## Sumerian hyphenation: an attempt at codification

Transliterated Sumerian is written with the syllable signs making up individual words hyphenated together. Decisions about the hyphenation of Sumerian words thus relate to the concept of a 'word' in Sumerian (see J.A. Black, 'Sumerian lexical categories', in Zeitschrift für Assyriologie 92 (2002), 60-77). In Sumerian studies, uncertainty about word boundary has led to maximalist (e.g. lugal-ki-en-gi-ki-uri-ke ${ }_{4}$, nitah-kalag-ga, me-sikil-bi) and minimalist (e.g. lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri-ke ${ }_{4}$, nitah kalag-ga, me sikil-bi) uses of hyphens in transliteration. There is so far no standard in the field. Accordingly ETCSL has established and implemented the procedures described below. This is an interim statement (29th February 2004), and inevitably will be subject to revision.

The usual criteria for identification of word boundary do not exist, e.g. pause, stress. Also words are frequently written on clay tablets with no space between them. Clitics are frequent in Sumerian, and it is not always clear if something is a word in its own right or only a clitic. Clitics are attached to words or clauses, and in all probability carried no stress of their own. A whole sequence of clitics can be attached to e.g. the last word of a clause. They may often have been phonologically integrated with their hosts; the writing system certainly writes most of such clitics as if they were in sandhi with the previous word (or clitic). Finally, in Sumerian a large number of compound nouns exists.

Sometimes the judgment whether something is a lexicalised compound or an ad hoc phrase is based on frequency of occurrence. Sometimes the judgment is informally based on (Akkadian, European language) translation value. Ideally the judgment would be based on syntactic grounds, e.g. can the compound itself be modified by an adjective? At all events, it must be pragmatic, since language is irregular, but decisions are needed. Sometimes this will help with lemmatisation, by disambiguating homographs. Sometimes the decision is taken on grounds of convenience. Multiword verbs exist in which the lemma is composed of two words (which, in a finite verbal form, are separated by proclitics).

- Hyphenation is used to join all written syllables of a single word together, and:
- to join clitics or affixes to the preceding base (or, with verbal proclitics, the following base)
- to join all the elements of proper names e.g. kar-zid-da 'Right-hand Quay', kur- ${ }^{\text {g̈is }}$ erinkud 'Mountain Where Cedars Are Cut', $e_{2}$-barag-dur ${ }_{2}$-gar-ra 'House Where Daises Are Established', amaš-kug-ga 'Holy Sheepfold', where it is clear that they are proper names and not e.g. metaphorical descriptions
- to join 'compound' nouns (i.e. believed by us to be lexicalised), in various categories:
(i) co-ordinate compounds, e.g. maš ${ }_{2}$-anše 'wild animals', gud-ab ${ }_{2}$ 'cattle', gud-udu cattle and sheep', $\mathrm{u}_{2}$-šim 'vegetation'; NOT an ki 'heaven and earth'
(ii) right-headed compounds of two nouns (very few in number), e.g. an-edin 'high (part of the) desert', sag̃-men '(a type of) crown'
(iii) left-headed compounds (the largest category):
a) where a noun is followed and modified by:
- another noun, e.g. dumu-nitah 'male offspring', $\mathrm{lu}_{2}$-erim ${ }_{2}$ 'enemy', kur$\mathrm{ur}_{2}$ 'heart of the mountains', an- $\mathrm{ur}_{2}$ 'horizon', an-pa 'zenith', an-šag ${ }_{4}$ 'interior of heaven', mul-an 'constellation', eš2-gana ${ }_{2}$ '(field-)measuring line', bad ${ }_{3}$-si 'crenellation', $\mathrm{i}_{3}$-udu 'sheep fat', $\mathrm{g}_{\mathrm{g}} \mathrm{š}^{-} \mathrm{nu}_{2}(-\mathrm{d})$ 'bed', $\mathrm{gu}_{2}$-erim ${ }_{2}$ 'enemy'; dumugir $_{15}$ 'free man', ur-gir ${ }_{15}$ 'dog', eme-gir ${ }_{15}$ 'Sumerian (language)'.
- another noun in the genitive, e.g. gi-dub-ba 'stylus' (lit. reed of tablet), lu $\mathbf{u}_{2}$-inim-ma 'witness', $\mathrm{e}_{2}$ - $\mathrm{nu}_{2}$-da / $\mathrm{a}_{2}$-nu $\mathbf{u}_{2}$-da 'bedroom', maš $_{2}$ - $\mathrm{ud}_{5}$-da 'buck goat'.
- an adjective, e.g. eš ${ }_{3}$-mah̆ 'major shrine', sipad-tur 'junior shepherd', lu $_{2}$ tur 'child', sag̃-gig ${ }_{2}$ 'black-headed (person)' (= human being), $\mathrm{e}_{2}$-gal 'palace', kug-babbar 'silver', inim-sig 'slander', šag $4_{4}$-gal 'hunger' (cf. šag ${ }_{4}$ gal 'big heart'), ki $\tilde{g}_{2}$-sig 'morning meal' (cf. ki $\tilde{g}_{2}$-nim 'late afternoon meal'); NOT sukkal mah 'chief minister', NOT lu ${ }_{2}$ zid 'just person'.
b) participles in - a, e.g. kaš-de ${ }_{2}-$ a 'wedding offering, party', di-til-la 'completed judgment'; but note: $\mathrm{a}_{2} \mathrm{ag}_{2}-\tilde{\mathrm{g}} \mathrm{a}_{2}$ 'command' (see below).
c) nominals derived from finite verbal forms, e.g. ki-in-dar 'crevice', ki-in-du 'earth'.

