
eye=ABS$_{DO}$ MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to loosen$_{M.CVR}$=PRO$_{1PL.AG}$

"[Co]me! Let us go to him; / may we gaze upon him there!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 109
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_N$_{III21}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: N 3740

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[4.71] [niŋ$_2$-šag$_4$-zu] ⌜ŋe$_{26}$⌝-nam-ma ga-am$_3$-ši-re$_7$-en-de$_3$-en
[niŋ$_2$-šag$_4$-zu]
[niŋ$_2$=šag$_4$=zu]
[ABSTR=heart=POSS.2SG.HUM]

⌜ŋe$_{26}$⌝-nam-ma
ŋen=a=imma
to go$_{H.SG}$=NMZ$_{IMP}$=CP$_{MID}$

ga-am$_3$-ši-re$_7$-en-de$_3$-en
ga=n=ši=re$_7$=enden
MP$_{DEO.COHOR}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.IO}$=DI$_{TERM}$=to go$_{H.PL}$=PRO$_{1PL.SBJ}$

"[Concerning your desire], come! Let us go to him!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 113
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_N$_{III20}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: N 1787

</div>

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[4.72] ni$_2$ na-teŋ$_3$-ŋe$_{26}$^{e} šu ki-a sig$_{10}$-bi$_2$-ib

ni$_2$	na-teŋ$_3$-ŋe$_{26}$^{e}
ni$_2$=ø	na=(b)=teŋ$_3$=e(n)
fear=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{DEO.PROH}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to approach$_{M.CVR}$=PRO2SG.AG

šu	ki-a	sig$_{10}$-bi$_2$-ib
šu=ø	ki=a	sig$_{10}$=ba=*I=b
hand=ABS$_{DO}$	place=LOC	to place$_H$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO

"Do not fear – lay your hands down flat on the ground!"

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 128
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_N$_{III35}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 55-21-378 + IM 58700

[4.73] ni$_2$-zu ba-ma-ra su-za ga-an-kur$_9$

ni$_2$-zu	ba-ma-ra
ni$_2$=zu=ø	ba=mu=*A=ta
aura=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$	to allot$_H$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=DI$_{ABL}$

su-za	ga-an-kur$_9$
su=zu=a	ga=n=kur$_9$
flesh=POSS.2SG.HUM=LOC	MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=PVN=to enter$_H$

"Give away to me one of your dread auras! I shall enter your family"

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 137
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_N$_{15}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 8027

[4.74] [Gem]e$_2$-^{d}Ba-U$_2$ dumu Lu$_2$-ka-zala guda$_2$ tuku-ba-an

[Gem]e$_2$-^{d}Ba-U$_2$	dumu	Lu$_2$-ka-zala	guda$_2$
[Gem]e-BaU	dumu	Lukazala=a(k)	guda$_2$
[P]N♀	child	PN♂=GEN	*guda*-priest

tuku-ba-an
tuku=ba=n
to get$_H$=CP$_{MID}$=PRO3SG.HUM.DO

"Marry [Gem]e-BaU, the daughter of Lukazala, the *guda*-priest!"

COMPOSITION: *NSGU II.6*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 8
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *dit.6*
MUSEUM NUMBER: L.6550

[4.75] 10 giŋ₄ kug-babbar-am₃ šum₂-ma-ab

	10	giŋ₄	kug-babbar-am₃
	10	giŋ₄	kugbabbar=am=ø
	ten	shekel	silver=COP.3SG=ABS_DO

šum₂-ma-ab
šum₂=mu=*A=b
to give_Ḫ=CP_TR.ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.1SG=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO

"Give me 10 shekels of silver!"

[4.76] de₆-mu-un ba-na-ab-dug₄
de₆-mu-un
de₆=mu=n
to bring_Ḫ.SG=CP_TR.ACT=PRO3SG.HUM.DO

ba-na-ab-dug₄
ba=na=b=dug₄=(ene)
CP_MID=DI_DAT.3SG=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to say_Ḫ.SG=(PRO3PL.HUM.AG)

"Bring him here!" they said it to him.[394]

[4.77] [x x x] šum₂-ma-na-˹ab˺

[x x x]	šum₂-ma-na-˹ab˺
[x x x]	šum₂=mu=na=b
[x x x]	to give_Ḫ=CP_TR.ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.3SG=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO

(*X* shekels? of silver) / [x x x] give it to him!

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[394] The VR for the indicative verb ba-na-ab-dug₄ is clearly *ḫamṭu* (dug₄ is a suppletive verb whose root is e in the *marû*) but the {b} pronoun before dug₄ implies that the scribe intended to mark the pronouns on the verb according to *marû* rules (for whatever reason). Therefore, the typical third plural agent pronoun for the *marû* has been restored even though there is no orthographic evidence simply because it fits the patterning scheme and represents the number of the agent.

[4.78] Ur₃-re-ba-ab-du₇ / kišib-ŋu₁₀ zi-ra-ab / [in-n]a-dug₄-ga

Ur₃-re-ba-ab-du₇	/	kišib-ŋu₁₀
Urebabdu=(ra)	/	kišib=ŋu=ø
PN♂=(DAT)	/	sealed tablet=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

zi-ra-ab	/	[in-n]a-dug₄-ga
zir=a=b	/	[i=n]a=dug₄=ø=a
to destroy$_{tr}$=NMZ$_{IMP}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO	/	[CP$_{NEUT}$=D]I$_{DAT.3SG}$=to say$_{H.SG}$=ABS3SG.DO=SUBR

(He swore…) / that, (to) Urebabdu / he said: / "Destroy my sealed tablet!,"

All the preceding Imperatives were structured around VRs. Sumerian, however, could also express the Imperative with an undeclined noun standing in apposition to its direct object. This construction is most common at the end of compositions when a disembodied speaker offers praise to a deity by following a divine name with the unmarked nominal root zamin "praise:"

[4.79] ᵈNin-ŋir₂-su za₃-mi₂

ᵈNin-ŋir₂-su	za₃-mi₂
Ninŋirsu=ø	zamin
DN♂=ABS$_{DO}$	praise$_{BINS}$

Praise Ninŋirsu!

[4.80] ᵈHu-wa-wa [...] // mi₂ dug₄-ga En-ki-dug₃ za₃-⌜mi₂⌝ [...]

ᵈHu-wa-wa	[...]	//	mi₂ dug₄-ga
Huwawa=ø	[...]	//	mi₂—dug₄=a
DN♂=ABS$_{DO}$	[...]	//	CVNE—to say$_{H.SG.CVR}$=NMZ$_{IMP}$

En-ki-dug₃	za₃-⌜mi₂⌝	[...]
Enkidug=ø	zamin	[...]
PN♂=ABS$_{DO}$	praise$_{BINS}$	[...]

Praise [...] // Huwawa! Praise Enkidug! [...]

All methods Sumerian has for forming canonical Imperatives have now been presented, exemplified, and discussed. The following section is dedicated to examining the directive function that denotes orders/requests issued to a third-person addressee (i.e., the Jussive).

4.5 JUSSIVE ("LET SALLY DO IT.")

The Jussive, like the Imperative, expresses commands and instructions, but it is distinct in that it is a proper deontic modal notion and coded with an MP (namely, {he}). Importantly, whereas an Imperative always entails a connection between its subject and addressee (i.e., "either the addressee corresponds to the subject participant, or she is expected to control the subject participant"), Jussives do not entail such a connection as the individual expected to carry out the action is not necessarily a part of the immediate discourse.[395] This is the natural result of Jussives being restricted to the third-person (singular and plural).

Notionally, the Jussive is also similar to the Optative. Both functions can be used by the speaker to communicate that he or she has an outcome in mind that they would like accomplished. The difference between the two lies in the fact that the Jussive is directive (i.e., it is an issued request) whereas the Optative is a stated wish for fulfilment (i.e., not necessarily a call to action). Although the nuances can appear slight, they are critical to understand since Sumerian codes the Jussive and the Optative with the same MP (i.e., {he}). Because of this polysemy, context must be used to ascertain which function is occurring in a given sentence. Determining the power dynamics between the speech act participants is one helpful method for determining what type of {he}-function is best. For most Jussives, the speaker is socially superior to the addressee to some degree. The power difference between the participants is

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[395] Nikolaeva, "Analyses of the Semantics of Mood," 76.

expected in Jussives as this paradigm tends to conform to broad cultural norms regarding who can appropriately ask whom to act (exs., [4.83]-[4.84] Inana to Ebih, [4.89]-[4.95] Gilgameš to his citizens, Enkidug, and Huwawa, etc.). Conversely, with Optatives the speaker is usually of an equal or lower status than the addressee to whom the hope is being communicated.

Impersonal constructions are one context where these tendencies do not hold completely. Specifically, if the speaker is broadly claiming that he or she demands a state come about, it does not make sense to speak of a superiority hierarchy (ex., En-hedu-ana exclaiming that the augustness of Inana should be known and that she intends to accomplish it via her recitations, [4.96]-[4.107]). Jussives in these impersonal contexts can seem like Optatives. While both functions in these uses do not express to whom the utterance is directed, impersonal Optatives merely express one's personal desire for a state to come about whereas impersonal Jussives entail that the speaker demands that something proper come about.

Cross-linguistically, Jussives are usually marked differently than Imperatives.[396] To cite one language as typological evidence, in Cavineña (Pano-Tacanan, Tacanan) the second singular Imperative is marked via the suffixation of {kwe} to the VR (as in [4.81]) whereas the Jussive is expressed via the prefixation of {pa} to the VR (as in [4.82]):[397]

[4.81] bute=kwe
to go down=IMP.SG

"You (sg.) go down!"

[4.82] esiri=ke   pa=diru
old=LIG   JUS=to go

"Let the old one (man) leave!"

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[396] Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 81-82.
[397] Aikhenvald, *Imperatives and Commands*, 61-62.

Although more could be said about the different ways Jussives are coded cross-linguistically, the above evidence from Cavineña is sufficient for establishing how the Sumerian system of conveying directives conforms to typological expectations. As will be explored in depth in the ensuing pages, Sumerian marks the Jussive like a traditional modal notion with an MP (i.e., with a completely different morpheme ordering scheme than the Imperative).

The Jussive is an important function across languages because it is required in numerous different discourse scenarios (ex., any conversation in which a speaker wants to convey an order, often politely, which also expresses a wish). Given this, it is unsurprising that evidence for the Sumerian Jussive is plentiful. To make this wealth of information clear and digestible, all citations from one composition in a subcorpus will be presented together before moving on to another. Once all examples from a subcorpus have been cited, the process will begin again with another. The first subcorpus to be discussed is the Decad, and the first Jussive cited here comes from *Inana and Ebih*. Within the narrative, this example occurs at the end of a long speech by Inana in which she proclaims her animosity towards Ebih:

[4.83] kur-re in-di$_3$-ŋu$_{10}$ he$_2$-kur-ku

     kur-re   in-di$_3$-ŋu$_{10}$
     kur=e   indi=ŋu=ø
     mountain=ERG   conduct=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

     he$_2$-kur-ku
     he=(b)=kurku=(e)
     MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to observe(?)$_M$=(PRO3SG.AG)

     "Let the mountain observe(?) my conduct!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Inana and Ebih*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 50
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IEb*_N$_{III4}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: N 1117

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[4.84] Ebih^{ki}-e ka-tar-ŋu₁₀ ⌜he₂⌝-⌜si⌝-⌜il⌝-⌜e⌝ ⌜me⌝-⌜teš₂⌝ ⌜hu⌝-mu-un-i-i

Ebih^{ki}-e   ka-tar-ŋu₁₀
Ebih=e   katar=ŋu=ø
PN/GN=ERG   CVNE=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS_{DO}

⌜he₂⌝-⌜si⌝-⌜il⌝-⌜e⌝
he=(b)=sil=e
MP_{DEO.JUS}=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to split_{M.CVR}=PRO3SG.AG

⌜me⌝-⌜teš₂⌝   he₂-me-i-i
meteš=ø   he=mu=(b)=i:i=(e)
praise=ABS_{DO}   MP_{DEO.JUS}=CP_{TR.ACT}=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to leave_{M.CVR}^{x2}=(PRO3SG.AG)

"Let Ebih honor me! Let it praise me!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Inana and Ebih*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 51
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IEb*_N₁₁
MUSEUM NUMBER: N 1333 + N 6149 + N 1328 + N 6433 + Ni 3052 + Ni 9722

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While most translators seem to interpret the preceding forms as Optatives, it seems more likely they are Jussives.[398] The two sentences immediately preceding those cited above record Inana declaring what she wishes will not happen to Ebih, and the forms in [4.83]-[4.84] serve as a crescendo to her rant.[399] Therefore, it is argued here that these forms are Jussives whereby she issues a command to the ether as to how she intends matters to resolve. It is not that Inana is merely wishing for an outcome in [4.83]-[4.84]. Rather, she is living up to her bellicose stereotype by commanding these results come about since these are the only outcomes she believes will restore her honor.[400] Establishing whether a deontic {he}-form is best understood as a Jussive or Optative in instances like these is a delicate matter that requires a philological approach.

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[398] To cite one popular translation: "May Ebiḫ give me honour and praise me." Jeremy Black, Graham Cunningham, Eleanor Robson, and Gábor Zólyomi, *The Literature of Ancient Sumer.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 335.

[399] The preceding lines with Negative Optative forms can be translated thusly: "Like a city which An has cursed, may no one restore it! Like (a city) at which Enlil has frowned, may one never again lift its neck up!"

[400] The image of Inana as a war-loving goddess is well established in the secondary literature. For one overview, see: Claus Wilcke, "Inanna/Ištar," in *RlA* 5, ed. Dietz Otto Edzard. (Berlin: Walther de Gruyter, 1980), 74-87 – specifically, see: §11.1 *Von der kriegerischen, eroberungssüchtigen I.*, 83-84.

On a formal note, the verbs in [4.83]-[4.84] are perfect examples of the prototypical Jussive in Sumerian. Specifically, Jussives are marked with the MP {he} and predominantly conjugated in the *marû* (i.e., imperfective) tense-aspect and therefore subject to the associated pronoun patterning rules. Whereas the Imperative tends to take the *ḫamṭu* (i.e., perfective) tense-aspect because the command is being issued at the time of utterance directly to a present addressee (generally with desired immediate fulfillment), Jussives tend to occur in the *marû* (i.e., imperfective) as fulfillment of the order is typically less immediate since the addressee (always a third-person entity) is not necessarily present. Furthermore, Jussives sometimes have an air of politeness that is typically lacking in canonical Imperatives. As such, a request communicated by a Jussive might be more easily delayed or refused by the addressee whereas an Imperative has an inherent sense of immediacy and requirement that is intended to eliminate those options. These are the fundamental semantic differences of prototypical Jussives and Imperatives, but specific cultural norms surrounding requesting and peculiarities of individual discourse contexts can modulate the severity and/or urgency of either.

Another illustrative set of Jussives occurs near the end of the *Nungal Hymn.* At this point in the composition, the goddess Nungal (acting as the mistress of her netherworld prison-temple) is concluding a long speech of self-praise. Prior to uttering the sentences in [4.85]-[4.88], Nungal had just finished explaining how a man can be redeemed in her ghastly complex and thereby re-enter the good graces of his personal god:

[4.85] diŋir lu₂-ba-ke₄ suř-ra₂-še₃ me-teš₂ hu-mu-i-i

diŋir	lu₂-ba-ke₄	suř-ra₂-še₃
diŋir	lu₂=bi=ak=e	suř=a=še
god	individual=DEM=GEN=ERG	to be long$_H$=PP=TERM

me-teš₂	hu-mu-i-i
meteš=ø	he=mu=(b)=i:i=e
praise=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to leave$_{M.CVR}$^{x2}=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

"Then let the god of this man praise me appropriately forever!"

COMPOSITION: *Nungal Hymn*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 110
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Nu* Si₁
MUSEUM NUMBER: BM 108866

[4.86] lu₂-lu₇'(IRI)-bi ka-tar-ŋu₁₀ he₂-si-il-le / nam-mah-ŋu₁₀ he₂-em-me

lu₂-lu₇'(IRI)-bi	ka-tar-ŋu₁₀
luʾulu=bi=(e)	katar=ŋu=ø
humanity=DEM=(ERG)	CVNE=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

he₂-si-il-le	/
he=(b)=sil=e	/
MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to split$_{M.CVR}$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$	/

nam-mah-ŋu₁₀
nam=mah=ø=ŋu=ø
ABSTR=to be great$_H$=AP=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

he₂-em-me
he=b=e=e
MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to say$_{M.SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

"Let this man praise me highly! / Let him proclaim my greatness!"

COMPOSITION: *Nungal Hymn*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 111
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Nu* N₁₂
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 14183 + N 3746 + Ni 9887

[4.87] i₃ li₂ tur₃ kug-ta mi₂ he₂-em-me / niŋ₂-saŋ-bi ha-ma-an-tum₃

i₃	li₂		tur₃	kug-ta	mi₂
i₃	li₂=(e)		tur₃	kug=ta	mi₂=ø
butter	cream=(LOCTR$_{SOCV}$)		cattle-pen	pure=ABL	CVNE=ABS$_{DO}$

he₂-em-me   /
he=b=e=e   /
MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to say$_{M.SG.CVR}$=PRO3SG.AG   /

niŋ₂-saŋ-bi
niŋ₂=saŋ=bi=ø
ABSTR=head=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS$_{DO}$

ha-ma-an-tum₃
he=mu=*A=b(!)=tum₃=(e)
MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to bring$_{M.SG}$=(PRO3SG.AG)

"Let him provide (alt. care for) butter (and) cream from the pure cattle-pen! / Let him bring the best of it for me!"

[4.88] udu-i₃ amaš kug-ta mi₂ he₂-em-me / niŋ₂-saŋ-bi ha-ma-an-tum₃

udu-i₃		amaš	kug-ta	mi₂
udu'i=(e)		amaš	kug=ta	mi₂=ø
fattened sheep=(LOCTR$_{SOCV}$)		sheepfold	pure=ABL	CVNE=ABS$_{DO}$

he₂-em-me   /
he=b=e=e   /
MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to say$_{M.SG.CVR}$=PRO3SG.AG   /

niŋ₂-saŋ-bi
niŋ₂=saŋ=bi=ø
ABSTR=head=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS$_{DO}$

ha-ma-an-tum₃
he=mu=*A=b(!)=tum₃=(e)
MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to bring$_{M.SG}$=(PRO3SG.AG)

"Let him provide (alt. care for) fattened sheep from the pure sheepfold! / Let him bring the best of it for me!"

In this discourse context, these {he}-forms are clearly Jussives as they communicate what

rewards Nungal ordains should materialize for her after a man is reformed in her prison-temple.

Since Nungal is the supreme power in this domain, it would be illogical to argue that she is

merely hoping for these ends. Rather, she is demanding compensation for having acted in her

role as a divine redeemer of sorts.

The next batch of examples from the Decad to be cited here comes from *Gilgameš and*

Huwawa A. The first instance of a Jussive in this composition occurs when Gilgameš is trying to

convince the able-bodied men of Uruk to join him as part of a cedar-chopping expedition. In this

speech, Gilgameš tells the men to remain in the city if they have familial commitments:

[4.89] [nita saŋ-dili ŋa₂-e-gin₇ AK 50]-am₃ a₂-ŋu₁₀-še₃ hu-mu-un-ak

[nita	saŋ-dili	ŋa₂-e-gin₇	AK	50]-am₃
[nita	saŋdili	ŋaʾe=gin	AK	50]=am
[man	bachelor	I=EQU	?	fifty]=COP.3SG

a₂-ŋu₁₀-še₃	hu-mu-un-ak
a₂=ŋu=še	he=mu=n=ak=(eš)
side=POSS.1SG.HUM=TERM	MP_DEO.JUS=CP_ACT=PVN=to do_M=(PRO_3PL.HUM.SBJ)

"Let [men that are bachelors like me, fifty] of them, be at my side!"

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 44
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_N_III2
MUSEUM NUMBER: Ni 9952

After Gilgameš has assembled the party, the composition itself seems to speak outside of

the narrative and implements a Jussive to exhort the first of the mythical experts of mountain

travel (given to Gilgameš earlier by the god Utu) to lead the men to the cedar forest:

[4.90] [ma₂-ur₃-ma₂-ur₃] ꜓hur꜔-saŋ-ŋa₂-ke₄ hu-[mu-ni-in?]-tum₂-tum₂-mu
        [ma₂-ur₃-ma₂-ur₃]   ꜓hur꜔-saŋ-ŋa₂-ke₄
        [maʾurːmaʾur]   hursaŋ=ak=e
        [shallows^{x2}]   mountain range=GEN=LOCTR

        hu-[mu-ni-in?]-tum₂-tum₂-mu
        he=[mu=ni=n?]=tum₂ːtum₂=e
        MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=[CP$_{TR.ACT}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.DO}$]=to bring$_{M.SG}$$^{x2(!)}$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

        Through all [the shallows of the mountain range] let him lead [them (wr. him) there]![401]

The next Jussives in *Gilgameš and Huwawa A* occur at a humorous part of the composition where Gilgameš tricks Huwawa into giving him his *me*s via a series of mocking requests and insincere offers of gifts, the tenor of which is lost on the monster:

EXAMPLES ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[401] The verbal form hu-[mu-ni-in?]-tum₂-tum₂-mu clearly has a reduplicated VR and is in the *marû* given the terminal …-mu as a writing of …=e, but this verb is suppletive and not reduplicating *marû* class. The scribe got the suppletion correct but then seems to have overcompensated for *marû* marking by reduplicating the VR. Finally, this cannot be an instance of *ḫamṭu* reduplication (i.e., …=de₆ːde₆=…) because the terminal MU-sign means the preceding VR must end with /m/ and the /u/-vowel heavily implies there is the *marû* third singular agent pronoun {e} following the VR.

[4.91] [kur-ra tuš]-a-zu ba-ra-zu kur-ra tuš-a-zu he₂-zu-am₃

       [kur-ra   tuš]-a-zu
       [kur=a   tuš]=a=zu=ø
       [mountain=LOC   to dwell*H*.SG]=PP=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABSSBJ

       ba-ra-zu   kur-ra
       bara=zu=ø   kur=a
       MPEPI.NEG.ASV=to know*H*=ABS3SG.SBJ   mountain=LOC

       tuš-a-zu
       tuš=a=zu=ø
       to dwell*H*.SG=PP=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABSSBJ

       he₂-zu-am₃
       he=zu=ø=a=am
       MPDEO.JUS=to know*M*=ABS3SG.SBJ=NMZ=COP.3SG

       "Your [dwelling place in the mountain] is certainly unknown (currently), but let
       your dwelling place in the mountain be known (henceforth)!"[402]

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 131
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_NIII35
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 55-21-378 + IM 58700

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EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[402] This line is repeated later in composite line 135.

[4.92] [En-me-barag]-gi₄-si nin₉-gal-ŋu₁₀ nam-˹dam˺-˹še₃˺ kur-ra hu-mu-ni-ku₄(-)[ku₄?]

[En-me-barag]-gi₄-si	nin₉	gal-ŋu₁₀	nam-˹dam˺-˹še₃˺
[Enmebarag]esi	nin₉	gal=ŋu=ø	nam=dam=še
[P]N♀	sister	big=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS_DO	ABSTR=spouse=TERM

kur-ra
kur=a
mountain=LOC

hu-mu-ni-ku₄(-)[ku₄?]
he=mu=ni=(n)=ku₄(:)[ku₄?=en]
MP_DEO.JUS=CP_TR.ACT=DI_LOC=(PRO3SG.HUM.DO)=to enter_M[(x2)=PRO1SG.AG]

"Let me send you on the mountain my big sister [Enmebarag]esi for wifehood!"[403]

[4.93] Peš₃-tur nin banda₃^da-ŋu₁₀ nam-lukur-še₃ kur-ra hu-mu-ra-ni-˹DU˺.˹DU˺

Peš₃-tur	nin	banda₃^da-ŋu₁₀	nam-lukur-še₃
Peštur	nin₉	banda₃=ŋu=ø	nam=lukur=še
PN♀	sister	junior=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS_DO	ABSTR=junior wife=TERM

kur-ra
kur=a
mountain=LOC

hu-mu-ra-ni-˹DU˺.˹DU˺
he=mu=ra=ni=(n)=DU:DU=(en)
MP_DEO.JUS=CP_TR.ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.2SG=(PRO3SG.HUM.DO)=to go, take(?)_M^x2=(PRO1SG.AG)

"Let me send you on the mountain my little sister Peštur as a junior wife!"[404]

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[403] The humor of this line lies in the fact that Gilgameš is claiming to have an older sister named Enmebaragesi. This is a male's name and the name of the contemporaneous king of Kiš whom Gilgameš is said to have conquered. Clearly, this offer was made in jest as part of a ruse. Piotr Michalowski, "A Man Called Enmebaragesi," in *Literatur, Politik und Recht in Mesopotamien: Festschrift fur Claus Wilcke*, eds. Walther Sallaberger, Konrad Volk, and Annette Zgoll. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 206. It is odd the form has a first-person agent, but the semantics seem clearly Jussive.

[404] The humor of this line lies in the fact that Gilgameš is claiming to have a younger sister named Peštur. This is funny in the context of performance at court (especially during the Ur III period) as Peštur was the name of a daughter of Šulgi (the second king of the Ur III dynasty). Additionally, the sign read as peš₃ can be read ma, which generates a verbal form ma-tur (> mu=*A=tur=ø > CP_EMPY=DI_DAT.1SG=to be small_M=ABS3SG.SBJ > "she is too small for me"). This could be a pun that simultaneously brags about Gilgameš's biological endowment and undermines Huwawa's. Ibid., 198-199. It is odd the form has a first-person agent, but the semantics seem clearly Jussive.

The final Jussives ([4.94]-[4.95] below) occur when Gilgameš has just triumphed over Huwawa and decides to take pity on him. Upon having this change of heart, Gilgameš makes numerous requests couched in metaphorical language in a vain attempt to convince Enkidug that mercy is the correct course of action to take against the bested Huwawa:

[4.94] En-ki-dug₃ mušen dab₅-ba ki-bi-še₃ ha-ba-du

En-ki-dug₃	mušen	dab₅-ba	ki-bi-še₃
Enkidug=ø	mušen	dab₅=a=ø	ki=bi=še
PN♂=VOC	bird	to seize$_H$=PP=ABS$_{SBJ}$	place=POSS.3SG.NHUM=TERM

ha-ba-du
he=ba=du=ø
MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=CP$_{NTR.MID}$=to go$_{M.SG}$=ABS3SG.SBJ

"Oh Enkidug, let a captive bird set off to its place."

[4.95] ŋuruš dab₅-ba ur₂ ama-na-še₃ he₂-gi₄-gi₄

ŋuruš	dab₅-ba	ur₂
ŋuruš	dab₅=a=ø	ur₂
young man	to seize$_H$=PP=ABS$_{SBJ}$	lap

ama-na-še₃	he₂-gi₄-gi₄
ama=ani=ak=še	he=gi₄:gi₄=ø
mother=POSS.3SG.HUM=GEN=TERM	MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=to return$_M$^{x2}=ABS3SG.SBJ

"Let a seized young man return to the lap of his mother."

Only the Jussive interpretation of these {he}-forms is appropriate in this context as Gilgameš is issuing polite orders to Enkidug in an effort to persuade him to take pity on Huwawa. There is no indication that Gilgameš, the protagonist of the tale and Enkidug's superior, is expressing mere wishes as to how he wants Enkidug to act. Rather he is appealing to Enkidug via a series of polite requests, all of which are rebuffed in the ensuing lines.

The remaining examples of Jussives from a Decad source occur in a lengthy prayer in *The Exaltation of Inana*. Specifically, these forms occur when the *en* priestess En-hedu-ana is desperately praying to Inana and Nanna so that they might avenge her. When taken as a set, these Jussives constitute an exasperated plea that is characterized by fervent orders to an unspecified third-person audience (probably humanity in general) that the augustness of the goddess and god be observed in conformance with cultural norms of piety. As the Jussives in [4.96]-[4.107] occur in the same discourse context, form a cohesive unit, and are formally unremarkable, the individual examples will not be separated by commentary:

[4.96] ⌜he₂⌝-zu he₂-zu-a ᵈNanna li-bi₂-in-dug₄-ga / za-a-kam bi₂-in-dug₄-ga

⌜he₂⌝-zu
he=zu=ø
MP_DEO.JUS=to know_M=ABS3SG.SBJ

he₂-zu-a	ᵈNanna
he=zu=ø=a=a(m)	Nanna=(e)
MP_DEO.JUS=to know_M=ABS3SG.SBJ=NMZ=COP.3SG	DN♂=(ERG)

li-bi₂-in-dug₄-ga   /
nu=ba=*I=n=dug₄=ø=a=a(m)   /
NEG=CP_MID=DI_LOC=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to say_H.SG=ABS3SG.DO=NMZ=COP.3SG   /

za-a-kam
za'e=ak=am
you=GEN=COP.3SG

bi₂-in-dug₄-ga
ba=*I=n=dug₄=ø=a=a(m)
CP_MID=DI_LOC=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to say_H.SG=ABS3SG.DO=NMZ=COP.3SG

Let it be known! Let it be known! Nanna has not yet spoken out! / He has said: "He is yours!"

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[4.97] urunₓ(EN)-na nu-še-ga-za he₂-zu-am₃

　　　　urunₓ(EN)-na　　　　　nu-še-ga-za

　　　　urunₓ=a　　　　　　　nu=šeg=a=zu=a(m)=ø

　　　　to be powerful_H=PP　NEG=to be in agreement_H=PP=POSS.2SG.HUM=COP.3SG=ABS_SBJ

　　　　he₂-zu-am₃

　　　　he=zu=ø=a=am

　　　　MP_DEO.JUS=to know_M=ABS3SG.SBJ=NMZ=COP.3SG

　　　　Let it be known that you are powerful and disagreeable(?)!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Exaltation of Inana*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 131
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *ExIn*_N₁₁
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-15-422 + CBS 7847

</div>

[4.98] ⌜an⌝-gin₇ mah-a-za he₂-zu-am₃

　　　　⌜an⌝-gin₇　　　　　　mah-a-za

　　　　an=gin　　　　　　　mah=a=zu=a(m)=ø

　　　　heaven=EQU　　　　　to be great_H=PP=POSS.2SG.HUM=COP.3SG=ABS_SBJ

　　　　he₂-zu-am₃

　　　　he=zu=ø=a=am

　　　　MP_DEO.JUS=to know_M=ABS3SG.SBJ=NMZ=COP.3SG

　　　　Let it be known that you are lofty as the heavens!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Exaltation of Inana*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 123
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *ExIn*_N₁₁
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-15-422 + CBS 7847

</div>

[4.99] ⌜ki⌝-gin₇ daŋal-a-za he₂-zu-am₃

　　　　⌜ki⌝-gin₇　　　　　daŋal-a-za

　　　　ki=gin　　　　　　daŋal=a=zu=a(m)=ø

　　　　place=EQU　　　　to be wide_H=PP=POSS.2SG.HUM=COP.3SG=ABS_SBJ

　　　　he₂-zu-am₃

　　　　he=zu=ø=a=am

　　　　MP_DEO.JUS=to know_M=ABS3SG.SBJ=NMZ=COP.3SG

　　　　Let it be known that you are broad as the earth!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Exaltation of Inana*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 124
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *ExIn*_N₁₁
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-15-422 + CBS 7847

</div>

[4.100]   igi huš-bi il₂-il₂-za he₂-zu-am₃
    igi   huš-bi
    igi   huš=(a)=bi
    eye   to be angry$_H$=(PP)=DEM

    il₂-il₂-za
    il₂:il₂=ø=zu=a(m)=ø
    to lift$_H$^{x2}=AP=POSS.2SG.HUM=COP.3SG=ABS$_{SBJ}$

    he₂-zu-am₃
    he=zu=ø=a=am
    MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=to know$_M$=ABS3SG.SBJ=NMZ=COP.3SG

    Let it be known that you have lifted that terrible gaze (of yours)!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Exaltation of Inana*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 125
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *ExIn*_N₁₁₄
MUSEUM NUMBER: IM 58789

</div>

[4.101]   u₃-ma gub-gub-bu-za he₂-zu-am₃
    u₃-ma   gub-gub-bu-za
    uma=a   gub:gub=a=zu=a(m)=ø
    triumph=LOC$_{ADV}$ to stand$_{H.SG}$^{x2}=PP=POSS.2SG.HUM=COP.3SG=ABS$_{SBJ}$

    he₂-zu-am₃
    he=zu=ø=a=am
    MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=to know$_M$=ABS3SG.SBJ=NMZ=COP.3SG

    Let it be known that you are always postured upright in triumph!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Exaltation of Inana*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 126
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *ExIn*_N₁₁₄
MUSEUM NUMBER: IM 58789

</div>

[4.102]   ur-gin₇ adda gu₇-a-zu he₂-ᶜzaᶜ-am₃
    ur-gin₇   adda   gu₇-a-zu
    ur=gin   adda   gu₇=a=zu=(am)=ø
    dog=EQU   corpse   to eat$_H$=PP=POSS.2SG.HUM=(COP.3SG)=ABS$_{SBJ}$

    he₂-ᶜzaᶜ-am₃
    he=zu=ø=a=am
    MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=to know$_M$=ABS3SG.SBJ=NMZ=COP.3SG

    Let it be known that you devour corpses like a dog!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Exaltation of Inana*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 127
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *ExIn*_Ur₃
MUSEUM NUMBER: IM 85460

</div>

[4.103]   igi ˹huš˺-a-za he₂-zu-am₃

      igi   ˹huš˺-a-za
      igi   huš=a=zu=a(m)=ø
      eye   to be angry$_H$=PP=POSS.2SG.HUM=COP.3SG=ABS$_{SBJ}$

      he₂-zu-am₃
      he=zu=ø=a=am
      MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=to know$_M$=ABS3SG.SBJ=NMZ=COP.3SG

      Let it be known that your gaze is terrible!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Exaltation of Inana*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 128
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *ExIn*_N$_{I10}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: IM 58802

</div>

[4.104]   saŋ ŋeš ra-ra-za ˹he₂˺-zu-am₃

      saŋ ŋeš ra-ra-za
      saŋ—ŋeš—ra:ra=ø=zu=a(m)=ø
      head—tree—to beat$_{M.CVR}$^{x2}=AP=POSS.2SG.HUM=COP.3SG=ABS$_{SBJ}$

      ˹he₂˺-zu-am₃
      he=zu=ø=a=am
      MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=to know$_M$=ABS3SG.SBJ=NMZ=COP.3SG

      Let it be known that you are a skull crusher!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Exaltation of Inana*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 129
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *ExIn*_N$_{III37}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: IM 58482

</div>

[4.105]   igi gun₃-gun₃-na-za he₂-zu-am₃

      igi   gun₃-gun₃-na-za
      igi   gun₃:gun₃=a=zu=a(m)=ø
      eye   to be multicolored$_M$^{x2}=PP=POSS.2SG.HUM=COP.3SG=ABS$_{SBJ}$

      he₂-zu-am₃
      he=zu=ø=a=am
      MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=to know$_M$=ABS3SG.SBJ=NMZ=COP.3SG

      Let it be known that your eyes are multicolored!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Exaltation of Inana*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 130
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *ExIn*_N$_{III37}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: IM 58482

</div>

<div align="center">

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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</div>

[4.106]   ⌜ki⌝-bala gul-⌜gul⌝-lu-za he₂-zu-am₃
          ⌜ki⌝-bala   gul-⌜gul⌝-lu-za
          kibala   gul:gul=a=zu=a(m)=ø
          rebel land   to destroy$_M$^{x2}=PP=POSS.2SG.HUM=COP.3SG=ABS$_{SBJ}$

          he₂-zu-am₃
          he=zu=ø=a=am
          MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=to know$_M$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$=NMZ=COP.3SG

          Let it be known that you destroy all rebel lands thoroughly!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Exaltation of Inana*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 132
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *ExIn*_N₁₁
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-15-422 + CBS 7847

</div>

[4.107]   ⌜kur⌝-⌜ra⌝ gu₃ ⌜de₂⌝-za he₂-zu-am₃
          ⌜kur⌝-⌜ra⌝   gu₃ ⌜de₂⌝-za
          kur=a   gu₃—de₂=a=zu=a(m)=ø
          mountain=LOC   voice—to pour$_{H.CVR}$=PP=POSS.2SG.HUM=COP.3SG=ABS$_{SBJ}$

          he₂-zu-am₃
          he=zu=ø=a=am
          MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=to know$_M$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$=NMZ=COP.3SG

          Let it be known that you have roared in the foreign lands!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Exaltation of Inana*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 133
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *ExIn*_N₁₁
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-15-422 + CBS 7847

</div>

Having exhausted the Jussive evidence from the Decad, attention will now shift to examples in the Gudea corpus. Formally, these Jussives match prototypical expectations. They are intriguing, however, because, unlike the preceding forms that were couched in complex narrative contexts, these Jussives occur in royal inscriptions. Although not numerous, Jussives in royal inscriptions are interesting examples of directives addressed a rather nebulous set of third-person entities that cannot take immediate action (exs., the gods and future rulers).[405]

The first example to be cited here occurs in *Gudea Statue B* after the composition has outlined how this inscribed statue was untouched by precious metals or stones during its

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[405] A. Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 146-148.

manufacture and installed to convey the messages of the ruler. In this context, the Jussive is an order to future rulers to let Gudea's statue remain standing in the temple to fulfill its intercessory function and commemorate his legacy:

[4.108]   ^{na₄}esi-am₃ / ki-a naŋ-e ha-ba-gub

^{na₄}esi-am₃	/	ki-a	naŋ-e
esi=am	/	ki=a	naŋ=e(d)
diorite=COP.3SG	/	place=LOC	to drink_H=PURP

ha-ba-gub
he=ba=gub=ø
MP_DEO.JUS=CP_PASS=to stand_M.SG=ABS3SG.SBJ

It is of diorite! / Let it be stood up in the place of libation!

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Statue B*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 262-263
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.St.B*
MUSEUM NUMBER: AO 2

The remaining Gudea Jussives are from the monumental inscription *Gudea Cylinder B*. These forms occur in a damaged section near the end of the inscription when a speaker (either Ninŋirsu or Gudea) is rejoicing and requesting a good fate for the brickwork of the newly built E-ninnu temple:

[4.109]   ⌜šeg₁₂⌝ [e₂-ninnu] / nam dug₃ he₂-tar

⌜šeg₁₂⌝	[e₂-ninnu]	/	nam	dug₃
šeg₁₂	[E-ninnu]=(ak)	/	nam	dug₃=ø
brickwork	[TN]=(GEN)	/	fate	to be good_H=AP+ABS_SBJ

he₂-tar
he=tar=ø
MP_DEO.JUS=to cut_M.CVR=ABS3SG.SBJ

"Concerning the brickwork of the [E-ninnu], / let a good fate be decreed!"

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder B*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 465-466
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.B*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1511

[4.110] šeg$_{12}$ e$_2$-ninnu nam he$_2$-tar

šeg$_{12}$	e$_2$-ninnu	nam
šeg$_{12}$	E-ninnu=(ak)	nam=ø
brickwork	TN=(GEN)	fate=ABS$_{SBJ}$

he$_2$-tar
he=tar=ø
MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=to cut$_{M.CVR}$=ABS3$_{SG.SBJ}$

"Concerning the brickwork of the E-ninnu, let a fate be decreed!"

[4.111] nam dug$_3$ he$_2$-tar

nam	dug$_3$	he$_2$-tar
nam	dug$_3$=ø	he=tar=ø
fate	to be good$_H$=AP+ABS$_{SBJ}$	MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=to cut$_{M.CVR}$=ABS3$_{SG.SBJ}$

"Let a good fate be decreed!"

[4.112] šeg$_{12}$ nam he$_2$-tar

šeg$_{12}$	nam	he$_2$-tar
šeg$_{12}$	nam=ø	he=tar=ø
brickwork	fate=ABS$_{SBJ}$	MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=to cut$_{M.CVR}$=ABS3$_{SG.SBJ}$

"Concerning the brickwork, let a fate be decreed!"

[4.113] šeg$_{12}$ e$_2$-ninnu nam dug$_3$ he$_2$-tar

šeg$_{12}$	e$_2$-ninnu	nam	dug$_3$
šeg$_{12}$	E-ninnu=(ak)	nam	dug$_3$=ø
brickwork	TN=(GEN)	fate	to be good$_H$=AP+ABS$_{SBJ}$

he$_2$-tar
he=tar=ø
MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=to cut$_{M.CVR}$=ABS3$_{SG.SBJ}$

"Concerning the brickwork of the E-ninnu, let a good fate be decreed!"

So far, all examples have been taken from either literary texts or royal inscriptions, but there is also evidence of Jussives in functional documents that merits attention. Within the corpus of *ditila*s, there are numerous Jussive forms, all of which occur in direct speech recounted under oath. In these quotes, the Jussives act as polite requests by one party that is asking another for a desired outcome. Requests about marriage and betrothal frequently exhibit these forms:

[4.114] Lu$_2$-diŋir-ra dumu Gu-za-ni-ke$_4$ / Dam-gu-la dumu-ŋu$_{10}$ ha-an-tuku bi$_2$-in-dug$_4$-ga

Lu$_2$-diŋir-ra	dumu	Gu-za-ni-ke$_4$	/	Dam-gu-la
Lu-diŋira	dumu	Guzani=(a)k=e	/	Dam-gula
PN♂	child	PN♂=GEN=ERG	/	PN♀

dumu-ŋu$_{10}$ ha-an-tuku
dumu=ŋu=ø   he=n=tuku=ø
child=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$ MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to get$_{H}$=ABS3SG.DO

bi$_2$-in-dug$_4$-ga
ba=*I=n=dug$_4$=ø=a
CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to say$_{H.SG}$=ABS3SG.DO=SUBR

(He swore…) / that he said: "Let Lu-diŋira, the son of Guzani, / marry Dam-gula, my daughter!"

[4.115] Nin-dub-sar dumu Ka$_{10}$ / dam-še$_3$ ha-tuku bi$_2$-in-dug$_4$-ga

Nin-dub-sar	dumu	Ka$_{10}$	/	dam-še$_3$
Nindubsar	dumu	Ka=(ak)=ø	/	dam=še
PN♀	child	PN♂=(GEN)=ABS$_{DO}$	/	spouse=TERM

ha-tuku
he=(e$^?$)=tuku=ø
MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=(PRO1SG.AG)=to get$_{H}$=ABS3SG.DO

bi$_2$-in-dug$_4$-ga
ba=*I=n=dug$_4$=ø=a
CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to say$_{H.SG}$=ABS3SG.DO=SUBR

(He swore…) / that he said "Nindubsar, the daughter of Ka, / let me take her for spousehood!"

Geme₂-ᵈIg-alim dumu Lugal-ki-gal-la / Ur-ᵈIg-alim ibila-ŋu₁₀ / ha-an-tuku
bi₂-in-dug₄-ga

Geme₂-ᵈIg-alim	dumu	Lugal-ki-gal-la	/	Ur-ᵈIg-alim
Geme-Ig-alim	dumu	Lugalkigala=a(k)=ø	/	Ur-Ig-alim
PN♀	child	PN♂=GEN=ABS$_{DO}$	/	PN♂

ibila-ŋu₁₀	ha-an-tuku	/
ibila=ŋu=(e)	he=n=tuku=ø	/
heir=POSS.1SG.HUM=(ERG)	MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to get$_{H}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$	/

bi₂-in-dug₄-ga
ba=*I=n=dug₄=ø=a
CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to say$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=SUBR

(He swore…) / that he said "Geme-Ig-alim, the daughter of Lugalkigala, / let Ur-Ig-alim, my heir, / marry!"

COMPOSITION: *NSGU.II.17*
LINE NUMBER: 5-7
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *dit.17*
MUSEUM NUMBER: L.958

Jussives are also attested in these legal texts when a party is requesting that someone's freedom be recognized:

EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[4.117] Ur-Saŋ-Ub$_5$^{ki} arad-ra / ama-^{gi4}gi$_8$-ni he$_2$-^{ŋa2}ŋar^{ar} / dumu lu$_2$ 1-gin$_7$-na-am$_3$ he$_2$-dim$_2$
bi$_2$-dug$_4$-ga

Ur-Saŋ-Ub$_5$^{ki}	arad-ra	/
Ur-Saŋ-Ub	arad=a(k)	/
PN$_♂$	slave=GEN	/

ama-^{gi4}gi$_8$-ni
amargi=ani=ø
reversion of state=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

he$_2$-^{ŋa2}ŋar^{ar}	/	dumu	lu$_2$
he=ŋar=ø	/	dumu	lu$_2$
MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=to put$_{ḫ}$=ABS3SG.SBJ	/	child	individual

1-gin$_7$-na-am	he$_2$-dim$_2$
1=gin=am	he=dim$_2$=ø
one=EQU=COP.3SG	MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=to fashion$_{ḫ}$=ABS3SG.SBJ

bi$_2$-dug$_4$-ga
ba=*I=(n)=dug$_4$=ø=a
CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to say$_{Ḫ.SG}$=ABS3SG.DO=SUBR

(He swore…) / that he said: "Of Ur-Saŋ-Ub, the slave, / his freedom, let it be
established! / Let him be made into being like a son of one man!"

The Jussives in [4.117] are excellent examples of how Deontic {he}-verbs need not take the

marû (i.e., imperfective) tense-aspect, as often asserted. The verb "he$_2$-^{ŋa2}ŋar^{ar}" is indisputably in

the *ḫamṭu* since the VR ŋar is a partial reduplication class *marû* that is spelled ŋa$_2$-ŋa$_2$, which

utilizes a grapheme distinct from the ŊAR-sign (i.e., ŊAR-sign ≠ ŊA$_2$-sign). Because of this, the

presence of the ŊAR-sign is diagnostic of the VR being in the *ḫamṭu*. The verb "he$_2$-dim$_2$" could

be interpreted as *marû* since it is a regular class verb (i.e., only pronoun patterning shows tense-

aspect), which in the third singular intransitive are identical in both stem types. The discourse

semantics, however, reliably establish both forms as secure *ḫamṭu*s. These VRs must be in the

ḫamṭu because the directives are rather forceful in that the speaker wants a man's freedom

legally established. Given the severity of the matter, a Jussive in the *ḫamṭu* marks the order as

one that expects immediate results. This is parallel to why the Imperative prototypically takes the

ḫamṭu. It is possible that *ḫamṭu* Jussives were functionally akin to Imperatives but formally

distinct so that a speaker could issue a strong command in certain contexts where they might feel

uncomfortable using a traditional Imperative. In this way, *ḫamṭu* Jussives could be viewed as

polite yet firm directives.

Jussives also occur when requests related to adoption or adjustment in type of

compensation are discussed:

[4.118]   Lu$_2$-^{d}Nin-ŋir$_2$-su ibila-ŋu$_{10}$ / mi$_2$-us$_2$-sa$_2$-zu he$_2$-a in-na-an-dug$_4$-ga

Lu$_2$-^{d}Nin-ŋir$_2$-su	ibila-ŋu$_{10}$	/
Lu-Ninŋirsu	ibila=ŋu	/
PN♂	heir=POSS.1SG.HUM	/

mi$_2$-us$_2$-sa$_2$-zu	he$_2$-a
mussa=zu=ø	he=a(m)
son-in-law=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS$_{SBJ}$	MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=COP.3SG

in-na-an-dug$_4$-ga
i=na=n=dug$_4$=ø=a
CP$_{NEUT}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to say$_{Ḫ.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=SUBR

(He swore…) / that he said to him: "Concerning Lu-Ninŋirsu, my heir, / let it be
so that he is your son-in-law!"

[4.119] ⸢nu⸣-⸢mu⸣-da-sug₆-sug₆ e₂-bi ha-ba-an-tum₃ / bi₂-in-dug₄

⸢nu⸣-⸢mu⸣-da-sug₆-sug₆
nu=mu=da=(b)=sug₆:sug₆=(en)
NEG=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=DI$_{CMT}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to replace$_M$^{x2}=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)

e₂-bi	ha-ba-an-tum₃	/
e₂=bi=ø	he=ba=b(!)=tum₃=(e)	/
house=DEM=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=CP$_{MID}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to bring$_{M.SG}$=(PRO$_{3SG.AG}$)	/

bi₂-in-dug₄
ba=*I=n=dug₄=ø
CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to say$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

"I will never be able to compensate him for it (i.e., the damage to his house). Let him take this house (in its stead)" / he declared.

[4.120] Ur-^{d}Ba-U₂ dumu Ur-kisal-ke₄ igi ⸢x⸣-ŋa₂-kam ⸢...⸣-a / Ur-saŋ-kuř u₃ dam-ni
nam-NE.RU ha-ma-kuř-re / bi₂-in-dug₄

Ur-^{d}Ba-U₂	dumu	Ur-kisal-ke₄	igi
Ur-BaU	dumu	Ur-kisal=ak=e	igi
PN♂	child	PN♂=GEN=ERG	eye

⸢x⸣-ŋa₂-kam	⸢...⸣(-)a	/
⸢x⸣=ŋu=ak=am	⸢...⸣(=$^?$)a	/
?=POSS.1SG.HUM=GEN=COP.3SG	?(=$^?$)?	/

Ur-saŋ-kuř	u₃	dam-ni	nam-NE.RU
Ursaŋkuř	u₃	dam=ani=(e)	namNE.RU=ø
PN♂	and	wife=POSS.3SG.HUM=(ERG)	oath=ABS$_{DO}$

ha-ma-kuř-re	/
he=mu=*A=(b)=kuř=ene	/
MP$_{DEO.JUS}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to cut$_{M.CVR}$=PRO$_{3PL.AG}$	/

bi₂-in-dug₄
ba=*I=n=dug₄=ø
CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to say$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

Ur-BaU, the son of Ur-kisala, / said: / "Let Ursaŋkuř and his wife swear to me that (…)!"

No more Jussives are attested elsewhere in this dissertation's principal corpus. Accordingly,
focus will now shift to the way in which negative commands are marked in Sumerian.

4.6 PROHIBITIVE ("DO NOT GO!")

The Prohibitive is the negative counterpart of the Imperative and Jussive. As such, the
Prohibitive issues orders and commands concerning how not to act for the second- and third-
persons, singular and plural. Typologically, the Prohibitive can be coded in several ways across
languages. Some languages, such as Latin, use periphrastic constructions (as do Tok Pisin, a
creole language of Papua New Guinea, and a few Carib languages of South America).[406] The
following Latin (Indo-European, Italic) example demonstrates how in the context of legal
precepts prohibition was expressed by preposing *nē* (or *neve*) before a second singular
subjunctive:

[4.121] nōlī   amābō   verberāre
         to wish not+2SG.PRES.IMP to love+1SG.FUT.IND to beat+PRES.INF.ACT

         lapidem   nē   perdās   manum
         stone   NEG.CONJ   to destroy+2SG.PRES.SJV hand

"Do not beat a stone, I pray you, lest you destroy your hand!"[407]

COMPOSITION: *Curculio* (Plautus)
ACT: 1 SCENE: 3 LINE: 40

Unlike Latin, however, Sumerian codes the Prohibitive with an MP (i.e., {na}). The fact that
Sumerian has a unique affix for expressing negative deontic notions is interesting but not
typologically unattested. For example, the MP {na} is very similar to the Prohibitive clitics used

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[406] Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald, "Sentence Types," in *The Oxford Handbook of Modality and Mood*, eds. Jan
Nuyts and Johan van der Auwera. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 149.

[407] B. L. Gildersleeve and G. Lodge, *Gildersleeve's Latin Grammar.* (New York: University Publishing Co.,
1894), §271.2. *nē perdās manum* could also be translated "do not destroy your hand!" (which is less poetic but more
transparently a prohibition).

in the Chadic languages Hausa and Hdi. In Hausa, negative commands are communicated with a

clause initial particle {kadà} that precedes an Imperative form:

[4.122] kadà   kà   taashì
         PROH   2SG.MASC   to get up_{IMP}

Don't you get up.[408]

Hdi expresses the Prohibitive with the clitic {mà} which precedes an indicative verb:

[4.123] mà   zə=ká
         PROH   to eat_{IND}=2SG

Do not eat![409]

    Although these elements are clitics and not bound morphemes (as the MPs seem to be),

they are nonetheless important typological parallels for {na}. The significance of this typological

data lies in the fact that both Chadic languages are like Sumerian in that they utilize grammatical

elements to mark the Prohibitive that are reserved for marking negative deontic functions and

formally distinct from the elements utilized to negate indicative clauses. The Hausa Prohibitive

clitic {kadà} is distinct from the language's two means for negating the indicative. In the

continuative aspect, Hausa negates an indicative clause via the clause initial particle {bā}:

[4.124] bā   tằ   sōyà   kằzā   (*ba)
         NEG.CONT   3SG.FEM.CONT   to fry   chicken   (*NEG)

She is not frying chicken.[410]

To negate an indicative clause in a different aspect, Hausa utilizes the discontinuous marker

{bà}…{ba}:

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[408] Frajzyngier, "Modality and Mood in Chadic," 288.

[409] Ibid.

[410] Berthold Crysmann, "Discontinuous Negation in Hausa," in *Proceedings of the 17th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Université Paris Diderot, Paris 7, France*, ed. Stefan Müller. (Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications, 2010), 270; Crysmann cites the following: Paul Newman, *The Hausa Language: An Encyclopedic Reference Grammar.* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 360.

[4.125]	yārinyà̀	bà	tà	dāwō	(*ba)
	girl	NEG	3SG.FEM.CMPL	to return	(*NEG)

The girl did not return.[411]

In Hdi, there are numerous ways of expressing non-modal negation (all of which are formally distinct from the Prohibitive clitic {mà}). In the interest of brevity, however, only one type will be cited. One method of expressing general indicative negation is via the inclusion of the clause final particle {wà/ù}:

[4.126]	tá	skwì	tá	ràntá=xə̀ŋ	wà
	DO	thing	COM	right=3PL	NEG2

… they will never know their rights.[412]

This data from Hausa and Hdi is noteworthy because it serves as evidence for languages utilizing specific means for coding the Prohibitive that is different from the markers of the negative indicative in said languages. This is precisely what one finds in Sumerian as the MP {na} is functionally confined to negative deontic notions (including the Prohibitive) and formally distinct from the veridical negator {nu} (with one minor caveat). Concerning the distinguishability of the Prohibitive MP {na} from the veridical negator {nu}, it must be noted that there are a few rare instances where the /a/-vowel of following morphemes seems to color the /u/ of {nu}. These forms are discussed later in a dedicated section (see: §4.12).

Having provided adequate typological coverage, it is now possible to explore how Sumerian expresses the Prohibitive morphologically on the verb. Like the Imperative, the

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[411] Crysmann, "Discontinuous Negation in Hausa," 270; Crysmann again cites Newman: Newman, *The Hausa Language*, 257.

[412] H. Ekkehard Wolff, "The impact of clause types and focus control, aspect, modality, and referentiality on negation in Lamang and Hdi (Central Chadic)," in *Negation Patterns in West African Languages and Beyond*, eds. Norbert Cyffer, Erwin Ebermann, and Georg Ziegelmeyer. TSL 87. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2009), 39.

Prohibitive frequently receives minimal marking in Sumerian. As such, it is possible to find

forms that are merely the MP directly prefixed to the bare VR:

[4.127]　iri-še₃ ⸢iri⸣-še₃ lu₂ [te] na-⸢teŋ₃⸣ [...]

iri-še₃	⸢iri⸣-še₃	lu₂	[te]
iri=še	iri=še	lu₂=ø	[te]
city=TERM	city=TERM	man=VOC	[to approach$_{H.BIVR}$]

na-⸢teŋ₃⸣	[…]
na=teŋ₃	[…]
MP$_{DEO.PROH}$=to approach$_M$	[…]

Oh man, [draw near], to the city, to the city – but do not draw near! […][413]

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Keš Temple Hymn*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 125
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *KTH* N$_{III12}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-16-16

</div>

[4.128]　e₂ Keš^{ki}-še₃ ⸢iri⸣-še₃ʲ(KI) lu₂ te na-teŋ₃

e₂	Keš^{ki}-še₃	⸢iri⸣-še₃ʲ(KI)	lu₂	te
e₂	Keš=še	iri=še	lu₂=ø	te
house	GN=TERM	city=TERM	individual=VOC	to approach$_{H.BIVR}$

na-teŋ₃
na=teŋ₃
MP$_{DEO.PROH}$=to approach$_M$

Oh man, draw near, to the house of Keš, to the city – but do not draw near!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Keš Temple Hymn*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 126
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *KTH* N$_{III12}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-16-16

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EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[413] One might expect a second singular subject pronoun {en} to occur after the VR in these examples. This is not the case, however, as the discourse is clearly established as highly directive in content and tenor given the presence of vocatives and unmarked Imperatives. This makes the subject implicitly understood and thus optional to mark.

[4.129] ur-saŋ-bi ᵈAŠ.ŠIR.GI₄-še₃ lu₂ te na-teŋ₃

ur-saŋ-bi	ᵈAŠ.ŠIR.GI₄-še₃	lu₂
ursaŋ=bi	Ašgi=še	lu₂=ø
hero=POSS.3SG.NHUM	DN♂=TERM	individual=VOC

te	na-teŋ₃
te	na=teŋ₃
to approach_H.BIVR	MP_DEO.PROH=to approach_M

Oh man, draw near to its hero Ašgi – but do not draw near!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Keš Temple Hymn*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 127
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *KTH*_N_III12
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-16-16

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[4.130] nin-bi ᵈNin-tu-še₃ lu₂ te na-teŋ₃

nin-bi	ᵈNin-tu-še₃	lu₂
nin=bi	Nintur=še	lu₂=ø
hero=POSS.3SG.NHUM	DN♀=TERM	individual=VOC

te	na-teŋ₃
te	na=teŋ₃
to approach_H.BIVR	MP_DEO.PROH=to approach_M

Oh man, draw near to its lady Nintur – but do not draw near!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Keš Temple Hymn*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 128
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *KTH* N_III12
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-16-16

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Examples [4.127]-[4.130] above all come from manuscript *KTH*_N_III12, which was discussed in §4.4. With regards to the Imperative forms, an analysis of the manuscript was necessary to validate its worth as evidence for bare root Imperatives. This is unnecessary for the Prohibitives since they are more fully marked as they include the {na} appended to the VR in the *marû* tense-aspect. Technically, the second singular subject pronoun {en} could follow the VR, but since Prohibitives can only take second person referents this pronoun was optional (at least in writing).

In *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*, there is an attestation of a more fully marked Prohibitive form of the VR te "to approach:"

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EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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<div align="center">

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[4.131]   ni$_2$ na-teŋ$_3$-ŋe$_{26}$^{e} šu ki-a sig$_{10}$-bi$_2$-ib

ni$_2$	na-teŋ$_3$-ŋe$_{26}$^{e}
ni$_2$=ø	na=(b)=teŋ$_3$=e(n)
fear=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{DEO.PROH}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to approach$_{M.CVR}$=PRO2SG.AG

šu	ki-a	sig$_{10}$-bi$_2$-ib
šu=ø	ki=a	sig$_{10}$=ba=*I=b
hand=ABS$_{DO}$	place=LOC	to place$_{H}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO

"Do not fear – lay your hands down flat on the ground!"

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 128
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A* N$_{III35}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 55-21-378 + IM 58700

The form na-teŋ$_3$-ŋe$_{26}$^{e} is not fully marked since the nunation of the second person subject pronoun {en} is unexpressed in writing (whether this reflects nunation loss in the spoken language or not is indeterminable). Nonetheless, it is a verified Prohibitive since it fits all formal and contextual requirements.

Only one text in the principal corpus preserves unambiguous Prohibitives acting as the negative counterpart of the Jussive. In *The Exaltation of Inana*, when En-hedu-ana is reporting to Inana what misfortunes have befallen the denizens of her province on earth, the negative forms are affixed with the MP {na}. These verbs have occasionally puzzled translators. Some scholars seem to interpret these forms as negative indicatives.[414] Although never stated explicitly, it seems that scholars might have understood {na} as only being able to negate commands addressed at a second person addressee or wishes. In the first instance, the numbers of the referents would not work here. In the second, the semantics would not make sense because En-hedu-ana would not report to Inana that she wishes such awful things (i.e., the translations would

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[414] Take as an example the translation of Black, Cunningham, Robson, and Zólyomi, which seems to take the forms as indicatives: "Its woman no longer speaks affectionately with her husband; at dead of night she no longer takes counsel with him, and she no longer reveals to him the pure thoughts of her heart." It must be noted that since these scholars do not provide a grammatical commentary – which would have been unexpected given the quasi-popular bent of the book – the interpretation of their handling of the forms is speculative. Black, Cunningham, Robson, and Zólyomi, *The Literature of Ancient Sumer*, 317.

be of the sort "may *X* person have bad circumstance *Y*"). It seems as if the solution some scholars

have arrived at is to interpret these forms as erroneous examples of the veridical negator prefix

{nu} having undergone vocalic assimilation without also undergoing the consonant shift /n/ > /l/.

While retrogressive vowel harmony is the norm for Sumerian, the /u/ of {nu} is never supposed

to color to /a/ without a co-occurrent consonant mutation whereby /n/ > /l/ in the position before

/b/ (ex., nu=ba=ta=e$_3$ surfaces in writing as la-ba-ta-e$_3$).[415]

Fortunately, it is unnecessary to assume an aberrant phonological process occurred in

these examples. Rather, it makes most sense to interpret these {na}-forms as evidence of

Prohibitives referring to what a third-person referent has been disallowed from doing. Unlike

Prohibitives directed at a second person by the speaker, these forms record prohibitions that exist

but have been issued by someone other than the speaker:

[4.132] munus-bi dam-a-ni-ta sag$_9$-ga na-an-da-ab-be$_2$
        munus-bi   dam-a-ni-ta
        munus=bi=(e)   dam=ani=ta
        woman=POSS.3SG.NHUM=(ERG)   spouse=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABL

        sag$_9$-ga
        sag$_9$=a=ø
        to be good=PP=ABS$_{DO}$

        na-an-da-ab-be$_2$
        na=n=da=b=e=e
        MP$_{DEO.PROH}$=PRO3SG.HUM.IO=DI$_{CMT}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to say$_{M.SG}$=PRO3SG.AG

        Its woman may no longer speak affectionately with her husband!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Exaltation of Inana*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 55
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *ExIn*_N$_{I1}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-15-422 + CBS 7847

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[415] Yoshikawa interprets Sumerian vowel harmony differently arguing it is centripetal rather than retrogressive: "the Sumerian vocalic assimilation is basically centripetal in the sense that the vowel of the verbal affixes is assimilated in the direction of the verbal base or root." Yoshikawa, "Aspectual Morpheme /a/ in Sumerian," 162. This opposing view merited note but it is irrelevant to the specific line of argumentation being made here.

[4.133] ŋi₆ u₃-na ad nam-da-ᵣgi₄ᵔ-[gi₄]

    ŋi₆   u₃-na   ad
    ŋi₆   una=a   ad=ø
    night   wild=LOC   voice=ø

    nam-da-ᵣgi₄ᵔ-[gi₄]
    na=n=da=(b)=ᵣgi₄ᵔ:[gi₄=e]
    MP_DEO.PROH=PRO3SG.HUM.IO=DI_CMT=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to return[$_{M.CVR}$^{x2}=PRO3SG.AG]

    In the dead of night(?), she may no longer take coun[sel] with him!

[4.134] niŋ₂ kug šag₄-ga-na nam-mu-da-an-bur₂-re

    niŋ₂   kug   šag₄-ga-na
    niŋ₂=ø   kug   šag₄=ani=a
    thing=ABS_DO   pure   heart=POSS.3SG.HUM=LOC

    nam-mu-da-an-bur₂-re
    na=mu=da=b(!)=bur₂=e
    MP_DEO.PROH=CP_TR.ACT=DI_CMT=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to reveal$_M$=PRO3SG.AG

    She may no longer divulge to him the things in her pure heart!

To conclude this section, it must be discussed why the Prohibitive is somewhat poorly attested in the main corpus. The data skews thusly because this thesis identifies an identically marked but functionally distinct negative deontic notion called the Negative Advisory. By introducing another notion, the pool of Prohibitives appears reduced as certain attestations of prohibition are argued to be instances of negative advice. Whereas the Prohibitive conveys a highly directive order imbued with a strong sense of obligation to act on part of the addressee, the Negative Advisory expresses a weaker form of obligation that suggests that the addressee should not do something. In such cases, the command has a significantly greater degree of politeness and a lesser degree of urgency, which implies to the addressee that the consequences of disobeying are less severe than they would be in the case of a Prohibitive. Formally, these two

notions are different in that the Prohibitive can only take second- or third-person addressees whereas the Negative Advisory can theoretically refer to any person (though examples of first-person forms seem to be lacking). Before the Negative Advisory is discussed (for which, see: §4.7.4.1), however, it is crucial to dedicate the following section to outlining Sumerian's core method of coding obligation (i.e., the {ed} suffix).

4.7 OBLIGATIVE ("JOHN OUGHT TO/MUST GO")

The Obligative function expresses "the existence of external social conditions compelling an agent to complete the predicate action."[416] According to a broad cross-linguistic study performed by Bybee, Pagliuca, and Perkins, the Obligative is perhaps the most typologically prevalent deontic notion; in their corpus, three fourths of Obligative attestations were coded via auxiliaries or particles and the remainder were coded via bound affix morphemes.[417] Their corpus study was conducted after the publication of Bybee's 1985 monograph on morphology's cross-linguistic tendencies (cited above in §4.3), and its findings reaffirm her original observation that languages like Sumerian which code the Obligative morphologically are in the minority.

By the time Sumerian began to be written (and at the very least by the time it began to be written with a degree of morphological transparency), the language no longer had a morpheme that could be assigned an exclusively Obligative function. Rather, the Obligative nuance is best seen as one function of the verbal suffix {ed}. In some instances, obligation is coded via an MP (ex., {he} for the Counterfactual Obligative (§4.7.1)), but in such cases the obligation is always weak and highly situational whereas {ed} can code far more of the cline of obligation. While

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[416] Bybee, Pagliuca, and Perkins, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 177.
[417] Ibid., 181.

{ed} can technically code any degree of obligation, it tends to occur more frequently with strong obligations. Because of this, the Obligative designation has only been applied to {ed} and more nuanced terms are used for an MP coding highly specific weak obligation (exs., Counterfactual Obligative (§4.7.1), Compulsive (§4.7.3), and Advisory (§4.7.4)).

As the preceding paragraph hinted, the view given by the primary corpus is likely misleading when considering the full lifespan of Sumerian. It seems the verbal suffix {ed} originally had the dedicated function of expressing the Obligative. Over time, however, {ed} underwent complex functional development and acquired additional meanings all the while leaking its Obligative coding functions to elsewhere in the verbal complex. This is an exceedingly complicated matter that has been broached earlier in the chapter and will be discussed more below. Before discussing the Sumerian material, a cross-linguistic examination of the Obligative will be provided.

To begin this typological survey, it will be noted that some languages use passive-like syntax to convey externally imposed obligation. One such language is Baluchi (Indo-European, Indo-Iranian), which expresses strong obligation via a "construction that uses 'be' and a possessive suffix on the infinitive" that "has the semantic subject in the accusative case, and the semantic object, if it is a noun, in the nominative case (Barker and Mengal 1969: 240)."[418] Baluchi's method of coding the Obligative via the affixation of a possessive pronoun on an infinitive can be seen in the following examples:

EXAMPLES ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[418] Ibid., 185. Muhammad Abd-al-Rahman Barker and Aqil Khan Mengal, *A Course in Baluchi*. 2 volumes. (Montreal: Institute of Islamic Studies of McGill University, 1969), 240.

[4.135] ayra   ji(h)əgi   ynt
        3SG.ACC   to run:INF:POSS   to be:3SG

He has to run away.

[4.136] məna   ai   ləngar   joʀ   kənəgi   ynt
        1SG.ACC 3SG.POSS   plow:NOM   to build   to do:INF:POSS to be:3SG

I have to fix his plow.[419]

This mechanism for expressing the Obligative is not directly pertinent to how this function is marked in Sumerian. Rather, this sort of construction is cited here to demonstrate that the usage of suffixes on nonfinite forms to denote the Obligative is typologically viable. As will be discussed later, this is significant because the Obligative marker in Sumerian (i.e., {ed}) has an affinity for nonfinite forms and often correlates with Akkadian infinitives in bilinguals.

      Another remarkable typological parallel for the study of {ed} as an Obligative marker can be found in Aymara (Aymaran), an indigenous language of southern Peru. In this language, the Obligative can be coded via a reverbalized infinitive marked with the suffix {nʸa}:

[4.137] čaku=n(a)=x̱(a)   wali   uma=t(a)   hiwa=nʸa=(:=)=:n(a)=wa
        Chaco=LOC=TOP   a lot   water=ABL   to die=INF=(COPVB)=3SG.NR=AFEV

In the Chaco one had to die for lack of water.[420]

This {nʸa} also codes "the expression of future or desired events, the indication of purpose, which also requires the use of the benefactive case marker -taki, and the expression of obligation."[421]

      The Aymara affix {nʸa} and its many functions are analogous to {ed}. Specifically, Sumerian {ed} like Aymara {nʸa} has a clear future-orienting function (i.e., serving as a quasi-

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[419] Bybee, Pagliuca, and Perkins, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 185.
[420] Willem F. H. Adelaar (with the collaboration of Pieter C. Muysken), *The Languages of the Andes*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 299.
[421] Ibid., 289.

future-tense marker), and it codes purpose as well as obligation (both of which are subsumed under the Obligative). Additionally, it will be shown that {ed}'s affinity for nonfinite forms plays a crucial role for understanding its complicated polysemy and modal nature.

Through this inquiry into {ed}'s polysemy, modal associations, and function as the clearest marker of both the infinitive and future tense, its productivity as a method of generating forms (both finite and nonfinite) that have salient Obligative functions will be introduced and elucidated. In examples where the function of {ed} is clearly infinitivizing it will be glossed as INF. Ideally, there would be a single gloss for {ed} that could then be nuanced with subscripted glosses. Such a gloss eludes the author given the morpheme's diachronic developments and broad functional range. As such, {ed} will receive one of a few glosses (i.e., INF, FUT, PURP, and OBLG) depending on its usage in context.

This thesis' bilingual subcorpus will be the first one sampled from as it demonstrates that Sumerian forms marked with {ed} were often translated in Akkadian as infinitives:

EXAMPLES ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[4.138] Zimbir^{ki} / KA₂.DIŊIR.RA^{ki} / ki-tuš ne-ha tuš-u₃-da / inim kug nu-kur₂-ru-da-na / bi₂-in-dug₄-ga-a

Zimbir^{ki}	/	KA₂.DIŊIR.RA^{ki}	/	ki-tuš
Zimbir	/	KA₂.DIŊIR.RA	/	kituš
GN	/	GN	/	dwelling

ne-ha	tuš-u₃-da	/	inim
neha=a=a	tuš=ed=a	/	inim
to be peaceful*H*=PP=LOC	to dwell*H.SG*=PURP=LOC	/	word

kug	nu-kur₂-ru-da-na
kug=ø	nu=kur₂=ed=ani=a
to be pure*H*=AP+ABS*DO*	NEG=to be different*M*=OBLG=POSS.3SG.HUM=LOC

/	bi₂-in-dug₄-ga-a
/	ba=*I=n=dug₄=ø=a=a(m)
/	CP*MID*=DI*LOC*=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to say*H.SG*=ABS3SG.DO=NMZ=COP.3SG

(When Šamaš ...) spoke to me / by his pure word which cannot be changed / to settle the people of Sippar / (and) Babylon / in peaceful abodes (…)

ni-šì ZIMBIR^{ki} / *ù* KA₂.DIŊIR.RA^{ki} / *šu-ba-at ne-eḫ-ti-im* / *šu-šu-ba-am* / *in pí-šu el-li-im* / *ša la na-ka-ar iq-bi-ù*

ni-šì		ZIMBIR^{ki}	/	*ù*	KA₂.DIŊIR.RA^{ki}
nišī		*Sippir*	/	*u*	*Bābilim*
populace:BOUND.ACC.PL		GN:GEN.SG	/	and	GN:GEN.SG

/ *šu-ba-at*	*ne-eḫ-ti-im*	/	*šu-šu-ba-am*	/
/ *šubat*	*nēḫtim*	/	*šūšubam*	/
/ dwelling:BOUND.ACC.SG	peace:GEN.SG	/	to sit:Š.INF.ACC	/

in	*pí-šu*	*el-li-im*	/	*ša*	*la*
in	*pīšu*	*ellim*	/	*ša*	*lā*
in	mouth:POSS.3.MASC.SG	pure:GEN.SG	/	DTREL	NEG

na-ka-ar	*iq-bi-ù*
nakar	*iqbiu*
to be different:G.STAT.3.MASC.SG	to say:G.PRET.3.COMM.SG.SUBR

(When Šamaš ...) spoke to me / by his pure word which cannot be changed / to settle the people of Sippar / (and) Babylon / in peaceful abodes (…)

[4.139] bad₃ Zimbir^ki / du₃-u₃-da / saŋ-bi il₂-i-da / a₂ gal hu-mu-da-an-aŋ₂

bad₃	Zimbir^ki	/	du₃-u₃-da	/
bad₃	Zimbir=(ak)=ø	/	du₃=ed=a	/
wall	GN=(GEN)=ABS_DO	/	to build_H=PURP=LOC_SOCV	/

saŋ-bi	il₂-i-da	/
saŋ=bi=ø	il₂=ed=a	/
head=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS_DO	to lift_H=PURP=LOC_SOCV	/

a₂	gal
a₂	gal=ø
arm	big=ABS_DO

hu-mu-da-an-aŋ₂
he=mu=da=n=aŋ₂=ø
MP_EPI.ASV=CP_TR.ACT=DI_CMT=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to measure_H.CVR=ABS3SG.DO

(When Šamaš ...) laid a great commission on me / to build / the wall of Sippar /
(and) to raise its head (…)

COMPOSITION: *RIME 4.3.6.2 (Ḫammu-rāpi)*
LINE NUMBER: 21-24
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: Ḫammu-rāpi_1.1_S
MUSEUM NUMBER: BM 80142

BAD₃ ZIMBIR^ki / *e-pé-ša-am* / *re-ši-šu ul-la-a-am* / *ra-bi-iš lu-wa-er-ra-an-ni*

BAD₃	ZIMBIR^ki	/	*e-pé-ša-am*	/
dūr	*Sippir*	/	*epēšam*	/
wall:BOUND.ACC.SG	GN:GEN.SG	/	to do:G.INF.ACC	/

re-ši-šu	*ul-la-a-am*	/	*ra-bi-iš*
rēšīšu	*ullâm*	/	*rabîš*
head:ACC.SG.POSS.3.MASC.SG	to go up:D.INF.ACC	/	big:ADV

lu-wa-er-ra-an-ni
luwaʾʾeranni
to go up to:D.PREC.3.COMM.SG.ACC.1SG

(When Šamaš ...) laid a great commission on me / to build / the wall of Sippar /
(and) to raise its head (…)

COMPOSITION: *RIME 4.3.6.2 (Ḫammu-rāpi)*
LINE NUMBER: 23-26
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: Ḫammu-rāpi_1.1._A
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 11

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[4.140]   u₂-sal-la nud-de₃ / uŋ₃ daŋal-la-ni / silim-na du-ri₂-še₃ tum₂-tum₂-mu-de₃ / a₂ gal
hu-mu-da-an-aŋ₂

u₂-sal-la	nud-de₃	/ uŋ₃	daŋal-la-ni
usal=a	nud=e(d)	/ uŋ₃	daŋal=ø=ani=ø
pasture=LOC	to lie$_H$=PURP	/ populace	to be wide$_H$=AP=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

/	silim-na	du-ri₂-še₃
/	silim=ani=a	duri=še
/	well-being=POSS.3SG.HUM=LOC	forever=TERM

tum₂-tum₂-mu-de₃	/	a₂	gal
tum₂:tum₂=ed=e	/	a₂	gal=ø
to bring$_{M.SG}$$^{x2(!)}$=PURP=LOCTR$_{SOCV}$	/	arm	big=ABS$_{DO}$

hu-mu-da-an-aŋ₂
he=mu=da=n=aŋ₂=ø
MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=DI$_{CMT}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to measure$_{H.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

(When…and) laid a great commission on me / to make his nation lie down in
pastures / (and) to lead his extensive people / in well-being, forever.[422]

AKKADIAN HALF OF EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[422] As was the case in [4.90], there is a form in this example with the VR tum₂ that is clearly reduplicated and
conjugated in the *marû* given the terminal signs …-mu-de₃ as a writing of …=ed=e. This root, however, is
suppletive – not reduplicating *marû* class. The scribe got the suppletion correct but then seems to have
overcompensated for *marû* marking by reduplicating the VR. Finally, this cannot be an instance of *ḫamṭu*
reduplication (i.e., …=de₆:de₆=…) because the -mu sign means the preceding VR must end with /m/.

[K]ALAM-*su a-bur-ri šu-ur-bu-ṣa-am* / *ni-ši-š*[*u ra-a*]*p-ša-tim* / *in šu-ul-mi-im* /
a-na da-ar i-tar-ra-am / *ra-bi-iš lu-ú-wa-e-ra-an-ni*

[K]ALAM-*su*		*a-bur-ri*
[*m*]*āssu*		*aburrī*
[l]and:BOUND.ACC.SG.POSS.3.MASC.SG		pasture:GEN.PL

šu-ur-bu-ṣa-am	/	*ni-ši-š*[*u*
šurbuṣam	/	*nišīš*[*u*
to sit:Š.INF.ACC	/	populace:BOUND.ACC.SG.POSS.[3.MASC.SG

ra-a]*p-ša-tim*	/	*in*	*šu-ul-mi-im*
ra]*pšātim*	/	*in*	*šulmim*
wi]de:FEM.ACC.PL	/	in	well-being:GEN.SG

a-na	*da-ar*	*i-tar-ra-am*	/	*ra-bi-iš*
ana	*dār*	*ittarâm*	/	*rabîš*
for	eternity:BOUND.SG	to lead:GTN.ACC.SG	/	big:ADV

lu-ú-wa-e-ra-an-ni
*luwa*ʾʾ*eranni*
to go up to:D.PREC.3.COMM.SG.ACC.1SG

(When…and) laid a great commission on me to make his nation lie down in
pastures (and) to lead his extensive people in well-being, forever.

In the three bilingual examples above, Sumerian nonfinite VRs marked in {ed} are
correlated with unmistakable Akkadian infinitives. Importantly, these Akkadian infinitives are
utilized to express purpose. This function of these parallel Akkadian forms provides insight into
the various usages of {ed} as it concretely establishes its ability to denote purpose.
Understanding the Purposive function of {ed} is pivotal to elucidating its many uses.

Purpose and obligation are two intimately linked concepts.[423] The former describes an
individual's object or end to be attained while the latter describes the externally imposed (legal
or moral) commitment that binds the individual to the pursuit of a specific object or end. The two

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[423] The links between purpose and obligation as well as the fact that languages often encode these notions via
infinitival constructions have been treated elsewhere (see: §2.3).

notions, however, are not synonymous (ex., one's purpose can derive from internal motivating factors – such as desire – that are distinct from the external culturally bounded factors that underlie one's obligation). Nonetheless, the close relationship between purpose and obligation is readily apparent and the previously provided typological evidence from Aymara in [4.137] indicates that it would not be unreasonable for {ed} to code both.

A final function of {ed} that requires discussion is its role as a marker of future orientation. The future-tense-orienting function of {ed} is secondary and has been discussed earlier (see: §4.3.4), so only a summary will be given here. This secondary function developed out of {ed}'s role as an Obligative marker. The future as a concept and the Obligative as a grammatical category share a degree of underlying modal nuance. Obligatives are fully modal and the future is quasi-modal as it refers to unrealized states or events. Additionally, {ed} inherently has a future perspective in its role as a marker of obligation. Specifically, Obligative's naturally entail orientation towards a future state/event. An action or state that one is obliged to perform or abide is expected to hold into the future unless there is momentous intervention (exs., changes in law, radical shifts in religious morality or personal ethics, etc.). Although this has only been a brief overview, it is sufficient for this section which is dedicated specifically to {ed}'s behavior as an Obligative morpheme.

Having sketched {ed}'s polysemy, evidence from monolingual texts in the principal corpus will now be cited to argue in favor of assigning an Obligative primary function to {ed}. Pronounced evidence of {ed}'s Obligative function occurs in *Gudea Cylinder B* when the composition employs a lengthy sequence of clauses with {ed}-forms during the introduction of numerous minor deities to describe how Sumerian religious norms (at least during the time and place of Gudea) dictated they should act as the divine staff of the newly built E-ninnu temple.

Citing all the Obligative {ed}-forms attested in this section of the composition would be needlessly exhaustive. Rather, since all forms with {ed} there are Obligative, only a few examples that describe the human expectations of the divine from each minor deity's subsection will be cited. These examples will show that the Obligative interpretation of these {ed}-forms conforms to the cosmological expectations. Hence, it does not seem these forms are describing what the divinities might do should they wish to but rather what humanity expects them to do given their position in the pantheon. This long section of the inscription begins by introducing the god Ig-alim, Ninŋirsu's high constable, and it describes what the pact between a pious ruler and the gods obligates him to do:[424]

[4.141] e_2 gen$_6$-ne$_2$-da e_2 dug$_3$-ge-da

e_2	gen$_6$-ne$_2$-da	e_2
e_2=ø	gen$_6$=ed=a	e_2=ø
temple=ABS$_{DO}$	to establish$_M$=OBLG=SUBR	temple=ABS$_{DO}$

dug$_3$-ge-da
dug$_3$=ed=a
to be good$_M$=OBLG=SUBR

"that he ought to keep the temple safe, that he ought to keep the temple in harmony"

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder B*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 132
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.B*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1511

[4.142] ^{ŋeš}gu-za nam tar-ra gub-da

^{ŋeš}gu-za	nam tar-ra	gub-da
guza	nam—tar=a=ø	gub=ed=a
throne	fate—to cut$_{H.CVR}$=PP=ABS$_{DO}$	to stand$_{M.SG}$=OBLG=SUBR

"that he ought to erect a (good-)fated throne"

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder B*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 134
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.B*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1511

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[424] It is difficult to find an English title that describes some of the roles these deities played in the pantheon. This dissertation borrows Averbeck's designations while acknowledging that they are sometimes insufficient. Richard E. Averbeck, "A Preliminary Study of Ritual and Structure in the Cylinders of Gudea." (PhD. diss., Dropsie College, 1987), 394.

[4.143] ŋidru ud suř-ra₂ šu-a ŋa₂-ŋa₂-da

ŋidru	ud	suř-ra₂	šu-a
ŋidru	ud	suř=a=ø	šu=a
scepter	day	to be long$_H$=PP=ABS$_{DO}$	hand=LOC

ŋa₂-ŋa₂-da
ŋa₂:ŋa₂=ed=a
to put$_M$^{X2}=OBLG=SUBR

"that he ought to put in (my) hand a scepter of long days"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder B*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 135
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.B*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1511

</div>

Although the greatest amount of information about Ig-alim's functions comes from *Gudea Cylinder B* itself, there is evidence in the *Nungal Hymn* that he was expected to act as the protector of certain temples (as in [4.144]):[425]

[4.144] nu-banda₃ mah-ŋu₁₀ ᵈIg-alim-ma ŋeš-rab$_x$ šu ŋa₂-a-kam / e₂-ŋu₁₀ saŋ en₃-tar-še₃
mu-un-il₂? lu₂ la-ba-an-ul₄?-li?-ne?

"My chief superintendent, Ig-alim, is the neck stock of my hands; / one has promoted him to take care of my house; they will not hurry the man(?)"[426]

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Nungal Hymn*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 88-89
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Nu*_DelComp
ARTIFACT IDENTIFIER: Delnero Composite Edition

</div>

While this example uses a finite verb and an NP declined in the terminative (as opposed to an Obligative {ed}) to communicate Ig-alim's purpose for being promoted, this passage provides significant insight into the temple functions he was culturally obligated to do if all conditions of piety were met.

This subsection introducing Ig-alim and outlining his duties provides the template for the following ones in this lengthy series. The next deity introduced in the text is the god Šul-šagana, Ninŋirsu's steward:

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[425] Dietz Otto Edzard, "Igalim(a)," in *RlA* 5, ed. Dietz Otto Edzard. (Berlin: Walther de Gruyter, 1980), 36.
[426] The transcription of these lines is excerpted from Delnero's composite edition as no manuscript is complete enough to cite productively. The only significant alteration made to the transcription is that the reading "ul₄" was substituted for Delnero's reading of "mu."

[4.145] e₂ sikil-e-da šu₄-luh ŋa₂-ŋa₂-da

e₂	sikil-e-da	šu₄-luh
e₂=ø	sikil=ed=a	šuluh=ø
temple=ABS$_{DO}$	to be pure$_M$=OBLG=SUBR	hand washing=ABS$_{DO}$

ŋa₂-ŋa₂-da
ŋa₂:ŋa₂=ed=a
to put$_M{}^{X2}$=OBLG=SUBR

"that he ought to keep the temple clean, that he ought to keep the handwashing rites in order"

[4.146] kaš bur-ra de₂-da tin dug-a de₂-da

kaš	bur-ra	de₂-da
kaš=ø	bur=a	de₂=ed=a
beer=ABS$_{DO}$	bowl=LOC	to pour$_M$=OBLG=SUBR

tin	dug-a	de₂-da
tin=ø	dug=a	de₂=ed=a
wine=ABS$_{DO}$	pot=LOC	to pour$_M$=OBLG=SUBR

"that he ought to pour beer into bowls and wine into pots"

Although direct evidence linking Šul-šagana to handwashing is lacking, it is known that in some properly maintained temples one god from the entourage of deities associated with the primary resident deity was expected to supervise the rites of ritual handwashing. To cite one later example, among the divine retinue of the Esagil temple of Marduk in Babylon there was a deity named Nādin-mê-qātī (lit. "He who gives water for the hands") who seems to have played a role similar to Šul-šagana's in the E-ninnu.[427] In sum, although not directly evidenced elsewhere for Šul-šagana, there was clearly a broader Mesopotamian expectation that if a temple were cared for properly by its earthly staff then a member of its divine cohort would reciprocate by carrying

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[427] W. G. Lambert, "Handwaschung," in *RlA* 4, ed. Dietz Otto Edzard. (Berlin: Walther de Gruyter, 1975), 97.

out his or her function(s). For the remaining examples, discussions about the deities and their roles in the E-ninnu will be omitted. This choice has been motivated by the increasing obscurity of each deity and the redundancy of the argumentation that the divine staff of temples had obligatory functions to fulfill if all their expectations of piety were met by the king and other human temple functionaries.

The next subsection is dedicated to the minor deity Lugalkurdub (lit. "King who makes the mountain tremble"), the top war general of Ninŋirsu:

[4.147] šita-saŋ-7(IMIN) šu du₈-a-da
šita-saŋ-7(IMIN)   šu du₈-a-da
šitasaŋimin=ø   šu—du₈=ed=a
seven-headed mace=ABS_DO   hand—to spread_M.CVR=OBLG=SUBR

"that he ought to hold the seven-headed mace"

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder B*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 157
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.B*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1511

Curiously, the next subsection, which is dedicated to Kuršunaburuam (lit. "The land is but a swallow in his hand"), the second general of Ninŋirsu, contains no {ed}-forms. Rather, the text simply says that after Lugalkurdub arrived and performed some warlike acts, Gudea introduced Kuršunaburuam to Ninŋirsu.

