

Abhandlung

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Multilingualism and Formulations of Scholarship: The Rosen Vocabulary

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Abstract: The Rosen Vocabulary is an Old Babylonian bilingual text. Through an edition of this text, I argue that the ad-hoc mixed vocabularies known from the Old Babylonian period feature citations or allusions to literary compositions as well as subsequent analogous expressions, both in Sumerian and in Akkadian.

Despite the thousands of extant texts written in Sumerian and/or Akkadian, we have not been privy to many mundane, everyday expressions. CUNES 47–12–032, the Sumerian-Akkadian bilingual text in the Jonathan and Jeannette Rosen Ancient Near Eastern Studies Seminar and Tablet Conservation Laboratory, Cornell University, edited here, fills a small gap by providing important phrases such as “Bring beer!” and “What is your home-work?” (lit. “What are your lines?”).¹

The Rosen Vocabulary (RV), which, based on paleography, dates to the Old Babylonian (OB) period, belongs to an enigmatic group that has previously been loosely termed “grammatical commentaries” or “mixed vocabularies” and offers a number of related expressions and verbal paradigms, some of which may derive from literary compositions.² In this short contribution, I use this text as an opportunity to discuss the apparently ad-hoc mixed vocabularies and to comment on the nature of bilingual Sumerian-Akkadian scholarly metalinguistics during the

OB period. I suggest that the mixed vocabularies feature citations or allusions to literary compositions and the subsequent generation of analogous expressions, both in Sumerian and in Akkadian.

Old Babylonian Grammatical Treatises

During the OB period (c. 1900–1550 B.C.E.), scholarly scribes created treatises exploring the analogical qualities of Sumerian and Akkadian grammars. These grammatical treatments have received extended discussion within Assyriology, particularly focusing upon their use for the modern reconstruction of Sumerian morphology.³ Ancient practice, however, demonstrates the analytical and speculative nature of these lists, building upon the types of explorations students pursued as they copied curricular lexical lists, particularly the use of analogies in vertical ordering.⁴ That is, during their training, scholar-scribes practiced ways of knowledge-making grounded in recognizing the polyvalency and polysemy of the cuneiform sign, creating connections between entries based on aspects such as phonological, graphic, or semantic sim-

¹ I wish to express my thanks to David I. Owen, Director of the Jonathan and Jeannette Rosen Ancient Near Eastern Studies Seminar and Tablet Conservation Laboratory at Cornell University, for permission to publish this tablet and especially to Alexandra Kleinerman, Rosen Foundation Research Associate at the seminar, for bringing this text to my attention and for generously providing me with collations and comments on an early draft; and to John Carnahan for reading this text with me. I also thank W. Sallaberger and A. Cavigneaux for their comments and corrections. All errors in fact or interpretation are mine alone. A digital edition may be found at <http://oracc.org/dcclt/P322250>.

² The term “grammatical commentary” is given by M. Civil (2009); “mixed vocabularies” by N. Veldhuis (2014, 175–177).

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³ Several studies introduce the grammatical texts for broader audiences, focusing on the possibilities of pre-modern linguistic analysis (Jacobsen 1974; Cavigneaux 1989; Civil 1994b; Zólyomi 2001; Michalowski 2003). Jacobsen (1956), Black (2004), and Huber (2014) have provided the most extensive linguistic investigations. Recent studies have reexamined the grammatical texts within their social and intellectual context (Veldhuis 2005a; Zólyomi 2005; Huber 2007).

⁴ On the OB curriculum, see especially Veldhuis (1997; 2004), Tinney (1999), Robson (2001), and Delnero (2012).

ilarity.⁵ The so-called grammatical texts and the similar miscellaneous vocabularies further develop such knowledge by formulating linguistic analogies and speculations – often morphological and interlingual.