Included here are compounds where the second element is a verbal noun but in which the first element is the head.

There are also a number of compounds representing agents (professions) and instruments (tools), e.g. dub-sar 'scribe', igi-nu-du '(type of) slave', gaba-ri 'rival', kišib-la ${ }_{2}$ 'seal-bearer (also: hand, paw)', gana $2_{2}$-ur ${ }_{3}$ 'harrow', which may be thought of as expressions in which the head (lu $\mathrm{u}_{2}$ or $\tilde{g} i \check{s}$ ) is missing, for instance (lu $\mathrm{u}_{2}$ )dub-sar '(person) writing tablets $=$ scribe'.

There is a group of (mostly) places and buildings with ki- $(+\mathrm{N}$, or +V , or +Adj$)$ : ki-tuš 'seat', ki-gub 'station', ki-g̃ar 'socle', ki-gal 'underworld; socle, shrine', ki-bal 'rebel land', ki-erim ${ }_{2}$ 'enemy territory', ki-gul-la 'destitute person', ki-sikil 'maiden', ki-še-er 'profit', ki-lul-la 'murder', ki-nu ${ }_{2}$ 'sleeping place', ki-a-nag 'offering place', ki-us $_{2}$ 'foundations', ki-šu-peš(5) 'cult place', ki-buru ${ }_{14}$ 'harvest area', ( $\mathrm{lu}_{2}$ ) ki-inim-ma 'witness', ki-mah 'tomb', ki-ulutim ${ }_{2}$ 'matrix';
or with $\mathrm{e}_{2}-(+\mathrm{N}$, or + Adj $)$ : $\mathrm{e}_{2}$-gal 'palace', $\mathrm{e}_{2}-\mathrm{mas}_{2}$ 'animal stall', $\mathrm{e}_{2}$-dub-ba-a 'scribal school', $\mathrm{e}_{2}$ - $\mathrm{gi}_{4}$-a 'bride', $\mathrm{e}_{2}-\mathrm{nu}_{2}$-da ( $\mathrm{a}_{2}-\mathrm{nu}_{2}$-da) 'bedroom'.

There is a group of people with $\operatorname{lu}_{2^{-}}(+\mathrm{N}$, or +V , or +Adj$)$ : $\mathrm{lu}_{2}-\mathrm{kur}_{2}$ 'enemy', $\mathrm{lu}_{2}-\mathrm{kar}(-\mathrm{ra})$ 'fugitive', lu $u_{2}$-lul(-la) 'liar', $l u_{2}$-sag 'guard', $\mathrm{lu}_{2}$-tur 'child', $\mathrm{lu}_{2}$-erim ${ }_{2}$ 'wicked, enemy', $\mathrm{lu}_{2}$-sa-gaz 'robber', NOT lu $\mathrm{l}_{2}$ zid 'just person'.