Following this atypical subsection, lines are dedicated to Lugalsisa, Ninŋirsu's counsellor. These lines resume the previously established convention of listing Obligative {ed}-clauses that describe the expectations a pious ruler has for the deity under discussion as a member of the temple's divine court:

EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[4.148] nam-til₃ sipad zid / Gu₃-de₂-a / ka šu ŋal₂-la-da

nam-til₃	sipad	zid	/	Gu₃-de₂-a
nam=til₃=ø	sipad	zid	/	Gudea=a(k)=ø
ABSTR=to live_H.SG=AP	shepherd	true	/	PN♂=GEN=ABS_DO

/	ka	šu ŋal₂-la-da
/	ka=(a)	šu—ŋal₂=ed=a
/	mouth=(LOC)	hand—to exist_M.CVR=OBLG=SUBR

"that he ought to keep the hands (of the populace) at (their) mouths / for the sake of the life / of the true shepherd Gudea"

Next comes a short subsection dedicated to Šakanšegbar, Ninŋirsu's secretary, that has no Obligative {ed}-forms (as was the case with Kuršunaburuam above). In the subsection immediately following, the normal format resumes once more. These lines are dedicated to Kindazi, the chamberlain of Ninŋirsu:

[4.149] a kug-ge-da naŋa sikil-e-da

a	kug-ge-da	naŋa
a=ø	kug=ed=a	naŋa=ø
water=ABS_DO	to be holy_M=OBLG=SUBR	soap=ABS_DO

sikil-e-da
sikil=ed=a
to be pure_M=OBLG=SUBR

"that he ought to clean (the E-ninnu) with water (and) that he ought to purify it with soap"

After this comes a series of Obligative {ed}-forms referring to a deity named Ensignun, the bailiff and donkey-herdsman of Ninŋirsu:

EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[4.150] lugal-bi ᵈNin-ŋir₂-su hul₂-la tum₂-mu-da

lugal-bi	ᵈNin-ŋir₂-su	hul₂-la
lugal=bi	Ninŋirsu=ø	hul₂=a
king=POSS.3SG.NHUM	DN$_♂$=ABS$_{DO}$	joy=LOC$_{ADV}$

tum₂-mu-da
tum₂=ed=a
to carry$_{M.SG}$=OBLG=SUBR

"that they ought to carry their king Ninŋirsu joyfully"

The next deity that is given his own dedicated subsection is Enlulim, the shepherd of

Ninŋirsu:

[4.151] i₃ hi-a-da gara₂ˈ(BI) hi-a-da

i₃	hi-a-da
i₃=ø	hi=ed=a
milk=ABS$_{DO}$	to mix$_M$=OBLG=SUBR

gara₂ˈ(BI)	hi-a-da
gara₂=ø	hi=ed=a
cream=ABS$_{DO}$	to mix$_M$=OBLG=SUBR

"that he ought to process milk (and) that he ought to process cream"

Ušumgalkalama (lit. "The dragon of the land"), is next in this list of deities and the

expectations a pious ruler had of them:

[4.152] kisal e₂-ninnu hul₂-a si-a-da

kisal	e₂-ninnu	hul₂-a	si-a-da
kisal	E-ninnu=(ak)=ø	hul₂=a	sig=ed=a
courtyard	TN=(GEN)=ABS$_{DO}$	joy=LOC$_{ADV}$	to fill$_M$=OBLG=SUBR

"that he ought to fill the courtyard of the E-ninnu with joy"

Next in this series comes a subsection dedicated to Lugaligihušam (lit. "The king with a fierce face"), Ninŋirsu's elegist:

[4.153] šag$_4$ a-nir-ta a-nir ba-da

šag$_4$	a-nir-ta	a-nir	ba-da
šag$_4$	anir=ta	anir=ø	ba=ed=a
heart	lament=ABL	lament=ABS$_{DO}$	to allot$_M$=OBLG=SUBR

"that he ought to halve lamentation from a lamenting heart"

Following the discussion of his elegist, the composition mentions that Ninŋirsu has seven daughters who will serve as handmaidens/priestesses (i.e., *lukur*s) in the E-ninnu. There are no Obligative forms in this section. A return to the standard format follows as Ŋišbare, the ploughman of Ninŋirsu, is introduced:

[4.154] ašag gal-gal-e šu il$_2$-la-da

ašag	gal-gal-e	šu il$_2$-la-da
ašag	gal:gal=e	šu—il$_2$=ed=a
field	big^{x2}=LOCTR	hand—to lift$_{M.CVR}$=OBLG=SUBR

"that he ought to raise (crops) in the vast fields"

After the obligations of Ŋišbare are outlined, the next subsection is dedicated to Lammar, Ninŋirsu's fishery administrator:

EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[4.155] ^{d}Nin-ŋir$_2$-su-ra e$_2$-ninnu-a inim-bi ku$_4$-ku$_4$(*RÉC* 56)-da
           ^{d}Nin-ŋir$_2$-su-ra   e$_2$-ninnu-a
           Ninŋirsu=ra   E-ninnu=a
           DN♂=DAT   TN=LOC

           inim-bi   ku$_4$-ku$_4$(*RÉC* 56)-da
           inim=bi=ø   ku$_4$:ku$_4$=ed=a
           word=DEM=ABS$_{DO}$ to enter$_M$^{x2}=OBLG=SUBR

           "that he ought to inform Ninŋirsu in the E-ninnu (about the preceding matters)"

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: Gudea Cylinder B
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 271
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: G.Cyl.B
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1511
</div>

The penultimate deity included in this long list is Dimgalabzu, Ninŋirsu's ranger in charge of wildlife in uncultivated areas:

[4.156]   eden ki dug$_3$-ge na deg$_x$(RI)-ga-da
           eden   ki   dug$_3$-ge
           eden=ø   ki   dug$_3$=(a)=e
           steppe=ABS$_{DO}$ place   to be good$_H$=(PP)=LOCTR

           na deg$_x$(RI)-ga-da
           na—deg$_x$=ed=a
           CVNE—to collect$_{M.CVR}$=OBLG=SUBR

           "that he ought to advise the steppe at a good place"

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: Gudea Cylinder B
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 274
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: G.Cyl.B
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1511
</div>

The final deity mentioned in this lengthy string of Obligative {ed}-clauses is Lugalennuirikugakam (lit. "The divine master of the guard house of the shining city"), Ninŋirsu's sergeant at arms:

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[4.157] bad₃ iri kug-ga en-nu du₃-a-da

bad₃	iri	kug-ga	en-nu
bad₃	iri	kug=a=a	ennuŋ=ø
wall	city	to be holy$_H$=PP=LOC	guard-house=ABS$_{DO}$

du₃-a-da
du₃=ed=a
to build$_M$=OBLG=SUBR

"that he ought to build the guard-houses on the wall of the Shining City"

It is possible that the preceding English translations might sound insolent as they appear to be telling a divinity what it ought to do. From a purely grammatical perspective that is stripped of religious assumptions, however, these clauses are not rude. Rather, the Sumerian text is simply stating what the divinities were logically expected to do given a conventionalized and primordial *quid pro quo* between the sovereign and the divine. Since Gudea had done such an exceptional job constructing the E-ninnu, he had every reason to believe the gods would function in accordance with societal expectations and thereby benefit his rule. By outlining the human expectations of the divine, this section of *Gudea Cylinder B* provides a uniquely transparent window into this sort of reciprocal relationship a pious ruler expected to have with the gods. As is well established in the secondary literature, one's ability to maintain his kingship was viewed as a direct result of divine favor in Sumerian society; the natural and logical corollary was that a pious king could expect rewards for his devotion in the form of proper divine presence and functioning in the temples and elsewhere.[428] Similarly, there are various instances in literary

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[428] The situation has been summarized by Elizabeth C. Stone: "Our written sources tell us that the king was chosen by the gods from the broad citizenry of the city – this in the face of numerous, short-royal lineages. They also demonstrate that he was expected to maintain the peace, stabilize the economy, satisfy the gods, and protect the weak from the strong." Elizabeth C. Stone, "The Mesopotamian Urban Experience," in *Settlement and Society: Essays Dedicated to Robert McCormick Adams*, ed. Elizabeth C. Stone. (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California Los Angeles, 2007), 223.

compositions where the gods not performing as expected is taken as a sign that the ruler did not

uphold his half of the deal thereby causing the gods to abandon him and his realm.[429] In this

broader cultural context, it is clear that this section of *Gudea Cylinder B* is not an example of

humans imposing obligations upon divinities. Rather it is an author and/or dedicator

communicating to an audience that since Gudea has done his duties well the gods will naturally

meet their obligations as written.

As a point of comparison, Edzard's translation of these forms gives the impression of

{ed}-forms with a nuance of potentiality. His translations take the following form: "so that *X*-

god might do *Y*-function, Gudea introduced *X*-god to Ninŋirsu." Although there are undertones

of obligations in this translation type (i.e., one can take introducing an individual to make

possible a type of work as an indirect statement of purpose), this format is insufficient in that it

uses an English word more often associated with epistemic modality (i.e., might). Such a

translation underplays the Mesopotamian cultural expectations of the divine in response to the

piety of the ruler. One section from Edzard's translation will now be given in full for the sake of

comparison:

> xii 19-23) That cities be built, settlements be founded, *that the guard-houses of the wall*
> *of the Shining City might be built*, that its resident constable, (being) the White cedar
> mace with the enormous head, might stay close to the house –
> xii 24-25) he (Gudea) brings along with himself (and introduces) to the lord Ningirsu, the
> divine Master of the guard house of the Shining City.[430]

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[429] Although the impiety of a ruler is not the only literary motif used to explain divine abandonment, it is a
major topos. The literature on the nature of divine abandonment in Mesopotamia is too extensive to cite in full here.
Rather, a lucid and succinct summary of divine abandonment due to kingly impiety from Norman Yoffee is given:
"In Mesopotamian literature there are a number of literary and pseudo-historical texts that portray the collapse of the
Old Akkadian dynasty and that of Ur III. These seem to have become paradigmatic explanations for the failure of
Mesopotamian political systems. […] Dynasties rule with the approbation of the gods and fall because their kings
lapse into impious behavior (Gütterbock 1934) or, sometimes, because the gods change their minds." Norman
Yoffee, "The Collapse of Ancient Mesopotamian States and Civilization," in *The Collapse of Ancient States and*
Civilizations, eds. Norman Yoffee and George L. Cowgill. (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1988),
61-63.
[430] (emphasis added). Dietz Otto Edzard, *Gudea and His Dynasty*. RIME 3/1. (Toronto: University of Toronto
Press, 1997), 95.

When the italicized sentence in the above quote is compared with [4.157] the importance of translating the {ed}-form as an Obligative with "ought" rather than an epistemic Speculative with "might" (as Edzard seems to do, intentionally or not) becomes obvious. An Obligative translation better reflects the cultural expectations the Mesopotamians had for the divine occupants of the temple. Edzard's translation, on the other hand, seems to indicate that Gudea could merely hope that his numerous cultic acts of obeisance just described in the hundreds of preceding lines across at least two monumental cylinders would convince the gods to act favorably.

Such an interpretation seems untenable as Gudea's decision to act piously in these specific ways was not him speculating or assuming what the gods wanted of him. Quite the contrary, what the gods desired as part of their *quid pro quo* arrangement with Gudea, who they themselves chose, was portended in a dream and then directly explained to him in two sizable portions of *Gudea Cylinder A* (see: col. i ln. 17-col. ii ln. 3 and col. iv ln. 5-col. vii 7-8).[431] Accordingly, it makes most sense within the broader discourse to interpret these {ed}-forms as Obligatives that describe what the gods were obliged to do in response to the divinely ordained actions of Gudea.

These numerous parallel {ed}-constructions in *Gudea Cylinder B* (cited above in [4.141]-[4.143] and [4.145]-[4.157]) are representative of {ed}'s function as a marker of obligation, but they are nowhere near the only pieces of supporting data. Evidence of Obligative {ed} is also found in the Decad.

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[431] One of many instances in which a Gudea composition asserts the ruler's divine appointment occurs in *Gudea Statue B* col. iii lns. 6-11 (translation from Edzard): "when Ningirsu had directed his meaningful gaze on his city, had chosen Gudea as the legitimate shepherd in the land and when he had selected him by his hand from among 216,000 persons." Ibid., 32.

At a pivotal moment in *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*, there is an {ed}-form whose interpretation significantly impacts the translation of the tale. The {ed}-form of interest occurs when Gilgameš and the men who accompanied him (excluding Enkidug) are overcome with a nefarious deep sleep caused by Huwawa's auras of terror after they had exhausted themselves crossing seven mountain ranges and felling cedar.[432] Having resisted the sleep, Enkidug, acting alarmedly due to the overwhelming sense of dread in the vicinity, issues an ardent plea to the slumbering Gilgameš. Enkidug's frantic rousing of Gilgameš is successful as he awakens and makes his own impassioned exclamation. Unlike Enkidug, however, Gilgameš feels emboldened and commits himself to pursuing the source of his unnatural sedation (be it man or god). It is in his first exclamation that one finds an Obligative {ed}-form employed in a rhetorical question. This sentence serves to chide Enkidug and express that he will not be made to act like a baby resigned to no recourse except sleeping in the bosom of his mother:

EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[432] Unfortunately, the manuscripts are not well preserved for this section and thus only allow an opaque view of the scene. From at least one manuscript, however, it seems clear that the sleep that befell the men was unnatural and likely the result of Huwawa emanating his terrors after having been frightened by the intrusion of Gilgameš and his retinue. Black, Cunningham, Robson, and Zólyomi, *The Literature of Ancient Sumer*, 350.

[4.158] du$_{10}$-ub ama ugu-ŋu$_{10}$ ^{d}Nin-sumun$_2$-ka-kam // u$_3$-di-de$_3$ [dug$_4$-ga-gin$_7$]
⌜ha⌝-ma-dim$_2$-e

du$_{10}$-ub	ama	ugu-ŋu$_{10}$
dub	ama	ugu=ø=ŋu
lap	mother	to bear$_H$=AP=POSS.1SG.HUM

^{d}Nin-sumun$_2$-ka-kam	//	u$_3$-di-de$_3$
Ninsumun=ak=ak=am	//	udi=ed=e
DN♀=GEN=GEN=COP.3SG	//	to sleep$_M$=OBLG=LOCTR

[dug$_4$-ga-gin$_7$]	⌜ha⌝-ma-dim$_2$-e
[dug$_4$-a=gin]	he=imma=dim$_2$=e(n)
[to say$_{H.SG}$=PP=EQU]	MP$_{EPI.DED}$=CP$_{NTR.MID}$=to fashion$_M$=PRO$_{1SG.SBJ}$

"Must I become as if I were a (baby) [having been made] // to sleep upon the lap of my mother Ninsumun who bore me?"

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 84
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_N$_{III19}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: Ni 42

The Obligative nuance in this example expresses how Gilgameš would find it intolerable to abandon his duties as king and party leader by fleeing back to the city. He believes such cowardice would make him like an infant who due to the constraints of its physical stature, limited capacity for coordination, and minimal mental acuity is helpless but for the breast of his mother. The implication here is that should Gilgameš choose to shirk his responsibilities he would debase himself so thoroughly that one would expect no more from him than one would from a newborn. To represent this in the grammar, {ed} is appended to the VR udi "to sleep." If it had been on the VR dim$_2$ "to fashion" then the obligation would have to be understood as applying to his transformation into a ne'er-do-well (i.e., it would ask if some moral or legal force constrained him such that he had to become thus). Since it is on the verb "to sleep," however, the obligation rests upon what would be Gilgameš's newly assumed social role should he retreat. By deserting his kingly responsibilities, he would be viewed as a derelict whom society could expect no more of than it would of a baby, which would include the basic requirements of survival such as sleeping.

To conclude this discussion of [4.158], one important grammatical remark must be made. Following {ed} is one of the various Sumerian {e}-morphemes. Unfortunately, no {e}-morpheme is ideal for this environment. Firstly, it cannot be the proximal deictic suffix {e} as there is no logical referent either physically in the real world of the characters or anaphorically in the discourse. Secondly, it makes no sense as an ergative case-marker as there is no action in the sentence that necessitates an agent. Thirdly, there is no obvious reason it should be the locative-terminative case-marker, which denotes location on or near something. It is possible to argue that the copular clause (i.e., du$_{10}$-ub ama ugu-ŋu$_{10}$ ^{d}Nin-sumun$_2$-ka-kam) is fronted for topicalization and the locative-terminative {e} that would normally occur after the second genitive (whose slot has now been filled by the enclitic copula) has been forced to migrate onto the Obligative (i.e., u$_3$-di-de$_3$). If this were the case, a literal translation would be, "Is it the lap of my mother Ninsumun who bore me upon which I would become made to sleep?" This solution seems technically possible but too speculative to assert confidently.

At present, it seems best to argue that this an instance of the sequence {ed} + locative-terminative where the case-marker is not serving in its traditional capacity, but rather in an acquired role to make the /d/ of {ed} visible in both writing and speech.[433] Orthographically, the inclusion of the /e/ is convenient since there was a preference for CV-syllables when writing Sumerian. Concerning speech, if this is not an orthographic dummy vowel then it is possible that the inclusion of /e/ was motivated by the preceding /d/ of the VR as well as the initial /d/ of the

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[433] This interpretation is in line with Jagersma's description of the locative-terminative's various functions (note: he refers to this morpheme as the "directive"). Unfortunately, Jagersma has also been unable to offer any explanation as to why this morpheme would logically have or acquire this function. Jagersma, "A Descriptive Grammar of Sumerian," 169 and 668-671. It is also possible that spellings such as these are morpho-graphemic.

following word.[434] Accordingly, the /e/ would serve to make sure that the most functionally important phonological element of {ed} (i.e., the consonant /d/) did not get accidentally elided by a speaker or lost aurally by a listener. Unfortunately, the Sumerian phonological system is so poorly understood that this theoretical explanation is unprovable and thus best avoided. The best explanation is that this {e}-morpheme is either the locative-terminative serving a non-normative and imperfectly understood role or not a morpheme at all but rather a purely orthographic item in a morphographemic CV-spelling of {ed}.

4.7.1 COUNTERFACTUAL OBLIGATIVE ("GRANT OUGHT TO HAVE, BUT HE DID NOT")

A final, albeit rare, method of expressing positive obligation in Sumerian needs to be introduced. To express an obligation referring to an event in the past that did not occur (i.e., cultural expectations were subverted and the obligation was shirked), Sumerian employs a finite verb usually conjugated in the *ḫamṭu* tense-aspect that is marked with the MP {he}. This function is referred to as the Counterfactual Obligative. The best examples of this verbal form occur in *Gilgameš and Huwawa A* when Enlil admonishes Gilgameš and Enkidug for slaughtering Huwawa:

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[434] If it were indeed the case that "u₃-di-de₃ dug₄-ga-gin₇" minus the /e/ in "u₃-di-de₃" realized phonetically as [udid dugagin], then the possibility of information loss via the elision of {ed}'s /d/ (be it perceived or real) seems legitimate (i.e., [udid dugagin] could be misheard as [udi dugagin] or [udid ugagin]). In must be reiterated, however, that any grammatical argument based on orality, aurality, or phonotactics for Sumerian is merely a theoretical exercise given the incomplete view of the language's phonology permitted by the cuneiform script.

[4.159] igi-zu-ne-ne he$_2$-bi$_2$-ib$_2$-tuš
igi-zu-ne-ne
igi=zunene=(a)
eye=POSS.2PL.HUM=(LOC)

he$_2$-bi$_2$-ib$_2$-tuš
he=ba=*I=n(!)=tuš=ø
MP$_{DEO.OBLG}$=CP$_{NTR.MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PVN=to dwell$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

"He ought to have sat in you all's presence!"

[4.160] ninda gu$_7$-zu-ne-a he$_2$-bi$_2$-ib$_2$-gu$_7$
ninda   gu$_7$-zu-ne-a
ninda   gu$_7$=ø=zunene=a(m)=ø
bread   to eat$_H$=AP=POSS.2PL.HUM=COP.3SG=ABS$_{DO}$

he$_2$-bi$_2$-ib$_2$-gu$_7$
he=ba=*I=n(!)=gu$_7$=ø
MP$_{DEO.OBLG}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to eat$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

"The bread you all ate, he ought to have eaten it!"

[4.161] a naŋ-zu-ne-a he$_2$-bi$_2$-naŋ
a   naŋ-zu-ne-a
a   naŋ=ø=zunene=a(m)=ø
water   to drink$_H$=AP=POSS.2PL.HUM=COP.3SG=ABS$_{DO}$

he$_2$-bi$_2$-ib$_2$-naŋ
he=ba=*I=n(!)=naŋ=ø
MP$_{DEO.OBLG}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to drink$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

"The water you all drank, he ought to have drunk it!"

[4.162] [igi?-zu?]-e-ne-ka me-te-aš he₂-em-mi-「ŋal₂?ㄱ
        [igi?-zu?]-e-ne-ka   me-te-aš
        [igi?=zu]nene=ak=a   mete=a=š(e)
        [eye=POSS].2PL.HUM=GEN=LOC   appropriate thing=?=TERM_ADV

        he₂-em-mi-「ŋal₂?ㄱ
        he=imma=*I=ŋal₂?=ø
        MP_DEO.OBLG=CP_NTR.MID=DI_LOC=to exist_ḫ=ABS_3SG.SBJ

        "He ought to have been treated properly in [you] all's [eyes]!"

The modal forms in these examples require comment. In [4.160] and [4.161], the verbs are transitive and *ḫamṭu.* The VR gu₇ "to eat" in [4.160] is a regular class *marû* verb so it technically could be conjugated in the *marû* tense-aspect. The VR naŋ "to drink" in [4.161], however, is securely *ḫamṭu* since it is a reduplication class *marû* (i.e., it forms the *marû* via partial reduplication: na₈-na₈). Since na₈ is written with the NAĜ-sign this could be an example of an elided *marû* (whether such forms are errors or orthographic choices is unclear but of no relevance here). It will be argued that the verbs in [4.159]-[4.162] are all *ḫamṭu*s because of the discourse semantics and the unreduplicated VR naŋ, regardless of the pronominal oddities. Concerning the pronominal patterning in [4.160] and [4.161], the preverbal {b} seems erroneous. Firstly, if these are indeed *ḫamṭu*s, it would have to refer to a non-human agent. Huwawa, however, is the agent, and he is prototypically given human pronouns. Secondly, if these are *marû*s, {b} would cross-reference the direct objects. Although this interpretation is formally viable, the past tense completed aspect of the relevant events and the non-reduplication of the

VR naŋ in [4.161] argue against it. Accordingly, these forms are taken as ḫamṭus with either erroneous agent marking or idiosyncratic agent marking intended to dehumanize Huwawa.[435]

Regardless of what exactly {b} is doing in these examples, the discourse semantics only allow for these verbs to be Counterfactual Obligatives marked via {he} on a VR conjugated in the ḫamṭu tense-aspect. Since Gilgameš and Enkidug murdered Huwawa and thus did not break bread with him as a peer, Enlil is expressing what was obligated in the past but has been flouted and henceforth is unrealizable. In circumstances such as this, the ḫamṭu places the associated event in the past and describes it as completed. The MP {he} in its deontic capacity marks obligations of this sort since {ed} also has a future-tense-orienting function. This specific function makes {ed} prototypically incompatible with the ḫamṭu especially in reference to counterfactual obligations.[436] The fact that {ed} as a marker of strong obligation and future orientation is generally disqualified from co-occurring with the ḫamṭu is parallel to what one finds with deontic modals of obligation in English. To express strong obligation, English usually uses the verb "must;" this verb, however, has no past form for its deontic nuance (i.e., "*X* must have done *Y*" can only be interpreted epistemically) and instead either "ought to" or "should" are employed.[437] This English phenomenon is similar to what one finds with Sumerian {ed} as the strong form is resistant to past time reference and thus separate forms are required. Additionally, "should" and "ought to" are essentially conditional (i.e., they refer "to what would occur or would have occurred").[438] Again the situation is analogous as both languages do not allow the marker of strong obligation to be used for conditional notions such as the counterfactual.

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[435] Attinger remarks that this is technically possible for nouns to receive marking contrary to their class. This seems unlikely here, however, since everywhere else in this text and others Huwawa is given human pronouns. Attinger, *Eléments de linguistique sumérienne*, 150 (3.2.1.3. §91).

[436] This incompatibility is not absolute. It is possible, for example, to find {ed} forms with ḫamṭu roots (see: [4.138], [4.139], [4.140], etc.).

[437] Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 73-74.

[438] Ibid., 74.

4.7.2 NEGATIVE OBLIGATIVE ("KATHY OUGHT NOT/MUST NOT GO")

So far only positive Obligatives have been discussed, but attention now must shift to the expression of negative obligations in grammar. Sumerian conveys Negative Obligative notions via both finite and nonfinite forms with the veridical negator {nu} and the Obligative suffix {ed}.

The fact that a prototypically non-modal negator (i.e., {nu}) occurs with a modal morpheme (i.e., {ed}) to convey a modal notion (i.e., the Negative Obligative) is interesting. At first glance this seems counterintuitive or contradictory. This is unproblematic, however, when one delves into the relationship between obligation and veridical stance. Before beginning such an inquiry, however, the nature of nonfinites in general must be examined as they are the most common types of Negative Obligatives in Sumerian.

Defining what constitutes a nonfinite form from a universal perspective has proved to be a complicated matter. The distinction finite/nonfinite was introduced as a linguistic dichotomy by ancient scholars (ex., Priscianus Caesariensis in *Institutiones Grammaticae* ca. 500 CE) and maintained as a staple by early modern linguists who used the classical languages as the bedrock for linguistic inquiry.[439] Within this limited domain, a finite form was defined as one that is inflected for person and number. This definition is typologically insufficient as many languages do not mark person and/or number distinctions. For example, Japanese (Japonic)(whose verbs inflect tense but not agreement) and Lango (Nilotic, Eastern Nilotic)(whose verbs do not inflect for tense) would lack a finite/nonfinite opposition were the inflectional definition sufficient.[440] To remedy this problem, scholars have proposed numerous definitions of finiteness to differing

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[439] Irina Nikolaeva, "Introduction," in *Finiteness: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations*, ed. Irina Nikolaeva. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 1.
[440] Ibid., 2.

degrees of success. Rather than outline all of these, a definition that is tailored to Sumerian will be provided. The decision to avoid a generalized cross-linguistic definition of (non)finiteness has been motivated by the fact that "the function of finite verb forms and, in particular, the function of nonfinite forms – and the distinction between the two – is […] difficult to describe by directly referring to a substance that is independent of specific language structure and, in that sense, extralinguistic;" as a result there is a "lack of agreement on the concept of finiteness in the typological-functional literature and (a) vagueness and/or dependence on language-specific morphosyntactic categories in the different proposals for a definition."[441]

In Sumerian, nonfinite forms are constructed as VRs in either the ḫamṭu or marû tense-aspect that lack all prefix chain elements (except {nu} in negative forms) and are restricted to a limited set of suffixal morphemes. Specifically, nonfinite forms can only receive the active/imperfective participial null marking (i.e., {ø}), the passive/perfective participial marker {a}, {ed}, possessive pronouns, a nominal case-marker, and/or a form of the enclitic copula to the right of the VR.[442] Not all these elements can co-occur on one nonfinite form, but some can.[443] The function of all the aforementioned nonfinite suffixal morphemes will not be discussed here as most are irrelevant to the Negative Obligative. What is of interest is the fact that the negative prefix {nu} and Obligaitve suffix {ed} co-occur on a VR (thereby generating a nonfinite) to convey the Negative Obligative.

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[441] Peter Juul Nielsen, *Functional Structure in Morphology and the Case of Nonfinite Verbs: Theoretical Issues and the Description of the Danish Verb System.* EALT 9. (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 80.

[442] Technically the Quotative {eše} could also occur in the terminal position. This, however, is unlikely to occur (if it ever does) as {eše} normally attaches to the end of the entire clause, which prototypically is a finite verb since Sumerian is an SOV language.

[443] Although her description of nonfinites is not maintained in full here, Thomsen provides a nice schematic presentation of which suffixal elements can co-occur on nonfinite forms. See: Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language*, 254.

It is possible now to return to the question of why the Negative Obligative modal function implements the veridical negator prefix {nu} (i.e., the prototypical indicative negator) in Sumerian. From a purely descriptive approach, it must be noted that the only negator a nonfinite form seems able to take is {nu}. Nonfinites, however, can convey modal notions, which renders this observation in and of itself insufficient as it is not obvious why the negative deontic prefix {na} (or the negative epistemic MP {bara}) would not be used to negate modal nonfinites. The mere statement of a co-occurrence does nothing in service of elucidating why it exists. Beyond claiming it was the only negative prefix licensed for a nonfinite environment, the usage of {nu} in modal nonfinites must be explained on a semantic basis that accounts for the concept of veridical stance.

When approached from this angle, the reason that Sumerian uses a prototypically non-modal negator to negate modal nonfinite forms becomes readily apparent. Veridical stance and its relationship to assertion has been described by linguists Anastasia Giannakidou and Alda Mari, who will be quoted below in full. Prior to the following excerpt, Giannakidou and Mari discuss notions of co-operative conversation using the sentence "It is raining" in a dialogue as an example:

> When the speaker has knowledge or belief of the truthfulness of π [= proposition], we say that the speaker takes a *veridical stance* toward it (i.e., toward the proposition *It is raining*). We can think of the veridical stance as the mental state or attitude of commitment to truth. The veridical commitment is not commitment to act; veridical commitment is an abstract state of believing (broadly construed) or knowing π to be true and is independent of action since it relies purely on knowledge, belief, evidence, and inner factors. The veridical stance is an attitude of commitment of the speaker to truth motivated by information that the speaker possesses.[444]

[444] (emphasis original to source). Anastasia Giannakidou and Alda Mari, "A Linguistic Framework for Knowledge, Belief, and Veridicality Judgement," *KNOW: A Journal on the Formation of Knowledge* 5.2 (2021), 260.

Accordingly, any expression that is asserted in earnest given the cultural context of the speaker is veridical. By definition, Obligatives express external social conditions that compel an agent to complete the predicate action. As such, an obligation as communicated via an Obligative form is an instance of a speaker asserting that he or she believes in the culturally mandated truthfulness that said obligation exists. As such, the speaker takes a veridical stance towards a proposition in an assertion when utilizing an Obligative form.

With this linguistic background in mind, the selection of the negator {nu} in Sumerian on Negative Obligatives makes perfect sense. It is not that {nu} is a negator of the indicative (as is commonly stated in the Sumerological literature), but rather a negator of veridical utterances.[445] Since obligations entail a veridical stance and the existence of an asserted proposition, they naturally select whatever mechanism a given language utilizes to negate veridical expressions. Not all languages have separate negators licensed by (non)verdicality, but Sumerian has a system in which the negator is constrained first by the (non)veridicality of the utterance and secondarily by the type of modality should the utterance be nonveridical. Veridical statements require the prefix {nu} to be negated whereas deontic nonveridical notions are negated with the MP {na} and epistemic ones via the MP {bara}. The Sumerian tripartite veridicality-dependent negation paradigm can be schematized thusly:

TABLE 4.2. *Negator Selection in Sumerian*		
Veridical	**Nonveridical**	
	Epistemic	**Deontic**
{nu}	{bara}	{na}

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445 For example, Edzard labels {nu} as the "Negative Indicative" morpheme in his grammar, but he does acknowledge that it occurs on nonfinite forms that have modal nuances. Edzard, *Sumerian Grammar*, 113-114.

Having thoroughly explained the seemingly abnormal mechanism for negating the Obligative in Sumerian, it is now possible to present evidence from the principal corpus.

The first to be cited here is take from *The Song of the Hoe*. By only the second line of the composition the reader is confronted with a Negative Obligative form:

[4.163] en nam tar-ra-na šu nu-bala-e-dam
        en   nam tar-ra-na
        en=ø   nam—tar=a=ani=a
        lord=ABS$_{SBJ}$ fate—to cut$_{H.CVR}$=PP=POSS.3SG.HUM=LOC

        šu nu-bala-e-dam
        šu—nu=bala=ed=ø=am
        hand—NEG=to turn$_{M.CVR}$=OBLG=AP=COP.3SG

        He is the lord whose decision ought never be changed.

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Song of the Hoe*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 2
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Al* N$_{14}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: Ni 2500

</div>

This line is an epithet of the god Enlil that is well attested, but not all scholars seem to agree with the Negative Obligative interpretation. Most commonly, this designation of Enlil is translated as "the lord who never changes the destinies which he determines."[446] The usage of the word "never" without any modulation in this translation can covey notions of obligation covertly, but it is not obvious if this was the intent of the translators. Here it is advocated that this form be translated as "ought never be changed" on the understanding that fates decreed by Enlil should be immutable out of respect for his supremacy but were still technically able to be altered after his decision. For example, in a royal inscription of Lugal-zage-si (an Early Dynastic ruler of Uruk), it is clearly expressed that gods could alter a fate after it had been decided:

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EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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446 Black, Cunningham, Robson, and Zólyomi, *The Literature of Ancient Sumer*, 312.

[4.164]   nam sag₉-ga / mu-tar-re-eš₂-a / šu na-mu-da-ni-bala-e-ne

May they (the gods An and Enlil) never alter / the propitious destiny / they have determined for me![447]

Furthermore, there is evidence in *The Death of Ur-Namma* of Enlil changing one of the fates he himself decreed:

[4.165] ^{d}En-lil₂-le nam tar-ra du₃-a šu lul [mi]-ni-ib-bala

^{d}En-lil₂-le	nam tar-ra	du₃-a
Enlil=e	nam—tar=a	du₃=a=a
DN$_\sigma$=ERG	fate—to cut$_{H.CVR}$=PP	to build$_H$=PP=LOC$_{SOCV}$

šu	lul
šu=ø	lul
hand=ABS$_{DO}$	to be false$_{ADV}$

[mi]-ni-ib-bala
[mu]=*I=b=bala=(e)
[CP$_{TR.ACT}$]=DI$_{LOC}$= PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to turn$_{M.CVR}$=(PRO$_{3SG.AG}$)

Enlil has completely changed the fate he decreed[448]

In this text, Enlil changing his fate has dire consequences as it leads to the death of Ur-Namma, the first monarch of the Ur III dynasty. Although concepts regarding the immutability of fate can vary across time and compositions, there is sufficient evidence that Enlil could have his decreed fates changed (even by himself).[449] Accordingly, the form in [4.163] seems to be a genuine

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[447] Douglas R. Frayne, *Presargonic Period (2700 – 2350 BC)*. RIME 1. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 437.

[448] Esther Flückiger-Hawker, *Urnamma of Ur in Sumerian Literary Tradition*. OBO 166. (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck und Riprecht, 1999), 102.

[449] These examples are merely two among many that attest to the fact that Mesopotamians believed fate could be altered. For a general discussion, see: K. Lämmerhirt and A. Zgoll, "Schicksal. A," in *RlA* 12, ed. Michael P. Streck. (Berlin: Walther de Gruyter, 2009-2011), 145-155 – specifically, see: §11. *Möglichkeiten, das Schicksal zu erkennen und abzuändern*, 152.

Negative Obligative expressing what ought not happen in the best interest of cosmological order and respect for Enlil, not what is incapable or unheard of being done.

A conceptually parallel Negative Obligative occurs later in *The Song of the Hoe* when qualities of the Abzu are being listed:

[4.166]   [ZU.AB] igi piriŋ-ŋa₂ me al nu-di-dam

[ZU.AB]	igi	piriŋ-ŋa₂	me
[Abzu]	igi	piriŋ=a	me=ø
[GN]	eye	lion=LOC	*me*=ABS_SBJ

al nu-di-dam
al—nu=di=ed=ø=am
hoe—NEG=to speak_M.CVR=OBLG=AP=COP.3SG

(Next comes) [the Abzu], the lions before it, where *me*s ought not be requested/sought.

COMPOSITION: *The Song of the Hoe*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 43
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Al*_N₁₁₃
MUSEUM NUMBER: Ni 3268

The Abzu – whose restoration here is secure due to parallels – is a multifaceted concept that was both a cosmological locale as well as an area in different temple complexes. Regardless of what Abzu is being referred to here, there is no discernable reason why the *me*s could not be requested or sought after there. In fact, in *Enki and the World Order* the *me*s are said to reside with Enki in his Abzu at Eridug.[450] Accordingly, in this tradition the Eridug Abzu would be the only place one could find the *me*s. It again seems that the form is a Negative Obligative explaining what one ought not do because of cultural expectations not what one is incapable of doing.

At an earlier point in the composition, one manuscript preserves a variant verbal form that provides another clear view of the Negative Obligative at work. Whereas most manuscripts

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[450] For a translation, see: Black, Cunningham, Robson, and Zólyomi, *The Literature of Ancient Sumer*, 215-225 – see lines 134-139.

preserve a positive evidential form of the VR du$_3$ "to build," *Al_X$_1$* records a Negative

Obligative:

[4.167] ⌜uzu⌝ mu$_2$-a saŋ nu-ŋa$_2$-ŋa$_2$-de$_3$ / saŋ nam-lu$_2$-IRI×⌜A⌝^{lu} ^{ŋeš}u$_3$-šub-ba mi-ni-ŋar

⌜uzu⌝	mu$_2$-a	saŋ nu-ŋa$_2$-ŋa$_2$-de$_3$	/
uzu	mu$_2$=a=a	saŋ—nu=ŋa$_2$:ŋa$_2$=ed=e	/
flesh	to grow$_H$=PP=LOC	head—NEG=to put$_{M.CVR}$^{x2}=OBLG=LOCTR	/

saŋ	nam-lu$_2$-IRI×⌜A⌝^{lu}	^{ŋeš}u$_3$-šub-ba
saŋ	nam=luʾulu	ušub=a(k)=ø
head	ABSTR=humanity	brick-mold=GEN=ABS$_{DO}$

mi-ni-ŋar
mu=*I=(n)=ŋar=ø
CP$_{TR.ACT}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$)=to put$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

At the "Place Where Flesh Grew," where there ought not be opposition, / he had it (i.e., the hoe) place the first model of mankind in the brick-mold.[451]

COMPOSITION: *The Song of the Hoe*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 18a-19
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Al_X$_1$*
MUSEUM NUMBER: AO 7087

This variation would complicate a study focused on the manuscript tradition of *The Song of the Hoe,* but for this dissertation such a novel example is just another piece of data for a common construction. Although no one has been able to discern exactly what this form means in reference to the "Place Where Flesh Grew," its interpretation as a Negative Obligative is uncontroversial.[452] On a formal note, this form serves as a good example of an [ede]-form in which the terminal /e/ has a clear function. Here the controversial /e/ is the locative-terminative case-marker denoting the place at which the action takes place.

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[451] This line is difficult to translate but the Obligative nuance seems clear.

[452] In one translation, this variant is rendered thusly: "in Where Flesh Grew the unassailable (?)"; Ibid., 315. This translation is an accurate reflection of the grammar, but it does not integrate the variant into the semantics. To hazard a guess, in this context saŋ nu-ŋa$_2$-ŋa$_2$-de$_3$ here expresses how the "Place Where the Flesh Grew" was cosmologically expected to be a fertile place and therefore would not resist the cultivation of mankind.

More coherent Negatives Obligatives occur in *Lipit-Eštar A*. In this fawning composition that extols the grandeur of the titular ruler at great length, there are numerous forms conveying what actions and characteristics Lipit-Eštar has disavowed out of a sense of kingly obligation:

[4.168]   e$_2$-kur-ra muš$_3$ nu-tum$_2$-mu-bi-me-en
    e$_2$-kur-ra   muš$_3$ nu-tum$_2$-mu-bi-me-en
    Ekur=a(k)   muš$_3$—nu=tum$_2$=e(d)=bi=me:en
    TN=GEN   face—NEG=to bring$_{M.CVR}$=OBLG=POSS.3SG.NHUM=COP.1SG

    Of the Ekur, I am its caretaker who (is obligated) to not stop

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: <i>Lipit-Eštar A</i>
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 52
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: <i>LiA</i> N$_{I12}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-16-219 + UM 29-16-419
</div>

[4.169]   Eridug^{ki}-še$_3$ ŋa$_2$ ⌈nu⌉-⌈dag⌉-ge-bi-me-en
    Eridug^{ki}-še$_3$ ŋa$_2$ ⌈nu⌉-⌈dag⌉-ge-bi-me-en
    Eridug=še   ŋa(la)—nu=dag=e(d)=bi=me:en
    GN=TERM   CVNE—NEG=to cease$_{M.CVR}$=OBLG=DEM=COP.1SG

    I am he who is indefatigable (out of obligation) with respect to Eridug

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: <i>Lipit-Eštar A</i>
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 66
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: <i>LiA</i>_N$_{P1}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: HS 1501
</div>

[4.170]   da-da-ra nam-šul-la zu$_2$-kešřa nu-du$_8$-me-en
    da-da-ra   nam-šul-la   zu$_2$-kešřa
    dadara=a   nam=šul=a   zukešřa=ø
    to be tied$_{H}$=PP ABSTR=young man=LOC harness(?)=ABS$_{DO}$

    nu-du$_8$-me-en
    nu=du$_8$=e(d)=ø=me:en
    NEG=to loosen$_M$=OBLG=AP=COP.1SG

    Girded in manliness, I never loosen (my) harness(?)(out of obligation as a warrior)

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: <i>Lipit-Eštar A</i>
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 72
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: <i>LiA</i> N$_{P1}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: HS 1501
</div>

<div align="center">EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE</div>

[4.171] ꜥsiꜥ sa₂ da-ri₂ nu-ha-lam?-e-me-en

       ꜥsiꜥ sa₂   da-ri₂

       si—sa₂=ø   dari

       horn—to equal$_{H.CVR}$=AP+ABS$_{DO}$ eternal

       nu-ha-lam?-e-me-en

       nu=halam=e(d)=ø=me:en

       NEG=to destroy$_{M}$=OBLG=AP=COP.1SG

       I am one who never destroys a just person (out of obligation as a just king)

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Lipit-Eštar A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 89
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *LiA* N$_{I14}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: Ni 4098 (+) Ni 4560

</div>

These examples touch on literary topoi about what an ideal Mesopotamian ruler was obligated to do or embody. Specifically, the duties of kingship dictated that Lipit-Eštar be a pious servant of the gods, a ready warrior, and a just adjudicator.[453]

    The preceding examples provide sufficient information about how the Negative Obligative functions in Sumerian and manifests in the verbal morphology. The remaining examples will be given without further comment:

[4.172] Eridug^{ki} ki lu₂ nu-ku₄-ku₄-dam

       Eridug^{ki} ki   lu₂

       Eridug   ki=(a)   lu₂=ø

       GN   place=(LOC)   individual=ABS$_{SBJ}$

       nu-ku₄-ku₄-dam

       nu=ku₄:ku₄=ed=ø=am

       NEG=to enter$_{M.CVR}{}^{x2}$=OBLG=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$=COP.3SG

       "In Eridug, the (pure) place, where no one ought to enter—"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Enki's Journey to Nippur*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 120
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *EJN* N$_{I3}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 10079 + Ni 2289

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[453] Samuel Noah Kramer, "Poets and Psalmists: Goddesses and Theologians," in *The Legacy of Sumer: Invited Lectures on the Middle East at the University of Texas at Austin*, ed. Denise Schmandt-Besserat. BiMes 4. (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1976), 9.

[4.173] ᵍᵉˢ̌gu-za gub-ba-bi lu₂ nu-kur₂-e

ᵍᵉˢ̌gu-za	gub-ba-bi		lu₂
guza=(ak)	gub=a=bi=ø		lu₂=ø
throne=(GEN)	to stand$_{H.SG}$=PP=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS$_{DO}$		individual=ABS$_{SBJ}$

nu-kur₂-e
nu=kur₂=e(d)=ø
NEG=to change$_M$=OBLG=AP

"One ought not remove the standing place of the throne –"

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: <i>Gudea Cylinder B</i>
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 527
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: <i>G.Cyl.B</i>
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1511
</div>

[4.174] ka-ta nu-šub-bu-de₃

ka-ta	nu-šub-bu-de₃
ka=ta	nu=šub=ed=ø
mouth=ABL	NEG=to fall$_M$=OBLG=AP

(and) ought not fall out of speech (lit. "mouths")[454]

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: <i>Šulgi A</i>
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 35
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: <i>Šul.A</i>_N$_{III16}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: IM 58947
</div>

[4.175] ŋiri₃-za nu-kuš₂-e im-si

ŋiri₃-za	nu-kuš₂-e
ŋiri₃=zu=a	nu=kušu=e(d)=ø
feet=POSS.2SG.HUM=LOC	NEG=to be tired$_M$=OBLG=AP

im-si
im=sig=(en)
CP$_{VEN}$=to fill$_H$=(PRO2SG.SBJ)

On your feet you remain tireless (out of obligation)

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: <i>The Exaltation of Inana</i>
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 32
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: <i>ExIn</i>_X$_5$
MUSEUM NUMBER: YBC 4671
</div>

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[454] This seems to be an example of the [ede] allomorph of {ed} as no {e}-morpheme makes sense here. At best, it could be argued to be an emphatic proximal deictic {e} serving as a form of quasi-punctuation. This clause is one of three in a series of [ede]-final clauses, and in this literary context such a repeated clause-final emphatic would function as a type of polysyndeton. This solution, however, would only apply to this specific narrative and thus is not viable as an explanation of the [ede] phenomenon in general.

[4.176] niŋ₂ nu-kur₂-ru ka-ta e₃-a-ni nam ul-še₃ tar-re

niŋ₂	nu-kur₂-ru	ka-ta
niŋ₂	nu=kur₂=e(d)=ø	ka=ta
thing	NEG=to change$_M$=OBLG=AP	mouth=ABL

e₃-a-ni	nam	ul-še₃
e₃=ø=ani=ø	nam	ul=še
to go out$_{tt}$=AP=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS$_{SBJ}$	fate	distant time=TERM

tar-re
tar=e(d)=ø
to cut$_{M.CVR}$=OBLG=AP

His utterances ought not be changed! The cut fate is everlasting!

[4.177] me-bi me ZU.AB lu₂ igi nu-bar-re-de₃

me-bi	me	ZU.AB	lu₂
me=bi	me	Abzu	lu₂=ø
me=POSS.3SG.NHUM	*me*	GN	individual=ABS$_{SBJ}$

igi nu-bar-re-de₃
igi—nu=bar=ed=ø
eye—NEG=CVVE$_{M.CVR}$=OBLG=AP

Concerning it's *me*s, they are the *me*s of the Abzu; (as such) one ought not look at them.

[4.178] lugal nu-il₂-e en nu-u₃-tud

lugal	nu-il₂-e	en
lugal=ø	nu=il₂=e(d)=ø	en=ø
king=ABS$_{SBJ}$	NEG=to lift$_M$=OBLG=AP	lord=ABS$_{SBJ}$

nu-u₃-tud
nu=utud=ø
NEG=to give birth$_M$=ABS3SG.SBJ

A king ought not be elevated; a lord will not be birthed.

[4.179] lu₂-mah ereš-diŋir maš₂-⌈a⌐?⌐⌉ nu-dab₅-be₂

lu₂-mah	ereš-diŋir	maš₂-⌈a⌐?⌐⌉	nu-dab₅-be₂
lumah	erešdiŋir=ø	maš₂=a	nu=dab₅=e(d)=ø
high priest	high priestess=ABS$_{SBJ}$	extispicy=LOC	NEG=to seize$_M$=OBLG=AP

A high priest or priestess would not perform extispicy (due to lack of obligation)

COMPOSITION: *Enlil in the Ekur*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 113
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *EnlEk*_N$_{I3}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 10475

[4.180] šag₄-bi gu suh₃-a si nu-sa₂-dam

šag₄-bi		gu	suh₃-a
šag₄=bi=(e)		gu	suh₃=a=ø
heart=POSS.3SG.NHUM=(LOCTR)		thread	to confuse$_M$=AP=ABS$_{SBJ}$

si nu-sa₂-dam
si—nu=sa₂=ed=ø=am
horn—NEG=to equal$_{M.CVR}$=OBLG=AP=COP.3SG

By its nature, its entangled (lit. blurred) threads cannot be unraveled/set straight (as cultural obligation demands deference)

COMPOSITION: *Enlil in the Ekur*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 132
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *EnlEk*_N$_{I1}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 8533 (+) Ni 4150

[4.181] gu-gu gilim-ma igi nu-pad₃-de₃-dam

gu-gu	gilim-ma	igi nu-pad₃-de₃-dam
gu:gu	gilim=a=ø	igi—nu=pad₃=ed=ø=am
thread^{x2}	to cross$_M$=PP=ABS$_{SBJ}$	eye—NEG=to find$_{M.CVR}$=OBLG=AP=COP.3SG

Threads having been intertwined which the eye cannot/ought not follow/find (as cultural obligation demands deference)

COMPOSITION: *Enlil in the Ekur*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 133
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *EnlEk*_N$_{I1}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 8533 (+) Ni 4150

[4.182] [me]-⌈zu⌐?⌐⌉ me pa nu-e₃-dam

[me]-⌈zu⌐?⌐⌉	me	pa nu-ed₂-dam
[me]=zu	me=ø	pa—nu=ed₂=ed=ø=am
[*me*]=POSS.2SG.HUM	*me*=ABS$_{SBJ}$	branch—NEG=to go out$_{M.CVR}$=OBLG=AP=COP.3SG

As for your [*me*s], no *me*s dare be as resplendent (as cultural obligation demands deference)

COMPOSITION: *Enlil in the Ekur*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 137
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *EnlEk* N$_{I2}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: N 1780 + N 1782 + N 7312 (+) Ni 4377

[4.183] [muš₃]-ᵈzuᵈ diŋir igi nu-bar-re-dam

[muš₃]-ᵈzuᵈ diŋir igi nu-bar-re-dam
[muš₃]=zu diŋir=ø igi—nu=bar=ed=ø=am
[face]=POSS.2SG.HUM god=ABS_SBJ eye—NEG=CVVE_{M.CVR}=OBLG=AP=COP.3SG

As for your [face], no god dare look upon it (as cultural obligation demands deference)

[4.184] ki-še₃ temen sag₂ nu-ᵈdiᵈ-dam

ki-še₃ temen sag₂ nu-ᵈdiᵈ-dam
ki=še temen=ø sag₂—nu=di=ed=ø=am
earth=TERM foundation=ABS_SBJ beating—NEG=to say_{M.CVR}=OBLG=AP=COP.3SG

On Earth, it is a foundation that cannot be destroyed (as cultural obligation demands)

[4.185] šag₄ šeg₉-bar-ra lu₂ igi nu-bar-re-dam

šag₄ šeg₉-bar-ra lu₂
šag₄ šegbar=a lu₂=ø
heart fallow deer(?)=LOC individual=ABS_SBJ

igi nu-bar-re-dam
igi—nu=bar=ed=ø=am
eye—NEG=CVVE_{M.CVR}=OBLG=AP=COP.3SG

(Nudimmud, the lord of Eridug /) – none can look in its midst – (as cultural obligation demands)

[4.186] ᵈdug₄ᵈ-ga ᵈEn-ki-ke₄ šu nu-bala-e-de₃

ᵈdug₄ᵈ-ga ᵈEn-ki-ke₄ šu nu-bala-e-de₃
dug₄=a=a Enki=ak=e šu—nu=bala=ed=ø
to say_{H.SG}=PP=LOC DN♂=GEN=ERG hand—NEG=to turn_{M.CVR}=OBLG=AP

"That which Enki has said is irrefutable;" (as cultural obligation demands)

[4.187] e₂ id₂-lu₂-ru-gu₂ si sa₂ nu-ug₇-e erim₂-e bar ak

e₂	id₂-lu₂-ru-gu₂	si sa₂
e₂	idlurugu	si—sa₂=ø
house	ordeal river	horn—to equal$_{H.CVR}$=AP+ABS$_{DO}$

nu-ug₇-e	erim₂-e	bar ak
nu=ug₇=e(d)=ø	erim₂=e	bar—ak=ø
NEG=to kill$_{M.SG}$=OBLG=AP	enemy=LOCTR	outside—to do$_M$=AP

"House, the ordeal river not killing the just and choosing the evil one" (as cultural obligation demands)

COMPOSITION: *Nungal Hymn*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 8
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Nu* N$_{III2}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 4583

[4.188] dub-la₂ zag₃ e₃-bi piriŋ su-ba saŋ nu-ŋa₂-ŋa₂-dam

dub-la₂	zag₃	ed₂-bi	piriŋ
dubla	zag₃	ed₂=ø=bi=ø	piriŋ
pilaster	side	to go out$_M$=AP=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS$_{SBJ}$	lion

su-ba	saŋ nu-ŋa₂-ŋa₂-dam
su=bi=a	saŋ—nu=ŋa₂:ŋa₂=ed=ø=am
flesh=POSS.3SG.NHUM=LOC	head—NEG=to put$_{M.CVR}$^{x2}=OBLG=AP=COP.3SG

Its projecting pilasters are lions; one does not oppose them in their flesh (as cultural obligation demands)

COMPOSITION: *Nungal Hymn*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 17
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Nu*_X₁
MUSEUM NUMBER: YBC 4667

[4.189] IRI.NIŊ₂ nu-šilig-ge ŋa₂-a-kam ulal ma-da-⌜tab?⌝

IRI.NIŊ₂	nu-šilig-ge	ŋa₂-a-kam
erim₃	nu=šilig=e(d)=ø	ŋaʾe=ak=am
storehouse	NEG=to cease$_M$=OBLG=AP	me=GEN=COP.3SG

ulal	ma-da-⌜tab?⌝
ulal=ø	mu=*A=da=tab=ø
oven=ABS$_{SBJ}$	CP$_{EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=DI$_{CMT}$=to double$_M$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

"The storehouse, which never becomes empty (of bread), is mine, the ovens are doubled for me" (as cultural obligation demands)

COMPOSITION: *Nungal Hymn*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 74
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Nu* N$_{III14}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: Ni 4213

[4.190] ki mu nu-gub-bu-ba mu diŋir-re-e-ne ga-bi₂-ib-gub

ki	mu	nu-gub-bu-ba		mu
ki	mu=ø	nu=gub=e(d)=ø=bi=a(m)		mu
place	name=ABS$_{SBJ}$	NEG=to stand$_{M.SG}$=OBLG=AP=DEM=COP.3SG		name

diŋir-re-e-ne	ga-bi₂-ib-gub
diŋir=ene=(ak)=ø	ga=ba=*I=b=gub
god=PL.HUM=(GEN)=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to stand$_{H.SG}$

"This is a place where names are not established, I shall establish the name of the gods there" (as cultural obligation demands)

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 7
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_Si₁
MUSEUM NUMBER: BM 54731

[4.191] tug₂ 3 tab-ba lu₂ nu-kuř-de₃

tug₂	3	tab-ba	lu₂	nu-kuř-de₃
tug₂	3	tab=a=ø	lu₂	nu=kuř=ed=ø
textile	three	to double$_{H}$=PP=ABS$_{DO}$	individual	NEG=to cut$_{M}$=OBLG=AP

"three intertwined ropes no man can cut in two" (as cultural obligation demands)[455]

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 101
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_N$_{III19}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: Ni 42

[4.192] nu-u₃-gi₄-gi₄-da / ᵈUtu-ba-e₃-e / mu lugal-bi in-pad₃

nu-u₃-gi₄-gi₄-da	/	ᵈUtu-ba-e₃-e	/
nū=gi₄:gi₄=ed=a	/	Utuba'e=e	/
NEG$_{INTS}$=to return$_{M}$^{x2}=OBLG+INF=LOC	/	PN$_{♂}$=GEN=ERG	/

mu	lugal-bi	in-pad₃
mu	lugal=(ak)=bi=ø	i=n=pad₃=ø
name	king=(GEN)=DEM=ABS$_{DO}$	CP$_{NEUT}$=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to name$_{H}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

"To never return (with this agreement), / Utuba'e / swore the royal oath" (as law demands)[456]

COMPOSITION: *NSGU II.9*
LINE NUMBER: 3′-5′
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *dit.9*
MUSEUM NUMBER: L.6582

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[455] The meaning of this line is admittedly unclear.
[456] The plene spelling nu-u₃-… is taken to mark an emphatic negation (glossed NEG$_{INTS}$). Further research, however, is need into such plene spellings with the veridical negator.

[4.193] g[e]me$_2$ nu-u$_3$-gi$_4$-gi$_4$-da / mu lugal-bi in-pad$_3$

        g[e]me$_2$ nu-u$_3$-gi$_4$-gi$_4$-da   /

        g[e]me$_2$ nū=gi$_4$:gi$_4$=ed=a   /

        sl[a]ve-woman   NEG$_{INTS}$=to return$_M$^{x2}=OBLG+INF=LOC   /

        mu   lugal-bi   in-pad$_3$

        mu   lugal=(ak)=bi=ø   i=n=pad$_3$=ø

        name   king=(GEN)=DEM=ABS$_{DO}$ CP$_{NEUT}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to name$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

(…) to never return to the sl[a]ve-woman (in the form of a legal contest), she swore a royal oath (about it) (as law demands)

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: NSGU II.45
LINE NUMBER: 13-14
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: dit.45
MUSEUM NUMBER: L.3532
</div>

4.7.3 COMPULSIVE ("BETTY HAS TO GO")

The Compulsive is a subcategory of the Obligative that expresses an obligation that is not imposed by societal norms and is neither controlled nor intended by the agent. Accordingly, the Compulsive conveys that the obligation is imposed via an outside agent or due to the lack of a viable alternative.[457] Typologically, the Compulsive very rarely receives its own dedicated marker or construction.[458] Sumerian is like most other languages in this regard as the Compulsive does not have a unique morpheme assigned to it. Rather, it is coded with the same {ed}-morpheme as the Obligative. Even though it seldom occurs and lacks a special marker, this modal notion has been given its own subsection here as it is an important nuance of the Obligative that can have significant implications for translation. The relationship between the Obligative, Compulsive, and Advisory (all of which are means of communicating obligation)

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[457] Laurence D. Stephens, "The Development of Fore/Futurum Ut from Ovid to Festus: A Study in Semantic Change and Its Basis in Discourse Situation," *The American Journal of Philology* 111.4 (1990), 519 and 537-538.

[458] For example, Latin expresses the Compulsive via a construction utilizing *fore ut*. Stephens, "The Development of Fore/Futurum Ut," 513-542. Gildersleeve and Lodge, *Gildersleeve's Latin Grammar*, §248 and §553.2-4. Hindi (Indo-European, Indo-Iranian) is an example of a language that has unique grammatical elements for expressing two degrees of compulsory obligation; these are *hogaa* and *paRegaa*. Shivendra K. Verma, "The Semantics of Caahiye," *Foundations of Language* 12.1 (1974), 133-134.

will discussed further in §4.7.4. The *Debate between Hoe and Plow* was admitted to the

secondary corpus since it contains a Compulsive form:

[4.194] 2-kam-ma-še₃ naŋar ma-ra-huŋ-e lu₂ ma-ʳraꞋ-ʳSA₂Ꞌ-ʳeꞋ

2-kam-ma-še₃	naŋar	ma-ra-huŋ-e
2=kamma=še	naŋar=ø	mu=ra=huŋ=e(d)=ø
two=ORD=TERM	carpenter=ABS$_{SBJ}$	CP$_{EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.2SG}$=to hire$_M$=COMPL=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

lu₂	ma-ʳraꞋ-ʳSA₂Ꞌ-ʳeꞋ
lu₂=ø	mu=ra=SA₂=e(d)=ø
individual=ABS$_{SBJ}$	CP$_{EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.2SG}$=to ?$_M$=COMPL=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

"(Oh Plow, because you are inferior…) / Carpenters will have to be hired (again) for you. An individual will have to be *X*-ed because of you."[459]

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Debate between Hoe and Plow*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 98
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: rev. 2
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *DebH&P*_Ur₁ (DDDu)
ARTIFACT IDENTIFIER: UET 6/1 43+ UET 6/3, 625 + 626 + 787

</div>

Compulsion to act can also be coded as a secondary nuance of the Promissive (i.e., "I shall do *X*

(due to matters beyond my control)"). None are cited here, however, as the Compulsive nuances

in such instances are highly situational and secondary to the commitment to act expressed in

such a Promissive.

4.7.4   ADVISORY ("DANNY SHOULD GO")

The Advisory function is the modal notion utilized by speakers to urge someone to take a

specific practical action.[460] Notionally, the Advisory shares much in common with the Obligative

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[459] It must be noted that in some other manuscripts, the verbs are clearly transitive with a pre-verbal direct object pronoun {b}. In her recent composite edition, Mittermayer does not commit to either an intransitive or transitive base form, instead opting to write ma-ra(-ab)-huŋ-e. The intransitive interpretation seems most likely given context and has been adopted here. Catherine Mittermayer, *›Was sprach der eine zum Anderen?‹ Argumentationsformen in den sumerischen Rangstreitgesprächen.* UAVA 15. (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2019), 319-320.

[460] Igor Yanovich, "Symbouletic Modality," in *Empirical Issues in Syntax and Semantics 10*, ed. Christopher Piñón. (Only available digitally (http://www.cssp.cnrs.fr/eiss10/index_en.html): CNRS, 2014), 161. In this paper, Yanovich rather convincingly proposes a new independent type of modality for the expression of advice that is intended to urge another to act, which he calls "Symbouletic Modality." He distinguishes symbouletic advice from deontic advice on various grounds. For the purposes of this dissertation, however, it was decided to treat what some scholars might interpret as symbouletic modals in this chapter on deontic modality. This was done largely for

given its role as a marker of weak obligation. Both notions entail that an agent is supposed to perform an action. They are distinct, however, in that Obligatives (i.e., prototypically strong obligations) express that "it is absolutely incumbent upon the agent to complete the action of the main verb" whereas Advisories (i.e., weak obligations) communicate that "it is recommended that the agent complete the action of the main verb."[461] Rather than proposing one category for notions of obligation graded weak and strong for Sumerian, it was decided to designate the strong end of such a theoretical cline as the Obligative and the weak end as two independent classes called the Compulsive and the Advisory. This decision was motivated by the fact that these functions are coded radically differently in Sumerian (i.e., the Obligative is predominantly conveyed with the suffix {ed} (and the negative veridical prefix if negated), the Compulsive via {ed}, and the Advisory with MPs ({he} for positive, {na} for negative)). Therefore, although these functions co-exist notionally on a graded cline of obligation, they are treated and classified separately here due to their formal differences and semantic nuances.

Whereas strong obligation is expressed via a unique morpheme dedicated to its own slot in the verbal chain, Sumerian has no special morpheme assigned to the Advisory function. Rather, the Advisory is coded via the MP {he} when positive and the MP {na} when negative (for which, see: §4.7.4 and §4.7.4.1, respectively). The positive Advisory does not seem to be exceedingly common in the Sumerian written record, and only a few examples are attested in the principal corpus. Two such form occurs at the beginning of *Gilgameš and Huwawa A* when Enkidug suggest to Gilgameš that he explain their plans to Utu for undertaking them:

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practical reasons as it seemed imprudent to add a fifth category of modality in Sumerian to which no unique morpheme or construction belongs.
    [461] Bybee, Pagliuca, and Perkins, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 320.

[4.195] lugal-ŋu$_{10}$ tukumbi ud-da kur-še$_3$ i-ni-in-ku$_4$-ku$_4$ / ^{d}Utu he$_2$-me-da-an-zu

lugal-ŋu$_{10}$	tukumbi	ud-da	kur-še$_3$
lugal=ŋu=ø	tukumbi	ud=a	kur=še
king=POSS.1SG.HUM=VOC	if	day=LOC	mountain=TERM

i-ni-in-ku$_4$-ku$_4$	/	^{d}Utu
i=ni=n=ku$_4$:ku$_4$=(en)	/	Utu=(e)
CP$_{NEUT}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PVN=to enter$_M$^{x2}=(PRO2SG.SBJ)	/	DN$_♂$=(ERG)

he$_2$-me-da-an-zu
he=mu=e=da=n=zu=ø
MP$_{DEO.ADVIS}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=PRO2SG.IO=DI$_{CMT}$=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to know$_{H}$=ABS3SG.DO

"Oh my king, if you are going to enter into the mountain, / Utu should learn about it from you."

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 9
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_N$_{III3}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: Ni 9636

</div>

[4.196] kur ^{ŋeš}eren kuř-še$_3$ i-ni-in-ku$_4$-ku$_4$-de$_3$-en ^{d}Utu he$_2$-me-da-an-zu

kur	^{ŋeš}eren	kuř-še$_3$
kur	eren	kuř=ø=še
mountain	cedar	to cut$_H$=AP=TERM

i-ni-in-ku$_4$-ku$_4$-de$_3$-en	^{d}Utu
i=ni=n=ku$_4$:ku$_4$=ed=en	Utu=(e)
CP$_{NEUT}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PVN=to enter$_M$^{x2}=FUT=PRO2SG.SBJ	DN$_♂$=(ERG)

he$_2$-me-da-an-zu
he=mu=e=da=n=zu=ø
MP$_{DEO.ADVIS}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=PRO2SG.IO=DI$_{CMT}$=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to know$_{H}$=ABS3SG.DO

"Oh my king, if you are going to enter into the mountain that is for cutting cedar, Utu should learn about it from you."

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 9a
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_Si$_1$
MUSEUM NUMBER: BM 54731

</div>

<div align="center">

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

</div>

[4.197] [ᵈUtu] ⌜šul⌝ ᵈUtu he₂-me-da-an-zu

   [ᵈUtu]   ⌜šul⌝   ᵈUtu
   [Utu]   šul   Utu=(e)
   [DN♂]   young man   DN♂=(ERG)

   he₂-me-da-an-zu
   he=mu=e=da=n=zu=ø
   MP$_{DEO.ADVIS}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=PRO$_{2SG.IO}$=DI$_{CMT}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to know$_{H}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

   "[Utu], the young hero Utu, should learn about it from you."

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 10
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_N$_{III3}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: Ni 9636

</div>

[4.198] [kur-ra dim₂]-⌜ma$^{?}$⌝-⌜bi$^{?}$⌝ [ᵈ]Utu-⌜kam⌝ ᵈUtu he₂-me-da-an-zu

   [kur-ra   dim₂]-⌜ma$^{?}$⌝-⌜bi$^{?}$⌝
   [kur=a(k)   dim₂]=a=bi=ø
   [mountain=GEN   to fashion$_{H}$]=PP=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS$_{SBJ}$

   [ᵈ]Utu-⌜kam⌝   ᵈUtu
   Utu=ak=am   Utu=(e)
   DN♂=GEN=COP.3SG   DN♂=(ERG)

   he₂-me-da-an-zu
   he=mu=e=da=n=zu=ø
   MP$_{DEO.ADVIS}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=PRO$_{2SG.IO}$=DI$_{CMT}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to know$_{H}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

   "[A creation of the mountain] is of Utu's concern, Utu should learn about it from
   you."

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 11
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_N$_{III3}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: Ni 9636

</div>

<div align="center">

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

</div>

[4.199]   kur ⁿᵉˢeren kuř dim₂-ma-bi šul ᵈUtu-kam ᵈUtu he₂-me-da-an-zu

kur	ⁿᵉˢeren	kuř
kur	eren	kuř=ø=(ak)
mountain	cedar	to cut$_H$=AP=(GEN)

dim₂-ma-bi	šul
dim₂=a=bi=ø	šul
to fashion$_H$=PP=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS$_{SBJ}$	young man

ᵈUtu-kam	ᵈUtu
Utu=ak=am	Utu=(e)
DN$_♂$=GEN=COP.3SG	DN$_♂$=(ERG)

he₂-me-da-an-zu
he=mu=e=da=n=zu=ø
MP$_{DEO.ADVIS}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=PRO$_{2SG.IO}$=DI$_{CMT}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to know$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

"Concerning the mountain of cedar cutting, its products are of young hero Utu, Utu should learn about it from you."

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 12
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_X₁
MUSEUM NUMBER: YBC 9857

Having cited all data from the primary corpus, one supplemental example from the secondary corpus is given below before shifting attention to its more prevalent negative counterpart:

[4.200]   dumu-ŋu₁₀ na ge-degₓ(RI) na-degₓ(RI)-ŋu₁₀ he₂-d[ab₅]

dumu-ŋu₁₀	na
dumu=ŋu=ø	na=ø
child=POSS.1SG.HUM=VOC	CVNE=ABS$_{DO}$

ge-degₓ(RI)	na-degₓ(RI)-ŋu₁₀
ga=(b)=degₓ	nadeg=ŋu=ø
MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to collect$_{H.CVR}$	advice=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{SBJ}$

he₂-d[ab₅]
he=d[ab₅=ø]
MP$_{DEO.ADVIS}$=to s[eize$_M$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$]

"Oh my son, I shall give instructions! My instructions should be ta[ken]!"

COMPOSITION: *Instructions of Šuruppak*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 79
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: rev. 1
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IŠ*_Ur₃
ARTIFACT IDENTIFIER: U.16879 I

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4.7.4.1 NEGATIVE ADVISORY ("AGRIPPA SHOULD NOT LEAVE ROME RIGHT NOW")

Most of the discernable Advisory forms in the main corpus are negative. One example comes from the *Exaltation of Inana* when En-hedu-ana pleads to Inana for assistance and tells the goddess that she should not worry about how Ašimbabbar (an appellation of the moon god) will feel about her intervention:

[4.201] ^{d}Aš-im$_2$-babbar nam-kuš$_2$-u$_3$-de$_3$
^{d}Aš-im$_2$-babbar
Ašimbabbar=ø
DN♂=ABS$_{DO}$

nam-kuš$_2$-u$_3$-de$_3$
na=n=kušu=ed=e(n)
MP$_{DEO.NEG.ADVIS}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.DO}$=to be troubled$_M$=FUT=PRO$_{2SG.AG}$

"You shan't be anxious about Ašimbabbar."

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Exaltation of Inana*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 84
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *ExIn*_Ur$_3$
MUSEUM NUMBER: IM 85460

</div>

It is not apparent why Inana should not worry about Ašimbabbar (i.e., the moon god Suʾen whom En-hedu-ana serves as *en* priestess). Perhaps, Inana need not worry about him because he has abandoned En-hedu-ana and thus is not present to react. Regardless of the reason, this example is a clear instance of a speaker using her knowledge of the situation to inform an addressee about how to best proceed.

More Negative Advisory forms occur in *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*. These forms are spoken by Enkidug when he is the sole person not put to sleep by Huwawa's dread aura and attempts to rouse Gilgameš. During his plea for Gilgameš to awaken, Enkidug advises him that his inaction will result in undesirable consequences for his citizenry. Specifically, he advises him that he should neither force the men who came with him to wait idly at the foot of the mountain nor cause their mothers to resign themselves to spinning yarn in the street:

[4.202] ur₂ hur-saŋ-ŋa₂-ka nam-ba-e-de₃-gub-bu-ne

    ur₂   hur-saŋ-ŋa₂-ka

    ur₂   hursaŋ=ak=a

    base   mountain=GEN=LOC

    nam-ba-e-de₃-gub-bu-ne

    na=ba=e=da=e=gub=ene

    MP_DEO.NEG.ADVIS=CP_MID=PRO2SG.HUM.IO=DI_CMT=?=to stand_M.SG=PRO3PL.AG

    "At the base of the mountain, they (i.e., the citizens who came with Gilgameš) shan't be made to stand around waiting for you"[462]

                                 COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
                                   COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 76
                                    MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_N_III33
                                   MUSEUM NUMBER: IM 58478

[4.203] ama ⸢ugu⸣-bi tilla₃ iri^ki-za-ka eš₂ nam-⸢bi₂⸣-ib-sar

    ama   ⸢ugu⸣-bi   tilla₃

    ama   ugu=ø=bi=(e)   tilla₃

    mother   to bear_H=AP=POSS.2SG.NHUM=(ERG)   street

    iri^ki-za-ka   eš₂

    iri=zu=ak=a   eš₂=ø

    city=POSS.2SG.HUM=GEN=LOC   yarn=ABS_DO

    nam-⸢bi₂⸣-ib-sar

    na=ba=*I=b=sar=(ene)

    MP_DEO.NEG.ADVIS=CP_MID=DI_LOC=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to hasten_M=(PRO3PL.AG)

    "Their (wr. its) mothers who bore them shan't be made to spin yarn in the streets of your city (as a result)."

                                   COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
                                     COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 77
                                   MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_N_III33
                                   MUSEUM NUMBER: IM 58478

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[462] Prototypically, gub is a plural class verb and one would expect su₈.g in cases such as this. As the SU₈-sign is a stacked grapheme (i.e., $\frac{gub}{gub}$), perhaps the scribe decided to only write gub once due to space considerations. On a different topic, it should be noted that all manuscripts record NAM-sign for deontic {na} for this line except a manuscript from Isin. Finally, the pronominal marking on this verb is problematic and requires remark. The verb clearly has the *marû* third plural agent marker {ene}. Grammatically, however, one would expect the third plural human subject suffix {eš}. The VR seems to have an /e/-vowel to its left given the spelling of the comitative DI {da} as …-de₃-…. Prototypically, this spelling should only occur under the influence of a following vowel. It seems possible here, however, that the vowel of the DI has been colored by the preceding indirect object pronoun since no functions of the pre-verbal {e} pronoun make sense here. Given these difficulties, {ene} has been glossed literally and a pre-verbal {e} has been assumed but uninterpreted.

These two examples are interesting in that Enkidug does not use a second person verbal form to advise Gilgameš directly (unlike En-hedu-ana to Inana in [4.201]). Rather, Enkidug uses middle forms with the CP {ba} to express what people should not be forced to do because of Gilgameš's inaction. Accordingly, these Negative Advisories could be paraphrased "it is inadvisable that they be made to do *X* (as a result of you doing *Y*)." In these examples, the association of the Advisory with weak obligation is readily apparent as the verbs express what agents might choose to do because of someone else's action, as opposed to being forced to by moral convention. Theoretically, the men could do a number of other activities instead of waiting expectantly and their mothers could choose not to spin yarn.

A final Negative Advisory in this composition occurs in an alternate line that only occurs in one manuscript from Kish (i.e., *GH.A*_K$_1$). This is a difficult form as it is unclear if this is an introduction to a theoretical direct speech outside of the narrative or the first actual words spoken by Huwawa to Gilgameš. It is taken here to be the former, and in this context the composition is heightening the narrative's drama by communicating to the audience what they ought not make Huwawa do should they have the misfortune of encountering him:

[4.204]   gu$_3$ mu-un-na-de$_2$-a inim nam-ma-suř-[suř]^{ud}

gu$_3$ mu-un-na-de$_2$-a
gu$_3$=ø   mu=na=(b)=de$_2$=e=a
voice=ABS$_{DO}$ CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to pour$_{M.CVR}$=PRO3SG.AG=SUBR

inim   nam-ma-suř-[suř]^{ud}
inim=ø   na=imma=(b)=suř:[suř]=(e)
word=ABS$_{DO}$ MP$_{DEO.NEG.ADVIS}$=CP$_{MID}$=(PRO3SG.HUM.DO)=to be long$_M$[^{x2}]=PRO3SG.AG

When he speaks to someone, he shan't be to made to speak at length:

The final example to be cited here comes from *The Farmer's Instructions*, which belongs

to the secondary corpus. In this bucolic composition, the process by which cereals are cultivated

is laid out. Given its didactic nature, it is unsurprising to find a Negative Advisory form within it:

[4.205] a-šag$_4$ kiŋ$_2$-zu ak na-an-na-ab-be$_2$
  a-šag$_4$ kiŋ$_2$-zu   ak
  ašag   kiŋ$_2$=zu=ø   ak
  field   work=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$ to do$_{H.BIVR}$

  na-an-na-ab-be$_2$
  na=na=b=e=e
  MP$_{DEO.NEG.ADVIS}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to say$_{M.SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

  One should not have to say: "Do your field work!"[463]

<div align="right">COMPOSITION: The Farmer's Instructions
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 37
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: FIs_N$_1$ (F)
MUSEUM NUMBER: Ni 2276 + Ni 4583 + UM 29-13-922</div>

Although the Advisories do not seem to be the most prevalent of modal notions in the Sumerian

textual record, they deserved mention in this chapter as they are crucial components of normal

verbal interaction.

4.8 PERMISSIVE ("YOU MAY GO")

The Permissive expresses that an addressee may do something without encoding any

sense of obligation to act.[464] Sumerian has no unique morpheme or construction for expressing

this function. Rather it is one of the many uses of the MP {he}. The Sumerian situation is

typologically unproblematic since permission is commonly expressed via a polysemous

morpheme or construction cross-linguistically. Tütatulabal (Uto-Aztecan) uses the affix {aha} to

express both deontic permission and epistemic speculation:

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[463] All manuscripts have the bare root imperative. For the score of this line, see: Miguel Civil, *The Farmer's Instruction: A Sumerian Agricultural Manual.* AuOrS 5. (Barcelona: Editorial AUSA, 1994), 213.
[464] Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 71-72.

[4.206] hatdaːw=aha=bi
to cross=PERM=SM

You may cross it.

[4.207] wiː=aha=dza
to run=SPEC=SM

It might run.[465]

The Tütatulabal situation provides a close parallel since Sumerian utilizes the MP {he} for the Permissive, which like {aha} is a polysemous affix in that it can code epistemic and deontic notions. This sort of polysemy is not unique to Tütatulabal and Sumerian, but a single typological citation seems sufficient to demonstrate that the Permissive can be coded with a polysemous morpheme.

The Permissive is not well attested in the principal corpus (or the broader Sumerian written record in general). In some ways this is unsurprising since most calls to potential action in the textual data occur between parties of significantly different rank (ex., gods and humans, kings and vassals, etc.). In these discourse environments, Sumerian utilizes Imperatives or Jussives in place of Permissives. Permissive forms, on the other hand, are most common between near equals and generally exude an air of politeness. Although Permissives are rare, a few examples will be cited here for the sake of thoroughness:

EXAMPLES ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[465] Ibid., 88.

[4.208] E-la-la-a / Lugal-ti-da-ra / [dumu]-zu dumu-ηu$_{10}$ ha-ba-tuku-tuku /
[in-n]a-d[ug$_4$-g]a

E-la-la-a	/	Lugal-ti-da-ra	/	[dumu]-zu
Elala=e	/	Lugaltida=ra	/	[dumu]=zu=(e)
PN$_\male$=ERG	/	PN$_\male$=DAT	/	[child]=POSS.2SG.HUM=(ERG)

dumu-ηu$_{10}$
dumu=ηu=ø
child=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

ha-ba-tuku-tuku   /
he=ba=(n)=tuku:tuku=(e)   /
MP$_{DEO.PERM}$=CP$_{MID}$=(PRO3SG.HUM.DO)=to get$_M$^{x2}=(PRO3SG.AG)   /

[in-n]a-d[ug$_4$-g]a
[i=n]a=(n)=d[ug$_4$]=ø=a
[CP$_{NEUT}$=D]I$_{DAT.3SG}$=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to s[ay]$_{H.SG}$=SUBR

That (although) Elala / sa[id] / to Lugaltida: / "Your [daughter] may marry my
son.", (…)

[4.209] mu lugal / Ur-$\unicode{273}$AR dumu-ηu$_{10}$ / Um-ma-sag$_9$-ga dumu Ur-^{d}Ba-U$_2$-ka-ke$_4$ /
ha-a-tuku bi$_2$-in-dug$_4$-ga

mu	lugal	/	Ur-$\unicode{273}$AR	dumu-ηu$_{10}$	/
mu	lugal=(ak)=ø	/	Ur-$\unicode{273}$AR	dumu=ηu	/
name	king=(GEN)=VOC	/	PN$_\male$	child=POSS.1SG.HUM	/

Um-ma-sag$_9$-ga	dumu	Ur-^{d}Ba-U$_2$-ka-ke$_4$	/
Ummasaga	dumu	Ur-BaU=ak=ak=e	/
PN$_\female$	child	PN$_\male$=GEN=GEN=ERG	/

ha-a-tuku
he=a=(n)=tuku=ø
MP$_{DEO.PERM}$=CP=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to get$_H$=ABS3SG.DO

bi$_2$-in-dug$_4$-ga
ba=*I=n=dug$_4$=ø=a
CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to say$_{H.SG}$=ABS3SG.DO=SUBR

"that he said 'By the name of the king! Concerning Ur-$\unicode{273}$AR, my son, Ummasaga,
the daughter of Ur-BaU, may marry him.'"

[4.210] lugal-ŋu₁₀ ŋa₂-a-ra ma-an-dug₄ / ᵈEn-ki-ke₄ ŋa₂-a-ra ma-an-tah / ᵈInana
Unugᵏⁱ-še₃ he₂-du za-e ma₂ an-na Eridugᵏⁱ-še₃ dib-ma-ab

lugal-ŋu₁₀	ŋa₂-a-ra
lugal=ŋu=(e)	ŋaʾe=ra
king=POSS.1SG.HUM=(ERG)	me=DAT

ma-an-dug₄	/ ᵈEn-ki-ke₄
mu=*A=n=dug₄=ø	/ Enki=ak=e
$CP_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=$DI_{DAT.1SG}$=$PRO_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to say$_{H.SG}$=$ABS_{3SG.DO}$	/ DN♂=GEN=ERG

ŋa₂-a-ra	ma-an-tah	/
ŋaʾe=ra	mu=*A=n=tah=ø	/
me=DAT	$CP_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=$DI_{DAT.1SG}$=$PRO_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to add$_{H}$=$ABS_{3SG.DO}$	/

ᵈInana	Unugᵏⁱ-še₃	he₂-du	za-e
Inana=ø	Unug=še	he=du=ø	zaʾe
DN♀=ABS_{SBJ}	GN=TERM	$MP_{DEO.PERM}$=to go$_{M.SG}$=$ABS_{3SG.SBJ}$	you

ma₂	an-na	Eridugᵏⁱ-še₃
ma₂	an=a(k)=ø	Eridug=še
boat	heaven=GEN=ABS_{DO}	GN=TERM

dib-ma-ab
dib=mu=*A=b
to go along$_{H}$=$CP_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=$DI_{DAT.1SG}$=$PRO_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$

"My lord has spoken to me; / Enki has said to me: / 'Inana may travel to Uruk;
you, (however), get the Boat of Heaven back to Eridug for me!'"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Inana and Enki*
LINE NUMBER: 51-53
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *In&Enk*_1
ARTIFACT IDENTIFIER: PBS V 25

</div>

Albeit limited in number, the above examples show how the MP {he} in its deontic capacity

includes the Permissive function within its notional inventory. The fact that {he} can code the

Permissive is to be expected as this function has much in common with the Jussive and Optative,

both of which are also coded by {he}. Like the Jussive, the Permissive has a directive nuance in

that the assignment of permission similarly entails that the addressee can act; it is unlike the

Jussive, however, in that it does not entail that speaker necessarily demands the addressee act. A

Permissive form, like an Optative one, can correspond to the desire of the speaker (i.e., that

which is (not) permitted is that which is (not) desired), but, unlike an Optative, this

correspondence is not entailed (i.e., it is completely possible for a speaker to have no investment in that which is permitted).

4.9 COHORTATIVE ("LET ME/US DO IT" OR "MAY I/WE GO")

Cohortatives are verbal forms through which a speaker expresses self-exhortation. By rule they only occur in the first person singular or plural because they refer to the future deontic actions of either the speaker or his/her group. In Sumerian, the Cohortative is marked with the MP {ga}. Although the Cohortative is a deontic notion, and thus refers to a present-future and incomplete state, it takes almost exclusively the *ḫamṭu* conjugation. The logic behind this co-occurrence tendency is the same as that underpinning the Imperative's attraction to the *ḫamṭu* (see: §4.4). As was the case with the Imperative's affiliation with the *ḫamṭu*, the scholar who has written on this phenomenon is Mamoru Yoshikawa. According to his view, the *ḫamṭu* form of the verb codes the perfective aspect, which can emphasize the completion of the associated predicate in certain clauses.[466] Yoshikawa has convincingly demonstrated that since notions coded with {ga} communicate first-person desires that the speaker wants immediately filled in an ideal world, they naturally co-occur with verbs in the *ḫamṭu* due to its ability to express the culmination of the act conveyed by the associated predicate.[467]

Unexpectedly, the Cohortative's verbal pronoun marking in the transitive takes *marû* patterning (i.e., the direct object comes immediately before the VR), and the agent is not cross-referenced pronominally in the singular but via the pronoun {enden} after the VR in the plural. This patterning, however, does not seem to be conditioned by the tense-aspect of the verb as alignment patterning usually is in Sumerian. Rather, since {ga}'s semantics naturally restrict the

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[466] Yoshikawa, "The Sumerian Verbal Aspect," 585.
[467] Ibid., 587.

agent/subject to the first person there is no need to have the actor expressed in the pronominal system on the verb. When present, the MP is the first affix one encounters when listening to or reading Sumerian. As a consequence, the first-person agent/subject coding is immediately communicated to the audience and thus omitted later in the pronominal marking.

As the root is in its *ḫamṭu* form, one would expect that direct object pronoun would occur after the VR. The shift in agent/subject coding to the MP, however, opens a spot of pronominal prominence (i.e., the slot immediately before the VR).[468] This line of argumentation assumes that {ga}-forms carry a great amount of functional weight on the left periphery of the verbal complex (i.e., all slots to the left of the VR). This makes sense as prototypically no morphemes should follow the VR in proper {ga}-forms (except for {enden} on plural forms). Within this left periphery, however, all positions are not equal with respect to information prominence. According to recent research into linguistic prominence phenomena, linguistic elements that carry the greatest amount of information weight (i.e., those that are prominent) tend to occur on the boundaries of their referential domain; as a result, they perform a delimitative function whereby information included within said domain is assigned differing amounts of cognitive attention depending on an element's position relative to the domain's boarders (i.e., "first and last elements in a series have a processing advantage over middle elements" – a fact that is often referred to as the "serial position effect").[469] In the case of {ga}-forms, this means that the MP and the VR are the most prominent elements, and as a result more focused attention is assigned

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[468] Given the lack of a spoken corpus for Sumerian as well as native speakers to assess phenomena within it, discussions of prominence are speculative. Nonetheless, an empirically viable account of linguistic prominence that matches the Sumerian {ga}-form evidence is offered here as a valid typological explanation of this curious marking scheme. For a discussion of linguistic prominence and the empirical methods utilized to study it across languages, see: Heather Kember, Jiyoun Choi, Jenny Yu, and Anne Cutler, "The Processing of Linguistic Prominence," *Language and Speech* 64(2) (2021), 413-436.

[469] Nikolaus P. Himmelmann and Beatrice Primus, "Prominence Beyond Prosody – A First Approximation," in *pS-prominenceS: Prominences in Linguistics. Proceedings of the International Conference*, ed. Amedeo de Dominicis. (Viterbo: DISUCOM Press, 2015), 44-45.

to the modal nuance of the verbal expression and the lexico-semantic referent of the VR. Secondarily, according to this attention ordering paradigm, the pronominal slot immediately to the left of the VR becomes a highly prominent locus for information coding and processing. This pronominal slot only carries this amount of prominence in {ga}-forms because their restriction to the first person allows for all the information to be coded to the left of the VR.

The only exception is plural {ga}-forms in which the pronoun {enden} is appended to the right of the VR. At first glance, this might seem to undermine this prominence-based theory of pronoun marking on {ga}-forms. This, however, is not the case. The fact that the plurality of the actor in {ga}-forms is expressed via the suffixation of {enden} to the VR seems to have been the only natural option. Specifically, since *ḫamṭu* first plural agents are expressed via the circumfix {e$^?$}=VR={enden} and first plural subjects by the suffix {enden} alone, there is no viable pre-verbal pronoun to motivate the patterning shifting back to the normative *ḫamṭu* type.[470]

Setting aside the motivations behind the unique character of pre-verbal pronoun marking on {ga}-forms, it is important to note that one consequence of it is that the occurrence of a direct object pronoun in this prominent position allows an addressee to expeditiously understand the valency of the verbal form before interpreting the lexico-semantics of the VR. The fact that this pronoun (or lack thereof) would have been processed cognitively first by the addressee is a natural consequence of the way elements are represented in Sumerian writing (i.e., left to right) and the way speech is transmitted (i.e., as a linear and transient phonological realization of

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[470] While the first plural agent circumfix does include the pre-verbal pronominal element {e$^?$}, it would be ineffective as a marker for the first plural agent in the preverbal slot in {ga}-forms as it would be formally identical to the first singular agent prefix (i.e., {e$^?$}), which a listener would already expect to be coded implicitly via {ga}. Accordingly, this {e$^?$} likely would have generated confusion or grammatical awkwardness. It seems as if simply suffixing {enden} (which codes first plural subjects in the *ḫamṭu* and *marû* as well as first plural agents exclusively in the *marû*) was the simplest method of grammatically marking the plurality of the actor without undermining the specialized pronominal patterning system.

meaningful elements in the form of sounds the order of which conform to a grammatical ruleset and conversational expectations).[471]

In certain discourse contexts, this information could prove highly consequential because it allows speaker and audience alike to know the culturally-bounded rules of engagement for the type of exhortation being expressed. Specifically, the presence of a direct object pronoun before the VR communicates that some object that is presumably in the discourse's established common ground is the specific object upon which the speaker wishes to act. The absence of such a pronoun expresses that the speaker does not plan on directly involving any object in his or her desired action. Importantly, this does not entail that an object in the common ground will necessarily be unaffected by the desired action. Rather, the absence of a direct object pronoun simply communicates that no established potential objects are under consideration for direct involvement with the expressed verbal action. This seemingly subtle information can allow an audience to quickly anticipate the designs of the speaker (good or bad) and prepare to respond in a fashion that drives the discourse in a direction most beneficial for his or herself. Unfortunately, Sumerian is often written in a highly abbreviated morpho-logographic fashion and the

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[471] This paragraph paints a simplistic picture of the way language is processed in the brain. Specifically, the brain does not perform serial information processing whereby it passively (albeit quickly) waits for the next input to determine the meaning of the entire utterance (be it a word, phrase, clause, sentence, etc.). If this were the case, speed would be one of the most important factors in information processing. Empirical neuro-linguistic research, however, has demonstrated that "[s]peed is not the most critical issue" concerning how language users receive and comprehend inputs; rather, experiments have shown that "[t]he frequency of neural firing usually does not exceed 200 Hz; compare that with modern personal computers with clock times around 2 GHz (i.e. ten million times faster)," which has led scientists to formulate the parallel distributed processing model of human cognition. This model asserts that what is most important is "the fact that the brain analyses many pieces of information at the same time." In sum, the remarkable language processing capacity of the human brain is a product of "its architecture and not in the number or the speed of its processing units." Even when further nuancing the way humans process linguistic inputs in a non-serial ordering, it is indisputable that at least aurally (i.e., setting aside the role of visual body language cues, etc.) information is transmitted and received in a linear string. Therefore, the shift of the direct object pronoun in {ga}-forms to an earlier position in such a linear string allows that valency information to enter parallel distributed processing earlier than it would have should the pronoun ordering have maintained typical ḫamṭu patterning. Geert-Jan Rutten, "Neo-connectionism, Neurodynamics and Large-Scale Networks," Chapter 7 in *The Broca-Wernicke Doctrine: A Historical and Clinical Perspective on Localization of Language Functions*. (Cham, CH: Springer, 2017), 200.

representation of pre-verbal pronouns is occasionally problematic.[472] This logic for the irregular pronominal marking on {ga}-forms also holds for the Promissive (§4.10).