To my knowledge, at least thirty-five OB grammatical and similar texts survive. These treatises may be subdivided into three categories: paradigms, procedures, and vocabularies. The first category, paradigmatic texts, includes both verbal paradigms and what Veldhuis (2014, 197–199) terms grammatical vocabularies. These texts produce predictable sequences of grammatical forms, a means of systematizing knowledge via the Sumerian-Akkadian interlingual relationship.⁶ Procedurals, the second category, prominently feature a list of imperatives that deal with a related task, such as sacrifice and malt-making (Foxvog 1989), preparing tablets (Civil 1998), and organizing for battle (Woods 2006, 118).⁷ Vocabularies, the final category, seem to derive, at least in part, from literary texts. Civil (2009) discusses one such vocabulary, UET 7, 94, that includes citations from the literary letter SEpM 18 (Kleinerman 2011, 167–170) with Akkadian translation.⁸ UET 7, 94 and a similar commentary, BM 23331 (Civil 1994a, 205 f.) with one direct citation and translation from Farmer’s Instructions, lead Civil to conclude that the mixed vocabularies probably feature excerpts from literary texts, despite our inability to always trace the exact quotation.

Although such vocabularies provide a commentary in the sense that they offer an Akkadian equivalent to a Sumerian word or phrase, they do not exhibit the full range of erudite exploration, or necessarily act in an explanatory manner, as do many of the kinds of metatextual commentaries of later scholarship (Frahm 2011); the term “commentary” is perhaps better reserved for such exegetical treatments. Moreover, the grammatical nature of the mixed vocabularies may be called into question, lacking the systematized and paradigmatic knowledge known from the grammatical paradigms. As such, the

⁵ I have discussed this aspect of scribal education extensively elsewhere (Crisostomo 2014).

⁶ A full listing of known OB grammatical paradigms is given by Veldhuis (2014, 197 f. with fn. 420).

⁷ The term “drill exercises” has also been used for procedurals (MSL SS 1, 72). On procedurals and vocabularies, see further Veldhuis (2014, 175–177). To the vocabularies listed by Veldhuis (2014, 177 fn. 377), add texts no. 52 (oracc.org/dcclt/P273854) and no. 130 (oracc.org/dcclt/P388337) from Wilson (2008), as well as BM 23334 and BM 23105 (see Veldhuis 2005b, 320) and the list of UET texts in MSL SS 1, 72.

⁸ See also Kleinerman (2011, 111 f.). Note also Sjöberg’s suggestions about literary allusions (e.g., to the Nungal Hymn) about the very unique CBS 11319+ (Sjöberg 1993).

label “grammatical commentary” may be misleading.⁹ These vocabularies exhibit the same type of interlingual juxtaposition as bilingual lexical lists. The description “excerpts and translations” may be more appropriate.

Nevertheless, these vocabularies share with the grammatical paradigms and procedures a lack of standardization, extra-curricular practice, and multilingual translations. Moreover, as I discuss below, these mixed vocabularies, like other lexical lists and the grammatical paradigms, seem to rely on analogies and speculations, building from the concrete to the possible (and, as in the case of some grammatical forms, the impossible). It is therefore prudent to treat the grammatical paradigms, procedures, and mixed vocabularies as related texts, demonstrating scribal conceptions of knowledge in similar ways.

These grammatical and related texts should not be considered school texts in the sense that they were not part of the “curriculum”; they were not used in teaching cuneiform or Sumerian. These texts rarely exist in multiple copies or on tablet types typically associated with scribal learning. Nevertheless, such texts certainly emerged from the same social environment as the tablets on which teachers and students copied lexical and literary compositions. Many of the grammatical texts reflect the work of highly trained students or master scribes. The analogical reasoning displayed in generating the paradigms and (invented) grammatical forms suggests that these grammarians had proceeded at least through Advanced Lexical Education, the part of the curriculum during which scribes imbibed practices of analogical hermeneutics (Crisostomo 2014). Moreover, grammatical and related texts from Ur, including the vocabulary UET 7, 94 and the paradigmatic text UET 7, 100, emerge from the same contexts as school texts at No. 1 Broad Street (Charpin 1986; Delnero 2012, 64–66).¹⁰ Grammatical texts seem to be *ad hoc* compositions produced in the spirit of curiosity and ingenuity, rather than for practicality (see also Veldhuis 2014, 194–199 and 219 f.).

The Rosen Vocabulary appears to belong to this category of vocabularies. Although I am unable to place any of the entries within known literary texts, the sequence of dialogue entries, unique phraseology, and epistolary terminology strongly suggests that this text, like UET 7, 94,

⁹ These texts do, however, fulfill J. Assman’s criteria for “commentary”: *Nachträglichkeit*, *Deutungsfunktion*, and *Textbezug* (Assman 1995), although the extent and nature of these vocabularies’ dependency on the original texts is debatable.