Also with $\mathrm{gu}_{2}$-: $\mathrm{gu}_{2}$-en 'lord', $\mathrm{gu}_{2}$-bar 'nape of the neck', $\mathrm{gu}_{2}$-erim ${ }_{2}$ 'wicked, enemy', $\mathrm{gu}_{2}$ gal 'pre-eminent', $\mathrm{gu}_{2}$-gid $_{2}, \mathrm{gu}_{2}$ - $\mathrm{giri}_{3}$ 'breach', $\mathrm{gu}_{2}-\mathrm{kig}_{2}, \mathrm{gu}_{2}$-nida, $\mathrm{gu}_{2}$-sag '?'.
 sag̃ 'cultic building, stairway', dumu-sağ 'firstborn son', $e_{2}$-sag̃ 'granary', dub-sağ 'superior, better', us $_{2}$-sag '(?)', $\mathrm{pu}_{2}$-sag̃ 'hollow, pit'. But NOT kaš sag̃, $\mathrm{i}_{3}$ sağ, ga sag̃ 'best beer, butter, milk', $\mathrm{u}_{3}$-tud sa ${ }^{\text {g }}$ 'principal offspring'.

There are also some hypercompounds of the above types, e.g. $a_{2}$-šu-g̃iri ${ }_{3}$ 'limbs', an-ubda 'regions of the heavens', lu $\mathrm{u}_{2}$-ki-sikil 'maiden', $\mathrm{lu}_{2}$-ess ${ }_{2}$ - gid $_{2}$-da 'surveyor', gi-izi-la 'torch', dub-sar-mah 'senior scribe', dub-sar-tur 'junior scribe', gaba-šu- $\tilde{g}$ ar 'rival', nig $_{2}-$ ur $_{2}$-limmu ${ }_{2}$ 'quadrupeds', šag ${ }_{4}$-gada-la ${ }_{2}$ 'a type of priest', eme ${ }_{2}$-ga$\mathrm{la}_{2}$ 'wetnurse', $\mathrm{er}_{2}-$ šag $_{4}$-ne-ša ${ }_{4}$ ~ 'lamentation prayer', NOT $\mathrm{e}_{2}$ ni $_{2}$ - gur $_{11}$-ra 'treasure house'.
(iv) for nouns derived with nam- or nu-: nam-lugal 'kinship', nam-dub-sar 'scribal skills', nu-kiri ${ }_{6}$ 'gardener', nu-banda $3_{3}$ 'overseer'.
(v) for nouns formed from finite verbal forms: $\mathrm{u}_{3}$-na- $\mathrm{dug}_{4}$ 'letter', ga-an-tuš 'tenant'.
(vi) There is a group of compounded adjectival forms (a list of at least 37 which can be considered to be lexicalised, for syntactic or semantic reasons), compounded with the verbs -zu 'knowing', -tuku 'having', -du/di 'doing' and -gal ${ }_{2}$ 'being/having'. These are hyphenated. They will be lemmatised as single lemmata.

| kug-zu | 'wise' |
| :---: | :---: |
| gal-zu | 'skilful' (cf. gal-zu ni $\tilde{\mathrm{g}}_{2}$-nam-ma 'wise in everything') |
| gal-an-zu | 'clever' |
| usu-tuku | 'powerful' |
| $\mathrm{a}_{2}$-tuku | 'powerful' |
| ni ${ }_{2}$-tuku | 'reverent' |
| givš-tuku | 'attentive' (cf. sipad g̃iš-tuku-ni-ir 'to his attentive shepherd') |
| lipiš-tuku | 'furious' |
| $\mathrm{gu}_{2}$-tuku | 'perfect, splendid' |
| hul-du | 'wicked(-acting) ${ }^{\text {a }}$ |
| $\operatorname{erim}_{2}$-du | 'hostile(-acting)' |
| zid-du | 'righteous(-acting)' |
| mah-di | 'illustrious' |
| gal-di | 'important, impressive' |