Traditionally, Sumerian grammars have also included the Promissive function (i.e., the grammatical means by which the speaker commits his or herself to doing things) in their discussions of the Cohortative. This makes sense formally as both functions are coded with the MP {ga}. It is logical for these two functions to co-occur on one morpheme because they are both deontic and have the same tendencies regarding on their tense-aspect conjugation and pronominal marking. These two categories, however, are functionally distinct as Cohortatives express the speaker's entreaty or self-encouragement to perform a desired action whereas Promissives communicate the speaker's promise to act, which can have a calming or threatening effect depending on context. Determining which of these two similar functions is being expressed in an individual {ga}-form is a delicate process that relies on the scholar having a firm understanding of the communicative goals of the participants and the social expectations of the parties involved. These goals and expectations are often fluid and can change throughout the discourse as well as diachronically in the corporeal world as societies themselves evolve.

Having presented the function of the Cohortative and its normative formal features, examples will be cited and discussed to both validate and nuance these proposals. Clear Cohortatives that conform to these formal and functional expectations will be presented first. One environment replete with Cohortatives is in *Inana and Ebih*. At one point in the composition, the goddess Inana expresses to An, her father, that she wants permission to wage war against the mountain Ebih, who has slighted her:

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[472] This is especially the case for what many Sumerologists refer to as "Pre-Verbal {n}." Providing a full discussion of the many complications concerning Pre-Verbal {n} and other complicated pronominal marking matters on the verb would go well beyond the scope of this thesis. Rather, the reader is directed to the following article (already cited in full in LEIPZIG GLOSSING ABBREVIATIONS): Delnero, "Pre-verbal /n/," 105-143.

[4.211] ⌜An⌝ lugal mu-zu zag kalam-ma gu-gin₇ ga-bad

    ⌜An⌝   lugal   mu-zu

    An   lugal=ø   mu=zu=ø

    DN♂   king=VOC   name=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

    gu-gin₇   ga-bad

    gu=gin   ga=(b)=bad

    cord=EQU   MP$_{DEO.COHOR}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to thresh$_H$

    "Oh king An, let me thresh(?) your name throughout the land like a thread!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Inana and Ebih*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 81
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IEb*_N₁₇
MUSEUM NUMBER: A 30271 + A 30241

</div>

[4.212] An lugal mu-zu zag kalam-ma gu-gin₇ ga-an-ši-⌜bad⌝

    An   lugal   mu-zu   zag   kalam-ma

    An   lugal   mu=zu=ø   zag   kalam=a

    DN♂ king=VOC   name=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$ side   land=LOC

    gu-gin₇   ga-an-ši-⌜bad⌝

    gu=gin   ga=n=ši=(b)=bad

    cord=EQU   MP$_{DEO.COHOR}$=PRO3SG.HUM.IO=DI$_{TERM}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to thresh$_H$

    "Oh king An, let me thresh(?) your name throughout the land like a thread!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Inana and Ebih*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 81
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IEb* N₁₈
MUSEUM NUMBER: A 30294

</div>

[4.213] diŋir-re-e-ne ga-ne-dirig

    diŋir-re-e-ne   ga-ne-dirig

    diŋir=ene=(ra)   ga=ene=dirig

    god=PL.HUM=(DAT)   MP$_{DEO.COHOR}$=DI$_{DAT.3PL}$=to exceed$_H$

    "Let me surpass the other deities!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Inana and Ebih*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 86
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IEb* N₁₇
MUSEUM NUMBER: A 30271 + A 30241

</div>

[4.214] [ᵈInana-me]-en ᵈA-nun-na-ke₄-e-ne / igi-še₃ ga-ne-ŋen

[ᵈInana-me]-en	ᵈA-nun-na-ke₄-e-ne
[Inana=me]:en	Anuna=ak=ene=(ra)
[DN♀=COP].2SG	DNs=GEN=PL.HUM=(DAT)

igi-še₃	ga-ne-ŋen
igi=še	ga=ene=ŋen
eye=TERM	MP_DEO.COHOR=DI_DAT.3PL=to go_H.SG

"I [am Inana], let me survey(?) the Anuna gods!"[473]

[4.215] hur-saŋ zig₃ šu-ŋu₁₀-uš ga-am₃-mi-ib₂-si / ni₂-ŋu₁₀ ga-am₃-mi-ib₂-zuǃ(SU)

hur-saŋ	zig₃	šu-ŋu₁₀-uš
hursaŋ	zig₃=ø	šu=ŋu=š(e)
mountain range	to raise_H=AP+ABS_DO	hand=POSS.1SG.HUM=TERM

ga-am₃-mi-ib₂-si	/
ga=imma=*I=b=sig	/
MP_DEO.COHOR=CP_MID=DI_LOC=PRO_3SG.NHUM.DO=to fill_H	/

ni₂-ŋu₁₀	ga-am₃-mi-ib₂-zuǃ(SU)
ni₂=ŋu=ø	ga=imma=*I=b=zu
fear=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS_DO	MP_DEO.COHOR=CP_MID=DI_LOC=PRO_3SG.NHUM.DO=to know_H

"Let me fill my hand with the soaring mountain range! / Let me make it learn fear of me!"

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[473] This line has proven difficult to translate for many scholars (present author included). None, however, debate the modal semantics of the line.

[4.216] ⌜a₂⌝ mah-bi-še₃ gu₄ mah ga-ba-ši-⌜ib₂⌝-⌜gub⌝

    ⌜a₂⌝   mah-bi-še₃   gu₄

    a₂   mah=bi=še   gu₄

    side   magnificent=POSS.3SG.NHUM=TERM   battering ram

    mah   ga-ba-ši-⌜ib₂⌝-⌜gub⌝

    mah=ø   ga=ba=ši=b=gub

    magnificent=ABSDO   MPDEO.COHOR=CPMID=DITERM=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to stand*H.SG*

    "Against its magnificent sides let me place magnificent battering rams!"

<div align="right">COMPOSITION: Inana and Ebih
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 95
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: IEb N₁₆
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 13977 + CBS 15146 + N 4165 + N 7233 + N 5131</div>

[4.217] a₂ tur-bi gu₄ tur ga-ba-⌜ši⌝-gub

    a₂   tur-bi   gu₄

    a₂   tur=bi=(e)   gu₄

    side   small=POSS.3SG.NHUM=(LOCTR)   battering ram

    tur   ga-ba-⌜ši⌝-gub

    tur=ø   ga=ba=ši=(b)=gub

    small=ABSDO   MPDEO.COHOR=CPMID=DITERM=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to stand*H.SG*

    "Against its small sides let me place small battering rams!"

<div align="right">COMPOSITION: Inana and Ebih
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 96
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: IEb N₁
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 7206 + Ni 2711</div>

[4.218] [hub₂] ⌜ga⌝-⌜mu⌝-⌜un?⌝-⌜sar⌝ KI.[E.NE.DI.ᵈ]INANA kug ga-mu-ni-[ib?]-⌜sa₂?⌝

    [hub₂]   ⌜ga⌝-⌜mu⌝-⌜un?⌝-⌜sar⌝

    [hub₂]=ø   ga=mu=b(!)=sar

    [foot]=ABSDO   MPDEO.COHOR=CPTR.ACT=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to hasten*H.CVR*

    KI.[E.NE.DI.ᵈ]INANA   kug

    eš[eme]n₂   kug=ø

    (ro[pe?] ga]me   to be holy=AP+ABSDO

    ga-mu-ni-[ib]-⌜sa₂?⌝

    ga=mu=ni=[b]=sa₂

    MPDEO.COHOR=CPTR.ACT=[PRO3SG.NHUM.DO]=to compete*H*

    "Let me [storm(?)] it and let me start(?) the holy 'g[am]e' of Inana!"

<div align="right">COMPOSITION: Inana and Ebih
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 97
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: IEb N₁
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 7206 + Ni 2711</div>

[4.219] [hur-saŋ-ŋa₂] ⌈me₃⌉ ga-laḫ₅ šen-šen ga-ba-sa₂-sa₂

[hur-saŋ-ŋa₂]   ⌈me₃⌉
[hursaŋ=a]   me₃=ø
[mountain range=LOC]   battle=ABS$_{DO}$

ga-gub-gub   šen-šen
ga=(b)=gub:gub   šen:šen=ø
MP$_{DEO.COHOR}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to stand$_{H.SG}$^{x2} combat^{x2}=ABS$_{DO}$

ga-ba-sa₂-sa₂
ga=ba=(b)=sa₂:sa₂
MP$_{DEO.COHOR}$=CP$_{MID}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to compete$_{H}$^{x2}

"[In the mountain range,] let me set up battle and let me prepare conflicts!"

COMPOSITION: *Inana and Ebih*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 98
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IEb* N$_{I7}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: A 30271 + A 30241

[4.220] ⌈ti⌉ ⌈mar⌉-uru₅-a si ga-ba-ab-sa₂

⌈ti⌉   ⌈mar⌉-uru₅-a   si
ti=(e)   emarru=a   si=ø
arrow=(LOCTR)   quiver=LOC   horn=ABS$_{DO}$

ga-ba-ab-sa₂
ga=ba=b=sa₂
MP$_{DEO.COHOR}$=CP$_{MID}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to equal$_{H.CVR}$

"Let me prepare arrows in the quiver!"

COMPOSITION: *Inana and Ebih*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 99
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IEb* N$_{P1}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 7206 + Ni 2711

[4.221] ⌈a₂⌉-⌈sig₃⌉ ebih₂-[gin₇] ⌈ga⌉-ba-ab-sur-⌈sur⌉

⌈a₂⌉-⌈sig₃⌉   ebih₂-[gin₇]
asig=ø   ebih₂=[gin]
slingstone=ABS$_{DO}$ heavy rope=[EQU]

⌈ga⌉-ba-ab-sur-⌈sur⌉
ga=ba=b=sur:sur
MP$_{DEO.COHOR}$=CP$_{MID}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to drip$_{H}$^{x2}

"Let me droop slingstones (at the ready) [like] (one does) with a heavy rope (sling$^?$)!"

COMPOSITION: *Inana and Ebih*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 100
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IEb* N$_{P1}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 7206 + Ni 2711

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[4.222] [^{ŋiš}gid$_2$-da niŋ$_2$]-su-ub ga-am$_3$-ma-ab-ak
        [^{ŋiš}gid$_2$-da   niŋ$_2$]-su-ub
        [gida   niŋ$_2$]=sub=ø
        [lance   ABSTR]=to rub$_M$=AP+ABS$_{DO}$

        ga-am$_3$-ma-ab-ak
        ga=imma=b=ak
        MP$_{DEO.COHOR}$=CP$_{MID}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to do$_H$

        "Let me begin the [lance] polishing!"

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: Inana and Ebih
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 101
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: IEb N$_{I3}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: A 32077 (+) CBS 10229
</div>

[4.223] $^{⌈ŋiš⌉}$ilar $^{⌈ŋiš⌉}$tukul-ke$_4$ si ga-na-ab-sa$_2$-[sa$_2$]
        $^{⌈ŋiš⌉}$ilar $^{⌈ŋiš⌉}$tukul-ke$_4$ si
        ilar   tukul=ak=e   si=ø
        throw-stick   weapon=GEN=LOCTR   horn=ABS$_{DO}$

        ga-na-ab-sa$_2$-[sa$_2$]
        ga=ba(!)=b=sa$_2$:[sa$_2$]
        MP$_{DEO.COHOR}$=CP$_{MID}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to equ[al$_H$^{x2}]

        "Let me pre[pare] the throw-stick (and) the weapon!"[474]

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: Inana and Ebih
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 102
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: IEb N$_{P1}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 7206 + Ni 2711
</div>

[4.224] [^{ŋiš}ilar ^{ŋiš}tukul]-$^{⌈}$ke$_4$$^{⌉}$ si ga-am$_3$-ma-ab-sa$_2$-sa$_2$
        [^{ŋiš}ilar ^{ŋiš}tukul]-$^{⌈}$ke$_4$$^{⌉}$ si
        [ilar   tukul]=ak=e   si=ø
        [throw-stick   weapon]=GEN=LOCTR$_{SOCV}$ horn=ABS$_{DO}$

        ga-am$_3$-ma-ab-sa$_2$-sa$_2$
        ga=imma=b=sa$_2$:sa$_2$
        MP$_{DEO.COHOR}$=CP$_{MID}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to equal$_{H.CVR}$^{x2}

        "Let me prepare the [throw-stick (and) the weapon]!"

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: Inana and Ebih
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 102
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: IEb_N$_{I3}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: A 32077 (+) CBS 10229
</div>

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[474] The NA-sign is written for the CP {ba} following {ga} in this composition in a variety of manuscripts and at different locations in the story (the only other manuscript cited here where this phenomenon occurs is *IEb*_N$_{III1}$ in [4.253]). In these contexts, the NA-sign cannot logically stand for the third singular dative DI {na}, and other manuscripts clearly have {ba} written with the BA-sign. This orthographic oddity does not affect the modal analysis of the examples, but it warranted note here nonetheless in an effort to avoid potential confusion.

[4.225] ᵑⁱˢ̌tir ⌈us₂⌉-⌈sa⌉-bi ⌈izi⌉ ga-am₃-⌈sig₃ᵗ⌉

ᵑⁱˢ̌tir	⌈us₂⌉-⌈sa⌉-bi	⌈izi⌉
tir	us₂=a=bi=(e)	izi=ø
forest	to lean on$_H$=PP=POSS.3SG.NHUM=(LOCTR)	fire=ABS$_{DO}$

ga-am₃-⌈sig₃ᵗ⌉
ga=b=sig₃
MP$_{DEO.COHOR}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to burn$_H$

"Let me set fire to its thick forests!"

[4.226] [hul-du-bi-še₃] ⌈urudu⌉ha-zi-in ga-ba-ši-gub

[hul-du-bi-še₃]	⌈urudu⌉ha-zi-in
[huldu=bi=še]	hazin=ø
[evil-doing=POSS.3SG.NHUM=TERM]	ax=ABS$_{DO}$

ga-ba-ši-gub
ga=ba=ši=(b)=gub
MP$_{DEO.COHOR}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{TERM}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to stand$_{H.SG}$

"Let me take an ax [to its evil-doing]!"

[4.227] [a-niŋin₂-ba ᵈGirra] lu₂ sikil kiŋ₂ ga-am₃-ma-an-du₃-du₃

[a-niŋin₂-ba	ᵈGirra]	lu₂
[aniŋin=bi=a	Girra]	lu₂
[water reservoir=POSS.3SG.NHUM=LOC	DN$_♂$]	individual

sikil	kiŋ₂
sikil=ø	kiŋ₂=ø
to be pure$_H$=AP+ABS$_{DO}$	work=ABS$_{DO}$

ga-am₃-ma-an-du₃-du₃
ga=imma=n=du₃:du₃
MP$_{DEO.COHOR}$=CP$_{MID}$=PRO3SG.HUM.DO=to build$_H$^{x2}

"Let me make [Girra], the purifier, perform all his labor [at its watercourses/reservoirs]!"

These Cohortative {ga}-forms are to be differentiated from the Promissive {ga}-forms that occur earlier in the composition (for which, see: §4.10). These Promissives played the role of outlining Inana's intentions in her opening speech.

Another composition that has Cohortatives mirroring Permissives (or vice versa) is *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*. Early in the composition, Gilgameš tells his partner Enkidug what he plans to do, but later he seeks divine approval by imploring Utu to support him in his pursuit:[475]

[4.228]   kur-ra ga-am₃-kur₉ mu-ŋu₁₀ ga-ŋar

kur-ra   ga-am₃-kur₉
kur=a   ga=im=kur₉
mountain=LOC   MP$_{DEO.COHOR}$=CP$_{VEN}$=to enter$_H$

mu-ŋu₁₀   ga-ŋar
mu=ŋu=ø   ga=(b)=ŋar
name=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$ MP$_{DEO.COHOR}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to put$_H$

"Let me go to the mountain! Let me establish my name!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 31
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_N$_{I1}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-16-84 (+) Ni 9904 (+) N 1321 + N 1570

</div>

[4.229]   ki mu gub-bu-ba mu-ŋu₁₀ ga-⌜bi₂⌝-ib-gub

ki   mu   gub-bu-ba   mu-ŋu₁₀
ki   mu   gub=e(d)=ø=bi=a   mu=ŋu=ø
place name   to stand$_{H.SG}$=OBLG=AP=DEM=LOC   name=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

ga-⌜bi₂⌝-ib-gub
ga=ba=*I=b=gub
MP$_{DEO.COHOR}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to stand$_{H.SG}$

"In the place where names ought be set up, let me set up my name there!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 32
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_N$_{I1}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-16-84 (+) Ni 9904 (+) N 1321 + N 1570

</div>

<div align="center">

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[475] For the parallel Promissive {ga}-forms, see: §4.10, [4.259]-[4.260].

ki mu nu-gub-bu-ba mu diŋir-re-e-ne ga-bi₂-ib-gub

ki	mu	nu-gub-bu-ba		mu
ki	mu	nu=gub=e(d)=ø=bi=a		mu
place	name	NEG=to stand_H.SG=OBLG=AP=DEM=LOC		name

diŋir-re-e-ne	ga-bi₂-ib-gub
diŋir=ene=(ak)=ø	ga=ba=*I=b=gub
god=PL.HUM=(GEN)=ABS_DO	MP_DEO.COHOR=CP_MID=DI_LOC=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to stand_H.SG

"In this place where names ought not be set up, let me set up the names of the gods!"

In these examples, the intent is clearly exhortation whereas in the earlier parallel Promissives the purpose was to communicate planned actions. Thus far only prototypical Cohortatives that are marked with the MP {ga} have been presented. There are, however, a few circumstances in which the Cohortative is seemingly coded with the MP {he} in the form of its [ha] allomorph.

4.9.1   [HA]-FORM COHORTATIVES

On rare occasions, one finds modal forms with what appears to be the [ha] allomorph of the MP {he} that are clearly expressions of self-exhortation. As has been outlined in the preceding pages, a prototypical Cohortative is marked with {ga}, which is what one finds in the vast majority of forms. Accordingly, these [ha]-forms require comment. In general, [ha]-Cohortatives are only attested in functional documents such as the *ditila*s. The principal corpus contains the following three examples:

EXAMPLES ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[4.231] [u$_3$ ŋ]a$_2$-e še-ba siki-ba ha-dab$_5$ in-na-dug$_4$

[u$_3$	ŋ]a$_2$-e	še-ba	siki-ba
[u$_3$	ŋ]aʾe	šeba	sikiba=ø
[and]	I	barley ration	wool ration=ABS$_{DO}$

ha-dab$_5$
he=(e$^?$)=dab$_5$=ø
MP$_{DEO.COHOR}$=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)=to seize$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

in-na-dug$_4$
i=na=(n)=dug$_4$=ø
CP$_{NEUT}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=(PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$)=to say$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

"[and] let me have the barley and wool ration!" he said to him.

[4.232] Nin$_9$-ab-ba-na dumu Ur-ŊAR / ha-a-tuku bi$_2$-in-dug$_4$-ga

Nin$_9$-ab-ba-na	dumu	Ur-ŊAR	/
Nin-abbana	dumu	Ur-ŊAR=(ak)=ø	/
PN♀	child	PN♂=(GEN)=ABS$_{DO}$	/

ha-a-tuku
he=*A=(e$^?$)=tuku=ø
MP$_{DEO.COHOR}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)=to get$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

bi$_2$-in-dug$_4$-ga
ba=*I=n=dug$_4$=ø=a
CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to say$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=SUBR

"that he said "Nin-abbana, the daughter of Ur-ŊAR, / let me marry her unto myself!""

[4.233] sam₂ ᴵNa-˹na˺ ˹kug˺ ˹x˺-˹ŋa₂˺-ta ha-ab-ta-e₃ bi₂-in-dug₄-ga

sam₂	ᴵNa-˹na˺	˹kug˺	˹x˺-˹ŋa₂˺-ta
sam₂	Nana=(ak)=ø	kug	x=ŋu=a(k)=ta
purchase price	PN♀=(GEN)=ABS_DO	silver	?=POSS.1SG.HUM=GEN=INST

ha-ab-ta-e₃
he=b=ta=(e$^?$)=e₃=ø
MP_DEO.COHOR=PRO3SG.NHUM.IO=DI_INST=(PRO1SG.AG)=to leave_Ḥ=ABS3SG.DO

bi₂-in-dug₄-ga
ba=*I=n=dug₄=ø=a
CP_MID=DI_LOC=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to say_Ḥ.SG=ABS3SG.DO=SUBR

(That Lu-Ninšubur swore: "By the oath of the king!") / "Let me issue (as payment) the purchase price for Nana with the silver of my *X*!," has declared.

COMPOSITION: *NSGU.II.197*
LINE NUMBER: 35′
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *dit.197*
ARTIFACT IDENTIFIER: AO 3738

Given the discourse contexts and the number of the agents, these forms are indisputably Cohortatives. Why they occur with the [ha] allomorph of {he} and not {ga}, however, is open to debate. Nonetheless, a plausible answer as to why this variation occurs is given below. Firstly, as has been noted in the phonological discussion of these MPs ({he} in §3.3 and {ga} in §4.3), both forms receive the same phonetic realization and transcription in *emesal* (i.e., [da], [de], [du] which are written da-…, de₃-…, du₅-…, respectively). Thomsen remarks that this correlation in *emesal* might reflect that these MPs are phonetically rather similar.[476] Another phonological clue linking {ga} and {he} has been put forth by J.J.A. van Dijk. Specifically, van Dijk argues that the phonetic realization of the lexeme written he₂-du₇ "architrave" was probably pronounced [hindu] since it was loaned into Akkadian as *ḫittu* (i.e., [nt] > [tt] sometimes when loaning into Akkadian).[477] Based on this connection, he proposed that the he₂-… and gan-… readings of the

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[476] Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language*, 200.
[477] J.J.A. van Dijk, "VAT 8382: ein zweisprachinges Königsritual," *HSAO* I (1967), 256f. This connection has been explored more recently by both Miguel Civil and Pascal Attinger. Civil argues in favor of Thomsen and van Dijk's position by citing lines 3-4 of MS 4147 (a manuscript of the thematic list *ur₅-ra : ḫubullu*): [obv.] (3) ᵑᵉˢga-du₇ ka₂ / (4) ᵑᵉˢhe₂-du₇ ka₂; Civil asserts that this "pair of entries intended to show that /ga(n)du/ and /ḫedu/ (> Akk. *ḫittu*) are most likely alternative readings, or spellings, both acceptable." Miguel Civil, *The Lexical Texts in the*

HE$_2$-sign might indicate that the MPs shared a paradigm and were differentiated via ablaut as well as the grammatical number of their subject/agent referents. Thomsen and van Dijk's proposals are well-reasoned, seem valid, and are not dismissed here. As with most matters of Sumerian phonology, however, these proposals cannot be affirmed with absolute certainty.

Taking their observations as a starting point, the remainder of this subsection will add one speculative layer to this explanation of the [ha]-Cohortative phenomenon that puts the phonological data in conversation with the distribution of the forms in their written contexts. The fact that these forms are limited to functional documents (to the best of the author's knowledge) might be the key to understanding these forms. If functional documents reflect spoken Sumerian better than the institutionalized or literary language of the academy and court, then it is possible that a number-based opposition between the [ha]-form of {he} and {ga} had begun to collapse among certain speakers, perhaps due to the distinction between /h/ and /g/ obscuring to the point of becoming indistinguishable.[478] If the phonological difference between these MPs had indeed become imperceptible to some speakers, then it is possible that the functional expansion of {he} in its [ha]-form to mark all persons was an instance of paradigm simplification.[479] It must be

Schøyen Collection. CUSAS 12. (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2010), 93. Attinger seems less convinced than Civil, arguing that the resultant Akkadian word should have a long /u/ as a byproduct of vocalic contraction (i.e., *ḫittû*); because of this, he cites the lemma in his Sumerian-French lexicon as "gan-du$_7$, he$_2$-du$_7$" and provides a footnote (specifically fn. 956) outlining his uncertainty. Pascal Attinger, *Glossaire sumérien-français: principalement des textes littéraires paléobabyloniens.* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2021), s.v. "gan$_2$-du$_7$, he$_2$-du$_7$ s. «linteau»," 380.

[478] One could also argue that these [ha]-"errors" in functional documents attest to a deficiency in schooling among the scribes of the private sector (as compared to those of the administration). This has been proposed as the reason the "quality of language is generally rather low" in the Sumerian sale documents and private legal texts from Nippur dating to the Ur III period. Piotr Steinkeller, *Sale Documents of the Ur-III-Period.* FAOS 17. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1989), 6.

[479] The notions of functional expansion and paradigm simplification warrant elaboration. "Expansion has the effect of extending the function of a linguistic unit to other contexts, categories or syntactic slots." Heine and Reh, *Grammaticalization and Reanalysis in African Languages*, 39. Simplification, on the other hand, refers "to the development of regularities for formerly irregular aspects of grammar, (and) [i]t has the effect of extending the range of contexts to which rules are applied." Ibid., 41. The main similarity between the two concepts (as well as their principal difference) can be explained thusly: "Simplification and Expansion may be considered as different aspects of one and the same process: both have to do with analogical form, and both relate to the extension of a linguistic unit to contexts where it has not been previously used. […] Typically, Simplification involves the replacement of one linguistic unit by another, while this is not necessarily the case with Expansion." Ibid.

stressed again, however, that this proposal is extremely speculative and difficult (if not

impossible) to prove. As such, it should be taken merely as a suggestion and with grain of salt.

4.10   PROMISSIVE ("I SHALL GO")

Another deontic modal function that is coded with the MP {ga} is the Promissive.

Promissives (or as Palmer also refers to them, Commissives) are forms in which first persons

commit themselves to do things.[480] These forms usually serve the function of promising or

threating to take action (frequently translated in English via "shall"). As has been stated, it is

unproblematic for these two functions to be subsumed under the same MP for the following

reasons: (1) both are deontic, and (2) both require that the agent/subject be in the first person

(singular or plural). Importantly, typological evidence indicates that it is most common for a

language to code the Promissive as only one function of a polysemous morpheme.[481] Palmer

(citing Donaldson) provides the following example from Ngiyambaa (Pama-Nyungan,

Wiradhuric), which uses the same irrealis marker to convey the epistemic Speculative and

Assumptive as well as the deontic Promissive:[482]

[4.234]   yuruŋu   ŋidja=l=aga
          rain:ERG   to rain=CM=IRR

          It might/will rain.

[4.235]   waŋa:y=ndu=gal   dhagurma=gu   yana=y=aga
          NEG=2NOM=PL   cemetery=DAT   to go=CM=IRR

          You shall none of you go to the cemetery.

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[480] Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 72.
[481] Ibid., 73.
[482] Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 73; Donaldson, *Ngiyambaa: The Language of the Wangaaybuwan*, 160.

Interestingly, the Promissive is better represented in the primary corpus than the potentially more familiar Cohortative. This does not mean that it was a more productive function of {ga} in spoken Sumerian. Rather, it conveys how these texts primarily record the direct speech of powerful individuals who need not plead for permission to act but merely assert their commitment to act. This distribution of {ga}'s functions seems to be characteristic of the broader Sumerian textual corpus as well. If Sumerian had a more robust body of epistolary correspondences (similar to the Old Assyrian *kārum* Kaneš letters (ca. 1895-1865 BCE) or the predominantly Akkadian Amarna correspondence texts (ca. 1365-1335 BCE)), then the distribution might equalize or skew in the other direction due to the increase in first-person speech from an inferior to a superior.[483]

As was discussed in §4.9, the Cohortative and Promissive functions of {ga} can only be discerned via discourse context. The clearest environment one finds the Promissive in the texts under consideration is either right before a speaker (usually a powerful one) exclaims his or her intention to speak, after which the direct speech immediately occurs, or at the beginning of said speech where it serves as a sort of preamble to the speech act:

<center>EXAMPLES ON FOLLOWING PAGE</center>

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[483] This is purely logical speculation. A proper cataloging of forms in these two Akkadian corpora is far outside the time available to the author at present.

[4.236] ga-na ga-na-ab-dug$_4$ ga-na ga-na-ab-dug$_4$ / inim-ba ha-mu-da-gub

ga-na	ga-na-ab-dug$_4$	ga-na
gana	ga=na=b=dug$_4$	gana
EXCLM	MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to say$_{H.SG}$	EXCLM

ga-na-ab-dug$_4$	/	inim-ba
ga=na=b=dug$_4$	/	inim=bi=a
MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to say$_{H.SG}$	/	matter=DEM=LOC

ha-mu-da-gub
he=mu=da=gub=ø
MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=CP$_{ACT}$=DI$_{CMT}$=to stand$_{M.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

"Well, well, I shall tell her; / in that matter, may she stand with me!"

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: Gudea Cylinder A
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 24-25
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: G.Cyl.A
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1512
</div>

[4.237] ki-sikil [^{d}]Inana me-teš$_2$-e ga-i-i

ki-sikil	[^{d}]Inana	me-teš$_2$-e
kisikil	Inana	meteš=e
maiden	DN♀	praise=LOCTR$_{DO}$

ga-i-i
ga=(b)=i:i
MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to leave$_{H.CVR}$^{x2}

"I shall praise maiden Inana: '…'"[484]

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: Inana and Ebih
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 23
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: IEb N$_{I7}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: A 30271 + A 30241
</div>

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[484] The verb in this line is the CV meteš–iʾi "to praise." For whatever reason the scribe declined the head noun of the CV in the locative-terminative instead of the absolutive. To represent this peculiarity the {e}-morpheme was glossed LOCTR$_{DO}$. See: LEIPZIG GLOSSING ABBREVIATIONS.

[4.238]   ᵈUtu inim ga-ra-ab-dug₄ inim-ŋu₁₀-še₃ ŋeštug₂-zu

ᵈUtu	inim	ga-ra-ab-dug₄
Utu=ø	inim=ø	ga=ra=b=dug₄
DN♂=VOC	word=ABS_DO	MP_DEO.PROM=DI_DAT.2SG=PRO_3SG.NHUM.DO=to say_Ḫ.SG

inim-ŋu₁₀-še₃	ŋeštug₂-zu
inim=ŋu=še	ŋeštug₂=zu=ø
word=POSS.1SG.HUM=TERM	ear=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS_DO

"Oh Utu, I shall speak a word to you; (put) your ear to my word"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 21
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_X₁
MUSEUM NUMBER: YBC 9857

</div>

[4.239]   sa₂ ga-ra-ab-dug₄ ŋizzalₓ he₂-em-ši-ak

sa₂	ga-ra-ab-dug₄
sa₂=ø	ga=ra=b=dug₄
advice=ABS_DO	MP_DEO.PROM=DI_DAT.2SG=PRO_3SG.NHUM.DO=to say_Ḫ.SG

ŋizzalₓ	he₂-em-ši-ak
ŋizzalₓ=ø	he=b=ši=e=ak=ø
ear=ABS_DO	MP_DEO.OPT=PRO_3SG.NHUM.IO=DI_TERM=PRO_2SG.HUM.AG=to do_Ḫ=ABS_3SG.DO

"I shall speak some advice to you, may you put (your) ear towards the matter!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 22
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A* X₁
MUSEUM NUMBER: YBC 9857

</div>

[4.240]   ᵈUtu-ra inim ga-mu-ra-ab-⌜dug₄⌝

ᵈUtu-ra	inim
Utu=ra	inim=ø
DN♂=DAT	word=ABS_DO

ga-mu-ra-ab-⌜dug₄⌝
ga=mu=ra=b=dug₄
MP_DEO.PROM=CP_TR.ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.2SG=PRO_3SG.NHUM.DO=to say_Ḫ.SG

"To Utu, I shall speak a word to him:"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 147
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A* N_III22
MUSEUM NUMBER: N 2923 + N 3138 + N 1870 + N 2422

</div>

For *Gilgameš and Huwawa A* composite line 147 (referenced above in [4.240] as it appears in manuscript *GH.A*_N_III22), there is a remarkable variant of the Promissive form. In manuscript *GH.A*_Ur₃, the Promissive verb provides unique insight into the ancients' difficulty

with these forms as Sumerian underwent a prolonged and uneven processes of obsolescence. Specifically, [4.241] below shows how at least this scribe was uncomfortable with either the atypical pronoun patterning on {ga}-forms (i.e., *marû* pronoun patterning on a *ḫamṭu* VR) or the perceived semantic mismatch between the *ḫamṭu* conjugation and the deontic semantics of {ga}. Whatever the reason, the scribe of manuscript *GH.A*_Ur₃ generated a Promissive {ga}-form that has the *marû* form of the VR with *marû* pronoun patterning:

[4.241] ᵈUtu inim ga-mu-ra-ab-˹be₂?˺

ᵈUtu	inim
Utu=(ra)	inim=ø
DN♂=(DAT)	word=ABS_DO

ga-mu-ra-ab-˹be₂?˺
ga=mu=ra=b=e
MP_DEO.PROM=CP_TR.ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.2SG=PRO_3SG.NHUM.DO=to say_M.SG

"To Utu, I shall speak a word to him:"

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 147
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_Ur₃
ARTIFACT IDENTIFIER: UET 6/1 50+51+53 + UET 6/3 *86 + *154 + *400

In [4.236]-[4.241], the {ga}-forms are indisputable Promissives since the speaker immediately pronounces the praise afterwards. The most appropriate interpretation in such a context is that the {ga}-statement is an immediately fulfilled promise rather than a rhetorical request for permission.

The preceding examples were taken from multiple compositions, but it is also common to find numerous Promissives in a single composition through which a speaker asserts (and often reasserts) his or her intentions.[485] A set of clear Promissives is attested in *The Exaltation of*

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[485] The presence of numerous and often redundant Promissives in a single composition is to be expected as repetition is a hallmark of Sumerian literature. For one discussion of the various types of repetition in Sumerian literature, see: Herman L. J. Vanstiphout, "Repetition and Structure in the Aratta Cycle: Their Relevance for the Orality Debate," in *Mesopotamian Epic Literature: Oral or Aural?*, eds. Marianna E. Vogelzang and Herman L. J. Vanstiphout. (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), 247-264.

Inana. The first two forms occur when En-hedu-ana concludes the recitation of a prayer to a goddess (contextually understood to be Inana). In these instances, En-hedu-ana is committing herself to continue exalting the goddess with prayer as she has just done in the lines prior:

[4.242] zi-ŋal₂ uŋ₃ lu-a šir₃ kug-zu ga-am₃-dug₄

zi-ŋal₂	uŋ₃	lu-a	šir₃
ziŋal	uŋ₃	lu=a=a(k)=ø	šir₃
life force	populace	to be abundant$_H$=PP=GEN=VOC	song

kug-zu	ga-am₃-dug₄
kug=zu=ø	ga=b=dug₄
holy=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to say$_{H.SG}$

"Oh life force of the teeming populace – I shall recite your holy song!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Exaltation of Inana*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 63
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *ExIn* N₁₁
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-15-422 + CBS 7847

</div>

[4.243] šag₄ suř-ra₂ munus zid dadag-ga me zid ga-mu-ra-ab-⌜dug₄⌝

šag₄	suř-ra₂	munus	zid
šag₄	suř=a	munus	zid
heart	to be long$_H$=PP	woman	true

dadag-ga	me	zid
dadag=a=ø	me	zid=ø
to be radiant$_{H(?)}$=PP=VOC	*me*	true=ABS$_{DO}$

ga-mu-un-na-ab-⌜dug₄⌝
ga=mu=na=b=dug₄
MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to say$_{H.SG}$

"Oh deep-hearted, true, radiant, woman – I shall enumerate the true *me*s for her!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Exaltation of Inana*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 65
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *ExIn* N₁₁
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-15-422 + CBS 7847

</div>

Once the prayer is concluded, En-hedu-ana formally introduces herself, explains her perilous situation to an audience of divinities, and commits herself to various actions that she promises to do in hopes of currying divine favor:

<div align="center">

EXAMPLES ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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</div>

[4.244]   En-he₂-du₇-an-na-me-en a-ra-zu ga-mu-ra-ab-dug₄
En-he₂-du₇-an-na-me-en   a-ra-zu
En-hedu-ana=me:en   arazu=ø
PN♀=COP.2SG   prayer=ABS_DO

ga-mu-ra-ab-dug₄
ga=mu=ra=b=dug₄
MP_DEO.PROM=CP_TR.ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.2SG=PRO_3SG.NHUM.DO=to say_Ḫ.SG

"I am En-hedu-ana. I shall recite a prayer for you."

[4.245]   kug ᵈInana-ra šu ga-mu-un-re-bar silim-ma ga-mu-ra-ab-dug₄
kug   ᵈInana-ra
kug   Inana=ra
holy   DN♀=DAT

šu   ga-mu-un-ri-bar
šu=ø   ga=mu=n=ra=*I=(b)=bar
hand=ABS_DO   MP_DEO.PROM=CP_TR.ACT=?=DI_DAT.2SG=DI_LOC=(PRO_3SG.NHUM.DO)=CVVE_Ḫ.CVR

silim-ma   ga-mu-ra-ab-dug₄
silim=a   ga=mu=ra=b=dug₄
to be well_Ḫ=NMZ_IMP   MP_DEO.PROM=CP_TR.ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.2SG=PRO_3SG.NHUM.DO=to say_Ḫ.SG

"For you holy Inana, I shall release them. I shall say to her: 'Be well!'"

Another Decad composition that has unmistakable Promissive {ga}-forms is *Inana and Ebih*. After a series of "since"-clauses outlining what Ebih has done to enrage Inana (namely, disrespect her by not performing acts of obeisance), the composition employs Promissive {ga}-forms to express what she intends to do in response to his insolence:

EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[4.246] hur-saŋ zig₃ šu-ŋu₁₀ ga-mi-ib-suř ni₂-ŋu₁₀ ga-zu

   hur-saŋ   zig₃   šu-ŋu₁₀
   hursaŋ   zig₃=ø=(e)   šu=ŋu=ø
   mountain range   to raise$_H$=AP=(LOCTR)   hand=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

   ga-mi-ib-suř
   ga=mu=*I=b=suř
   MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to be long$_H$

   ni₂-ŋu₁₀   ga-zu
   ni₂=ŋu=ø   ga=(b)=zu
   fear=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$ MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to know$_H$

   "I shall fill (wr. make distant) my hand with the soaring mountain range! I shall
   have it learn fear of me!"

This example contributes significantly to the present understanding of {ga} as a polysemous MP. As this clause follows a series of "since"-clauses, it seems indisputable that these {ga}-forms are Promissives that explain the promises being made by the speaker given the circumstances previously stated. In this instance, we have a speaker (i.e., Inana) promising vengeance because of someone else's (i.e., Ebih's) inappropriate prior actions. Accordingly, these are clear examples of Promissive {ga}s since it makes more sense for Inana to promise retribution following a list of grievances used as justification than it does for her to request permission to retaliate. Considering that Inana is a powerful, high-ranking goddess who is speaking to herself here, it seems as if there would have been no one around for her to even implore with a Cohortative had she wanted. Furthermore, the discourse environment does not easily allow for a rhetorical question, and it seems more in character for her to pronounce her bellicose plans for vengeance aloud than it does for her to plead helplessly to herself. Later in the composition, however, Inana does go before An and ask his permission to act. During this later speech, she employs Cohortatives. The Cohortative interpretation is the logical choice for her

appeal to An since the discourse setting has shifted and as such the rules of conversation have changed. In sum, this form from *Inana and Ebih* provides considerable insight into the Promissive function of {ga} and the way it is triggered by discourse context.

In the lines following the one cited in [4.246], Inana continues to rant about what she intends to do to Ebih. As these forms are notionally parallel, no commentary will be given:

[4.247] a₂ mah-bi-še₃ gu₄ mah ga-ba-ši-⌜ib₂⌝-gub

a₂	mah-bi-še₃	gu₄
a₂	mah=bi=še	gu₄
side	magnificent=POSS.3SG.NHUM=TERM	battering ram

mah	ga-ba-ši-⌜ib₂⌝-gub
mah=ø	ga=ba=ši=b=gub
magnificent=ABS_DO	MP_DEO.PROM=CP_MID=DI_TERM=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to stand_H.SG

"Against its magnificent sides, I shall place magnificent battering rams!"

[4.248] a₂ tur-bi-še₃ gu₄ tur ga-ba-ši-ib₂-gub

a₂	tur-bi-še₃	gu₄
a₂	tur=bi=še	gu₄
side	small=POSS.3SG.NHUM=TERM	battering ram

tur	ga-ba-ši-ib₂-gub
tur=ø	ga=ba=ši=b=gub
small=ABS_DO	MP_DEO.PROM=CP_MID=DI_TERM=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to stand_H.SG

"Against its small sides, I shall place small battering rams!"

[4.249] hub₂ ga-mu-un-šuš₂ ešemen₂ˈ(KI.E.NE.ᵈINANA) kug ga-ˈmuˈ-ni-in-sar

hub₂   ga-mu-un-šuš₂
hub₂=ø   ga=mu=b(!)=šuš₂
foot=ABS_DO   MP_DEO.PROM=CP_TR.ACT=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to cover_H.CVR

ešemen₂ˈ(KI.E.NE.ᵈINANA)   kug
ešemen₂   kug=ø
(rope?) game   holy=ABS_DO

ga-ˈmuˈ-ni-in-sar
ga=mu=ni=b(!)=sar
MP_DEO.PROM=CP_TR.ACT=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to hasten_H

"I shall storm it (and) start the holy 'game' of Inana!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Inana and Ebih*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 38
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IEb*_N_III1
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 8334

</div>

[4.250] hur-saŋ-a me₃ ga-ba-de₆ šen-šen ga-ˈbaˈ-ˈsa₂ˈ-sa₂

hur-saŋ-a   me₃
hursaŋ=a   me₃=ø
mountain range=LOC   battle=ABS_DO

ga-ba-de₆   šen-šen
ga=ba=(b)=de₆   šen:šen=ø
MP_DEO.PROM=CP_MID=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to bring_H.SG   conflict^{x2}=ABS_DO

ga-ˈbaˈ-ˈsa₂ˈ-sa₂
ga=ba=(b)=sa₂:sa₂
MP_DEO.PROM=CP_MID=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to compete_H^{x2}

"In the mountain range, I shall start battles and I shall prepare conflicts!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Inana and Ebih*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 39
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IEb*_N_III1
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 8334

</div>

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EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[4.251] ti marᵎ-uru₅-a si ga-ba-ab-sa₂

ti	marᵎ-uru₅-a	si
ti=(e)	emarru=a	si=ø
arrow=(LOCTR)	quiver=LOC	horn=ABS$_{DO}$

ga-ba-ab-sa₂
ga=ba=b=sa₂
MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=CP$_{MID}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to equal$_{H.CVR}$

"I shall prepare arrows in the quiver!"

[4.252] a₂-sig₃ [ebih₂-gin₇] ga-ᵎbaᵎ-ab-sur-sur

a₂-sig₃	[ebih₂-gin₇]
asig=ø	[ebih₂=gin]
slingstone=ABS$_{DO}$	[heavy rope=EQU]

ga-ᵎbaᵎ-ab-sur-sur
ga=ba=b=sur:sur
MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=CP$_{MID}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to drip$_{H}$^{x2}

"I shall droop slingstones (at the ready) [like (one does) with a heavy rope (sling$^?$)]!"

[4.253] ⁿⁱˢgid₂-da niŋ₂-su-ub ga-na-ab-ᵎakᵎ

ⁿⁱˢgid₂-da	niŋ₂-su-ub
gida	niŋ₂=sub=ø
lance	ABSTR=to rub$_{M}$=AP+ABS$_{DO}$

ga-na-ab-ᵎakᵎ
ga=ba(!)=b=ak
MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=CP$_{MID}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to do$_{H}$

"I shall begin the polishing of (my) lance!"

[4.254] ᵍⁱˢ̌ilar ᵍⁱˢ̌tukul-ke$_4$ si ga-am$_3$-ma-ab-sa$_2$-sa$_2$

ᵍⁱˢ̌ilar	ᵍⁱˢ̌tukul-ke$_4$	si
ilar	tukul=ak=e	si=ø
throw-stick	weapon=GEN=LOCTR$_{SOCV}$	horn=ABS$_{DO}$

ga-am$_3$-ma-ab-sa$_2$-sa$_2$
ga=imma=b=sa$_2$:sa$_2$
MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=CP$_{MID}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to equal$_{H.CVR}$^{x2}

"I shall prepare the throw-sticks of (my) arsenal!"

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: Inana and Ebih
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 43
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: IEb_N$_{III4}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: N 1117
</div>

[4.255] tir us$_2$-sa-bi-še$_3$ izi ga-am$_3$-sig$_3$

tir	us$_2$-sa-bi-še$_3$	izi
tir	us$_2$=a=bi=še	izi=ø
forest	to lean on$_H$=PP=POSS.3SG.NHUM=TERM	fire=ABS$_{DO}$

ga-am$_3$-sig$_3$
ga=b=sig$_3$
MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to burn$_H$

"I shall set fire to its thick forests!"

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: Inana and Ebih
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 44
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: IEb_N$_{III4}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: N 1117
</div>

[4.256] hul-du-bi-še$_3$ ᵘʳᵘᵈᵘha-zi-in ga-ba-ši-in-te$_9$

hul-du-bi-še$_3$	ᵘʳᵘᵈᵘha-zi-in
huldu=bi=še	hazin=ø
evil-doing=POSS.3SG.NHUM=TERM	ax=ABS$_{DO}$

ga-ba-ši-in-te$_9$
ga=ba=ši=n=te
MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=CP$_{NTR.MID}$=DI$_{TERM}$=PVN=to approach$_H$

"I shall approach (with) an axe to its evil-doing!"

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: Inana and Ebih
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 45
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: IEb_N$_{III4}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: N 1117
</div>

[4.257]   a-niŋin₂-ba ᵈGirra lu₂ sikil-la kiŋ₂ ga-am₃-ma-du₃-du₃

a-niŋin₂-ba	ᵈGirra	lu₂
aniŋin=bi=a	Girra	lu₂
water reservoir=POSS.3SG.NHUM=LOC	DN♂	individual

sikil-la	kiŋ₂
sikil=a=ø	kiŋ₂=ø
to be pure$_H$=PP=ABS$_{DO}$	work=ABS$_{DO}$

ga-am₃-ma-du₃-du₃
ga=imma=(b)=du₃:du₃
MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=CP$_{MID}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to build$_H$^{x2}

"I shall make Girra, the pure one, perform all (his) laboring at its water reservoirs!"

[4.258]   [ḫur]-ᵊsaŋᵊ Aratta^{ki}-ke₄ šu nu-[teŋ₃-ŋe₂₆] ni₂-bi ga-ba-ab-suř-/-suř

[ḫur]-ᵊsaŋᵊ	Aratta^{ki}-ke₄
[ḫur]saŋ	Aratta=ak=e
[mountain] range	GN=GEN=LOCTR

šu nu-[teŋ₃-ŋe₂₆]
šu—nu=[teŋ₃=ø=e]
hand—NEG=[to approach$_{M.CVR}$=AP=LOCTR$_{SOCV}$]

ni₂-bi	ga-ba-ab-suř-/-suř
ni₂-bi=ø	ga=ba=b=suř:suř
fear=DEM=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=CP$_{MID}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to be long$_{H.CVR}$^{x2}

"I shall spread this terror through the ina[ccessible mountain] range of Aratta!"

Gilgameš and Huwawa A also records evidence of unambiguous Promissives. The

Promissives occur at the beginning of the composition when Gilgameš is outlining his plans to

his comrade Enkidug, thus serving as a sort of prologue to the plot:

EXAMPLES ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[4.259] kur-ra ga-am$_3$-kur$_9$ mu-ŋu$_{10}$ ga-am$_3$-ŋar

    kur-ra   ga-am$_3$-kur$_9$

    kur=a   ga=im=kur$_9$

    mountain=LOC   MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=CP$_{VEN}$=to enter$_H$

    mu-ŋu$_{10}$ ga-am$_3$-ŋar

    mu=ŋu=ø   ga=b=ŋar

    name=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$ MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to put$_H$

    "I shall enter the mountain! I shall set up my name!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 5
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_N$_{III3}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: Ni 9636

</div>

[4.260] ki mu gub-ba-am$_3$ mu-ŋu$_{10}$ ga-bi$_2$-ib-gub

    ki   mu   gub-ba-am$_3$

    ki   mu   gub=(ed)=bi=am

    place   name   to stand$_{M.SG}$=(OBLG)=DEM=COP.3SG

    mu-ŋu$_{10}$ ga-bi$_2$-ib-gub

    mu=ŋu=ø   ga=ba=*I=b=gub

    name=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$ MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to stand$_{H.SG}$

    "In this place where one ought stand up (his) name, I shall establish my name there!"[486]

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 6
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_N$_{III3}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: Ni 9636

</div>

Given the discourse environment, these {ga}-forms were certainly intended to be interpreted as Promissives because Gilgameš is telling Enkidug (an individual of lower rank) what he intends to do.[487] There is neither sense in nor indication of Gilgameš asking Enkidug for permission to act as one would expect with a Cohortative.

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[486] The restoration of {ed} on gub-ba-am$_3$ is valid since all other manuscripts (except *GH.A*_Si$_2$ from Sippar) that have the form recorded with a BU-sign written between gub and ba (i.e., the typical way of marking {ed} on gub). Manuscript *GH.A*_N$_{III3}$ was selected as evidence here since it otherwise provides the fullest and best view of this line.

[487] Gilgameš repeats these lines later in the composition, except in that instance he is speaking to the god Utu, his superior. As the discourse context shifts so too do the modal semantics of {ga} from Promissive to Cohortative. For these examples, see: §4.9, [4.228]-[4.230].

Although unrelated to the interpretation of the modal semantics of the MP, the prefix chain marking on both verbs in [4.259] gives reason for pause. Both verbs write their non-modal prefixes in the same way (i.e., with …-am$_3$-…). The first verb, however, is intransitive while the second is transitive. Accordingly, an interpretation has been adopted where the first verb's …-am$_3$-… stands for the ventive CP {im} and the second verb's represents the pre-verbal non-human direct object pronoun {b}, which has undergone a phonetic shift (i.e., /b/ > /m/). This interpretation is in line with what one expects from normative Sumerian grammar and highlights how poetic texts often use grammatical ambiguity to mirror the artistic complexities of the composition.[488]

A Promissive verb that shows interesting variation across manuscripts occurs in *Lipit-Eštar A*. In composite line 103, all preserved forms show some sort of grammatical abnormality. In the Nippur manuscript *LiA*_N$_{I1}$, the Promissive is clearly marked in {ga}, but it seems as if the perceived mismatch between the *marû* pronoun patterning and the *hamṭu* root confused the scribe. Due to this confusion, it seems as if the scribe wrote a first singular agent pronoun after the VR in accordance with the rules of the *marû* but against the rules of {ga}-form patterning:

[4.261] in-nin$_9$-ra ud ga-mu-un-di-ni-ib-zal-e

in-nin$_9$-ra   ud
innin=ra   ud=ø
mistress=DAT   day=ABS$_{DO}$

ga-mu-un-di-ni-ib-zal-e
ga=mu=n=da=ni=b=zal=e(n)
MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.IO}$=DI$_{CMT}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to pass$_{H.CVR}$=PRO$_{1SG.AG}$

For the mistress, I shall spend all day with her there!

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[488] This poetic phenomenon is most commonly referred to as "defamiliarization," for which see: Y. Lorman, "Defamiliarization," in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, 4th edition, eds. Roland Greene et al. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), 343-344.

In manuscript *LiA*_N_P1, the scribe seems to have been confused by the *marû* appearance of the form in a different way. Specifically, he reduplicated the VR in accordance with the verb's conjugation class. It is possible that this is an instance of *ḫamṭu* reduplication expressing the plurality of the direct object (i.e., the days spent in bed with Inana), but it is equally likely that the marking of the direct object before the VR compelled the scribe to reduplicate the VR:

[4.262]   in-nin9-ra ud ga-mu-un-di-‹ni›-ib-zal-zal
            in-nin9-ra   ud
            innin=ra   ud=ø
            mistress=DAT   day=ABS_DO

            ga-mu-un-di-‹ni›-ib-zal-zal
            ga=mu=n=da=‹ni›=b=zal:zal=(en)
            MP_DEO.PROM=CP_TR.ACT=PRO_3SG.HUM.IO=DI_CMT=‹DI_LOC›=PRO_3SG.NHUM.DO=to
                    pass_M.CVR^{x2}=(PRO_1SG.AG)

            For the mistress, I shall spend all day with her ‹there›!

In an unprovenanced manuscript, there is a variation like the one found in [4.262] above. Namely, a perceived agrammatical pronoun patterning scheme caused the scribe to write the first-singular agent pronoun to the right of the VR in accordance with *marû* rules. Interestingly, the scribe did not, however, write the pre-verbal direct object pronoun that one might expect to cause such confusion, nor did he reduplicate the VR to reflect conjugation in the *marû*:

EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[4.263]   in-nin-ra ud ga-mu-un-di-‹ni›-zal-en
        in-nin-ra   ud
        innin=ra   ud=ø
        mistress=DAT   day=ABS$_{DO}$

        ga-mu-un-di-‹ni›-zal-en
        ga=mu=n=da=‹ni›=(b)=zal=en
        MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.IO}$=DI$_{CMT}$=‹DI$_{LOC}$›=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to
                pass$_{H.CVR}$=PRO$_{1SG.AG}$

        For the mistress, I shall spend all day with her ‹there›!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Lipit-Eštar A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 103
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *LiA*_X$_1$
MUSEUM NUMBER: AO 6710

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These remarkable variants serve as a convenient terminus to the discussion of the Promissive as there is no further functional or formal information to be gained from citing and commenting on individual examples. Therefore, to conclude this section the remaining examples from the principal corpus will be cited below without remark:

[4.264]   nin ki aŋ₂ An-na-me-en mir-mir-zu ⌜ga⌝-⌜am₃⌝-dug₄
        nin   ki aŋ₂   An-na-me-en
        nin   ki—aŋ₂=(a)=ø   An=a(k)=me:en
        lady   place—to measure$_{H.CVR}$=(PP)=ABS$_{SBJ}$ DN$_{♂}$=GEN=COP.2SG

        mir-mir-zu   ⌜ga⌝-⌜am₃⌝-dug₄
        mir:mir=ø=zu=ø   ga=b=dug₄
        to be angry$_{M(?)}$^{x2}=AP=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$ MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to say$_{H.SG}$

        (Oh) you are a lady beloved by An, I shall tell of all your raging!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Exaltation of Inana*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 136
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *ExIn*_N$_{11}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-15-422 + CBS 7847

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EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[4.265] [lugal-ŋu₁₀] ˹za˺-e kur-še₃ u₅-a ŋa₂-e iri-še₃ ga-u₅

[lugal-ŋu₁₀]	˹za˺-e	kur-še₃	u₅-a
[lugal=ŋu=ø]	zaʾe	kur=še	u₅=a
[king=POSS.1SG.HUM=VOC]	you	mountain=TERM	to ride$_H$=PP

ŋa₂-e	iri-še₃	ga-u₅
ŋaʾe	iri=še	ga=u₅
I	city=TERM	MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=to ride$_H$

"[Oh my king], you have ridden to the mountain; I shall ride to the city!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 97
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_N$_{III20}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: N 1787

</div>

[4.266] ama-zu-ur₂ i₃-til₃-zu ga-na-ab-dug₄ / zu₂-zu₂ he₂-bar₇-bar₇

ama-zu-ur₂	i₃-til₃-zu
ama=zu=r(a)	itil=zu=ø
mother=POSS.2SG.HUM=DAT	life=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

ga-na-ab-dug₄	/	zu₂-zu₂
ga=na=b=dug₄	/	zu₂:zu₂=ø
MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to say$_{H.SG}$	/	tooth^{x2}=ABS$_{DO}$

he₂-bir₉-bir₉
he=(n)=bir₉:bir₉=ø
MP$_{EPI.DED}$=(PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$)=to shred$_{H.CVR}$^{x2}=ABS3SG.DO

"I shall discuss your living with your mother – / she will have no recourse but to laugh!"[489]

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 98
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_N$_{III19}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: Ni 42

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EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[489] To better understand the hypothetical nature of this statement, one could paraphrase it thusly: "I shall discuss your living with your mother (should circumstance allow) – / she will have no recourse but to laugh!"

[4.267] eŋir-ra ba-uš₂-zu ga-na-ab-dug₄ er₃-zu he₂-「šeš₄⁷ 」-「šeš₄⁷ 」

eŋir-ra   ba-uš₂-zu
eŋir=a   ba=uš₂=ø=(a)=zu=ø
back=LOC   CP$_{NTR.MID}$=to die$_{H.SG}$=ABS3SG.SBJ=(NMZ)=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

ga-na-ab-dug₄   er₃-zu
ga=na=b=dug₄   er₃=zu=ø
MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to say$_{H.SG}$ tear=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

he₂-「šeš₄⁷ 」-「šeš₄⁷ 」
he=(n)=šeš₄:šeš₄=ø
MP$_{EPI.DED}$=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to weep$_H$^{x2}=ABS3SG.DO

"(Then if) I shall say to her that you have died, she will certainly weep tears for
you."

[4.268] ur-saŋ 「ma 」-a-dug₄ šu zig₃ ga-mu-「ra 」-ab-ŋar

ur-saŋ   「ma 」-a-dug₄   šu
ursaŋ=ø   mu=*A=e=dug₄=ø   šu
warrior=VOC   CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=PRO2SG.AG=to say$_{H.SG}$=ABS3SG.DO   hand

zig₃   ga-mu-「ra 」-ab-ŋar
zig₃=ø   ga=mu=ra=b=ŋar
to raise$_H$=AP+ABS$_{DO}$ MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.2SG}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to put$_{H.CVR}$

"Oh warrior, you spoke it to me – I shall do it for you with raised hand!"

[4.269] ᵈNin-ŋir₂-su!(SU₂) e₂-zu ga-mu-ra-du₃
ᵈNin-ŋir₂-su!(SU₂)   e₂-zu
Ninŋirsu=ø   e₂=zu=ø
DN♂=VOC   house=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

ga-mu-ra-du₃
ga=mu=ra=(b)=du₃
MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.2SG}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to build$_H$

"Oh Ninŋirsu, I shall build your house for you!"

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[4.270] me šu ga-mu-ra-ab-du₇

me   šu
me=(e)   šu=ø
me=(LOCTR_SOCV)   hand=ABS_DO

ga-mu-ra-ab-du₇
ga=mu=ra=b=du₇
MP_DEO.PROM=CP_TR.ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.2SG=PRO_3SG.NHUM.DO=to push_H.CVR

"I shall perfect the *me*s for you!"

<div style="text-align: right">

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 44
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.A*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1512

</div>

[4.271] an-dul₃ daŋal-me ŋissu-zu-še₃ / ni₂ ga-ma-ši-ib₂-ten

an-dul₃   daŋal-me   ŋissu-zu-še₃   /
andul=ø   daŋal=ø=me:(en)   ŋissu=zu=še   /
shade=ABS_SBJ to be wide_H=AP=COP.2SG   shade=POSS.2SG.HUM=TERM   /

ni₂   ga-ma-ši-ib₂-ten
ni₂=ø   ga=imma=ši=b=ten
self=ABS_DO   MP_DEO.PROM=CP_MID=DI_TERM=PRO_3SG.NHUM.DO=to be cool_H.CVR

"You are a wide shade; under your shade, / I shall cool myself there!"

<div style="text-align: right">

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 72-73
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.A*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1512

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These examples conclude the present discussion of the Promissive. The following section and its subsections are dedicated to the expression of wishes outside of the first person.

4.11   OPTATIVE (REALIZABLE WISH "MAY REBA DO IT")

The Optative is defined as the expression of a speaker's "wish, regret, hope or desire without containing a lexical item that means *wish*, *regret*, *hope* or *desire* (cf. Rifkin 2000; Asarina & Shklovsky 2008)."[490] Cross-linguistically, Optative notions can be expressed in a

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[490] (emphasis original to source). Patrick Georg Grosz, *On the Grammar of Optative Constructions*, Linguistik Aktuell 193. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2012), 5. Jay Rifkin, "If only if only were if plus only," in *Proceedings of CLS 36-1*. (Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society, 2000), 369-384. Alya Asarina and Kirill Shklovsky, "Optativity in English and other languages." Paper presented at MIT Ling-Lunch (2008).

variety of ways. For example, in Classical Latin the Optative is conveyed by a verb conjugated in

the Subjunctive mood and frequently co-occurs with the adverb *utinam*:[491]

[4.272] atque   utinam   ipse   Varro   incumbat
         but   that   self   PN♂   to apply oneself+3SG.PRES.SJV

         in   causam
         in   cause

         "But if only Varro would apply himself to the cause!"[492]

COMPOSITION: *Letters to Atticus* (Cicero)
BOOK: 3 LETTER: 15 SECTION: 3

In Ancient Greek (Indo-European, Hellenic), the Optative is coded with its own dedicated mood

that forms a four-pronged system alongside the Subjunctive, Indicative, and Imperative:[493]

[4.273] ei   gár   genoíme:n   téknon antí   soú   nekrós
         oh   that   to become+1SG+AOR+OPT   son   instead of   you   corpse

         "Oh that I might be a corpse, my child, instead of you!"[494]

COMPOSITION: *Hippolytus* (Euripides)
LINE: 1410

Other languages express the Optative via the affixation of a modal morpheme to a VR.

Take for example Nisenan (Maiduan), which encodes the Optative with a set of modal

morphemes that are inflected for person (first-person, second-person present, second-person

absent, second-person unmarked, and third-person):[495]

EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[491] Gildersleeve and Lodge, *Gildersleeve's Latin Grammar*, §260-261.
[492] Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 217.
[493] Herbert Weir Smyth, *Greek Grammar*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920), §1814-1819.
[494] Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 216. This example is technically a Desiderative (a subfunction of the Optative), but since Greek, unlike Sumerian, does not formally distinguish between the two this citation here is acceptable.
[495] Mithun, *The Languages of Native North America*, 457.

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[4.274] "Toonop!   Hamaam   mym   syy
     too=no=p   ha=maa=im   mym   syy=(e)
     to carry=away=IMP.SG to do=NMZ=NOM that   dog=(ACC)

     toodawmenbeneka   mym   syy
     too=daw=men=beneka   mym   syy=i
     to carry=come=NEG=OPT.2SG.ABSV that   dog=ACC

     hedehena   ˀama   wete!"
     hedehe=na   ˀama   wete
     here=ALL   again   even

"Take it away! And having done that, never bring (alt. may you never bring) that dog back here again!"[496]

This system attested in Nisenan is close to what one finds in Sumerian, which expresses the Optative by modifying the verb with one of a pair of MPs that inflects for person. Most often one of these MPs is appended to a verb in the *marû* conjugation. For second- and third-person (singular and plural) Optatives, Sumerian uses {he} whereas for first person (singular and plural) {ga} in its Cohortative function is employed (see: §4.9). Because of the various other functions of {he} and {ga}, it only makes sense to think of them as members of an inflectional paradigm in the Optative. Therefore, to avoid confusion, the morphemes in their Optative functions have been treated separately and given different categorizations (with {ga} designated as the Cohortative and {he} the Optative).

Having provided a typological overview of the Optative as well as a caveat concerning why its manifestation in the first person via a separate MP in Sumerian has been treated elsewhere under a different label, examples from the principal corpus will now be cited. A string of unambiguous Optatives occur in *Gudea Cylinder B* near the end when the composition

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[496] Ibid., 458. Mithun's translation reads as a Prohibitive (which Nisenan expresses by appending the Imperative {p} to the Negative {men}). Therefore, an alternative translation that reads as an Optative has been provided.

expresses the favorable outcomes that it hopes will materialize for its dedicator (i.e., Gudea):

[4.275] tur$_3$ he$_2$-em-ši-du$_3$-du$_3$

tur$_3$	he$_2$-em-ši-du$_3$-du$_3$
tur$_3$=ø	he=b=ši=du$_3$:du$_3$=ø
cattle pen=ABS$_{SBJ}$	MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.IO}$=DI$_{TERM}$=to build$_M$^{x2}=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

"May the cattle pens be built!"

[4.276] a-maš he$_2$-em-ši-bil-bil

a-maš	he$_2$-em-ši-bil-bil
amaš=ø	he=b=ši=bil$_2$:bil$_2$=ø
sheepfold=ABS$_{SBJ}$	MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.IO}$=DI$_{TERM}$=to rotate$_M$^{x2}=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

"May the sheepfolds be renewed!"

[4.277] Ki-en-gi-re$_6$ kur-kur igi-bi ha-mu-ši-ŋal$_2$

Ki-en-gi-re$_6$	kur-kur	igi-bi
Kiengir=e	kur:kur=(ak)	igi=bi=ø
GN=LOCTR	land^{x2}=(GEN)	eye=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS$_{SBJ}$

ha-mu-ši-ŋal$_2$
he=mu=ši=ŋal$_2$=ø
MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=CP$_{ACT}$=DI$_{TERM}$=to exist$_M$=ABS$_{3PL.NHUM.SBJ}$

"May the eyes of all the lands set on Sumer!"

[4.278] e₂ anzud-ᴿzuᴸ an-ne₂ ha-ra-[i]l₂

e₂	anzud-ᴿzuᴸ	an-ne₂
e₂	anzud=zu=ø	an=e
house	*anzud*-bird=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS_{SBJ}	sky=LOCTR

ha-ra-[i]l₂
he=ra=[i]l₂=ø
MP_{DEO.OPT}=DI_{DAT.2SG}=to [li]ft_M=ABS_{3SG.SBJ}

"May the House, your *anzud*-bird, [s]oar in the sky for you!"

Unfortunately, lacunae bookend this sequence. Nonetheless, it is undoubtedly expressing Optative notions as it occurs at the end of a long dedicatory inscription where one expects to find wishes (usually directed to the gods) on behalf of the dedicator. Two more Optatives with the same discourse goals follow the lost portion:

[4.279] sig-ta nim-še₃ [m]u-zu he₂-ŋal₂

sig-ta	nim-še₃	[m]u-zu
sig=ta	nim=še	[m]u=zu=ø
below=ABL	above=TERM	[na]me=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS_{SBJ}

he₂-ŋal₂
he=ŋal₂=ø
MP_{DEO.OPT}=to exist_H=ABS_{3SG.SBJ}

"From below to above, may your [na]me exist (i.e., be famous)!"

[4.280] [n]am-til₃ [h]a-mu-ra-suř

$\quad$ [n]am-til$_3$

$\quad$ [n]am=til$_3$=ø

$\quad$ [A]BSTR=to live$_{H.SG}$=AP+ABS$_{SBJ}$

$\quad$ [h]a-mu-ra-suř

$\quad$ [h]e=mu=ra=suř=ø

$\quad$ [M]P$_{DEO.OPT}$=CP$_{EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.2SG}$=to be long$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

$\quad$ "[M]ay [l]ife be prolonged for you!"

Another string of transparent Optatives occurs in *The Exaltation of Inana* as a part of En-hedu-ana's prayer to Inana. In her petition, En-hedu-ana expresses her desire to have An and Enlil avenge her and have misfortune befall those who have wronged her:

[4.281] ki-bala hul-gig ᵈNanna-za-a-ke₄-eš / An-na ha-ba-ab-šum₂-mu

ki-bala	hul-gig	ᵈNanna-za-a-ke$_4$-eš	/
kibala	hulgig=ø	Nanna=zu=ak=š(e)	/
rebel land	malevolent=ABS$_{DO}$	DN♂=POSS.2SG.HUM=GEN=TERM	/

An-na	ha-ba-ab-šum₂-mu
An=e(!)	he=ba=b=šum$_2$=e
DN♂=ERG	MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=CP$_{MID}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to give$_M$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

$\quad$ May An extradite(?) / the malevolent rebel land that is against your Nanna!

[4.282] iri-bi An-ne₂ ha-ba-ra-si-il-le

iri-bi		An-ne₂
iri=bi=ø		An=e
city=DEM=ABS$_{DO}$		DN♂=ERG

$\quad$ ha-ba-ra-si-il-le

$\quad$ he=ba=ra=(b)=sil=e

$\quad$ MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{DAT.2SG}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to split$_M$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

$\quad$ May An split in twain that city for you!

[4.283] ^{d}En-lil$_2$-le nam ha-ba-an-kuř-de$_3$

^{d}En-lil$_2$-le	nam	ha-ba-an-kuř-de$_3$
Enlil=e	nam=ø	he=ba=b(!)=kuř=e
DN$_♂$=ERG	fate=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=CP$_{MID}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to cut$_M$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

May Enlil curse it!

[4.284] ^{ŋeš}ma$_2$ a-nir-ra-⌈zu⌉ ki kur$_2$-ra he$_2$-bi$_2$-ib-taka$_4$

^{ŋeš}ma$_2$ a-nir-ra-⌈zu⌉		ki	kur$_2$-ra
ma$_2$	anir=a(k)=zu=ø	ki	kur$_2$=a=a
boat	lament=GEN=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS$_{SBJ}$	place	to be different$_{H}$=PP=LOC

he$_2$-bi$_2$-ib-taka$_4$
he=ba=*I=b=taka$_4$=ø
MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=CP$_{NTR.MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=BAG$_{3SG.NHUM}$=to neglect$_{H}$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

May your ship of lamentation be abandoned in hostile territory!

On rare occasion, Optatives can be found in a *ditila.* One such form occurs in a direct speech where the speaker exclaims that he desires for a change of state related to legal processes to come about due to the action of the addressee:

[4.285] [Na]-lu$_2$ dumu Ur-sag$_9$-ga-ke$_4$ kug-ŋu$_{10}$ ha-ma-šum$_2$-mu

[Na]-lu$_2$	dumu	Ur-sag$_9$-ga-ke$_4$	kug-ŋu$_{10}$
[Na]lu	dumu	Ur-sag=ak=e	kug=ŋu=ø
[P]N$_♂$	child	PN$_♂$=GEN=ERG	silver=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

ha-ma-šum$_2$-mu
he=mu=*A=(b)=šum$_2$=e
MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to give$_M$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

"May [Na]lu, the son of Ur-saga, give me my silver!"

This example is neither formally nor semantically remarkable. It was simply included here to attest to the viability of the form within this subcorpus. Optatives are rare in *ditila*s because they

are not properly directive and in most legal proceedings the speech act participants are making

requests. These sorts of requests are predominantly conveyed with directives such as the

Imperative or Jussive.

Unlike the *ditila*s, royal inscriptions provide a wealth of evidence for the Optative. Since

these inscriptions are votive in nature and were intended to stand in perpetuity as a corporeal

witness to the splendor of the king and gods alike, they often include appeals to the divine that

the dedicator's fame be enduring and/or curse formulae forewarning what the dedicator hopes

will afflict any would-be vandals. With these two discourse environments established, examples

will be cited without further remark:

EXAMPLES ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[4.286] ⌜lu₂⌝ ⌜mu⌝-⌜sar⌝-⌜ra⌝-⌜e⌝ / ab-ha-lam-e-a / ᵈUtu / suhuš-a-ni / he₂-bur$_x$(KA×ŠU)-re₆
/ numun-na-ni / he₂-ga-deg$_x$(RI)-deg$_x$(RI)-ge

⌜lu₂⌝	⌜mu⌝-⌜sar⌝-⌜ra⌝-⌜e⌝	/
lu₂	musara=e=ø	/
individual	inscription=DEM=ABS$_{DO}$	/

ab-ha-lam-e-a	/
a=b=halam=e=a	/
CP$_{IMPRS(?)}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to destroy$_M$=PRO3SG.AG=SUBR	/

ᵈUtu	/	suhuš-a-ni	/
Utu=(e)	/	suhuš=ani=ø	/
DN$_♂$=(ERG)	/	foundation=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$	/

he₂-buř$_x$(KA×ŠU)-re₆	/
he=(b)=buř$_x$=e	/
MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to tear out$_M$=PRO3SG.AG	/

numun-na-ni	/
numun=ani=ø	/
progeny=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$	/

he₂-ga-deg$_x$(RI)-deg$_x$(RI)-ge
he=inga=(b)=deg$_x$:deg$_x$=e
MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=CONJ=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to destroy$_M$^{x2}=PRO3SG.AG

"As for the one who, this inscription, / destroys, / may Utu, / his foundation, / tear out, / and his progeny, / destroy!"[497]

COMPOSITION: *RIME 2.1.1.1 (Sargon)*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 96-102
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: Sargon_1_S
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 13972

AKKADIAN HALF OF EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[497] For the interpretation of {a} as an impersonal CP, see: Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language*, 168.

ša DUB / ˹*śú*˺-*a* / *u-śa-sà-ku-ni* / ᵈUTU / SUHUŠ-*śu* / *li-sú-uḫ* / *ù* ŠE.NUMUN-*śu*
/ *li-il-qù-ut*

ša	DUB	/	˹*śú*˺-*a*	/ *u-śa-sà-ku-ni*
θa	*ṭuppam*	/	*suʾa*	/ *yusaˁsˁakūni*
DTREL	tablet:ACC.SG	/	DEM	/ to carve:Š.DUR.3.COMM.SG.SUBR

/	ᵈUTU	/	SUHUŠ-*śu*	/
/	*Šamaš*	/	*išdēsu*	/
/	DN♂	/	foundation:BOUND.DUAL.ACC.POSS.3.MASC.SG	/

li-sú-uḫ	/	*ù*	ŠE.NUMUN-*śu*
lissuḫ	/	*u*	*zērsu*
to remove:G.PREC.3.COMM.SG	/	and	seed:ACC.SG.POSS.3.MASC.SG

/	*li-il-qù-ut*
/	*lilqut*
/	to gather:G.PREC.3.COMM.SG

"As for the one who, / this inscription, / destroys, / may Šamaš, / his foundations,
/ tear out, / and his progeny, / destroy!"

[4.287] lu₂ mu-˹sar˺-˹ra˺-˹e˺ / a[b]-ha-lam-e-a / An-ne₂ / mu-ni he₂-ha-lam-e

lu₂	mu-˹sar˺-˹ra˺-˹e˺	/
lu₂	musara=e=ø	/
individual	inscription=DEM=ABS_DO	/

a[b]-ha-lam-e-a	/ An-ne₂	/
a=[b]=halam=e=a	/ An=e	/
CP_IMPRS(?)=[PRO3SG.NHUM.DO]=to destroy_M=PRO3SG.AG=SUBR	/ DN♂=ERG	/

mu-ni	he₂-ha-lam-e
mu=ani=ø	he=(b)=halam=e
name=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS_DO	MP_DEO.OPT=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to destroy_M=PRO3SG.AG

"As for the one who, this inscription, / destroys, / may An, / destroy his name!"[498]

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[498] There are no corresponding Akkadian lines for [4.287], [4.288], or [4.289] on either of the Old Babylonian
Sammeltafeln.

[4.288] ᵈEn-lil₂-le / numun-na-ni / he₂-til-le

ᵈEn-lil₂-le / numun-na-ni /
Enlil=e / numun=ani=ø /
DN♂=ERG / progeny=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS_DO /

he₂-til-le
he=(b)=til=e
MP_DEO.OPT=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to finish_M=PRO3SG.AG

"May Enlil, / his (i.e., the perpetrator's) progeny, / bring to an end!"

[4.289] ᵈInana-ke₄ / e x dumu-na-ni / he₂-kuř-⌈e⌉

ᵈInana-ke₄ / e x dumu-na-ni /
Inana=ak=e / e x dumu=ani=ø /
DN♀=GEN=ERG / ? ? child=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS_DO /

he₂-kuř-⌈e⌉
he=(b)=kuř=e
MP_DEO.OPT=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to cut_M=PRO3SG.AG

"May Inana, / his (i.e., the perpetrator's) *X* offspring, / cut off!"

[4.290] lu₂ / im-sar-ra-e / ab-ha-lam-me-a / ᵈEn-lil₂ ᵈUtu-bi / suhuš-sa-ni /
he₂-bu₁₅(PAD)-re₆-ne

lu₂	/	im-sar-ra-e		/
lu₂	/	imsara=e=ø		/
individual	/	inscription=DEM=ABS_DO		/

ab-ha-lam-me-a		/	ᵈEn-lil₂
a=b=halam=e=a		/	Enlil
CP_IMPRS(?)=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to destroy_M=PRO3SG.AG=SUBR		/	DN♂

ᵈUtu-bi	/	suhuš-sa-ni
Utu=bi=(e)	/	suhuš=ani=ø
DN♂=POSS.3SG.NHUM=(ERG)	/	progeny=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS_DO

/	he₂-bu₁₅(PAD)-re₆-ne
/	he=(b)=buřₓ=ene
/	MP_DEO.OPT=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to tear out_M=PRO3PL.AG

"As for the one who, / this inscription, / destroys, / may Enlil and Utu, / his
foundation(s), / tear out!"

ša DUB / *śú-a* / *u-śa-sà-ku-ni* / ᵈ*En-líl* / *ù* / ᵈUTU / SUHUŠ-*śu* / *li-sú-ḫa*

ša	DUB	/	*śú-a*	/ *u-śa-sà-ku-ni*
θa	*ṭuppam*	/	*suʾa*	/ *yusaᵗsᵗsakūni*
DTREL	tablet:ACC.SG	/	DEM	/ to carve:Š.DUR.3.COMM.SG.SUBR

/	ᵈ*En-líl*	/	*ù*	/	ᵈUTU	/
/	*Enlil*	/	*u*	/	*Šamaš*	/
/	DN♂	/	and	/	DN♂	/

SUHUŠ-*śu*	/
išdēsu	/
foundation:BOUND.DUAL.ACC.POSS.3.MASC.SG	/

li-sú-ḫa
lissuḫā
to remove:G.PREC.3.COMM.DUAL

"As for the one who, / this inscription, / destroys, / may Enlil / and / Šamaš, / his
foundation(s), / tear out!"

[4.291]   [numun-na-n]i / he₂-deg$_x$(RI)-deg$_x$(RI)-ge-ne
          [numun-na-n]i   /
          [numun=an]i=ø   /
          [progeny=POSS.3SG].HUM=ABS$_{DO}$ /

          he₂-deg$_x$(RI)-deg$_x$(RI)-ge-ne
          he=(b)=deg$_x$:deg$_x$=ene
          MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to destroy$_M$^{x2}=PRO3PL.AG

          "H[is progeny], / may they (i.e., Enlil and Utu) destroy!"

          ù / ŠE.NUMUN-*śu* /*li-il-qù-tá*
          ù   / ŠE.NUMUN-*śu*   / *li-il-qù-tá*
          u   / *zērsu*   / *lilqutā*
          and   / seed:ACC.SG.POSS.3.MASC.SG   / to gather:G.PREC.3.COMM.DUAL

          "and / his progeny, / may they (i.e., Enlil and Šamaš) destroy!"

[4.292]   sa₂-dug₄-na / e₂ ^{d}Nin-ŋir₂-su-ka-ta / inim he₂-eb₂-gi₄ / KA.KA-ni he₂-kešřa
          sa₂-dug₄-na   /   e₂ ^{d}Nin-ŋir₂-su-ka-ta
          sadug=ani=a   /   e₂   Ninŋirsu=ak=a(k)=ta
          offering=POSS.3SG.HUM=LOC   /   temple   DN♂=GEN=GEN=ABL

          /   inim   he₂-eb₂-gi₄
          /   inim=ø   he=b=gi₄=ø
          /   word=ABS$_{SBJ}$ MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=BAG3SG.NHUM=to return$_{H.CVR}$=ABS3SG.SBJ

          /   KA.KA-ni
          /   KA.KA=ani=ø
          /   instructions=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

          he₂-kešřa
          he=(b)=kešřa=(e)
          MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to bind$_M$=(PRO3SG.AG)

          In his offerings, / from the temple of Ninŋirsu, / may there be a curtailment
          ordered! / May one invalidate all his instructions!

[4.293] dumu-saŋ ^{d}Nanše-ke$_4$ / ^{d}Dumu-zid-ZU.AB / nin Ki-nu-nir^{ki}-ke$_4$ / diŋir-ŋu$_{10}$
^{d}Nin-ŋiš-zid-da-ke$_4$ / nam tar-ra-ni he$_2$-dab$_6$-kur$_2$-ne

dumu-saŋ	^{d}Nanše-ke$_4$	/	^{d}Dumu-zid-ZU.AB	/	nin
dumusaŋ	Nanše=ak=e	/	Dumuzid-Abzu	/	nin
eldest child	DN♀=GEN=ERG	/	DN♀	/	lady

Ki-nu-nir^{ki}-ke$_4$ /	diŋir-ŋu$_{10}$	^{d}Nin-ŋiš-zid-da-ke$_4$	/
Kinunir=ak=e /	diŋir=ŋu	Ninŋišzid=ak=e	/
GN=GEN=ERG /	god=POSS.1SG.HUM	DN♂=GEN=ERG	/

nam tar-ra-ni
nam—tar=a=ani=ø
fate—to cut$_H$=PP=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

he$_2$-dab$_6$-kur$_2$-ne
he=da=b=kur$_2$=ene
MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=DI$_{CMT}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to change$_M$=PRO3PL.AG

Eldest daughter of Nanše, / Dumuzid-Abzu, / lady of Kinunir, / (and) my god, Ninŋišzida, / may they (together) alter his fate!

[4.294] gu$_4$-gin$_7$ / ud-ne-na he$_2$-gaz

gu$_4$-gin$_7$	/	ud-ne-na	he$_2$-gaz
gu$_4$=gin	/	ud=nen=a	he=gaz=ø
bull=EQU	/	day=DEM=LOC	MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=to kill$_M$=ABS3SG.SBJ

Like a bull, / on this day may he be slaughtered!

[4.295] am-gin$_7$ / a$_2$ huš-na he$_2$-dab$_5$

am-gin$_7$	/	a$_2$	huš-na
am=gin	/	a$_2$	huš=ani=a
wild bull=EQU	/	strength	angry=POSS.3SG.HUM=LOC

he$_2$-dab$_5$
he=dab$_5$=ø
MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=to seize$_M$=ABS3SG.SBJ

Like a wild bull, / in his furious strength may he be seized!

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[4.296]　^{ŋiš}dur$_2$-ŋar lu$_2$ mu-na-gub-a-ni / sahar-ra he$_2$-em-ta-tuš

^{ŋiš}dur$_2$-ŋar	lu$_2$
durŋar	lu$_2$
chair	individual

mu-na-gub-a-ni	/
mu=na=gub=ø=a=ani=(e)	/
CP$_{EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=to stand$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$=NMZ=POSS.3SG.HUM=(LOCTR)	/

sahar-ra	he$_2$-em-ta-tuš
sahar=a	he=im=ta=tuš=ø
dust=LOC	MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=CP$_{VEN}$=DI$_{ABL}$=to dwell$_{M.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

Instead of upon his chair having been set up for him by an individual, / may he sit in the dust!

[4.297]　šeg$_7$ an-na he$_2$-da-a-gi$_4$ / a ki-a he$_2$-da-a-gi$_4$

šeg$_7$	an-na	he$_2$-da-a-gi$_4$
šeg$_7$=ø	an=a	he=da=*I=gi$_4$=ø
rain=ABS$_{SBJ}$	heaven=LOC	MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=DI$_{CMT}$=DI$_{LOC}$=to return$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

/	a	ki-a
/	a=ø	ki=a
/	water=ABS$_{SBJ}$	place=LOC

he$_2$-da-a-gi$_4$
he=da=*I=gi$_4$=ø
MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=DI$_{CMT}$=DI$_{LOC}$=to return$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

May the rain be held back in heaven! / May the water remain in the earth!

[4.298] lu₂-bi / lu₂ lu₂-si-sa₂-ra niŋ₂-erim₂ ak-gin₇ / til-bi an-na ᵘʳ³uru₁₈(URU×A)
he₂-mi-ŋal₂ / šu na-ni-ba-re

lu₂-bi	/	lu₂	lu₂-si-sa₂-ra
lu₂=bi=(e)	/	lu₂	lusisa=ra
individual=DEM=(ERG)	/	individual	righteous man=DAT

niŋ₂-erim₂	ak-gin₇	/	til-bi
niŋ₂=erim₂=ø	ak=ø=gin	/	til=bi=ø
ABSTR=evil=ABS_DO	to do_M=AP=EQU	/	end=DEM=ABS_SBJ

an-na	ᵘʳ³uru₁₈(URU×A)	he₂-mi-ŋal₂
an=a	iri=(a)	he=imma=*I=ŋal₂=ø
heaven=LOC	city=(LOC)	MP_DEO.OPT=CP_NTR.MID=DI_LOC=to exist_M=ABS_3SG.SBJ

/	šu	na-ni-ba-re
/	šu=ø	na=ni=(b)=bar=e
/	hand=ABS_DO	MP_DEO.NEG.OPT=DI_LOC=(PRO_3SG.NHUM.DO)=CVVE_M.CVR=PRO_3SG.AG

This man, / like a man who does evil to a righteous man, / may this end exist (for him) in heaven and in the city – / may no one release him!

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Statue B*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 358-361
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.St.B*
MUSEUM NUMBER: AO 2

[4.299] bala-a-na še-ŋar he₂-ŋal₂

bala-a-na	še-ŋar	he₂-ŋal₂
bala=ani=a	šeŋar=ø	he=ŋal₂=ø
reign=POSS.3SG.HUM=LOC	starvation=ABS_SBJ	MP_DEO.OPT=to exist_M=ABS_3SG.SBJ

May starvation exist in his reign!

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Statue B*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 357
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.St.B*
MUSEUM NUMBER: AO 2

[4.300]   gaba-ŋal₂ diŋir-re-ne-ka / en ᵈNin-ŋir₂-su-ka / nam-mah-a-ni / kalam-e he₂-zu-zu

gaba-ŋal₂	diŋir-re-ne-ka	/	en	ᵈNin-ŋir₂-su-ka
gabaŋal	diŋir=ene=ak=a(k)	/	en	Ninŋirsu=ak=a(k)
forceful one	god=PL.HUM=GEN=GEN	/	lord	DN_♂=GEN=GEN

/	nam-mah-a-ni	/	kalam-e
/	nam=mah=ø=ani=ø	/	kalam=e
/	ABSTR=to be great_H=AP=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS_DO	/	land=ERG

he₂-zu-zu
he=(b)=zu:zu=(e)
MP_DEO.OPT=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to know_M^x2=(PRO3SG.AG)

Of the forceful one of the gods, / of lord Ninŋirsu, / his (i.e., Gudea's) greatness, / may the land know it!

[4.301]   Gu₃-de₂-a / lu₂ e₂ du₃-a-ka / nam-til₃-la-ni he₂-suř / mu-še₃ mu-na-sa₄

Gu₃-de₂-a	/	lu₂	e₂	du₃-a-ka	/
Gudea	/	lu₂	e₂=ø	du₃=a=ak	/
PN_♂	/	individual	temple=ABS_DO	to build_H=PP=GEN	/

nam-til₃-la-ni		he₂-suř
nam=til₃=ø=ani=ø		he=suř=ø
ABSTR=to live_H.SG=AP=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS_SBJ		MP_DEO.OPT=to be long_H=ABS3SG.SBJ

/	mu-še₃	mu-na-sa₄
/	mu=še	mu=na=(n)=sa₄=ø
/	name=TERM	CP_TR.ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.3SG=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to name_H=ABS3SG.DO

"Gudea, / the man who built the temple, / may his life be long!" / for a name he named it for her.