¹⁰ For further specifically on multilingualism in the school contexts at Ur, see Wasserman/Gabbay (2005) and Lauinger (2014), as well as the remarks by Michalowski (2010, 196).

served as a type of commentary for or at least alludes to a literary letter or other literary composition(s).

CUNES 47–12–32, the Rosen Vocabulary (RV)

Like many other grammatical and related texts (even those from Nippur), the RV (149 × 104 × 34 mm) does not conform to the standards of tablet types known primarily from the Nippur schools.¹¹ It is a two-column tablet with only the obverse inscribed.¹² Approximately two-thirds of the tablet is preserved. The provenance of the text is unknown; some 700 other texts in Rosen Collection preserve Old Babylonian school texts, including lexical texts and rare literary exemplars.¹³

One unique feature of this text is its alternation of translation styles. Generally, Old Babylonian texts represent bilingualism in one of three standard formats: (1) glossing, (2) interlinear, or (3) bi-columnar.¹⁴ Very rarely for OB texts, Akkadian translations may be indicated on the same line as their Sumerian counterpart (intralinear), separated by a *Glossenkeil*. The present text utilizes both the interlinear format and the intralinear format. In this text, the latter format does not employ the *Glossenkeil*; the Akkadian is given in juxtaposition to the Sumerian.

Paleographically, the script is neat and precise, the work of a practiced hand. The sign forms tend toward earlier OB forms, with the exception of AN (i 24'). TA and ŠA are clearly distinguished. The upper horizontal of TA is much shorter than that on ŠA.¹⁵ Compare the ŠA in i 4' or LI in i 13' and TA in i 23' or ii 24'. The same frame used for TA is also used for BI, but not GA. The script differs significantly from that on CUNES 48–06–383, possibly (but perhaps not likely) from the same group of tablets (Gadotti/Kleinerman 2015). The Akkadian syllabary uses the following

signs for the emphatic consonants: TU for /tu/, TA for /ta/, GA for /qa/, and ZI for /ši/.¹⁶ TU is thus used for both /tu/ (*tu-ša-ab*, i 4') and /tu/ (*šu-tú-ur*, i 9'). The Sumerian of the text also features some unorthographic (i.e., non-Nippur literary) spellings, such as *ta-ak-ke* for *tag-ge* (ii 23', 25'), *i-ni-ia* (ii 7' for *i₃-ni-ak*), and *a-ma-ru-ka* for *a-ma-ru-kam* (ii 22'), as well as extreme vowel harmony as in the form *gi-ri-ib-gi₄* for *ga-ra-ab-gi₄* (ii 19'). These unorthographic literary spellings may derive directly from unknown local (or idiosyncratic) literary sources.

The text appears to be divided into semantically related or morphologically similar sections. The first preserved section gives a series of imperatives related to scribal work, including “Write!” and “Finish your tablet!” The second includes entries dealing with water before turning to imperatives for bringing food and drink. The third preserved section seems to give a dialogue based on *ĝen* = *alāku* “to go”. The fourth section seems to be another dialogue with phrases for sending, running, touching and giving, as well as epistolary phrases.

As is the case for many of these vocabularies, the phrases here cannot be shown to be direct citations from particular literary compositions. The first section, however, contains vocabulary reminiscent of similar non-imperative expressions from Eduba texts, such as Eduba A (“Schooldays”).¹⁷ The second section similarly includes terms that may indicate a connection to Eduba A (see below). The third section, with alternating first person and second person forms, may derive from compositions such as the debates or dialogues. Finally, verbs of movement, epistolary terms, and urgency depicted in the fourth section certainly point to contexts such as those known from literary letters. As I discuss below, these sections may reflect literary allusions and related, analogous phrases.

¹¹ On which, see the descriptions provided by Civil (1969, 27 f.; 1995, 2308).

¹² According to A. Kleinerman (personal communication), the preserved portion of the reverse is blank and, based on the break, likely characterizes the whole side.