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\mp@subsup{a}{2}{}}\mathrm{ -bad-g̃al }\mp@subsup{}{2}{}\mathrm{ 'protective';
\mp@subsup{a}{2}{}-\tilde{gal}}\mp@subsup{2}{}{\prime}\mathrm{ 'strong', also neg. a a -nu-g̃al (cf. a a - gal 2 kalam-ma-me-en 'you are the
    strong one of the Land')
\mp@subsup{a}{2}{}-nun-\tilde{gal}}\mp@subsup{2}{}{\prime}\quad\mathrm{ 'impressively strong'(cf. a}\mp@subsup{\textrm{a}}{2}{}\mathrm{ -nun-g̃al }\mp@subsup{\textrm{e}}{2}{}\mathrm{ -kur-ra 'most powerful in E-kur')
an-ta-g̃al 2 'exalted'
dug}\mp@subsup{3}{3}{}-\tilde{g}\mp@subsup{a}{2}{}\quad'well-disposed (?)'
gaba-ğal 2 'forceful'
(gu2-)erim}\mp@subsup{2}{2}{-}-\mp@subsup{\textrm{gal}}{2}{\prime}\mathrm{ 'wicked' (freq. also in headless use, parallel to (gu}\mp@subsup{2}{}{-})\mathrm{ )erim}\mp@subsup{2}{2}{\prime}\mathrm{ 'wicked,
    enemy')
hul-g̃al 2 'evil',neg. hुul-nu-ğal (varies with hul 'evil')
igi-ğal 2 'wise', also neg. igi-nu-ğal (cf. also igi-g.gal }\mp@subsup{2}{2}{}\mathrm{ -tuku; also used participially:
    igi g̃al 'taking account of'; and cf. the noun igi-\tilde{gal }
inim-g̃al }\mp@subsup{2}{}{\prime}\mathrm{ 'eloquent'
kug-ğal 2 'holy'(but note kug-g.gl }\mp@subsup{2}{2}{= gu 2-gal/g̃al 'canal inspector')(varies with kug
    'holy')
la-la-g̃al2 'charming'
me-te-ğal }\mp@subsup{2}{2}{\prime}\mathrm{ 'seemly'
mud-g̃al2 'creative (?)'
ne}\mp@subsup{3}{3}{-\tilde{g}a\mp@subsup{l}{2}{}
nir-ğal2 'lordly, authoritative', also neg. nir-nu-g̃al (cf. dumu nir-g̃al 2 an-na-ke }\mp@subsup{}{4}{
    'lordly son of An')
ni 2-gal (awe-inspiring'
peš10-ğal 2 'mighty (?)' (also written peš-\tilde{gal}}\mp@subsup{2}{2}{2})(\mathrm{ cf. peš10-g̃al }\mp@subsup{}{2}{}\mp@subsup{\textrm{e}}{2}{}\mathrm{ -kur-ra 'mighty one of
        the E-kur')
sa\tilde{g}-\tilde{g}\mp@subsup{l}{2}{}\quad 'safe, strong'(in the expresssion: ki sa\tilde{g}-\tilde{g}a\mp@subsup{l}{2}{})
sa\tilde{g}-ki-g\tilde{gal}}\mp@subsup{2}{}{\prime}\mathrm{ 'obstinate'
sa\tilde{g}-kug-g̃al2 'proud'(var. sa\tilde{g}-g\mp@subsup{u}{2}{}-\tilde{gal}\mp@subsup{l}{2}{}/\textrm{gal};\mathrm{ ; also sag}-gu
su}\mp@subsup{3}{3}{}\mathrm{ -ud-g̃al 2 'extended, lengthy (of time); patient-hearted' (varies with su⿱3}\mp@subsup{}{2}{}\mathrm{ -ud 'long')
zi-ğal 2 'living, alive'(cf. id 2 zi-ğal kalam-ma 'life-bringing canal of the Land')
Expressions with ni\tilde{g}}2\mathrm{ :
The following are assumed to be lexicalised compounds with ni \(\tilde{g}_{2}\), on the basis mainly of frequency:
ni}\mp@subsup{\tilde{g}}{2}{}-\textrm{a}-\mp@subsup{\textrm{erim}}{2}{}\mathrm{ by analogy with nig}\mp@subsup{\tilde{g}}{2}{}-\mp@subsup{\textrm{a}}{2}{}-\mp@subsup{\textrm{zig}}{3}{}\mathrm{ and ni }\mp@subsup{\tilde{g}}{2}{}-\mp@subsup{\textrm{erim}}{2}{\prime}\mathrm{ 'violence'
nig}\mp@subsup{\tilde{g}}{2}{}-\mp@subsup{\textrm{a}}{2}{}-\mp@subsup{\textrm{zig}}{3}{}\mp@subsup{}{}{\prime}violence
nig}\mp@subsup{\tilde{g}}{2}{}-\mp@subsup{\textrm{du}}{7}{}\mathrm{ 'that which is fitting, proper, necessary' (usually co-occurs with vb. pa ed 
    (ak))(n.b. same writing as nig}\mp@subsup{\tilde{g}}{2}{}\mathrm{ -ul, see below)
nig}\mp@subsup{\tilde{g}}{2}{}-\mp@subsup{\mathrm{ gen }}{6}{(-na) 'justice`
nig}\mp@subsup{\tilde{g}}{2}{-gig(-ga) 'taboo'
ni}\mp@subsup{\tilde{g}}{2}{}-\mathrm{ -si-sa 2 'rectitude', g
nig}\mp@subsup{\tilde{g}}{2}{}\mathrm{ -erim
ni\mp@subsup{\tilde{g}}{2}{}-\mathrm{ -hul 'evil (abstract noun)'}
nig}\mp@subsup{\tilde{g}}{2}{}\mathrm{ -me-ğar '(ominous) silence'
nig}\mp@subsup{\tilde{g}}{2}{-ba
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ni $\tilde{g}_{2}-\mathrm{de}_{2}$-a 'wedding gift'
ni $\tilde{g}_{2}$-gur $_{11}$ 'treasure, riches'
nig $\tilde{g}_{2}$-kud 'revenue, income, produce'
nig $\tilde{g}_{2}-\mathrm{mi}_{2}-\mathrm{us}_{2}-\mathrm{sa}_{2}$ 'wedding gift'
ni $\tilde{g}_{2}$-šam ${ }_{2}$-ma 'purchase',
nig $\tilde{g}_{2}$-tuku 'rich'
ni $\tilde{g}_{2}-\mathbf{u}_{2}$-rum 'acquisitions, property'
ni $\tilde{g}_{2}$-ul 'distant time in the past or future' (n.b. same writing as ni $\tilde{g}_{2}-\mathrm{du}_{7}$ )
nig $\tilde{2}_{2}$ nam(-ma) 'everything'
nig $_{2}-\mathrm{ar}_{3}$-ra 'a type of flour'
ni $\tilde{g}_{2}-\mathrm{gu}_{7}$ 'food'
ni $\tilde{\mathrm{g}}_{2}$-na 'incense burner'
nig $\tilde{2}_{2}$-silag ‘dough’
nig $\tilde{g}_{2}-\mathrm{TUG}_{2}$, see 2.1.7:1168 anše ni $\tilde{\mathrm{g}}_{2}-\mathrm{TUG}_{2}$-bi il ${ }_{2}$-a-da [hapax; probably refers to an object ('pack-saddles')]
ni $\tilde{g}_{2}$-bun ${ }_{2}$-na 'turtle'
ni $\tilde{g}_{2}-\mathrm{ur}_{2}-\mathrm{limmu}_{2} /$ nig $_{2}-\mathrm{ur}_{2}-4$ 'quadruped'
ni $\tilde{g}_{2}$-zi- $\tilde{g}_{2}{ }_{2}$ 'living creatures; wild animals'
various textiles:
${ }^{\text {tug }_{2}}$ ni $_{2} \tilde{\mathrm{~g}}_{2}$-barag 'quilt, coverlet'
${ }^{\text {tug }}{ }^{2}$ nig $_{2}$-dara ${ }_{2}$ 'loincloth'
${ }^{\text {tug }}{ }^{2} \mathrm{nig}_{2}-\mathrm{la}_{2}$ 'binding, bandage'
${ }^{\text {tug }_{2}}{ }^{n} \tilde{g}_{2}-\tilde{l a m}_{2}$ '( a ceremonial garment)'.
N.b. some hypercompounds of the above exist:
nam-ni $\tilde{g}_{2}$-erim ${ }_{2}$, nam-nig $\tilde{g}_{2}$-si-sa ${ }_{2}$, both in 1.3.1
Other expressions with ni $\tilde{g}_{2}$ are not hyphenated.