[4.302] ᵈInana / nin kur-kur-ra-ke₄ / saŋ-ŋa₂-ni unkin-na / nam he₂-ma-kuř-e

      ᵈInana   /   nin   kur-kur-ra-ke₄   /

      Inana   /   nin   kurːkur=ak=e   /

      DN♀   /   lady   land^{x2}=GEN=ERG   /

      saŋ-ŋa₂-ni   unkin-na   /

      saŋ=ani=(e)   unkin=a   /

      head=POSS.3SG.HUM=(LOCTR)   assembly=LOC   /

      nam   he₂-ma-kuř-e

      nam=ø   he=imma=(b)=kuř=e

      fate=ABS_DO   MP_DEO.OPT=CP_MID=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to cut_M.CVR=PRO3SG.AG

      Inana, / lady of all the lands, / at his head, in the assembly, / may she curse him!

[4.303] mu-bi he₂-pad₃-de₃ / lu₂-bi gu₅-li-ŋu₁₀ he₂-am₃ / mu-ŋu₁₀ he₂-pad₃-de₃

      mu-bi

      mu=bi=ø

      name=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS_DO

      he₂-pad₃-de₃   /

      he=(b)=pad₃=e   /

      MP_DEO.OPT=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to name_M=PRO3SG.AG   /

      lu₂-bi   gu₅-li-ŋu₁₀

      lu₂=bi=ø   guli=ŋu=ø

      individual=DEM=ABS_SBJ   friend=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS_DO

      he₂-am₃   /   mu-ŋu₁₀

      he=am   /   mu=ŋu=ø

      MP_DEO.OPT=COP.3SG   /   name=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS_DO

      he₂-pad₃-de₃

      he=(b)=pad₃=e

      MP_DEO.OPT=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to name_M=PRO3SG.AG

      May he invoke its (i.e., the temple's) name! / May such a man be my friend! /
      May he (also) invoke my name![499]

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[499] There is a verbatim duplicate of this section in *Gudea Statue P* (col. iv lns. 6-8).

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[4.304] [ŋa₂⁷ l]ugal-ni / [ki] aŋ₂-me / [nam]-til₃-ŋu₁₀ he₂-suř

[ŋa₂⁷   l]ugal-ni   /   [ki] aŋ₂-me
[ŋa’e⁷ l]ugal=ani=ø   /   [ki]—aŋ₂=a=me:(en)
[me   k]ing=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS_SBJ /   [place]—to measure_H.CVR=PP=COP.1SG

/   [nam]-til₃-ŋu₁₀
/   [nam]=til₃=ø=ŋu=ø
/   [ABSTR]=to live_H.SG=AP=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS_SBJ

he₂-suř
he₂=suř=ø
MP_DEO.OPT=to be long_H=ABS3SG.SBJ

"[As for me(?)], / I am one beloved by his master, / may my life be long!"

[4.305] ᵈNin-ŋir₂-su / lugal ⁿⁱˢtukul-ke₄ / ᵈBa-U₂ / dumu An-na-ke₄ / ᵈIg-alim /
ᵈŠul-šag₄-ga-na / dumu ki aŋ₂ / ᵈNin-ŋir₂-su-ka-ke₄-ne / suhuš-a-ni
he₂-bur̆ₓ(KA×ŠU)-re-ne / numun-a-ni he₂-til-ne

ᵈNin-ŋir₂-su	/	lugal	ⁿⁱˢtukul-ke₄	/	ᵈBa-U₂	/
Ninŋirsu	/	lugal	tukul=ak=e	/	BaU	/
DN♂	/	king	weapon=GEN=ERG	/	DN♀	/

dumu	An-na-ke₄	/	ᵈIg-alim	/	ᵈŠul-šag₄-ga-na	/
dumu	An=ak=e	/	Ig-alim	/	Šul-šagana	/
child	DN♂=GEN=ERG	/	DN♂	/	DN♂	/

dumu	ki aŋ₂	/	ᵈNin-ŋir₂-su-ka-ke₄-ne
dumu	ki—aŋ₂=(a)	/	Ninŋirsu=ak=ak=ene=e
child	place—to measure_H.CVR=(PP)	/	DN♂=GEN=GEN=PL.HUM=ERG

/	suhuš-a-ni
/	suhuš=ani=ø
/	foundation=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS_DO

he₂-bur̆ₓ(KA×ŠU)-re-ne	/
he=(b)=bur̆ₓ=ene	/
MP_DEO.OPT=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to tear out_M=PRO3PL.AG	/

numun-a-ni
numun=ani=ø
progeny=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS_DO

he₂-til-ne
he=(b)=til=ene
MP_DEO.OPT=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to finish_M=PRO3PL.AG

Ninŋirsu, / the master of the weapon, / BaU, / the daughter of An, / Ig-alim / (and)
Šul-šagana, / the beloved sons / of Ninŋirsu, / may they tear out his foundation /
(and) make his progeny come to an end!

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[4.306] numun-na-⸢ni⸣ / he₂-eb₂-til-⸢ne⸣ / mu-ni he₂-eb₂-ha-lam-e-n[e]

numun-na-⸢ni⸣   /
numun=ani=ø   /
progeny=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$ /

he₂-eb₂-til-⸢ne⸣   /
he=b=til=ene   /
MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to finish$_M$=PRO3PL.AG   /

mu-ni   he₂-eb₂-ha-lam-e-n[e]
mu=ani=ø   he=b=halam=en[e]
name=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$ MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to destroy$_M$=PR[O3PL.AG]

May they bring an end to / his progeny! / May the[y] destroy his name![500]

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Statue S*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 16-18
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.St."S"*
MUSEUM NUMBER: EŞEM 5215

</div>

The preceding paragraphs have sufficiently outlined the formal characteristics of Optatives in Sumerian and justified the category's existence and assignment to the MP {he}. To conclude, supplementary evidence from the principal corpus will be given below without providing discourse context or commentary:

EXAMPLES ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[500] It must be noted that the authenticity of this statue and/or its attribution to Gudea is a matter of some debate. For a discussion of this statue's authenticity and a bibliography of the arguments surrounding it, see: Edzard, *Gudea and his Dynasty*, 61.

[4.307] sig-ta du igi-nim du-⌜me?⌝-⌜en?⌝ / a₂ sed₅ʲ(A.MUŠ₂.DI)-bi-še₃ ni₂
ha-ab-ši-te-en-te-en

sig-ta	du	igi-nim	du-⌜me?⌝-⌜en?⌝	/
sig=ta	du=ø	iginim=(ta)	du=ø=me:en	/
south=ABL	to go$_{M.SG}$=AP	north=(ABL)	to go$_{M.SG}$=AP=COP.2SG	/

a₂	sed₅ʲ(A.MUŠ₂.DI)-bi-še₃	ni₂
a₂	sed₅=ø=bi=še	ni₂=ø
time	to cool$_H$=AP=DEM=TERM	self=ABS$_{DO}$

ha-ab-ši-te-en-te-en
he=b=ši=(b)=ten:ten=(e)
MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.IO=DI$_{TERM}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to be cool$_{M.CVR}$^{x2}=(PRO3SG.AG)

Whether one comes from the south or comes from the north, / may he or she find
reprieve when the time is cool![501]

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Šulgi A*
LINE NUMBER: 31-32
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Šul.A* N$_{I4}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-16-198 + N 1519 + N 1572

</div>

[4.308] nita har-ra-an-na du kaskal-e ŋi₆ ba-an-da-sa₂-am₃ / iri du₃-a-ni-gin₇ zi-ni
ha-ba-ši-in-tum₃

nita	har-ra-an-na	du	kaskal-e
nita	harran=a	du=ø	kaskal=e
man	road=LOC	to go$_{M.SG}$=AP+ABS$_{SBJ}$	crossroad=LOCTR

ŋi₆	ba-an-da-sa₂-am₃
ŋi₆=(a)	ba=n=da=sa₂=ø=a=am
night=(LOC)	CP$_{NTR.MID}$=PRO3SG.HUM.IO=DI$_{CMT}$=to arrive$_M$=ABS3SG.SBJ=NMZ=COP.3SG

/	iri	du₃-a-ni-gin₇	zi-ni
/	iri	du₃=a=ani=gin	zi=ani=ø
/	city	to build$_H$=PP=POSS.3SG.HUM=EQU	life=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

ha-ba-ši-in-tum₃
he=ba=ši=b(!)=tum₃=(e)
MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{TERM}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to bring$_{M.SG}$=(PRO3SG.AG)

A man who goes along the road and arrives at the crossroads at night, / may he
take refuge there as if it were his own (well) built city!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Šulgi A*
LINE NUMBER: 33-34
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Šul.A*_N$_{III13}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: IM 58491

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[501] Most manuscripts have signs that clearly represent …=e where this manuscript has the perplexing …=me:en
copula. This manuscript was selected here because it provided the fullest picture of the modal form.

[4.309] an-ub da limmu$_2$ ⌜uŋ$_3$⌝ saŋ sig$_{10}$-ga-a-ba mu-ŋu$_{10}$ he$_2$-em-/-mi-še$_{21}$

an-ub	da	limmu$_2$	⌜uŋ$_3$⌝
anub	da=(ak)	limmu$_2$	uŋ$_3$
(cosmic) corner	side=(GEN)	four	populace

saŋ sig$_{10}$-ga-a-ba	mu-ŋu$_{10}$
saŋ—sig$_{10}$=a=bi=a	mu=ŋu=ø
head—to place$_{H.CVR}$=PP=DEM=LOC	name=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{SBJ}$

he$_2$-em-/-mi-še$_{21}$
he=imma=*I=še$_{21}$=ø
MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=CP$_{PASS}$=DI$_{LOC}$=to call by name$_M$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

Among the well-cared for populace of the four corners, may my name be proclaimed!

[4.310] šir$_3$ kug-ŋa$_2$ hu-mu-un-e$_3$-ne

šir$_3$	kug-ŋa$_2$
šir$_3$	kug=ŋu=a
song	holy=POSS.1SG.HUM=LOC

hu-mu-un-e$_3$-ne
he=mu=b(!)=e=ene
MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to say$_{M.PL}$=PRO$_{3PL.AG}$

May they praise it (i.e., my name) in my holy song!

[4.311] ⌜nam⌝-mah-ŋa$_2$ hu-mu-ni-pad$_3$-de$_3$-en-ne

⌜nam⌝-mah-ŋa$_2$
nam=mah=ø=ŋu=a
ABSTR=to be great$_H$=AP=POSS.1SG.HUM=LOC$_{DO}$

hu-mu-ni-pad$_3$-de$_3$-en-ne
he=mu=ni=(b)=pad$_3$=ene
MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to name$_M$=PRO$_{3PL.AG}$

May they glorify(?) my majesty!

[4.312] An-ra dug$_4$-mu-na-ab An-e ha-ma-du$_8$-e

An-ra	dug$_4$-mu-na-ab	An-e
An=ra	dug$_4$=mu=na=b	An=e
DN$_\sigma$=DAT	to say$_{H.SG}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$	DN$_\sigma$=ERG

ha-ma-du$_8$-e
he=mu=*A=(b)=du$_8$=e
MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to loosen$_M$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

Tell it to An! May An undo it for me!

[4.313] $^{\ulcorner d\urcorner}$sumun$_2$ zid-ŋu$_{10}$ lu$_2$ he$_2$-em-sar-re / lu$_2$ he$_2$-em-mi-in-dab$_5$-be$_2$

$^{\ulcorner d\urcorner}$sumun$_2$	zid-ŋu$_{10}$	lu$_2$
sumun$_2$	zid=ŋu=ø	lu$_2$=ø
wild cow	true=POSS.1SG.HUM=VOC	individual=ABS$_{DO}$

he$_2$-em-sar-re	/ lu$_2$
he=n=sar=e(n)	/ lu$_2$
MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.DO}$=to hasten$_M$=PRO$_{2SG.AG}$	/ individual=ABS$_{DO}$

he$_2$-em-mi-in-dab$_5$-be$_2$
he=imma=*I=n=dab$_5$=e(n)
MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.DO}$=to seize$_M$=PRO$_{2SG.AG}$

Oh my true divine cow, may you drive the man out, / may you seize the man!

[4.314] šag₄ kug-zu mah-a ki-bi ha-ma-⌈gi₄⌉-gi₄

šag₄   kug-zu   mah-a
šag₄   kug=zu=ø   mah=a=a(m)
heart   holy=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS_SBJ   to be great_H=NMZ=COP.3SG

ki-bi
ki=bi=(e)
place=POSS.3SG.NHUM=(LOCTR)

ha-ma-⌈gi₄⌉-gi₄
he=mu=*A=gi₄:gi₄=ø
MP_DEO.OPT=CP_EMPY=DI_DAT.1SG=to return_M^{x2}=ABS_3SG.SBJ

Your holy heart is great! May it be assuaged on my behalf!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Exaltation of Inana*
LINE NUMBER: 110
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *ExIn* N_I1
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-15-422 + CBS 7847

</div>

[4.315] nin ki aŋ₂ An-na-me-en šag₄-zu ha-ma-sed₄-e

nin   ki aŋ₂   An-na-me-en
nin   ki—aŋ₂=(a)=ø   An=a(k)=me:en
lady   place—to measure_H.CVR=(PP)=ABS_SBJ   DN_♂=GEN=COP.2SG

šag₄-zu
šag₄=zu=ø
heart=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS_DO

ha-ma-sed₄-e
he=mu=*A=(b)=sed₄=e(n)
MP_DEO.OPT=CP_TR.ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.1SG=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to cool_M=PRO2SG.AG

You are the lady beloved of An – may you calm your heart for me!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Exaltation of Inana*
LINE NUMBER: 121
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *ExIn*_N_I1
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-15-422 + CBS 7847

</div>

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[4.316] gala an-bar$_7$-ke$_4$ šu hu-mu-ra-⌈ab⌉-⌈gi$_4$⌉-⌈gi$_4$⌉

gala	an-bar$_7$-ke$_4$	šu
gala=(e)	anbar=ak=e	šu=ø
singer=(ERG)	noon=GEN=LOCTR	hand=ABS$_{DO}$

hu-mu-ra-⌈ab⌉-⌈gi$_4$⌉-⌈gi$_4$⌉
he=mu=ra=b=gi$_4$:gi$_4$=(e)
MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.2SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to return$_{M.CVR}$^{x2}=(PRO$_{3SG.AG}$)

May a singer repeat it for you at noon!

[4.317] [kur-ur$_2$-ra] ⌈sur$_2$⌉-du$_3$-gin$_7$ saŋ hu-mu-da-⌈dub$_2$⌉-⌈be$_2$⌉

[kur-ur$_2$-ra]	⌈sur$_2$⌉-du$_3$-gin$_7$
[kurur=a]	surdu=gin
[foothill=LOC]	falcon=EQU

saŋ	hu-mu-da-⌈dub$_2$⌉-⌈be$_2$⌉
saŋ=ø	he=mu=da=(b)=dub$_2$=e
head=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=DI$_{CMT}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to tremble$_{M.CVR}$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

"May he, with my aid, smash heads like a falcon [in the foothills]!"

[4.318] kur-kur-re muš ki-dar-ba saŋ hu$^!$(RI)-mu-da-du-be$_2$

kur-kur-re	muš	ki-dar-ba
kur:kur=e	muš	kindar=bi=a
land^{x2}=LOCTR	snake	crevice=DEM=LOC

saŋ	hu$^!$(RI)-mu-da-du-be$_2$
saŋ=ø	he=mu=da=(b)=dub$_2$=e
head=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=DI$_{CMT}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to tremble$_{M.CVR}$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

"May he smash the lands (like) a snake in its crevice!"

[4.319] muš-saŋ kur-bi-ta ed₂ da-ga hu-mu-da-⌈du⌉

        muš-saŋ   kur-bi-ta   ed₂

        mušsaŋ   kur=bi=ta   ed₂=ø

        saŋ(kal)-snake   mountain=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABL   to go out_M=AP

        da-ga   hu-mu-da-⌈du⌉

        dag=a   he=mu=da=(b)=du=(e)

        side=LOC   MP_DEO.OPT=CP_TR.ACT=DI_CMT=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to go_M.SG=(PRO3SG.AG)

        "May he make them slither around (like) a *saŋ(kal)*-snake coming down from its mountain!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Inana and Ebih*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 82
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IEb*_N₁₇
MUSEUM NUMBER: A 30271 + A 30241

</div>

[4.320] kur-re a₂ he₂-bi₂-ŋar igi he₂-ni-bar gid₂-da ⌈ha⌉-ba-zu

        kur-re   a₂

        kur=e   a₂=ø

        mountain=LOCTR_SOCV   arm=ABS_DO

        he₂-bi₂-ŋar

        he=ba=*I=(n)=ŋar=ø

        MP_DEO.OPT=CP_MID=DI_LOC=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to put_H.CVR=ABS3SG.DO

        igi   he₂-ni-bar

        igi=ø   he=ni=(n)=bar=ø

        eye=ABS_DO   MP_DEO.OPT=DI_LOC=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=CVVE_H.CVR=ABS3SG.DO

        gid₂-da

        gid₂=a=ø

        to be long_H.SG=PP=ABS_DO

        ⌈ha⌉-ba-zu

        he=ba=(n)=zu=ø

        MP_DEO.OPT=CP_MID=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to know_H=ABS3SG.DO

        "May he defeat the mountain, (and) examine it, (and) know (its) length!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Inana and Ebih*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 84
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IEb*_N₁₇
MUSEUM NUMBER: A 30271 + A 30241

</div>

<div align="center">

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

</div>

[4.321] har-ra-an kug An-na-še₃ he₂-ni-e₃ buru₃-da-[bi] ha-ba-zu

har-ra-an | kug | An-na-še₃
harran | kug | An=a(k)=še
route | holy | DN♂=GEN=TERM

he₂-ni-e₃ | buru₃-da-[bi]
he=ni=e₃=ø | burud=a=[bi=ø]
MP$_{\text{DEO.OPT}}$=DI$_{\text{LOC}}$=to go out$_H$=ABS$_{\text{3SG.SBJ}}$ to be deep$_H$=PP=[POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS$_{\text{SBJ}}$]

ha-ba-zu
he=ba=zu=ø
MP$_{\text{DEO.OPT}}$=CP$_{\text{PASS}}$=to know$_H$=ABS$_{\text{3SG.SBJ}}$

"May he go out on the holy campaign of An and may [its] depth be learned (by him)!"

[4.322] mu-ŋu₁₀ kur-kur-ra zid-de-eš / hu-mu-un-pad₃-de₃-me-en

mu-ŋu₁₀ | kur-kur-ra | zid-de-eš | /
mu=ŋu=ø | kur:kur=a | zid=eš(e) | /
name=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{\text{DO}}$ foreign land^{x2}=LOC right=TERM$_{\text{ADV}}$ /

hu-mu-un-pad₃-de₃-me-en
he=mu=b(!)=pad₃=e=(a)=me:en
MP$_{\text{DEO.OPT}}$=CP$_{\text{TR.ACT}}$=PRO$_{\text{3SG.NHUM.DO}}$=to name$_M$=PRO$_{\text{3SG.AG}}$=(NMZ)=COP.2SG

Let one call out my name / truly in all the foreign lands!

[4.323] ga-na ga-na-ab-dug$_4$ ga-na ga-na-ab-dug$_4$ / inim-ba ha-mu-da-gub

ga-na	ga-na-ab-dug$_4$		ga-na
gana	ga=na=b=dug$_4$		gana
EXCLM	MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to say$_{H.SG}$		EXCLM

ga-na-ab-dug$_4$	/	inim-ba
ga=na=b=dug$_4$	/	inim=bi=a
MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to say$_{H.SG}$	/	matter=DEM=LOC

ha-mu-da-gub
he=mu=da=gub
MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=CP$_{ACT}$=DI$_{CMT}$=to stand$_{M.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

"Well, well, I shall tell her; / in that matter, may she stand with me!"

[4.324] nin-ŋu$_{10}$ ^{d}Ŋa$_2$-tum$_3$-dug$_3$ ŋa$_2$-ra ha-mu-u$_3$-ru

nin-ŋu$_{10}$	^{d}Ŋa$_2$-tum$_3$-dug$_3$	ŋa$_2$-ra
nin=ŋu	Ŋatumdug=ø	ŋa'e=ra
lady=POSS.1SG.HUM	DN♀=VOC	me=DAT

ha-mu-u$_3$-ru
he=mu=(b)=uru$_3$=(en)
MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to protect$_M$=(PRO$_{2SG.AG}$)

"Oh my lady Ŋatumdug, may you lend it to me for protection!"

[4.325]   na ga-deg$_x$(RI) na-deg$_x$(RI)-ŋu$_{10}$ he$_2$-dab$_5$

       na   ga-deg$_x$(RI)

       na=ø   ga=deg$_x$

       CVNE=ABS$_{DO}$ MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=to collect$_{H.CVR}$

       na-deg$_x$(RI)-ŋu$_{10}$

       nadeg=ŋu=ø

       advice=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

       he$_2$-dab$_5$

       he=(b)=dab$_5$=(en)

       MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to seize$_M$=(PRO2SG.AG)

       "I shall give advice – may you seize my advice!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 152
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.A*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1512

</div>

[4.326]   ensi kug-zu me-ta-na-ŋu$_{10}$ / ^{d}Nanše nin$_9$ A[N].UD.MA$_2$.NINA.KI.[TA]G.TA-ŋu$_{10}$
       / šag$_4$-bi ha-ma-pad$_3$-de$_3$

       ensi   kug-zu

       ensi   kugzu

       dream interpreter   wise

       me-ta-na-ŋu$_{10}$ / ^{d}Nanše   nin$_9$

       mete=ani=ŋu   /   Nanše   nin$_9$

       specialty=POSS.3SG.HUM=POSS.1SG.HUM   /   DN♀   sister

       A[N].UD.MA$_2$.NINA.KI.[TA]G.TA-ŋu$_{10}$ /   šag$_4$-bi

       Sirarat=ŋu=(e)   /   šag$_4$=bi=ø

       GN=POSS.1SG.HUM=(ERG)   /   heart=POSS.1SG.NHUM=ABS$_{DO}$

       ha-ma-pad$_3$-de$_3$

       he=mu=*A=(b)=pad$_3$=e

       MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to name$_M$=PRO3SG.AG

       "My dream interpreter, expert of her specialty, / Nanše, my sister in Sirarat, / may
       she reveal its meaning to me."

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 30-32
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.A*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1512

</div>

[4.327] ŋiri₃-bi ha-ma-ŋa₂-ŋa₂
ŋiri₃-bi
ŋiri₃=bi=ø
path=DEM=ABS_DO

ha-ma-ŋa₂-ŋa₂
he=mu=*A=(b)=ŋa₂:ŋa₂=(e)
MP_DEO.OPT=CP_TR.ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.1SG=(PRO_3SG.NHUM.DO)=to put_M^x2=(PRO_3SG.AG)

"May she (i.e., Nanše) place this path for me!"

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 48
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.A*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1512
</div>

[4.328] bar-ŋu₁₀-a šud₃ he₂-mi-ša₄-za
bar-ŋu₁₀-a   šud₃
bar=ŋu=a   šud₃=ø
back=POSS.1SG.HUM=LOC   prayer=ABS_DO

he₂-mi-ša₄-za
he=mu=*I=(b)=ša₄=enzen
MP_DEO.OPT=CP_TR.ACT=DI_LOC=(PRO_3SG.NHUM.DO)=CVVE_M.CVR=PRO_2PL.AG

May you all pray on my behalf!

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder B*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 27
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.B*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1511
</div>

[4.329] hul₂-la ⌜ha⌝-⌜ni⌝-ku₄-ku₄
hul₂-la   ⌜ha⌝-⌜ni⌝-ku₄-ku₄
hul₂=a   he=ni=ku₄:ku₄=(en)
joy=LOC_ADV   MP_DEO.OPT=DI_LOC=to enter_M^x2=(PRO_2SG.SBJ)

"May you enter joyfully!"

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder B*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 43
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.B*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1511
</div>

[4.330] [ᵈ]Utu kur-˹še₃ˀ˺ [iˀ-niˀ]-in-ku₄-ku₄-˹de₃˺ ˹a₂ˀ˺-[tah]-ŋu₁₀ he₂-me-en

[ᵈ]Utu	kur-˹še₃ˀ˺
Utu=ø	kur=še
DN♂=VOC	mountain=TERM

[iˀ-niˀ]-in-ku₄-ku₄-˹de₃˺
[i=ni]=n=ku₄:ku₄=ed=e(n)
[CP$_{NEUT}$=DI$_{LOC}$]=PVN=to enter$_M$^{x2}=FUT=PRO$_{1SG.SBJ}$

˹a₂ˀ˺-[tah]-ŋu₁₀	he₂-me-en
a[tah]=ŋu=ø	he=me:en
he[lper]=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{SBJ}$	MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=COP.2SG

"Oh Utu, I will enter towards the mountain. May you be my he[lper]!"

[4.331] kur ⁿⁱˢ˹eren˺ [kuř-še₃] ˹iˀ˺-in-ku₄-ku₄-de₃ ˹a₂˺-[tah]-ŋu₁₀ he₂-me-en

kur	ⁿⁱˢ˹eren˺	[kuř-še₃]
kur	eren	[kuř=ø=še]
mountain	cedar	[to cut$_M$=AP=TERM]

˹iˀ˺-in-ku₄-ku₄-de₃
i=ni=n=ku₄:ku₄=ed=e(n)
CP$_{NEUT}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PVN=to enter$_M$^{x2}=FUT=PRO$_{1SG.SBJ}$

˹a₂˺-[tah]-ŋu₁₀	he₂-me-en
a[tah]=ŋu=ø	he=me:en
he[lper]=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{SBJ}$	MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=COP.2SG

"[Towards] the mountain of [cutting] cedar, I will enter! May you be my he[lper]!"

[4.332]   [x x x]-sag₉ saŋ? dam-[z]u ha-ba-tum₂

[x x x]-sag₉	saŋ?	dam-[z]u
[x x x]-sag₉	saŋ=ø	dam=[z]u=(e)
[P]N	person=ABS_DO	spouse=[PO]SS.2SG.HUM=(ERG)

ha-ba-tum₂
he=ba=(n)=tum₂=(e)
MP_DEO.OPT=CP_MID=(PRO3SG.HUM.DO)=to carry_M.SG=(PRO3SG.AG)

"(Then) may [yo]ur spouse take [x x x]-sag, the slave!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *NSGU.II.158*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 3′
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *dit.158*
MUSEUM NUMBER: L.6833

</div>

4.11.1 NEGATIVE OPTATIVE (NEGATIVE REALIZABLE WISH "MAY LUKE NOT DO IT")

The Negative Optative expresses what a speaker wishes will not happen, and, like the Optative, it does so without containing a lexical item that means "(to) wish," "(to) regret," "(to) hope," or "(to) desire." In Sumerian, this function is coded via the polysemous MP {na}, which also expresses the Prohibitive (§4.6). These forms occur in semantically transparent contexts and as such examples will not receive individual comment:

[4.333]   dumu er₂ pad₃-da-⌈bi⌉ [ama]-⌈ni⌉ na-an-sed₄-e

dumu	er₂ pad₃-da-⌈bi⌉
dumu	er₂—pad₃=a=bi=(e)
child	tear—to find_H.CVR=PP=POSS.3SG.NHUM=(ERG)

[ama]-⌈ni⌉
[ama]=ani=ø
[mother]=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS_DO

na-an-sed₄-e
na=n=sed₄=e
MP_DEO.NEG.OPT=PRO3SG.HUM.DO=to cool_M=PRO3SG.AG

May its crying child not find solace with his or her [mother]!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Exaltation of Inana*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 96
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *ExIn*_N₁₁
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-15-422 + CBS 7847

</div>

[4.334]   iri An-ne₂ nam ba-an-kuř-ra₂-a-gin₇ ki-bi na-an-gi₄-gi₄

iri	An-ne₂	nam
iri=(e)	An=e	nam=ø
city=(LOCTR)	DN♂=ERG	fate=ABS_DO

ba-an-kuř-ra₂-a-gin₇
ba=n=kuř=ø=a=gin
CP_MID=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to cut$_{H.}$CVR=ABS3SG.DO=NMZ=EQU

ki-bi
ki=bi=ø
place=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS_DO

na-an-gi₄-gi₄
na=b(!)=gi₄:gi₄=(e)
MP_DEO.NEG.OPT=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to return$_M$^{x2}=(PRO3SG.AG)

"Like a city which An has cursed, may no one restore it!"

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: <i>Inana and Ebih</i>
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 48
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: <i>IEb</i>_N_III4
MUSEUM NUMBER: N 1117
</div>

[4.335]   ᵈEn-lil₂-le saŋ-ki gid₂-da-gin₇ gu₂-bi na-an-zi-zi

ᵈEn-lil₂-le	saŋ-ki gid₂-da-gin₇
Enlil=e	saŋki—gid₂=a=gin
DN♂=ERG	forehead—to be long$_{H.}$CVR=PP=EQU

gu₂-bi
gu₂=bi=ø
neck=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS_DO

na-an-zi-zi
na=b(!)=zi:zi=(e)
MP_DEO.NEG.OPT=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to raise$_M.$CVR^{x2}=(PRO3SG.AG)

"Like (a city) at which Enlil has frowned, may one never again lift its neck up!"[502]

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: <i>Inana and Ebih</i>
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 49
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: <i>IEb</i> N_III4
MUSEUM NUMBER: N 1117
</div>

<div align="center">EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE</div>

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[502] Manuscript <i>IEb</i>_N_III28 has the expected preverbal pronoun (i.e., {b}), but that form was not cited as the reduplicated verbal root was damaged (na-ab-˹zi˺-[zi]).

[4.336] bad₃-bi / dug₄-ga ᵈUtu-ta / *Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pí* / gaba-ri na-an-tuku-tuku / mu-bi-im

bad₃-bi	/	dug₄-ga	ᵈUtu-ta	/	*Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pí*
bad₃=bi	/	dug₄=a	Utu=ta	/	*Ḫammu-rāpi*=(e)
wall=DEM	/	to say$_{H.SG}$=PP	DN♂=INST	/	PN♂=(ERG)

/	gaba-ri	na-an-tuku-tuku
/	gabari=ø	na=n=tuku:tuku=(e)
/	rival=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{DEO.NEG.OPT}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.DO}$=to get$_M$^{x2}=(PRO$_{3SG.AG}$)

/	mu-bi-im
/	mu=bi=am
/	name=POSS.3SG.NHUM=COP.3SG

The name of / this wall is / "By the decree of Utu / may Ḫammu-rāpi / not acquire a rival!"

BAD₃ *šu-ú* / *in qí-bi-it* ᵈUTU / *Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pí* / *ma-ḫi-ri a ir-ši* / *šum-šu*

BAD₃	*šu-ú*		/	*in*	*qí-bi-it*	ᵈUTU
dūrum	*šū*		/	*in*	*qibīt*	*Šamaš*
wall:NOM.SG	DEM.NOM.3.MASC.SG	/		by	word:BOUND.SG	DN♂

/	*Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pí*	/ *ma-ḫi-ri*	*a ir-ši*	
/	*Ḫammu-rāpi*	/ *māḫirī*	*ayy-irši*	
/	PN♂	/ rival:ACC.PL	to acquire:G.VETIT.3.COMM.SG	

/	*šum-šu*
/	*šumšu*
/	name:POSS.3.MASC.SG

The name of / this wall is / "By the decree of Šamaš, / may Ḫammu-rāpi / not acquire a rival!"

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[4.337] niŋ₂-a₂-zig₃-ga-ka / lu₂ nam-mi-gul-e

niŋ₂-a₂-zig₃-ga-ka   /   lu₂
niŋ₂=azig=ak=a   /   lu₂=(e)
ABSTR=violence=GEN=LOC_ADV   /   individual=(ERG)

nam-mi-gul-e
na=imma=*I=(b)=gul=e
MP_DEO.NEG.OPT=CP_MID=DI_LOC=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to destroy_M=PRO3SG.AG

May no individual destroy it / violently!503

[4.338] diŋir-ra-ni / uŋ₃-ŋa₂ ra-a igi na-ši-bar-re

diŋir-ra-ni   /   uŋ₃-ŋa₂   ra-a
diŋir=ani=(e)   /   uŋ₃=a   ra=a
god=POSS.3SG.NHUM=(ERG)   /   populace=LOC   to beat_H=PP

igi   na-ši-bar-re
igi=ø   na=ši=(b)=bar=e
eye=ABS_DO   MP_DEO.NEG.OPT=DI_TERM=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=CVVE_M.CVR=PRO3SG.AG

May his god / not look at the stricken ones in the crowd!

---

503 Prototypically, the VR gul is a reduplication class *marû*, but the pronoun marking on this specific form makes its designation as a *marû* secure.

[4.339] lu_2-bi / lu_2 lu_2-si-sa_2-ra $niŋ_2$-$erim_2$ ak-gin_7 / til-bi an-na ^{ur_3}uru$_{18}$(URU×A)
he_2-mi-$ŋal_2$ / šu na-ni-ba-re

lu_2-bi	/	lu_2	lu_2-si-sa_2-ra
lu_2=bi=(e)	/	lu_2	lusisa=ra
individual=DEM=(ERG)	/	individual	righteous man=DAT

$niŋ_2$-$erim_2$	ak-gin_7	/	til-bi
$niŋ_2$=$erim_2$=ø	ak=ø=gin	/	til=bi=ø
ABSTR=evil=ABS$_{DO}$	to do$_M$=AP=EQU	/	end=DEM=ABS$_{SBJ}$

an-na	^{ur_3}uru$_{18}$(URU×A)	he_2-mi-$ŋal_2$
an=a	iri=(a)	he=imma=*I=$ŋal_2$=ø
heaven=LOC	city=(LOC)	MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=CP$_{NTR.MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=to exist$_M$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

/	šu	na-ni-ba-re
/	šu=ø	na=ni=(b)=bar=e
/	hand=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{DEO.NEG.OPT}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=CVVE$_{M.CVR}$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

This man, / like a man who does evil to a righteous man, / may this end exist (for him) in heaven and in the city – / may no one release him!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Statue B*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 358-361
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.St.B*
MUSEUM NUMBER: AO 2

</div>

[4.340] ^{ŋiš}gu-za gub-ba-na / suhuš-bi / na-an-gen_6-ne_2

^{ŋiš}gu-za	gub-ba-na	/
guza	gub=a=ani=a(k)	/
throne	to stand$_{H.SG}$=PP=POSS.3SG.HUM=GEN	/

suhuš-bi	/
suhuš=bi=ø	/
foundation=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS$_{DO}$	/

na-an-gen_6-ne_2
na=b(!)=gen_6=e
MP$_{DEO.NEG.OPT}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to establish$_M$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

Of his set up throne, / its foundation, / may she not make it firm!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Statue C*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 61-63
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.St.C*
MUSEUM NUMBER: AO 5

</div>

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[4.341] ⌜lu₂⌝ na-du

⌜lu₂⌝	na-du
lu₂=ø	na=du=ø
individual=ABS$_{SBJ}$	MP$_{DEO.NEG.OPT}$=to go$_{M.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

"May one not transgress (lit. go)!"

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder B*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 536
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.B*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1511

4.11.2 DESIDERATIVE (UNREALIZABLE WISH "WOULD HE WERE")

The Desiderative is similar to the Optative in that it expresses a wish. It is different, however, because the wish it expresses is explicitly unrealizable. Furthermore, it seems that Desideratives in Sumerian always have an inherent sense of longing or despair that a traditional Optative need not entail.[504] No Desideratives are attested in the corpus proper. Accordingly, examples were culled and admitted to the supplementary corpus:

EXAMPLES ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[504] Jacobsen refers to this function as the "Frustrative." Although this designation has not been maintained here, Jacobsen's insight warranted note here since {nuš}-forms generally convey a sense of frustration on the part of the speaker. Jacobsen, "About the Sumerian Verb," 74.

[4.342] sipad-ŋu₁₀ hi-li-a-ni nu-uš-ma-an-⌜ku₄⌝-ku₄ / ŋa₂-e ba-ra-ku₄-ku₄-de₃-en

sipad-ŋu₁₀	hi-li-a-ni
sipad=ŋu=(e)	hili=ani=ø
shepherd=POSS.1SG.HUM=(ERG)	sex appeal=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

nu-uš-ma-‹da›-an-⌜ku₄⌝-ku₄
nuš=mu=*A=‹da›=b(!)=ku₄:ku₄=(e)
MP$_{DEO.DES}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=‹DI$_{CMT}$›=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to enter$_M$^{x2}=(PRO$_{3SG.AG}$)

/	ŋa₂-e	ba-ra-ku₄-ku₄-de₃-en
/	ŋaʾe	bara=ku₄:ku₄=ed=en
/	I	MP$_{EPI.NEG.ASV}$=to enter$_M$^{x2}=FUT=PRO$_{1SG.SBJ}$

"Would that it were my shepherd could still bring unto me his sensuality! / Will I really never enter thusly (again as well)?"[505]

COMPOSITION: *The Death of Ur-Namma*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 213
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: rev. iv 10
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *UrN-A*_N₁
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 4560 + HS 1428 + HS 1560 + HS 1450 + HS 1549 + HS 1570 + HS 1581 + HS 1528 + HS 1548 + N 7095

[4.343] kalag-ga-ŋu₁₀ u₂-šim-gin₇ edin-⌜na⌝ nu-uš-ma-da-mu₂-am₃

kalag-ga-ŋu₁₀	u₂-šim-gin₇	edin-⌜na⌝
kalag=a=ŋu=ø	ušim=gin	edin=a
to be mighty$_H$=PP=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{SBJ}$	greenery=EQU	steppe=LOC

nu-uš-ma-da-mu₂-am₃
nuš=mu=*A=da=mu₂=ø=a=am
MP$_{DEO.DES}$=CP$_{ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=DI$_{CMT}$=to grow$_M$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$=NMZ=COP.3SG

"Would that it were my mighty one would grow for me (again) like greenery in the steppe!"[506]

COMPOSITION: *The Death of Ur-Namma*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 214
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: rev. iv 11
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *UrN-A*_N₁
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 4560 + HS 1428 + HS 1560 + HS 1450 + HS 1549 + HS 1570 + HS 1581 + HS 1528 + HS 1548 + N 7095

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[505] To provide perspective on how scholars have translated this line with the rare MP {nuš}, consider Edzard's translation: "Would that my shepherd (= the dead Ur-Namma) (could still) bring in unto me (var. with me) his beautiful features; as for me (= lamenting Inana), I will certainly not enter (there again)." Edzard, *Sumerian Grammar*, 121.

[506] Prototypically mu₂ is a reduplication class *marû* verb.

[4.344] ⌈ma₂⌉ ⌈id₂⌉-da-gin₇ kar sig₉-ga-⌈ba?⌉ nu-uš-ma-da-gen₆-na

⌈ma₂⌉	⌈id₂⌉-da-gin₇	kar	sig₉-ga-⌈ba?⌉
ma₂	id₂=a(k)=gin	kar	sig₉=a=bi=a
boat	river=GEN=EQU	harbor	to place$_H$=PP=POSS.3SG.NHUM=LOC

nu-uš-ma-da-gen₆-na
nuš=mu=*A=da=gen₆=ø=a=a(m)
MP$_{DEO.DES}$=CP$_{EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=DI$_{CMT}$=to establish$_M$=ABS3SG.SBJ=NMZ=COP.3SG

"Would that it were he would be firm for me (again) like a river boat in its calm harbor!"

These three examples are transparently Desiderative in form as they are marked in {nuš}.

Contextually, they are spoken by a grieving Inana as she laments the loss of her love, Ur-Namma. As such, they are emotionally very charged.

Another string of Desideratives occurs in *Gilgameš, Enkidug, and the Netherworld* when Gilgameš anguishes over the loss of his stick and ball. Again, in these examples the forms communicate desperate wishes that are not and cannot be so:

[4.345] ud-ba ⁿᵉˢˇellag-ŋu₁₀ e₂ naŋar-ka nu-uš-ma-da-ŋal₂-la

ud-ba	ⁿᵉˢˇellag-ŋu₁₀	e₂	naŋar-ka
ud-ba	ⁿᵉˢˇellag-ŋu₁₀	e₂	naŋar-ka
ud=bi=a	ellag=ŋu=ø	e₂	naŋar=ak=a
day=DEM=LOC	ball=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{SBJ}$	house	carpenter=GEN=LOC

nu-uš-ma-da-ŋal₂-la
nuš=mu=*A=da=ŋal₂=ø=a=a(m)
MP$_{DEO.DES}$=CP$_{EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=DI$_{CMT}$=to exist$_M$=ABS3SG.SBJ=NMZ=COP.3SG

"Would that it were that at this time my ball were (still) there for me in the house of the carpenter!"

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[4.346] dam naŋar-ra ama ugu-ŋu₁₀-gin₇ / nu-uš-ma-da-ŋal₂-la-am₃

dam	naŋar-ra	ama	ugu-ŋu₁₀-gin₇
dam	naŋar=a(k)	ama	ugu=ø=ŋu=gin
spouse	carpenter=GEN	mother	to bear$_H$=AP=POSS.1SG.HUM=EQU

/ nu-uš-ma-da-ŋal₂-la-am₃
/ nuš=mu=*A=da=ŋal₂=ø=a=am
/ MP$_{DEO.DES}$=CP$_{EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=DI$_{CMT}$=to exist$_M$=ABS3PL.NHUM.SBJ=NMZ=COP.3SG

"Would that it were they (i.e., the ball and stick) were (still) there for me / with the wife of the carpenter, (who is) like my mother who bore me!"

[4.347] dumu naŋar-ra nin₉ banda₃^{da}-ŋu₁₀-gin₇ / nu-uš-ma-da-ŋal₂-la

dumu	naŋar-ra
dumu	naŋar=a(k)
child	carpenter=GEN

nin₉	banda₃^{da}-ŋu₁₀-gin₇	/
nin₉	banda₃=ŋu=gin	/
sister	junior=POSS.1SG.HUM=EQU	/

nu-uš-ma-da-ŋal₂-la
nuš=mu=*A=da=ŋal₂=ø=a=a(m)
MP$_{DEO.DES}$=CP$_{EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=DI$_{CMT}$=to exist$_M$=ABS3SG.SBJ=NMZ=COP.3SG

"Would that it were they (i.e., the ball and stick) were (still) there for me / with the daughter of the carpenter, (who is) like my little sister!"

Forms with {nuš} sometimes seem to play a secondary, archaizing function and almost seem to physically frame certain compositions by occurring at semi-regular intervals. This morpheme's usage as a narratological tool, however, is best reserved for a separate publication.

4.12   DEBATABLE

The examples given below are included here because the first element of the finite verb in each case subverts expectations. In all instances, the problematic grapheme is the NA-sign and curiously all forms come from *Inana and Ebih*. Neither the deontic MP {na} nor the evidential MP {naM} makes logical sense in these scenarios. Firstly, the evidential {naM} is disqualified as it has positive semantics, and the discourse is unambiguously negative since Inana is describing what Ebih did not do. The deontic {na}, however, also does not fit the context as the tense-aspect of the VRs are clearly *ḫamṭu* (and thereby referring to past and/or completed actions) and {na}'s functions prototypically refer to present-future negative commands, desires, or advice. As such, {na} prototypically prefers the *marû.* Furthermore, {na} would not make sense in context as Inana would not logically wish or demand for Ebih to have acted disrespectfully towards her in the past (or to do so sometime in the future). The only possible explanation is that these NA-signs stand for the veridical negator {nu} that has undergone abnormal vowel harmony because of one or more following syllables with /a/-vowels. As has been explained, retrogressive vowel harmony is the norm for Sumerian. The /u/ of {nu}, however, is never supposed to color to /a/ without a co-occurrent consonant mutation whereby /n/ > /l/ in the position before /b/ (ex., nu=ba=ta=e₃ surfaces as la-ba-ta-e₃). Since the /n/ of {nu} did not become /l/ in the following examples, the forms were first assumed to be modal but upon finding no possible interpretation an alternative solution was sought. It seems as if the only viable option is to interpret these NA-signs as writings of {nu}s that have undergone vowel harmony due to following syllables with /a/.

The fact that all these forms occur in one composition in multiple manuscripts that were created at different times and locations is puzzling. Although it is only possible to speculate, one

could imagine that these seeming irregularities were purposeful poetic choices on the part of the composer(s). Additionally, there could be a sense of irony or humor generated by the semantic mismatches that is simply lost on the modern observer. Whatever their motivation, these unique forms attest to the remarkable stability of this composition (or at least this portion):

[4.348] [in-nin-me-en kur-re te-a]-˹me˺-en ni₂-bi na-ma-˹ra˺-˹ab˺-˹AK˺
    [in-nin-me-en   kur-re   teŋ₃-a]-˹me˺-en
    [innin=me:en   kur=e   teŋ₃=a]=me:en
    [mistress=COP.1SG   mountain=LOCTR   to approach$_M$=PP]=COP.1SG

    ni₂-bi
    ni₂=bi=ø
    fear=POSS.1SG.NHUM=ABS$_{DO}$

    na-ma-˹ra˺-˹ab˺-˹ak˺
    nu(!)=mu=*A=ta=b=ak=ø
    NEG=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=DI$_{ABL}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.AG}$=to do$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

    "[As I, the mistress, approached the mountain], it showed me no respect."

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: Inana and Ebih
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 23
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: IEb N₁₃
MUSEUM NUMBER: A 32077 (+) CBS 10229
</div>

[4.349] in-nin₉-me-en kur teŋ₃-me-en ˹ni₂˺-bi na-ma-ra-ab-AK
    in-nin₉-me-en   kur   teŋ₃-me-en
    innin=me:en   kur=(e)   teŋ₃=(a)=me:en
    mistress=COP.1SG   mountain=(LOCTR)   to approach$_M$=(PP)=COP.1SG

    ˹ni₂˺-bi
    ni₂=bi=ø
    fear=POSS.1SG.NHUM=ABS$_{DO}$

    na-ma-ra-ab-ak
    nu(!)=mu=*A=ta=b=ak=ø
    NEG=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=DI$_{ABL}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.AG}$=to do$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

    "As I, the mistress, approached the mountain, it showed me no respect."

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: Inana and Ebih
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 29
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: IEb_N₁₇
MUSEUM NUMBER: A 30271 + A 30241
</div>

[4.350] [in-nin-me-en] ⌜kur⌝-⌜re⌝ ⌜teŋ₃⌝-[a-me-en] ⌜ni₂⌝-bi na-ma-ra-AK
       [in-nin-me-en]   ⌜kur⌝-⌜re⌝   ⌜teŋ₃⌝-[a-me-en]
       [innin=me:en]   kur=e   teŋ₃=[a=me:en]
       [mistress=COP.1SG]   mountain=LOCTR   to approach_M=[PP=COP.1SG]

       ⌜ni₂⌝-bi
       ni₂=bi=ø
       fear=POSS.1SG.NHUM=ABS_DO

       na-ma-ra-ak
       nu(!)=mu=*A=ta=(b)=ak=ø
       NEG=CP_TR.ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.1SG=DI_ABL=PRO_3SG.NHUM.AG=to do_H=ABS_3SG.DO

       "[As I, the mistress], approa[ched] the mountain, it showed me no respect."

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Inana and Ebih*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 29
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IEb* N_III1
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 8334

</div>

[4.351] in-nin₉-⌜me⌝-⌜en⌝ kur-re teŋ₃-a-me-en ni₂-bi na-ma-⌜ra⌝-be₂
       in-nin₉-⌜me⌝-⌜en⌝   kur-re   teŋ₃-a-me-en
       innin=me:en   kur=e   teŋ₃=a=me:en
       mistress=COP.1SG   mountain=LOCTR   to approach_M=PP=COP.1SG

       ni₂-bi
       ni₂=bi=ø
       fear=POSS.1SG.NHUM=ABS_DO

       na-ma-⌜ra⌝-be₂
       nu(!)=mu=*A=ta=b=e=e
       NEG=CP_TR.ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.1SG=DI_ABL=PRO_3SG.NHUM.AG=to say_M.SG=ABS_3SG.DO

       "As I, the mistress, have been approaching the mountain, it has shown(?) me no respect."

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Inana and Ebih*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 29
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IEb* Ur1
ARTIFACT IDENTIFIER: UET 6/1, 12

</div>

[4.352] hur-saŋ Ebih^ki teŋ₃-me-en ni₂-bi na-ma-ra-ab-ak

hur-saŋ	Ebih^ki	teŋ₃-me-en
hursaŋ	Ebih	teŋ₃=(a)=me:en
mountain range	PN/GN	to approach_M=(PP)=COP.1SG

ni₂-bi
ni₂=bi=ø
fear=POSS.1SG.NHUM=ABS_DO

na-ma-ra-ab-ak
nu(!)=mu=*A=ta=b=ak=ø
NEG=CP_TR.ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.1SG=DI_ABL=PRO_3SG.NHUM.AG=to do_H=ABS_3SG.DO

"As I approached the mountain range of Ebih, it showed me no respect"

[4.353] [hur-saŋ] ⌜Ebih⌝ki teŋ₃-a-me-en ni₂-bi na-ma-⌜ra⌝-ak

[hur-saŋ]	⌜Ebih⌝ki	teŋ₃-a-me-en
[hursaŋ]	Ebih	teŋ₃=a=me:en
[mountain range]	PN/GN	to approach_M=PP=COP.1SG

ni₂-bi
ni₂=bi=ø
fear=POSS.1SG.NHUM=ABS_DO

na-ma-⌜ra⌝-ak
nu(!)=mu=*A=ta=(b)=ak=ø
NEG=CP_TR.ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.1SG=DI_ABL=(PRO_3SG.NHUM.AG)=to do_H=ABS_3SG.DO

"As I approached the [mountain range] of Ebih, it showed me no respect"

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[4.354] ⌜hur⌝-[saŋ] ⌜TI⌝^{ki}-ke$_4$ teŋ$_3$-a-me-en ni$_2$-bi na-ma-ra-ab-⌜be$_2$⌝

     ⌜hur⌝-[saŋ]   ⌜TI⌝^{ki}-ke$_4$ teŋ$_3$-a-me-en
     hur[saŋ]   Ebih=ak=e   teŋ$_3$=a=me:en
     mountain [range]   PN/GN=GEN=ERG   to approach$_M$=PP=COP.1SG

     ni$_2$-bi
     ni$_2$=bi=ø
     fear=POSS.1SG.NHUM=ABS$_{DO}$

     na-ma-ra-ab-⌜be$_2$⌝
     nu(!)=mu=*A=ta=b=e=e
     NEG=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=DI$_{ABL}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to say$_{M.SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

     "As I have been approaching the mountain [range] of Ebih, it has shown(?) me no respect."

[4.355] [hur-saŋ] ⌜TI⌝^{ki}-ke$_4$ teŋ$_3$-me-en ni$_2$-bi na-[ma-ra-ab-ak]

     [hur-saŋ]   ⌜TI⌝^{ki}-ke$_4$ teŋ$_3$-me-en
     [hursaŋ]   Ebih=ak=e   teŋ$_3$=(a)=me:en
     [mountain range]   PN/GN=GEN=ERG   to approach$_M$=(PP)=COP.1SG

     ni$_2$-bi
     ni$_2$=bi=ø
     fear=POSS.1SG.NHUM=ABS$_{DO}$

     na-[ma-ra-ab-ak]
     nu(!)=[mu=*A=ta=b=ak=ø]
     NEG=[CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=DI$_{ABL}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.AG}$=to do$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$]

     "As I approached the [mountain range] of Ebih, [it showed me] no respect"

[4.356] ni₂-bi-ta na-ma-ra-ab-ak-gin₇
ni₂-bi-ta
ni₂=bi=ta
self=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABL

na-ma-ra-ab-ak-gin₇
nu(!)=mu=*A=ta=b=ak=ø=(a)=gin
NEG=CP_TR.ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.1SG=DI_ABL=PRO_3SG.NHUM.AG=to do_H=ABS_3SG.DO=(NMZ)=EQU

"Since it did not act appropriately to me on its own initiative,"

[4.357] [ni₂-bi-ta] na-ma-ni-ib-⌜ak?⌝-[gin₇]
[ni₂-bi-ta]
[ni₂=bi=ta]
[self=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABL]

na-ma-ni-ib-⌜ak?⌝-[gin₇]
nu(!)=mu=*A=ni=b=ak=ø=[(a)=gin]
NEG=CP_TR.ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.1SG=DI_LOC=PRO_3SG.NHUM.AG=to do_H=ABS_3SG.DO=[(NMZ)=EQU]

"[Since] it did not act appropriately to me [on its own initiative],"

[4.358] ni₂-bi-⌜ta?⌝ na-ma-ra-ab-NI-gin₇
ni₂-bi-⌜ta?⌝
ni₂=bi=ta
self=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABL

na-ma-ra-ab-NI-gin₇
nu(!)=mu=*A=ta=b=NI=ø=(a)=gin
NEG=CP_TR.ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.1SG=DI_ABL=PRO_3SG.NHUM.AG=?_H=ABS_3SG.DO=(NMZ)=EQU

"Since it did not act appropriately(?) to me on its own initiative,"

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[4.359] [ni$_2$-bi-ta] na-ma-ra-[ab-ak-gin$_7$]
　　　[ni$_2$-bi-ta]
　　　[ni$_2$=bi=ta]
　　　[self=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABL]

　　　na-ma-ra-[ab-ak-gin$_7$]
　　　nu(!)=mu=*A=ta=[b=ak=ø=(a)=gin]
　　　NEG=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=DI$_{ABL}$=[PRO3SG.NHUM.AG=to do$_H$=ABS3SG.DO=(NMZ)=EQU]

　　　"[Since] it did not [act] appropriately to me [on its own initiative],"

[4.360] giri$_{17}$-bi ki-še$_3$ na-ma-ab-te-a-gin$_7$
　　　giri$_{17}$-bi　　　　　　　　　　　　ki-še$_3$
　　　giri$_{17}$=bi=ø　　　　　　　　　　　ki=še
　　　nose=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS$_{DO}$　　　　place=TERM

　　　na-ma-ab-te-a-gin$_7$
　　　nu(!)=mu=*A=b=te=ø=a=gin
　　　NEG=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.AG=to approach$_H$=ABS3SG.DO=NMZ=EQU

　　　"Since it did not put it nose to the ground for me,"

[4.361] [giri$_{17}$]-⌜bi⌝ ki-še$_3$ na-ma-ab-te-a-gin$_7$
　　　[giri$_{17}$]-⌜bi⌝　　　　　　　　　　ki-še$_3$
　　　[giri$_{17}$]=bi=ø　　　　　　　　　　ki=še
　　　[nose]=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS$_{DO}$　　　place=TERM

　　　na-ma-ab-te-a-gin$_7$
　　　nu(!)=mu=*A=b=te=ø=a=gin
　　　NEG=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.AG=to approach$_H$=ABS3SG.DO=NMZ=EQU

　　　"Since it did not put its [nose] to the ground for me,"

[4.362] giri₁₇-bi ki-še₃ na-ma-ab-te-a-gin₇

giri₁₇-bi   ki-še₃
giri₁₇=bi=ø   ki=še
nose=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS$_{DO}$ place=TERM

na-ma-ab-te-a-gin₇
nu(!)=mu=*A=b=te=ø=a=gin
NEG=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.AG}$=to approach$_{tl}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=NMZ=EQU

"Since it did not put its nose to the ground for me,"

[4.363] [giri₁₇-bi ki-še₃] na-ma-[ab-te-a-gin₇]

[giri₁₇-bi   ki-še₃]
[giri₁₇=bi=ø   ki=še]
[nose=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS$_{DO}$ place=TERM]

na-ma-[ab-te-a-gin₇]
nu(!)=mu=*A=[b=te=ø=a=gin]
NEG=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=[PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.AG}$=to approach$_{tl}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=NMZ=EQU]

"[Since it] did not [put its nose to the ground] for me,"

[4.364] giri₁₇-bi ki-še₃ na-[ma-ab-te-a-gin₇]

giri₁₇-bi   ki-še₃
giri₁₇=bi=ø   ki=še
nose=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS$_{DO}$ place=TERM

na-[ma-ab-te-a-gin₇]
nu(!)=[mu=*A=b=te=ø=a=gin]
NEG=[CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.AG}$=to approach$_{tl}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=NMZ=EQU]

"[Since it] did not [put] its nose to the ground [for me],"

[4.365]   su₆¹(KA×ŠE) sahar-ra na-ma-ni-ib-ur₃-ra-gin₇
          su₆¹(KA×ŠE)   sahar-ra
          su₆=ø   sahar=a
          lip=ABS_DO   dust=LOC

          na-ma-ni-ib-ur₃-ra-gin₇
          nu(!)=mu=*A=ni=b=ur₃=ø=a=gin
          NEG=CP_TR.ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.1SG=DI_LOC=PRO_3SG.NHUM.AG=to rub_H=ABS_3SG.DO=NMZ=EQU

          "Since it did not rub (its) lips in the dust for me,"

[4.366]   ⌜su₆?⌝(KA×[SA?]) sahar-ra na-ma-ni-ib-⌜ib₂?⌝-⌜ur₃?⌝-ra-gin₇
          ⌜su₆?⌝(KA×[SA?])   sahar-ra
          su₆=ø   sahar=a
          lip=ABS_DO   dust=LOC

          na-ma-ni-ib-⌜ib₂?⌝-⌜ur₃?⌝-ra-gin₇
          nu(!)=mu=*A=ni=b=ur₃=ø=a=gin
          NEG=CP_TR.ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.1SG=DI_LOC=PRO_3SG.NHUM.AG=to rub_H=ABS_3SG.DO=NMZ=EQU

          "Since it did not rub (its) lips in the dust for me,"

[4.367]   su₆(KA×SA?) sahar-ra na-ma-ra-ab-ur₃-ra-gin₇
          su₆(KA×SA?)   sahar-ra
          su₆=ø   sahar=a
          lip=ABS_DO   dust=LOC

          na-ma-ra-ab-ur₃-ra-gin₇
          nu(!)=mu=*A=ta=b=ur₃=ø=a=gin
          NEG=CP_TR.ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.1SG=DI_ABL=PRO_3SG.NHUM.AG=to rub_H=ABS_3SG.DO=NMZ=EQU

          "Since it did not rub (its) lips in the dust for me,"

[4.368] su$_6$(KA×SA) sahar-ra na-[ma-ni-ib-ur$_3$-ra-gin$_7$]
su$_6$(KA×SA)   sahar-ra
su$_6$=ø   sahar=a
lip=ABS$_{DO}$ dust=LOC

na-[ma-ni-ib-ur$_3$-ra-gin$_7$]
nu(!)=[mu=*A=ni=b=ur$_3$=ø=a=gin]
NEG=[CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.AG}$=to rub$_{tl}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=NMZ=EQU]

"Since [it did not rub] (its) lips in the dust [for me],"

[4.369] ni$_2$-bi-ta na-ma-ra-ab-ak-gin$_7$
ni$_2$-bi-ta
ni$_2$=bi=ta
self=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABL

na-ma-ra-ab-ak-gin$_7$
nu(!)=mu=*A=ta=b=ak=ø=(a)=gin
NEG=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=DI$_{ABL}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.AG}$=to do$_{tl}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=(NMZ)=EQU

"Since it did not act appropriately to me on its own initiative,"

[4.370] [ni$_2$-bi]-ta na-ma-da-ab-ak-gin$_7$
[ni$_2$-bi]-ta
[ni$_2$=bi]=ta
[self=POSS.3SG.NHUM]=ABL

na-ma-da-ab-ak-gin$_7$
nu(!)=mu=*A=ta=b=ak=ø=(a)=gin
NEG=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=DI$_{ABL}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.AG}$=to do$_{tl}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=(NMZ)=EQU

"Since it did not act appropriately to me on [its own initiative],"

[4.371] giri₁₇-bi ki-še₃ na-ab-te-a-gin₇
      giri₁₇-bi   ki-še₃
      giri₁₇=bi=ø   ki=še
      nose=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS_DO   place=TERM

      na-ab-te-a-gin₇
      nu(!)=*A=b=te=ø=a=gin
      NEG=DI_DAT.1SG=PRO3SG.nhum.ag=to approach_H=ABS3SG.DO=NMZ=EQU

      "Since it did not put its nose to the ground for me,"[507]

COMPOSITION: *Inana and Ebih*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 92
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IEb*_ N₁₆
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 13977 + CBS 15146 + N 4165 + N 7233 + N 5131

[4.372] [giri₁₇]-ᵗbiᵗ ᵗkiᵗ-ᵗše₃ᵗ na-ma-abˡ(RA?)-te-a-gin₇
      [giri₁₇]-ᵗbiᵗ   ᵗkiᵗ-ᵗše₃ᵗ
      [giri₁₇]=bi=ø   ki=še
      [nose]=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS_DO   place=TERM

      na-ma-abˡ(RA?)-te-a-gin₇
      nu(!)=mu=*A=b=te=ø=a=gin
      NEG=CP_TR.ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.1SG=PRO3SG.nhum.ag=to approach_H=ABS3SG.DO=NMZ=EQU

      "Since it did not put its [nose] to the ground for me,"

COMPOSITION: *Inana and Ebih*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 92
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IEb* N₁₇
MUSEUM NUMBER: A 30271 + A 30241

[4.373] giri₁₇-bi ki-še₃ na-ma-ab-te-a-gin₇
      giri₁₇-bi   ki-še₃
      giri₁₇=bi=ø   ki=še
      nose=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS_DO   place=TERM

      na-ma-ab-te-a-gin₇
      nu(!)=mu=*A=b=te=ø=a=gin
      NEG=CP_TR.ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.1SG=PRO3SG.nhum.ag=to approach_H=ABS3SG.DO=NMZ=EQU

      "Since it did not put its nose to the ground for me,"

COMPOSITION: *Inana and Ebih*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 92
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IEb* N_P1
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 7206 + Ni 2711

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[507] It is unclear if an omitted MA-sign should be posited for the verbal form in this manuscript (i.e., na-‹ma›-ab-te-a-gin₇).

[4.374] ⌜su₆?⌝(KA×[SA?/NUN?]) sahar-ra na-ma-ni-ib-ur₃-ra-gin₇

⌜su₆?⌝(KA×[SA?/NUN?])	sahar-ra
su₆=ø	sahar=a
lip=ABS_DO	dust=LOC

na-ma-ni-ib-ur₃-ra-gin₇
nu(!)=mu=*A=ni=b=ur₃=ø=a=gin
NEG=CP_TR.ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.1SG=DI_LOC=PRO_3SG.NHUM.AG=to rub_H=ABS_3SG.DO=NMZ=EQU

"Since it did not rub its li[ps] in the dust for me,"

COMPOSITION: *Inana and Ebih*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 93
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IEb* N₁₆
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 13977 + CBS 15146 + N 4165 + N 7233 + N 5131

[4.375] ⌜su₆?⌝(KA×[SA?/NUN?]) sahar-ra na-ma-ni-ib-ur₃-⌜ra⌝-⌜gin₇⌝

⌜su₆?⌝(KA×[SA?/NUN?])	sahar-ra
su₆=ø	sahar=a
lip=ABS_DO	dust=LOC

na-ma-ni-ib-ur₃-⌜ra⌝-⌜gin₇⌝
nu(!)=mu=*A=ni=b=ur₃=ø=a=gin
NEG=CP_TR.ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.1SG=DI_LOC=PRO_3SG.NHUM.AG=to rub_H=ABS_3SG.DO=NMZ=EQU

"since it did not rub its li[ps] in the dust for me,"

COMPOSITION: *Inana and Ebih*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 93
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IEb* N_P1
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 7206 + Ni 2711

4.13   CONCLUDING REMARKS

The preceding pages have gone to great length to establish the full set of deontic modal markers in Sumerian. As has been shown, this is not a straightforward task. While most deontic functions are delegated to MPs there are highly important ones (i.e., the Imperative and the Obligative) that manifest in radically different ways elsewhere in the verbal complex. Perhaps the most radical positions introduced in this chapter have been the concept that {ed} derives from an original periphrastic construction and the proposal that the Imperative has its unique affix sequencing rules because it is a nominal constituent. The novelty of these proposals is at least partially because these functions are coded outside of Slot One, whose morphemes have previously received the most attention in reference to modality. With this chapter concluded, the two modal categories that have received the greatest amount of attention in the Sumerological literature (i.e., epistemic and deontic) have been thoroughly treated. The following chapter is dedicated to a modal domain that has largely eluded Sumerological discussion, namely, evidential modality.

5. EVIDENTIAL

5.0   CHAPTER ABSTRACT

My treatment of evidentiality in Sumerian is both thorough and incomplete. Evidential modality is still a burgeoning topic of research in general linguistics. As such, typological data on the category is of varying qualities, in a variety of jargons, and overall incomplete as only some researchers conducting fieldwork have been cognizant of it and fewer still have employed perfect elicitation techniques to get the fullest picture. The following description by linguist Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald explains the difficulties inherent to researching evidentiality:

> [U]ntil recently, there was no comprehensive typological framework which would account for the analysis of varied evidential systems, their semantics, function, the ways in which they interact with other grammatical categories (such as person, negation, clause types), and so on. This has made writing grammars of previously undescribed or poorly documented languages with evidentiality a particularly daunting task.
>   The relative lack of comprehensive typologically informed grammars is a major challenge for a comprehensive typological analysis of any category. Evidentiality is no exception. European-oriented researchers often face difficulties in determining the exact meanings of the 'exotic' category.[508]

While one could hardly describe Sumerian as poorly documented given the thousands of extant tablets, one could certainly state that the preserved record has certain biases that provide a murky, incomplete view into the evidential system.

None of this is to say that the category is invalid or entirely unstudied. Rather, it is completely legitimate and studied in numerous works from a variety of perspectives. It is simply that evidentiality is still such a hot research topic that our understanding of it is bound to improve greatly over the ensuing decades. As such, my treatment of Sumerian will likely need significant updating and amending in future years. Nonetheless, my description in this chapter conforms to functional-typological expectations for an evidential system.

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[508] Aikhenvald, *Evidentiality*, 17.

Another hindrance to the description of evidential modality in Sumerian is the challenge posed by the MP {ši}, which might have lost much of its original meaning by the Early Dynastic period. To compensate for this, I have had to consider how it manifests in its earliest attestations, what residue of its original function(s) linger in later texts, and how it developed into a different sort of marker altogether.

Like all types of modality in Sumerian, evidentiality does not have to be marked on the verb obligatorily. Rather, unmarked forms are the norm and information source is generally determined via context. The non-obligatory nature of the Sumerian evidential system is demonstrated by the occurrence of numerous sentences that theoretically could receive an evidential MP on their predicates but do not (for Early Dynastic evidence, see: [5.1]-[5.3]; for later evidence, see: [5.4] and [5.5]). When evidential MPs are included, they can denote a few things. Firstly, they can be genuine evidentials employed by the speaker to make abundantly clear the information source. Secondly, they can be evidentials that have become obligatory in certain discourse contexts or clause types (ex., introductory formulae to letters); in these cases, the evidential meaning of the MP is still present, but its appearance is seemingly conditioned by socially-informed discourse expectations rather than emphatic speaker choice. Finally, evidentials can appear with non-evidential functions either as epistemic or mirative extensions grown out of their role as evidentials or as stylistic tokens necessitated by genre conventions. The most radical position taken in this chapter is that the MP {ši} is best understood as an

evidential (Inferential) that developed a mirative extension (for which see: §5.6 and §5.6.1, respectively).[509]

5.1 LINGUISTIC OVERVIEW

Evidentiality describes the ways in which a speaker communicates the evidence he or she has for the truth of the proposition expressed (exs., "***They say*** Ryan has been arrested again." "Ryan ***obviously*** has not learned from his mistakes."). As a linguistic notion, "evidence" is not understood the same as it is in common parlance. Whereas the vernacular usage of evidence refers to a means of providing proof in pursuit of indicating what is true or not (or even one's own belief), linguistic evidence simply supplies information source and contributes nothing to truth or falsity.[510] There is some disagreement between linguists about whether evidentiality is a subtype of modality or an independent category. This dissertation treats it as a subtype of modality, because evidential morphemes in Sumerian mostly belong to Slot One with the undeniably modal morphemes and cannot co-occur with any MPs (with the exception to both facts being {eše}). It must be noted, however, that from a larger linguistic perspective one is not truly a subtype of the other. The situation is exceedingly complex and "[t]he distinction between

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[509] Mirativity has been almost completely unstudied for Sumerian. The only reference I have found is a paper given by J. Cale Johnson at the AOS meeting in 2008. Copies of the handout were found in the files of Miguel Civil and Christopher Woods, but the document is merely a collection of examples. Only two of these contain the MP {u} (none contain {ši}), so it seems reasonable to say Johnson's argument was significantly different from the one proffered in this chapter. J. Cale Johnson, "Mirativity in Sumerian," handout from a paper presented at AOS annual meeting (2008).

[510] Ibid., 4. It should be noted here at the outset that Aikhenvald considers evidentiality to be distinct from modality (contra. this dissertation), but her description of the category is nonetheless accurate and highly valuable and will be cited often; the reasons behind this interpretational difference are discussed in the section. The following is an additional explanation of evidentiality stated slightly differently: "The term 'evidentiality' is generally used by linguists to talk about this linguistic coding of source of knowledge (e.g., Chafe and Nichols, 1986; Mushin, 2001). Evidentiality is thus a way of making the status of one's knowledge 'visible' in discourse as it draws attention to the fact that what is being talked about is knowledge — a body of information filtered, synthesized, analysed by someone's mind — and not omnipresent information." Ilana Mushin, "Making knowledge visible in discourse: Implications for the study of linguistic evidentiality," *Discourse Studies* 15 (2013), 628.

evidentiality and modality is, as it is known, difficult to be drawn and often disputed in the typological literature."[511] Regardless, treating evidentiality as a subtype of modality here has formal justifications and ultimately no effect on how one understands the function of the morphemes under consideration. In this sense, the decision to subsume evidentially under modality was partially one of descriptive convenience.

There are many types of information source that languages can code with evidential markers. Some of the most common types of information source are: first-hand experience (usually visual), auditory evidence, hearsay, inference, and cultural knowledge. Languages can vary significantly, however, in how and to what extent they mark evidential notions. Many languages have multiple evidential coding mechanisms, such as lexical encoding (ex., Georgian (Kartvelian, Karto-Zan); განცხადებით *gancxadebit* "according to the declaration of…") or morphological coding (ex., Matsés (Pano-Tacanan, Mayoruna); {denne} Remote Past Direct evidential suffix).[512] Only the morphological marking of evidential modality is pertinent to this dissertation.

Typologically, languages can display numerous types of evidential splits that can be divided up into sections with alpha-numeric designations that mark the number of oppositions as well as the variable(s) behind them:[513]

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[511] Vladimir A. Plungian, "Types of Verbal Evidentiality Marking: An Overview." in *Linguistic Realizations of Evidentiality in European Languages*, eds. Gabriele Diewald and Elena Smirnova. EALT 49. (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2010), 16. Later in his chapter, Plungian further explains the complications thusly: "The interrelation between evidentiality and modality is, in all likelihood, one of the most complex problems of all the theoretical difficulties related to the description of the category of evidentiality. Therefore, it is no coincidence that this question has been dealt with from all possible points of view so that one may find strict positions (evidentiality is a type of modality; evidentiality and modality have nothing in common) and more relaxed ones (evidentiality and modality are different categories, but there are semantic overlaps)." Ibid., 44.

[512] Anna Giacalone Ramat and Manana Topadze, "The coding of evidentiality: a comparative look at Georgian and Italian," *Rivista di Linguistica* 19 (2007), 17. David William Fleck, "A Grammar of Matses," (PhD. diss., Rice University, 2003).

[513] Aikhenvald, *Evidentiality*, "Conventions."

TABLE 5.1. *Most Common Types of Evidential Systems*	
Code	**Oppositions**
Two Choices	
A1	Firsthand and Non-firsthand
A2	Non-firsthand vs. "everything else"
A3	Reported (or "hearsay") vs. "everything else"
A4	Sensory evidence and Reported (or "hearsay")
A5	Auditory (acquired through hearing) vs. "everything else"
Three Choices	
B1	Direct (or Visual), Inferred, and Reported
B2	Visual, Non-visual sensory, and Inferred
B3	Visual, Non-visual sensory, and Reported
B4	Non-visual sensory, Inferred, and Reported
B5	Reported, Quotative, and "everything else"
Four Choices	
C1	Visual, Non-visual sensory, Inferred, and Reportative
C2	Direct (or Visual), Inferred, Assumed, and Reported
C3	Direct, Inferred, Reported, and Quotative
Five Choices	
D1	Visual, Non-visual sensory, Inferred, Assumed, and Reported

It will be argued in this chapter that Sumerian has an evidential system that is best described as a variant of type B5 (contra. Marsal who has posited that it is type A3).[514] This system will be referred to as B5$_\beta$. Specifically, it will be argued that Sumerian did not have an evidentially neutral "everything else" zero-morpheme and included the Inferential MP {ši} among its repertoire of evidential markers.

Evidential marking in Sumerian was not obligatory so instead of having a zero-morpheme that codes all evidentially neutral statements it has markers that speakers could use to convey messages with added clarity concerning information source. Were the system obligatory, it would require a neutral marker for non-evidential statements. Since it is non-obligatory, however, the lack of an evidential marker on a predicate reflects a speaker's decision to not specify information source, not to code that the source is neutral. Take the following examples in

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[514] Erika Marsal, "La evidencialidad en lengua sumeria," in *Séptimo centenario de los estudios orientales en Salamanca*, eds. A. Agud et al. (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2012), 134.

which one would expect the evidential {naM} operating as a Reportative of Simple Report if the

system were obligatory:

[5.1] ᵈNin-ŋir₂-su-ke₄ / KA-ni-a KA-*RÉC*107-a / mu-ni-KID₂ / Ur-lum-ma / ensi₂ /
ŊEŠ.KUŠU₂ᵏⁱ-ke₄ / An-ta-sur-ra ŋa₂-kam / i₃-mi-dug₄

ᵈNin-ŋir₂-su-ke₄	/	KA-ni-a	KA-*RÉC*107-a
Ninŋirsu=ak=e	/	KA=ani=a	KA-*RÉC*107-a=ø
DN♂=GEN=ERG	/	mouth(?)=POSS.3SG.HUM=LOC	?=ABS_DO

/ mu-ni-KID₂		/	Ur-lum-ma	/
/ mu=ni=(n)=KID₂=ø		/	Ur-lumma	/
/ CP_TR.ACT=DI_LOC=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=CVVE_Ḫ.CVR=ABS3SG.DO		/	PN♂	/

ensi₂	/ ŊEŠ.KUŠU₂ᵏⁱ-ke₄	/	An-ta-sur-ra	ŋa₂-kam
ensi₂	/ Ŋiša=ak=e	/	Antasura=ø	ŋa'e=ak=am
ruler	/ GN=GEN=ERG	/	GN=ABS_SBJ	me=GEN=COP.3SG

/	i₃-mi-dug₄
/	imma=*I=(n)=dug₄=ø
/	CP_MID=DI_LOC=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to say_Ḫ.SG=ABS3SG.DO

Ninŋirsu / spoke … angrily: / "Ur-lumma, / the ruler / of Ŋiša (Umma), / has said
/ 'Antasura is mine!' / (…)"

[5.2] Il$_2$ / ensi$_2$ / ŊEŠ.KUŠU^{ki}-a / $^{a-šag_4}$GANA$_2$ kar-kar / niŋ$_2$-NE.RU dug$_4$-dug$_4$-ge /
eg$_2$ ki-sur-ra / ^{d}Nin-ŋir$_2$-su-ka / eg$_2$ ki-sur-ra / ^{d}Nanše / ŋa$_2$-kam / i$_3$-mi-dug$_4$

Il$_2$	/ ensi$_2$	/ ŊEŠ.KUŠU^{ki}-a	/ $^{a-šag_4}$GANA$_2$	kar-kar
Il$_2$	/ ensi$_2$	/ Ŋiša=a(k)	/ ašag	kar:kar
PN$_♂$	/ ruler	/ GN=GEN	/ field	to flee$_H$^{x2}=AP

/ niŋ-NE.RU	dug$_4$-dug$_4$-ge	/	eg$_2$	ki-sur-ra	/
/ niŋNE.RU	dug$_4$:dug$_4$=ø=e	/	eg$_2$	kisura	/
/ hostility	to say$_H$^{x2}=AP=ERG	/	levee	border	/

^{d}Nin-ŋir$_2$-su-ka	/ eg$_2$	ki-sur-ra	/ ^{d}Nanše	/
Ninŋirsu=ak=a(k)	/ eg$_2$	kisura	/ Nanše=(ak)=ø	/
DN$_♂$=GEN=GEN	/ levee	border	/ DN$_♀$=(GEN)=ABS$_{SBJ}$	/

ŋa$_2$-kam	/	i$_3$-mi-dug$_4$
ŋaʾe=ak=am	/	imma=*I=(n)=dug$_4$=ø
me=GEN=COP.3SG	/	CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to say$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

Il, / the ruler / of Ŋiša (Umma), / the field thief, / the one who spews hostilities /
said: / "The boundary levee / of Ninŋirsu / (and) the boundary levee / of Nanše, /
are mine! / (…)"[515]

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[515] For two additional Early Dynastic examples that were identified but omitted here for the sake of brevity, see:
RIME 1.9.9.1 (col. xi ln. 35-xii 6) and RIME 1.9.9.3 (col. iv ln. 5′-9′).

[5.3] Piriŋ-ZA₂(?)-[(x)]-/-ŋir₂-˹nun˺-šag₄-ga-ke₄ / ᵈNin-ŋir₂-su₂-˹ke₄˺ / KA-na /
KA.KID-a mu-ni-taka₄ / ƊEŠ.KUŠU₂ᵏⁱ / ˹u₃˺-durunₓ(DUR₂.DUR₂)-[n]a-ŋu₁₀ /
niŋ₂ ni₂-ŋa₂ / ⁽ᵃ⁻ˢ⁾ᵃᵍ⁴GANA₂ / [G]u₂-[ede]n-na-[k]a / [Lag]aš([NU₁₁.BUR.L]A)ᵏⁱ /
[…]-˹bi˺ ˹x˺-[(x)]-le

Piriŋ-ZA₂(?)-[(x)]-/-ŋir₂-˹nun˺-šag₄-ga-ke₄	/	ᵈNin-ŋir₂-su₂-˹ke₄˺	/
PiriŋZA-[(x)]-ŋirnunšagak=e	/	Ninŋirsu=ak=e	/
PN♂=DEM	/	DN♂=GEN=ERG	/

KA-na	/	KA.KID-a
KA=ani=a	/	KA.KIDa=ø
mouth(?)=POSS.3SG.HUM=LOC	/	?=ABS_DO

mu-ni-taka₄	/	ƊEŠ.KUŠU₂ᵏⁱ /
mu=ni=(n)=taka₄=ø	/	Ɗiša /
CP_TR.ACT=DI_LOC=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=CVVE_H.CVR=ABS3SG.DO	/	GN /

˹u₂˺-durunₓ(DUR₂.DUR₂)-[n]a-ŋu₁₀	/	niŋ₂	ni₂-ŋa₂	/
uduruna=ŋu	/	niŋ₂	niŋu=a(k)	/
forage=POSS.1SG.HUM	/	thing	myself=GEN	/

⁽ᵃ⁻ˢ⁾ᵃᵍ⁴GANA₂	/	[G]u₂-[ede]n-na-[k]a	/
ašag	/	[G]uʾ[ede]na=a[k]=a(k)	/
field	/	*guʾedena*-steppe=G[EN]=GEN	/

[Lag]aš([NU₁₁.BUR.L]A)ᵏⁱ	/	[…]-˹bi˺ ˹x˺-[(x)]-le
[Lag]aš=ø	/	[…]-˹bi˺ ˹x˺-[(x)]-le
GN=ABS_DO	/	[…]-˹bi˺ ˹x˺-[(x)]-le

Regarding PuruŋZA-[(x)]-ŋirnunšagak, / Ninŋirsu / roared / "Ɗiša (Umma) / has
… / my forage, / my property, / the fields of [G]uʾ[ede]na, / … [Lag]aš."[516]

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[516] It should be noted that the primary editor of this inscription (Frayne) restores [na]-˹e˺ in col. iv ln. 8 (Frayne
trans.: "says …") arguing the form should be parallel to a form in col. v ln. 22 (kur a-ne-še₃ na-e : "the foreign land
truly (belongs) to him"), which he translates as a sort of Asseverative. Interestingly, Frayne does not translate his
restoration as a transparent Asseverative (contra. the form in col. v ln. 22) and said restoration does introduce direct
speech. As it is a speculative restoration it cannot be cited as evidence here. Regardless, should that restoration be
accurate, then it would provide document-internal evidence of Reportative {naM}'s non-obligatoriness.

[5.4]   ka$_5$-a ^{d}En-lil$_2$-ra mu-na-da-ab-be$_2$ / ŋa$_2$-e ^{d}Nin-hur-saŋ-ŋa$_2$ mu-e-ši-tum$_3$-mu-un
        a-na-am$_3$ niŋ$_2$-ba-ŋu$_{10}$

ka$_5$-a	^{d}En-lil$_2$-ra
kaʾa=(e)	Enlil=ra
fox=(ERG)	DN♂=DAT

mu-na-da-ab-be$_2$	/
mu=na=da=b=e=e	/
CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=DI$_{ABIL}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to say$_{M.SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$	/

ŋa$_2$-e	^{d}Nin-hur-saŋ-ŋa$_2$
ŋaʾe=e	Ninhursaŋa=ø
I=ERG	DN♀=ABS$_{DO}$

mu-e-ši-tum$_3$-mu-un
mu=e=ši=(n)=tum$_3$=en
CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=PRO$_{1SG.IO}$=DI$_{TERM}$=(PRO$_{3SG.HUM.DO}$)=to bring$_{M.SG}$=PRO$_{1SG.AG}$

a-na-am$_3$	niŋ$_2$-ba-ŋu$_{10}$
ana=am	niŋba=ŋu=ø
WH=COP.3SG	gift=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{SBJ}$

(But) a fox is able to say to Enlil: / "(If) I bring Ninhursaŋa to you, what will be my reward?"

[5.5] ^{d}En-lil$_2$-le ka$_5$-a mu-na-ni-ib$_2$-gi$_4$-gi$_4$ / za-e ^{d}Nin-hur-saŋ-ŋa$_2$
mu-e-tum$_2$-mu-un-nam

^{d}En-lil$_2$-le	ka$_5$-a
Enlil=e	ka'a=(e)
DN♂=ERG	fox=(LOCTR)

mu-na-ni-ib$_2$-gi$_4$-gi$_4$	/
mu=na=ni=b=gi$_4$:gi$_4$=(e)	/
CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to return$_M$^{x2}=(PRO$_{3SG.AG}$)	/

za-e	^{d}Nin-hur-saŋ-ŋa$_2$
za'e=e	Ninhursaŋa=ø
you=ERG	DN♀=ABS$_{DO}$

mu-e-tum$_2$-mu-un-nam
mu=e=(ši)=(n)=tum$_2$=en=am
CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=PRO$_{1SG.IO}$=(DI$_{TERM}$)=(PRO$_{3SG.HUM.DO}$)=to bring$_{M.SG}$=PRO$_{2SG.AG}$=COP.3SG

Enlil replies to the fox: / "(If) you bring Ninhursaŋa to me, / (…)"

COMPOSITION: *Enki and Ninhursaŋa*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 225-226
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Enk&Ninhur*_N$_1$ (A)
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 4561

Examples such as this demonstrate that a speaker was not obligated to use an evidential marker to convey all information source nuances known to him or her. Were this the case, the above examples would be infelicitous as a zero-morpheme in an obligatory system would indicate that the information source was unknown/neutral, but it is clear via the NPs in the sentences who the reporter is.

  Furthermore, unmarked examples where marking would be expected would be far fewer than they are and would often be relegated to highly specific discourse environments (ex., subterfuge). In sum, because the marking of evidential modality was optional in Sumerian, there is no logic in positing a neutral "everything else" zero-morpheme. Rather, a verb unmarked for evidentiality in Sumerian simply says nothing about information source (contra. a neutral "everything else" function). When evidentiality was to be specified, speakers could select from a tripartite B5$_\beta$ system that could code the Reportative (Reportative of Simple Report or Folkloric),

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Quotative, and Inferential. Only typological evidence from B5 systems will be given in this chapter and the reader is directed to Marsal's article to see Sumerian juxtaposed with typological evidence from an A3 system.[517]

In Sumerian's tripartite B5$_\beta$ evidential system, the MP {naM} codes the Reportative (i.e., it marks "what has been learnt from someone else's verbal report" including cultural knowledge) and the MP {ši} codes the Inferential.[518] Broadly, the Inferential denotes "information source based on conclusions drawn on the basis of what one can see" as well as "the result of something happening."[519] There are many shades of Inferential evidentiality, but {ši} seems to most commonly code inferences made from an abstract set of conceptual evidence, namely, the reservoir of cultural knowledge available to a native denizen (i.e., societal conclusions derived from a perceived shared human experience).[520] Interestingly, the Quotative (i.e., the form that denotes something is "a verbatim quotation of what someone else has said") is marked outside of Slot One via the clause-final particle {eše}; as Sumerian is an SOV language this morpheme most frequently occurs on verbs, but it is not constrained to do so, and the rare exception is attested.[521] An important aspect of Sumerian's evidential system outlined above is that it is optional. More often than not, a predicate is unmarked in Sumerian for evidentiality, and such

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[517] Marsal, "La evidencialidad en lengua sumeria," 133.

[518] Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald, "Evidentiality: The Framework," in *The Oxford Handbook of Evidentiality*, ed. Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 43.

[519] Ibid., 42.

[520] Linguist Tanja Mortelmans explains how in Dutch (Indo-European, West Germanic) an Inferential can relate to conceptual types of knowledge such as general/vague indications or the reading of reports. For Sumerian, the Inferential relates to wisdom knowledge or cultural mores to state a claim about something that is said to be as it is because of societal teachings and not some direct observation or reception of information by the interlocuter (ex., "Mothman has been known to appear at locations where accidents occur days after his visit."). Tanja Mortelmans, "Seem-type verbs in Dutch and German: *Lijken, schijnen & scheinen*," in *Evidentiality Revisited: Cognitive Grammar, Functional and Discourse-Pragmatic Perspectives*, eds. Juana Isabel Marín Arrese, Gerda Haßler, and Marta Carretero. P&BNS 271. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2017), 140.

[521] Ibid., 43. Although {eše} is a genuine particle, it will be glossed like a morpheme and enclosed in curly braces for presentation purposes. In general, this dissertation does not distinguish between modal particles, clitics, and morphemes in Sumerian. This decision has been explained earlier in the dissertation. For an example of {eše} on an NP, see: *Proverb Collection 5, Version A, Proverb 71*, ln. 7: šag$_4$-ŋu$_{10}$-e-še.

null forms primarily denote that information source has been deemed irrelevant. It is also possible, however, for such null forms to indirectly mark that the speaker has acquired the information being conveyed via direct personal experience. This meaning, however, is not inherent to the form but rather entailed by what audiences pragmatically assume of a speaker in a co-operative communicative environment.[522]

5.2   PRIOR SUMEROLOGICAL TREATMENTS

Evidential modality has been largely unstudied in relation to Sumerian. The topic was indirectly broached by Civil in *ASJ* 22 and has only received dedicated attention by Erika Marsal.[523] Although she does not regard it as an evidential marker, Ecklin has performed a detailed study of {naM}.[524] Regarding evidentiality, Marsal deals exclusively with the MP {naM} whereas Civil focus primarily on {naM} but also covers the Quotative use of {eše} in passing. Civil's treatment of {naM} will only be briefly summarized below (see: §5.2.1.1). Next, the general claims of Ecklin's study will be presented (see: §5.2.1.2). Marsal's work is crucial to outline here as it is the first and only Sumerological work of its kind (see: §5.2.1.3).

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[522] This sentence brings up the question of evidentiality's relationship with Grice's Maxims. The notion that audiences should reasonably assume that a speaker is conveying truthful information to the best of his or her ability, which is often derived from personal experience, is related to the Maxim of Quality. The Grician Maxims of Relation and Manner are also relevant to evidentiality. Grice's Maxim of Relation asserts that a speaker should provide relevant and pertinent information; in a language like Sumerian with an optional evidential system this would include using the correct evidential marker when deemed pertinent to the conveyance of the message. Grice's Maxim of Manner says that a speaker should make a concerted effort to be clear and unambiguous in his or her conveyance of information; in optional evidential systems this would include the use of evidential markers when the information source has been deemed important for disambiguating something in the discourse. Grice, "Logic and Conversation," 41-58.

[523] Civil, "Modal Prefixes," 29-42; Marsal, "La evidencialidad en lengua sumeria," 127-134. Gabór Zólyomi remarks that {naM} might have developed from an epistemic affirmative prefix into a hearsay evidential, but his comment is a non-committal aside. Since his remarks on evidentiality do not go beyond this, his stance is only mentioned here in this footnote. The speculative nature of Zólyomi's claim and the hypothetical diachrony he posits have not been maintained in this dissertation. It is argued in this chapter to have been originally an evidential that developed an epistemic extension. Zólyomi, *An Introduction to the Grammar of Sumerian*, 249.