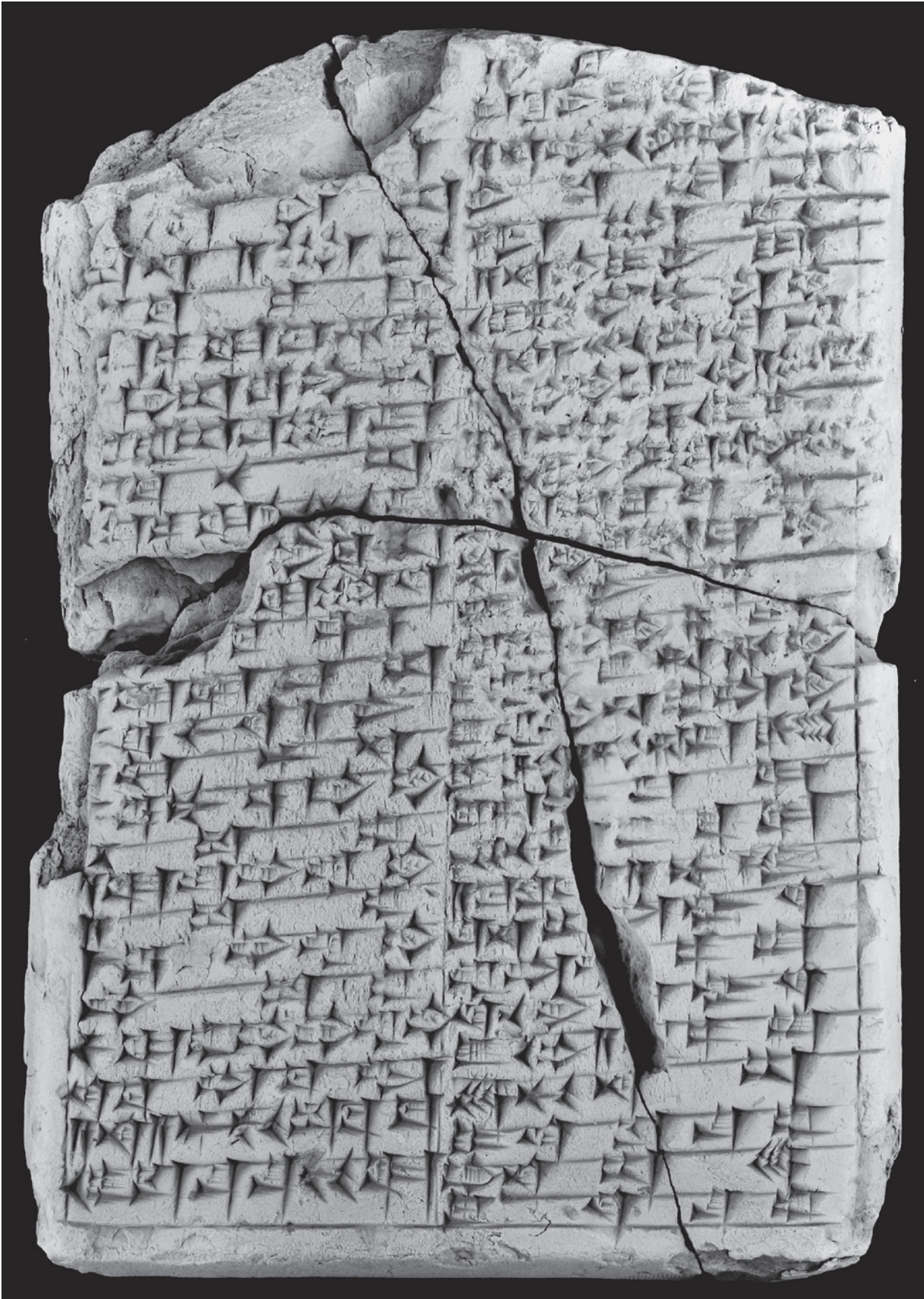
¹³ The school texts will be published by A. Gadotti and A. Kleinerman in a forthcoming CUSAS volume. For an example of a literary text from this collection, which may or may not belong to the same group as the present text, see Gadotti/Kleinerman (2015). I thank A. Kleinerman for providing me an overview of the school texts.

¹⁴ See Cooper (1969; 1993) for textual layouts for bilingual, especially literary, texts.