## On the other hand, hyphenation is not used for:

- any form (finite, non-finite or nominal) of a recognised compound (multi-word) verb not covered by the above. E.g. $\mathrm{a}_{2}$ a $\tilde{\mathrm{g}}_{2}-\tilde{\mathrm{g}} \mathrm{a}_{2}$, inim bal-e, inim sig, su-lum mar; di kud 'making judgements’ (but di-kud 'judge') (see below) etc.
- ad hoc verbal phrases or nominal phrases e.g. $\mathrm{lu}_{2}$ tur 'small person' (cf. lu $\mathrm{lu}_{2}$-tur 'child'), har-ra-an zu 'knowing the roads', $\operatorname{sun}_{4}$ la $_{2}$ 'wearing a beard' cf. $\operatorname{sun}_{4}$ za-gin $_{3} l a_{2}$ 'wearing a dark beard'
- demonstratives such as ne(-en), re(-en) (contrast -bi and -e)
- the various expresssions with ud 'day':
ud zal-la/zal-le-da '(during) the course of the day'
ud te-en-še ${ }_{3} /$ ta 'to/from evening'
ud šu ${ }_{2}$-uš 'sunset'
ud $\mathrm{sa}_{9}(-\mathrm{a})$ 'midday' cf. $\tilde{g}_{6} \mathrm{sa}_{9}(-\mathrm{a})$ 'midnight', $\tilde{\mathrm{g}} \mathrm{i}_{6} \mathrm{u}_{3}-\mathrm{na}(-\mathrm{k})$ 'dead of night'
and with ud = 'time':
ud da-ri ${ }_{2}$ '(for) all time', ud ul-li ${ }_{2}$-a-še ${ }_{3} / \mathrm{ta}$ '(in/from) those (ancient) days' ud re-a '(in) those (distant) days'.

The syntactic status of some of these is a little uncertain. Note, however, ud-sakar '(new) moon'.

- expressions with na-me 'any; (with negative verb) no':
ni $\tilde{g}_{2}$ na-me 'anything'
$l_{u_{2}}$ na-me 'anyone'
diğir na-me 'any god'
ud na-me 'any time, ever'
ki na-me 'anywhere'.
There will be a relatively small list of agreed exceptions not covered by the above categories, e.g. ama-ar-gi ${ }_{4}$ 'freedom' (where the second element is a verbal noun), giri ${ }_{17}{ }^{-}$ zal 'joy' (where the second element may or may not be a verbal noun).

Note also:
nam-tar (n.) 'fate', but nam tar (vb. phrase) 'who determines destinies'
šu-luḩ (n.) 'a specific ritual', but šu luḩ (vb. phrase) 'who washes the hands; washing the hands'
di-kud (n.) 'judge', but di kud (vb. phrase) 'who judges; act of judging'
ki-g̃ar (n.) 'socle; substitute', but ki gar 'who founds'
igi-g̃al ' 'wisdom', 'wise', but igi g̃al (vb. phrase) 'who attends to, takes account of'


There are some problem cases to watch out for, e.g. does the combination noun + unsuffixed non-finite verbal form derive from a multi-word ('compound') verb or not?

## Extra areas

Note the following:
šita $_{2}$ sag̃ 50 ' 50 -headed mace', gud si dili ‘one-horned bull’ (but sag̃-dili 'bachelor'), ab $_{2}$ igi gun ${ }_{2}$ 'bright-eyed cows', ni $_{2}$ - $\mathrm{ur}_{2}-\mathrm{limmu}_{2}$ 'four-legged things', u $\tilde{g}_{3}$ sag̃-gig ${ }_{2}$ 'blackheaded people'
nam gal ki a $\tilde{g}_{2}$-da 'from great love', nam gal ki ag $\tilde{g}_{2}{ }^{\text {d }}$ dumu-zid-da-ke ${ }_{4}$ 'from great love of Dumuzid', nam gal hul ${ }_{2}$-la-da 'in great joy', nam gal ${ }_{4}$-la-na-še ${ }_{3}$ 'because of her genitals'.