[524] Sabine Ecklin, "Das Präfix {na} in der sumerischen Verbalkette." (Lizenziatsarbeit [unpublished], Universität Bern, Philosophisch-historische Fakultät, Institut für Vorderasiatische Archäologie und Altorientalische Sprachen, 2005).

After summarizing previous scholarly discussions of {naM}, Alster's commentary on the MP {ši} in the *Instructions of Šuruppak* will be outlined (see: §5.2.2.1). His treatment has been selected for coverage here since that composition is critically important for understanding {ši}. Thus, his stance merits note.

5.2.1 {ɴᴀM}

5.2.1.1 Cɪᴠɪʟ

In *ASJ* 22, Civil summarizes {naM}'s basic functions and environments of occurrence. Interestingly, however, he never uses the term "evidential." Regarding the morpheme's shape, Civil remarks that it is identical in writing with the negative deontic MP {na} but might have had a different form in speech or historical origin.[525] Regarding function, Civil argues that the prefix has "an obviously positive epistemic function" and is to be understood as "a marker of *reported speech* marking a statement as either belonging to traditional orally-transmitted knowledge or simply being a report of someone else's words."[526] Concerning environment of occurrence, Civil provides the following list:

> It is used: (1) in the opening passages of mythical and epic tales, and in crucial points of the text, (2) in the introduction to certain types of direct speech such as **silim-še₃ na-e** (before self-congratulatory speechs), and (3) in the formulary opening lines of a letter, introducing the verbatim report of what the sender has told the messenger.[527]

Civil also explains that {naM} occasionally occurs in environments where its semantics are unclear. In these instances, he asserts that the morpheme is likely desemanticized and included for rhetorical effect. Finally, Civil also briefly addresses related forms such as na-nam meaning "as everybody knows," "as we have been told," etc., as well as certain formulae in which

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[525] Civil, "Modal Prefixes," 37.
[526] (emphasis original to source). Ibid.
[527] (emphasis original to source). Ibid.

{naM}-predicates frequently occur. The positions outlined by Civil in *ASJ* 22 were recounted by Ecklin in her 2005 work but seem to have been largely dismissed there. His views, however, were later expounded upon by Marsal, who clearly explains the function of {naM} within the framework of evidential modality. This dissertation belongs to the Civil-Marsal school but Ecklin's contributions to the study of this poorly understood morpheme merit mention.

5.2.1.2 ECKLIN

In her unpublished masters thesis, Sabine Ecklin provides a thorough literature review of Sumerological treatments of {naM} prior to 2005.[528] Upon summarizing prior literature, Ecklin remarks thusly:

> Bedarf an einer Untersuchung besteht bei folgender Festellung:
> - Weder Bedeutung noch Funktion von {na} nicht-negativ sind bekannt. Vieles ist vorgeschalgen worden, das anhand eines zeitlich und textuell repräsentativen Korpus untersucht, widerlegt oder bestätigt werden könnte.[529]

The present author is not as convinced as Ecklin that neither the meaning nor function of {naM} was known in 2005 (at least in a broad and provisional form) as Civil had convincingly described its basic function in *ASJ* 22 (admittedly without ever using the term "evidential"). This function identified by Civil was properly described after Ecklin's writing by Erika Marsal. Before shifting to her article, however, a few more of Ecklin's claims will be briefly touched upon here.

Regarding genre, Ecklin notes that {naM} occurs most consistently in hymns and epics but she expressly states that she did not want to consider that the morpheme might be genre dependent:

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[528] Ecklin, "Das Präfix {na} in der sumerischen Verbalkette," 1-19.
[529] Ibid., 26.

> Einzig in der Gattung Mythen und Epen sowie in den Hymnen kommt {na} häufig vor. Doch daraus zu schliessen, dass {na} eventuell gattungsabhängig ist, möchte ich nicht in Betracht ziehen.[530]

Indeed, it would be misguided to conclude that {naM} is entirely genre dependent. The morpheme's genre distribution, however, is still important and betrays much about its function (as explained in §5.4 and its subsections).

Regarding placement within compositions, Ecklin acknowledges that {naM} commonly occurs at specific places within compositions of various genres, but she concludes that her corpora did not divulge anything about the function of this MP in said positions:

> Die Belegstellen mit {na} in meinem Korpus deuten nich auf eine Funktion dieses Präfix, die die Stellung innerhalb der Komposition erklären könnte.[531]

Although Ecklin's corpora intersect heavily with this dissertation's, the present author has arrived at the opposite conclusion.

5.2.1.3 MARSAL

In an article by Erika Marsal, the MP {naM} was explained explicitly as a marker of evidentiality for the first time. The most important claims put forth in Marsal's analysis are presented below. Because Spanish is not one of the three main languages of Sumerological scholarship (i.e., English, French, and German), English translations are provided in footnotes. As the author is not well-versed in Spanish, these translations might be imperfect. Marsal articulates her main hypothesis clearly in her article:

> Nuestra hipótesis es que el sumerio es, en efecto, un sistema del tipo A3, es decir, un sistema con dos opciones: por un lado, la partícula evidencial /na-/ indicaría una oración

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[530] Ibid., 71.
[531] Ibid., 74.

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de tipo «reportativo»; por otro, cuando la oración aparece sin la partícula /na-/, es decir, sin marcador evidencial, se correspondería con la categoría «todo lo demás».[532]

Additionally, Marsal argues that {naM} has other functions such as denoting information that is general knowledge, traditional wisdom, and logical inference:

> A pesar de su uso para indicar que una información ha sido reportada, es posible encontrar esta partícula en numerosos contextos, que incluyen la transmisión de un conocimiento que se atribuye a la opinión general, la transmisión de un conocimiento que refleja la sabiduría tradicional (por ejemplo, en los proverbios) o para indicar inferencia lógica.[533]

In support of her claims, Marsal cites evidence from the Gudea corpus. It will be argued in this chapter that Marsal is correct in asserting that {naM} can code general knowledge and traditional wisdom but incorrect in claiming that it can denote logical inference. The denotation of logical inference is a distinct category of evidential modality that is coded via the MP {ši}.

The most important claim made by Marsal that has influenced this chapter is that {naM} is a Reportative morpheme that denotes both simple reports and cultural knowledge. A key departure from Marsal (besides her interpretation of a possible Inferential reading of {naM}), however, is that it is argued here that {naM}-predicates introduce direct speech whereas Marsal argues they follow direct speech to mark a return to narrative time.[534]

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[532] Marsal, "La evidencialidad en lengua sumeria," 134. Translation: "Our hypothesis is that Sumerian is indeed a system of the type A3, that is, a system with two options: on the one hand, the evidential particle /na-/ would indicate a sentence of the 'reporting' type; on the other, when the sentence appears without the particle /na-/, that is, without an evidential marker, it would correspond to the category 'everything else.'"

[533] Ibid. Translation: "Despite its use to indicate that information has been reported, it is possible to encounter this particle in numerous contexts, including the transmission knowledge that is attributed to general opinion, the transmission of knowledge that reflects traditional wisdom (for example, in proverbs) or to indicate logical inference."

[534] Ibid., 137-138.

5.2.2 {ŠI}

5.2.2.1 ALSTER

In his monograph on Sumerian wisdom literature, Bendt Alster includes a discussion of the MP {ši} in the *Instructions of Šuruppak*. Alster is not the only author who has commented on this morpheme, but his discussion is the only one recounted here because he specifically contextualizes it in relation to the *Instructions of Šuruppak*, which has been deemed here a critical discourse environment for understanding this MP's evidential function.[535]

To begin his commentary, Alster remarks that Thorkild Jacobsen refers to {ši}'s function as "contrapuntive" (a designation which Alster tentatively accepts), and he lists other previous literature with which his analysis aligns.[536] Alster notes the importance of the *Instructions of Šuruppak* for understanding {ši} since it occurs frequently in such Early Dynastic texts (contra. later texts).[537] Importantly, Alster notes that {ši} in later compositions might reflect genuine Early Dynastic forerunners, which implies that later evidence need not be dismissed outright as purely stylistic (though Alster does refer to these later manifestations as "obsolete survivals").[538] Alster also observes that {ši} might appear underrepresented in later texts because scholars have erroneously interpreted it as the NP igi "eye" since both commonly occur immediately before (or at the start of) a verbal prefix chain and are written with the same sign (namely, the ŠI-sign).[539] No such examples have been uncovered during the preparation of this thesis but the possibility warrants remembering for future research.

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[535] Although omitted here, readers should be aware of Falkenstein's article on this morpheme: Falkenstein, "Untersuchungen zur summerischen Grammatik: 4. Das affirmative Präformativ ši-/ša-," 69-118.

[536] Alster, *Wisdom of Ancient Sumer*, 212. Jacobsen, "About the Sumerian Verb," 73.

[537] Alster, *Wisdom of Ancient Sumer*, 212.

[538] Ibid.

[539] Ibid.

Following his introductory discussion, Alster poses the following three questions around which he centers the remainder of his treatment:

(1) How do SS [i.e., Standard Sumerian] ša- and na- relate to each other?

(2) Do SS ša-/šè-/ši- (and even, but rare, šu-) go back to a common ED grammatical element, possibly the ED sign ŠÈ, which later, in SS, when NÁM was only exceptionally used, was mistaken for NÁM and read as šè-?

(3) How do ED nám-/na-/nam- related to ED šè-/ša-/ši-? If these represent different ways of rendering a common morpheme /na-/ = /ša-/, the SS examples of na- and ša- might also represent reflections of a common phoneme, possibly a palatal nasal */nš/ (=ɲ), no longer in use in Standard Sumerian.[540]

Alster argues that the theories in (2) and (3) are disproven by the data. Regarding his first question, Alster concludes that "[a]pparently both na- and ša- connect a verb with what precedes it or what is expected to follow, with a preference for na- as the first part of a sequence, and ša- in the second part."[541] Finally, Alster provides a brief overview of {ši}'s various manifestations in the written material. Alster's proposal that {ši} be seen as a sort of connective element coordinating with {naM} is not accepted as a functional explanation in this dissertation. Rather, it is argued that its Inferential evidential function primes it for occurrence in such constructions.

5.3   THE MORPHEMES AND THEIR SHAPES

5.3.1   {NAM}

Establishing the base form of the MP {naM} is a complicated task. In writing, it often seems identical to the negative deontic MP {na} but this does not necessarily mean that the two were identical in speech or origin. The author has been unable to locate any languages that code both the Reportative evidential and negative deontic notions with either two seemingly

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[540] Ibid., 213.
[541] Ibid., 214.

homophonous morphemes or the same polysemous morpheme. Barring the discovery of one

such language (either one having been overlooked in the secondary literature by the author or

one yet to be documented in the field by linguists), it seems unwise to assume that these two

morphemes were either one form or two homophonous forms since they convey radically

different modal semantics and occupy the same slot in the agglutinative chain. The matter is

ultimately of no great consequence for a functional account such as this. Nonetheless, a

theoretically viable proposal will be given. I. M. Diaknoff (as cited by Edzard) was the first to

argue that one of these seemingly homophonous MPs might end in a nasal vowel or nasal

consonant.[542] In support of this, he cites spellings of the sort nam-ba-…, nam-bi$_2$-…, nam-mu-

…. Although Diakonoff argues that it is the negative deontic MP that has the terminal nasal

constituent, he acknowledges that the same argument can be used to assert that the evidential MP

has a nasal final element. Because this dissertation's corpora seem to record more attestations of

the evidential MP with a terminal nasal constituent, the choice was made to represent this MP

with a final nasal without exact feature specifications as {naM} (with the capital "m" standing

for an ambiguous nasal).[543] Further research, however, might support Diakonoff's original

proposal. Additionally, it is always possible that at some point in time the morphemes

grammaticalized to be indistinguishable.

5.3.2 {ŠI}

It is relatively easy to establish the base form of {ši}. In its earliest attestations, {ši} is

most often written with the ŠE$_3$-sign. The following examples from the *Instructions of Šuruppak*

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[542] Edzard, "*ḫamṭu*, *marû* und freie Reduplikation beim sumerischen Verbum. I," 219 fn. 32.

[543] It is difficult to get a clear view of the distribution of spellings across the deontic and evidential examples in the corpora. A proper numerical analysis has been postponed for future research.

are non-exhaustive but provide coverage of all environments where allomorphic writings are

attested elsewhere:

[5.6]   šu-du$_3$ na-tum$_2$ lu$_2$ / še$_3$-ba-dab$_5$

šu-du$_3$	na-tum$_2$
šudua=ø	na=(b)=tum$_2$=(en)
guarantee=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{DEO.PROH}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to bring$_{M.SG}$=(PRO2SG.AG)

lu$_2$	/	še$_3$-ba-dab$_5$
lu$_2$=ø	/	ši=ba=dab$_5$=ø
individual=ABS$_{SBJ}$	/	MP$_{EV.INFR}$=CP$_{NTR.MID}$=to seize$_{Ḫ}$=ABS3SG.SBJ

Do not act as a guarantor! Such men have been known to become trapped (in the affairs of others).

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: Instructions of Šuruppak
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 19
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: obv. ii. 70-8
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: IŠ_AbṢ
ARTIFACT IDENTIFIER: AbS-T 323+AbS-T 393
</div>

[5.7]   geme$_2$-zu$_5$ ŋiš$_x$(SAL+NITAH) na-e / zu$_2$-ur$_5$ še$_3$-mu-š[a$_4$(DU)]

geme$_2$-zu$_5$	ŋiš$_x$(SAL+NITAH)
geme$_2$=zu=(ra)	ŋiš=ø
slave woman=POSS.2SG.HUM=(DAT)	penis=ABS$_{DO}$

na-e	/
na=(b)=e=(en)	/
MP$_{DEO.PROH}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to say$_{M.SG.CVR}$=(PRO2SG.AG)	/

zu$_2$-ur$_5$	še$_3$-mu-š[a$_4$(DU)]
zur=ø	ši=mu=(n)=š[a$_4$=ø]
?=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{EV.INFR}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=CV[VE$_{Ḫ.CVR}$=ABS3SG.DO]

Do not have sex with your slave woman! (Such women, once slept with,) have been known to cry foul (alt. neglect you; alt. call you a *zur* (scoundrel?))![544]

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: Instructions of Šuruppak
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 49
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: obv. vi 6-7 + 323 I 1
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: IŠ_AbṢ
ARTIFACT IDENTIFIER: AbS-T 323+AbS-T 393
</div>

<div align="center">EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE</div>

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[544] The "neglect you" translation is derived from Akkadian parallels. The second half of this line has clear semantics but unclear lexical elements. For a discussion, see: Alster, *Wisdom of Ancient Sumer*, 121.

[5.8] aš₂ dug₄-d[ug₄] / bar še₃-dar

aš₂   dug₄-d[ug₄]   /   bar
aš₂=ø   (i)=dug₄:d[ug₄=ø]   /   bar=ø
curse=ABS$_{SBJ}$ (CP$_{NEUT}$)=to [say$_{H.SG}$^{x2}=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$]   /   outside=ABS$_{SBJ}$

še₃-dar
ši=dar=ø
MP$_{EV.INFR}$=to split$_{H}$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

(Concerning) insults being spewed, / the skin has been known to split.[545]

COMPOSITION: *Instructions of Šuruppak*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 134
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: obv. viii 8′-9′
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IŠ_AbŠ*
ARTIFACT IDENTIFIER: AbS-T 323+AbS-T 393

In later manuscripts of these same lines, the vowel of {ši} frequently colors to the vowel of the following syllable.

Interestingly, example [5.6]'s parallel in the other Early Dynastic manuscript of the *Instructions of Šuruppak* records the MP {ši} written with allographic specificity before the CP {ba} such that the surface form is [ša] (wr. ŠA₄-sign):[546]

[5.9] šu-du₈-a na-/-tum₂ lu₂-bi ša₄-ba-/-dab₅

šu-du₈-a   na-/-tum₂
šudua=ø   na=(b)=tum₂=(en)
guarantee=ABS$_{DO}$ MP$_{DEO.PROH}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to bring$_{M.SG}$=(PRO$_{2SG.AG}$)

lu₂-bi   ša₄-ba-/-dab₅
lu₂=ø   ši=ba=dab₅=ø
individual=ABS$_{SBJ}$ MP$_{EV.INFR}$=CP$_{NTR.MID}$=to seize$_{H}$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

Do not act as a guarantor! Such men have been known to become trapped (in the affairs of others).

COMPOSITION: *Instructions of Šuruppak*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 19
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: Fr. 2 ii 2-4
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IŠ_Adab*
MUSEUM NUMBER: A 649 & A 645

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[545] In later manuscripts, this line has a corresponding following line, which has influenced previous translations. This following line is absent from this Early Dynastic manuscript. The interpretation here is based solely on this manuscript. For alternate interpretations and a commentary, see: Ibid., 80 and 144-145.

[546] The Early Dynastic manuscript from Adab also records two other remarkable phonological/orthographic phenomena. It attests to the [šu] allomorph of {ši} in composite line 49. In composite line 21, this manuscript writes {ši} with the ŠI-sign (contra. orthographic conventions of the period which prefer the ŠE₃-sign).

This type of explicitly written allomorphy is uncharacteristic of MPs in Early Dynastic texts. It is possible that {ši}'s susceptibility to allomorphy in these texts indicates that this morpheme had already undergone significant developments prior to historical Sumerian. This could possibly explain how it seems to become desemanticized and used as an archaizing genre token over time. One cannot martial such Early Dynastic written evidence as conclusive proof, but the possibility nonetheless seems attractive.

Although the ŠE$_3$-sign was an oft-chosen morphographic sign, it is safe to say that the consonant accurately reflects the base form (i.e., it was /š/) and the vowel was either /e/ or /i/.[547] In later texts, there are indicators that the vowel might have been /i/ thereby making the earlier spelling with the ŠE$_3$-sign properly morphographic. There is one example in particular that supports the {ši} base reading if one subscribes to Woods' view on the CP {i} as this dissertation does:

[5.10] ^{d}TIR-an-na-⸢gin$_7$⸣ an-e ši-in-gilim$^?$

^{d}TIR-an-na-⸢gin$_7$⸣	an-e	ši-in-gilim$^?$
TIRana=gin	an=e	ši=n=gilim=ø
rainbow=EQU	heaven=LOCTR	MP$_{EV.MIR.EXT}$=PVN=to cross$_{t/}$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

It indeed spanned heaven like a rainbow!

COMPOSITION: *Enlil in the Ekur*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 98
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *EnlEk* N$_{11}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 8533 (+) Ni 4150

In this form, the writing ši-in-… can only be explained as ši=n=…. The CP {i} is semantically incompatible with the evidential markers. Specifically, {i}'s backgrounding function as a defocalizing agent and a minimizer of topicality and salience, as well as its pragmatic function for reporting neutral information without emphasizing either part of the action or a participant

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[547] Cuneiform often does not distinguish between /e/- and /i/-vowels (exs., bi-… = be$_2$-…, id-… = ed-…, si-… = se-…, etc.). Both vowels share phonological features; both are unrounded front vowels but /e/ has a close-mid vowel height whereas /i/ has a close vowel height. This is, of course, assuming the vowel inventory of Sumerian is correctly understood thusly.

are fundamentally at odds with the function of evidential marking (i.e., the non-neutral conveyance of information source).[548] Accordingly, the /i/-vowel in this form has to belong to the MP. It cannot represent the CP {i} from an underlying form **ša=i=n…. Later examples such as this when paired with the Early Dynastic evidence paint a convincing picture that the base form of this morpheme was {ši}.

Before discussing allomorphs of {ši}, it is worth exploring what its morphographic representation with the ŠE₃-sign might betray about this MP's historical origin. Typologically, Inferentials can develop from a variety of sources. Linguist Kyongjoon Kwon has summarized the typologically common sources as follows:

> It is reported that inferential evidentiality can evolve from verbs referring to location and existence (Wintu), locative or directional markers (Meithei), the future tense (Akha), copulas (Chinese Pidgin Russian), and perfect or anterior forms (Bulgarian, Estonian) (relevant languages are included in curly brackets; Nichols 1986; Willet 1988; Izvorski 1997; de Haan 1999; Dixon 2003; Aikhenvald 2004, Ch. 9; Gisborne and Holmes 2007).[549]

Because the earliest attestations of Inferential {ši} are spelled with the ŠE₃-sign, which is the prototypical morphogram for the terminative case marker {še} denoting direction towards, it seems possible that Inferential {ši} originated from or shared a common origin with terminative {še}. In this sense, Sumerian would be like Meithei (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman). Concerning a potential common origin, both could have theoretically developed out of the rare deictic demonstrative pronoun {še} (wr. ŠE-sign) meaning "that over there." This theoretical origin is viable for two reasons (other than the seemingly clear phonological similarities). Firstly, deictics are fundamental grammatical concepts out of which many other categories commonly

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[548] Woods, *The Grammar of Perspective*, 135.
[549] Kyongjoon Kwon, "A bias-driven modal development of evidentiality: the Korean inferential evidential -po," *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 27 (2018), 327.

develop.[550] Secondly, both the deictic {še} and the MP {ši} became rather obsolete by the historical period of Sumerian. Accordingly, it seems possible that they are both vestiges of an earlier stage of the grammar with some sort of relationship. This commonality could have motivated their shared decrease in productivity overtime. Notably, however, the MP did not suffer such a thorough loss in productivity as the deictic.

Regarding allomorphy, there are only two forms to cite. When {ši} occurs before a syllable with an /a/-vowel or an /u/-vowel, it can manifest as [ša] or [šu], respectively:

[5.11] geme$_2$-zu-ur$_2$ ŋiš$_3$ na-a-du$_3$ / zu-ur$_2$ šu-m[u]-ri-in-ša$_3$

geme$_2$-zu-ur$_2$ ŋiš$_3$
geme$_2$=zu=r(a)   ŋiš$_3$=ø
slave woman=POSS.2SG.HUM=DAT   penis=ABS$_{DO}$

na-a-du$_3$ /   zu-ur$_2$
na=e=dug$_4$=ø   /   zur=ø
MP$_{DEO.PROH}$=PRO2SG.AG=to say$_{H.SG.CVR}$=ABS3SG.DO   /   ?=ABS$_{DO}$

šu-m[u]-ri-in-ša$_3$
ši=m[u]=ra=*I=n=ša$_4$=ø
MP$_{EV.INFR}$=C[P$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$]=DI$_{DAT.2SG}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=CVVE$_{H.CVR}$=ABS3SG.DO

Do not have sex with your slave woman! (Such women, once slept with,) have been known to cry foul (alt. neglect you; alt. call you a *zur* (scoundrel?))![551]

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: Instructions of Šuruppak
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 49
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: obv. ii. 70-8
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: IŠ Ur$_2$
ARTIFACT IDENTIFIER: UET 6/2 170
</div>

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[550] Christopher Woods, "Deixis, Person, and Case in Sumerian," *ASJ* 22 (2000), 310. J. Kuryłowicz, "The Role of Deictic Elements in Linguistic Evolution," *Semiotica* 5 (1972), 174-183. J. H. Greenberg, "Some Iconic Relationships among Place, Time, and Discourse Deixis," in *Iconicity in Syntax: Proceedings of a Symposium on iconicity in Syntax, Stanford, June 24-26, 1983*, ed. J. Haiman. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1985), 271-287. J. H. Greenberg, "How Does a Language Acquire Gender Markers?" in *Universals of Human Language*, *Vol. 3: Word Structure*, ed. J. H. Greenberg. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978), 46-82. J. Lyons, "Deixis as the Source of Reference," in *Formal Semantics of Natural Language: Papers from A Colloquium Sponsored by the King's College Research Centre, Cambridge*, ed. E. L. Keenan. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 61-83. B. Kryk, *On Deixis in English and Polish: The Role of Demonstrative Pronouns.* Bamberger Beiträge zur Englischen Sprachwissenschaft 21. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1987). 1-41.

[551] The Prohibitive form with a *ḫamtu* root and the various phonetic spellings are unproblematic and common in later Sumerian manuscripts from Ur.

[5.12] ŋi[ri₃ u]r₅-re gud ša-b[a-r]i-ib-su-su udu ša-ba-ri-ib-su-su

ŋi[ri₃	u]r₅-re	gud
ŋi[ri(pařa)=ø	u]r₅=ø=e	gud=ø
bo[(ne)=ABS$_{DO}$	to] pluck$_M$=AP=ERG	ox=ABS$_{DO}$

ša-b[a-r]i-ib-su-su
ši=b[a-r]i=b=su꞉su=(e)
MP$_{EV.INFR}$=CP[$_{MID}$=?]?=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to tremble(?)$_M$^{x2}=(PRO$_{3SG.AG}$)

udu	ša-ba-ri-ib-su-su
udu=ø	ši=ba=ri=b=su꞉su=(e)
sheep=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{EV.INFR}$=CP$_{MID}$=?=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to tremble(?)$_M$^{x2}=(PRO$_{3SG.AG}$)

When one [dr]aws a bo[ne] as a lot (scl. to select an offering animal), it has been known to make the ox tremble, it has been known to make the sheep tremble![552]

As a final remark, it should be noted here that in later texts, examples of the MP written [ša] before Cu-syllables indicate that the base form may have come to be understood as {ša} over time (for an example, see: [5.108]). At this juncture, a sufficient amount of evidence supporting this dissertation's interpretation of the base form of {ši} has been presented and focus can shift to the shape of the Quotative marker {eše}.

5.3.3   {EŠE}

The shape and historical origin of the clause-final particle {eše} are remarkably transparent. When this form first occurs in texts it is written with the ŠE₃-sign (for an early attestation, see: *Gudea Cylinder A* col. v ln. 13 (composite line 126); [5.70]). Some scholars prefer to read the sign as eše₂ in such environments to better reflect an assumed phonological

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[552] The sense of {ši} as an evidential here is unclear. Since the MP is not present in the only Early Dynastic source that preserves this line, it is possible that it was a later addition either motivated by the other {ši}s in the composition, genre conventions, or both. For the interpretation of ŋiri₃ as a defective spelling of ŋiri₃-pad-ra₂ = "bone," see: Alster, *Wisdom of Ancient Sumer*, 118. Translation here follows Alster verbatim (Ibid., 64).

reality. One could just as easily argue, however, that it should be read eš₂ to better reflect the

morpheme's historical origin (see below). An advocate of the eš₂ reading could argue that since

transparent forms written …-e-še do not occur until the Old Babylonian period (for one example,

see: [5.74]) the morpheme might have still been phonologically identical to its source during the

time of Gudea and thus best transcribed as eš₂. Neither option seems preferable. Rather, one

should probably just assume that this morpheme was written morphographically with the ŠE₃-

sign because it was already a highly productive word-final morphograph (prototypically

representing the terminative case without allographic specificity). Regardless, the usage of the

ŠE₃-sign as a morphograph for this form could imply that it had a terminal /e/-vowel in speech,

which is what one finds in the Old Babylonian spellings. Accordingly, it is argued here that its

realization was most likely [eše] in historical Sumerian and its base form should be understood

as {eše}. No allomorphs of {eše} are known to the author.

Having established the base form, it is worthwhile investigating {eše}'s historical origin.

As a Quotative marker, one might logically expect that it would be a grammaticalized form of a

verb of speaking as this is cross-linguistically common.[553] To provide just one example, in

Western Apache (Athabaskan, Southern Athabaskan) "the quotative *chʾin̄ī* is the fourth person

subject form of 'to say'" that has grammaticalized into a particle.[554] Sumerian seems to conform

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[553] Markers of evidential modality in general often have verbs as their historical origin: "Evidential markers often – but not always (pace Willet 1988) – go back to grammaticalized verbs. The reported term often involves grammaticalization of a verb of speech. In Qiang (Chapter 3), the hearsay marker is derived from the verb 'say'. In Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993), and in Tauya (MacDonald 1990) the hearsay evidential comes from a depleted verb of speech. In Maricopa (Yuman: Gordon 1986) the eyewitness evidentiality suffix is homonymous with the lexical verb 'see', and has undoubtedly developed from it. Nonvisual marker *-mha* in Tariana could go back to the verb *-hima* 'hear, feel'. And four of the six evidentials in Western Apache come from verbs: the nonvisual experiential comes from a passive verb 'it is heard', the non-mirative inferential is from 'it is sensed'. The physical inferential goes back to 'look like, resemble', while the quotative comes from 'say'." Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald, "Evidentiality in Typological Perspective," in *Studies in Evidentiality*, eds. Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon. TSL 54. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2003), 21.

[554] Willem J. de Reuse, "Evidentiality in Western Apache," in *Studies in Evidentiality*, eds. Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon. TSL 54. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2003), 95.

with cross-linguistic expectations with respect to the historical origin of its Quotative marker. Specifically, {eše} (presumably realized in speech as [eše]) seems to have derived from a third-person plural, human, intransitive form of dug₄ "to say" in its *marû* plural stem (i.e., e); such a form would be analyzed thusly: i=e=eš : CP_{NEUT}=to say_{M.PL}=PRO_{3PL.HUM.SBJ} : "they say."[555] The only qualm one might have with this proposed origin is that the Quotative has a terminal /e/-vowel that is missing in the source form. This is unproblematic for a few reasons. Firstly, grammaticalized elements often become phonetically dissimilar from their source forms over time.[556] Accordingly, this terminal /e/-vowel could have naturally developed. Secondly, if this terminal vowel was not a prototypical case of phonological accretion, it could be a purely orthographic remnant from the early morphographic representations of this form that eventually either became frozen or perhaps even migrated into the spoken language. Understanding it as a natural result of grammaticalization seems like the best course of action.

5.4   REPORTATIVE

The Reportative is the function that allows a speaker to convey someone else's statement or general sentiment without necessarily specifying the precise authorship of the statement.[557] As a B5β system, Sumerian has two report-type evidential markers: the Reportative and the Quotative (the latter of which marks the verbatim speech of others; see: §5.5). It is important to

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[555] Miguel Civil has arrived at a similar conclusion. Civil, "Modal Prefixes," 38.

[556] Phonological reduction is a well-established parameter of grammaticalization. Stavros Skopeteas, "Grammaticalization and Sets of Form-Function Pairs," in *Studies on Grammaticalization*, Elisabeth Verhoeven et al. TIL 205. (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2008), 45. In the case of {eše}, however, it is a matter of phonological accretion, not reduction. This parameter of grammaticalization has been observed in Modern Japanese (Japonic) by Heiko Narrog and Toshio Ohori: "[C]ases of accretion of phonological material can also be found colloquially in Modern Japanese, where the potential morpheme *-e-* is lengthened to *-ere-* by younger speakers (e.g. *ik-ere-ru* 'can go' instead of *ik-e-ru*), and the causative morpheme *-(a)se-* is lengthened to *-(a)sase-* (e.g. *ik-asase-ru* 'let go' instead of *ik-ase-ru*)." Narrog and Ohori, "Grammaticalization in Japanese," 784.

[557] Aikhenvald, *Evidentiality*, 177.

keep in mind that being a report-type evidential does not equate universally to being a Reportative. The report-type split distinguishing between the Reportative and the Quotative is typologically well-attested. Comanche (Uto-Aztecan, Numic) is a language that has both a Reportative and a Quotative marker. To denote that a narrative "lies outside the speaker's personal knowledge" including "folktales and events that the speaker learned of from others," Comanche employs the particle {ki} in the second sentential position:[558]

[5.13] siti̱kɬse   ni̱kɬhútuʔi
        siti̱꞊ki꞊se   ni̱Hka=hu̱Ꞁ(2)=tuʔi
        these=ones=RPT=CNTR   to dance=INTN:ASP=UR:ASP

        They were going to dance.

To denote the Quotative, the particle {me} (with or without verbs of speaking) is used:[559]

[5.14] "si̱mi̱ʔoyetɬka i̱tsumiikɬtsi   ni̱hka"   me   mariniikwi
        si̱mi̱ʔoyeti̱=ka   i̱tsuʔumi=ki̱=h/H/tsi   ni̱Hka   me   matii=niikwi
        all=PL=IMP   to close=eyes=RPT=SS   to dance   QUOT   them=to say

        "Everybody close your eyes and dance," he said to them.

Whereas Comanche uses a particle to code the Reportative, Sumerian uses a morpheme, namely the MP {naM}.

The Reportative MP {naM} has two detectable shades of nuance. Firstly, it can denote that what follows is a simple report by marking a predicate introducing direct speech. Secondly, it can convey that the utterance derives from a piece of knowledge from folklore (ex., "Long ago in a galaxy far, far away…")(see: §5.4.2).[560] In some instances, {naM} seems to have been semantically bleached of its evidential nuance and is either serving a purely stylistic function or as an epistemic extension as an Asseverative (see: §5.4.3).

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[558] Jean Ormsbee Charney, *A Grammar of Comanche.* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 188-189.
[559] Ibid., 189-190.
[560] *Star Wars: Episode IV – A New Hope*, directed by George Lucas (Lucasfilm Ltd., 1977), 00:00:01-00:00:07.

5.4.1 REPORTATIVE OF SIMPLE REPORT ("CONNAIRE, PETER, AND SCOTT SAID 'STOP!'")

The Reportative of Simple Report encodes in an utterance that the speaker is conveying information for which he or she is not personally responsible without necessarily denoting a great degree specificity as to the type of evidence provider. In the usage of {naM} as a Reportative of Simple Report, predicates conjugated with it can include reference to the information source, but such information is not encoded in the MP.[561]

Frequently, predicates with {naM} occur in sentences that introduce direct speech. This function of {naM} features prominently in the Gudea corpus, certain Decad texts, and Ur III letters. The following examples are from the Gudea corpus:

[5.15] e$_2$-a sa$_2$ 2(MIN)-nam nam-mi-sig$_{10}$

e$_2$-a	sa$_2$	2(MIN)-nam
e$_2$=a	sa$_2$=ø	2=am
house=LOC$_{SOCV}$	advice=ABS$_{DO}$	two=COP.3SG

nam-mi-sig$_{10}$
naM=imma=*I=(n)=sig$_{10}$=ø
MP$_{EV.RPT.SIMP}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$)=to cast$_{H.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

for a second time he greeted the house:

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 566
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.A*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1512

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[561] For example, information about the number, person, and humanness of the agent/subject can be derived from pronominal marking on the verb. When the agent/subject coincides with the information source, such pronominal information conveys data about the information source.

[5.16] e_2-a sa_2 3-am_3 nam-mi-sig_{10}

e_2-a	sa_2	3-am_3
e_2=a	sa_2=ø	3=am
house=LOC_{SOCV}	advice=ABS_{DO}	three=COP.3SG

nam-mi-sig_{10}
naM=imma=*I=(n)=sig_{10}=ø
MP_{EV.RPT.SIMP}=CP_{MID}=DI_{LOC}=(PRO_{3SG.HUM.AG})=to cast_{H.CVR}=ABS_{3SG.DO}

for a third time he greeted the house:

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 568
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.A*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1512

</div>

[5.17] e_2-a sa_2 4 nam[!](RI)-mi-sig_{10}

e_2-a	sa_2	4
e_2=a	sa_2=ø	4=(am)
house=LOC_{SOCV}	advice=ABS_{DO}	four=(COP.3SG)

nam[!](RI)-mi-sig_{10}
naM=imma=*I=(n)=sig_{10}=ø
MP_{EV.RPT.SIMP}=CP_{MID}=DI_{LOC}=(PRO_{3SG.HUM.AG})=to cast_{H.CVR}=ABS_{3SG.DO}

for a fourth time he greeted the house:

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 570
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.A*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1512

</div>

[5.18] e_2-a sa_2 5-am_3 nam-mi-sig_{10}

e_2-a	sa_2	5-am_3
e_2=a	sa_2=ø	5=am
house=LOC_{SOCV}	advice=ABS_{DO}	five=COP.3SG

nam-mi-sig_{10}
naM=imma=*I=(n)=sig_{10}=ø
MP_{EV.RPT.SIMP}=CP_{MID}=DI_{LOC}=(PRO_{3SG.HUM.AG})=to cast_{H.CVR}=ABS_{3SG.DO}

for a fifth time he greeted the house:

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 572
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.A*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1512

</div>

[5.19] e₂-a sa₂ 6-am₃ nam-mi-sig₁₀

e₂-a	sa₂	6-am₃
e₂=a	sa₂=ø	6=am
house=LOC$_{SOCV}$	advice=ABS$_{DO}$	six=COP.3SG

nam-mi-sig₁₀
naM=imma=*I=(n)=sig₁₀=ø
MP$_{EV.RPT.SIMP}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$)=to cast$_{H.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

for a sixth time he greeted the house:

[5.20] e₂-a sa₂ 7 nam-mi-sig₁₀

e₂-a	sa₂	7
e₂=a	sa₂=ø	7=(am)
house=LOC$_{SOCV}$	advice=ABS$_{DO}$	seven=(COP.3SG)

nam-mi-sig₁₀
naM=imma=*I=(n)=sig₁₀=ø
MP$_{EV.RPT.SIMP}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$)=to cast$_{H.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

for a sixth time he greeted the house:

One Decad composition with numerous parallel predicates conjugated with the Reportative of Simple Report MP {naM} is *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*. In a few canonical lines, direct speech is introduced via {naM}-predicates:

EXAMPLES ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[5.21]   2-kam-ma-še₃ ⌜in⌝-⌜ga⌝-RA-mu-na-ab-be₂
          2-kam-ma-še₃
          2=kamma=še
          two=ORD=TERM

          ⌜in⌝-⌜ga⌝-RA-mu-na-ab-be₂
          inga=naM=mu=na=b=e=e
          CONJ=MP$_{EV.RPT.SIMP}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to say$_{M.SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

          And for a second time he speaks to him:[562]

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 85
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A* K₁
ARTIFACT IDENTIFIER: Kish 1932, 155

[5.22]   2-‹kam›-ma-še₃ in-ga-na-mu-⌜na⌝-[ab-be₂]
          2-‹kam›-ma-še₃
          2=‹kam›ma=še
          two=ORD=TERM

          in-ga-na-mu-⌜na⌝-[ab-be₂]
          inga=naM=mu=na=[b=e=e]
          CONJ=MP$_{EV.RPT.SIMP}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=[PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to say$_{M.SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$]

          and for a second time he [says] to him:

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 133
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A* Si₁
MUSEUM NUMBER: BM 54731

In a string of optional lines present in some manuscripts, Gilgameš convinces Huwawa to hand over his *me*s to him. This exchange is stylized in a repetitive series of reports stylized in the following format:

> "And for a first/second/third/etc. time, he addressed Huwawa: 'CONVINCING SPEECH.' Huwawa handed over to him his *me*. And for a first/second/third/etc. time, he addressed Huwawa: 'CONVINCING SPEECH.' Huwawa handed over to him his *me*. Etc."

Each predicate in the "And for a first/second/third/etc. time, he addressed Huwawa:" portion of the framework is marked with the Reportative of Simple Report MP {naM} denoting that the following lines are the direct speech of a character (i.e., someone other than the narrator):

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[562] The MP {naM} is unique in that it can occur after {inga}, as it does in these examples from *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*. Concerning this specific example, it is unclear why the RA-sign is where a writing of {naM} is expected. This is idiosyncratic and not evidence of allomorphy.

[5.23]   [3]-kam-ma-še₃ in-ga-nam-[mu-na]-ab-be₂
[3]-kam-ma-še₃
[3]=kamma=še
[three]=ORD=TERM

in-ga-nam-[mu-na]-ab-be₂
inga=naM=[mu=na]=b=e=e
CONJ=MP$_{EV.RPT.SIMP}$=[CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$]=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to say$_{M.SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

and for a [third] time he says [to him]:

[5.24]   ⌜4?⌝-kam-ma-[še₃] in-ga-nam-mu-na-ab-be₂
⌜4?⌝-kam-ma-[še₃]
4=kamma=[še]
four=ORD=[TERM]

in-ga-nam-mu-na-ab-be₂
inga=naM=mu=na=b=e=e
CONJ=MP$_{EV.RPT.SIMP}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to say$_{M.SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

and [for] a fourth time he says to him:

[5.25]   5-kam-ma-še₃ in-ga-nam-mu-na-ab-be₂
5-kam-ma-še₃
5=kamma=še
five=ORD=TERM

in-ga-nam-mu-na-ab-be₂
inga=naM=mu=na=b=e=e
CONJ=MP$_{EV.RPT.SIMP}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to say$_{M.SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

and for a fifth time he says to him:

[5.26]   6-kam-ma-še₃ in-ga-nam-mu-na-ab-be₂
          6-kam-ma-še₃
          6=kamma=še
          six=ORD=TERM

          in-ga-nam-mu-na-ab-be₂
          inga=naM=mu=na=b=e=e
          CONJ=MP_{EV.RPT.SIMP}=CP_{TR.ACT.EMPY}=DI_{DAT.3SG}=PRO_{3SG.NHUM.DO}=to say_{M.SG}=PRO_{3SG.AG}

          and for a sixth time he says to him:

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 141dd
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A* X₅
MUSEUM NUMBER: FLP 1053

</div>

In the preceding examples, the predicates are clearly denoting that the following lines are reported direct speech without marking who the speaker is. The identity of the speaker is understood via context to be Gilgameš and coded pronominally on the verb via the third-person singular *marû* agent suffix {e}. It should also be noted here that its reoccurrence in these discourse positions is probably also a reflex of genre stylistics as it seems to serve as a visual and/or aural narrative framer. Under Marsal's system, each {naM}-predicate would mark that the preceding line was outside the narrative time but were that the case one would expect a {naM}-predicate in composite line 141ee of *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*, which is absent.

A final example from a Decad composition will be cited here without additional commentary. The following example comes from *Inana and Ebih*:

<div align="center">

EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

</div>

[5.27] 2(MIN$_3$)-[kam-ma-še$_3$] ni$_2$ huš na-kur-ku silim zid-de$_3$-eš na-e

2(MIN$_3$)-[kam-ma-še$_3$]   ni$_2$ huš
2=[kamma=še]   ni$_2$ huš=ø
two=[ORD=TERM]   fear   to be angry$_H$=AP

na-kur-ku
naM=(b)=kurku=(e)
MP$_{EV.RPT.SIMP}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to observe(?)$_M$=(PRO3SG.AG)

silim   zid-de$_3$-eš
silim=ø   zid=eš(e)
well-being=ABS$_{DO}$ right=TERM$_{ADV}$

na-e
naM=(b)=e=e
MP$_{EV.RPT.SIMP}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to say$_{M.SG.CVR}$=PRO3SG.AG

[For a] 2[nd time], she rejoices (lit. observes(?)) in fearsome terror; she speaks out righteously:

COMPOSITION: *Inana and Ebih*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 165
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IEb* N$_{I2}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-16-32 + N 3257 + Ni 9910

Although the preceding examples are in themselves sufficient, a few more taken from outside the principal corpus will be cited below (without commentary) for additional supporting evidence. These pieces of evidence come from Ur III letters where {naM} indicates that the message conveyed on the tablet/via the messenger belongs to the original composer and not the deliverer:

[5.28] lugal-e / na-ab-be$_2$-a / Ur-^{d}Li$_9$-si$_4$-na-ra / u$_3$-na-a-dug$_4$

luagl-e   / na-be$_2$-a
lugal=e   / naM=b=e=e=a=a(m)
king=ERG   / MP$_{EV.RPT.SIMP}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to say$_{M.SG}$=PRO3SG.AG=NMZ=COP.3SG

/ Ur-^{d}Li$_9$-si$_4$-na-ra   /   u$_3$-na-a-dug$_4$
/ Ur-Lisina=ra   /   u=na=e=dug$_4$=ø
/ PN$_♂$=DAT   /   MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO2SG.AG=to say$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

After you have said / to Ur-Lisina, / "The king / speaks thusly," / (…)

COMPOSITION: TCS.1.001
LINE NUMBER: obv. 1-4
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: Letter Order_1
MUSEUM NUMBER: YBC 1317

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[5.29] sukkal-mah-e / na-be$_2$-a / Lugal-kug-zu / ⌜u$_3$⌝-⌜na⌝-a-dug$_4$

   sukkal-mah-e   /
   sukkalmah=e   /
   a type of official/civil servant=ERG   /

   na-be$_2$-a   /
   na=b=e=e=a=a(m)   /
   MP$_{EV.RPT.SIMP}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to say$_{M.SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$=NMZ=COP.3SG   /

   Lugal-kug-zu   / ⌜u$_3$⌝-⌜na⌝-a-dug$_4$
   Lugal-kugzu=(ra)   / u=na=e=dug$_4$=ø
   PN$_♂$=(DAT)   / MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO$_{2SG.AG}$=to say$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

   After you have said / to Lugal-kugzu, / "The *sukkalmah* / speaks thusly," / (…)

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: TCS.1.002
LINE NUMBER: obv. 1-4
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: Letter Order_2
MUSEUM NUMBER: BM 134634

</div>

At this juncture, the ability for {naM} to code the Reportative of Simple Report has been sufficiently demonstrated. What remains is to explain how it operates to denote that the information source of an utterance is folklore.

5.4.2   FOLKLORIC ("LONG AGO IN A GALAXY FAR, FAR AWAY…")

Knowledge derived from folklore constitutes a unique type of evidence that speakers can martial to support their claims. Humans across time have based their understanding of the world on an abstract and nebulous type of "evidence, whose origins and truthfulness are not necessarily clear, which is perhaps best manifested in folklore, traditional stories, and myths of one's own culture."[563] Naturally, folklore as an evidence source is quite different from traditional ones since the information has not been observed by the speaker or his or her peers. Terminologically, folklore in the context of the present discussion should be understood broadly "as an umbrella

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[563] Seppo Kittilä, "Folklore as an evidential category," *Folia Linguistica* 54 (2020), 697.

term for all information sources that somehow represent traditional stories of different groups of people."[564]

Before delving further into this topic, a more precise definition of folklore as an evidence source as constructed by linguist Seppo Kittilä will be given:

(1) Folklore presents the (oral or written) heritage of one's own culture including myths, traditional stories, history etc., which has been passed on from generation to generation.

(2) The speaker has not been involved in the events depicted in any way, and they consequently do not have any personal evidence (of any kind) for the information they are referring to.

(3) Folklore resembles reported evidence, but in contrast to typical reported evidence, the original source of information is completely unknown.

(4) Due to the origin and nature of folklore, the speaker has no evidence for or against its truth value. However, due to its importance for one's own culture, the speaker may believe folklore to be true and have subjective certainty of its truth value.[565]

The third point in the above definition is particularly important to the present Sumerological discussion because it explains why the MP {naM} codes both the Reportative of Simple Report and the Folkloric.

While Sumerian uses a polyvalent morpheme to code the Folkloric as one of its functions, some languages such as Ladakhi (Sino-Tibetan, Tibetic)(see: [5.31]) and Yuki (Yuki-Wappo, Yuki)(see: [5.32]) have dedicated markers for coding folklore as the evidence source of a statement:[566]

[5.31] mi=gun   i=ləm=ne   čhen=yot=kək
        man=PL   PROX.DEM=path=ABL   to go=RPT=NARR

"Men had been passing by this way (lit. going from this way)."[567]

[564] Ibid.
[565] Ibid., 699.
[566] Even though Kittilä explains that these are dedicated Folkloric markers he still glosses them as RPT and MYTH. Regardless, they are clearly Folkloric in function.
[567] Kittilä, "Folklore as an evidential category," 702. Sanyukta Koshal, *Ladakhi Grammar*. (Delhi: Motilal

[5.32] se=éi   hul=koʔói   náu=mil
        and.DIFF.SBJ=MYTH   eye=gopher   to look=FIN

        "And Coyote watched."[568]

Languages such as Seminole Creek (Muskogean, Eastern Muskogean)(see: [5.33]), Assiniboine

(Siouan, Western Siouan)(see: [5.34]), and Denaʾina (Athabaskan, Northern Athabaskan)(see:

[5.35]) include the coding of Folkloric evidence as one function of a Reportative marker:[569]

[5.33] ø=hi:s=tó:m=ø=atí:=s
        3.DO=to see 1.THM=S.R.=3SBJ=QUOT=DECL

        "He saw it (long ago, as reported)."[570]

[5.34] žéʰen   coyote   žé=ʔįš   cʰąwám   ø=iyáya   hųštá
        so then   PN   that=SPC GN (Canada) 3.AG=to depart   QUOT

        "And so Coyote left for Canada, it is said."[571]

[5.35] Chulyin   nen=hdi   nʾu   du   ghishin   dit?
        PN (Raven)   2SG=TOP   your.wife   INTR   she.is.pretty EV

        qeyłni   łu
        they.said.to.him   EV

        "You, Raven, how come you have such a pretty wife?" they said.[572]

These three languages are close parallels to Sumerian which denotes information derived from

folklore via the same MP as the Reportative of Simple Report (i.e., {naM}).

Banarsidass, 1979), 206.

[568] Kittilä, "Folklore as an evidential category," 703. Mithun, *The Languages of Native North America*, 199.

[569] It must be noted that Kittilä uses glossing other than RPT for these examples even though the functions are clearly Reportative. His system has been maintained here but the reader should not be disconcerted by the potentially confusing glossing.

[570] Kittilä, "Folklore as an evidential category," 706. Michele Nathan, "Grammatical Description of the Florida Seminole Dialect of Creek." (PhD. diss., Tulane University, 1977), 115.

[571] Kittilä, "Folklore as an evidential category," 707. Linda A. Cumberland, "A Grammar of Assiniboine: A Siouan Language of the Northern Plains." (PhD. diss., Indiana University, 2005), 334.

[572] Kittilä, "Folklore as an evidential category," 707. Gary Holton and Olga Levick, "Evidentiality in Denaʾina Athabaskan," *Anthropological Linguistics* 50 (2008), 295. Cited in: Joan M. Tenenbaum (ed.), *Denaʾi Sukduʾa: Traditional Stories of the Tanaina Athabaskans*, 3rd ed. (Fairbanks, AK: Alaska Native Language Center, 2006), 90.

Sumerian literary compositions that recount the deeds of characters from the mythical past commonly begin with sentences whose predicates are marked with {naM} but are clearly not Reportatives, extended epistemic Asseveratives, or simple desemanticized genre tokens. Such constructions are akin to tropes in modern literature and film that introduce stories set in a detached past inaccessible to the experiences of any possible addressee (ex., "Once upon a time…"). A transparent example of {naM} used as a Folkloric marker occurs at the beginning of the Decad composition *The Song of the Hoe*:

[5.36] en-e niŋ₂-ul-e pa na-an-ga-am₃-mi-in-e₃

en-e	niŋ₂-ul-e	pa
en=e	niŋ₂=ul=(a)=e	pa=ø
lord=ERG	ABSTR=to be distant$_{H}$=(AP)=LOCTR$_{SOCV}$	branch=ABS$_{DO}$

na-an-ga-am₃-mi-in-e₃
naM=inga=imma=*I=n=e₃=ø
MP$_{EV.FOLK}$=CONJ=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to go out$_{H.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

The lord hath made manifest once more an everlasting thing.[573]

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Song of the Hoe*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 1
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Al* N$_{I4}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: Ni 2500

</div>

In this example, the {naM}-predicate denotes that the carrying of the world's axis of Durankik is a primordial action that should belong to the common set of folkloric knowledge accessible to a Mesopotamian audience.

Other examples of introductory Folkloric {naM}-predicates will be cited below from a variety of compositions without additional commentary as a terminus for this section:

<div align="center">

EXAMPLES ON FOLLOWING PAGE

</div>

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[573] Using archaized translations is a viable method for making the Folkloric visible in translation. unfortunately for most of the examples to come, the archaic third-person singular past tense form of "to have" is "had," which is identical to the modern form.

[5.37] [an] ki-ta bad-re$_6$-de$_3$ saŋ nam-ga-am$_3$-ma-an-šum$_2$

[an]	ki-ta	bad-re$_6$-de$_3$	saŋ
[an]	ki=ta	bař=ed=e	saŋ=ø
[heaven]	place=ABL	to open$_M$=INF=LOCTR$_{SOCV}$	head=ABS$_{DO}$

nam-ga-am$_3$-ma-an-šum$_2$
naM=inga=imma=n=šum$_2$=ø
MP$_{EV.FOLK}$=CONJ=CP$_{MID}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to give$_{H.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

And he had hastened to separate [heaven] from earth.

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Song of the Hoe*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 4
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Al* N$_{III1}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: N 1737 + N 6271 + N 7214

</div>

[5.38] ⌜ki⌝ an-⌜ta⌝ ⌜bad⌝-re$_6$-de$_3$ ⌜saŋ⌝ na-an-ga-ma-an-šum$_2$

⌜ki⌝	an-⌜ta⌝	⌜bad⌝-re$_6$-de$_3$	⌜saŋ⌝
ki	an=ta	bař=ed=e	saŋ=ø
place	heaven=ABL	to open$_M$=INF=LOCTR$_{SOCV}$	head=ABS$_{DO}$

na-an-ga-ma-an-šum$_2$
naM=inga=imma=n=šum$_2$=ø
MP$_{EV.FOLK}$=CONJ=CP$_{MID}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to give$_{H.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

And he had hastened to separate earth from heaven.

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Song of the Hoe*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 5
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Al* N$_{I3}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 13864

</div>

[5.39] Dur-an-ki-ka bulug$_2$ nam-mi-in-il$_2$

Dur-an-ki-ka	bulug$_2$
Durankik=a	bulug$_2$=ø
GN=LOC	needle=ABS$_{DO}$

nam-mi-in-il$_2$-ø
naM=imma=*I=n=il$_2$=ø
MP$_{EV.FOLK}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to lift$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

He had been carrying the axis (of the world) at Durankik.

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Song of the Hoe*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 7
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Al* N$_{I3}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 13864

</div>

[5.40] uzu e₃-a ⁿᵉˢ̌al nam-mi-in-TU

uzu	e₃-a	ⁿᵉˢ̌al
uzu	e₃=a=a	al=ø
flesh	to go out$_H$=PP=LOC	hoe=ABS$_{DO}$

nam-mi-in-TU
naM=imma=*I=n=du₃=ø
MP$_{EV.FOLK}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to build$_{H.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

He had set to the hoe to work at the place where flesh came forth.

[5.41] ᵈŠara ⌜ᵈ⌝⌜En⌝-lil₂-la₂ dub₃-ba nam-in-tuš

ᵈŠara	⌜ᵈ⌝⌜En⌝-lil₂-la₂	dub₃-ba
Šara=ø	Enlil=a(k)	dub=bi=a
DN♂=ABS$_{SBJ}$	DN♂=GEN	knee=POSS.3SG.NHUM=LOC

nam-in-tuš
naM=imma=*I=n=tuš=ø
MP$_{EV.FOLK}$=CP$_{NTR.MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PVN=to dwell$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

Šara had sat down on the knees of Enlil.[574]

[5.42] [ⁿᵉˢ̌]⌜al⁇⌝-e kug-ga-am₃ izi nam-mi-in-la₂

[ⁿᵉˢ̌]⌜al⁇⌝-e	kug-ga-am₃	izi
al=e	kug=ø=am	izi=ø
hoe=LOCTR$_{SOCV}$	to be holy$_H$=AP=COP.3SG	fire=ABS$_{DO}$

nam-mi-in-la₂
naM=imma=*I=n=la₂=ø
MP$_{EV.FOLK}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to hang$_{H.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

He had purified the hoe – it is sacred – with fire.

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[574] A third-person singular human possessive pronoun is preferrable for this anticipatory genitive construction, but it is clearly the nonhuman form here.

[5.43] ⌜nam⌝-[nun]-ne₂ / ⌜nam⌝-nun-ne₂ / ⌜e₂⌝-ta / ⌜nam⌝-ta-e₃

    ⌜nam⌝-[nun]-ne₂   /   ⌜nam⌝-nun-ne₂   / ⌜e₂⌝-ta
    nam=[nun]=e=ø   /   nam=nun=e=ø   / e₂=ta
    ABSTR=[prince]=DEM=ABS_SBJ /   ABSTR=prince=DEM=ABS_SBJ   / house=ABL

    /   ⌜nam⌝-ta-e₃
    /   naM=b=ta=e₃=ø
    /   MP_EV.FOLK=PRO3SG.NHUM.IO=DI_ABL=to go out_H=ABS3SG.SBJ

The [prince]ly one, / the princely one, / he came forth / from the house.

[5.44] [ᵈEn-lil₂ nam₂ nun-e] ⌜e₂⌝-ta nam-ta-ab-⌜e₃⌝

    [ᵈEn-lil₂   nam₂   nun-e]   ⌜e₂⌝-ta
    [Enlil   nam₂   nun=e=ø]   e₂=ta
    [DN♂   lord   prince=DEM=ABS_SBJ]   house=ABL

    nam-ta-ab-⌜e₃⌝
    naM=b=ta=b=e₃=ø
    MP_EV.FOLK=PRO3SG.NHUM.IO=DI_ABL=?=to go out_H=ABS3SG.SBJ

[Enlil, the lord, the prince,] came forth from the house.[575]

[5.45] [nam₂ nun-e] nam-⌜lugal⌝-la e₂-ta nam-ta-ab-e₃

    [nam₂   nun-e]   nam-⌜lugal⌝-la   ⌜e₂⌝-ta
    [nam₂   nun=e]   nam=lugal=a   e₂=ta
    [lord   prince=DEM=ABS_SBJ]   ABSTR=king=LOC_ADV   house=ABL

    nam-ta-ab-e₃
    naM=b=ta=b=e₃=ø
    MP_EV.FOLK=PRO3SG.NHUM.IO=DI_ABL=?=to go out_H=ABS3SG.SBJ

[The princely lord] came forth royally from the house.

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[575] The function of pre-verbal {b} in this example and similar ones is unclear. Such {b}s are likely erroneous and have been left uninterpreted in the glossing.

[5.46] en šar₂ šag₄ ᵗᵘᵍ²ba₁₃ nam-mi-⌜in⌝-⌜la₂⌝

en	šar₂	šag₄	ᵗᵘᵍ²ba₁₃
en	šar₂=ø=(e)	šag₄	ba₁₃=ø
en-priest	to be perfect(?)=AP=(ERG)	heart	*BA*-garment=ABS_DO

nam-mi-⌜in⌝-⌜la₂⌝
naM=imma=*I=n=la₂=ø
MP_EV.FOLK=CP_MID=DI_LOC=PRO_3SG.HUM.AG=to hang_Ḫ=ABS_3SG.DO

The good *en*-priest … held the lead-rope dangling.[576]

[5.47] lal₃-e ki kug-ga ⌜nam⌝-mi-in-tuš

lal₃-e	ki	kug-ga
lal₃=e=ø	ki	kug=a=a
type of priest=DEM=ABS_SBJ	place	to be holy_Ḫ=PP=LOC

⌜nam⌝-mi-in-tuš
naM=imma=*I=n=tuš=ø
MP_EV.FOLK=CP_NTR.MID=DI_LOC=PVN=to dwell_Ḫ.SG=ABS_3SG.SBJ

The *lal*-priest sat himself down in the purified/holy place.[577]

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[576] Interestingly the MP is missing from the Early Dynastic manuscript from Abū Ṣalābīkh (*IŠ*_AbṢ : en šar₂ ba₁₃ / am₆-ma-la₂).

[577] Most manuscripts are non-modal. As such these {naM}-forms might be genre tokens or corruptions.

[5.48] ^{d}En-ki zig$_3$-ga-ni ku$_6$ i-zi-še$_3$ na-zig$_3$

^{d}En-ki	zig$_3$-ga-ni		ku$_6$
Enki=(ak)	zig$_3$=a=ani=(e)		ku$_6$=ø
DN$_\male$=(GEN)	to raise$_H$=NMZ=POSS.3SG.HUM=(LOCTR)		fish=ABS$_{SBJ}$

i-zi-še$_3$	na-zig$_3$
izid=še	naM=zig$_3$=ø
wave=TERM	MP$_{EV.FOLK}$=to raise$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

When Enki rises, the fish riseth before him like waves.[578]

[5.49] ^{ŋeš}ma$_2$ ni$_2$-bi nam-dab$_5$ eš$_2$ ni$_2$-bi nam-du$_8$

^{ŋeš}ma$_2$	ni$_2$-bi	nam-dab$_5$
ma$_2$	ni$_2$=bi=ø	naM=dab$_5$=ø
ship	self=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS$_{SBJ}$	MP$_{EV.FOLK}$=to seize$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

eš$_2$	ni$_2$-bi	nam-du$_8$
eš$_2$	ni$_2$=bi=ø	naM=du$_8$=ø
rope	self=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS$_{SBJ}$	MP$_{EV.FOLK}$=to loosen$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

The ship departed of its own accord, with towline held(?) by itself.

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[578] This line occurs after a break in the narrative during which the god Isimud sings a prayer to the temple upon Enki completing it construction. One might rightly expect to find the Folkloric forms within such a hymn but that is not the case here. Isimud could not use Folklorics to extol a newly build structure. The composer/narrator, however, can employ Folklorics in the section following the hymn when describing what benefits Enki's deeds in Eridug brought to the region. This makes sense temporally since within the chronological framework of the composition Isimud sings his praise in the remote past when the construction was completed but the narrator describes the well-established effects of said construction that have been observable for centuries and were still present at the time of the compositions writing or performance. As such, Folkloric forms could be martialed by the narrator/composer but not Isimud. Similar logic explains the other Folkloric form in this composition attested on composite line 86 given in [5.49].

[5.50] [en-e kur] ⌜lu₂⌝ til₃-la-še₃ ŋeštug₂-ga-ni nam-gub

[en-e	kur]	⌜lu₂⌝	til₃-la-še₃
[en=e	kur]	lu₂	til₃=ø=a(k)=še
[lord=ERG	mountain]	individual	to live$_{H.SG}$=AP=GEN=TERM

ŋeštug₂-ga-ni	nam-gub
ŋeštug₂=ani=ø	naM=(n)=gub=ø
ear=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{EV.FOLK}$=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to stand$_{H.SG.CVR}$=ABS3SG.DO

[The lord] paid attention to the mountain of the living one.

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: Gilgameš and Huwawa A
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 1
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: GH.A N$_{III3}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: Ni 9636
</div>

[5.51] ⌜en⌝ ᵈŊEŠ.BIL₂-ga-mes-e kur lu₂ til₃-la-še₃ / ŋeštug₂-ga-ni na-an-gub

⌜en⌝	ᵈŊEŠ.BIL₂-ga-mes-e	kur	lu₂
en	Bilgames=e	kur	lu₂
lord	PN/DN$_{♂}$=ERG	mountain	individual

til₃-la-še₃	/	ŋeštug₂-ga-ni
til₃=ø=a(k)=še	/	ŋeštug₂=ani=ø
to live$_{H.SG}$=AP=GEN=TERM	/	ear=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

na-an-gub
naM=n=gub=ø
MP$_{EV.FOLK}$=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to stand$_{H.SG.CVR}$=ABS3SG.DO

The lord Bilgames paid attention to the mountain of the living one.

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: Gilgameš and Huwawa A
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 2
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: GH.A N$_{I2}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: N 3776 + N 3691 + Ni 4475
</div>

<div align="center">
EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE
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[5.52] iri-me-a niŋ₂-du₇ pa nam-e₃ / šag₄ gu₂-bi nam-gi₄ / šag₄ ᵈ⁺En-lil₂-la₂ gu₂-bi
nam-gi₄ / šag₄ gu₂-bi nam-gi₄

iri-me-a	niŋ₂-du₇	pa
iri=me=a	niŋ₂=du₇=(a)=(a)	pa=ø
city=POSS.1PL.HUM=LOC	ABSTR=to be fitting_H=(PP)=(LOC_SOCV)	branch=ABS_DO

nam-e₃	/	šag₄
naM=(n)=e₃=ø	/	šag₄=ø
MP_EV.FOLK=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to go out_H.SG.CVR=ABS3SG.DO	/	heart=ABS_SBJ

gu₂-bi	nam-gi₄	/ šag₄
gu₂=bi=(e)	naM=gi₄=ø	/ šag₄
bank=POSS.3SG.NHUM=(LOCTR)	MP_EV.FOLK=to return_H=ABS3SG.SBJ	/ heart

ᵈ⁺En-lil₂-la₂	gu₂-bi
Enlil=a(k)=ø	gu₂=bi=(e)
DN♂=GEN=ABS_SBJ	bank=POSS.3SG.NHUM=(LOCTR)

nam-gi₄	/	šag₄
naM=gi₄=ø	/	šag₄=ø
MP_EV.FOLK=to return_H=ABS3SG.SBJ	/	heart=ABS_SBJ

gu₂-bi	nam-gi₄
gu₂=bi=(e)	naM=gi₄=ø
bank=POSS.3SG.NHUM=(LOCTR)	MP_EV.FOLK=to return_H=ABS3SG.SBJ

"In our city, one has made the appropriate things manifest; / the heart returned to
its bank; / the heart of Enlil returned to its bank; / the heart returned to its bank;

[5.53] šag₄ ᵈ⁺En-lil₂-la₂-ke₄ ⁱᵈ²Idigina-am₃ a dug₃-ga nam-de₆

šag₄	ᵈ⁺En-lil₂-la₂-ke₄	ⁱᵈ²Idigina-am₃	a
šag₄	Enlil=ak=e	Idigina=am	a
heart	DN♂=GEN=ERG	Tigris=COP.3SG	water

dug₃-ga	nam-de₆
dug₃=a=ø	naM=(b)=de₆=ø
to be good_H=PP=ABS_DO	MP_EV.FOLK=(PRO3SG.NHUM.AG)=to bring_H.SG=ABS3SG.DO

"Enlil's heart – it is like the Tigris – brings sweet water;"

5.4.3   EPISTEMIC EXTENSION OF {NAM} ("LO, JAMES *REALLY* BEAT HARRISON IN BATTLE!")

It is common for evidentials to develop semantic extensions. These extensions usually come in one of two types: epistemic extensions and mirative extensions. Mirativity and its extensions out of evidential markers is discussed elsewhere (see: §5.6.1). When an evidential has developed an epistemic extension, it can be used as a modal coding mechanism to denote the span of epistemic modal notions (e.g., the Assumptive, Asseverative, etc.).[579] The MP {naM} begins to show epistemic extension over time. Specifically, it seems to have become a stylized Asseverative marker, likely resulting from evidentiality becoming bleached due to extensive contact with Akkadian – a language largely lacking non-lexical evidential markers.[580] It is natural for evidentials to develop epistemic nuances (as opposed to deontic or dynamic ones) because both are subsumed under the semantic header Propositional Modality (or Propositional Modification, should one wish to separate evidentiality from modality).

The tendency for an evidential marker to become intimately linked to specific types of discourses or genres is a typologically well-attested phenomenon. Cultural attitudes concerning the denotation of information source and the conveyance of certain types of knowledge via works of a specific genre help explain the linkage shared by these categories. As Alexandra Aikhenvald has explained:

> Languages with evidentiality tend to develop conventions concerning preferred choices in different discourse genres. An evidential in itself may be considered a token of a genre. Speakers of languages with evidentials may say that a story is not a story without a reported evidential. An unexpected evidentiality choice may acquire additional stylistic overtones – of sarcasm, irony, or indignation. Evidentiality choices correlate with backgrounding, or foregrounding, a part of the narrative. All this contributes to the

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[579] Aikhenvald, "Evidentiality in Typological Perspective," 2.
[580] Akkadian has an enclitic particle {mi} essentially parallel in function to {eše}. Wasserman has the fullest treatment of {mi} but he does not discuss it explicitly in terms of evidentiality. Wasserman, *Most Probably: Epistemic Modality in Old Babylonian*, 179-205.

importance of evidentials for human communication and the ways in which speakers view the world.[581]

For Sumerian, it will be shown that {naM} evolved into a genre token (albeit retaining shades of its original function); in §5.6.1, {ši}'s development into a genre token will be treated in tandem with its role as a mirative extension.

The epistemic Asseverative extension of {naM} is well attested in the primary corpus. When operating as an extended epistemic Asseverative, {naM} is concurrently operating as a genre token. This is because it is the genre that allows for the use of this stylized {naM} Asseverative. Concerning {naM}, it is most closely associated with the royal inscription and literary genres. Although it seems that the productivity of this extension increased over time as the influence of Akkadian grew, there are early examples of it. In the Gudea corpus, for example, one finds attestations of {naM}-predicates that do not seem like the Reportative of Simple Report or the Folkloric and make most sense as Asseveratives with genre-conditioned panegyrical overtones:

[5.55] lugal [e₂-n]i-ta nam-ta-ŋen
        lugal   [e₂-n]i-ta
        lugal=ø   [e₂=an]i=ta
        king=ABS_SBJ   [house=POSS.3SG].HUM=ABL

        nam-ta-ŋen
        naM=b=ta=ŋen=ø
        MP_EV.EPI.EXT.ASV=PRO_3SG.NHUM.IO=DI_ABL=to go_H.SG=ABS_3SG.SBJ

        The king came out of his house (again)!

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581 Aikhenvald, *Evidentiality*, 9.

[5.56] ma₂-gur₈-ra-na ŋiri₃ nam-mi-gub

ma₂-gur₈-ra-na   ŋiri₃
magur=ani=a   ŋiri₃=ø
barge=POSS.3SG.HUM=LOC   foot=ABS_DO

nam-mi-gub
naM=imma=*I=(n)=gub=ø
MP_EV.EPI.EXT.ASV=CP_MID=DI_LOC=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to stand_H.SG=ABS3SG.DO

He indeed set foot on his barge!

[5.57] ma₂-gur₈-ra-na ŋiri₃ nam-mi-gub

ma₂-gur₈-ra-na   ŋiri₃
magur=ani=a   ŋiri₃=ø
barge=POSS.3SG.HUM=LOC   foot=ABS_DO

nam-mi-gub
naM=imma=*I=(n)=gub=ø
MP_EV.EPI.EXT.ASV=CP_MID=DI_LOC=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to stand_H.SG=ABS3SG.DO

He indeed set foot on his barge!

[5.58] e₂-a hul₂-la-ni na-ni-kur₉

e₂-a   hul₂-la-ni
e₂=a   hul₂=a=ani=ø
house=LOC   to be joyful_H=PP=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS_SBJ

na-ni-kur₉
naM=ni=kur₉=ø
MP_EV.EPI.EXT.ASV=DI_LOC=to enter_H=ABS3SG.SBJ

His joyful one indeed entered into the house!

[5.59] Gu$_3$-de$_2$-a eš$_3$ e$_2$-ninnu-ta zalag-ga nam-ta-e$_3$

 Gu$_3$-de$_2$-a   eš$_3$ e$_2$-ninnu-ta   zalag-ga
 Gudea=ø   eš$_3$ E-ninnu=ta   zalag=a
 PN$_\male$=ABS$_{SBJ}$ shrine   TN=ABL   bright=LOC$_{ADV}$

 nam-ta-e$_3$
 naM=b=ta=e$_3$=ø
 MP$_{EV.EPI.EXT.ASV}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.IO}$)=DI$_{ABL}$=to go out$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

 Gudea, from the shrine E-ninnu, came out radiantly!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 194
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.A*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1512

</div>

[5.60] Gu$_3$-de$_2$-a en ^{d}Nin-ŋir$_2$-su-ra / niŋ$_2$-ba na-gu-ul-gu-ul

 Gu$_3$-de$_2$-a   en ^{d}Nin-ŋir$_2$-su-ra   /
 Gudea=(e)   en   Ninŋirsu=ra   /
 PN$_\male$=(ERG) lord DN$_\male$=DAT   /

 niŋ$_2$-ba   na-gu-ul-gu-ul
 niŋba=ø   naM=(n)=gul:gul=ø
 gift=ABS$_{DO}$ MP$_{EV.EPI.EXT.ASV}$=(PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$)=to be big$_H$^{x2}=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

 Gudea, for lord Ninŋirsu, / he increased the gifts!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder B*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 33-34
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.B*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1511

</div>

[5.61] ensi$_2$ zag-e$_3$-a / nam-mi-gub

 ensi$_2$ zag-e$_3$-a   / nam-mi-gub
 ensi$_2$=ø   zagea   / naM=mu=*I=gub=ø
 ruler=ABS$_{SBJ}$?   / MP$_{EV.EPI.EXT.ASV}$=CP$_{ACT}$=DI$_{LOC}$=to stand$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

 Lo, the ruler on the foremost *X* / stood!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder B*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 430-431
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.B*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1511

</div>

[5.62] e₂ ur₅-gin₇ dim₂-ma / ensi₂ dili-e / ᵈNin-ŋir₂-su-ra / nu-na-du₃ / na-mu-du₃

e₂	ur₅-gin₇	dim₂-ma	/ ensi₂	dili-e	/
e₂	ur₅=gin₇	dim₂=a	/ ensi₂	dili=e	/
house	DEM=EQU	to fashion_H=PP	/ ruler	single=ERG	/

ᵈNin-ŋir₂-su-ra	/ nu-na-du₃	/
Ninŋirsu=ra	/ nu=na=(n)=du₃=ø	/
PN♂=DAT	/ NEG=DI_DAT.3SG=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to build_H=ABS3SG.DO	/

na-mu-du₃
naM=mu=(n)=du₃=ø
MP_EV.EPI.EXT.ASV=CP_TR.ACT=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to build_H=ABS3SG.DO

Concerning a house built like this one, / a single *ensi*, / for Ninŋirsu, / had not built for him; / he indeed built one.

Concerning these extensions in later compositions, one can look to the Decad and Old Babylonian bilingual royal inscriptions for additional evidence. Forms from this subcorpus are cited without commentary since the Asseverative has received extensive attention elsewhere (see: §3.7):

[5.63] u₃ ŋa₂-e ⸢ur₅⸣-gin₇ nam-ba-⸢e⸣-⸢ak⸣ [ur₅-še₃ he₂]-me-a

u₃	ŋa₂-e	⸢ur₅⸣-gin₇
u₃	ŋaʾe=ø	ur₅=gin
and	I=ABS_SBJ	DEM=EQU

nam-ba-⸢e⸣-⸢ak⸣
naM=ba=e=ak=(en)
MP_EV.EPI.EXT.ASV=CP_NTR.MID=?=to do_M=(PRO1SG.SBJ)

[ur₅-še₃	he₂]-me-a
[ur₅=še	he]=me:a(m)
[DEM=TERM	MP_EPI.ASV]=COP.3SG

"and I myself will indeed become like this, [thus] it will [indeed] be."

[5.64] šu-še₃ ba-an-dab₅ ki-za nam-ba-an-de₆

šu-še₃	ba-an-dab₅	ki-za
šu=še	ba=n=dab₅=ø	kiza=ø
hand=TERM	CP_MID=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to seize_H=ABS3SG.DO	prostrated position=ABS_DO

nam-ba-an-de₆
naM=ba=n=de₆=ø
MP_EV.EPI.EXT.ASV=CP_MID=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to bring_H.SG=ABS3SG.DO

he seized him by the hand, he indeed brought himself to the prostrated position

[5.65] ᵈEn-l[il₂ nam-lugal-la-ni] / diŋir-e-n[e-er] / ib₂-g[u-la ...] / sipad nam-[tar-re] /
ᵈZa-ba₄-ba₄ ᵈIn[ana] / [nun g]al-e-ne-er / [g]u₃ mur in-ak-eš-a-aš / [igi kug-g]a-na
nam-mu-[u]n-ne-ši-du₈ [na]m-mu-un-tum₂

ᵈEn-l[il₂	nam-lugal-la-ni]		/ diŋir-e-n[e-er]	/
Enl[il	nam=lugal=ani=ø]		/ diŋir-en[e=r(a)]	/
D[N♂	ABSTR=king=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS_SBJ]		/ god=PL.[HUM=DAT]	/

ib₂-g[u-la	...]		/ sipad	nam-[tar-re]	/
i=b=g[ula=ø=a	...]		/ sipad	nam[tar=e]	/
CP_NEUT=?=to be big_Ḫ=ABS3SG.SBJ=SUBR		/ shepherd	fa[te=LOCTR_SOCV]	/

ᵈZa-ba₄-ba₄	ᵈIn[ana]	/ [nun	g]al-e-ne-er		/
Zababa	In[ana]	/ [nun	g]al=ene=r(a)		/
D[N♂	D[N♀]	/ [prince(ss)	b]ig=PL.HUM=DAT		/

[g]u₃ mur
[g]u₃—mur=ø
[vo]ice—CVVE=AP+ABS_DO

in-ak-eš-a-aš	/	[igi
i=n=ak=eš=a=š(e)	/	[igi=ø
CP_NEUT=PRO3PL.HUM.AG=to do_Ḫ.CVR=PRO3PL.HUM.AG=NMZ=TERM	/	[eye=ABS_DO

kug-g]a-na
kug]=ani=a
silver]=POSS.3SG.HUM=LOC

nam-mu-[u]n-ne-ši-du₈
naM=mu=e[n]e=ši=(n)=du₈=ø
MP_EV.EPI.EXT.ASV=CP_TR.ACT.EMPY=PR[O]3PL.HUM.IO=DI_TERM=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to
    loosen_Ḫ.CVR=ABS3SG.DO

Enlil, whose kingship is surpassing among the gods, shepherd who determines the destines, with his shining face indeed looked at Zababa and Inana/Ištar, the champions (Sumerian: one who speaks the loudest) among the Igigi gods.[582]

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[582] For purposes of space, the Akkadian correlate lines will not be cited with full glossing. What is important is that the Sumerian modal predicate is translated by a non-modal form in Akkadian (the Akkadian form parallel to the Sumerian modal predicate is bolded): (1) ᵈEn-líl *ša be-lu-sú* (2) *a-na ì-lí šu-úr-ba-at* (3) SIPAD *mu-ši-im ši-ma-tim* (4) ᵈZa-ba₄-ba₄ *ù* ᵈINANA (5) *qar-du-tim i-na I-gi-gi* (6) *in bu-ni-šu el-lu-tim* (7) **i-mu-ur-šu-nu-ti-ma** [*īmuršunūtīma* = to see:G.PRET.3.COMM.SG.ACC.3MP.CONJ] (COMPOSITION: *RIME 4.3.7.7 (Samsu-iluna)*; COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 1-7; MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: Samsu-iluna_3.1_A ; MUSEUM NUMBER: YBC 2296). The significance of the Akkadian form being non-modal is unclear. It likely demonstrates that by this time {naM} was more so seen as a genre token or a different flavor of Asseverative that Akkadian could not convey via a prototypical *lū iprus* construction. Nonetheless, these {naM}-predicates with non-modal Akkadian correlates are presented here for simplicity's sake.

[5.66] [iri] Kiš^ki / [ki-šu-p]eš saŋ-ŋa2 / [ki-tuš] mah-a-ne-ne / [bad3]-bi du3-u3-de3 /
[saŋ]-bi dirig niŋ2-ud-bi-da-ka il2-i-da / [šag4-ga]-ni zid-de3-eš
[na]m-mu-un-tum2

[iri]	Kiš^ki	/	[ki-šu-p]eš	saŋ-ŋa2	/	[ki-tuš]
[iri]	Kiš	/	[kišup]eš	saŋ=a	/	[kituš]
[city]	GN	/	[a cultic lo]cus	head=LOC	/	[dwelling]

mah-a-ne-ne	/	[bad3]-bi
mah=anene	/	[bad3]=bi=ø
great=POSS.3PL.HUM	/	[wall]=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS_DO

du3-u3-de3	/	[saŋ]-bi
du3=ed=e	/	[saŋ]=bi=ø
to build_H=INF=LOCTR_SOCV	/	[head]=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS_DO

dirig	niŋ2-ud-bi-da-ka
dirig=(a)	niŋ2=ud=bi=da=ak=a
to exceed_H=(PP)	ABSTR=day=DEM=CMT=GEN=LOC

il2-i-da	/	[šag4-ga]-ni
il2=ed=a	/	[šag4=a]ni=ø
to lift_H=INF=LOCTR_SOCV	/	[heart]=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS_DO

zid-de3-eš
zid=eš(e)
right=TERM_ADV

[na]m-mu-un-tum2
[na]M=mu=n=tum2=ø
[M]P_EV.EPI.EXT.ASV=CP_TR.ACT=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to bring_M.SG.CVR=ABS3SG.DO

He indeed truly decided to build the wall of Kiš, the foremost cult city, their lofty
dwelling (and) to raise its head higher than it had been previously.[583]

COMPOSITION: *RIME 4.3.7.7 (Samsu-iluna)*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 9-14
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: Samsu-iluna_3.1_S
MUSEUM NUMBER: Ash 1962, 353

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[583] For purposes of space, the Akkadian correlate lines will not be cited with full glossing. What is important is
that the Sumerian modal predicate is translated by a non-modal form in Akkadian (bolded word is the Akkadian
form parallel to the Sumerian modal predicate): (8) IRI *Kiš^ki ma-ḫa-za-am re-eš-ti-a-am* (9) *šu-ba-at-sú-nu ṣi-ir-tam*
(10) BAD3-*šu e-pé-ša-am* (11) *re-ši-šu e-li ša pa-na* (12) *ul-la-a-am* (13) *li-ib-ba-šu ki-ni-iš* **ub-lam-ma** [*ublamma* =
to carry:D.PRET.3.COMM.SG.VEN.CONJ] (COMPOSITION: *RIME 4.3.7.7 (Samsu-iluna)*; COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 8-13; MANUSCRIPT
SIGLUM: Samsu-iluna_3.1_A ; MUSEUM NUMBER: YBC 2296). The significance of the Akkadian form being non-modal is
unclear. It likely demonstrates that by this time {naM} was more so seen as a genre token or a different flavor of
Asseverative that Akkadian could not convey via a prototypical *lū iprus* construction. Nonetheless, these {naM}-
predicates with non-modal Akkadian correlates have been presented here for the sake of simplicity.

[5.67] *Sa-am-su-i-lu-*[*na*] / lugal kalag-ga sipad u[r-saŋ] / šu dug₄-ga-ne-ne-er / saŋ-ki
nam-til₃-la-bi / zalag-ge-eš nam-mu-un-ši-i[n]-zig₃-ge-eš

Sa-am-su-i-lu-[*na*]	/	lugal	kalag-ga	sipad
Samsu-ilu[*na*]	/	lugal	kalag=a	sipad
P[N]♂	/	king	to be mighty_H=PP	shepherd

u[r-saŋ]	/	šu dug₄-ga-ne-ne-er		/
u[rsaŋ]	/	šu—dug₄=a=anene=r(a)		/
h[ero]	/	hand—to speak_H.SG.CVR=PP=POSS.3PL.HUM=DAT		/

saŋ-ki	nam-til₃-la-bi
saŋki=(ak)	nam=til₃=a=bi=ø
forehead=(GEN)	ABSTR=to live_H.SG=PP=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS_DO

/	zalag-ge-eš
/	zalag=eš(e)
/	bright=TERM_ADV

nam-mu-un-ši-i[n]-zig₃-ge-eš
naM=mu=n=ši=[n]=zig₃=eš
MP_EV.EPI.EXT.ASV=CP_TR.ACT=PRO3SG.HUM.IO=DI_TERM=[PRO3PL.HUM.AG]=to raise_H=PRO3PL.HUM.AG

They indeed raised their faces of life brightly towards Samsu-iluna, the mighty king, the valiant shepherd, the creation of their hands, / (…)[584]

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[584] For purposes of space, the Akkadian correlate lines will not be cited with full glossing. What is important is that the Sumerian modal predicate is translated by a non-modal form in Akkadian (bolded word is the Akkadian form parallel to the Sumerian modal predicate): (56) *a-na Sa-am-su-i-lu-na* (57) LUGAL *da-an-nim* (58) SIPAD *qar-ra-dim* (59) *li-pí-it qá-ti-šu-nu* (60) *bu-ni-šu-nu ša ba-*⌈*la*⌉*-ṭim* (61) *na-aw-ri-iš **iš-šu-šum-m**[*a*] [*iššûšumm*[*a*] = to lift:G.PRET.3.MASC.PL.DAT.3.MASC.SG.CONJ] (COMPOSITION: *RIME 4.3.7.7 (Samsu-iluna)*; COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 56-61; MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: Samsu-iluna_3.1_A ; MUSEUM NUMBER: YBC 2296). The significance of the Akkadian form being non-modal is unclear. It likely demonstrates that by this time {naM} was more so seen as a genre token or a different flavor of Asseverative that Akkadian could not convey via a prototypical *lū iprus* construction. Nonetheless, these {naM}-predicates with non-modal Akkadian correlates have been presented here for the sake of simplicity.

[5.68] [DIĜIR^{-n}]^i lu[gal Aš$_2$-nun-na^{ki}] / inim-ma-na ŋeš-[tug$_2$ nu-un-na]-an-ŋa[l$_2$-la] / šu
im-m[i-in-du$_8$] / ^{ŋeš}si-gar gu$_2$ [du$_3$-a-ta] / nam-mi-in-[de$_6$]

[DIĜIR^{-n}]^i	lu[gal Aš$_2$-nun-na^{ki}]	/ inim-ma-na	ŋeš-[tug$_2$
[*Ilun*]*i*	lu[gal Ešnunna]	/ inim=ani=a	ŋeš[tug=ø
[P]N$_♂$	ki[ng GN]	/ word=POSS.3SG.HUM=LOC	ea[r=ABS$_{DO}$

nu-un-na]-an-ŋa[l$_2$-la]	/	šu
nu=na]=n=ŋa[l$_2$=ø=a]	/	šu=ø
NEG=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$]=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to exi[st$_{H.CVR}$=ABS3SG.DO=SUBR]	/	hand=ABS$_{DO}$

im-m[i-in-du$_8$]	/
imm[a=*I=n=du$_8$=ø]	/
C[P$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to spread$_{H.CVR}$=ABS3SG.DO]	/

^{ŋeš}si-gar	gu$_2$	[du$_3$-a-ta]	/
sigar	gu$_2$	[du$_3$=a=ta]	/
clamp	neck	[to build$_H$=PP=INST]	/

nam-mi-in-[de$_6$]
naM=imma=*I=n=[de$_6$=ø]
MP$_{EV.EPI.EXT.ASV}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=[to bring$_{H.SG}$=ABS3SG.DO]

He defeated / [Ilun]i, the ki[ng of Ešnunna], / the one who had [not heed]ed his decrees; / Indeed, he [led] him off / in a neck-stock (lit. by a clamp built for the neck)![585]

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[585] For purposes of space, the Akkadian correlate lines will not be cited with full glossing. What is important is that the Sumerian modal predicate is translated by a non-modal form in Akkadian (bolded word is the Akkadian form parallel to the Sumerian modal predicate): (104) DIĜIR-*ni* LUGAL *Iš-nun-na*^{ki} (105) *la* ⸢*še*⸣-⸢*mu*⸣ *a-wa-ti-šu* (106) *i-ik-mi* (107) [*i*]*n* ^{ŋeš}SI.GAR (108) ***ú-ra-aš-šu-ma*** [*urâššūma* = to lead, advance against in battle:G.PRET.3.COMM.SG.VEN.ACC.3.MASC.SG.CONJ] (COMPOSITION: *RIME 4.3.7.7 (Samsu-iluna)*; COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 104-108; MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: Samsu-iluna_3.1_A ; MUSEUM NUMBER: YBC 2296). The significance of the Akkadian form being non-modal is unclear. It likely demonstrates that by this time {naM} was more so seen as a genre token or a different flavor of Asseverative that Akkadian could not convey via a prototypical *lū iprus* construction. Nonetheless, these {naM}-predicates with non-modal Akkadian correlates have been present here for the sake of simplicity.

[5.69] iti 2-am$_3$ ba-zal-la-ta / uŋ$_3$ ma-da I-da-ma-ra-az-ka / nam-ra-aš bi$_2$-in-ak-a / u$_3$
erin$_2$ Aš$_2$-nu-na^{ki}-me-eš-a / LU$_2$×KAR$_2$-a en-na bi$_2$-in-dab-ba-aš / šu
mi-ni-in-bar-ra / šu nam-til$_3$-la-ke$_4$ / in-ne-ši-in-ŋar-ra / bad$_3$ didli ma-da / Wa-ru-
um-ma-ke$_4$ / mu-un-gul-gul-la / bi$_2$-in-du$_3$-du$_3$-a / uŋ$_3$ saŋ dug$_4$-ga-bi / gu$_2$-ba
nam-mu-un-ne-en-ŋar-ra / ki-bi-še$_3$ bi$_2$-in-gi$_4$-a

iti	2-am$_3$		ba-zal-la-ta		/
iti	2=am=ø		ba=zal=ø=a=ta		/
month	two=COP.3SG=ABS$_{SBJ}$		CP$_{PASS}$=to pass$_H$=ABS3PL.NHUM.SBJ=NMZ=ABL		/

uŋ$_3$		ma-da	I-da-ma-ra-az-ka	/	nam-ra-aš
uŋ$_3$		mada	Idamaraz=ak=a(k)=ø	/	namra=š(e)
populace		land	GN=GEN=GEN=ABS$_{DO}$	/	booty=TERM

bi$_2$-in-ak-a		/	u$_3$	erin$_2$
ba=*I=n=ak=ø=a		/	u$_3$	erin$_2$
CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to do$_H$=ABS3SG.DO=SUBR		/	and	troops

Aš$_2$-nu-na^{ki}-me-eš-a	/	LU$_2$×KAR$_2$-a	en-na
Ešnuna=meš=a(k)=ø	/	LU$_2$×KAR$_2$=a	enna
GN=COP.3PL=GEN=ABS$_{DO}$	/	prisoner=?	as many as

bi$_2$-in-dab-ba-aš		/	šu
ba=*I=n=dab$_5$=ø=a=š(e)		/	šu=ø
CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to seize$_H$=ABS3SG.DO=SUBR=TERM	/	hand=ABS$_{DO}$

mi-ni-in-bar-ra	/
mu=*I=n=bar=ø=a	/
CP$_{TR.ACT}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=CVVE$_{H.CVR}$=ABS3SG.DO=SUBR	/

šu nam-til$_3$-la-ke$_4$	/
šu—nam=til$_3$=ø=ak=e	/
hand—ABSTR=to live$_{H.SG}$=AP=GEN=LOCTR	/

in-ne-ši-in-ŋar-ra	/
i=ene=ši=n=ŋar=ø=a	/
CP$_{NEUT}$=PRO3PL.HUM.IO=DI$_{TERM}$=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to put$_{H.CVR}$=ABS3SG.DO=SUBR	/

bad$_3$	didli	ma-da	/	Wa-ru-um-ma-ke$_4$	/
bad$_3$	didli	mada	/	Warum=ak=e	/
fortification	several	land	/	GN=GEN=LOCTR	/

mu-un-gul-gul-la	/
mu=n=gul:gul=ø=a	/
CP$_{TR.ACT}$=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to destroy$_H$^{x2}=ABS3SG.DO=SUBR	/

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bi₂-in-du₃-du₃-a

bi_2-in-du_3-du_3-a / un_3 saŋ

ba=*I=n=du_3:du_3=ø=a / un_3 saŋ

CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to build$_{H}^{x2}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=SUBR / populace head

dug₄-ga-bi / gu₂-ba

dug_4=a=bi=ø / gu_2=bi=a

to say$_{H.SG}$=PP=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$ / neck=POSS.3SG.NHUM=LOC

nam-mu-un-ne-en-ŋar-ra

naM=mu=ene=n=ŋar=ø=a

MP$_{EV.EPI.EXT.ASV}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.3PL}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to put$_{H}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=SUBR

/ ki-bi-še₃

/ ki=bi=še

/ place=POSS.3SG.NHUM=TERM

bi₂-in-gi₄-a

ba=*I=n=gi_4=ø=a

CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to return$_{H}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=SUBR

After 2 months had passed, having set free (and) given life to the people of the land of Idamaraz whom he had taken captive, (and) the troops of Ešnunna, as many prisoners as he had taken, he (re)built the various fortresses of the land of Warûm which he had destroyed (and) indeed regathered and resettled its scattered people.[586]

As has been noted by scholars such as Civil and Ecklin, {naM} shows a biased distribution for the royal inscription and literary genres. The argument and data presented in this section demonstrates that this distribution reflects how {naM} developed into an extended epistemic Asseverative that concurrently served as a genre token. This can be seen especially in the late

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[586] Most of the corresponding Akkadian is lost but the form parallel to the Sumerian modal predicate is preserved. For purposes of space, what remains of the Akkadian correlate lines will not be cited with full glossing. What is important is that the Sumerian modal predicate is translated by a non-modal form in Akkadian (bolded word is the Akkadian form parallel to the Sumerian modal predicate): (1″) ⌈*ú*⌉-*pa-aḫ-ḫi-ru-m*[*a*] [*upaḫḫirūma* = to gather:D.PRET.3.COMM.SG.SUBR] (COMPOSITION: *RIME 4.3.7.8 (Samsu-iluna)*; COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 1″; MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: Samsu-iluna_4.1_A ; MUSEUM NUMBER: A 22088). The significance of the Akkadian form being non-modal is unclear. It likely demonstrates that by this time {naM} was more so seen as a genre token or a different flavor of Asseverative that Akkadian could not convey via a prototypical *lū iprus* construction. Nonetheless, these {naM}-predicates with non-modal Akkadian correlates have been presented here for the sake of simplicity.

Old Babylonian royal inscriptions of Samsu-iluna, which employ extensions from evidentials frequently (for the epistemic extension of {naM}, see: [5.65]-[5.69]; for the mirative extension of {ši}, see: [5.111]-[5.119]).

5.5   QUOTATIVE (MARKING OF OTHERS' DIRECT SPEECH "MARK SAID: 'I WILL DO IT!'")

The Quotative is a report-type evidential in that it marks information for which the speaker is not directly responsible. It is different from the Reportative, however, in that it marks the verbatim utterance of a concrete person other than the speaker whereas the Reportative does not entail a reference to such a concrete information source (hence its ability to code the Folkloric). Sumerian uses the clause-final particle {eše} to denote the Quotative.

The Quotative is poorly attested in this dissertation's principal corpus. The Gudea subcorpus is its only environment of occurrence within its bounds. Accordingly, supporting evidence had to be sought elsewhere. This additional evidence comes from the Old Babylonian literary composition *Enlil and Sud* (see: [5.74]), an Edubaʾa composition (see: [5.75]), the proverbs (see: [5.76] and [5.77]), and a fable (see: [5.78]); excluding the literary composition where occurrences are more infrequent, these are the most common environments for {eše} to occur.[587]

The Quotatives in the Gudea corpus constitute the earliest attestations of the morpheme known to the author. These forms occur in *Gudea Cylinder A* when the goddess Nanše is

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[587] The Sumerian fables technically belong to *Proverb Collection 5*, but they form a thematic group often referred to independently of the proverbs. Edmund I. Gordon, "Sumerian Animal Proverbs and Fables: 'Collection Five,'" *JCS* 12 (1958), 2.

interpreting Gudea's dream for him, during which she repeats some of his own words back to him:[588]

[5.70] lu₂ an-gin₇ ri-ba ki-gin₇ ri-ba-še₃

lu₂	an-gin₇	ri-ba	ki-gin₇
lu₂	an=gin	rib=a	ki=gin
individual	heaven=EQU	to be surpassing_H=PP	place=EQU

ri-ba-še₃
rib=a=eše
to be surpassing_H=PP=QUOT

"The individual (you said was) 'as enormous as the heavens, as enormous as the earth,'"

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 126
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.A*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1512

[5.71] saŋ-ŋe₂₆-še₃ diŋir a₂-ni-⌈še₃⌉ / anzud₂^mušen-še₃ sig-ba-a-ni-še₃ a-ma-ru-še₃

saŋ-ŋe₂₆-še₃	diŋir	a₂-ni-⌈še₃⌉	/
saŋ=še	diŋir	a₂=ani=še	/
head=TERM	god	arm=POSS.3SG.HUM=TERM	/

anzud₂^mušen-še₃	sig-ba-a-ni-še₃	a-ma-ru-še₃
anzud₂=eše	sigba=ani=še	amaru=eše
anzud-bird=QUOT	lower body=POSS.3SG.HUM=TERM	flood=QUOT

"(The individual you said was) / 'as if a god concerning the head, as if the *anzud*-bird / concerning his arms, as if the flood concerning his lower body'"

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 127-128
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.A*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1512

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[588] There are minor changes in the quoted speech, such as the pronouns being shifted from first person to second person, the enclitic copula being replaced with the Quotative, and the spelling of "stallion" differing, etc.

[5.72] ti-gid₂ᵐᵘšᵉⁿ-lu₂ a ud mi-ni-ib₂-zal-a-še₃

ti-gid₂ᵐᵘšᵉⁿ-lu₂	a	ud
tigidlu=(e)	a=a	ud=ø
tigidlu-bird=(ERG)	bird cry=LOC	day=ABS_DO

mi-ni-ib₂-zal-a-še₃
mu=*I=b=zal=ø=a=eše
CP_TR.ACT=DI_LOC=PRO3SG.NHUM.AG=to pass_H.CVR=ABS3SG.DO=SUBR=QUOT

"(as you said, 'in a pleasant poplar tree stood before you, there were) / *tigidlu*-birds who passed time chirping'"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 148
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.A*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1512

</div>

[5.73] ANŠE.ŠUL a₂ zid-da lugal-zak!-ke₄ ki ma-ra-hur-hur-a-še₃

ANŠE.ŠUL	a₂	zid-da
ANŠE.ŠUL=(e)	a₂	zid=a
stallion=(ERG)	side	to be right_H=PP

lugal-zak!-ke₄	ki
lugal=zu=ak=e	ki=ø
king=POSS.2SG.HUM=GEN=LOCTR	place=ABS_DO

ma-ra-hur-hur-a-še₃
mu=ra=(b)=hur:hur=(e)=a=eše
CP_TR.ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.2SG=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to scratch_M.CVRˣ²=(PRO3SG.AG)=SUBR=QUOT

"(as you said), 'a stallion was pawing the ground on the right side of your lord'"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 150
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.A*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1512

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As has been mentioned, in these examples the direct speech of Gudea is being recounted by Nanše. To make this transparent, the corresponding lines are juxtaposed with the quoted speech in the table below:

TABLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

TABLE 5.2. *The Quotative in Gudea Cylinder A*				
Original Speech			**Quoted Speech**	
Lns.	**Sumerian → English**	**Lns.**	**Sumerian → English**	
101-102	šag₄ ma-mu-da-ka lu₂ diš-am₃ an-gin₇ ri-ba-ni / ki-gin₇ ri-ba-ni → "There was someone in my dream as enormous as the heavens, / as enormous as the earth,"	126	lu₂ an-gin₇ ri-ba ki-gin₇ ri-ba-še₃ → "The individual (you said was) 'as enormous as the heavens, as enormous as the earth,'"	
103-105	a-ni saŋ-ŋa₂-ni-še₃ diŋir-ra-am₃ / a₂-ni-še₃ anzud₂^mušen-dam / sig-ba-ni:a-še₃ diŋir-ra-am₃ → "He was as if a god concerning his head, / he was as if an *anzud*-bird concerning his arms, / he was as if the flood concerning his lowerbody."	127-128	saŋ-ŋe₂₆-še₃ diŋir a₂-ni-⸢še₃⸣ / anzud₂^mušen-še₃ sig-ba-a-ni-še₃ a-ma-ru-še₃ → "(The individual you said was) / 'as if a god concerning the head, as if the *anzud*-bird / concerning his arms, as if the flood concerning his lower body'"	
122	ti-gid₂^mušen-lu₂ a ud mi-ni-ib₂-zal-zal-e → "(In a pleasant poplar tree standing before my eyes,) / *tigidlu*-birds pass the time chirping,"	148	ti-gid₂^mušen-lu₂ a ud mi-ni-ib₂-zal-a-še₃ → "(as you said, 'in a pleasant poplar tree stood before you, there were) / *tigidlu*-birds who passed time chirping'"	
123	dur₃ a₂ zid-da lugal-ŋa₂-ke₄ ki ma-hur-hur-e → "a stallion on the right side of my lord paws the ground"	150	ANŠE.ŠUL a₂ zid-da lugal-zak⸢!⸣-ke₄ ki ma-ra-hur-hur-a-še₃ → "(as you said), 'a stallion was pawing the ground on the right side of your lord'"	

The remaining examples to be cited here come from outside the principal corpus and will
be presented without commentary as their characterization as direct quotations is without doubt:

[5.74] kur gal [ᵈ]En-lil₂-⸢ra⸣ u₃-na-a-dug₄ niŋ₂ šag₄-za ak-e-še

  kur   gal   [ᵈ]En-lil₂-⸢ra⸣
  kur   gal   Enlil=ra
  mountain   big   DN₍♂₎=DAT

  u₃-na-a-dug₄
  u=na=e=dug₄=ø
  MP_EPI.ANT=DI_DAT.3SG=PRO_2SG.AG=to say_H.SG=ABS_3SG.DO

  niŋ₂   šag₄-za   ak-e-še
  niŋ₂   šag₄=zu=a(k)=ø   ak=eše
  thing   heart=POSS.2SG.HUM=GEN=ABS_DO   to do_H.BIVR=QUOT

When you have told Enlil, the Great Mountain: "Do as you wish!"

COMPOSITION: *Enlil and Sud*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 69
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Enl&Sud* N₁ (E)
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-15-255B

[5.75] [lu₂-ŋeš-hur-ra]-ke₄ a-na-še-am₃ ŋa₂-da nu-me-a [i₃-zig₃]-ge-en-e-še
       in-tud₂-⌜de₃⌝-en

[lu₂-ŋeš-hur-ra]-ke₄   a-na-še-am₃   ŋa₂-da   nu-me-a
[luŋešhura]k=e   anaš=am   ŋaʾe=da   nu=me=a
[drawing instruct]or=ERG   WH=COP.3SG   I=CMT   NEG=COP.1SG=SUBR

[i₃-zig₃]-ge-en-e-še   in-tud₂-⌜de₃⌝-en
[i=zig₃]=en=eše   i=n=tud₂=en
[CP_NEUT=to raise_Ḫ]=PRO2SG.SBJ   CP_NEUT=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to beat_Ḫ=PRO1SG.DO

[He who was in charge of draw]ing (said) "Why when I was not here did you
[stand up]?" He beat me.[589]

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[589] The original editor (Kramer), the CDLI, and the present author reach different conclusions about the sequence "[i₃-zig₃]-⌜ge⌝-en." Kramer notes no breaks, the CDLI claims the sign read here as "⌜ge⌝" is best read "⌜ḫe⌝" (perhaps a typographic error given the proximity of the two keys on a keyboard), and the present author cannot justify Kramer's observations and the CDLI's readings based upon the available photograph. Accordingly, it was decided to follow the breaks as interpreted by the CDLI but the readings as indicated by Kramer (and provisionally seen on the photograph). Samuel Noah Kramer, "Schooldays: A Sumerian Composition Relating to the Education of a Scribe," *JAOS* 69 (1949), 202.

[5.76] uzu i$_3$ ab-ta-bal-e / še sa-a bi$_2$-ib-ze$_2$-re / lu$_2$ utul$_2$ da-il$_2$-la me-ri-za / en-nu-uŋ$_3$
ak-ab-e-še

uzu	i$_3$		ab-ta-bala-e
uzu	i$_3$=ø		a=b=ta=(b)=bala=e(n)
flesh	oil=ABS$_{DO}$		CP=PRO3SG.NHUM.IO=DI$_{ABL}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to turn$_M$=PRO2SG.AG

/		še	sa-a
/		še	sa=a=ø
/		barley	to roast$_{H}$=PP=ABS$_{DO}$

bi$_2$-ib-ze$_2$-re	/	lu$_2$
ba=*I=b=zir=e(n)	/	lu$_2$
CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to destroy$_M$=PRO2SG.AG	/	individual

utul$_2$	da-il$_2$-la
utul$_2$=ø	he=(b)=il$_2$=(en)=a
tureen=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{DEO.PERM}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to lift$_M$=(PRO2SG.AG)=SUBR

me-ri-za	/	en-nu-uŋ$_3$
ŋiri$_3$=zu=a	/	ennuŋ=ø
foot=POSS.2SG.HUM=LOC$_{SOCV}$	/	imprisonment=ABS$_{DO}$

ak-ab-e-še
ak=a=b=eše
to do$_{H.CVR}$=NMZ$_{IMP}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=QUOT

"You are pouring the fat from the meat, you are pulling out the roasted barely, you, man, when you are to carry the tureen, watch your feet!"[590]

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[590] This proverb is written in *emesal*.

[5.77] ka₅-a-a a-ab-ba-[še₃] / ŋiš₃-a-ni bi₂-i[n-sur] / a-ab-ba TUN₃-bi / kaš₃-ŋu₁₀-um-e-še

ka₅-a-a	a-ab-ba-[še₃]	/	ŋiš₃-a-ni
ka'a=e	a'abba=[še]	/	ŋiš₃=ani=ø
fox=ERG	sea=[TERM]	/	penis=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS_DO

bi₂-i[n-sur]		/	a-ab-ba
ba=*I=[n=sur=ø]		/	a'abba=a(k)
CP_MID=DI_LOC=[PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to press_{H.CVR}=ABS3SG.DO]		/	sea=GEN

TUN₃-bi	/	kaš₃-ŋu₁₀-um-e-še
TUN₃=bi	/	kaš₃=ŋu=am=eše
all(?)=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS_SBJ	/	urine=POSS.1SG.HUM=COP.3SG=QUOT

The fox mictu[rated] [into] sea. (It said:) "All of the sea is my urine."[591]

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[591] Some manuscripts have the Prefix of Anteriority {u} on the predicate bi₂-in-sur. This manuscript was chosen given its otherwise relatively complete nature. The absence of this MP is of no consequence for this discussion of the Quotative. The translation here reflects the absence of {u}. One could argue that this is a fable, but it is taken as a proverb here.

[5.78] ur-mah-e / pu$_2$-niŋ$_2$-ŋiri$_3$-a-ka u$_3$-mu-ni-in-šub / ka$_5$-a ugu$_2$-bi-še$_3$ u$_3$-um-ŋen
^{kuš}e-sir$_2$-zu / e$_2$$^?$-še$_3$ [(x) g]u$_2$$^?$-e-še$_3$ / mu-e-ši-tum$_2$-mu-um-e-še

ur-mah-e	/	pu$_2$-niŋ$_2$-ŋiri$_3$-a-ka
urmah=e=ø	/	puniŋŋiriak=a
lion=DEM=ABS$_{SBJ}$	/	a type of pit (trap?)=LOC

u$_3$-mu-ni-in-šub	/	ka$_5$-a
u=mu=ni=n=šub=ø	/	kaʾa=ø
MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=CP$_{ACT}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PVN=to fall$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$	/	fox=ABS$_{SBJ}$

ugu$_2$-bi-še$_3$	u$_3$-um-ŋen
ugu$_2$=bi=še	u=im=ŋen=ø
pate=POSS.3SG.NHUM=TERM	MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=CP$_{VEN}$=to go$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

^{kuš}e-sir$_2$-zu	/	e$_2$$^?$-še$_3$	[(x) g]u$_2$$^?$-e-še$_3$
esir=zu=ø	/	e$_2$=še	[(x) g]u$_2$$^?$=e=še
sandal=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$	/	house=TERM	[(x) si]de=DEM=TERM

/	mu-e-ši-tum$_2$-mu-um-e-še
/	mu=e=ši=(b)=tum$_2$=en=eše
/	CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=PRO$_{2SG.IO}$=DI$_{TERM}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to bring$_{M.SG}$=PRO$_{1SG.AG}$=QUOT

After the lion / fell into a pit / (and) a fox came up to it, (the fox said:) "I will bring / your sandals / to your house for you on the other side."

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Proverb 58 Collection 5 (Lion & Fox Fable)*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 1-3
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Pr.58.Coll.5_X$_1$*
MUSEUM NUMBER: YBC 4604

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5.6   INFERENTIAL ("CATS HAVE BEEN KNOWN TO BE STUBBORN")

In its broadest sense, the Inferential codes any type of information that the speaker has acquired indirectly.[592] In Sumerian, this function is coded via the MP {ši}. Different languages treat the Inferential category in significantly different ways. In languages with large evidential systems, the Inferential either codes inferences made on the basis of visible or tangible results or inferences involving general knowledge and assumptions based on reasoning.[593] In languages with smaller systems, such as Sumerian, the Inferential tends to code both aspects. One such

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[592] Aikhenvald, *Evidentiality*, 376.
[593] Ibid., 64.

language is Dutch, which codes inferences from either visual observation or more conceptual sources of evidence via the verb *lijken*.[594] Although it is possible that {ši} could have encoded the entire span of Inferential notions, it seems to have a more restricted set of functions in the preserved data. Before turning to the Sumerian morpheme, however, the difference between the Inferential notion and epistemic modality needs to be addressed.

Because the types of evidential inferences attested cross-linguistically are manifold, the Inferential at times can appear to encode epistemic notions. For example, in a theoretical language in which the Inferential could productively code the full span of Inferential notions, a speaker could conjugate a predicate with an Inferential marker to convey that his or her claim is based on visual evidence left behind, general assumption, non-visual sensory evidence, or logical deduction. Some of these inference types are highly similar to epistemic notions (exs., the Assumptive, the Deductive, etc.), but these evidential notions are still conceptually distinct from the epistemic ones. An Inferential does not entail uncertainty or conjecture; rather, "it describes a steadfast conclusion one makes."[595] Nonetheless, the relationship between Inferential evidentiality and epistemic modality is undoubtedly a close one worthy of further disambiguation. As linguist Jan Nuyts has explained:

> Both [Inferential evidentiality and epistemic modality] can be considered to be logically connected in the sense that they both involve a reasoning process from bits and pieces of evidence which leads to a conclusion regarding the potential existence of a state of affairs."[596]

[594] Mortelmans, "Seem-type verbs in Dutch and German: *Lijken, schijnen & scheinen*," 140.

[595] Aikhenvald, *Evidentiality*, 174.

[596] Jan Nuyts, "Evidentiality Reconsidered," in *Evidentiality Revisited: Cognitive Grammar, Functional and Discourse-Pragmatic Perspectives*, eds. Juana Isabel Marín Arrese, Gerda Haßler, and Marta Carretero. P&BNS 271. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2017), 72.

According to Nuyts, the relationship between the two categories can be diagrammed thusly

(diagram adapted faithfully as a figure below):[597]

FIGURE 5.1. *Disambiguating Inferential Evidentiality and Epistemic Modality*		
Facts [1+2+…n] →→→→→→ REASONING →→→→→→ Hypothetical SoA		
↓ ↓		
reliability of *likelihood of*		
‖ ‖		
Inferential Epistemic		

Regardless of their similarities, it is important to stress again that they are distinct. Building off

his diagram (Figure 5.1. above), Nuyts details how they denote different aspects of the same

process:

> Epistemic modality codes the result of this reasoning process. It denotes degrees of
> likelihood of the state of affairs, and denotes nothing at all in terms of the reasoning
> process leading to this assessment. It of course does suggest or imply, in very general
> terms, that there is evidence, of some kind, since one is supposed to have background
> information in order to make a probability judgment – but it does not say anything at all
> in terms of what this evidence involves, and whether it is good or bad evidence. It might
> be sheer intuition.
>   Inferential, on the other hand, refers to the reasoning process as such, and denotes
> its reliability in view of (the quality of) the source information. But it strictly speaking
> denotes nothing in terms of the likelihood of the state of affairs. Of course, the fact that it
> codes reliability means that there are very strong implications from inferential values to
> epistemic values, which are even hard to undo, if that is possible at all. If a speaker, for
> instance, indicates high reliability of an inference from facts to some state of affairs, it is
> very hard not to understand this as implying that s/he is also quite sure that the state of
> affairs applies. Still, these are implications, and the two categories do denote different
> aspects of the process in [Figure 5.1.].[598]

With some prominent types of Inferential notions having been listed and the distinction between

them and epistemic ones having been clarified, attention can now shift to what exactly the

Sumerian Inferential MP {ši} codes.

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[597] Ibid. (SoA = State of Affair).
[598] Ibid., 72-73. Although Nuyts discussion here is clear and accurate, it is still common to find examples where the translation seems to fit the other better or work equally well in both. This is the unfortunate reality of two categories sharing such a significant semantic overlap that their intersection is perhaps larger than their distinct domains. Furthermore, the distinction might be irretrievable given limited knowledge of a specific discourse environment of occurrence. Even when identifiable, it is sometimes impossible to convey clearly in English given the nature of its lexicon/grammar.

It is difficult to define the precise Inferential nuance of {ši} because the MP seems to have already lost various shades of meaning by the time it first appears in the written record in the Early Dynastic period. Its clearest Inferential meaning is the expression of information that the speaker has arrived at from general background knowledge (especially cultural knowledge and mores related to expectations for the sexes, genders, classes, proper behavior, etc.).[599] This Inferential function of {ši} features prominently in the Early Dynastic manuscripts of the *Instructions of Šuruppak*:

[5.79] gana₂-za pu₂ na-⌈du₃⌉ ⌈uŋ₃⌉ ⌈še₃⌉-⌈mu⌉-ra-⌈hul⌉

gana₂-za   pu₂
gana₂=zu=a   pu₂=ø
field=POSS.2SG.HUM=LOC   well=ABS_DO

na-⌈du₃⌉
na=(b)=du₃=(en)
MP_DEO.PROH=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to build_M=(PRO2SG.AG)

⌈uŋ₃⌉   ⌈še₃⌉-⌈mu⌉-ra-⌈hul⌉
uŋ₃=ø   ši=mu=ra=hul=ø
populace=ABS_SBJ   MP_EV.INFR=CP_ACT.EMPY=DI_DAT.2SG=to destroy_H=ABS3SG.SBJ

Do not place a well in your own field! The populace has been known to be destructive concerning you (and your field due to this).[600]

COMPOSITION: *Instructions of Šuruppak*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 17
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: obv. ii 4
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IŠ_AbŠ*
ARTIFACT IDENTIFIER: AbS-T 323+AbS-T 393

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[599] Ibid., 67. Using the word "knowledge" here is a delicate matter. The author does not wish to insinuate that the Mesopotamians' beliefs on such topics were necessarily based upon facts. Rather, the knowledge referred to here is one acquired via a natural cultural education, which includes all biases and inaccuracies that might entail.

[600] It is possible that such an example could be interpreted as an Inferential based on direct previous experience with the addressee. Given that the *Instructions of Šuruppak* record general pieces of wisdom, however, it is more likely that the "you" referred to here is the abstract "you." Concerning the meaning of this example, it seems as if the well referred to here is one for drinking, not irrigation, and that if one placed a well in one's field (as opposed to along the border) people might trample the crops (intentionally or not) when seeking out fresh water. Alster, *Wisdom of Ancient Sumer*, 109.

[5.80] šu-du₃ na-tum₂ lu₂ / še₃-ba-dab₅

šu-du₃	na-tum₂
šudua=ø	na=(b)=tum₂=(en)
guarantee=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{DEO.PROH}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to bring$_{M.SG}$=(PRO2SG.AG)

lu₂	/	še₃-ba-dab₅
lu₂=ø	/	ši=ba=dab₅=ø
individual=ABS$_{SBJ}$	/	MP$_{EV.INFR}$=CP$_{NTR.MID}$=to seize$_{H}$=ABS3SG.SBJ

Do not act as a guarantor! Such men have been known to become trapped (in the affairs of others).

COMPOSITION: *Instructions of Šuruppak*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 19
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: obv. ii. 70-8
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IŠ*_AbŠ
ARTIFACT IDENTIFIER: AbS-T 323+AbS-T 393

[5.81] geme₂-zu₅ ŋišₓ(SAL+NITAH) na-e / zu₂-ur₅ še₃-mu-š[a₄(DU)]

geme₂-zu₅	ŋišₓ(SAL+NITAH)
geme₂=zu=(ra)	ŋiš=ø
slave woman=POSS.2SG.HUM=(DAT)	penis=ABS$_{DO}$

na-e	/
na=(b)=e=(en)	/
MP$_{DEO.PROH}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to say$_{M.SG.CVR}$=(PRO2SG.AG)	/

zu₂-ur₅	še₃-mu-š[a₄(DU)]
zur=ø	ši=mu=(n)=š[a₄=ø]
?=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{EV.INFR}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=CV[VE$_{H.CVR}$=ABS3SG.DO]

Do not have sex with your slave woman! (Such women, once slept with,) have been known to cry foul (alt. neglect you; alt. call you a *zur* (scoundrel?))![601]

COMPOSITION: *Instructions of Šuruppak*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 49
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: obv. vi 6-7 + 323 I 1
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IŠ*_AbŠ
ARTIFACT IDENTIFIER: AbS-T 323+AbS-T 393

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[601] The "neglect you" translation is derived from Akkadian parallels. The second half of this line has clear semantics but unclear lexical elements. For a discussion, see: Ibid., 121.

[5.82] aš₂ dug₄-d[ug₄] / bar še₃-dar

aš₂	dug₄-d[ug₄]	/	bar
aš₂=ø	(i)=dug₄:d[ug₄=ø]	/	bar=ø
curse=ABS$_{SBJ}$	(CP$_{NEUT}$)=to [say$_{H.SG}$^{x2}=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$]	/	outside=ABS$_{SBJ}$

še₃-dar
ši=dar=ø
MP$_{EV.INFR}$=to split$_{H}$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

Insults being spewed / have been known to split the skin.[602]

COMPOSITION: *Instructions of Šuruppak*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 134
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: obv. viii 8′-9′
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IŠ_AbṢ*
ARTIFACT IDENTIFIER: AbS-T 323+AbS-T 393

[5.83] dumu engar niŋ₂ na-ra e-pa₅-zu₅ še₃-ra

dumu	engar	niŋ₂
dumu	engar	niŋ₂=ø
child	farmer	thing=ABS$_{DO}$

na-ra
na=(b)=ra:(ra)=(en)
MP$_{DEO.PROH}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to beat$_M$$^{(x2)}$=(PRO$_{2SG.AG}$)

e-pa₅-zu₅
epar=zu=ø
irrigation canal=POSS.2SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

še₃-ra
ši=(n)=ra=ø
MP$_{EV.INFR}$=(PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$)=to beat$_{H}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

Concerning the son of a farmer, do not beat him! (The beaten son of a farmer) has known to "beat"(?) your irrigation canal (due to this).[603]

COMPOSITION: *Instructions of Šuruppak*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 153
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: obv. 10-11
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IŠ_AbṢ*
ARTIFACT IDENTIFIER: AbS-T 323+AbS-T 393

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[602] In later manuscripts, this line has a corresponding following line, which has influenced previous translations. This following line is absent from this Early Dynastic manuscript. The interpretation here is based solely on this manuscript. For alternate interpretations and a commentary, see: Ibid., 80 and 144-145.

[603] The VR "ra" is not reduplicated in this earlier manuscript but is in later ones. The lack of reduplication was likely an orthographic decision not a reflection of grammatical reality.

[5.84] dam tuku še$_3$-du$_7$

dam	tuku	še$_3$-du$_7$
dam	tuku=ø	ši=du$_7$=ø
wife	to have$_H$=AP+ABS$_{SBJ}$	MP$_{EV.INFR}$=to be fitting$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

A married man has been known to be well suited (for life?).[604]

[5.85] [l]u$_2$ zig$_3$ lu$_2$ še$_3$-da-[z]ig$_3$

[l]u$_2$	zig$_3$	lu$_2$
[l]u$_2$	zig$_3$=ø	lu$_2$=ø
[in]dividual	to raise$_H$=AP	individual=ABS$_{SBJ}$

še$_3$-da-[z]ig$_3$
ši=da=[z]ig$_3$=ø
MP$_{EV.INFR}$=DI$_{CMT}$=to [ra]ise$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

Concerning a [pro]vocateur (lit. one who riles up individuals), (other) individuals have been known to get [ri]led up with (him).

[5.86] inim dirig bu-bu$_7$(KU) šag$_4$ hu gig še$_3$-du$_8$-du$_8$

inim	dirig	bu-bu$_7$(KU)	šag$_4$	hu gig
inim	dirig=ø	ububul	šag$_4$	hul—gig=ø
word	to exceed$_H$=AP	flame	heart	bad—to be sick$_{H.CVR}$=AP+ABS$_{SBJ}$

še$_3$-du$_8$-du$_8$
ši=du$_8$:du$_8$=ø
MP$_{EV.INFR}$=to pile up$_H$^{x2}=ABS$_{3PL.NHUM.SBJ}$

An arrogant word (is) a flame. Hateful hearts have been known to amass (because of it).[605]

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[604] It is unclear what the married man would have been well suited for. In the above translation, the most general interpretation was taken. Other interpretations are possible. Perhaps, there is a more ribald reading about the conditions society expected one to meet before having intercourse.

[605] This line is quite complex orthographically. For a detailed discussion, see: Ibid., 193.

[5.87] e₂ bar$^{!?}$(ŠAG₄) iri šag₄ še₃-du₃-du₃

e₂	bar$^{!?}$(ŠAG₄)	iri	šag₄
e₂	bar=(ak)=(e)	iri=ø	šag₄=(a)
house	outside=(GEN)=(ERG)	city=ABS$_{DO}$	heart=(LOC)

še₃-du₃-du₃
ši=(b)=du₃:du₃=ø
MP$_{EV.INFR}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.AG)=to build$_H$^{x2}=ABS3PL.NHUM.DO

The houses on the outskirts of the city have been known to build the houses inside the city (i.e., a city is not a city without its suburbs).[606]

In these instances, the speaker is explaining to the addressee either general societal views derived from cultural expectations of prototypical experiences or the results of hypothetical future actions that have been inferred by the speaker via reasoning reliant on cultural knowledge about societal expectations. A later attestation of Inferential {ši} occurs in *Inana and Ebih*:

[5.88] hur-saŋ-ŋa₂ ni₂ me-lim₄-bi huš-a kur-kur-ra ša-mu-[un-ri]

hur-saŋ-ŋa₂	ni₂	me-lim₄-bi
hursaŋ=a(k)	ni₂	melim=bi=ø
mountain range=GEN	fear	aura=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS$_{SBJ}$

huš-a
huš=a=a(m)
to be angry$_H$=PP=COP.3SG

kur-kur-ra	ša-mu-[un-ri]
kur:kur=a	ši=mu=[n=ri=ø]
land^{x2}=LOC	MP$_{EV.INFR}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=[PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to impose$_H$=ABS3SG.DO]

"Of the mountain range, its radiance is terrible and has been known to [weigh] on the land"

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[606] For the interpretation of the first šag₄ as an error, see: Ibid., 171-172 and 193. The agent here has been interpreted as a collective that would have been marked with a singular pronoun on the verb.

As was the case with the Inferentials from *Instructions of Šuruppak*, this form denotes that the information is based on a reservoir of common cultural knowledge.

Another composition in which on frequently encounters the MP {ši} is the *Keš Temple Hymn*. Hymns in general are a genre conducive to {ši}-predicates (along with wisdom literature), but the attestations in the *Keš Temple Hymn* are particularly interesting as they occur in questions and are genuine evidentials (i.e., not desemanticized genre tokens). When in questions, {ši}-predicates denote a specialized Inferential subfunction called the Conjectural. In an Inferential-Conjectural question, the speaker is wondering about something, and the answer is "not known to the Speaker or the Addressee, and they both also think that the other does not know the answer."[607] These sorts of questions allow for an answer from the addressee, but no answer is required. Before presenting the Sumerian data, typological data from Stʼátʼimcets (alt. Lillooet Salish)(Salishan, Interior Salish) will be given. In Stʼátʼimcets, the Inferential clitic {kʼa} in a question denotes that said question is Inferential-Conjectural:

[5.89]   swat   ku=lhwál=ci=ts=as   ti=tsʼúqwazʼ=a
          WH   DET=to leave=APPL=1SG.DO=3.ERG   DET=fish=EXIS

       "I wonder who left me this fish?"[608]

With this typological parallel in mind, consider the following evidence from the *Keš Temple Hymn* where the speaker/performer seems to be pondering along with the addressee/audience:

<div align="center">EXAMPLES ON FOLLOWING PAGE</div>

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[607] Lila San Roque, Simeon Floyd, and Elisabeth Norcliffe, "Evidentiality and Interrogativity," *Lingua* 186-187 (2017), 13. P. Littell, L. Matthewson, and T. Peterson, "On the Semantics of Conjectural Questions," in *Evidence from Evidentials*, eds. T. Peterson and U. Sauerland. UBCWPL 28. (2010), 96.

[608] San Roque, Floyd, and Norcliffe, "Evidentiality and Interrogativity," 13.

[5.90] [Keš₃]^{ki}-gin₇ rib-ba lu₂ ši-in-ga-an-tum₂-mu

[Keš₃]^{ki}-gin₇	rib-ba	lu₂
[Keš]=gin	rib=a=ø	lu₂=(e)
[GN]=EQU	to be surpassing=PP=ABS$_{DO}$	individual=(ERG)

ši-in-ga-an-tum₂-mu
ši=inga=b(!)=tum₂=e
MP$_{EV.INFR}$=CONJ=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to bring$_{M.SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

Will someone bring forth something as great as [Keš]?

[5.91] ur-saŋ-bi ^{d}AŠ.ŠIR.GI₄-gin₇ rib-ba / ama ši-in-ga-an-u₃-tud

ur-saŋ-bi	^{d}AŠ.ŠIR.GI₄-gin₇	rib-ba
ursaŋ=bi	Ašgi=gin	rib=a=ø
hero=POSS.3SG.NHUM	DN$_♂$=EQU	to be surpassing=PP=ABS$_{DO}$

/	ama	ši-in-ga-an-u₃-tud
/	ama=(e)	ši=inga=n=utud=(e)
/	mother=(ERG)	MP$_{EV.INFR}$=CONJ=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.DO}$=to give birth$_M$=(PRO$_{3SG.AG}$)

Will a(nother) mother ever give birth / to someone as great as its hero Ašgi?

[5.92] [Keš₃]$^{⌈ki⌉}$-gin₇ rib-ba lu₂ ši-in-ga-an-tum₂-mu

[Keš₃]$^{⌈ki⌉}$-gin₇	rib-ba	lu₂
[Keš]=gin	rib=a=ø	lu₂=(e)
[GN]=EQU	to be surpassing=PP=ABS$_{DO}$	individual=(ERG)

ši-in-ga-an-tum₂-mu
ši=inga=b(!)=tum₂=e
MP$_{EV.INFR}$=CONJ=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to bring$_{M.SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

Will someone bring forth something as great as [Keš]?

[5.93] ur-ˈsaŋˈ-bi ᵈAŠ.ˈŠIRˈ.GI₄-[gin₇ rib-ba] / ˈamaˈ ši-in-ga-an-ˈu₃ˈ-[tud]

ur-ˈsaŋˈ-bi	ᵈAŠ.ˈŠIRˈ.GI₄-[gin₇	rib-ba]
ursaŋ=bi	Ašgi=[gin	rib=a=ø]
hero=POSS.3SG.NHUM	DN♂=[EQU	to be surpassing=PP]=ABS_DO

/	ˈamaˈ	ši-in-ga-an-ˈu₃ˈ-[tud]
/	ˈamaˈ=(e)	ši=inga=n-u[tud=(e)]
/	mother=(ERG)	MP_EV.INFR=CONJ=PRO3SG.HUM.DO=to [give birth_M=(PRO3SG.AG)]

Will a(nother) mother ever give [birth] / to someone as great as its hero Ašgi?

[5.94] Keš₃ᵏⁱ-gin₇ rib-ba lu₂ ši-in-ga-an-tum₂-mu

Keš₃ᵏⁱ-gin₇	rib-ba	lu₂
Keš=gin	rib=a=ø	lu₂=(e)
GN=EQU	to be surpassing=PP=ABS_DO	individual=(ERG)

ši-in-ga-an-tum₂-mu
ši=inga=b(!)=tum₂=e
MP_EV.INFR=CONJ=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to bring_M.SG=PRO3SG.AG

Will someone bring forth something as great as Keš?

[5.95] ur-saŋ-bi ᵈAŠ.ŠIR.GI₄-gin₇ rib-ba / ama ši-in-ga-an-ˈu₃ˈ-[tud]

ur-saŋ-bi	ᵈAŠ.ŠIR.GI₄-gin₇	rib-ba
ursaŋ=bi	Ašgi=gin	rib=a=ø
hero=POSS.3SG.NHUM	DN♂=EQU	to be surpassing=PP=ABS_DO

/ ama	ši-in-ga-an-u₃-tud
/ ama=(e)	ši=inga=n=utud=(e)
/ mother=(ERG)	MP_EV.INFR=CONJ=PRO3SG.HUM.DO=to give birth_M=(PRO3SG.AG)

Will a(nother) mother ever give birth / to someone as great as its hero Ašgi?

[5.96] [Keš₃]ᵏⁱ-gin₇ rib-ba lu₂ ši-in-ga-an-tum₂-mu

[Keš₃]ᵏⁱ-gin₇	rib-ba	lu₂
[Keš]=gin	rib=a=ø	lu₂=(e)
GN=EQU	to be surpassing=PP=ABS$_{DO}$	individual=(ERG)

ši-in-ga-an-tum₂-mu
ši=inga=b(!)=tum₂=e
MP$_{EV.INFR}$=CONJ=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to bring$_{M.SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

Will someone bring forth something as great as [Keš]?

[5.97] [ur]-˹saŋ˺-bi ˹ᵈ˺AŠ.ŠIR.GI₄-gin₇ rib-ba ama ši-in-ga-am₃-u₃-tud

[ur]-˹saŋ˺-bi	˹ᵈ˺AŠ.ŠIR.GI₄-gin₇	rib-ba
[ur]saŋ=bi	Ašgi=gin	rib=a=ø
[he]ro=POSS.3SG.NHUM	DN♂=EQU	to be surpassing=PP=ABS$_{DO}$

ama	ši-in-ga-am₃-u₃-tud
ama=(e)	ši=inga=n(!)=utud=(e)
mother=(ERG)	MP$_{EV.INFR}$=CONJ=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.DO}$=to give birth$_M$=(PRO$_{3SG.AG}$)

Will a(nother) mother ever give birth to someone as great as its [he]ro Ašgi?

[5.98] ˹Keš₃˺ᵏⁱ-gin₇ rib-˹ba˺ lu₂ ši-in-ga-an-tum₂-mu

˹Keš₃˺ᵏⁱ-gin₇	rib-˹ba˺	lu₂
Keš=gin	rib=a=ø	lu₂=(e)
GN=EQU	to be surpassing=PP=ABS$_{DO}$	individual=(ERG)

ši-in-ga-an-tum₂-mu
ši=inga=b(!)=tum₂=e
MP$_{EV.INFR}$=CONJ=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to bring$_{M.SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

Will someone bring forth something as great as Keš?

[5.99] ⌜ur⌝-saŋ-bi ⌜d⌝AŠ.ŠIR.GI₄-gin₇ rib-ba ⌜ama⌝ ši-in-ga-⌜an⌝-⌜u₃⌝-tud

⌜ur⌝-saŋ-bi	⌜d⌝AŠ.ŠIR.GI₄-gin₇	rib-ba
ursaŋ=bi	Ašgi=gin	rib=a=ø
hero=POSS.3SG.NHUM	DN♂=EQU	to be surpassing=PP=ABS_DO

⌜ama⌝	ši-in-ga-⌜an⌝-⌜u₃⌝-tud
ama=(e)	ši=inga=n=utud=(e)
mother=(ERG)	MP_EV.INFR=CONJ=PRO3SG.HUM.DO=to give birth_M=(PRO3SG.AG)

Will a(nother) mother ever give birth to someone as great as its hero Ašgi?

COMPOSITION: *Keš Temple Hymn*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 70
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *KTH*_N_III9
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-15-114

[5.100] ⌜Keš₃⌝ki-gin₇ rib-ba lu₂ ši-in-⌜ga⌝-an-tum₂-mu

⌜Keš₃⌝ki-gin₇	rib-ba	lu₂
Keš=gin	rib=a=ø	lu₂=(e)
GN=EQU	to be surpassing=PP=ABS_DO	individual=(ERG)

ši-in-⌜ga⌝-an-tum₂-mu
ši=inga=b(!)=tum₂=e
MP_EV.INFR=CONJ=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to bring_M.SG=PRO3SG.AG

Will someone bring forth something as great as Keš?

COMPOSITION: *Keš Temple Hymn*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 82
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *KTH*_N_III9
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-15-114

[5.101] ur-saŋ-bi dAŠ.ŠIR.GI₄-gin₇ rib-⌜ba⌝ […] / ama ši-in-ga-u₃-tud

ur-saŋ-bi	dAŠ.ŠIR.GI₄-gin₇	rib-⌜ba⌝
ursaŋ=bi	Ašgi=gin	rib=a=ø
hero=POSS.3SG.NHUM	DN♂=EQU	to be surpassing=PP=ABS_DO

[…] /	ama	ši-in-ga-⌜u₃⌝-tud
[…] /	ama=(e)	ši=inga=(n)=utud=(e)
[…] /	mother=(ERG)	MP_EV.INFR=CONJ=(PRO3SG.HUM.DO)=to give birth_M=(PRO3SG.AG)

Will a(nother) mother ever give birth […] / to someone as great as its hero Ašgi?

COMPOSITION: *Keš Temple Hymn*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 83
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *KTH* N₁₆
MUSEUM NUMBER: Ni 2480 or Ni 1992?

[5.102] [Keš₃ˈᵏⁱ-gin₇] rib-ba lu₂ ši-in-ga-an-tum₂-mu

       [Keš₃ˈᵏⁱ-gin₇]   rib-ba   lu₂

       [Keš=gin]   rib=a=ø   lu₂=(e)

       [GN=EQU]   to be surpassing=PP=ABS_DO   individual=(ERG)

       ši-in-ga-an-tum₂-mu

       ši=inga=b(!)=tum₂=e

       MP_EV.INFR=CONJ=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to bring_M.SG=PRO3SG.AG

       Will someone bring forth something as great [as Keš]?

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Keš Temple Hymn*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 99
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *KTH* N_I10
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 14031

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[5.103] [ur-saŋ]-bi ᵈAŠ.ŠIR.GI₄-gin₇ rib-ˈbaˈ […] / […] ˈamaˈ ši-in-ga-u₃-tud

       [ur-saŋ]-bi   ᵈAŠ.ŠIR.GI₄-gin₇   rib-ˈbaˈ

       [ursaŋ]=bi   Ašgi=gin   rib=a=ø

       [hero]=POSS.3SG.NHUM   DN_♂=EQU   to be surpassing=PP=ABS_DO

       […] / ˈamaˈ   ši-in-ga-an-u₃-tud

       […] / ama=(e)   ši=inga=(n)=utud=(e)

       […] / mother=(ERG) MP_EV.INFR=CONJ=(PRO3SG.HUM.DO)=to give birth_M=(PRO3SG.AG)

       Will a(nother) mother ever give birth […] / […] to someone as great as its [hero] Ašgi?

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Keš Temple Hymn*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 100
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *KTH* N_I10
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 14031

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[5.104] Keš₃ᵏⁱ-gin₇ ˈribˈ-ˈbaˈ […] / lu₂ ši-ˈinˈ-ga-ˈanˈ-tum₂-mu

       Keš₃ᵏⁱ-gin₇   ˈribˈ-ˈbaˈ   […] / lu₂

       Keš=gin   rib=a=ø   […] / lu₂=(e)

       GN=EQU   to be surpassing=PP=ABS_DO   […] / individual=(ERG)

       ši-ˈinˈ-ga-ˈanˈ-tum₂-mu

       ši=inga=b(!)=tum₂=e

       MP_EV.INFR=CONJ=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to bring_M.SG=PRO3SG.AG

       Will someone bring forth […] / something as great as Keš?

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Keš Temple Hymn*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 121
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *KTH* N_III16
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-13-422

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[5.105]   ur-saŋ-bi ꜛdꜛAŠꜛ.ꜛŠIRꜛ.ꜛGI₄ꜛ-gin₇ rib-ba / ꜛamaꜛ ši-ꜛinꜛ-ꜛgaꜛ-an-u₃-tud

ur-saŋ-bi	ꜛdꜛAŠꜛ.ꜛŠIRꜛ.ꜛGI₄ꜛ-gin₇
ursaŋ=bi	Ašgi=gin
hero=POSS.3SG.NHUM	DN♂=EQU

rib-ꜛbaꜛ	/	ꜛamaꜛ
rib=a=ø	/	ama=(e)
to be surpassing=PP=ABS_DO	/	mother=(ERG)

ši-ꜛinꜛ-ꜛgaꜛ-an-u₃-tud
ši=inga=n=utud=(e)
MP_EV.INFR=CONJ=PRO3SG.HUM.DO=to give birth_M=(PRO3SG.AG)

Will a(nother) mother ever give birth […] / […] to someone as great as its [hero] Ašgi?

In the above Inferential-Conjectural questions, the speaker seems to be pondering aloud about something that does not have an obvious or accessible answer. There is no indication that the addressee is obligated to respond to the question, which makes sense within the context of a hymn. Furthermore, the answers to these questions seem inherently unknowable to speaker and audience alike. Rather, the answers belong only to the gods who cut the fates. Having outlined the Inferential-Conjectural, all transparent functions of evidential {ši} have been outlined. What remains to be discussed is the mirative extension that seems to have developed for {ši} out of its base Inferential function.

5.6.1   MIRATIVE EXTENSION OF {ŠI} ("ETHAN WON THE PRESIDENCY?!")

Cross-linguistically, Inferential markers often mark mirativity as a secondary nuance. Mirativity is a grammatical category independent of modality/evidentiality that marks information that is unexpected or surprising. Whereas modality/evidentiality relates to "information which is part of the speaker's integrated picture of the world" mirativity relates to

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"information which is new and not yet part of that integrated picture."[609] When an Inferential marker has a secondary mirative marking function it is said to have a mirative extension; such "extensions have been noted for most systems – [one] find[s] examples in Jarawara, Yukaghir, Abkhaz as well as in Turkic."[610] In Sumerian, it seems likely that the MP {ši} had a mirative extension.

In certain contexts, predicates marked with {ši} seem to mark that the associated information is unexpected or surprising. In doing this, {ši} transcends the prototypical functions of Inferential evidential modality and enters the realm of mirativity. The clearest examples of {ši}'s mirative extension occur in the Decad composition *Enlil in the Ekur*. Although the identification of these forms as extended mirative uses of {ši} ultimately remains open to debate, interpreting them as examples of mirative extension fits the discourse semantics better than an Inferential reading and affords a solution other than positing they are desemanticized genre tokens. Regarding the discourse environment, the majority of the {ši}-predicates occur in the performer's direct addresses to the titular deity or his consort, both of which follow lengthy third-person descriptions of each deity's augustness. Those that do not, occur at the beginning of the composition and are often attested inconsistently across manuscripts. Accordingly, these examples seem to be either corruptions of the base text or Inferential uses of the MP for pedagogical effect (i.e., they are prototypical uses to be compared with the extended mirative uses to come):[611]

EXAMPLES ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[609] Scott DeLancey, "Mirativity: The grammatical marking of unexpected information," *Linguistic Typology* 1 (1997), 49.
[610] Aikhenvald, "Evidentiality in Typological Perspective," 12.
[611] Recall that the Decad was a pedagogically-inclined set, so such proposals are viable.

[5.106] a₂ aŋ₂-ŋa₂ zid-de₃-eš ši-im-ma-sug₂-ge-eš

a₂ aŋ₂-ŋa₂ zid-de₃-eš
a₂—aŋ₂=a=a zid=eš(e)
arm—to measure$_{H.CVR}$=PP=LOC right=TERM$_{ADV}$

ši-im-ma-sug₂-ge-eš
ši=imma=sug₂=eš
MP$_{EV}$$^!$=CP$_{NTR.MID}$=to stand$_{M.PL}$=PRO$_{3PL.HUM.SBJ}$

(and) they stand faithfully at (his) orders (i.e., they follow the orders)[612]

[5.107] nam-nun-⌜e⌝ ni₂-bi-a ‹pa› ši-bi₂-in-e₃ Ki-ur₃ ki-gal-la

nam-nun-⌜e⌝ ni₂-bi-a ‹pa›
nam=nun=e ni₂=bi=a ‹pa›=ø
ABSTR=prince=ERG self=POSS.3SG.NHUM=LOC ‹branch›=ABS$_{DO}$

ši-bi₂-in-e₃
ši=ba=*I=n=e₃=ø
MP$_{EV.INFR}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to leave$_{H.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

Ki-ur₃ ki-gal-la
Kiʾur kigal=a
GN platform, pedestal=LOC

(and), as he has been known to do in such cases, the princely one made things manifest by themselves, in the Kiʾur, the great place (lit. platform, pedestal).[613]

[612] The MP {ši} only occurs in manuscripts *EnlEk*_Ba₁, *EnlEk*_X₂, and *EnlEk*_X₃. In these cases, the /š/ is probably a corruption influenced by the terminal /š/ of the preceding EŠ-sign and the numerous genuine {ši}-predicates elsewhere in the composition. In cases of corruption, {ši} is glossed as MP$_{EV}$$^!$ to denote that it is formally present but functionally inaccurate.

[613] The MP {ši} occurs in the following manuscripts: *EnlEk*_N$_{I1}$, *EnlEk*_N$_{I6}$, *EnlEk*_N$_{III2}$, *EnlEk*_N$_{III5}$, *EnlEk*_N$_{P2}$, and *EnlEk*_X₂. The only manuscripts it does not occur in are *EnlEk*_X₁ and *EnlEk*_X₃. Manuscript *EnlEk*_N$_{III1}$ is broken at the pertinent spot. Dismissing these forms as corruptions is less straightforward here. In manuscript *EnlEk*_X₁ the predicate that is marked with {ši} in other manuscripts is preceded by a form ending in /š/ that in other manuscripts ends in /a/ (i.e., nam-⌜nun⌝-na ni₂-bi-a-aš bi₂-in-e₃ Ki-ur ki-gal-la). Most likely, it is the form in *EnlEk*_X₁ that is the corruption. Accordingly, it seems as if here the form might be a genuine Inferential {ši} denoting that the speaker assumes that the things were made manifest in the Kiʾur using cultural knowledge about what happens when Enlil takes his seat in Durankik (as explained in the preceding line of the composition). While this is not a simple case to adjudicate, the Inferential reading seems preferable and might have occurred at the beginning of this ultimately didactic text to stand as an example of the prototypical usage of {ši} as an Inferential before introducing its less common extended mirative function later.

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[5.108] [šag₄]-ᵓbiᵓ-a hu-ri-inᵐᵘšᵉⁿ-e dub₃ ša-mu-un-bad-bad-NE

[šag₄]-ᵓbiᵓ-a	hu-ri-inᵐᵘšᵉⁿ-e	dub₃
[šag₄]=bi=a	hurin=e	dub₃=ø
[heart]=POSS.3SG.NHUM=LOC	eagle=ERG	knee=ABS$_{DO}$

ša-mu-un-bad-bad-NE
ši=mu=b(!)=bař:bař=e
MP$_{EV}$$^!$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to open$_{M.CVR}$^{x2}=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

[Inside] it, the *hurin*-eagle spreads (its) talons[614]

COMPOSITION: *Enlil in the Ekur*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 27
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *EnlEk*_N$_{P2}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: HS 1530 + HS 1531 + HS 2685 + HS 2648a + HS 2648b + HS 1749 + HS 2610 +HS 2608 + HS 2755 + HS 1532 + HS 2665 + HS 2776

[5.109] barag nam-he₂ E₂-kur e₂ za-gin₃ sahar-bi / ša-ba-ra-an-il₂

barag	nam-he₂	E₂-kur	e₂	za-gin₃
barag	namhe	Ekur	e₂	zagin=ø
dais	abundance	TN	house	lustrous=ABS$_{DO}$

sahar-bi	/ ša-ba-ra-an-il₂
sahar=bi=(e)	/ ši=ba=ta=n=il₂=ø
dust=DEM=(LOCTR)	/ MP$_{EV}$$^!$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{ABL}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to lift$_{tj}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

(It is) a dais of abundance. He raised the Ekur, the shining temple, from the dust[615]

COMPOSITION: *Enlil in the Ekur*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 37
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *EnlEk* N$_{P3}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 59-15-1

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[614] This is the only manuscript with the predicate marked with {ši}. As such, it seems likely it is a corruption.

[615] The MP {ši} is attested unevenly across manuscripts. It clearly occurs in manuscripts *EnlEk*_N$_{III23}$, *EnlEk*_N$_{P3}$, and *EnlEk*_X₂. It might occur in manuscripts *EnlEk*_N$_{III25}$ and *EnlEk*_Ur₁; in these cases, the sign that might be the ŠA-sign standing as an allomorph of {ši} occurs after a break and could instead be interpreted as the TA-sign acting as the ablative-instrumental suffix belonging to a preceding NP sahar "dust" lost by the break. The MP {ši} is clearly absent in *EnlEk*_N$_{III1}$. All other manuscripts are broken at the pertinent spots. Given the inconsistencies across manuscripts, it seems possible that these {ši}s are corruptions. An Inferential reading does not make great sense for this line.

[5.110]   ši-im-da-du nidba gal-gal-la-kam

ši-im-da-du   nidba
ši=im=da=du=ø   nidba
MP~EV.INFR~=CP~VEN~=DI~CMT~=to go~M.SG~=ABS~3SG.SBJ~   food offering

gal-gal-la-kam
gal:gal=a=ak=am
to be big~H~^{x2}=PP=GEN=COP.3SG

It is the case that he comes with many great food offerings, as he has been known to do.[616]

The Inferential function of {ši} is only viable for [5.107] and [5.110] above. Given the manuscript irregularities for the other examples, it seems safe to interpret them as corruptions and disregard them as valid evidence for establishing this morpheme's function.

Having addressed these Inferentials and corruptions, attention can now shift to the genuine extended mirative uses of {ši} that occur in the performer's direct address to Enlil, which follows a lengthy third-person description of his augustness:

[5.111]   Nibru^ki^ iri ni~2~-za ši-im-mi-du~3~-du~3~-a

Nibru^ki^   iri   ni~2~-za
Nibru=ø   iri=ø   ni~2~=zu=a(m)
GN=ABS~DO~   city=ABS~SBJ~   self=POSS.2SG.HUM=COP.3SG

ši-im-mi-du~3~-du~3~-a
ši=imma=*I=(e)=du~3~:du~3~=ø=a=a(m)
MP~EV.MIR.EXT~=CP~MID~=DI~LOC~=(PRO~3SG.HUM.AG~)=to build~H~^{x2}=ABS~3SG.DO~=NMZ=COP.3SG

You built Nippur – it is your own city!

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[616] The MP {ši} occurs in all manuscripts that preserve the relevant part of the line. In this line, the MP seems to be acting as a genuine Inferential denoting that the abstract farmer (established in the preceding line) brings great food offerings as such idealized proper farmers have been known to do in accordance with cultural teachings. As was the case with [5.107] above, the Inferential reading makes sense in context and might have occurred at the beginning of this ultimately didactic text to stand as an example of the prototypical usage of {ši} as an inferential before introducing it less common extended mirative function later.

[5.112] ŋissu-bi kur-kur-ra ša-mu-un-la₂

ŋissu-bi   kur-kur-ra
ŋissu=bi=ø   kur:kur=a
shade=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS_SBJ   land^{x2}=LOC

ša-mu-un-la₂
ši=mu=n=la₂=ø
MP_EV.MIR.EXT=CP_ACT=PVN=to hang_H=ABS_3SG.SBJ

Its shade indeed hangs over all the foreign lands!

[5.113] suh₁₀-bi an šag₄-ga-aš ša-mu-un-bad-bad-re₆

suh₁₀-bi   an   šag₄-ga-aš
suh₁₀=bi=ø   an   šag₄=ak=š(e)
crown=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS_DO   heaven   heart=GEN=TERM

ša-mu-un-bad-bad-re₆
ši=mu=b(!)=bař:bař=e
MP_EV.MIR.EXT=CP_TR.ACT=PRO_3SG.NHUM.DO=to open_M^{x2}=PRO_3SG.AG

He is opening its crown towards the interior of heaven!

[5.114] ᵈTIR-an-na-⌜gin₇⌝ an-e ši-in-gilim⁇

ᵈTIR-an-na-⌜gin₇⌝   an-e   ši-in-gilim⁇
TIRana=gin   an=e   ši=n=gilim=ø
rainbow=EQU   heaven=LOCTR   MP_EV.MIR.EXT=PVN=to cross_H=ABS_3SG.SBJ

It indeed spanned heaven like a rainbow!

[5.115]   [dungu] dirig-ga-gin₇ ni₂-bi-a ša-mu-un-ŋen

[dungu]	dirig-ga-gin₇	ni₂-bi-a
[dungu]	dirig=a=gin	ni₂=bi=a
[cloud]	to exceed$_H$=PP=EQU	self=POSS.3SG.NHUM=LOC

ša-mu-un-ŋen
ši=mu=n=ŋen=ø
MP$_{EV.MIR.EXT}$=CP$_{ACT}$=PVN=to go$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

Like a floating (lit. exceeding) [cloud] he indeed went by himself![617]

COMPOSITION: *Enlil in the Ekur*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 99
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *EnlEk* N$_{III17}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-13-239

[5.116]   nam ni₂-te-a-ni ši-im-mi-in-tar-re

nam	ni₂-te-a-ni
nam=ø	ni₂=te=ani=(e)
fate=ABS$_{DO}$	self=?=POSS.3SG.HUM=ERG

ši-im-mi-in-tar-re
ši=imma=*I=b(!)=tar=e
MP$_{EV.MIR.EXT}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to cut$_{M.CVR}$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

He himself indeed determines fate(s)!

COMPOSITION: *Enlil in the Ekur*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 102
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *EnlEk* N$_{I1}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 8533 (+) Ni 4150

At the end of the composition, almost as an afterthought, the narrator also extols Enlil's consort Ninlil. This praise partially mirrors the earlier one addressed to Enlil. While there is no third-person lead portion, the speaker says information to which he or she feigns surprise in a response to his or herself:

EXAMPLES ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[617] Only two manuscripts have the MP. It is possible that it is erroneous here.

[5.117] barag kug barag sikil-ta ši-im-me˹-me˺-e˹-da-an-til₃

barag	kug	barag	sikil-ta
barag	kug	barag	sikil=(a)=ta
dais	holy	dais	to be pure$_{H}$=(PP)=ABL

ši-im-me˹-me˺-e˹-da-an-til₃
ši=imma=(*I?)=e=da=n=til₃=ø
MP$_{EV.MIR.EXT}$=CP$_{MID}$=(DI$_{LOC}$)=PRO$_{2SG.IO}$=DI$_{CMT}$=PVN=to live$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

She who indeed lives on the holy dais, the pure dais, with you!

COMPOSITION: *Enlil in the Ekur*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 162
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *EnlEk* N$_{11}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 8533 (+) Ni 4150

[5.118] ad ši-mu-da-an-gi₄-gi₄ šag₄-še₃ mu-da-an-kuš₂-u₃

ad	ši-mu-da-an-gi₄-gi₄
ad=ø	ši=mu=da=n=gi₄:gi₄=ø
voice=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{EV.MIR.EXT}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=DI$_{CMT}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to return$_{H.CVR}$^{x2}=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

šag₄-še₃	mu-da-an-kuš₂-u₃
šag₄=še	mu=da=n=kušu=ø
heart=TERM	CP$_{TR.ACT}$=DI$_{CMT}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to be tired$_{H}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

She indeed takes counsel with you (and) she (indeed) discusses/consults (with you)![618]

COMPOSITION: *Enlil in the Ekur*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 163
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *EnlEk* N$_{11}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 8533 (+) Ni 4150

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[618] It seems possible the second predicate lacks an MP because it understood from the closely preceding {ši}-predicate.

[5.119] [nam] tar-re ki ᵈUtu e₃-a-⌈še₃⌉ nam ši-mu-e-da-tar-re

[nam] tar-re	ki	ᵈUtu
[nam]—tar=(a)=e	ki	Utu
[fate]—to cut$_{tf}$=(PP)=LOCTR$_{SOCV}$	place	DN♂

e₃-a-⌈še₃⌉	nam
e₃=ø=a(k)=še	nam=ø
to go out$_{tf}$=AP=GEN=TERM	fate=ABS$_{DO}$

ši-mu-e-da-tar-re
ši=mu=e=da=(b)=tar=e(n)
MP$_{EV.MIR.EXT}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{CMT}$=(PRO3$_{SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to cut$_{M.CVR}$=PRO2$_{SG.AG}$

You indeed decide/cut the [fates] with you in the place where Utu comes out!

COMPOSITION: *Enlil in the Ekur*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 164
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *EnlEk* N₁₆
MUSEUM NUMBER: IM 58420

In the above examples referring to either Enlil or Ninlil, the {ši}-predicates seem to mark that the performer is addressing the relevant deity in shocked reverence concerning his or her magnificence that he or she had just heard about in the preceding lines.

This is not to say that the human doing the performance did not know this information priorly. Rather, it is that within the sphere of the performance it is considered new information. By reacting with shock and awe – even if disingenuous outside the sphere of performance – the speaker extols the deity by acknowledging his or her accomplishments. In an abstract sense, the speaker is saying something akin to "Wow! How great thou art given what I just heard!"

With the discourse environment explained, each of the above examples will be correlated with the lines in the third-person descriptions to which they relate as a conclusion to this section. This information is given in the form of a table below:

TABLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

TABLE 5.3. *Mirative Extensions in Enlil in the Ekur*			
Source of Shock		**Mirative Response**	
Lns.	**Translation (Composite)**	**Ln.**	**Translation (Composite)**
35-38	It is in the city, the holy habitation of Enlil that he indeed raised the shining temple, the Ekur, the dais of plenty, from the dust. He made it grow out of virgin soil like a mountain having been raised high.	66	You built Nippur – it is your own city![619]
		79	Its shade indeed hangs over all the foreign lands!
		80	He is opening its crown towards the interior of heaven![620]
39-40	Its prince, the great mountain, father Enlil, he established his seat on the dais of the Ekur, the lofty shrine.	98	(As the wind of the mountain filled/occupied the dais) / it indeed spanned heaven like a rainbow!
		99	Like a floating (lit. exceeding) [cloud] he indeed went by himself![621]
1-2	Enlil, by far, his words are loftiest, his commands are holy. His utterances cannot be changed. The fate he decides is everlasting.	102	He himself indeed determines fate(s)!
156-159	Oh Ninlil, the holy spouse, your words are of the heart; she who is noble by form in her holy *BA*-garment. She who is of beautiful shape and limbs. She is your true lady having been looked upon by you. She who bears allure, the lady who knows what is fitting for the Ekur.	162	She who indeed lives on/shares the holy dais, the pure/virginal dais, with you![622]
160-161	She whose advising is perfect in word, she whose words are pleasing to the flesh.	163	She indeed takes counsel with you (and) she (indeed) discusses/consults (with you)!
		164	You indeed decide/cut the [fates] with you in the place where Utu comes out!

5.7 DEBATABLE

No function of {ši} is appropriate in the example below (see following page). This

sentence occurs in a royal inscription, a genre prototypically unconducive to token {ši}-

predicates.[623] Semantically, there is no logical way to interpret this {ši}-form as an Inferential or

mirative extension. Accordingly, another solution must be sought.

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[619] The phrase "he indeed raised the shining temple, the Ekur" in the source column is taken here to be a metonymic reference to the founding of Nippur itself, which is the event referred to by the mirative form in line 66.

[620] In lines 76 and 80 it is argued that the speaker is responding to the results of the raising of the Ekur/Nippur by Enlil.

[621] In lines 98 and 99 it is argued that the speaker is responding to the results of the raising of the Ekur/Nippur by Enlil. Additionally, only two manuscripts have the MP, so it is possible that this {ši} is erroneous.

[622] The "surprise" of her sharing the dais with Enlil is a response to hearing what qualities make her suited for such a position.

[623] As was noted above, royal inscriptions tend to take the epistemic extension of {naM}. Inscriptions with {ši}-predicates are less common and betray a different sort of grammatical phenomenon (as outlined in this section).

[5.120] ur$_5$-še$_3$-am$_3$ ^{d}Utu / saŋ nam-barag-ga-ni / ša-mu-un-il$_2$-la / nam-til$_3$ šag$_4$ dug$_3$-ga
gil$_x$-sa ak-a / nam-lugal zag-ša$_4$ nu-tuku-a / ^{ŋeš}ŋidru niŋ$_2$-si sa$_2$ / kalam
gen$_6$^{en}-gen$_6$$^{en^!(RI)}$ / ^{ŋeš}tukul kalag-ga ŋeš gaz lu$_2$-kur$_2$-e-ne / nam-en
ub da limmu$_2$-ba / du-ri$_2$-še$_3$ ak-da niŋ$_2$-ba-ni$^!$(DU$_3$)-eš$_2$ mu-na-an-šum$_2$

ur$_5$-še$_3$-am$_3$	^{d}Utu	/ saŋ	nam-barag-ga-ni
ur$_5$=še=am	Utu	/ saŋ	nam=barag=ani=ø
DEM=TERM=COP.3SG	DN♂	/ head	ABSTR=dais=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

/ ša-mu-un-il$_2$-la	/ nam-til$_3$
/ ša=mu=n=il$_2$=ø=a	/ nam=til$_3$=ø
/ ?!=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to lift$_H$=ABS3SG.DO=SUBR	/ ABSTR=to live$_{H.SG}$=AP+ABS$_{DO}$

šag$_4$	dug$_3$-ga	gil$_x$-sa	ak-a	/
šag$_4$	dug$_3$=a	gilsa=ø	ak=a	/
heart	to be good$_H$=PP	treasure=ABS$_{DO}$	to do$_H$=PP	/

nam-lugal	zag-ša$_4$	nu-tuku-a
nam=lugal	zagša=ø	nu=tuku=a
ABSTR=king	rival=ABS$_{DO}$	NEG=to have$_H$=PP

/ ^{ŋeš}ŋidru	niŋ$_2$-si sa$_2$	/	kalam
/ ŋidru	niŋ$_2$=si—sa$_2$=a=a(k)	/	kalam
/ scepter	ABSTR=horn—to equal$_{H.CVR}$=PP=GEN	/	land

gen$_6$^{en}-gen$_6$$^{en^!(RI)}$	/	^{ŋeš}tukul	kalag-ga
gen$_6$:gen$_6$=ø	/	tukul	kalag=a
to establish$_H$^{x2}=AP	/	weapon	to be mighty=PP

ŋeš gaz	lu$_2$-kur$_2$-e-ne	/	nam-en
ŋeš—gaz=ø	lukur=ene=ø	/	nam=en
tree—to kill$_{H.CVR}$=AP	stranger=PL.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$	/	ABSTR=lord

ub	da	limmu$_2$-ba	/	du-ri$_2$-še$_3$
ub	da=(ak)	limmu$_2$=bi=a	/	duri=še
corner	side=(GEN)	four=POSS.3SG.NHUM=LOC	/	forever=TERM

ak-da	niŋ$_2$-ba-ni$^!$(DU$_3$)-še$_3$
ak=ed=ø=a(m)	niŋba=ani=še
to do$_H$=PURP=AP=COP.3SG	gift=POSS.3SG.HUM=TERM

mu-na-an-šum$_2$
mu=na=n=šum$_2$=ø
CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to give$_H$=ABS3SG.DO

On account of this the god Utu/Šamaš, / who exalts / his kingship, / gave to him
as a gift life, everlasting happiness, / kingship that has no rival, / a scepter of

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justice / that makes the land firm, / a mighty weapon that wipes out the enemies, / (and) lordship over the four quarters, / forever.[624]

It seems here that the spelling ša-mu-un-il₂-la does not contain a genuine MP, at least not in any traditional sense. Rather, it seems that the ŠA-sign is marking the clause as subordinate (as is typical of Old Babylonian Akkadian).[625] Given this, it is unclear if this spelling is better interpreted as ša mu-un-il₂-la with the ŠA-sign representing a genuine loan from Akkadian or as ša-mu-un-il₂-la where the MP has been misinterpreted or grammaticalized to have a subordinating function due to formal analogy with the Akkadian source word *ša*. Evidence dating after the Old Babylonian period should be examined to determine if {ši} grammaticalized into a parallel Slot One morpheme {ša} that could denote that the clause it belongs to is subordinate.[626] This research has been postponed for future publications.

A final interesting use of {ši} that might attest to functions it adopted in the Old Babylonian period occurs in the composition *A Hymn to the Twin God(s) Enki Nirah for King Gungunum*:[627]

EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[624] Rather than cite the entire corresponding Akkadian section, only the portion parallel to the one with the [ša]-predicate in the Sumerian text will be provided: (108) *mu-ul-li re-eš* (109) *šar-ru-ti-šu* [*mulli rēš šarrūtīšu* = to go up:D.PART.SUBZ head:BOUND.SG KING:ABSTR.POSS.3.MASC.SG] (COMPOSITION: *RIME 4.3.7.3 (Samsu-iluna)*; COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 108-109; MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: Samsu-iluna_1.1_A ; MUSEUM NUMBER: BM 102404). The Akkadian shows that the phrase under consideration was a nominalized verbal form not a modalized finite predicate. The Akkadian seems to support both the posited interpretations of the [ša]-form in the Sumerian.

[625] Huehnergard, *A Grammar of Akkadian*, 10-11 and 185-188. von Soden, *Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik*, 59-60 and 265-268. The word-final subordinator {a} also makes this clause transparently subordinate.

[626] It would also be possible for it to have grammaticalized into a proclitic or particle, perhaps even entirely independent of any analogy with {ši}.

[627] This composition has only recently been published. Mark E. Cohen, *New Treasures of Sumerian Literature: "When the Moon Fell from the Sky" and other works.* (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2017), 11-21.

[5.121] min-na-ne-ne nir-ŋal₂ ša-an-dug₄ mud-de₃ ša-an-e

min-a-ne-ne   nir-ŋal₂   ša-an-dug₄
min=anene   nirŋal=ø   ši=n=dug₄=ø
two=POSS.3PL.HUM authoritative=ABS_DO MP_EV'=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to say_H.SG=ABS3SG.DO

mud-de₃   ša-an-e
mud=ø=e   ši=n=e=e
to create_H=AP=DEM=ABS_DO   MP_EV'=PRO3SG.HUM.DO=to say_M.SG=PRO3SG.AG

Concerning the two of them, one is said to be "Authoritative" (and) the other is said to be "the Creator."

COMPOSITION: *A Hymn to the Twin God(s) Enki Nirah for King Gungunum*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 102
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *TwinHymn*_X₁
MUSEUM NUMBER: NBC 7806

None of {ši}'s known functions make good sense here. It is possible that these are genre tokens, but it is also possible that these are two additional examples of second millennium {ša} on (or adjacent to) predicates where it marks one of two things. Namely, it is either a subordinating-relativizing MP derived from {ši} or it is to the Akkadian determinative-relative *ša* that has entered the grammar of Sumerian. As was noted above, further research is required. Nonetheless, examples such as the ones provided in this section make it seem quite possible that some supposed attestations of {ši} in post-Old Babylonian texts are not MPs at all but rather non-modal Slot One morphemes (potentially derived from {ši}) denoting subordination or independent proclitics or particles with subordinating functions (in which case it attests to a direct borrowing of Akkadian *ša*).

5.8   CONCLUDING REMARKS

As was stated at the outset of this chapter, my examination of Sumerian evidentiality will likely need emendation in future years as the topic is continually being explored in greater depth by linguists. Nonetheless, all proposals have been made according to typological expectations and match the patterns in the data set. The most radical proposal outlined in this chapter is that the MP {ši} belongs to the set of evidential modality markers thereby expanding the language's system from an A3 one to a B5$_\beta$ one.

The Reportative {naM} has been loosely understood for approximately two decades, but with this chapter its functions have been neatly outlined. This morpheme has been shown to encode that an utterance is either a simple report for which the speaker is not personally responsible, a tale derived from folklore, or an instance of asseveration (as a secondary development). Most radically, this chapter has endeavored to situate {ši} into the greater scheme of modal marking mechanisms that occupy Slot One. To this end, it has been posited here that it encodes Inferential evidential modality, which conveys that a speaker has derived his or her information from a set of general background knowledge (especially cultural knowledge and mores related to expectations for the sexes, genders, classes, proper behavior, etc.).

The Inferential {ši} was shown to have also developed two supplemental functions. One was the Conjectural, which marks a question as one about which neither the speaker nor the addressee is expected to have an answer. The other was its use as a mirative extension, which denotes that the associated information is surprising to the speaker. Mirativity is distinct from modality and its manifestation in the morphology of Sumerian warrants further investigation.

The inclusion of the Quotative marker {eše} in Sumerian's set of evidential modal markers has been hinted at in the Sumerological literature previously, but this chapter is the first place where it has been formalized as a member of the system.

To conclude this section, it seems prudent to discuss why the evidential system seems so weak and restricted by the period of historical Sumerian. By the time Sumerian began to be written with verbal morphology expressed – at least partially – the evidential MPs seem to have either lost some of their original force or were beginning the process of obsolescence. Already these MPs seem to have developed their affinity for certain genres. Over time, the marking of evidentiality became restricted only to these genres and eventually they would become desemanticized genre tokens. At that point, Sumerian evidentiality was a mere remnant of its former self that primarily stood as a fossilized token marking what genres society had originally believed warranted the greatest clarity concerning information source (exs., letters, moralizing literature, stories of great cultural import, etc.). It seems possible that Sumerian culture – or at least a segment of it – at some point in its history was one whose storytelling was intimately linked with its evidential system. As linguist Alexandra Aikhenvald has remarked, "[s]peakers of languages with evidentials may say that a story is not a story without a reported evidential."[628] Perhaps the Sumerians at some point in their history felt the same way.

As to why Sumerian's evidential system seems to have declined drastically in productivity over time, a few reasons can be posited. Firstly, it is possible that as cultural expectations changed over the centuries the denotation of information source became less and less important in the minds of addressees. Secondly, the rise of Akkadian as a main language in the region could have motivated the gradual loss of Sumerian's evidential system. Because

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[628] Aikhenvald, *Evidentiality*, 9.

Akkadian lacks evidential markers – at least in no significant way that has been identified in the Assyriological literature – Sumerian might have prioritized its evidentiality less and less over time. As the population became increasingly bilingual and Akkadian become the more dominant language expectations surrounding the morphological coding of information source might have depleted to the point that the evidential system of Sumerian became a much-reduced shell of its former self. Finally, the evidential system's deterioration might have been a result of natural grammaticalization phenomena. As has been observed by linguists Daniel Hintz and Diane Hintz:

> A system that encodes many evidential distinctions may be susceptible to simplification over time. [… C]ertain markers fall into disuse by subsequent generations. However, particular forms may live on as remnants of the earlier system with meanings that can be traced back to a prior stage.[629]

As with most highly complex diachronic cultural developments, the reasons behind the decline of Sumerian's evidential system were likely precipitated by a combination of factors.

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[629] Daniel J. Hintz and Diane M. Hintz, "The evidential category of mutual knowledge in Quechua," *Lingua* 186-187 (2017), 106.

6. MODAL MISCELLANEA

6.0   CHAPTER ABSTRACT

In this chapter, I provide a very brief overview of topics related to the marking of modality in the domain of Sumerian verbal morphology that were not able to be included in one of the preceding chapters. Concerning the DI {da}'s Abilitative usage (a type of dynamic modality), it was not given its own chapter as it was the only clear morphological marker of dynamic modality identified during my research. It is possible that some other dynamic notions might be coded secondarily elsewhere in the verb, but this will have to be explored at a later date (ideally as part of a monograph stemming from this dissertation). Similarly, the verbal suffix {ŋišen} has been relegated to this chapter as its semantics remain imprecisely understood and poorly suited for any of the preceding chapters. The exclamative construction {ene} (…) {ba} is also discussed in this chapter. Finally, it seemed prudent to briefly note somewhere that modalized verbal forms occasionally grammaticalized into nouns in Sumerian. Such a discussion did not make sense in any prior chapters and thus has been included here.

6.1   ABILITATIVE {DA} (DIMENSIONAL INFIX)

The comitative DI {da} is unique in that it is the only morpheme in Slot Five to code a modal notion.[630] Furthermore, {da} is exceptional in that it is the only morpheme in the verbal complex that can encode a form of dynamic modality (namely, the Abilitative) in an utterance. Dynamic modality describes an agent's ability or need to carry out the state of affairs expressed in the clause (exs., "Michelle *can* read Finnish." "Allyson *must* complete her grading, or she will

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[630] The fact that the Abilitative is denoted by the comitative DI {da} might be due to some conceptual link between accompaniment and ability.

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miss her deadline.").[631] In its capacity as an Abilitative marker, the DI {da} can convey two or three possible types of ability: (1) a mental ability (i.e., knowing how to do something)(see: §6.1.1), (2) a physical ability (i.e., having the capabilities to perform something)(see: §6.1.2), and (3) an ability stemming from a freedom from taboo (i.e., lacking social barriers to the performance of an action)(see: §6.1.3).[632] The last of the three types just listed remains open to significant debate. All three of these functions of {da} will be briefly discussed and exemplified in the following subsections.[633] More research remains to be done on the expression of dynamic modal notions in Sumerian, but unambiguous manifestations of them morphologically in the verbal domain were not uncovered during the writing of this dissertation (excluding the previously known Abilitative use of {da}).

6.1.1   MENTAL ABILITATIVE ("MARTIN CAN DESIGN A ROLLERCOASTER – HE KNOWS HOW")

An actor's ability to perform an action because of his or her knowledge of the relevant subject matter is commonly coded via the Abilitative, specifically the sub-function referred to as the Mental Abilitative. One example of this function is found in the composition *Two Scribes*:

<center>EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE</center>

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[631] Dynamic modality also includes the expression of willingness (i.e., the Volitive; ex., "Rachel will help you."). This subcategory is not considered here as it does not seem to be coded via the DI {da}. Further research on the dynamic Volitive remains to be done for Sumerian. As a starting point, it might be fruitful to consider that it is encoded in the *marû* tense-aspect, which would be parallel to how English uses "will" to express willingness (ex., "Melinda will gladly sell your house."). Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 77.

[632] There are other types of abilities that an Abilitative marker can encode (exs., Lack of Hinderance, Possession of Sufficient Courage, etc.). None of these were identified during the writing of this dissertation. It is possible, however, that future studies might uncover examples.

[633] Examples will not be glossed to convey what nuance of the Abilitative is being expressed. Since the function never received dedicated attention in the dissertation proper, the decision was made to keep the glossing purposefully broad until further research is conducted.

[6.1]   nam tar eŋir-ra-ka mu-da-ab-sa₂-⌜x⌝

   nam tar   eŋir-ra-ka
   nam—tar=ø   eŋir=ak=a
   fate—to cut$_{H.CVR}$=AP+ABS$_{DO}$ back=GEN=LOC

   mu-da-ab-sa₂-⌜x⌝
   mu=da=b=sa₂=e(n)$^?$
   CP$_{TR.ACT}$=DI$_{ABIL}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to equal$_M$=PRO$_{2SG.AG}$

You can only compare it with what will happen in the future.

In this example, a teacher is explaining to a student that he can only compare things he has experienced with future things to come (as opposed to previous things he never got to experience personally). The ability to perform the task of comparing experiences is a clearly mental form of ability. To be interpreted physically, the meaning would have to be that he physically cannot compare things until he regains some sort of physical ability, such as eyesight, the lack of which is prohibiting him from carrying out the task (ex., comparing two balls that are identical except for their colors).

6.1.2   PHYSICAL ABILITATIVE ("ALLAN CAN BENCH PRESS 500 POUNDS")

The Abilitative commonly denotes what an actor is physically capable of performing. The following example comes from the literary composition *Enmerkar and the Lord of Arrata* when the messenger has finally become exhausted delivering messages between the two rulers and can no longer convey verbal reports:

<div align="center">

EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

</div>

[6.2]   [kiŋ₂-gi₄-a] ka-ni dugud šu nu-mu-un-da-an-gi₄-ᶦgi₄ᶦ

       [kiŋ₂-gi₄-a]   ka-ni   dugud   šu

       [kiŋgia=(e)]   ka=ani   dugud=ø   šu=ø

       [messenger=(ERG)]   mouth=POSS.3SG.HUM to be heavy$_H$=AP hand=ABS$_{DO}$

       nu-mu-un-da-an-gi₄-ᶦgi₄ᶦ

       nu=mu=n=da=n=gi₄:gi₄=ø

       NEG=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.IO}$=DI$_{ABIL}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to return$_{H.CVR}$^{x2}=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

       [The messenger,] with his mouth being tired, could not repeat it.

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Enmerkar and the Lord of Arrata*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 501
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: obv. 5
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *ELA*_N₁ (S)
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 2150 + Ist Ni 4529

</div>

Conceptually, it seems as if the messenger might have simply been mentally unable to remember the message since after it was written he subsequently ran to Aratta and recited it. Were this indeed the case, one would include this example in the preceding section. The text, however, seems to indicate that his inability is associated with physical exhaustion as his mouth is described as "heavy/tired," which makes its inclusion here secure.[634]

6.1.3   FREEDOM FROM TABOO ("ALEX DRUNKENLY RANTED DURING THE CEREMONY")

This type of Abilitative is not particularly common cross-linguistically and has only been included here hesitantly with the hope of demonstrating the breadth of dynamic modality and the potential for future research. The only example the author has identified that could be interpreted as an ability that has been actualized via a freedom from taboo occurs in the Decad composition *The Exaltation of Inana*:

<div align="center">

EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[634] Additionally, the Mental Abilitative prototypically refers to someone's knowledge that allows them to do something. In this case, the envoy clearly knows how to memorize and convey verbal reports. He could not repeat the message because his mouth was exhausted, not because he did not know how to do it.

[6.3] An-da E₂-an-na ha-ba-da-kar

An-da	E₂-an-na
An=da	E-ana=ø
DN♂=CMT	TN=ABS_{DO}

ha-ba-da-kar
he=ba=da=(n)=kar=ø
MP_{EPI.ASV}=CP_{MID}=DI_{CMT:ABIL}=(PRO_{3SG.HUM.AG})=to flee_H=ABS_{3SG.DO}

(And) thus he was indeed able to strip the E-ana from An!

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Exaltation of Inana*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 86
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *ExIn*_N_{I1}
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-15-422 + CBS 7847

</div>

In this portion of the narrative, En-hedu-ana is outlining all the sacrilegious atrocities committed by Lugal-ane. It is possible that the Abilitative in this example denotes how Lugal-ane was capable of performing actions that would be considered taboo by the rest of Mesopotamian society. This example seems to indicate that a Freedom from Taboo nuance can be conveyed via the DI {da}, but further evidence is needed to confirm this possibility.

6.2 IRREALIS {ŊIŠEN} (MODAL SUFFIX)

The suffix {ŋišen} occurs on rare occasion in Old Babylonian literary texts at the end of clauses (most often, but not exclusively, after finite verbs).[635] In writing, {ŋišen} appears as …-ŋiš-en or …-ŋiš-še-en. Based on context and lexical list evidence, it seems as if this morpheme codes the irrealis mood. This form seems to be unique since it is a proper mood marker (as opposed to a modality marker). Significant research into the typological significance of Sumerian having this mood marker alongside a more robust modal system, any undiscovered nuances of {ŋišen}, plausible historical origins, and potential influence from Akkadian has been

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[635] This summary is heavily influenced by Thomsen. Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language*, 280. See also: Falkenstein, "Das Potentialis- und Irrealissufix -e-še des Sumerischen," 113-130.

reserved for future research elsewhere. One example of this morpheme is cited below without

commentary:

[6.4] a₂ mu-e-da-aŋ₂-ŋiš-še-en / a₂ aŋ₂-a ma-ab-šum₂-mu-un-e-še
       a₂
       a₂=ø
       arm=ABS$_{DO}$

       mu-e-da-aŋ₂-ŋiš-še-en
       mu=e=da=(e$^?$)=aŋ₂=ø=ŋišen
       CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=PRO$_{2SG.IO}$=DI$_{CMT}$=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)=to measure$_{H.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=IRR

       /   a₂ aŋ₂-a
       /   a₂—aŋ₂=a=ø
       /   arm—measure$_{H.CVR}$=PP=ABS$_{DO}$

       ma-ab-šum₂-mu-un-e-še
       mu=*A=b=šum₂=en=eše
       CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to give$_{M}$=PRO$_{2SG.AG}$=QUOT

       If I try teaching you something, you say, "are you giving me instructions?"

6.3 EXCLAMATIVE/INTERROGATIVE {ENE} (…) {BA}/**{ENEBA}

There is a rare construction (possibly morpheme) that has occasionally been discussed in

connection with modality.[636] If it is a construction, it is one in which an independent element

{ene} occurs directly before a verbal prefix chain beginning with the CP {ba}. If it is a

morpheme, it is either an MP {ene} that occurs before the CP {ba} or it is an MP that includes

the syllable [ba] in its form (i.e., **{eneba}). In this dissertation, {ene} is understood as an

independent interrogative/exclamative that occurs in a special construction before finite verbs

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[636] For example, Civil provides the following summary of this construction or form and its potential relationship with modality: "Although not proposed so far as a possible modal prefix, a form **e-ne** (or perhaps **e-ne-ba**), preceding some finite verbs has the same (unfounded claims the **nu-uš** to be considered modal. It seems more likely, however, that it is an exclamation ('how!' or the like), occupying the same slot as the interrogatives, and perhaps even related to the. Curiously, it has a special affinity for the conjugation prefix **ba-**." (emphasis original to source). Civil, "Modal Prefixes," 40. As has been noted elsewhere, this dissertation does not adopt Civil's view on {nuš}.

with the CP {ba}. This interpretation is in line with those proffered by Civil and Woods in separate articles.[637] This construction has also been discussed by Attinger.[638]

The following are some examples where this construction is attested: *Enki and Ninhursaŋa* (composite lines 1-3), *Letter from Puzur-Šulgi to Ibbi-Suʾena about Išbi-Erra's claim on Isin* (composite line 47), *The Heron and the Turtle* (composite lines 136, 138, and 139 [all broken contexts]), and certain ballades and *eršemma*s dating to the first millennium BCE.[639]

More research could be conducted into the exact nature of this construction, but as it does not appear to be modal such work is outside the bounds of this inquiry. To the best of the author's knowledge, there is one interesting possibility, however, that has not been mentioned. If {ene} (…) {ba} does "encode the speaker's heightened emotional state, signaling excitement, enthusiasm, unexpectedness, surprise, or the like," then it might have mirative semantics.[640] Mirativity is conceptually related to modality but notionally distinct. As such, the possibility merits mention but will not be pursued further here.

6.4   NOUNS FROM FROZEN MODAL VERBS

Certain nouns in Sumerian derive from frozen verbal clauses. In many instances, they derive from modal predicates. Cohortatives seem to have been particularly adept at fossilizing into nouns:

TABLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[637] Ibid. Christopher Woods, "Grammar and Context: Enki & Ninhursag ll. 1-3 and a Rare Sumerian Construction," in *Literature as Politics, Politics as Literature: Essays on the Ancient Near East in Honor of Peter Machinist*, eds. David S. Vanderhooft and Abraham Winitzer. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 512-518.

[638] Pascal Attinger, "Notes de lecture: *Enki et Ninḫursaĝa*," *NABU*, no. 4, 71 (2008), 99-100. Pascal Attinger, "Enki et Ninḫursaĝa 1-3," *NABU*, no. 1, 4 (2014), 7-8.

[639] Special thanks to Jana Matuszak for assistance locating some of these references.

[640] Woods, "Grammar and Context: Enki & Ninhursag ll. 1-3 and a Rare Sumerian Construction," 515.

TABLE 6.1. *Some Frozen Cohortatives as Nouns*			
English	**Presumed Phonology**	**Morphology**	**Etymological Translation**
"guarantor"	[gabgen]	ga=b=gen$_6$	"may I guarantee it"
"carrier"	[gabil]	ga=b=il$_2$	"may I carry it"
"lapidary writer"	[gabsar]	ga=b=sar	"may I write it"
"tenant"	[gantuš]	ga=n=tuš	"I shall sit"
"newcomer; intruder"	[gamkur]	ga=im=kur$_9$	"I shall enter"

While the above table provides direct evidence of this phenomenon, there is also indirect evidence via loan words of frozen modal predicates entering into the lexicon. For example, the Akkadian word *unnedukkum* (meaning "letter") was originally the Sumerian verbal form u$_3$-na-a-dug$_4$: u=na=e=dug$_4$=ø (trans. "when you have sent it to him"). The above evidence is a mere sampling of a broader phenomenon, but it is sufficient for this dissertation since the focus is on the function of productive means of marking modality in the Sumerian verbal complex, not remnants or expressions of modality elsewhere in the language.

6.5   CONCLUDING REMARKS

Only a few brief remarks are required to conclude this chapter. Firstly, it must be reiterated that the discussion of dynamic modality here has been provisional. Much work remains to be done and I plan to include the findings in a monograph stemming from this dissertation. Secondly, the coding of modality outside of the Sumerian verbal complex merits attention elsewhere. Some scholars have already broached this topic, but a comprehensive, well-exemplified study is lacking.[641] Finally, the seemingly late development of a marker of irrealis mood (i.e., {ŋišen}) deserves greater attention. The implications of Sumerian having developed a split modality-mood system could be significant. Additionally, this study might yield interesting information about Sumero-Akkadian language contact.

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[641] For a classic treatment of modality outside of the verb, see Wilcke's article on a Sumerian modal adverb: Claus Wilcke, "Das modale Adverb i-gi$_4$-in-zu im Sumerischen," *JNES* 27 (1968), 229-242.

7. A FORMAL SKETCH OF MODAL VERBAL MORPHEMES

7.0 CHAPTER ABSTRACT

This chapter summarizes the functional claims made in this dissertation. These functions are organized formally here so that readers can look up an individual morpheme by its base form and determine its allomorphs (when present) and various functions. At the beginning of each entry, each morpheme will have its allomorphs displayed in a tabular format. None of these allomorphs seem to have been required (as far as the written evidence indicates). The functions of a given morpheme are presented after the allomorph table in a numbered list with definitions of each function followed by examples. No dedicated section for concluding remarks has been included in this chapter since its content is inherently summary.

7.1 THE MODAL PREFIXES (MPS)

The MPs are the main mechanisms for marking modality on the verb in Sumerian. These are a set of optional prefixes that can occur in Slot One to convey either epistemic, deontic, or evidential modal notions. There are no MPs that code dynamic modality as one of their principal functions. The majority of Sumerological publications about modality have focused on these morphemes.

The designation MP is well-established in the secondary literature and serves to highlight the presence of modal morphemes in Slot One. Only referring to a morpheme as an MP, however, is too non-descript. For example, if one were to simply refer to {he} in a given sentence as an MP no information would be conveyed about its function in context. Such practice would only provide a formal description and have little to no explanatory power with

regards to function. It is argued here that a functional description should accompany any MP designation (ex., epistemic Asseverative MP {he}).

7.1.1 {HE}

TABLE 7.1. *Allomorphy of {he}*	
Allomorph	**Environment of Occurrence**
[ha]	[he] > [ha] before (C)a(c)-syllables
[hu]	[he] > [hu] before (C)u(c)-syllables
[hi]	[he] > [hi] before (C)i(c)-syllables

1. Speculative (Epistemic)(§3.4)

    - DEFINITION: The Speculative allows a speaker to communicate what he or she believes to be a possible conclusion given the information available.

EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[7.1] ŋeš ha-ba-an-tuku-am$_3$ a-na-aš-am$_3$ / u-gu$_2$-na li-bi$_2$-in-si / e-na-am$_3$
dam-a-ni in-gaz

ŋeš
ŋeš=ø
tree=ABS$_{DO}$

ha-ba-an-tuku-am$_3$
he=ba=n=tuku=ø=a=am
MP$_{EPI.SPEC}$=CP$_{MID}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to acquire$_{H.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=NMZ=COP.3SG

a-na-aš-am$_3$	/	u-gu$_2$-na
anaš=am	/	ugu=ani=a
WH=COP.3SG	/	CVNE=POSS.3SG.HUM=LOC$_{DO}$

li-bi$_2$-in-si /
nu=ba=*I=n=sig=ø /
NEG=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to be silent$_{H.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$ /

e-na-am$_3$	dam-a-ni
ene=am	dam=ani=ø
she=COP.3SG	spouse=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

in-gaz
i=n=gaz=ø
CP$_{NEUT}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to kill$_{H}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

"He (i.e., the murderer) might have let her hear (of the murder), (but) why / (then) did he not silence her? / She herself (as good as) killed her husband."

2. Deductive (Epistemic)(§3.5)

- DEFINITION: The Deductive denotes what a speaker believes to be the only possible conclusion.

EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[7.2]   ⌈tab⌉ mu-ši-in-⌈kur₉⌉-ra-na ninim-ma-ni hu-mu-un-⌈te⌉
)ud(⌈tab⌉
)ud(tab=ø
)day(companion=ABS_DO

         mu-ši-in-⌈kur₉⌉-ra-na
         mu=ši=n=kur₉=ø=a=ani=a
         CP_TR.ACT=DI_TERM=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to
               enter_H=ABS3SG.DO=NMZ=POSS.3SG.HUM=LOC

         ninim-ma-ni
         ninim=ani=ø
         envy=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS_DO

         hu-mu-un-⌈te⌉
         he=mu=n=te=ø
         MP_EPI.DED=CP_TR.ACT=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to approach_H=ABS3SG.DO

         While he entered (before me) as a companion, (subsequent logical
         deduction indicates that) he actually must have really approached out of
         his envy.

3. Assumptive (Epistemic)(§3.6)

    - DEFINITION: The Assumptive is the function a speaker employs to

      communicate what he or she believes to be a reasonable conclusion given the

      information at his or her disposal.

    [7.3]   puzur₅ u₃-bi₂-dug₄ / ama₅-e he₂-bur₂-e
             puzur₅   u₃-bi₂-dug₄   /
             puzur₅=ø   u=ba=*I=dug₄=ø=(a)   /
             secret=ABS_SBJ   MP_EPI.ANT=CP_PASS=DI_LOC=to say_H.SG=ABS3SG.SBJ=(SUBR) /

             ama₅-e   he₂-bur₂-e
             ama₅=e   he=bur₂=e(d)=ø
             women's quarters=LOCTR   MP_EPI.ASSUM=to reveal_M=FUT=ABS3SG.SBJ

             When a secret is spoken, it is liable to be revealed in the women's quarters
             (eventually).

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4. Asseverative (Epistemic)(§3.7)

- DEFINITION: The Asseverative denotes a speaker's strong belief in the truth of the utterance.

  [7.4] ŋeštug₂-ga šu hu-mu-ni-du₇-am₃
  ŋeštug₂-ga šu
  ŋeštug₂=a šu=ø
  wisdom=LOC hand=ABS_DO

  hu-mu-ni-du₇-am₃
  he=mu=ni=(e?)=du₇=ø=a=am
  MP_EPI.ASV=CP_TR.ACT=DI_LOC=(PRO_1SG.AG)=to push_H.CVR=ABS_3SG.DO=NMZ=COP.3SG

  It is the case that I have perfected wisdom!

  COMPOSITION: *Šulgi A*
  COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 21
  MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Šul.A*_N12
  MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 10993 + N 2478

5. Epistemic Forms in the Protases of Conditionals (Epistemic)(§3.8)

- See relevant section in CHAPTER THREE.

6. Predicates with {he} or {bara} in Paratactic Constructions (Epistemic)(§3.9)

- See relevant section in CHAPTER THREE.

7. Jussive (Deontic)(§4.5)

- DEFINITION: The Jussive is a directive function that denotes orders/requests issued to a third-person addressee.

  [7.5] šeg₁₂ nam he₂-tar
  šeg₁₂ nam he₂-tar
  šeg₁₂ nam=ø he=tar=ø
  brickwork fate=ABS_SBJ MP_DEO.JUS=to cut_M.CVR=ABS_3SG.SBJ

  "Concerning the brickwork, let a fate be decreed!"

  COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder B*
  COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 488
  MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.B*
  MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1511

8. Counterfactual Obligative (Deontic)(§4.7.1)

- DEFINITION: The Counterfactual Obligative expresses an obligation referring to an event in the past that did not occur (i.e., cultural expectations were subverted, and the obligation was shirked).

[7.6]   igi-zu-ne-ne he$_2$-bi$_2$-ib$_2$-tuš
igi-zu-ne-ne
igi=zunene=(a)
eye=POSS.2PL.HUM=(LOC)

he$_2$-bi$_2$-ib$_2$-tuš
he=ba=*I=n(!)=tuš=ø
MP$_{DEO.OBLG}$=CP$_{NTR.MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PVN=to dwell$_{H.SG}$=ABS3SG.SBJ

"He ought to have sat in you all's presence!"

COMPOSITION: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 173
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *GH.A*_X$_4$
MUSEUM NUMBER: LB 2110

9. Advisory (Deontic)(§4.7.4)

- DEFINITION: The Advisory is the modal notion utilized by speakers to urge someone to take a specific practical action. Notionally, the Advisory shares much in common with the Obligative given its role as a marker of weak obligation. Both notions entail that an agent is supposed to perform an action. They are distinct, however, in that Obligatives (i.e., prototypically strong obligations) express that "it is absolutely incumbent upon the agent to complete the action of the main verb" whereas Advisories (i.e., weak obligations) communicate that "it is recommended that the agent complete the action of the main verb."[642]

EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[642] Bybee, Pagliuca, and Perkins, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 320.

[7.7] dumu-ŋu₁₀ na ge-degₓ(RI) na-degₓ(RI)-ŋu₁₀ he₂-d[ab₅]

dumu-ŋu₁₀	na
dumu=ŋu=ø	na=ø
child=POSS.1SG.HUM=VOC	CVNE=ABS$_{DO}$

ge-degₓ(RI)	na-degₓ(RI)-ŋu₁₀
ga=(b)=degₓ	nadeg=ŋu=ø
MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to collect$_{H.CVR}$	advice=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{SBJ}$

he₂-d[ab₅]
he=d[ab₅=ø]
MP$_{DEO.ADVIS}$=to s[eize$_M$=ABS3SG.SBJ]

"Oh my son, I shall give instructions! My instructions should be ta[ken]!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Instructions of Šuruppak*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 79
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: rev. 1
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IŠ* Ur₃
ARTIFACT IDENTIFIER: U.16879 I

</div>

10. Permissive (Deontic)(§4.8)

- DEFINITION: The Permissive expresses that an addressee may do something without encoding any sense of obligation to act.[643]

[7.8] E-la-la-a / Lugal-ti-da-ra / [dumu]-zu dumu-ŋu₁₀ ha-ba-tuku-tuku / [in-n]a-d[ug₄-g]a

E-la-la-a	/	Lugal-ti-da-ra /		[dumu]-zu
Elala=e	/	Lugaltida=ra /		[dumu]=zu=(e)
PN♂=ERG	/	PN♂=DAT	/	[child]=POSS.2SG.HUM=(ERG)

dumu-ŋu₁₀	ha-ba-tuku-tuku
dumu=ŋu=ø	he=ba=(n)=tuku:tuku=(e)
child=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{DEO.PERM}$=CP$_{MID}$=(PRO3SG.HUM.DO)=to get$_M$^{x2}=(PRO3SG.AG)

/	[in-n]a-d[ug₄-g]a
/	[i=n]a=(n)=d[ug₄]=ø=a
/	[CP$_{NEUT}$=D]I$_{DAT.3SG}$=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to s[ay]$_{H.SG}$=SUBR

That (although) Elala / sa[id] / to Lugaltida: / "Your [daughter] may marry my son.", (…)

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *NSGU.II.22*
LINE NUMBER: 5-8
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *dit.22*
MUSEUM NUMBER: L.948

</div>

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[643] Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 71-72.

11. Optative (Deontic)(§4.11)

- DEFINITION: The Optative is defined as the expression of a speaker's "wish, regret, hope or desire without containing a lexical item that means *wish*, *regret*, *hope* or *desire* (cf. Rifkin 2000; Asarina & Shklovsky 2008)."[644]

[7.9]   a-maš he$_2$-em-ši-bil-bil
a-maš
amaš=ø
sheepfold=ABS$_{SBJ}$

he$_2$-em-ši-bil-bil
he=b=ši=bil$_2$:bil$_2$=ø
MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.IO}$=DI$_{TERM}$=to rotate$_M$^{x2}=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

"May the sheepfolds be renewed!"

COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder B*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 508
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.B*
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1511

12. [ha]-Form Cohortatives (Deontic)(§4.11)

- The exact nature of these forms is too poorly understood to warrant summarizing here. The reader is directed to §4.11 for a full treatment. The Cohortative function is listed in this chapter under its prototypical marker (i.e., the MP {ga}).

7.1.2 {BARA}

TABLE 7.2. *Allomorphy of {bara}*
There are no known allomorphs of {bara}.

NOTE: None of {bara}'s various functions received independent sections in CHAPTER THREE. Rather they were included within the general category labelled positively (contra. conventions in CHAPTER FOUR).

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[644] (emphasis original to source). Grosz, *On the Grammar of Optative Constructions*, 5. Rifkin, "If only if only were if plus only," 369-384. Asarina and Shklovsky, "Optativity in English and other languages." Paper presented at MIT Ling-Lunch (2008).

1. Negative Speculative (Epistemic)(§3.4)

   - DEFINITION: The Negative Speculative is the function that allows a speaker to communicate what he or she does not believe to be a possible conclusion given the information available

   NOTE: No examples of the Negative Speculative have been included in this thesis. The assignment of this function to {bara} is logical, however, since it is the MP that codes all negative epistemic notions.

2. Negative Deductive (Epistemic)(§3.5)

   - DEFINITION: The Negative Deductive denotes what a speaker believes to be the only possible conclusion that something is not so.

   [7.10]　　ᵈAš-im₂-babbar₂-e di-ŋu₁₀ ba-ra-bi₂-in-dug₄

ᵈAš-im₂-babbar₂-e	di-ŋu₁₀
Ašimbabbar=e	di=ŋu=ø
DN♂=ERG	verdict=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS_DO

   ba-ra-bi₂-in-dug₄
   bara=ba=*I=n=dug₄=ø
   MP_EPI.NEG.DED=CP_MID=DI_LOC=PRO_3SG.HUM.AG=to say_H.SG=ABS_3SG.DO

   "Ašimbabbar must not have pronounced my verdict, / (…)"

   COMPOSITION: *The Exaltation of Inana*
   COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 102
   MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *ExIn*_N₁₂
   MUSEUM NUMBER: Ni 9660 + Ni 4590 + Ni 1167 + Ni 2755 + CBS 10868

3. Negative Assumptive (Epistemic)(§3.6)

   - DEFINITION: The Negative Assumptive is the function a speaker employs to communicate what he or she does not believe to be a reasonable conclusion given the information at his or her disposal.

   EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[7.11]   lugal-me-en ni$_2$ ba-ra-ba-da-te / su ba-ra-ba-da-zig$_3$
           lugal-me-en   ni$_2$
           lugal=me:en   ni$_2$=ø
           king=COP.1SG   fear=ABS$_{DO}$

           ba-ra-ba-da-te   /
           bara=ba=da=(e$^?$)=te=ø   /
           MP$_{EPI.NEG.ASSUM}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{ABIL}$=(PRO1SG.AG)=to approach$_{H.CVR}$=ABS3SG.DO   /

           su   ba-ra-ba-da-zig$_3$
           su=ø   bara=ba=da=(e$^?$)=zig$_3$=ø
           flesh=ABS$_{DO}$ MP$_{EPI.NEG.ASSUM}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{ABIL}$=(PRO1SG.AG)=to
                                          raise$_{H.CVR}$=ABS3SG.DO

           I am the king, (and therefore) I cannot be scared; / I cannot have
           gooseflesh.

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Šulgi A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 21
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Šul.A*_N$_{III23}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: IM 58530

</div>

4. Negative Asseverative (Epistemic)(§3.7)

    •   DEFINITION: The Negative Asseverative denotes a speaker's strong belief either

        in the falsity of the utterance or that some action/state will not occur/be actualized

        (as in [7.12]).

    [7.12]   di ba-ra-a-da-ab-be$_2$-en$_6$
               di   ba-ra-a-da-ab-be$_2$-en$_6$
               di=ø   bara=e=da=b=e=en
               lawsuit=ABS$_{DO}$ MP$_{EPI.NEG.ASV}$=PRO2SG.IO=DI$_{CMT}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.DO=to
                                              say$_{M.SG.CVR}$=PRO1SG.AG

               "(Then) I *really* will not sue you!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *NSGU.II.20*
LINE NUMBER: 8
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *dit.20*
MUSEUM NUMBER: L.759

</div>

5. Epistemic Forms in the Protases of Conditionals (Epistemic)(§3.8)

    •   See relevant section in CHAPTER THREE.[645]

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[645] Examples with {bara} are not cited in this section, but the logic applies to {bara}-predicates in this environment.

6. Predicates with {he} or {bara} in Paratactic Constructions (Epistemic)(§3.9)

- See relevant section in CHAPTER THREE.

7.1.3 {U}

TABLE 7.3. *Allomorphy of {u}*	
Allomorph	**Environment of Occurrence**
[a]	[u] > [a] before (C)a(c)-syllables
[i]	[u] > [i] before (C)i(c)-syllables

1. General Anteriority (Non-Modal)(No Dedicated Section – Discussions: §3.2ff., §3.3.3)

- DEFINITION: Predicates marked with {u} can denote that the event/state

  described in the clause they occupy occurred/existed prior to the event/state

  described in the adjoining (typically following) clause.

  [7.13]   ambar-bi ^{ku_6}HI+SUHUR ^{ku_6}suhur u$_3$-de$_6$

ambar-bi	^{ku_6}HI+SUHUR	^{ku_6}suhur
ambar=bi=(e)	HI+SUHUR	suhur=ø
marsh=POSS.3SG.NHUM=(ERG)	perch(?)	carp=ABS$_{DO}$

  u$_3$-de$_6$
  u=(b)=de$_6$=ø=(a)
  MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.AG)=to bring$_{H.SG}$=ABS3SG.DO=(SUBR)

  After its (i.e., Lagaš's) marsh had brought forth perch(?) (and) carp / (…)

2. *If*-backshifted Protases (Peripherally Epistemic)(§3.10)

- DEFINITION: The MP {u} can code generic conditionality on the predicate of a

  protasis that is best translated as "When/After *X*, then *Y*" when referring to a

  future action the completion of which allows for a subsequent action/state. This

  function is not prototypically modal, but it does concern the quasi-modal state of

  present unfulfillment. Within the environment of the protasis, these quasi-modal

{u}-forms are examples of *if*-backshift whereby modality is more or less bleached from the protasis.

[7.14] mu lugal / ^{m}Ur$_2$-ni$_3$-dug$_3$ arad E$_2$-lu$_2$-ta u$_3$-mu-du$_8$ / ba-ra-ba-g[i$_4$-gi$_4$-d]e$_3$ / bi$_2$-in-[dug$_4$-g]a

mu	lugal	/ ^{m}Ur$_2$-ni$_3$-dug$_3$ arad	E$_2$-lu$_2$-ta
mu	lugal=(ak)=ø	/ Ur-ni-dug arad=ø	Elu=ta
name	king=(GEN)=VOC	/ PN$_♂$ slave=ABS$_{DO}$	PN$_♂$=ABL

u$_3$-mu-du$_8$ /
u=mu=(e)=du$_8$=ø=(a)   /
MP$_{EPI.ANT}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=(PRO$_{2SG.AG}$)=to ransom$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=(SUBR)   /

ba-ra-ba-g[i$_4$-gi$_4$-d]e$_3$ /
bara=ba=g[i$_4$:gi$_4$=ed]=e(n)   /
MP$_{EPI.NEG.ASV}$=CP$_{MID}$=to re[turn$_M$^{x2}=FUT]=PRO$_{1SG.AG}$ /

bi$_2$-in-[dug$_4$-g]a
ba=*I=n=[dug$_4$]=ø=a
CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=[to say$_{H.SG}$]=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=SUBR

That "By the name of the king! / Once you have ransomed Ur-ni-dug. the slave, from Elu, / I will *never* g[o ba]ck to it/that!" / he [swore], / (…)

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: NSGU.II.28
LINE NUMBER: 8′-11′
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: dit.28
MUSEUM NUMBER: L.6534
</div>

7.1.4 {GA}

TABLE 7.4. *Allomorphy of {ga}*	
Allomorph	**Environment of Occurrence**
[gi]	[ga] > [gi] before (C)i(c)-syllables
[gu]	[ga] > [gu] before (C)u(c)-syllables

- Cohortative (Deontic)(§4.9)

  - DEFINITION: The Cohortative is the function that allows a speaker to express self-exhortation. By rule Cohortatives only occur in the first person singular or plural because they refer to the future deontic actions of either the speaker or his/her group.

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[7.15]　　hur-saŋ zig₃ šu-ŋu₁₀-uš ga-am₃-mi-ib₂-si / ni₂-ŋu₁₀ ga-am₃-mi-ib₂-zuˈ(SU)

hur-saŋ	zig₃	šu-ŋu₁₀-uš
hursaŋ	zig₃=ø	šu=ŋu=š(e)
mountain range	to raise$_H$=AP=ABS$_{DO}$	hand=POSS.1SG.HUM=TERM

ga-am₃-mi-ib₂-si　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　/
ga=imma=*I=b=sig　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　/
MP$_{DEO.COHOR}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to fill$_H$　　　/

ni₂-ŋu₁₀
ni₂=ŋu=ø
fear=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

ga-am₃-mi-ib₂-zuˈ(SU)
ga=imma=*I=b=zu
MP$_{DEO.COHOR}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to know$_H$

"Let me fill my hand with the soaring mountain range! / Let me make it learn fear of me!"

- Promissive (Deontic)(§4.10)

  - DEFINITION: The Promissive is the function through which first-persons commit themselves to do things.

[7.16]　　ga-na ga-na-ab-dug₄ ga-na ga-na-ab-dug₄ / inim-ba ha-mu-da-gub

ga-na	ga-na-ab-dug₄		ga-na
gana	ga=na=b=dug₄		gana
EXCLM	MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to say$_{H.SG}$		EXCLM

ga-na-ab-dug₄	/ inim-ba
ga=na=b=dug₄	/ inim=bi=a
MP$_{DEO.PROM}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to say$_{H.SG}$	/ matter=DEM=LOC

ha-mu-da-gub
he=mu=da=gub=ø
MP$_{DEO.OPT}$=CP$_{ACT}$=DI$_{CMT}$=to stand$_{M.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

"Well, well, I shall tell her; / in that matter, may she stand with me!"

7.1.5 {NA}

TABLE 7.5. *Allomorphy of {na}*
There are no known allomorphs. In some environments it can appear to have a terminal consonant but that is purely a graphic phenomenon.

1. Prohibitive (Deontic)(§4.6)

   - DEFINITION: The Prohibitive is the negative counterpart of the Imperative and Jussive. As such, the Prohibitive issues orders and commands concerning how not to act for the second- and third-persons, singular and plural.

   [7.17] ni_2 na-ten$_3$-ŋe$_{26}$^{e} šu ki-a sig$_{10}$-bi$_2$-ib

ni_2	na-ten$_3$-ŋe$_{26}$^{e}		
ni_2=ø	na=(b)=ten$_3$=e(n)		
fear=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{DEO.PROH}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to approach$_{M.CVR}$=PRO$_{2SG.AG}$		

šu	ki-a	sig$_{10}$-bi$_2$-ib
šu=ø	ki=a	sig$_{10}$=ba=*I=b
hand=ABS$_{DO}$	place=LOC	to place$_H$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$

   "Do not fear – lay your hands down flat on the ground!"

2. Negative Advisory (Deontic)(§4.7.4.1)

   - DEFINITION: The Negative Advisory is the function utilized by speakers to urge someone not to take a specific practical action.

   [7.18] ^{d}Aš-im$_2$-babbar nam-kuš$_2$-u$_3$-de$_3$

   ^{d}Aš-im$_2$-babbar
   Ašimbabbar=ø
   DN♂=ABS$_{DO}$

   nam-kuš$_2$-u$_3$-de$_3$
   na=n=kušu=ed=e(n)
   MP$_{DEO.NEG.ADVIS}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.DO}$=be troubled$_M$=FUT=PRO$_{2SG.AG}$

   "You shan't be anxious about Ašimbabbar."

2. Negative Optative (Deontic)(§4.11.1)

- DEFINITION: The Negative Optative expresses what a speaker wishes will not happen, and, like the Optative, it does so without containing a lexical item that means "(to) wish," "(to) regret," "(to) hope," or "(to) desire."

[7.19] diŋir-ra-ni / uŋ₃-ŋa₂ ra-a igi na-ši-bar-re

diŋir-ra-ni	/ uŋ₃-ŋa₂	ra-a
diŋir=ani=(e)	/ uŋ₃=a	ra=a
god=POSS.3SG.NHUM GEN=(ERG)	/ populace=LOC	to beat$_{tl}$=PP

igi
igi=ø
eye=ABS$_{DO}$

na-ši-bar-re
na=ši=(b)=bar=e
MP$_{DEO.NEG.OPT}$=DI$_{TERM}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=CVVE$_{M.CVR}$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

May his god / not look at the stricken ones in the crowd!

<div align="right">
COMPOSITION: Gudea Statue B
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 352-353
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: G.St.B
MUSEUM NUMBER: AO 2
</div>

7.1.6 {NUŠ}

TABLE 7.6. *Allomorphy of {nuš}*
There are no known allomorphs of {nuš}. On rare occasion, one finds the byforms [neš] (wr., ne₂-eš-…) before a syllable with an /e/-vowel and [niš] (wr., ni-iš-…) before a syllable with an /i/-vowel. It is unclear if these are proper allomorphs or idiosyncratic byforms. Here they have been taken to be the latter.

1. Desiderative (Deontic)(§4.11.2)

- DEFINITION: The Desiderative is similar to the Optative in that it expresses a wish. It is different, however, because the wish it expresses is explicitly unrealizable. Furthermore, the Desiderative in Sumerian always seems to encode a sense of longing or despair that a traditional Optative need not entail.

[7.20] kalag-ga-ŋu₁₀ u₂-šim-gin₇ edin-˹na˺ nu-uš-ma-da-mu₂-am₃

kalag-ga-ŋu₁₀   u₂-šim-gin₇   edin-˹na˺

kalag=a=ŋu=ø   ušim=gin   edin=a

to be mighty$_H$=PP=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{SBJ}$ greenery=EQU steppe=LOC

nu-uš-ma-da-mu₂-am₃

nuš=mu=*A=da=mu₂=ø=a=am

MP$_{DEO.DES}$=CP$_{ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=DI$_{CMT}$=to grow$_M$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$=NMZ=COP.3SG

"Would that it were my mighty one would grow for me (again) like greenery in the steppe!"[646]

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *The Death of Ur-Namma*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 214
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: rev. iv 11
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *UrN-A*_N₁
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 4560 + HS 1428 + HS 1560 + HS 1450 + HS 1549 + HS 1570 + HS 1581 + HS 1528 + HS 1548 + N 7095

</div>

7.1.7 {NAM}

TABLE 7.7. *Allomorphy of {naM}*
There are no known allomorphs of {naM} though the expression of its terminal consonant can vary in writing.

NOTE: Broadly, this MP can be referred to as the Reportative (§5.4), but it is more productive to refer to it by its subfunctions. The term "Reportative" can be too easily confused with the designation "report-type," which refers to both the Reportative {naM} and the Quotative {eše}.

1. Reportative of Simple Report (Evidential)(§5.4.1)

   - DEFINITION: A Reportative of Simple Report marker encodes in an utterance that the speaker is conveying information for which he or she is not personally responsible without necessarily denoting a great degree specificity as to the type of evidence provider.

EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[646] Prototypically mu₂ is a reduplication class *marû* verb.

[7.21]   5-kam-ma-še₃ in-ga-nam-mu-na-ab-be₂
           5-kam-ma-še₃
           5=kamma=še
           five=ORD=TERM

           in-ga-nam-mu-na-ab-be₂
           inga=naM=mu=na=b=e=e
           CONJ=MP_{EV.RPT.SIMP}=CP_{TR.ACT.EMPY}=DI_{DAT.3SG}=PRO_{3SG.NHUM.DO}=to
                  say_{M.SG}=PRO_{3SG.AG}

           and for a fifth time he says to him:

2. Folkloric (Evidential)(§5.4.2)

    •   DEFINITION: The Folkloric denotes that the information source is folklore.

        Knowledge derived from folklore constitutes a unique type of evidence that

        speakers can martial to support their claims. Humans across time have based their

        understanding of the world on an abstract and nebulous type of "evidence, whose

        origins and truthfulness are not necessarily clear, which is perhaps best

        manifested in folklore, traditional stories, and myths of one's own culture."[647]

[7.22]   Dur-an-ki-ka bulug₂ nam-mi-in-il₂
           Dur-an-ki-ka   bulug₂
           Durankik=a   bulug₂=ø
           GN=LOC   needle=ABS_{DO}

           nam-mi-in-il₂-ø
           naM=imma=*I=n=il₂=ø
           MP_{EV.FOLK}=CP_{MID}=DI_{LOC}=PRO_{3SG.HUM.AG}=to lift_{tl}=ABS_{3SG.DO}

           He had been carrying the axis (of the world) at Durankik.

---

[647] Kittilä, "Folklore as an evidential category," 697.

3. Asseverative (Epistemic Extension from Evidential)(§5.4.3)

- DEFINITION: It is common for evidentials to develop semantic extensions. When an evidential has developed an epistemic extension, it can be used as a modal coding mechanism to denote the span of epistemic modal notions (e.g., the Assumptive, Asseverative, etc.).[648] The MP {naM} begins to show epistemic extension over time. Specifically, it seems to have become a stylized Asseverative marker, likely resulting from evidentiality becoming bleached due to extensive contact with Akkadian – a language largely lacking non-lexical evidential markers.[649]

[7.23]   ma$_2$-gur$_8$-ra-na ŋiri$_3$ nam-mi-gub
          ma$_2$-gur$_8$-ra-na   ŋiri$_3$
          magur=ani=a   ŋiri$_3$=ø
          barge=POSS.3SG.HUM=LOC   foot=ABS$_{DO}$

          nam-mi-gub
          naM=imma=*I=(n)=gub=ø
          MP$_{EV.EPI.EXT.ASV}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$)=to stand$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

          He indeed set foot on his barge!

<div style="text-align: right">
COMPOSITION: Gudea Cylinder A
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 33
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: G.Cyl.A
MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1512
</div>

4. "Asseverative" Genre Token (Non-Modal token from Epistemic Extension)(§5.4.3)

- DEFINITION: When operating as an extended epistemic Asseverative, {naM} is concurrently operating as a genre token. It is possible that there are genuine non-modal genre token examples, but it always seems possible to interpret examples as some sort of Asseverative. Because of this, no purely non-modal examples of

---

[648] Aikhenvald, "Evidentiality in Typological Perspective," 2.

[649] Akkadian has an enclitic particle {mi} essentially parallel in function to {eše}. Wasserman has the fullest treatment of {mi} but he does not discuss it explicitly in terms of evidentiality. Wasserman, *Most Probably: Epistemic Modality in Old Babylonian*, 179-205.

{naM} genre tokens have been identified and cited in this thesis. Refer to [7.23] for a {naM}-predicate operating as a genre token while also serving as an Asseverative.

7.1.8 {šI}

TABLE 7.8. *Allomorphy of {ši}*	
Allomorph	**Environment of Occurrence**
[ša]	[ši] > [ša] before (C)a(c)-syllables
[ša]	[ši] > [ša] before (C)u(c)-syllables
[šu]	[ši] > [šu] before (C)u(c)-syllables
[še]	Morphographic representation in Early Dynastic Period (wr. ŠE₃-sign)

1. Inferential (Evidential)(§5.5)

   - DEFINITION: In its broadest sense, the Inferential codes any type of information that the speaker has acquired indirectly.[650] Although it is possible that {ši} could have encoded the entire span of Inferential notions, it seems to have a more restricted set of functions in the preserved data. It is difficult to define the precise Inferential nuance of {ši} because the MP seems to have already lost various shades of meaning by the time it first appears in the written record in the Early Dynastic period. Its clearest Inferential meaning is the expression of information that the speaker has arrived at from general background knowledge (especially cultural knowledge and mores related to expectations for the sexes, genders, classes, proper behavior, etc.).[651]

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[650] Aikhenvald, *Evidentiality*, 376.
[651] Nuyts, "Evidentiality Reconsidered," 67. Using the word "knowledge" here is a delicate matter. The author does not wish to insinuate that the Mesopotamians' beliefs on such topics were necessarily based upon facts. Rather, the knowledge referred to here is one acquired via a natural cultural education, which includes all biases and inaccuracies that might entail.

[7.24]   šu-du₃ na-tum₂ lu₂ / še₃-ba-dab₅

šu-du₃	na-tum₂
šudua=ø	na=(b)=tum₂=(en)
guarantee=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{DEO.PROH}$=(PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$)=to bring$_{M.SG}$=(PRO$_{2SG.AG}$)

lu₂	/	še₃-ba-dab₅
lu₂=ø	/	ši=ba=dab₅=ø
individual=ABS$_{SBJ}$	/	MP$_{EV.INFR}$=CP$_{NTR.MID}$=to seize$_{Ḫ}$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

Do not act as a guarantor! Such men have been known to become trapped (in the affairs of others).

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Instructions of Šuruppak*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 19
ARTIFACT LINE NUMBER: obv. ii. 70-8
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IŠ*_AbŠ
ARTIFACT IDENTIFIER: AbS-T 323 + AbS-T 393

</div>

2. Inferential-Conjectural (Evidential)(§5.5)

-   DEFINITION: When in questions, {ši}-predicates denote a specialized Inferential subfunction called the Conjectural. In an Inferential-Conjectural question, the speaker is wondering about something, and the answer is "not known to the Speaker or the Addressee, and they both also think that the other does not know the answer."[652] These sorts of questions allow for an answer from the addressee, but no answer is required.

[7.25]   Keš₃^{ki}-gin₇ rib-ba lu₂ ši-in-ga-an-tum₂-mu

Keš₃^{ki}-gin₇	rib-ba	lu₂
Keš=gin	rib=a=ø	lu₂=(e)
GN=EQU	to be surpassing=PP=ABS$_{DO}$	individual=(ERG)

ši-in-ga-an-tum₂-mu
ši=inga=b(!)=tum₂=e
MP$_{EV.INFR}$=CONJ=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to bring$_{M.SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$

Will someone bring forth something as great as Keš?

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Keš Temple Hymn*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 53
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *KTH* N$_{III27}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: IM 58699

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[652] San Roque, Floyd, and Norcliffe, "Evidentiality and Interrogativity," 13. Littell, Matthewson, and Peterson, "On the Semantics of Conjectural Questions," 96.

3. Mirative Extension (Mirative Extension from Evidential)(§5.6.1)

- DEFINITION: Cross-linguistically, Inferential markers often mark mirativity as a secondary nuance. Mirativity is a grammatical category independent of modality/evidentiality that marks information that is unexpected or surprising. Whereas modality/evidentiality relates to "information which is part of the speaker's integrated picture of the world" mirativity relates to "information which is new and not yet part of that integrated picture."[653] In certain contexts, predicates marked with {ši} seem to mark that the associated information is unexpected or surprising. In doing this, {ši} transcends the prototypical functions of Inferential evidential modality and enters the realm of mirativity.

[7.26]   Nibru^{ki} iri ni$_2$-za ši-im-mi-du$_3$-du$_3$-a

Nibru^{ki}	iri	ni$_2$-za
Nibru=ø	iri=ø	ni$_2$=zu=a(m)
GN=ABS$_{DO}$	city=ABS$_{SBJ}$	self=POSS.2SG.HUM=COP.3SG

ši-im-mi-du$_3$-du$_3$-a
ši=imma=*I=(e)=du$_3$:du$_3$=ø=a=a(m)
MP$_{EV.MIR.EXT}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$)=to build$_{tl}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=NMZ=COP.3SG

You built Nippur – it is your own city!

COMPOSITION: *Enlil in the Ekur*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 66
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *EnlEk* Ur$_3$
ARTIFACT IDENTIFIER: UET 6/65 + UET 6/3 *548

7.2   THE MODAL USE OF THE COMITATIVE DIMENSIONAL INFIX {DA}

TABLE 7.9. *Allomorphy of {da}*[654]	
Allomorph	**Environment of Occurrence**
[di]	[da] > [di] before (C)i(c)-syllables
[de]	[da] > [de] before (C)e(c)-syllables

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[653] DeLancey, "Mirativity: The grammatical marking of unexpected information," 49.
[654] It must be noted that what is listed here is all known allomorphs of the DI in the broadest sense. It has not been investigated whether the DI in its Abilitative usage necessarily demonstrates all known allomorphs.

1. Abilitative (Dynamic Modality)(§6.1-6.1.3)

   - DEFINITION: The comitative DI {da} is unique in that it is the only morpheme in Slot Five to code a modal notion. Furthermore, {da} is exceptional in that it is the only morpheme in the verbal complex that can encode a form of dynamic modality (namely, the Abilitative) in an utterance. Dynamic modality describes an agent's ability or need to carry out the state of affairs expressed in the clause (exs., "Michelle *can* read Finnish." "Allyson *must* complete her grading, or she will miss her deadline.").[655] In its capacity as an Abilitative marker, the DI {da} can convey two or three possible types of ability: (1) a mental ability (i.e., knowing how to do something)(see: §6.1.1)(see: [7.27]), (2) a physical ability (i.e., having the capabilities to perform something)(see: §6.1.2)(see: [7.28]), and (3) an ability stemming from a freedom from taboo (i.e., lacking social barriers to the performance of an action)(see: §6.1.3)(see: [7.29]).[656] The last of the three types just listed remains open to significant debate.

<center>EXAMPLES ON FOLLOWING PAGE</center>

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[655] Dynamic modality also includes the expression of willingness (i.e., the Volitive; ex., "Rachel will help you."). This subcategory is not considered here as it does not seem to be coded via the DI {da}. Further research on the dynamic Volitive remains to be done for Sumerian. As a starting point, it might be fruitful to consider that it is encoded in the *marû* tense-aspect, which would be parallel to how English uses "will" to express willingness (ex., "Melinda will gladly sell your house."). Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 77.

[656] There are other types of abilities that an Abilitative marker can encode (exs., Lack of Hinderance, Possession of Sufficient Courage, etc.). None of these were identified during the writing of this dissertation. It is possible, however, that future studies might uncover examples.

[7.27] nam tar eŋir-ra-ka mu-da-ab-sa₂-⌈x⌉

nam tar   eŋir-ra-ka
nam—tar=ø   eŋir=ak=a
fate—to cut$_{H.CVR}$=AP+ABS$_{DO}$ back=GEN=LOC

mu-da-ab-sa₂-⌈x⌉
mu=da=b=sa₂=e(n)$^?$
CP$_{TR.ACT}$=DI$_{ABIL}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to equal$_M$=PRO$_{2SG.AG}$

You can only compare it with what will happen in the future.

[7.28] [kiŋ₂-gi₄-a] ka-ni dugud šu nu-mu-un-da-an-gi₄-⌈gi₄⌉

[kiŋ₂-gi₄-a]   ka-ni   dugud   šu
[kiŋgia=(e)]   ka=ani   dugud=ø   šu=ø
[messenger=(ERG)]   mouth=POSS.3SG.HUM   to be heavy$_H$=AP   hand=ABS$_{DO}$

nu-mu-un-da-an-gi₄-⌈gi₄⌉
nu=mu=n=da=n=gi₄:gi₄=ø
NEG=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.IO}$=DI$_{ABIL}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to return$_{H.CVR}$^{x2}=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

[The messenger,] with his mouth being tired, could not repeat it.

[7.29] An-da E₂-an-na ha-ba-da-kar

An-da   E₂-an-na
An=da   E-ana=ø
DN$_♂$=CMT   TN=ABS$_{DO}$

ha-ba-da-kar
he=ba=da=(n)=kar=ø
MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{CMT:ABIL}$=(PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$)=to flee$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

(And) thus he was indeed able to strip the E-ana from An!

7.3 THE IMPERATIVE

TABLE 7.10. *Phonological Matters Relating to the Imperative*
It is argued in this dissertation that the Imperative is a nominalized constituent. As such, the {a} commonly found on Imperatives is not a CP that has undergone phonological change in need of explanation.

The form a language uses to issue orders or instructions to a second person addressee is referred to as the Imperative. As a type of modal notion, the Imperative is most closely related to deontic modality. The Imperative has the most in common with the Jussive (§4.5), Obligative (§4.7), Permissive (§4.8), and Promissive (§4.10) in that it is directive and utilized to issue a type of order. Canonical Imperatives are expressed in Sumerian with a unique affix ordering scheme whereas commands oriented at a first-person addressee maintain normal morphological ordering rules and have the MP {ga} in Slot One. Orders oriented at a third-person addressee also follow the normal conventions of morphological sequencing, but they require the MP {he} in the first prefix slot.

Traditional Sumerian grammars usually describe the Imperative as a form generated by swapping the positions of the VR and the prefix chain (while retaining the prefix chain elements in the sequence of a corresponding indicative declarative form):[657]

[7.30] ma-an-šum$_2$
mu=*A=n=šum$_2$=ø
CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to give$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

He/She gave it to me.

[7.31] šum$_2$-ma-ab
šum$_2$=mu=*A=b
to give$_H$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$

Give it to me!

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[657] To cite just a few treatments: Attinger, *Eléments de linguistique sumérienne*, 298-299. Falkenstein, *Grammatik der Sprache Gudeas von Lagaš. I: Shrift- und Formenlehre*, 227. Poebel, *Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik*, 276-279. Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language*, 251-253.

This description correctly explains how these forms appear statically in writing. Descriptions alone, however, are insufficient as they fail to address why these forms appear as they do. It will be demonstrated below that the odd shape of the Imperative in Sumerian is not a consequence of the VR being fronted. Rather, the Imperative manifests as it does because it is a VR that has been nominalized to express a functional shift which necessitates a change in affix placement.

The morphological elements of the Imperative affix chain are subject to the same sequencing rules as their indicative declarative counterparts (i.e., CPs precede DIs, DIs precede Agent/Object pronouns, etc.). There are, however, two key differences between these types of affix chains. Firstly, the Imperative's chain cannot include an MP as there is no modal notion that can logically co-occur on an Imperative form.[658] This is analogous to the fact that two MPs cannot co-occur in Slot One. Secondly, a morpheme {a} whose function has been debated frequently and argued might have no direct parallel in a standard prefix chain commonly occurs after an Imperative VR. The conventional view is that this {a} is an allomorph of the CP {i} that only realizes as such when suffixed to an Imperative VR. It has also been suggested that this {a} is actually the rather infrequently attested and poorly understood CP {a} (most often viewed as a stative marker).[659] Mamoru Yoshikawa advocates viewing this {a} as a marker of the completive

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[658] Technically, it is possible for an Imperative form to co-occur with certain modal markers in some languages. The instances in which this occurs are limited, however, and unattested in Sumerian. This phenomenon has been explained from a typological perspective by linguist Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald: "Imperative can occur together with a limited subset of modality markers if the morphemes are not mutually exclusive (that is, if imperative does not enter the same paradigm as mood, as it does in Wakashan, Eskimo, Samoyedic, and numerous other languages). Imperatives typically do not co-occur with markers of deontic modalities involving obligation – since obligation is part of the imperative meaning itself. Markers of epistemic modalities (…) often cannot be used with imperatives. Modal auxiliaries in English – some of which are exponents of epistemic meanings – have no imperative forms. If they can, their meanings tend to be different. As we saw in the previous section, imperatives are often not compatible with epistemic meanings. Consequently, modal words and markers of epistemic modalities are often used to 'soften' a command." Aikhenvald, *Imperatives and Commands*, 142.

[659] Jacobsen, "About the Sumerian Verb," 76.

aspect.[660] Finally, some argue that this morpheme is a unique and distinct Imperative marker (i.e., neither an allomorph of {i} nor the CP {a}).[661]

None of these options, however, are ideal. Rather, it has been argued here that it makes most sense to view the {a} that occurs immediately to the right of an Imperative VR as the same morpheme as the nominalizer {a}.[662] This interpretation of the Imperative {a} is rooted in a few different lines of argumentation. Firstly, it makes typological sense for this {a} to be the same as the nominalizer {a} since nominalized verbal roots as Imperatives are well attested cross-linguistically.[663]

One final quality of the Sumerian Imperative requires comment. Specifically, it is important to remark that the Imperative VR is prototypically conjugated in the *ḫamṭu* tense-aspect (standard or reduplicated).

Although all canonical Imperatives are nominal in Sumerian, they manifest differently with regards to how many affixes are present. Occasionally, only the bare VR is used for the Imperative. Given the nature of cuneiform writing, however, it is not clear if the correlating spoken forms were truly bare or if a morpheme was omitted in writing:

EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[660] Yoshikawa, "Aspectual Morpheme /a/ in Sumerian," 161-175.

[661] For a literature review of most of these theories, see: Ibid., 165.

[662] Raymond Jestin has suggested the connection between these "two" {a}s by remarking that the Imperative is commonly suffixed with "un -a qui est selon toutes probabilities à identifier avec celui des noms verbaux." Jestin, *Le Verbe Sumérien: Déterminations Verbales et Infixes*, 98. Unfortunately, he never explores the importance of this connection in great depth. Furthermore, he maintains that the relativizer {a} and nominalizing {a} are separate morphemes with a common origin, but that view is not maintained here; ibid., 200-201. Jestin's observation seems to have never found supporters in the field, but the re-examination of this {a}-morpheme and the presentation of additional evidence of its variegated functionality (bolstered by typological evidence) should provide credence to his intuition, which seems to have been essentially correct but insufficiently pursued and justified by him.

Fellow French Sumerologist Maurice Lambert includes Jestin's proposal in his own grammar, but he advocates against it and supports a modified version of Poebel and Falkenstein's theory that {a} is an allomorph of a verbal prefix. Sollberger, *Le Système Verbal dans les Inscriptions «Royales» Présargoniques de Lagaš*, 194-195.

[663] Aikhenvald, *Imperatives and Commands*, 280-288.

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[7.32] nam-til₃ ba

nam-til₃	ba
nam=til₃=ø	ba
ABSTR=to live$_{H.SG}$=AP+ABS$_{DO}$	to allot$_{H.BIVR}$

"Allot life!"[664]

Although it cannot be established with absolute certainty due to the orthographic depth of the cuneiform script, it seems highly likely that Sumerian could form Imperatives with a bare VR. Orthographic concerns aside, such minimally marked Imperatives are well attested cross-linguistically.

The existence of bare root Imperatives seems highly probable, but they certainly were not the most productive method of constructing Imperatives. More commonly, Sumerian generates Imperatives that have a suffixed affix chain. Although these chains can be quite long, short chains with only the nominalizer {a} serving in its Imperative marking capacity are most common. The following form occurs in *The Exaltation of Inana* when the *en* priestess En-hedu-ana (the alleged author of the text) begs the moon god Suʾen to intercede on her behalf to An. Her appeals are made in an effort to seek revenge against a certain Lugal-ane who is said to have destroyed the E-ana temple:

EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[664] This bare root Imperative unfortunately occurs on a verb that ends in an /a/-vowel. Therefore, it is possible that {a} was simply omitted in writing. It must be noted, however, that this statue is not brief and employs a rather full orthography. As such, it does not appear that orthographic omissions were standard practice for this composition. This form also receives its own dedicated register in the inscription, and the signs are ordered and scaled such that the scribe could have easily included an A-sign to represent {a} without cluttering the layout. Finally, this form occurs in the statue's name (i.e., "My lady you selected me. On the day I set to work, allot life!"). Perhaps the short form was motivated by its inclusion in a name, but this seems unlikely as other verbs in it are fully written (ex., "you selected me" is written ba-zig₃-ge). Regardless, even if the form were shortened due to convention it would still stand as evidence for bare root Imperatives at least in certain discourse contexts.

[7.33] gub-ba šag₄-ga-na ha-ma-sed₄-⌜e⌝-de₃

gub-ba   šag₄-ga-na
gub=a   šag₄=ani=a
to stand_{H.SG}=NMZ_{IMP}   heart=POSS.3SG.HUM=LOC_{DO}

ha-ma-sed₄-⌜e⌝-de₃
he=mu=*A=(b)=sed₄=ed=e
MP_{DEO.PREC}=CP_{TR.ACT.EMPY}=DI_{DAT.1SG}=(PRO3SG.NHUM.DO)=to cool_M=FUT=PRO3SG.AG

Arise so that she may cool her heart for me!

Formally, this Imperative is unremarkable, but it is a model example of a short Imperative in {a}

as it occurs in an indisputably directive context. Against the backdrop of En-hedu-ana

desperately praying for divine assistance, no other possible interpretation of gub-ba is feasible.

All the preceding Imperatives were structured around VRs. Sumerian, however, could

also express the Imperative with an undeclined noun standing in apposition to its direct object.

This construction is most common at the end of compositions when a disembodied speaker offers

praise to a deity by following a divine name with the unmarked nominal root zamin "praise:"

[7.34] ᵈNin-ŋir₂-su za₃-mi₂

ᵈNin-ŋir₂-su   za₃-mi₂
Ninŋirsu=ø   zamin
DN_♂=ABS_{DO}   praise_{BINS}

Praise Ninŋirsu!

7.4   THE MODAL SUFFIXES (MSS)

The modal suffixes (MSs) are the second most productive way of coding modal notions

on the verb outside of Slot One. The categorization "modal suffixes" might make it seem as if

these morphemes form a paradigm, but that is not the case. These morphemes have different

origins, code different types of modality, and do not all occur in the same slot. They are all post-verbal and have functional similarities, hence the categorization here, but the utility in referring to these morphemes simply as MSs is limited. While using such a designation serves to highlight the presence of modal morphemes following the VR, referring to {ed} only as an MS instead of as a deontic Obligative MS or {eše} as an MS instead of as an evidential Quotative MS would obfuscate function and have minimal explanatory power. It is argued here that a functional description should accompany any MS designation (just as has been argued for the MPs).

7.4.1   {ED}

TABLE 7.11. *Allomorphy of {ed}*
The allomorphic situation of {ed} is too complex to summarize here. The reader is directed to §4.3.4 for a discussion.

1. Obligative (Deontic)(§4.7)

    - DEFINITION: The Obligative expresses "the existence of external social

      conditions compelling an agent to complete the predicate action."[665]

      [7.35]   ᵍᵉˢ̌gu-za nam tar-ra gub-da
                 ᵍᵉˢ̌gu-za   nam tar-ra   gub-da
                 guza   nam—tar=a=ø   gub=ed=a
                 throne   fate—to cut$_{H.CVR}$=PP=ABS$_{DO}$ to stand$_{M.SG}$=OBLG=SUBR

      "that he ought to erect a (good-)fated throne"

      COMPOSITION: *Gudea Cylinder B*
      COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 134
      MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *G.Cyl.B*
      MUSEUM NUMBER: MNB 1511

2. Negative Obligative (Deontic)(§4.7.2)(Form: {nu}=(…)=VR=ed=(…))

    - DEFINITION: The Negative Obligative expresses that an agent is compelled by

      societal expectations to not complete the predicate action.

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[665] Bybee, Pagliuca, and Perkins, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 177.

[7.36]   en nam tar-ra-na šu nu-bala-e-dam

en   nam tar-ra-na
en=ø   nam—tar=a=ani=a
lord=ABS$_{SBJ}$ fate—to cut$_{H.CVR}$=PP=POSS.3SG.HUM=LOC

šu nu-bala-e-dam
šu—nu=bala=ed=ø=am
hand—NEG=to turn$_{M.CVR}$=OBLG=AP=COP.3SG

He is the lord whose decision ought never be changed.

3. Compulsive (Deontic)(§4.7.3)

- DEFINITION: The Compulsive is a subcategory of the Obligative that expresses an obligation that is not imposed by societal norms and is neither controlled nor intended by the agent. Accordingly, the Compulsive conveys that the obligation is imposed via an outside agent or due to the lack of a viable alternative.

[7.37]   2-kam-ma-še₃ naŋar ma-ra-huŋ-e lu₂ ma-ꜣraꜣ-ꜣSA₂ꜣ-ꜣeꜣ

2-kam-ma-še₃   naŋar
2=kamma=še   naŋar=ø
two=ORD=TERM   carpenter=ABS$_{SBJ}$

ma-ra-huŋ-e
mu=ra=huŋ=e(d)=ø
CP$_{EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.2SG}$=to hire$_{M}$= COMPL=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

lu₂   ma-ꜣraꜣ-ꜣSA₂ꜣ-ꜣeꜣ
lu₂=ø   mu=ra=SA₂=e(d)=ø
individual=ABS$_{SBJ}$ CP$_{EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.2SG}$=to ?$_{M}$=COMPL=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$

"(Oh Plow, because you are inferior…) / Carpenters will have to be hired (again) for you. An individual will have to be *X*-ed because of you."

7.4.2 {EŠE}

TABLE 7.12. *Allomorphy of {eše}*
There are no known allomorphs of {eše}; it should be noted, that it can be written …-še$_3$ (prior to the Old Babylonian period) or …-e-še (from the Old Babylonian period onwards).

1. Quotative (Evidential)(§5.5)

   - DEFINITION: The Quotative is a report-type evidential in that it marks information for which the speaker is not directly responsible. It is different from the Reportative, however, in that it marks the verbatim utterance of a concrete person other than the speaker whereas the Reportative does not entail a reference to such a concrete information source (hence its ability to code the Folkloric). Sumerian uses the clause-final particle {eše} to denote the Quotative.

[7.38]   ka$_5$-a-a a-ab-ba-[še$_3$] / ŋiš$_3$-a-ni bi$_2$-i[n-sur] / a-ab-ba TUN$_3$-bi /
kaš$_3$-ŋu$_{10}$-um-e-še

ka$_5$-a-a   a-ab-ba-[še$_3$]   /   ŋiš$_3$-a-ni
kaʾa=e   aʾabba=[še]   /   ŋiš$_3$=ani=ø
fox=ERG   sea=[TERM]   /   penis=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$

bi$_2$-i[n-sur]   /   a-ab-ba
ba=*I=[n=sur=ø]   /   aʾabba=a(k)
CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=[PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to press$_{H.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$]   /   sea=GEN

TUN$_3$-bi   /
TUN$_3$=bi   /
all(?)=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS$_{SBJ}$ /

kaš$_3$-ŋu$_{10}$-um-e-še
kaš$_3$=ŋu=am=eše
urine=POSS.1SG.HUM=COP.3SG=QUOT

The fox mictu[rated] [into] sea. (It said:) "All of the sea is my urine."[666]

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[666] Some manuscripts have the Prefix of Anteriority {u} on the predicate bi$_2$-in-sur. This manuscript was chosen given its otherwise relatively complete nature. The absence of this MP is of no consequence for this discussion of the Quotative. The translation here reflects the absence of {u}. One could argue that this is a fable, but it is taken as a proverb here.

7.4.2 {ŊIŠEN}

TABLE 7.13. *Allomorphy of {ŋišen}*
There are no known allomorphs of {ŋišen}.

1. Irrealis (Irrealis Mood)(§6.2)

    -   DEFINITION: The suffix {ŋišen} occurs on rare occasion in Old Babylonian

        literary texts at the end of clauses (most often, but not exclusively, after finite

        verbs).[667] In writing, {ŋišen} appears as …-ŋiš-en or …-ŋiš-še-en. Based on

        context and lexical list evidence, it seems as if this morpheme codes the irrealis

        mood. This form seems to be unique since it is a proper mood marker (as opposed

        to a modality marker). Significant research into the typological significance of

        Sumerian having this mood marker alongside a more robust modal system, any

        undiscovered nuances of {ŋišen}, plausible historical origins, and potential

        influence from Akkadian has been reserved for future research elsewhere.

EXAMPLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[667] This summary is heavily influenced by Thomsen. Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language*, 280. See also:
Falkenstein, "Das Potentialis- und Irrealissufix -e-še des Sumerischen," 113-130.

[7.39] a₂ mu-e-da-aŋ₂-ŋiš-še-en / a₂ aŋ₂-a ma-ab-šum₂-mu-un-e-še

a₂
a₂=ø
arm=ABS$_{DO}$

mu-e-da-aŋ₂-ŋiš-še-en
mu=e=da=(e$^?$)=aŋ₂=ø=ŋišen
CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=PRO$_{2SG.IO}$=DI$_{CMT}$=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)=to measure$_{Ḫ.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=IRR

/   a₂ aŋ₂-a
/   a₂—aŋ₂=a=ø
/   arm—measure$_{Ḫ.CVR}$=PP=ABS$_{DO}$

ma-ab-šum₂-mu-un-e-še
mu=*A=b=šum₂=en=eše
CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to give$_{M}$=PRO$_{2SG.AG}$=QUOT

If I try teaching you something, you say, "are you giving me instructions?"

8. CONCLUSION

The grammatical mechanisms Sumerian has for encoding modal notions in the verbal complex are many and varied. As this dissertation has shown, the Sumerian modal system is remarkably robust. Via the selection of the proper morphemes, a Sumerian speaker could easily convey their (un)certainty, desires, abilities, information source(s), etc.

Throughout this dissertation, many points of Sumerian grammar have been introduced for the first time and older, debated positions have been re-examined. It has been shown that Sumerian displays a relatively simple monolithic epistemic system. This seems to hint that it was a secondary development from the deontic system (as is typologically expected). The fact that the epistemic system seems to be a secondary development explains the Asseverative's rise in productivity over time since items tend to go from weaker to greater epistemic force.

Although not directly related to the morphological encoding of modal notions, my counterproposal to the theory that a hidden CP {i} belies all vowel-final MPs that are not followed by an overtly written CP is significant. This new interpretation changes how we look at the Sumerian verb. It reduces the primacy previously assigned to the CPs and emphasizes that an MP alone can head a finite verb.

One historically tricky morpheme that has been described and situated by this dissertation is {u}. Its occurrence in Slot One alongside the MPs has puzzled some scholars who have viewed {u} as entirely non-modal. It was shown in CHAPTER THREE that {u} has the quasi-modal function of marking *if*-backshifted protases thereby securing its inclusion in Slot One. Before summarizing additional findings, it makes sense to sketch Slot One's sematic core and how morphemes that occupy this slot relate to said core. Of the eight Slot One morphemes, six have purely modal semantics (i.e., {he}, {ga}, {na}, {bara}, {nuš}, and {naM}) – five, if one

wishes to consider evidentiality a separate domain. Given these numbers, it is safe to say that

modality is the primary semantic category denoted by Slot One morphemes. Slot One

morphemes, however, can mark non-modal notions (exs., relative tense via Anterior {u} and

mirativity via {ši}). Taking Slot One's semantic core to be modality, the morphemes that belong

to this slot can be diagrammed as satellites orbiting said semantic core; this is schematized below

in FIGURE 8.1.[668]

FIGURE 8.1. *Slot One as a Semantic Core with Satellites*
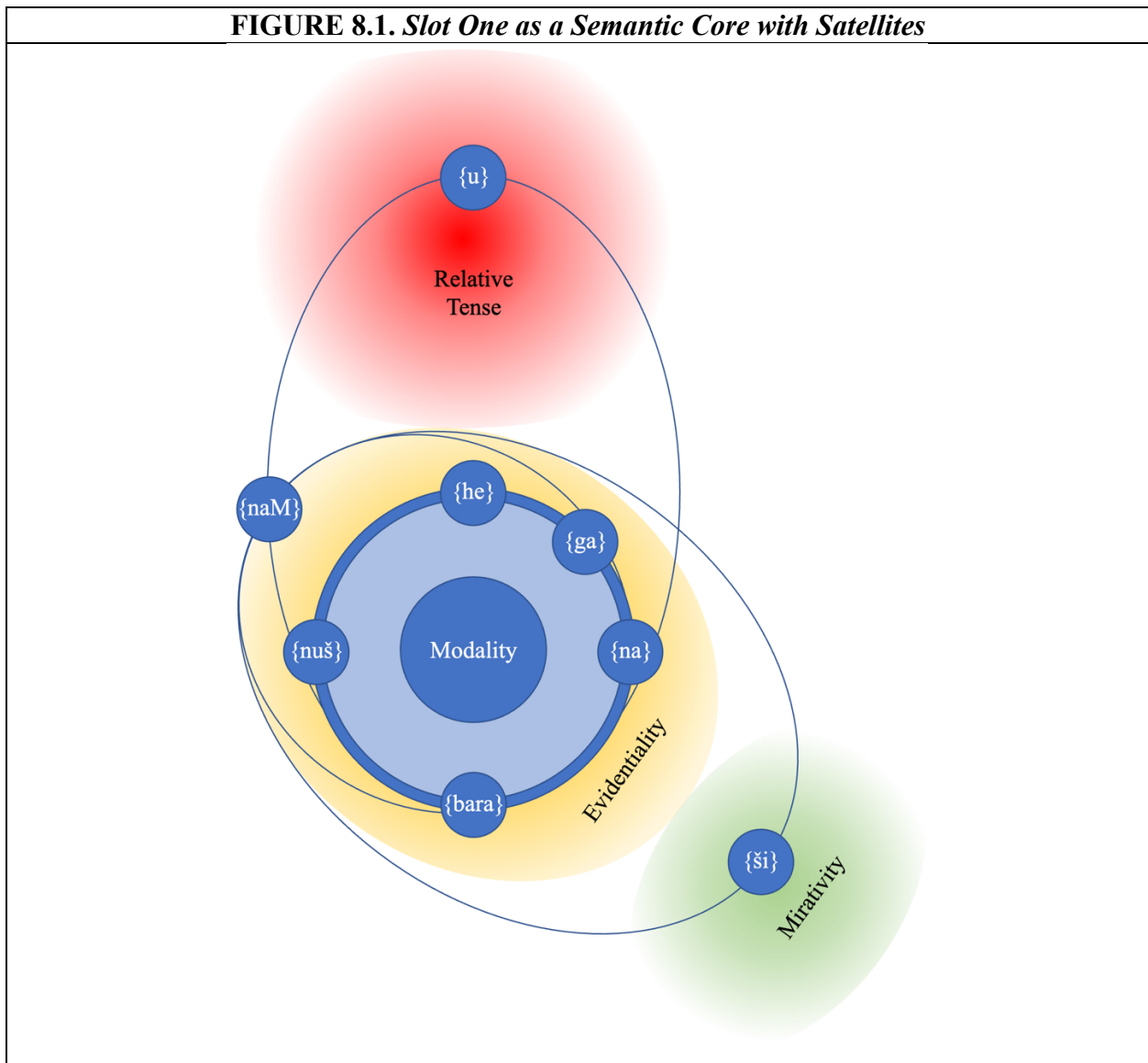
[668] This diagram presents a static synchronic view of the system at its maximal extent with fullest productivity.

In the above diagram, the completely modal morphemes {he}, {ga}, {na}, {bara}, and {nuš} occupy the thick circular orbital closest to the semantic core. These morphemes are purely modal and thus most at home in Slot One. Next, the evidential MPs have elliptical orbits. Although evidentiality was taken as a type of modality in CHAPTER FIVE for the sake of descriptive simplicity, it is likely a partially distinct category represented by the yellow band in FIGURE 8.1. The evidential MP {naM} has an elliptical orbit where it mostly occupies the evidential domain but occasionally moves inwards to the properly modal domain when acting as an extended epistemic Asseverative. Similarly, {ši} has an elliptical orbit that mostly belongs to the realm of evidentiality but occasionally extends outwards into the area of mirativity when operating as an extended mirative marker. Finally, {u} has an elliptical orbit by which it marks relative tense via its role as a general marker of anteriority, but it can also venture into the modal domain when operating as a marker of *if*-backshift.

While this model with both circular and elliptical orbits is the most accurate, one can also simplify the system into a series of concentric circular orbits around modality as a semantic core where the satellites become increasingly more modal in their semantics the closer their orbit is to the core. This simplified system is diagrammed below in FIGURE 8.2.

FIGURE 8.2. *Slot One as a Semantic Core with Satellites (Simplified)*
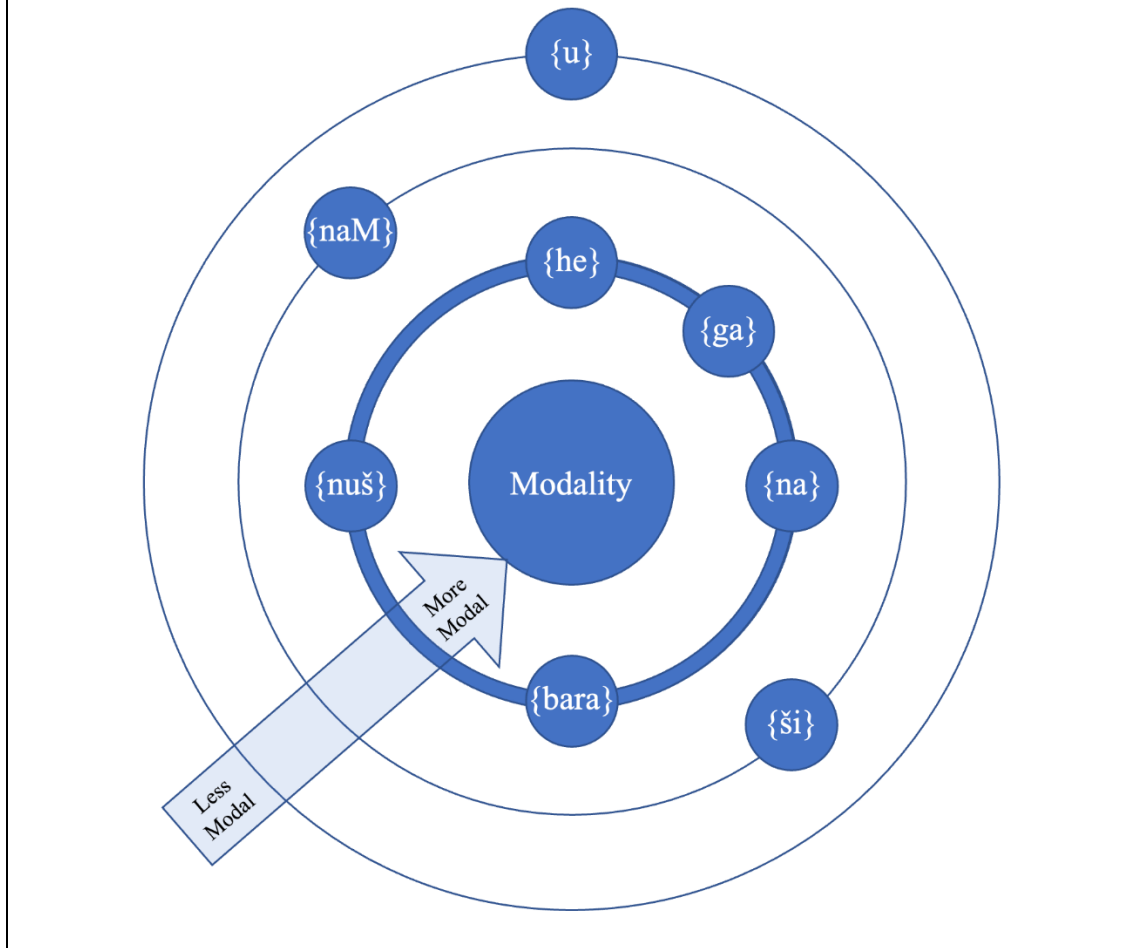
Both models demonstrate how Slot One prototypically tends to house morphemes that code modal notions, but it also includes in its inventory morphemes that have non-modal (or at least less modal) functions. It is important to remember that an agglutinative slot is not expected to only contain morphemes denoting a singular semantic domain. Slots do, however, tend to take one or two domains as their semantic core(s) (exs., Slot Three with the CPs marking voice and transitivity, Slots Six and Nine with pronominal morphemes marking argument structure, etc.). Having sufficiently sketched the modal nature of Slot One, the discussion can now return to an overview of other discoveries presented in this thesis.

In CHAPTER FOUR, the remarkable breadth of the deontic system was discussed in detail. Many functions have been formalized here for the first time, which should assist in the production of translations with greater expressiveness and accuracy. The Imperative was also shown to be a nominalized constituent in this chapter. This explains its unique affix ordering scheme and the {a} morpheme that frequently occurs directly after an Imperative VR. Perhaps one of the most radical positions asserted in this chapter is the idea that {ed} derives from an original periphrastic construction. This theory accounts for its location in the morphological complex of the verb and explains its various functions. While investigating {ed}, it was also explained how negators are licensed in Sumerian. Because the negator {nu}, which has historically been seen as non-modal, occurs on non-finites with modal {ed}, it was necessary to investigate what motivates negator selection. It was shown that Sumerian selects negators according to the veridical stance of the speaker. This explanation is significant because instead of merely stating that {nu} negates all indicatives and non-finites (even the modal ones) we can now understand {nu}'s distribution as being licensed by veridical stance and {bara} and {na} by non-veridical stance (then by type of modality). Finally, in this chapter {nuš} was identified as a proper MP in agreement with Edzard and contra. Civil. While the ramifications of this identification are not far-reaching from a functional point of view, including {nuš} in the set of Slot One morphemes increases the number of deontic MPs thereby increasing the scale of the deontic system, Sumerian's most robust modal system.

The nature of evidential modality in Sumerian has received its fullest treatment to date in CHAPTER FIVE. The system has been shown to be a B5$_\beta$ type marking a three-way distinction. Previously, it was thought to be an A5 system with a two-way split. Perhaps the most important finding in this chapter is that {ši} is an evidential MP thereby finally securing a defined function

for it that accounts for its genre distribution and loss of productivity over time. In CHAPTER FIVE, I have also shown that the decline of Sumerian's evidential system might indicate something about developments within the cultures of the region. Additionally, I demonstrated that as the system declined secondary usages developed out of its morphemes. Most importantly, it was shown that {ši} developed a mirative extension. Since mirativity is a category previously unrecognized in Sumerian this identification is significant.

While I have been able to improve our understanding of the morphological encoding of modal notions within the Sumerian verbal complex, more work remains to be done. Should it lie within the verbal complex or elsewhere, the location of dynamic modal notions within the grammar needs to be explored further. Additionally, the coding of modal nuance outside of the verbal domain in general needs dedicated attention. Finally, the expression of mirativity now seems to be a fruitful avenue of research for Sumerian. These are all topics I intend to study in the future.

A.A.1 INTRODUCTION

In this Appendix, I outline separately all manuscripts that were cited from the database constructed when conducting the initial research (see: §A.A.2) and all manuscripts that were admitted to the secondary corpus when gaps in the principal corpus became apparent (see: §A.A.3). This information is conveyed tabularly in each relevant section beginning on the following page.

When building the principal corpus, all manuscripts were considered, many were admitted, but only a selection were cited. For more exhaustive manuscript data, see the original publication referenced in the associated footnote.[669] To assist in cross-referencing, the siglum of the original scholar is sometimes included in the parentheses in the "Manuscript Siglum" column. Relatedly, the numbering conventions of the original scholar were also maintained on occasion to aid in cross-referencing (hence why Decad manuscript sigla do not follow a continuous numbering sequence). Finally, in the "Artifact Identifier" column, museum numbers were given priority. If determining such information became problematic for a given manuscript, other archaeological metadata (ex., field registration numbers) were used. As a last resort, publication references were used.

TABLES BEGIN ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[669] Footnotes are given in full form even if the source has been cited elsewhere previously. When footnotes refer to dated reference materials, those works have primarily been used for identifying what artifacts preserve what lines (i.e., not for their Sumerological interpretations).

A.A.2 THE PRINCIPAL CORPUS

TABLE A.A.2.1 *Manuscripts Cited from Decad Compositions*[670]		
Composition Title	**Manuscript Siglum**	**Artifact Identifier**
Šulgi A	*Šul.A*_N$_{I1}$	UM 29-16-219 + UM 29-16-419 (+) Ni 9754
″ ″ ″	*Šul.A*_N$_{I2}$	CBS 10993 + N 2478
″ ″ ″	*Šul.A*_N$_{I3}$	CBS 15095
″ ″ ″	*Šul.A*_N$_{I4}$	UM 29-16-198 + N 1519 + N 1572
″ ″ ″	*Šul.A*_N$_{I5}$	IM 58499 + IM 58500
″ ″ ″	*Šul.A*_N$_{I7}$	IM 58972
″ ″ ″	*Šul.A*_N$_{III7}$	Ni 2770
″ ″ ″	*Šul.A*_N$_{III12}$	IM 58454
″ ″ ″	*Šul.A*_N$_{III13}$	IM 58491
″ ″ ″	*Šul.A*_N$_{III16}$	IM 58947
″ ″ ″	*Šul.A*_N$_{III22}$	IM 58742 + A 33561
″ ″ ″	*Šul.A*_N$_{III23}$	IM 58530
″ ″ ″	*Šul.A*_Ur$_1$	UET 6/1, 78 + UET 6/3 *402 + UET 6/3 *403
″ ″ ″	*Šul.A*_X$_1$	A 7533
″ ″ ″	*Šul.A*_X$_2$	W.B. 171
″ ″ ″	*Šul.A*_X$_3$	AO 6706
″ ″ ″	*Šul.A*_X$_{16}$	YBC 16156
″ ″ ″	*Šul.A*_X$_{17}$	AO 9076
Lipit-Eštar A	*LiA*_N$_{I1}$	UM 29-15-435 + N 3023 + N 3061 (+) N 2488 + N 2963
″ ″ ″	*LiA*_N$_{I7}$	HS 1492 + HS 1493 + HS 1557 + HS 2532 + HS 7432 + HS 2986
″ ″ ″	*LiA*_N$_{I12}$	UM 29-16-219 + UM 29-16-419
″ ″ ″	*LiA*_N$_{I14}$	Ni 4098 (+) Ni 4560
″ ″ ″	*LiA*_N$_{III15}$	IM 50409
″ ″ ″	*LiA*_N$_{P1}$	HS 1501
″ ″ ″	*LiA*_X$_1$	AO 6710
″ ″ ″	*LiA*_X$_2$	NBC 7270
The Song of the Hoe	*Al*_N$_{I3}$	CBS 13864
″ ″ ″	*Al*_N$_{I4}$	Ni 2500
″ ″ ″	*Al*_N$_{I8}$	CBS 8531
″ ″ ″	*Al*_N$_{I13}$	Ni 3268
″ ″ ″	*Al*_N$_{III1}$	N 1737 + N 6271 + N 7214
″ ″ ″	*Al*_Ur$_1$	UET 6/1 26A
″ ″ ″	*Al*_X$_1$	AO 7087

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[670] For all Decad manuscripts, Delnero's dissertation is the reference: Paul Delnero, "Variation in Sumerian Literary Compositions: A Case Study Based on the Decad." (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2006).

TABLE A.A.2.1 *Manuscripts Cited from Decad Compositions (CONT.)*		
Composition Title	**Manuscript Siglum**	**Artifact Identifier**
The Exaltation of Inana	*ExIn*_N_{I1}	UM 29-15-322 + CBS 7847
" " "	*ExIn*_N_{I2}	Ni 9660 + Ni 4590 + Ni 1167 + Ni 2755 + CBS 10868
" " "	*ExIn*_N_{I10}	IM 58802
" " "	*ExIn*_N_{I13}	IM 58800
" " "	*ExIn*_N_{I14}	IM 58789
" " "	*ExIn*_N_{III31}	IM 58702
" " "	*ExIn*_N_{III33}	IM 58799
" " "	*ExIn*_N_{III37}	IM 58482
" " "	*ExIn*_Ur_1	IM 85460
" " "	*ExIn*_Ur_3	UET 6/1 107A
" " "	*ExIn*_X_5	YBC 4671
" " "	*ExIn*_X_8	AO 6713
Enlil in the Ekur	*EnlEk*_N_{I1}	CBS 8533 (+) Ni 4150
" " "	*EnlEk*_N_{I2}	N 1780 + N 1782 + N 7312 (+) Ni 4377
" " "	*EnlEk*_N_{I3}	CBS 10475
" " "	*EnlEk*_N_{I6}	IM 58420
" " "	*EnlEk*_N_{III1}	CBS 14218 + N 3453
" " "	*EnlEk*_N_{III2}	Ni 4584
" " "	*EnlEk*_N_{III5}	Ni 4341
" " "	*EnlEk*_N_{III10}	CBS 14152
" " "	*EnlEk*_N_{III17}	UM 29-13-239
" " "	*EnlEk*_N_{III23}	A 30254
" " "	*EnlEk*_N_{III25}	3NT-925, 507
" " "	*EnlEk*_N_{P2}	HS 1530 + HS 1531 + HS 2685 + HS 2648a + HS 2648b + HS 1749 + HS 2610 +HS 2608 + HS 2755 + HS 1532 + HS 2665 + HS 2776
" " "	*EnlEk*_N_{P3}	UM 59-15-1
" " "	*EnlEk*_Ba_1	VAT 17468
" " "	*EnlEk*_Ur_1	UET 6/3 *323 + *398
" " "	*EnlEk*_Ur_3	UET 6/65 + UET 6/3 *548
" " "	*EnlEk*_X_1	KU 25
" " "	*EnlEk*_X_2	YBC 4653
" " "	*EnlEk*_X_3	YBC 9845
Keš Temple Hymn	*KTH*_N_{I1}	UM 29-16-245
" " "	*KTH*_N_{I4}	N 1401
" " "	*KTH*_N_{I6}	Ni 2480 or Ni 1992?[671]
" " "	*KTH*_N_{I10}	CBS 14031
" " "	*KTH*_N_{III1}	N 3534 + N 3530 + Ni 2402

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[671] This uncertainty was noted by Delnero. Ibid., 2173.

TABLE A.A.2.1 *Manuscripts Cited from Decad Compositions (CONT.)*		
Composition Title	**Manuscript Siglum**	**Artifact Identifier**
" " "	*KTH*_N_{III7}	CBS 8384
" " "	*KTH*_N_{III9}	UM 29-15-114
" " "	*KTH*_N_{III12}	UM 29-16-16
" " "	*KTH*_N_{III14}	CBS 11876
" " "	*KTH*_N_{III16}	UM 29-13-422
" " "	*KTH*_N_{III25}	IM 58524
" " "	*KTH*_N_{III27}	IM 58699
" " "	*KTH*_As_1	AbS-T 284 (+) 89a (+) 352 (+) 346 (+) 347 (+) 236c (+) 302
Enki's Journey to Nippur	*EJN*_N_{I2}	Ni 4382
" " "	*EJN*_N_{I3}	CBS 10079 + Ni 2289
" " "	*EJN*_N_{III1}	CBS 4916 + UM 29-16-184
" " "	*EJN*_N_{III14}	CBS 14067
" " "	*EJN*_N_{III31}	IM 58711
Inana and Ebih	*IEb*_N_{I1}	N 1333 + N 6149 + N 1328 + N 6433 + Ni 3052 + Ni 9722
" " "	*IEb*_N_{I2}	UM 29-16-32 + N 3257 + Ni 9910
" " "	*IEb*_N_{I3}	A 32077 (+) CBS 10229
" " "	*IEb*_N_{I6}	CBS 13977 + CBS 15146 + N 4165 + N 7233 + N 5131
" " "	*IEb*_N_{I7}	A 30271 + A 30241
" " "	*IEb*_N_{I8}	A 30294
" " "	*IEb*_N_{I9}	UM 55-21-346
" " "	*IEb*_N_{III1}	CBS 8334
" " "	*IEb*_N_{III4}	N 1117
" " "	*IEb*_N_{III28}	3NT-905, 197
" " "	*IEb*_N_{P1}	CBS 7206 + Ni 2711
" " "	*IEb*_N_{P2}	Ni 9725
" " "	*IEb*_N_{U3}	CBS 3861
" " "	*IEb*_Ur_1	UET 6/1, 12
" " "	*IEb*_M_1	H 174
" " "	*IEb*_Ba_1	VAT 17320
" " "	*IEb*_Su_2	Sb 12368
" " "	*IEb*_X_5	PUL 551
Nungal Hymn	*Nu*_N_{I1}	CBS 13931 + UM 29-16-49
" " "	*Nu*_N_{I2}	CBS 14183 + N 3746 + Ni 9887
" " "	*Nu*_N_{III2}	CBS 4583
" " "	*Nu*_N_{III14}	Ni 4213
" " "	*Nu*_N_{III23}	IM 58611
" " "	*Nu*_Si_1	BM 108866
" " "	*Nu*_X_1	YBC 4667
" " "	*Nu*_DelComp	Delnero Composite Edition

TABLE A.A.2.1 *Manuscripts Cited from Decad Compositions (CONT.)*		
Composition Title	**Manuscript Siglum**	**Artifact Identifier**
Gilgameš and Huwawa A	*GH.A_*N_{I1}	UM 29-16-84 (+) Ni 9904 (+) N 1321 + N 1570
" " "	*GH.A_*N_{I2}	N 3776 + N 3691 + Ni 4475
" " "	*GH.A_*N_{I5}	CBS 8027
" " "	*GH.A_*N_{I9}	N 5696
" " "	*GH.A_*N_{III2}	Ni 9952
" " "	*GH.A_*N_{III3}	Ni 9636
" " "	*GH.A_*N_{III5}	N 2785 + N 3071 + N 4234
" " "	*GH.A_*N_{III19}	Ni 42
" " "	*GH.A_*N_{III20}	N 1787
" " "	*GH.A_*N_{III21}	N 3740
" " "	*GH.A_*N_{III22}	N 2923 + N 3138 + N 1870 + N 2422
" " "	*GH.A_*N_{III32}	IM 58509
" " "	*GH.A_*N_{III33}	IM 58478
" " "	*GH.A_*N_{III35}	UM 55-21-378 + IM 58700
" " "	*GH.A_*Ur_3	UET 6/1 50+51+53 + UET 6/3 *86 + *154 + *400
" " "	*GH.A_*K_1	Kish 1932, 155
" " "	*GH.A_*Si_1	BM 54731
" " "	*GH.A_*Si_2	Si 627
" " "	*GH.A_*X_1	YBC 9857
" " "	*GH.A_*X_4	LB 2110
" " "	*GH.A_*X_5	FLP 1053
" " "	*GH.A_*X_6	IM 11053

TABLE A.A.2.2 *Compositions Cited from the Gudea Corpus*[672]		
Composition Title	**Manuscript Siglum**	**Artifact Identifier**
Gudea Cylinder A	*G.Cyl.A*	MNB 1512
Gudea Cylinder B	*G.Cyl.B*	MNB 1511
Gudea Cylinder Frag. 1	*G.Cyl.Frag.1*	MNB 1514a
Gudea Cylinder Frag. 10	*G.Cyl.Frag.10*	MNB 1514b
Gudea Cylinder Frag. 11(+2) & 12	*G.Cyl.Frag.11(+2) & 12*	AO 6953 + MNB 1514g + AO 6952
Gudea Cylinder Frag. 6	*G.Cyl.Frag.6*	MNB 1514d
Gudea Cylinder Frag. 7	*G.Cyl.Frag.7*	MNB 1514i
Gudea Cylinder Frag. 8+3+5+4	*G.Cyl.Frag.8+3+5+4*	MNB 1514e + MNB 1514h + MNB 1514f + MNB 1395
Gudea Cylinder Frag. 9	*G.Cyl.Frag.9*	MNB 1514c
Gudea Statue B	*G.St.B*	AO 2

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[672] For all Gudea manuscripts, Edzard's RIME volume is the reference: Dietz Otto Edzard, *Gudea and His Dynasty.* RIME 3/1. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

TABLE A.A.2.2 *Compositions Cited from the Gudea Corpus (CONT.)*		
Composition Title	**Manuscript Siglum**	**Artifact Identifier**
Gudea Statue C	*G.St.C*	AO 5
Gudea Statue E	*G.St.E*	UM 29-15-255B
Gudea Statue I	*G.St.I*	AO 3293 + AO 4108
Gudea Statue K	*G.St.K*	AO 10
Gudea Statue P	*G.St.P*	MMA 59, 2
Gudea Statue S	*G.St."S"*	EŞEM 5215

TABLE A.A.2.3 *Compositions Cited from the Bilingual Royal Inscription Corpus*[673]		
Composition Title	**Manuscript Siglum**	**Artifact Identifier**
RIME 2.1.1.1 (Sargon)	Sargon_1_S	CBS 13972
RIME 2.1.1.1 (Sargon)	Sargon_1_A	CBS 13972
RIME 2.1.1.11 (Sargon)	Sargon_2.1_S	CBS 13972
RIME 2.1.2.18 (Rīmuš)	Rīmuš_1.1_S	CBS 13972
RIME 2.1.2.18 (Rīmuš)	Rīmuš_1.1_A	CBS 13972
RIME 2.1.2.18 (Rīmuš)	Rīmuš_1.2_S	CBS 2344 + N 3539 + CBS 14547
RIME 4.3.6.2 (Ḫammu-rāpi)	Ḫammu-rāpi_1.1_S	BM 80142
RIME 4.3.6.2 (Ḫammu-rāpi)	Ḫammu-rāpi_1.1_A	CBS 11
RIME 4.3.7.3 (Samsu-iluna)	Samsu-iluna_1.1_S	NBC 6102
" " "	Samsu-iluna_1.1_A	BM 102404
RIME 4.3.7.5 (Samsu-iluna)	Samsu-iluna_2.1_S	BM 91083
RIME 4.3.7.5 (Samsu-iluna)	Samsu-iluna_2.1_A	VA 2645
RIME 4.3.7.7 (Samsu-iluna)	Samsu-iluna_3.1_S	Ash 1962, 353
" " "	Samsu-iluna_3.1_A	YBC 2296
" " "	Samsu-iluna_3.2_S	Ash 1929, 137
RIME 4.3.7.8 (Samsu-iluna)	Samsu-iluna_4.1_S	VA 5951
" " "	Samsu-iluna_4.1_A	A 22088

TABLE A.A.2.4 *Compositions Cited from the ditilas*[674]		
Composition Title	**Manuscript Siglum**	**Artifact Identifier**
NSGU II.6	*dit.6*	L.6550
NSGU II.9	*dit.9*	L.6582
NSGU II.14	*dit.14*	RT XXII p. 153 no. 4
NSGU II.15	*dit.15*	L.6444
NSGU.II.16	*dit.16*	L.6432

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[673] For all bilingual royal inscription manuscripts (Sargonic-Old Babylonian) Frayne's RIME volumes are the reference: Douglas Frayne, *Sargonic and Gutian Periods (2334-2113 BC)*. RIME 2. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993). Douglas Frayne, *The Old Babylonian Period (2003-1595 BC)*. RIME 4. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990). It should be noted that the bilingual published in CUSAS 17 was admitted to the database but ultimately not cited in the dissertation (outside of TABLE 3.6).

[674] For all *ditila*s, Falkenstein's second *NSGU* volume is the reference: Adam Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden, zweiter Teil: Umschrift, Übersetzung und Kommentar*. ABAW NF 40. (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1956).

TABLE A.A.2.4 *Compositions Cited from the ditilas (CONT.)*		
Composition Title	**Manuscript Siglum**	**Artifact Identifier**
NSGU.II.17	*dit.17*	L.958
NSGU.II.18	*dit.18*	L.960 + L.6519
NSGU.II.20	*dit.20*	L.759
NSGU.II.22	*dit.22*	L.948
NSGU.II.25	*dit.25*	L.6843
NSGU.II.26	*dit.26*	L.931
NSGU.II.28	*dit.28*	L.6534
NSGU II.45	*dit.45*	L.3532
NSGU.II.75	*dit.75*	L.235
NSGU.II.109	*dit.109*	TÉL 111L
NSGU II.121	*dit.121*	AO 6165
NSGU II.132	*dit.132*	BM 105384
NSGU.II.143	*dit.143*	L.6463
NSGU.II.144	*dit.144*	AO 6170
NSGU II.158	*dit.158*	L.6833
NSGU.II.164	*dit.164*	L.6734
NSGU.II.179	*dit.179*	L.6580
NSGU II.190	*dit.190*	L.6545
NSGU.II.195	*dit.195*	L.6563
NSGU.II.197	*dit.197*	AO 3738
NSGU.II.206	*dit.206*	L.6557
NSGU.II.208	*dit.208*	VAT 2512

A.A.3　The Secondary Corpus

TABLE A.A.3.1 *Manuscripts Cited from the Instructions of Šurrupak*[675]		
Composition Title	**Manuscript Siglum**	**Artifact Identifier**
Instructions of Šuruppak	*IŠ*_AbŞ	AbS-T 323 + AbS-T 393
"　　"　　"	*IŠ*_Adab	A 649 & A 645
"　　"　　"	*IŠ*_N$_1$	UM 29-16-240
"　　"　　"	*IŠ*_Ur$_1$	UET 6/2 169
"　　"　　"	*IŠ*_Ur$_2$	UET 6/2 170
"　　"　　"	*IŠ*_Ur$_3$	U.16879 I

TABLE A.A.3.2 *Cited Letter Orders*[676]		
Composition Title	**Manuscript Siglum**	**Artifact Identifier**
TCS.1.001	Letter Order_1	YBC 1317
TCS.1.002	Letter Order_2	BM 134634
TCS.1.131	Letter Order_3	HTS 105
TCS.1.147	Letter Order_4	TLB.2.19
TCS.1.203	Letter Order_5	SM 1911.05.030
TCS.1.367	Letter Order_6	AO 12185

TABLE A.A.3.3 *Supplemental Royal Inscriptions*[677]		
Composition Title	**Manuscript Siglum**	**Artifact Identifier**
RIME 1.1.3.2001 (Barag-henidug)	Barag-henidug_1_S	A 7447
RIME 1.9.3.1 (E-anatum : Stele of the Vultures)	E-anatum_1_S	AO 16109
RIME 1.9.4.2 (En-anatum)	En-anatum_1_S	IM 76644
RIME 1.9.5.1 (En-metena)	En-metena_1_S	AO 3004
RIME 1.9.9.1 (Iri-KA-gina)	Iri-KA-gina_*Refs1*_1	AO 3278
RIME 1.9.9.2 (Iri-KA-gina)	Iri-KA-gina_*Refs2*_1	MNB 1390
RIME 1.9.9.3 (Iri-KA-gina)	Iri-KA-gina_*Refs3*_1	Ist EŞEM 1717
RIME 1.14.20.1 (Lugal-zage-si)	Lugal-zage-si_1_S	Hilprecht Expedition 9308 (ln. 21 from 9300)
RIME 1.14.20.1	Lugal-zage-si_1_FrayneComp	Frayne Composite Edition
RIME 3/2.1.1.19 (Ur-Namma)	Ur-Namma_1_S	BM 30056

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[675] For all *Instructions of Šuruppak* manuscripts, Alster's monograph on Sumerian wisdom literature is the reference: Bendt Alster, *Wisdom of Ancient Sumer.* (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2005).

[676] For all letter orders, Sollberger's TCS volume (TCS 1) is the reference: Edmond Sollberger, *The Business and Administrative Correspondence under the Kings of Ur.* TCS 1. (Locust Valley, NY: J.J. Augustin, 1966).

[677] For all supplemental royal inscriptions, Frayne's RIME volumes are the reference: Douglas Frayne, *Pre-Sargonic Period (2700-2350 BC).* RIME 1. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004). Douglas Frayne, *Ur III Period (2112-2004 BC)*. RIME 3/2. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997). Douglas Frayne, *The Old Babylonian Period (2003-1595 BC)*. RIME 4. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

TABLE A.A.3.3 *Supplemental Royal Inscriptions (CONT.)*		
Composition Title	**Manuscript Siglum**	**Artifact Identifier**
RIME 3/2.1.3.9 (Amar-Suʾena)	Amar- Suʾena_1_S	BM 119006
RIME 4.4.1.8 (Sîn-kāšid)	Sîn-kāšid_1_S	BM 91081

TABLE A.A.3.4 *Supplemental Literary Compositions*		
Composition Title	**Manuscript Siglum**	**Artifact Identifier**
Bilgames and Akka[678]	*Bil&Ak*_N_1 (L)	CBS 6140
The Death of Ur-Namma[679]	*UrN-A*_N_1	CBS 4560 + HS 1428 + HS 1560 + HS 1450 + HS 1549 + HS 1570 + HS 1581 + HS 1528 + HS 1548 + N 7095
" " "	*UrN-A*_F-HComp	Flückiger-Hawker Composite Edition
Debate between Hoe and Plow[680]	*DebH&P*_Ur_1 (DDDu)	UET 6/1 43 + UET 6/3, 625 + 626 + 787
Dumuzid's Dream[681]	*D.Dream*_X_1	BM 113234
Edena Usagake[682]	*EdUs*_Si_1 (A)	VAT 611 + (VAS 2 26)
Enki and Ninhursaŋa[683]	*Enk&Ninhur*_N_1 (A)	CBS 4561
Enlil and Ninlil[684]	*Enl&Ninl*_Ba_1 (C)	BM 38600
Enlil and Sud[685]	*Enl&Sud*_N_1 (E)	UM 29-15-255B
" " "	*Enl&Sud*_S_1 (S_1)	Sb 12521
Enmerkar and the Lord of Arrata[686]	*ELA*_N_1 (S)	CBS 2150 + Ist Ni 4529
Eršemma 97[687]	*Erš*_97	VAT 617

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[678] Willem H. Ph. Römer, *Das sumerische Kurzepos ›Bilgameš und Akka‹.* AOAT 209/1. (Kevelaer: Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1980).

[679] Esther Flückiger-Hawker, *Urnamma of Ur in Sumerian Literary Tradition.* OBO 166. (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck und Riprecht, 1999).

[680] Catherine Mittermayer, *›Was sprach der eine zum Anderen?‹ Argumentationsformen in den sumerischen Rangstreitgesprächen.* UAVA 15. (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2019).

[681] Bendt Alster, "A New Source for «Dumuzi's Dream»," *RA* 69 (1975), 97-108. Bendt Alster, *Dumuzi's Dream. Aspects of Oral Poetry in a Sumerian Myth.* Copenhagen Studies in Assyriology 1. (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1984).

[682] Mark E. Cohen, *The Canonical Lamentations of Mesopotamia.* 2 volumes. (Potomac, MD: Capital Decisions, Inc., 1988).

[683] Pascal Attinger, "Enki et Ninḫursaĝa," *ZA* 74 (1984), 1-52.

[684] Hermann Behrens, *Enlil und Ninlil: Ein sumerischer Mythos aus Nippur.* StPohl SM 8. (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1978).

[685] Miguel Civil, "Enlil and Ninlil: The Marriage of Sud," *JAOS* 103 (1983), 43-66.

[686] Samiel Noah Kramer, *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta: A Sumerian Epic Tale of Iraq and Iran.* (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1952).

[687] Mark E. Cohen, *Sumerian Hymnology: The Eršemma.* HUCA Supp. 2. (Cincinnati: KTAV Publishing House, 1981).

TABLE A.A.3.4 *Supplemental Literary Compositions (CONT.)*		
Composition Title	**Manuscript Siglum**	**Artifact Identifier**
The Farmer's Instructions[688]	*FIs*_N$_1$ (F)	Ni 2276 + Ni 4583 + UM 29-13-922
Father and Son[689]	*F&Son*_N$_1$ (C)	CBS 14011
Gilgameš, Enkidug, and the Netherworld[690]	*GEN*_N$_{49}$	HS 1482 + HS 2502 + HS 2612
" " "	*GEN*_Ur$_2$	U 9364
A Hymn to the Twin God(s) Enki Nirah for King Gungunum[691]	*TwinHymn*_X$_1$	NBC 7806
Inana and Bilulu[692]	*In&B*_N$_1$	Ni 4486
Inana and Enki[693]	*In&Enk*_1	PBS V 25
Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur[694]	*LamDU*_N$_1$ (Aa)	Ni 2780
Nanše B[695]	*NšB*_1	VAT 7025
The Nippur Murder Trial[696]	*NMT*_1	CBS 7178
" " "	*NMT*_2	IM 58943
" " "	*NMT*_3	A 30240 + UM 44-21-436
" " "	*NMT*_SiegComp	Siegmund Composite Edition
Šulgi D[697]	*Šul.D*_N$_1$ (D)	Ni 4571
Schooldays[698]	*School*_N$_1$ (J)	N 3239

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[688] Miguel Civil, *The Farmer's Instruction: A Sumerian Agricultural Manual.* AuOrS 5. (Barcelona: Editorial AUSA, 1994).

[689] Åke Sjöberg, "Der Vater und sein missratener Sohn," *JCS* 25 (1973), 105-169.

[690] Alhena Gadotti, *›Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Netherworld‹ and the Sumerian Gilgamesh Cycle.* UAVA 10. (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2014).

[691] Mark E. Cohen, *New Treasures of Sumerian Literature: "When the Moon Fell from the Sky" and other works.* (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2017), 11-21.

[692] Thorkild Jacobsen and Samuel N. Kramer, "The Myth of Inanna and Bilulu," *JNES* 12 (1953), 160-188.

[693] Gertrud Farber-Flügge, *Der Mythos 'Inana und Enki' unter besonderer Berucksichtigung der liste der me.* Studia Pohl: Dissertationes Scientificae de Rebus Orientis Antiqui 10. (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1973).

[694] Samiel Noah Kramer, *Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur.* AS 12. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940).

[695] Heinrich Zimmern, "König Lipit-Ištar's Vergöttlichung, ein altsumerisches Lied." In *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, philologisch-historischen Klass 5, 68.* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1916).

[696] Reference for *NMT*_1: Edward Chiera, *Legal and Administrative Documents from Nippur Chiefly from the Dynasties of Isin and Larsa.* PBS 8. (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1914). Reference for *NMT*_2: Thorkild Jacobsen, "An Ancient Mesopotamian Trial for Homicide," in *Studia Biblica et Orientalia. Edita a Pontifico Instituto Biblico ad celebrandum annum L ex quo conditum est institutum 1909-vii maii-1959: Volumen III: Oriens Antiquus.* AnBi 12. (Roma: Pontificium Istitutum Biblicum, 1959), 130-150. *NMT*_3 is unpublished but has been studied in-person by the author.

[697] Jacob Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns: Sumerian Royal Hymns Glorifying King Šulgi of Ur.* (Ramat-Gan, Israel: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1981).

[698] Samuel Noah Kramer, "Schooldays: A Sumerian Composition Relating to the Education of a Scribe," *JAOS* 69 (1949), 199-215.

TABLE A.A.3.4 *Supplemental Literary Compositions (CONT.)*		
Composition Title	**Manuscript Siglum**	**Artifact Identifier**
Sîn-iddinam A[699]	*Sîn-id.A_*Ur$_1$	U 16869
Two Scribes[700]	*2Scr_*N$_1$ (E´)	IM 58540

TABLE A.A.3.5 *Manuscripts Cited from the Proverb Collections*[701]		
Composition Title	**Manuscript Siglum**	**Artifact Identifier**
Proverb 2 Collection 1	*Pr.2.Coll.1_*N$_1$ (F)	CBS 8044
Proverb 9 Collection 1	*Pr.9.Coll.1_*Ur$_1$ (HHH)	UET 6/2 230
Proverb 82 Collection 1	*Pr.82.Coll.1_*N$_2$ (Y)	CBS 13852 + CBS 13861
Proverb 104 Collection 1	*Pr.104.Coll.1_*N$_3$ (A)	Ni 9804 + 4085 + 4432
Proverb 192 Collection 1	*Pr.192.Coll.1_*N$_4$ (WW)	N 5863
Proverb 67 Collection 2	*Pr.67.Coll.2_*N$_5$ (A)	CBS 13980
Proverb 58 Collection 5 (Lion & Fox Fable)	*Pr.58.Coll.5_*X$_1$	YBC 4604
Proverb 71 Collection 5 Version A	*Pr.71.Coll.5.VA_*N$_6$ (A)	CBS 14104

TABLE A.A.3.6 *Miscellaneous*		
Composition Title	**Manuscript Siglum**	**Artifact Identifier**
Enki-manšum and Girini-isag – Dialogue 3	Misc.1_Ur$_1$	U.16838
Barley and Wool Rations (HSS 4 2)	Misc.2_Tello$_1$	HSM 1668
A Sumerian Laws Exercise Tablet (YOS I 28)	Misc.3_WAW$_6$.A.5_Warka$_1$	YBC 2177
Adoption Contract (YOS VIII 120)	Misc.4_BBDCP.45_Larsa$_1$	YBC 5692
Barley Ration (MVN 18 679)	Misc.5_Umma$_1$	MM 1002
Payment of Debts after Harvest (AUCT 2, 13)	Misc.6_N$_1$	AUAM 73.3158
Model Contract	Misc.7_Ur$_2$	YBC 263
Fleecy Sheep Administrative Document (CST_533)	Misc.8_Umma$_2$	JRL 533
Administrative Document (SF 054)	Misc.9_Fara$_1$	VAT 12597
List of Expenditures of Silver (MEE XII 25)	Misc.10_Ebla$_1$	TM.75.G.2236

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[699] Nicole Brische, *Tradition and the Poetics of Innovation. Sumerian Court Literature of the Larsa Dynasty (c. 2003-173 BCE).* AOAT 339. (Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2007).

[700] J. Cale Johnson and Markham J. Geller. *The Class Reunion – An Annotated Translation and Commentary on the Sumerian Dialogue Two Scribes.* CM 47. (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

[701] Bendt Alster, *Proverbs of Ancient Sumer: The World's Earliest Proverb Collections*. 2 volumes. (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1997).

TABLE A.A.3.6 *Miscellaneous (CONT.)*		
Composition Title	**Manuscript Siglum**	**Artifact Identifier**
Text Related to Enthronement (ARET 11, 2)	Misc.11_Ebla$_2$	TM.1975.G.01939 + TM.1975.G.03447 + TM.1975.G.03458 + TM.1975.G.03483 + TM.1975.G.03674 + TM.1975.G.03687 + TM.1975.G.04828 + TM.1975.G.04841 + TM.1975.G.04843 + TM.1975.G.04845 + TM.1975.G.04867 + TM.1975.G.04883 + TM.1975.G.04889 + TM.1975.G.05814 + TM.1975.G.05840 + TM.1975.G.12317 + TM.1975.G.12327 + TM.1975.G.12329 + TM.1975.G.15497 + TM.1975.G.15646 + TM.1975.G.17174 + TM.1975.G.17221d + TM.1975.G.17223l + TM.1975.G.17233o + TM.1975.G.17328 + TM.1975.G.17780 + TM.1975.G.17794 + TM.1975.G.18226 + TM.1975.G.20614 + TM.1975.G.20646 + XXXIX
Mesag Letter (LEM 53)	Misc.12_Tello$_2$	L.7001
Account of Silver for Different Purposes (CUSAS 23, 067)	Misc.13_Umma$_3$	CUNES 51-04-012

A.B.1 INTRODUCTION

As was noted in §3.7, the Asseveratives (both positive and negative) from the principal corpus that were not cited in any chapter are presented here for the sake of thorough exemplification.[702] These examples are listed below without grammatical or textual commentary.

A.B.2 UNCITED ASSEVERATIVES FROM THE PRINCIPAL CORPUS

[A.B.2.1] iri ma-da ki ŋar-ŋar-ra-ŋu$_{10}$ / ha-ma-sug$_2$-sug$_2$-ge-eš-am$_3$

iri	ma-da	ki ŋar-ŋar-ra-ŋu$_{10}$	/
iri	mada=(a)	ki—ŋar:ŋar=a=ŋu=ø	/
city	land=(LOC)	place—to put$_{H.CVR}$^{x2}=PP=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{SBJ}$	/

ha-ma-sug$_2$-sug$_2$-ge-eš-am$_3$
he=mu=*A=sug$_2$:sug$_2$=eš=a=am
MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=to stand$_{M.PL}$^{x2}=ABS$_{3PL.HUM.SBJ}$=NMZ=COP.3SG

It is the case that (with) my cities having been founded in the land, they (i.e., the people) as a result stood for me!

COMPOSITION: *Šulgi A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 44
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Šul.A*_N$_{12}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 10993 + N 2478

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[702] Extended Asseveratives with {naM} are not included in this APPENDIX (all were cited in §5.4.3).

[A.B.2.2] uŋ₃ saŋ gig₂ u₈-gin₇ lu-a / u₆ dug₃ hu-mu-ub-du₈

uŋ₃	saŋ	gig₂		u₈-gin₇
uŋ₃	saŋ	gig₂=(a)=(e)		u₈=gin₇
populace	head	(to be) black=(PP)=(ERG)		ewe=EQU

lu-a		/	u₆	dug₃
lu=a		/	u₆	dug₃=(a)=ø
to be abundant_H=PP		/	admiration	to be good_H=(PP)=ABS_DO

hu-mu-ub-du₈
he=mu=b=du₈=ø
MP_EPI.ASV=CP_TR.ACT=PRO3SG.NHUM.AG=to pile up_H=ABS3SG.DO

The black-headed people – abundant like ewes – indeed heaped up sweet praise (for me)!

COMPOSITION: *Šulgi A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 45
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Šul.A* N₁₂
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 10993 + N 2478

[A.B.2.3] e₂-kiš-nu-⌈ŋal₂⌉-⌈la⌉ ha-ba-an-kur₉-re-en

e₂-kiš-nu-⌈ŋal₂⌉-⌈la⌉	ha-ba-an-kur₉-re-en
E-kišnuŋal=a	he=ba=n=kur₉=en
TN=LOC	MP_EPI.ASV=CP_NTR=PVN=to enter_H=PRO1SG.SBJ

I indeed entered the E-kišnuŋal!

COMPOSITION: *Šulgi A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 48
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Šul.A* N₁₇
MUSEUM NUMBER: IM 58972

[A.B.2.4] e₂ ᵈEN.ZU-na tur₃ i₃ gal-gal-la he₂-ŋal₂-la he₂-bi₂-du₈

e₂	ᵈEN.ZU-na	tur₃	i₃	gal-gal-la
e₂	Suʾen=a(k)=ø	tur₃=ø	i₃	gal:gal=a(m)
house	DN_♂=GEN=ABS_DO	stall=ABS_SBJ	fat	big^{x2}=COP.3SG

he₂-ŋal₂-la	he₂-bi₂-du₈
heŋal=a	he=ba=*I=(e?)=du₈=ø
abundance=LOC_ADV	MP_EPI.ASV=CP_MID=DI_LOC=(PRO1SG.AG)=to pile up_H=ABS3SG.DO

Indeed, I filled the house of Suʾen – it is the stall of great fat – abundantly!

COMPOSITION: *Šulgi A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 49
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Šul.A* N₁₁
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-16-219 + UM 29-16-419 (+) Ni 9754

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[A.B.2.5] [gud] ha-ba-ni-ʾgazˈ ʾuduˈ ha-ba-ni-šar₂

[gud]	ha-ba-ni-ʾgazˈ
[gud=ø]	he=ba=ni=(e?)=gaz=ø
[ox=ABS_DO]	MP_EPI.ASV=CP_MID=DI_LOC=(PRO_1SG.AG)=to kill_H=ABS_3SG.DO

ʾuduˈ	ha-ba-ni-šar₂
udu=ø	he=ba=ni=(e?)=šar₂=ø
sheep=ABS_DO	MP_EPI.ASV=CP_MID=DI_LOC=(PRO_1SG.AG)=to slaughter_H=ABS_3SG.DO

Indeed, I killed [an ox] there! Indeed, I slaughtered a sheep there!

COMPOSITION: *Šulgi A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 49a
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Šul.A* N_III7
MUSEUM NUMBER: Ni 2770

[A.B.2.6] šem₅ ᵏᵘˢ̌a₂-la₂-e šeg₁₁? ha-ba-gi₄

šem₅	ᵏᵘˢ̌a₂-la₂-e	šeg₁₁?
šem₅	ala=e	šeg₁₁=ø
šem-drum	*ala*-drum=LOCTR_SOCV	voice=ABS_DO

ha-ba-gi₄
he=ba=(e?)=gi₄=ø
MP_EPI.ASV=CP_MID=(PRO_1SG.AG)=to return_H.CVR=ABS_3SG.DO

Indeed, I made the *šem*-drum and the *ala*-drum resound!

COMPOSITION: *Šulgi A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 50
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Šul.A* N_I1
MUSEUM NUMBER: UM 29-16-219 + UM 29-16-419 (+) Ni 9754

[A.B.2.7] tigi niŋ₂-dug₃-ge si ha-ba-ni-sa₂

tigi	niŋ₂-dug₃-ge	si
tigi	niŋ₂=dug₃=(a)=e	si=ø
tigi-drum	ABSTR=to be good_H=(PP)=LOCTR_SOCV	horn=ABS_DO

ha-ba-ni-sa₂
he=ba=ni=(e?)=sa₂=ø
MP_EPI.ASV=CP_MID=DI_LOC=(PRO_1SG.AG)=to equal_H.CVR=ABS_3SG.DO

Indeed, I made straight (i.e., set up) the *tigi*-drums – the sweet things – there!

COMPOSITION: *Šulgi A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 51
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Šul.A* N_I5
MUSEUM NUMBER: IM 58499 + IM 58500

[A.B.2.8] ^{d}Šul-gi lu$_2$ niŋ$_2$ lu-lu-a-me-en ninda ŋeš ha-ba-ni-tag

^{d}Šul-gi	lu$_2$	niŋ$_2$	lu-lu-a-me-en
Šulgi	lu$_2$	niŋ$_2$=ø	lu:lu=a=me:en
PN$_♂$	individual	thing=ABS$_{SBJ}$	to be abundant$_H$^{x2}=PP=COP.1SG

ninda	ŋeš
ninda=(a)	ŋeš=ø
bread=(LOC$_{SOCV}$)	tree=ABS$_{DO}$

ha-ba-ni-tag
he=ba=ni=(e$^?$)=tag=ø
MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)=to touch$_{H.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

I am Šulgi, he who multiplies things. Indeed, I made food offerings there!

[A.B.2.9] dub$_3$ he$_2$-ni-gurum ninda hu-mu-ni-gu$_7$

dub$_3$	he$_2$-ni-gam
dub$_3$=ø	he=ni=(e$^?$)=gurum=ø
knee=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)=to bend$_{H.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

ninda	hu-mu-ni-gu$_7$
ninda=ø	he=mu=ni=(e$^?$)=gu$_7$=ø
bread=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)=to eat$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

Indeed, I bowed there! Indeed, I feasted there!

[A.B.2.10] ^{d}nin-imma$_x$ šur$_2$-$^⌈$du$_3$$^⌉$^{mušen}-gin$_7$ ha-ba-zig$_3$-gin$_7$

^{d}nin-imma$_x$	šur$_2$-$^⌈$du$_3$$^⌉$^{mušen}-gin$_7$
ninninnata	šurdu=gin
harrier	falcon=EQU

ha-ba-zig$_3$-gin$_7$
he=ba=zig$_3$=en
MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{NTR.MID}$=to raise$_H$=PRO$_{1SG.SBJ}$

Indeed, like a harrier, like a falcon, I arose!

[A.B.2.11] Nibru^{ki}-še₃ a-la-ŋa₂ ha-ba-an-gur-re-en

Nibru^{ki}-še₃	a-la-ŋa₂
Nibru=še	ala=ŋu=a
GN=TERM	plenty, happiness=POSS.1SG.HUM=LOC

ha-ba-an-gur-re-en
he=ba=n=gur=en
MP_{EPI.ASV}=CP_{NTR.MID}=PVN=to return_Ḫ=PRO_{1SG.SBJ}

Indeed, I returned to Nippur in my vigor!

[A.B.2.12] ud-bi-a ud-de₃ gu₃ he₂-eb-be₂ mar-uru₅ he₂-niŋin

ud-bi-a	ud-de₃	gu₃
ud=bi=a	ud=e	gu₃=ø
day=DEM=LOC	storm=ERG	voice=ABS_{DO}

he₂-eb-be₂	mar-uru₅
he=b=e=e	maruru=ø
MP_{EPI.ASV}=PRO_{3SG.NHUM.DO}=to say_{M.SG.CVR}=PRO_{3SG.AG}	tempest=ABS_{SBJ}

he₂-niŋin
he=niŋin=ø
MP_{EPI.ASV}=to encircle_Ḫ=ABS_{3SG.SBJ}

On that day, the storm indeed roared! The tempest indeed prowled around!

[A.B.2.13] mir-mir-ra ^{tum₉}ulu₃^{lu} murum(UR₅)-bi / ni₂-bi-a hu-mu-un-ša₄

mir-mir-ra	^{tum₉}ulu₃^{lu}	murum(UR₅)-bi
mir:mir=a(k)	ulu₃=(e)	murum=bi=ø
North wind^{x2}=GEN	South wind=(ERG)	ululation=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS_{DO}

/ ni₂-bi-a	hu-mu-un-ša₄
/ ni₂=bi=a	he=mu=n=ša₄=ø
/ self=POSS.3SG.NHUM=LOC	MP_{EPI.ASV}=CP_{TR.ACT}=PRO_{3SG.HUM.AG}=CVVE_{Ḫ.CVR}=ABS_{3SG.DO}

Indeed, the North (and) South winds each murmured to themselves!

[A.B.2.14] nim ŋir$_2$-ŋir$_2$ tum$_9$ 7-bi-da an-⌜ne$_2$⌝ teš$_2$ he$_2$-ni-gu$_7$

nim ŋir$_2$-ŋir$_2$	tum$_9$	7-bi-da
nim—ŋir$_2$:ŋir$_2$=ø=(e)	tum$_9$	7=bi=da
fly—to flash$_H$^{x2}=AP=(ERG)	wind	seven=POSS.3SG.NHUM=CMT

an-⌜ne$_2$⌝	teš$_2$
an=e	teš$_2$
heaven=LOCTR$_{SOCV}$	unity=ABS$_{DO}$

he$_2$-ni-gu$_7$
he=ni=(b)=gu$_7$=ø
MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO3SG.NHUM.AG)=to eat$_H$=ABS3SG.DO

Flashing lightening, together with the seven winds, indeed devoured everything in heaven!

[A.B.2.15] ud te-eš dug$_4$-ga ki$^!$(DI) he$_2$-em-tuku$_4$-tuku$_4$

ud	te-eš dug$_4$-ga	ki$^!$(DI)
ud	teš—dug$_4$=a=(e)	ki=ø
storm	voice—to say$_{H.SG}$=PP=(ERG)	place=ABS$_{DO}$

he$_2$-em-tuku$_4$-tuku$_4$
he=b=tuku$_4$:tuku$_4$=ø
MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=PRO3SG.NHUM.AG=to shake$_H$^{x2}=ABS3SG.DO

Indeed, the roaring storm shook the earth!

[A.B.2.16] ^{d}Iškur-re an niŋ$_2$-daŋal-la-ba gu$_3$ hu-mu-ni-dub$_2$-dub$_2$

^{d}Iškur-re	an	niŋ$_2$-daŋal-la-ba
Iškur=e	an	niŋ$_2$=daŋal=a=bi=a
DN$_♂$=ERG	heaven	ABSTR=to be wide$_H$=PP=DEM=LOC

gu$_3$	hu-mu-ni-dub$_2$-dub$_2$
gu$_3$=ø	he=mu=ni=(n)=dub$_2$:dub$_2$=ø
voice=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to tremble$_{H.CVR}$^{x2}=ABS3SG.DO

Indeed, Iškur roared in the high heavens!

[A.B.2.17] im an-na-ke₄ a ki-ta gu₃ he₂-em-ma-da-ab-la₂

im	an-na-ke₄	a	ki-ta
im	an=ak=e	a	ki=(ak)=ta
rain	heaven=GEN=ERG	water	place=(GEN)=ABL

gu₃	he₂-em-ma-da-ab-la₂
gu₂=ø	he=imma=da=b=la₂=ø
neck=ABS_DO	MP_EPI.ASV=CP_MID=DI_CMT=PRO3SG.NHUM.AG=to hang_H.CVR=ABS3SG.DO

Indeed, the rainstorm of heaven mingled with the water of earth![703]

COMPOSITION: *Šulgi A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 64
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Šul.A* N₁₂
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 10993 + N 2478

[A.B.2.18] murgu-ŋa₂ dub-dab₅ he₂-em-mi-ib-za

murgu-ŋa₂	dub-dab₅
murgu=ŋu=a	dubdab=ø
back=POSS.1SG.HUM=LOC	noise=ABS_DO

he₂-em-mi-ib-za
he=imma=*I=b=za=ø
MP_EPI.ASV=CP_MID=DI_LOC=PRO3SG.NHUM.AG=CVVE_H.CVR=ABS3SG.DO

Indeed, it (i.e, each hailstone) made noise upon my back (bouncing off)!

COMPOSITION: *Šulgi A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 66
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Šul.A* N₁₂
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 10993 + N 2478

[A.B.2.19] lugal-me-en ni₂ ba-ra-ba-da-te / su ba-ra-ba-da-zig₃

lugal-me-en	ni₂
lugal=me:en	ni₂=ø
king=COP.1SG	fear=ABS_DO

ba-ra-ba-da-te	/
bara=ba=da=(e?)=te=ø	/
MP_EPI.NEG.ASSUM=CP_MID=DI_ABIL=(PRO1SG.AG)=to approach_H.CVR=ABS3SG.DO	/

su	ba-ra-ba-da-zig₃
su=ø	bara=ba=da=(e?)=zig₃=ø
flesh=ABS_DO	MP_EPI.NEG.ASSUM=CP_MID=DI_ABIL=(PRO1SG.AG)=to raise_H.CVR=ABS3SG.DO

I am the king, (and therefore) I cannot be scared; / I cannot have gooseflesh.

COMPOSITION: *Šulgi A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 67
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Šul.A*_N₁₁₁23
MUSEUM NUMBER: IM 58530

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[703] The GU₃-sign is interpreted here as an error for gu₂ "neck" as the head noun of the CV gu₂—la₂ "to embrace."

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[A.B.2.20] [piriŋ] banda₃^{da}-gin₇ guru₅^{ru}-uš hu-mu-bur₂-bur₂

[piriŋ]	banda₃^{da}-gin₇	guru₅^{ru}-uš
[piriŋ]	banda₃=gin	guruš=ø
[lion]	junior=EQU	CVNE=ABS$_{DO}$

hu-mu-bur₂-bur₂
he=mu=(e$^?$)=bur₂:bur₂=ø
MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)=to glow$_{H.CVR}$^{x2}=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

Like a young [lion], I indeed charged/bared my teeth(?)!

[A.B.2.21] anše edin-na-gin₇ hub₂-ŋa₂ hu-mu-šu₂-šu₂

anše	edin-na-gin₇	hub₂-ŋa₂
anše	edin=a(k)=gin	hub₂=ŋu=a
donkey	steppe=GEN=EQU	foot=POSS.1SG.HUM=LOC

hu-mu-šuš₂-šuš₂
he=mu=šuš₂:šuš₂=(en)
MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{ACT}$=to cover$_H$^{x2}=(PRO$_{1SG.SBJ}$)

Like a donkey of the steppe, I indeed galloped (lit. covered on my foot?)!

[A.B.2.22] šag₄ [la]-la-ŋal₂-la-ŋu₁₀ kaš₄ hu-mu-ni-gun₃-gun₃

šag₄	[la]-la-ŋal₂-la-ŋu₁₀	kaš₄
šag₄	[la]laŋal=a=ŋu=(a)	kaš₄=ø
heart	to be [j]oyful=PP=POSS.1SG.HUM=(LOC$_{ADV}$)	runner=ABS$_{DO}$

hu-mu-ni-gun₃-gun₃
he=mu=ni=(e$^?$)=gun₃:gun₃=ø
MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)=to be speckled$_{H.CVR}$^{x2}=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

Elatedly, I indeed ran (onwards)![704]

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[704] The restoration of the adverbial locative is validated from other manuscripts. This manuscript, however, has been cited here as it provides the best view of the modal predicate.

[A.B.2.23] saŋ-ur-saŋ-ŋu$_{10}$-ne igi hu-mu-de$_3$-eš-am$_3$

saŋ-ur-saŋ-ŋu$_{10}$-ne	igi
saŋursaŋ=ŋu=ene=e	igi=ø
saŋursaŋ-priest=POSS.1SG.HUM=PL.HUM=ERG	eye=ABS$_{DO}$

hu-mu-de$_3$-eš-am$_3$
he=mu=(n)=du$_8$=eš=a=am
MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=(PRO3PL.HUM.AG)=to loosen$_{H.CVR}$=PRO3PL.HUM.AG=NMZ=COP.3SG

Indeed, it is the case that my *saŋursaŋ*-preists (~cultic performers) caught sight (of me in amazement)![705]

[A.B.2.24] kaskal danna ud 15-am$_3$ šu hu-mu-un-niŋin$_2$

kaskal	danna	ud	15-am$_3$
kaskal	danna	ud	15=am
journey	double-mile	day	fifteen=COP.3SG

šu	hu-mu-un-niŋin$_2$
šu=ø	he=mu=n=niŋin$_2$=ø
hand=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to encircle$_{H.CVR}$^{x2}=ABS3SG.DO

I (wr. he) had indeed traversed a fifteen *danna* distance.[706]

[A.B.2.25] ud 1-a Nibru^{ki} Urim^{ki}-ma / eš$_3$-eš$_3$-bi hu-mu-ak

ud	1-a	Nibru^{ki}	Urim^{ki}-ma	/ eš$_3$-eš$_3$-bi
ud	1=a	Nibru	Urim=a(k)	/ eš$_3$:eš$_3$=bi=ø
day	one=LOC	GN	GN=GEN	/ shrine^{x2}=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS$_{DO}$

hu-mu-ak
he=mu=(e$^?$)=ak=ø
MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=(PRO1SG.AG)=to do$_H$=ABS3SG.DO

In one day, in Nippur (and) Ur, I indeed performed their all-shrines festival!

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[705] The spelling …-de$_3$-eš-… for the sequence …=du$_8$=eš=… is unique to this manuscript. Nonetheless, the interpretation of VR as du$_8$ is validated from parallels. This manuscript was selected for inclusion here regardless of the idiosyncratic spelling because it otherwise gives the fullest picture of the sentence from a Nippur manuscript.

[706] Most other manuscripts do not have the erroneous pronoun before the VR. This manuscript has been cited here because it otherwise provides the best view of the line.

[A.B.2.26] e₂-gal An-ne₂ ki ŋar-ra kaš hu-mu-un-di-ni-naŋ$^!$(KA)

e₂-gal	An-ne₂	ki ŋar-ra	kaš
egal	An=e	ki—ŋar=a	kaš=ø
palace	DN$_\sigma$=ERG	place—to put$_{H.CVR}$=PP	beer=ABS$_{DO}$

hu-mu-un-di-ni-naŋ$^!$(KA)
he=mu=n=da=ni=(e$^?$)=naŋ=ø
MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.IO}$=DI$_{CMT}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)=to drink$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

Indeed, I drank beer in the palace founded by An!

COMPOSITION: *Šulgi A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 77
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Šul.A*_X₁₆
MUSEUM NUMBER: YBC 16156

[A.B.2.27] nar-ŋu₁₀ tigi 7-e šir₃-ŋa₂ ha-ma-ab-dug₄

nar-ŋu₁₀	tigi	7-e
nar=ŋu=(e)	tigi	7=e
singer=POSS.1SG.HUM=(ERG)	*tigi*-drum	seven=LOCTR

šir₃-ŋa₂
šir₃=ŋu=a
song=POSS.1SG.HUM=LOC$_{DO}$

ha-ma-ab-dug₄
he=mu=*A=n(!)=dug₄=ø
MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.1SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to say$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

Indeed, my singer sang my songs for me at (the beat of?) my seven *tigi*-drums![707]

COMPOSITION: *Šulgi A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 78
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Šul.A* Ur₁
MUSEUM NUMBER: UET 6/1, 78 + UET 6/3 *402 + UET 6/3 *403

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[707] This line presents various problems. The case on šir₃ is inconsistent across manuscripts. Furthermore, one could argue that zero-marking for the absolutive direct object would be preferable to any of the attested case markings. Additionally, the pronoun patterning on the verb and the *ḫamṭu*/*marû* status of the VR both vary across manuscripts. Nonetheless, this line clearly has an Asseverative predicate. This line was excerpted from this Ur manuscript because it records the line without any breaks.

[A.B.2.28] gu₇ naŋ-bi-a ha-ma-da-an-tuš-a

    gu₇   naŋ-bi-a

    gu₇=ø   naŋ=ø=bi=a

    to eat$_H$=AP   to drink$_H$=AP=DEM=LOC

    ha-ma-da-an-tuš-a

    he=mu=da=n=tuš=ø=a=a(m)

    MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{ACT}$=DI$_{CMT}$=PVN=to dwell$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.SBJ}$=NMZ=COP.3SG

    During the eating and drinking, it is the case that she indeed sat with me!

[A.B.2.29] ni₂-ŋu₁₀ silim-eš₂-a[m₃] ba-ra-dug₄

    ni₂-ŋu₁₀   silim-še₃-a[m₃]

    ni₂=ŋu=ø   silim=še=a[m]

    self=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$ well-being=TERM$_{ADV}$=COP.[3SG]

    ba-ra-dug₄

    bara=(e$^?$)=dug₄=ø

    MP$_{EPI.NEG.ASV}$=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)=to say$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

    I truly did not praise myself (in a vain manner)!

[A.B.2.30] igi il₂-la-ŋu₁₀ he₂-em-ŋen-e

    igi il₂-la-ŋu₁₀   he₂-em-ŋen-e

    igi—il₂=a=ŋu   he=im=ŋen=e(n)

    eye—to lift$_{H.CVR}$=PP=POSS.1SG.HUM   MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{VEN}$=to go$_{H.SG}$=PRO$_{1SG.SBJ}$

    Concerning where my eyes were cast – I indeed went there!

[A.B.2.31] šag₄-ge ⌜guru₇⌝-⌜ŋa₂⌝ an-ta he₂-eb-gi₄

šag₄-ge	⌜guru₇⌝-⌜ŋa₂⌝			an-ta
šag₄=e=ø	guru₇=(a)=ŋu=a			an=ta
heart=DEM=ABS_SBJ	to heap up_H=(PP)=POSS.1SG.HUM=LOC			heaven=ABL

he₂-eb-gi₄
he=n(!)=gi₄=(en)
MP_EPI.ASV=PVN= to return_H=(PRO1SG.SBJ)

Where(ever) this heart of mine is heaped up (i.e., desires?) – I indeed arrived(?) there!

[A.B.2.32] An-ne₂ aga [zid] mah saŋ-ŋa₂ he₂-em-mi-gen₆^en

An-ne₂	aga	[zid]	mah	saŋ-ŋa₂
An=e	aga	[zid]	mah=ø	saŋ=ŋu=a
DN_♂=ERG	crown	[true]	great=ABS_DO	head=POSS.1SG.HUM=LOC

he₂-em-mi-gen₆^en
he=imma=*I=(n)=gen₆=ø
MP_EPI.ASV=CP_MID=DI_LOC=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to establish_H=ABS3SG.DO

Indeed, An made firm the [true] lofty crown on my head!

[A.B.2.33] e₂-kur za-gin₃-na ^ŋeš ŋidru ha-ba-dab₅-am₃

e₂-kur	za-gin₃-na	^ŋeš ŋidru
Ekur	zagin=a	ŋidru=ø
TN	lustrous=LOC	scepter=ABS_DO

ha-ba-dab₅-am₃
he=ba=(e?)=dab₅=ø=a=am
MP_EPI.ASV=CP_MID=(PRO1SG.AG)=to seize_H=ABS3SG.DO=NMZ=COP.3SG

In the lustrous Ekur, it is the case that I indeed seized the scepter!

[A.B.2.34] barag babbar ^{ŋeš}gu-za suhuš gen$_6$-na saŋ an-še$_3$ ha-ba-il$_2$'(AB)

barag	babbar	^{ŋeš}gu-za	suhuš	gen$_6$-na
barag	babbar=(a)	guza	suhuš	gen$_6$=a=a
dais	(to be) white$_H$=(PP)	throne	foundation	to establish$_H$=PP=LOC

saŋ	an-še$_3$	ha-ba-il$_2$'(AB)
saŋ=ø	an=še$_3$	he=ba=(e$^?$)=il$_2$=ø
head=ABS$_{DO}$	heaven=TERM	MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{MID}$=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)=to lift$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

On a shining dais, a throne of firm foundation, I indeed lifted (my) head towards heaven!

COMPOSITION: *Šulgi A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 86
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Šul.A* X$_1$
MUSEUM NUMBER: A 7533

[A.B.2.35] nam-lugal-la a$_2$ hu-mu-⌜ni⌝-⌜mah$^?$⌝

nam-lugal-la	a$_2$
nam=lugal=a	a$_2$=ø
ABSTR=king=LOC$_{SOCV}$	arm=ABS$_{DO}$

hu-mu-⌜ni⌝-⌜mah$^?$⌝
he=mu=ni=(e$^?$)=mah=ø
MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)=to be great$_{H.CVR}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

Indeed, I strengthened/consolidated (my) kingship!

COMPOSITION: *Šulgi A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 87
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Šul.A* X$_1$
MUSEUM NUMBER: A 7533

[A.B.2.36] kur hu-mu-gurum-gurum kalam hu-mu-gen$_6$^{en}-gen$_6$^{en}

kur	hu-mu-gam-gam
kur=ø	he=mu=(e$^?$)=gurum:gurum=ø
land=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)=to bend$_H$^{x2}=ABS$_{DO}$

kalam	hu-mu-gen$_6$^{en}-gen$_6$^{en}
kalam=ø	he=mu=(e$^?$)=gen$_6$:gen$_6$=ø
land=ABS$_{DO}$	MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)=to establish$_H$^{x2}=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

Indeed, I subjugated all the foreign lands! Indeed, I fortified all the land (of Sumer)!

COMPOSITION: *Šulgi A*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 88
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Šul.A*_X$_1$
MUSEUM NUMBER: A 7533

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

[A.B.2.37] šag₄ ⌜tur₃⌝-bi-ta ŋiri₃ he₂-eb₂-ta-an-ze₂-er

šag₄	⌜tur₃⌝-bi-ta	ŋiri₃
šag₄	tur₃=bi=ta	ŋiri₃=ø
heart	cattle-pen=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABL	feet=ABS_DO

he₂-eb₂-ta-an-ze₂-er
he=b=ta=n=zir=ø
MP_EPI.ASV=PRO3SG.NHUM.IO=DI_ABL=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to destroy_H=ABS3SG.DO

Indeed, one removed it (i.e., responsible care) from its sheepfolds!

[A.B.2.38] ŋi₆-par₃ kug-ŋa₂ hu-mu-e-ši-in-kur₉-re

ŋi₆-par₃	kug-ŋa₂
ŋipar	kug=ŋu=a
cloister	holy=POSS.1SG.HUM=LOC

hu-mu-e-ši-in-kur₉-re
he=mu=e=ši=n=kur₉=e(n)
MP_EPI.ASV=CP_ACT.EMPY=PRO1SG.IO=DI_TERM=PVN=to enter_H=PRO1SG.SBJ

Indeed, I myself entered into my *ŋipar*!

[A.B.2.39] [e₂]-ᴦbiꜞ la-la-bi ba-ra-mu-ᴦgi₄ꜞ / hi-li-bi ba-ra-mu-un-til

    [e₂]-ᴦbiꜞ   la-la-bi
    [e₂]=bi=(e)   lala=bi=ø
    [temple]=DEM=(ERG)   plenty=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS_DO

    ba-ra-mu-ᴦgi₄ꜞ   /
    bara=mu=(n)=gi₄=ø   /
    MP_EPI.NEG.ASV=CP_TR.ACT=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to return_tₜ=ABS3SG.DO   /

    hi-li-bi
    hili=bi=ø
    luxuriousness=POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS_DO

    ba-ra-mu-un-til
    bara=mu=n=til=ø
    MP_EPI.NEG.ASV=CP_TR.ACT=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to finish_tₜ=ABS3SG.DO

Concerning that [temple], the one whose attractions/plenty one indeed could not exhaust, / whose beauty one indeed could not completely (take in) – / (he indeed turned that temple into a ruined temple)!

[A.B.2.40] e₂-bi hul-a hu-mu-un-di-ni-in-kur₉

    e₂-bi   hul-a
    e₂=bi=ø   hul=a=a
    temple=DEM=ABS_DO   to be bad_tₜ=PP=LOC

    hu-mu-un-di-ni-in-kur₉
    he=mu=n=da=ni=n=kur₉=ø
    MP_EPI.ASV=CP_TR.ACT=PRO3SG.HUM.IO=DI_CMT=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to enter_tₜ=ABS3SG.DO

He indeed turned that temple into a ruined temple!

[A.B.2.41] lagar-bi šu silim-ma he₂-du₇-am₃

lagar-bi			šu	silim-ma
lagar=bi=(e)			šu=ø	silim=a
lagar-priest=POSS.3SG.NHUM=(ERG)			hand=ABS_DO	well-being=LOC

he₂-du₇-am₃
he=(n)=du₇=ø=a=am
MP_EPI.ASV=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to push_H.CVR=ABS3SG.DO=NMZ=COP.3SG

Indeed, its *lagar*-priest is perfect in well-being!

COMPOSITION: *Enlil in the Ekur*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 57
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *EnlEk*_N16
MUSEUM NUMBER: IM 58420

[A.B.2.42] engar gana₂ daŋal-la he₂-du₇-am₃

engar	gana₂	daŋal-la	)šu(
engar=(e)	gana₂	daŋal=a=a	)šu=ø(
farmer=(ERG)	field	to be wide_H=PP=LOC_SOCV	)hand=ABS_DO(

he₂-du₇-am₃
he=(n)=du₇=ø=a=am
MP_EPI.ASV=(PRO3SG.HUM.AG)=to push_H.CVR=ABS3SG.DO=NMZ=COP.3SG

The farmer, he who is indeed suited for the wide field / (comes with great food offerings, as he has been known to do!)

COMPOSITION: *Enlil in the Ekur*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 62
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *EnlEk*_NIII10
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 14152

[A.B.2.43] [tigi niŋ₂]-dug₃-ge si ha-ba-ni-ib₂-sa₂

[tigi	niŋ₂]-dug₃-ge		si
[tigi	niŋ₂]=dug₃=(a)=e		si=ø
[*tigi*-drum	ABSTR]=to be good_H=(PP)=LOCTR_SOCV		horn=ABS_DO

ha-ba-ni-ib₂-sa₂
he=ba=ni=b=sa₂=ø
MP_EPI.ASV=CP_MID=DI_LOC=PRO3SG.NHUM.AG=to equal_H.CVR=ABS3SG.DO

[The *tigi*-drum], the perfect [thing], is indeed set straight (well-tuned?)!

COMPOSITION: *Keš Temple Hymn*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 116a
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *KTH*_NIII14
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 11876

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[A.B.2.44] šag₄ ni₂-ba-ke₄ ad ha-ba-ni-ib-ša₄

šag₄	ni₂-ba-ke₄	ad
šag₄	ni₂=bi=ak=e	ad=ø
heart	self=POSS.3SG.NHUM=GEN=ERG	voice=ABS_DO

ha-ba-ni-ib-ša₄
he=ba=ni=b=ša₄=ø
MP_EPI.ASV=CP_MID=DI_LOC=PRO3SG.NHUM.AG=CVVE_H.CVR=ABS3SG.DO

"Each instrument indeed resounded by itself!"[708]

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Enki's Journey to Nippur*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 65
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *EJN_*N_I2
MUSEUM NUMBER: Ni 4382

</div>

[A.B.2.45] nar 7-e ad he₂-em-mi-ib-⸢ša₄⸣

nar	7-e	ad
nar	7=e	ad
singer	seven=ERG	voice=ABS_DO

he₂-em-mi-ib-⸢ša₄⸣
he=imma=*I=b=ša₄=ø
MP_EPI.ASV=CP_MID=DI_LOC=PRO3SG.NHUM.AG=CVVE_H.CVR=ABS3SG.DO

"Indeed, the septet sang!"[709]

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Enki's Journey to Nippur*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 67
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *EJN_*N_III1
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 4916 + UM 29-16-184

</div>

<div align="center">

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[708] A list of multiple instruments precedes this line. Yet the morphology of this line seems to indicate that the agent is singular, hence the translation "each."

[709] Because the seven singers are cross-referenced with a singular inanimate pronoun on the verb, it was decided to translate the agent as a collective (i.e., "septet").

[A.B.2.46] An lugal šu-ŋu₁₀ he₂-em-šum₂ a₂-[bi ...]

An	lugal	šu-ŋu₁₀
An	lugal=ø	šu=ŋu=ø
DN♂	king=VOC	hand=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS_DO

he₂-em-šum₂
he=im(ma)=(e)=šum₂=ø
MP_EPI.ASV=CP_MID=(PRO2SG.AG)=to give_H.CVR=ABS3SG.DO

a₂-[bi	...]
a₂=[bi=ø$^?$	...]
arm=[POSS.3SG.NHUM=ABS_DO$^?$	...]

"Oh King An, you have indeed entrusted all this to me, (and?) [...]!"[710]

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Inana and Ebih*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 78
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IEb*_N17
MUSEUM NUMBER: A 30271 + A 30241

</div>

[A.B.2.47] [lugal]-˹la˺ zid-da-na he₂-ni-in-kur₉-re-˹en$^?$˺ / ki-bala gul-gul-lu-˹de₃$^?$˺

[lugal]-˹la˺	zid-da-na
[lugal]=a(k)	zid=ani=a
[king]=GEN	right=POSS.3SG.HUM=LOC

he₂-ni-in-kur₉-re-˹en$^?$˺	/	ki-bala
he=ni=n=kur₉=en	/	kibala=ø
MP_EPI.ASV=DI_LOC=PVN=to enter_H=PRO2SG.SBJ	/	rebel land=ABS_DO

gul-gul-lu-˹de₃$^?$˺
gul:gul=ed=e
to destroy_H^{x2}=PURP=LOCTR

"Indeed, you (wr. he) placed me at the right hand of the [king] / in order to destroy rebel lands!"

<div align="right">

COMPOSITION: *Inana and Ebih*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 79
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IEb*_NP1
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 7206 + Ni 2711

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EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[710] All manuscripts are too broken to translate the second clause presumably present in this line.

[A.B.2.48] ur$_5$-gin$_7$ hu-mu-na-ab-be$_2$-a-ka

ur$_5$-gin$_7$
ur$_5$=gin
DEM=EQU

hu-mu-na-ab-be$_2$-a-ka
he=mu=na=b=e=e=a=ak=a
MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to say$_{M.SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$=NMZ=GEN=LOC

Thus, he speaks to her!

COMPOSITION: *Inana and Ebih*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 128
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IEb* N$_{P2}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: Ni 9725

[A.B.2.49] bar-bi-a dub he$_2$-em-mi-ib-za

bar-bi-a	dub
bar=bi=a	dub(dab)=ø
outside=POSS.3SG.NHUM=LOC	noise=ABS$_{DO}$

he$_2$-em-mi-ib-za
he=imma=*I=b=za=ø
MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{MID}$=DI$_{LOC}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.AG}$=CVVE$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

(The rocks themselves forming the body of Ebih) / indeed clattered down its flanks!

COMPOSITION: *Inana and Ebih*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 144
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *IEb* X$_5$
MUSEUM NUMBER: PUL 551

[A.B.2.50] [sa]-⸢par$_4$⸣-ra-ni igi-te-en he$_2$-a kalam⸢-ma⸣ mu-na-an-la$_2$

[sa]-⸢par$_4$⸣-ra-ni	igi-te-en	he$_2$-a
[sa]par=ani=ø	igiten=ø	he=a(m)
[bat]tle-net=POSS.3SG.HUM=ABS$_{DO}$	mesh=ABS$_{SBJ}$	MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=COP.3SG

kalam⸢-ma⸣	mu-na-an-la$_2$
kalam=a	mu=na=n=la$_2$=ø
land=LOC	CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to hang$_H$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

Her [bat]tle-net – indeed, it is one of fine mesh! – one casts over the land for her.

COMPOSITION: *Nungal Hymn*
COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 38
MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: *Nu* N$_{I1}$
MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 13931 + UM 29-16-49

[A.B.2.51] ur$_5$-gin$_7$ ⌈hu⌉-⌈mu⌉-na-ab-be$_2$-a-ka

      ur$_5$-gin$_7$

      ur$_5$=gin

      DEM=EQU

      ⌈hu⌉-⌈mu⌉-na-ab-be$_2$-a-ka

      he=mu=na=b=e=e=a=ak=a

      MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.NHUM.DO}$=to say$_{M.SG}$=PRO$_{3SG.AG}$=NMZ=GEN=LOC

      Because he *really* spoke to him like this, / (…)![711]

[A.B.2.52] Lu$_2$-^{d}Nin-ŋir$_2$-su-ka mi$_2$-us$_2$-sa$_2$-zu mi$_2$-us$_2$-sa$_2$-ŋu$_{10}$ ba-ra-me / in-na-ni-dug$_4$-ga

      Lu$_2$-^{d}Nin-ŋir$_2$-su-ka   mi$_2$-us$_2$-sa$_2$-zu

      Lu-Ninŋirsu=ak=a(k)   mussa=zu

      PN$_♂$=GEN=GEN   son-in-law=POSS.2SG.HUM

      mi$_2$-us$_2$-sa$_2$-ŋu$_{10}$ ba-ra-me   /

      mussa=ŋu=ø   bara=me   /

      son-in-law=POSS.1SG.HUM=ABS$_{SBJ}$ MP$_{EPI.NEG.ASV}$=COP.3SG   /

      in-na-ni-dug$_4$-ga

      i=na=ni=(n)=dug$_4$=ø=a

      CP$_{NEUT}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=DI$_{LOC}$=(PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$)=to say$_{H.SG}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

      (He swore,) / that he said to him/her, / "Concerning your son-in-law Lu-Ninŋirsu, he is *not* my son-in-law!"

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[711] This line comes after Huwawa has insulted Enkidug. The Asseverative adds a layer of tension to the narrative and provides an explanation for Enkidug's decision to slit Huwawa's throat.

[A.B.2.53] ud ul-li₂-a-ta / lugal-lugal-a-ni-ir / lugal na-me / ba-ra-an-dim₂-ma

ud	ul-li₂-a-ta	/	lugal-lugal-a-ni-ir
ud	ulli=a=ta	/	lugal:lugal=ani=r(a)
day	to be distant (in time)$_{H}$=PP=ABL	/	king^{x2}=POSS.3SG.HUM=DAT

/	lugal	na-me	/
/	lugal	name=(e)	/
/	king	somebody=(ERG)	/

ba-ra-an-dim₂-ma
bara=n=dim₂=ø=a=ø
MP$_{EPI.NEG.ASV}$=PRO$_{3SG.HUM.AG}$=to fashion$_{H}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$=SUBR+NMZ=ABS$_{DO}$

That which from time immemorial no king among the kings had built, / (I indeed grandly built it for Šamaš, my king)![712]

[A.B.2.54] ᵈUtu lugal-ŋa₂ / gal-bi hu-mu-na-du₃

ᵈUtu	lugal-ŋa₂	/
Utu	lugal=ŋu=a	/
DN$_{♂}$	king=POSS.1SG.HUM=LOC	/

gal-bi	hu-mu-na-du₃
gal=bi	he=mu=na=(e$^?$)=du₃=ø
big=DEM$_{ADV}$	MP$_{EPI.ASV}$=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=(PRO$_{1SG.AG}$)=to build$_{H}$=ABS$_{3SG.DO}$

(That which from time immemorial no king among the kings had built), / I indeed grandly built it for Šamaš, my king![713]

EXAMPLES CONTINUE ON FOLLOWING PAGE

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[712] Because it would add little to the argumentation, the corresponding Akkadian will not be cited here with full glossing. Rather, the transcription will be provided with only the predicate parallel to the Sumerian Asseverative normalized and glossed (bolded in transcription): (46) *ša iš-tu u₄-um ṣi-a-tim* (47) *šar-ru in* LUGAL-*ri* (48) *ma-na-ma **la i-pu-šu*** [*lā īpušu* = NEG.ASV to build:G.PRET.3.COMM.SG.SUBR] (COMPOSITION: *RIME 4.3.6.2 (Ḫammu-rāpi)*; LINE NUMBER: 46-48; MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: Ḫammu-rāpi_1.1_A; MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 11).

[713] Because it would add little to the argumentation, the corresponding Akkadian will not be cited here with full glossing. Rather, the transcription will be provided with only the predicate parallel to the Sumerian Asseverative normalized and glossed (bolded in transcription): (49) *a-na* ᵈUTU *be-li-ia* (50) *ra-bi-iš **lu e-pu-ús-súm*** [*lū ēpussum* = ASV to build:G.PRET.1.COMM.SG.DAT.3.MASC.SG] (COMPOSITION: *RIME 4.3.6.2 (Ḫammu-rāpi)*; LINE NUMBER: 49-50; MANUSCRIPT SIGLUM: Ḫammu-rāpi_1.1_A; MUSEUM NUMBER: CBS 11).

[A.B.2.55] niŋ₂ ud ul-li₂-a-ta / šeg₁₂ e₂-babbar-ra / ba-dim₂-ma-ta / lugal IGI.DU-ne-ne-er /
lugal na-me / ᵈUtu ba-ra-mu-un-ši-in-še-ga-am₃ / bad₃ Zimbirᵏⁱ /
nu-mu-na-ta-an-du₃-am₃

niŋ₂	ud	ul-li₂-a-ta	/	šeg₁₂
niŋ₂	ud	ul-li₂-a-ta	/	šeg₁₂
thing	day	to be distant (in time)$_{tt}$=PP=ABL	/	brickwork

e₂-babbar-ra	/ ba-dim₂-ma-ta	/
E-babbar=a(k)=ø	/ ba=dim₂=ø=a=ta	/
TN=GEN=ABS$_{SBJ}$	/ CP$_{PASS}$=to fashion$_{tt}$=ABS3SG.SBJ=SUBR+NMZ=ABL	/

lugal	IGI.DU-ne-ne-er	/ lugal	na-me	/	ᵈUtu
lugal	IGI.DU=ene=r(a)	/ lugal	name=(e)	/	Utu
king	?=PL.HUM=DAT	/ king	somebody=(ERG)	/	DN♂

ba-ra-mu-un-ši-in-še-ga-am₃
bara=mu=n=ši=n=šeg=ø=a=am
MP$_{EPI.NEG.ASV}$=CP$_{TR.ACT}$=PRO3SG.HUM.IO=DI$_{TERM}$=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to be in
agreement$_{tt}$=ABS3SG.DO=SUBR+NMZ=COP.3SG

/	bad₃	Zimbirᵏⁱ	/
/	bad₃	Zimbir=ø	/
/	wall	GN=ABS$_{DO}$	/

nu-mu-na-ta-an-du₃-am₃
nu=mu=na=ta=n=du₃=ø=a=am
NEG=CP$_{TR.ACT.EMPY}$=DI$_{DAT.3SG}$=DI$_{ABL}$=PRO3SG.HUM.AG=to
build$_{tt}$=ABS3SG.DO=SUBR+NMZ=COP.3SG

(Now), from the time when / the brickwork of the E-babbar / was (first)
constructed, / (since), among the former kings, / Utu/Šamaš indeed favored / none
of them / (and consequently) no one built the wall of Sippar for him, / (…)![714]

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[714] Because it would add little to the argumentation, the corresponding Akkadian will not be cited here with full
glossing. Rather, the transcription will be provided with only the predicate parallel to the Sumerian Asseverative
normalized and glossed (bolded in transcription): (55) *ša iš-tu u₄-um ṣi-a-tim* (56) *iš-tu* ŠEG₁₂ *é-babbar* (57) *ib-ba-
ni-ù* (58) *in* LUGAL *maḫ-ra* (59) LUGAL *ma-am-ma-an* (60) ᵈUTU ***la im-gu-ru-ma*** [*lā imgurūma* = NEG.ASV to
agree:G.PRET.3.COMM.SG.SUBR.CONJ] (COMPOSITION: *RIME 4.3.7.3 (Samsu-iluna)*; COMPOSITE LINE NUMBER: 55-60; MANUSCRIPT
SIGLUM: Samsu-iluna_1.1_A ; MUSEUM NUMBER: BM 102404).

INDEX: CITED SUMERIAN VERBS

This index provides references for all Sumerian verbs cited in this dissertation. Entries are ordered alphabetically by their first constituent (i.e., CVs are ordered by the first letter of their head noun, not of the VR). This list includes all cited verbs, modal and nonmodal, finite and nonfinite, etc. For suppletive verbs and partial reduplication *marû* verbs, these entries are listed separately from the related *ḫamṭu* forms (ex., the *marû* form of ŋar is listed under ŋa₂:ŋa₂, not ŋar).

a—de₂	"water"—"to pour"	[3.152]
a—tu₅	"water"—CVVE	[3.13], [3.105]
a₂—aŋ₂	"arm"—"to measure"	[4.139], [4.140], [5.106], [6.4], [6.4], [7.39], [7.39]
a₂—bař	"arm"—"to open"	[3.113]
a₂—ŋar	"arm"—"to put"	[4.320]
a₂—mah	"arm"—"to be great"	[A.B.2.35]
a₂—šuř	"arm"—"to be distant"	[3.104]
ad—gi₄	"voice"—"to return"	[4.35], [4.133], [5.118], [A.B.2.44]
ad—ša₄	"voice"—CVVE	[A.B.2.45]
ak	"to do"	[3.19], [3.20], [3.33], [3.54], [3.68], [3.115], [3.139], [4.56], [4.57], [4.89], [4.205], [4.222], [4.239], [4.253], [4.298], [4.339], [4.348], [4.349], [4.350], [4.352], [4.353], [4.355], [4.356], [4.357], [4.359], [4.369], [4.370], [5.63], [5.65], [5.69], [5.74], [5.120], [5.120], [A.B.2.25]
al—dug₄	"hoe"—"to speak"	[4.166]
ba	"to allot"	[4.58], [4.73], [4.153], [7.32]
ba'al	"to dig"	[3.116]
babbar	"(to be) white"	[A.B.2.34]

bad	"to thresh"	[4.211], [4.212]
bař	"to open"	[5.37], [5.38], [5.113]
bala	"to turn"	[3.25], [4.22], [5.76]
bala	"to detain"	[3.32]
bar—ak	"outside"—"to do"	[4.187]
bil$_2$	"to rotate"	[4.276], [7.9]
buř$_x$	"to tear out"	[3.34], [4.286], [4.290], [4.305]
bur$_2$	"to reveal"	[3.87], [4.36], [4.134], [7.3]
bur$_3$	"to breach"	[4.26]
burud	"to be deep"	[4.321]
dab$_5$	"to seize"	[4.20], [4.94], [4.95], [4.179], [4.231], [4.295], [4.313], [4.325], [5.6], [5.9], [5.49], [5.64], [5.69], [5.80], [7.7], [7.24], [A.B.2.33]
dadag	"to be radiant"	[4.243]
dadara	"to be tied"	[4.170]
daŋal	"to be wide"	[4.99], [4.140], [4.271], [A.B.2.16], [A.B.2.42]
dal	"to fly"	[3.103]
dar	"to split"	[5.8], [5.82]
de$_2$	"to pour"	[3.128], [4.146], [4.146]
de$_6$	"to bring" (*H*.SG)	[3.49], [3.53], [3.108], [3.120], [3.146], [3.152], [4.76], [4.250], [5.53], [5.64], [5.68], [7.13]
deg$_x$	"to destroy"	[4.286], [4.291]
di—dug$_4$ (e)	"lawsuit"—"to say"	[3.56] *H*.PL.CVR (e), [3.117] *M*.SG.CVR (e), [7.12] *M*.SG.CVR (e)

di—kuř	"lawsuit"—"to cut"	[3.153]
dib	"to go along"	[4.210]
dim$_2$	"to fashion"	[4.117], [4.158], [4.198], [4.199], [5.62], [A.B.2.53], [A.B.2.55]
dirig	"to exceed"	[4.213], [5.66], [5.86], [5.115]
du	"to go" (M.SG)	[3.152], [4.37], [4.94], [4.210], [4.307], [4.307], [4.308], [4.319], [4.341], [5.110]
DU.DU	"to go, take" (?)	[4.93]
du$_3$	"to build"	[#.###], [3.35], [3.58], [3.62], [3.99], [3.140], [4.139], [4.157], [4.227], [4.257], [4.269], [4.275], [4.301], [4.308], [5.40], [5.62], [5.62], [5.66], [5.68], [5.69], [5.79], [5.87], [5.111], [7.26], [A.B.2.54], [A.B.2.55]
du$_7$	"to be fitting"	[3.106], [3.107], [3.108], [3.120], [5.52], [5.84]
du$_8$	"to ransom"	[3.36], [3.119], [3.141], [7.14]
du$_8$	"to loosen"	[4.28], [4.170], [4.312], [5.49]
du$_8$	"to pile up"	[5.86], [A.B.2.2], [A.B.2.4]
dub$_3$—bař	"knee"—"to open"	[5.108]
dub$_3$—dub$_2$	"knee"—"to tremble"	[3.13], [3.104], [3.105]
dub$_3$—gurum	"knee"—"to bend"	[A.B.2.9]
dubdab—za	"noise"—CVVE	[A.B.2.18], [A.B.2.49]
dug$_3$	"to be good"	[4.66], [4.109], [4.111], [4.113], [4.141], [4.156], [5.53], [5.120], [A.B.2.2], [A.B.2.7], [A.B.2.43]
dug$_4$	"to say" (H.SG)	[3.12], [3.14], [3.16], [3.36], [3.37], [3.41], [3.44], [3.60], [3.61], [3.79], [3.80], [3.82], [3.87], [3.119],

[3.120], [3.122], [3.140], [3.143],
[3.147], [4.19], [4.25], [4.57], [4.67],
[4.68], [4.76], [4.78], [4.96], [4.96],
[4.114], [4.115], [4.116], [4.117],
[4.118], [4.119], [4.120], [4.138],
[4.158], [4.208], [4.209], [4.210],
[4.231], [4.232], [4.233], [4.236],
[4.236], [4.238], [4.239], [4.240],
[4.242], [4.243], [4.244], [4.245],
[4.264], [4.266], [4.267], [4.268],
[4.312], [4.323], [4.323], [5.1], [5.2],
[5.2], [5.8], [5.28], [5.29], [5.69],
[5.74], [5.82], [5.121], [7.3], [7.8],
[7.10], [7.14], [7.16], [7.16],
[A.B.2.27], [A.B.2.29], [A.B.2.52]

dugud	"to be heavy"	[6.2], [7.28]
duru$_5$	"to be fresh"	[3.111]
e	"to say" ($_{M.SG/PL}$)	[3.14], [3.42], [3.131], [4.56], [4.86], [4.132], [4.205], [4.241], [4.310], [4.351], [4.354], [5.4], [5.21], [5.22], [5.23], [5.24], [5.25], [5.26], [5.28], [5.29], [5.121], [7.21], [A.B.2.48], [A.B.2.51]
e$_3$	"to go out" ($_H$)	[3.25], [3.26], [3.152], [4.176], [4.233], [4.321], [5.40], [5.43], [5.44], [5.45], [5.59], [5.119]
e$_{11}$	"to go down"	[3.152]
ed$_2$	"to go out" ($_M$)	[3.12], [3.45], [3.46], [3.47], [4.188], [4.319]
en—tar	CVNE—"to cut"	[3.39], [3.81]
ennuŋ—ak	"imprisonment"—"to do"	[5.76]
er$_2$—pad$_3$	"tear"—"to find"	[4.333]
gal	"to be big"	[3.32], [3.64], [3.99], [5.110]

gaz	"to kill"	[3.50], [3.68], [3.68], [3.69], [3.70], [4.294], [7.1], [A.B.2.5]
gen_6	"to establish"	[3.95], [3.99], [4.141], [4.340], [4.344], [5.120], [A.B.2.32], [A.B.2.34], [A.B.2.36]
gi_4	"to return"	[3.23], [3.24], [3.36], [3.51], [3.60], [3.61], [3.118], [3.119], [3.141], [3.143], [4.61], [4.62], [4.64], [4.65], [4.95], [4.192], [4.193], [4.297], [4.297], [4.314], [4.334], [5.5], [5.52], [5.52], [5.52], [5.69], [7.14], [A.B.2.31], [A.B.2.39]
gid_2	"to drag"	[3.142]
gid_2	"to be long"	[4.320]
gig_2	"(to be) black"	[A.B.2.2]
gilim	"to cross"	[4.181], [5.10], [5.114]
gu_2—la_2	"neck"—"to hang"	[3.109], [A.B.2.17]
gu_2—zig_3	"neck"—"to raise"	[4.335]
gu_3—de_2	"voice"—"to pour"	[3.54], [3.139], [4.32], [4.107], [4.204]
gu_3—dub_2	"voice"—"to tremble"	[A.B.2.16]
gu_3—dug_4	"voice"—"to say"	[4.29], [A.B.2.12]
gu_3—mur	"voice"—CVVE	[5.65]
gu_7	"to eat"	[3.126], [3.126], [4.21], [4.102], [4.160], [4.160], [A.B.2.9], [A.B.2.14], [A.B.2.28]
gub	"to stand" ($_{H/M.SG}$)	[3.40], [3.40], [3.41], [3.59], [3.100], [3.120], [3.151], [4.59], [4.101], [4.108], [4.142], [4.173], [4.190], [4.190], [4.202], [4.216], [4.217], [4.219], [4.226], [4.228], [4.228], [4.230], [4.230], [4.236], [4.247],

		[4.248], [4.260], [4.260], [4.296], [4.323], [4.340], [5.56], [5.57], [5.61], [7.16], [7.23], [7.33], [7.35]
gul	"to destroy"	[3.39], [3.81], [4.33], [4.106], [4.337], [5.69], [A.B.2.47],
gul(a)	"to be big"	[3.38], [5.60], [5.65]
gun₃	"to be multicolored"	[4.105]
gur	"to lift"	[3.98]
gur	"to return"	[A.B.2.11]
guru₇	"to heap up"	[A.B.2.31]
gurum	"to bend"	[A.B.2.36]
guruš—bur₂	CVNE—"to glow"	[A.B.2.20]
ŋa₂:ŋa₂	"to put" (_M_)	[3.28], [3.48], [3.122], [3.142], [4.143], [4.145], [4.327]
ŋal₂	"to exist"	[3.10], [3.126], [3.126], [4.61], [4.61], [4.62], [4.62], [4.64], [4.64], [4.65], [4.65], [4.162], [4.277], [4.279], [4.298], [4.299], [4.399], [4.345], [4.346], [4.347]
ŋala—dag	CVNE—"to cease"	[4.169]
ŋar	"to put" (_H_)	[3.51], [3.100], [3.114], [3.122], [4.60], [4.117], [4.167], [4.228], [4.259], [4.268], [5.69], [5.69]
ŋen	"to go" (_H.SG_)	[1.4], [4.70], [4.71], [4.214], [5.55], [5.78], [5.115], [A.B.2.30]
ŋeš—gaz	"tree"—"to kill"	[5.120]
ŋeš—tag	"tree"—"to touch"	[A.B.2.8]
ŋeš—tuku	"tree"—"to get"	[3.70], [7.1]
ŋeštug—gub	"ear"—"to stand"	[3.114], [5.50], [5.51]

ŋeštug—ŋal₂	"ear"—"to exist"	[5.68]
ŋišₓ/₃—dug₄ (e)	"penis"—"to say"	[5.7] M.SG (e), [5.11] M.SG (e), [5.81] M.SG (e)
ŋiš₃—sur	"penis"—"to press"	[5.77], [7.38]
halam	"to destroy"	[3.27], [4.171], [4.286], [4.287], [4.287], [4.290], [4.306]
hi	"to mix"	[4.151], [4.151]
hub₂—šuš₂	"foot"—"to cover"	[4.249], [A.B.2.21]
hub₂—sar	"foot"—"to hasten"	[4.218]
huŋ	"to hire"	[4.194], [7.37]
huŋ	"to pacify"	[3.149]
hul	"to destroy"	[5.79]
hul	"to be bad"	[A.B.2.40]
hul—gig	"bad"—"to be sick"	[5.86]
hul₂	"to be joyful"	[5.58]
huš	"to be angry"	[3.129], [4.100], [4.103], [5.27], [5.88]
igi—bar	"eye"—CVVE	[4.177], [4.183], [4.185], [4.320], [4.338], [7.19],
igi—du₈	"eye"—"to loosen"	[3.63], [4.70], [5.65], [A.B.2.23]
igi—il₂	"eye"—"to lift"	[3.104], [A.B.2.30]
igi—kar₂	"eye"—"to blow"	[3.56]
igi—pad₃	"eye"—"to find"	[4.181]
il₂	"to lift"	[4.100], [4.139], [4.178], [4.278], [5.39], [5.66], [5.76], [5.109], [5.120], [7.22], [A.B.2.34]

inim—gi₄	"word"—"to return"	[4.292]
izi—la₂	"fire"—"to hang"	[5.42]
KA.KID-a—taka₄	?—CVVE	[5.3]
KA-*RÉC* 107-a—KID₂	?—CVVE	[5.1]
kal	"to value"	[3.69]
kalag	"to be mighty"	[4.63], [4.343], [5.67], [5.120], [7.20]
kar	"to flee"	[3.43], [5.2], [6.3], [7.29]
kaš₄—gun₃	"runner"—"to be speckled"	[A.B.2.22]
katar—sil	CVNE—"to split"	[4.84], [4.86]
kešřa	"to bind"	[4.292]
ki—aŋ₂	"place"—"to measure"	[3.96], [3.131], [4.264], [4.304], [4.305], [4.314]
ki—ŋar	"place"—"to put"	[A.B.2.1], [A.B.2.26]
ki—hur	"place"—"to scratch"	[5.73]
ki—kar	"place"—"to flee"	[3.22]
ki—us₂	"place"—"to lean"	[3.112]
ku₄:ku₄	"to enter" (*M*)	[4.92], [4.155], [4.171], [4.329], [4.330], [4.331], [4.342], [4.342]
kuř	"to cut"	[1.2], [4.191], [4.196], [4.199], [4.283], [4.289], [4.331]
kug	"to be holy"	[3.60], [3.143], [4.149], [4.157], [5.42], [5.47]
kur₂	"to change"	[3.58], [3.140], [4.138], [4.173], [4.176], [4.283], [4.293]
kur₉	"to enter" (*H*)	[3.83], [4.73], [4.195], [4.196], [4.228], [4.259], [5.58], [7.2],

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		[A.B.2.3], [A.B.2.38], [A.B.2.40], [A.B.2.47]
kurku	"to observe"(?)	[4.83], [5.27]
kušu	"to be tired"	[3.127], [4.175], [4.201], [5.118], [7.18]
kušu	"to be troubled"	[4.31]
la$_2$	"to hang"	[3.133], [5.46], [5.112], [A.B.2.50]
lu	"to be abundant"	[4.242], [A.B.2.2], [A.B.2.8]
luh	"to clean"	[3.151]
lul	"to be false"	[4.165]
mah	"to be great"	[4.98], [4.300], [4.301], [4.311], [4.314]
meteš—i:i	"praise"—"to leave"	[4.84], [4.85], [4.237]
mi$_2$—dug$_4$ (e)	CVNE—"to say"	[4.63] $_{H.SG.CVR}$ (dug$_4$), [4.80] $_{H.SG.CVR}$ (dug$_4$), [4.87] $_{M.SG.CVR}$ (e), [4.88] $_{M.SG.CVR}$ (e)
mir	"to be angry"	[3.51], [4.264]
mu—dug$_4$	"name"—"to say"	[3.122]
mu$_2$	"to grow"	[4.167], [4.343], [7.20]
mud	"to create"	[5.121]
MUNŠUB	"to die"(?)	[4.30]
murum—ša$_4$	"ululation"—CVVE	[A.B.2.13]
muš$_3$—tum$_2$	"face"—"to bring"	[4.168]
na—deg$_x$	CVNE—"to collect"	[4.17], [4.20], [4.156], [4.200], [4.325], [7.7]
naŋ	"to drink"	[4.108], [4.161], [4.161], [A.B.2.26], [A.B.2.28]

nam—kuř	"fate"—"to cut"	[4.302], [4.334]
nam—tar	"fate"—"to cut"	[4.109], [4.110], [4.111], [4.112], [4.113], [4.142], [4.163], [4.165], [4.176], [4.293], [5.116], [5.119], [5.119], [6.1], [7.5], [7.35], [7.36]
namNE.RU—kuř	"oath"—"to cut"	[3.134], [4.120]
neha	"to be peaceful"	[4.138]
NI	?	[4.358]
ni₂—dub₂	"self"—"to tremble"	[3.100]
ni₂—suř	"fear"—"to be long"	[4.258]
ni₂—te	"fear"—"to approach" (_H_)	[3.38], [3.86], [7.11], [A.B.2.19]
ni₂—teŋ₃	"fear"—"to approach" (_M_)	[4.72], [4.131], [7.17]
ni₂—ten	"self"—"to be cool"	[4.271], [4.307]
niŋin	"to encircle"	[A.B.2.12]
nim—ŋir₂	"fly"—"to flash"	[A.B.2.14]
nud	"to lie"	[4.140]
pa—e₃	"branch"—"to go out" (_H_)	[5.36], [5.52], [5.107]
pa—ed₂	"branch"—"to go out" (_M_)	[4.182]
pad₃	"to name"	[4.192], [4.193], [4.303], [4.303], [4.311], [4.322], [4.326]
ra	"to beat"	[3.51], [4.338], [5.83], [5.83], [7.19]
re₇	"to go" (_H.PL_)	[4.70], [4.71]
ri	"to impose"	[5.88]
rib	"to be surpassing"	[5.70], [5.70], [5.90], [5.91], [5.92], [5.93], [5.94], [5.95], [5.96], [5.97], [5.98], [5.99], [5.100], [5.101], [5.102], [5.103], [5.104], [5.105],

sa	"to roast"	[5.76]
sa_2	"to equal"	[3.95], [6.1], [7.27]
sa_2	"to compete"	[4.218], [4.219], [4.250]
sa_2	"to arrive"	[4.308]
SA_2	?	[4.194], [7.37]
sa_2—dug_4	"advice"—"to say"	[3.43], [3.147]
sa_2—sig_{10}	"advice"—"to cast"	[5.15], [5.16], [5.17], [5.18], [5.19], [5.20]
sa_4	"to name"	[4.301]
sa_{10}	"to buy"	[3.120], [4.19], [4.29]
sag_2—dug_4 (di)	"beating"—"to say"	[4.184] (di)
sag_9	"to be good"	[3.44], [3.150], [4.132]
sag_{10}	"to be rare"	[3.44]
saŋ—de_6	"head"—"to bring"	[3.148]
saŋ—dub_2	"head"—"to tremble"	[4.317], [4.318]
saŋ—ŋar (ŋa$_2$:ŋa$_2$)	"head"—"to put"	[3.146] $_{M.CVR}$^{x2} (ŋa$_2$:ŋa$_2$), [4.167] $_{M.CVR}$^{x2} (ŋa$_2$:ŋa$_2$), [4.188] $_{M.CVR}$^{x2} (ŋa$_2$:ŋa$_2$)
saŋ—ŋeš—ra	"head"—"tree"—"to beat"	[4.104]
saŋ—sig_{10}	"head"—"to place"	[4.309]
saŋ—$šum_2$	"head"—"to give"	[5.37], [5.38]
saŋki—gid_2	"forehead"—"to be long"	[3.51], [4.335]
sar	"to hasten"	[4.34], [4.203], [4.249], [4.313]
$sed_{4/5}$	"to cool"	[4.59], [4.307], [4.315], [4.333],

[7.33]

si—sa₂	"horn"—"to equal"	[3.96], [3.98], [4.171], [4.180], [4.187], [4.220], [4.223], [4.224], [4.251], [4.254], [5.120], [A.B.2.7], [A.B.2.43]
sig	"to fill"	[3.12], [3.18], [3.18], [4.152], [4.175], [4.215], [7.15]
sig₃	"to burn"	[4.225], [4.255]
sig₉/₁₀	"to place"	[3.113], [4.72], [4.131], [4.344], [7.17]
sikil	"to be pure"	[4.145], [4.149], [4.227], [4.257], [5.117]
sil	"to split"	[4.282]
silim	"to be well"	[4.245]
silim—dug₄ (e)	"well-being"—"to say"	[5.27] ᴍ.ꜱɢ (e)
sis	"to be bitter"	[4.21]
su	"to sing"	[4.60]
su	"to tremble" (?)	[5.12], [5.12]
su—zig₃	"flesh"—"to raise"	[3.86], [7.11], [A.B.2.19]
sub	"to rub"	[3.150], [4.222], [4.253]
suř	"to be long"	[3.52], [4.32], [4.85], [4.143], [4.204], [4.243], [4.246], [4.280], [4.301], [4.304]
sug₂	"to stand" (ᴍ.ᴘʟ)	[5.106], [A.B.2.1]
sug₆	"to replace"	[3.132], [3.142], [4.119]
suh₃	"to confuse"	[4.180]
sumun	"to be old"	[3.58], [3.140]

sur	"to drip"	[4.221], [4.252]
šar$_2$	"to be perfect"(?)	[5.46]
šar$_2$	"to slaughter"	[A.B.2.5]
še$_{21}$	"to call by name"	[4.309]
šeg	"to be in agreement"	[4.97], [A.B.2.55]
šeg$_{11}$—gi$_4$	"voice"—"to return"	[A.B.2.6]
šeš$_4$	"to weep"	[3.80], [4.267]
šilig	"to cease"	[4.189]
šu—bala	"hand"—"to turn"	[3.33], [3.153], [4.163], [4.165], [4.186], [7.36]
šu—bar	"hand"—CVVE	[4.245], [4.298], [4.339], [5.69]
šu—du$_7$	"hand"—"to push"	[3.94], [4.270], [7.4], [A.B.2.41], [A.B.2.42]
šu—du$_8$	"hand"—"to spread"	[4.147], [5.68]
šu—dug$_4$	"hand"—"to say"	[5.67]
šu—gi$_4$	"hand"—"to return"	[4.316], [6.2], [7.28]
šu—ŋal$_2$	"hand"—"to exist"	[4.148]
šu—il$_2$	"hand"—"to lift"	[4.154]
šu—niŋin	"hand"—"to encircle"	[A.B.2.24]
šu—šum$_2$	"hand"—"to give"	[A.B.2.46]
šu—tag	"hand"—"to touch"	[3.111]
šu—til$_3$	"hand"—"to live"	[5.69]
šu—teŋ$_3$	"hand"—"to approach" (M.SG)	[4.258]
šu—ur$_3$	"hand"—"to drag"	[3.114]

šub	"to fall"	[4.174], [5.78]
šud₃—ša₄	"prayer"—CVVE	[4.328]
šum₂	"to give"	[3.10], [3.148], [4.18], [4.49], [4.50], [4.75], [4.77], [4.281], [4.285], [5.120], [6.4], [7.30], [7.31], [7.39]
šuš₍₂₎	"to cover"	[3.48], [3.64], [4.21]
tab	"to double"	[3.25], [4.189], [4.191]
tah	"to add"	[3.131], [4.210]
tah	"to aid"	[4.69], [4.69]
taka₄	"to neglect"	[4.284]
te	"to approach" (ₕ)	[3.83], [3.144], [3.145], [4.53], [4.54], [4.55], [4.127], [4.128], [4.129], [4.130], [4.256], [4.360], [4.361], [4.362], [4.363], [4.364], [4.371], [4.372], [4.373], [7.2]
teŋ₃	"to approach" (ₘ)	[4.53], [4.54], [4.55], [4.127], [4.128], [4.129], [4.130], [4.348], [4.349], [4.350], [4.351], [4.352], [4.353], [4.354], [4.355]
teš—dug₄	"voice"—"to say"	[A.B.2.15]
til	"to finish"	[4.288], [4.305], [4.306], [A.B.2.39]
til₃	"to live"	[3.131], [3.131], [4.58], [4.148], [4.280], [4.301], [4.304], [5.50], [5.51], [5.117], [5.120], [7.32]
tud₂	"to beat"	[5.75]
tuku	"to get"	[3.14], [3.16], [4.74], [4.114], [4.115], [4.116], [4.208], [4.209], [4.232], [4.336], [5.84], [5.120], [7.8]
tuku₄	"to shake"	[A.B.2.15]

tum$_{2/3}$	"to bring" (_M.SG_)	[3.11], [3.63], [3.127], [4.59], [4.87], [4.88], [4.90], [4.119], [4.140], [4.150], [4.332], [5.4], [5.5], [5.6], [5.9], [5.66], [5.78], [5.80], [5.90], [5.92], [5.94], [5.96], [5.98], [5.100], [5.102], [5.104], [7.24], [7.25]
tur	"to be small"	[4.37]
tuš	"to dwell" (_H/M.SG_)	[3.17], [3.101], [4.91], [4.91], [4.138], [4.159], [4.296], [5.41], [5.47], [7.6], [A.B.2.28]
u$_5$	"to mount"	[4.24], [4.24], [4.265], [4.265]
u'en	"to release"	[4.69]
ud—zal	"day"—"to pass"	[4.23], [4.262], [4.263]
udi	"to sleep"	[4.158]
ug$_7$	"to die" (_M.PL_)	[4.60], [4.187]
ugu	"to bear"	[4.34], [4.158], [4.203]
ugu—de$_3$	CVNE—"to pour"	[3.133]
ugu—sig	CVNE—"to be silent"	[3.70], [7.1]
ul	"to be distant"	[3.64], [5.36]
ulli	"to be distant (in time)"	[3.109], [A.B.2.53], [A.B.2.55]
ur$_3$	"to rub"	[4.365], [4.366], [4.367], [4.368], [4.374], [4.375]
ur$_5$	"to pluck"	[5.12]
uru$_3$	"to protect"	[4.324]
urun$_x$	"to be powerful"	[4.97]
us$_2$	"to lean on"	[4.225], [4.255]
uš$_2$	"to die"	[3.80], [4.267]

utud	"to give birth"	[4.178], [5.91], [5.93], [5.95], [5.97], [5.99], [5.101], [5.103], [5.105]
zal	"to pass"	[3.13], [3.105], [4.261], [5.69], [5.72]
zalag	"to shine"	[3.150]
zid	"to be right"	[5.72]
zig$_3$	"to raise"	[3.50], [3.142], [4.215], [4.246], [4.268], [5.48], [5.48], [5.67], [5.75], [5.85], [5.85], [7.15], [A.B.2.10]
zir	"to destroy"	[3.134], [4.78], [5.76], [A.B.2.37]
zu	"to know"	[3.17], [3.17], [3.69], [3.101], [3.128], [3.152], [3.154], [4.91], [4.91], [4.96], [4.96], [4.97], [4.98], [4.99], [4.100], [4.101], [4.102], [4.103], [4.104], [4.105], [4.106], [4.107], [4.195], [4.196], [4.197], [4.198], [4.199], [4.215], [4.246], [4.300], [4.320], [4.321], [7.15]
zu$_2$—bir$_9$	"tooth"—"to shred"	[3.79], [4.266]
zuh	"to steal"	[4.27]
zur—ša$_4$	?—CVVE	[5.7], [5.11], [5.81]

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