¹⁵ Compare to the exemplary signs of the ductus, which in VS 17 J. van Dijk called the beautiful, archaizing Larsa script (van Dijk 1971, 8).

¹⁶ The use of TU for /tu/ and TA for /ta/ are, in Goetze’s (Goetze 1945) classic discussion of Akkadian dialects, indicative of a northern provenance.

¹⁷ For example, *dub-ĝu₁₀ i₃-dim₂ i₃-sar i₃-til-ma*, “I fashioned my tablet, I wrote (it), I finished (it)” (Ed A, 5).



Col. i

1'	[...]	...
2'	[...] ¹ x ¹	...
3'	[...] ¹ x ¹	...
4'	¹ la [?] ¹ tu ¹ -ša-ab	Do not sit around!
5'	ĝen-na a-li-ik	Go! = Go!
6'	dub-zu saĝ ₃ -ga	<i>Knead</i> your tablet! =
7'	tu-pa-ka ma-ħa-aš	<i>Knead</i> your tablet!
8'	¹ ak [?] ¹ -ga-ab e-pu-uš	Make it! = Make!
9'	¹ šar ¹ -ra-ab šu-ťu-ur	Write! = Write!
10'	dub-zu til-ab	Finish your tablet! =
11'	tu-pa-ka gu- ¹ mu-ur ¹	Finish your tablet!
12'	[...] TAG-ba-ab	...
13'	[...] -ka li-qé	Take your [...]
14'	¹ x x ¹ -ku-un	...
15'	a naĝ-naĝ-ma-ab	Let me drink water! =
16'	me-e ši-qí-a-ni	Let me drink water!
17'	a-gin ₇ sa ₉ -na	Divide/stop (lit. “half”) like water! =
18'	me-e bu-ut-qá-am	Divide/stop the water!
19'	ninda du-um	Bring food! =
20'	a-ka-lam bi-la-am	Bring food!
21'	a du-um	Bring water! =
22'	me-e bi-la-am	Bring water!
23'	kaš du-um	Bring beer! =
24'	ši-ka-ra-am bi-la-am	Bring beer!
25'	de-ba ta-ba-al	Take it away! = Take it away!
26'	a-na-am ₃ mu gub-ba-zu	What is your line? =
27'	mi-iš-šu šu-mu-ka	What are your lines?
col. ii		
1'	[...]- ¹ x ¹ -[...]	...
2'	¹ A x ¹ KU ¹ x ¹ -[...]	... [...]
3'	e ₂ -še ₃ i ₃ -ĝen-ne-en	You went home =
4'	a-na bi-ti-im ta-li-ik	You went home
5'	i ₃ -ĝen-ne-en	I went =
6'	al-li-ik	I went
7'	a-na-am i-ni-ia	What did you do there? =
8'	mi-nam te-pu-ša-am	What did you do there?
9'	¹ ki ¹ na-me-eš nu-ĝen-ne-en	I did not go anywhere =
10'	¹ a-i ¹ -ša-am-ma ú-ul a-li-ik	I did not go elsewhere
11'	a-na-aš-šum ^{u4} -mi-zal	Why did you spend the day? =
12'	¹ a-na ¹ mi-ni-im tu-ša-am-ši- ¹ il [?] ¹	Why did you spend the day?
13'	¹ kaš ₄ [!] -kaš ₄ [?] ¹ -ab lu-su-um	Run! = Run!
14'	kaš ₄ [!] - ¹ x ¹ -am lu-us-ma-am	Run here! = Run here!
15'	¹ nam-ud ¹ -zal-e	Do not spend the day =
16'	la tu-ša-am-ša- ¹ lam [?]	Do not spend the day
17'	u ₂ - ¹ la ¹ -am ú-ri-ħa-am	Hurry here! = Hurry here!
18'	u ₂ -la-bi ħu-um-ťá-am	Quickly! = Hurry here!
19'	kiĝ ₂ -gi ₄ - ¹ a ¹ gi-ri-ib-gi ₄	I will send you as a messenger =
20'	lu-uš- ¹ pu ¹ -ur-ka	I will send you
21'	en-nu- ¹ ĝa ₂ ¹ ú-zu-ka	Pay attention! = Pay attention! (lit. “your ear”)
22'	a-ma-ru- ¹ ka ¹ a-pu-tum	It is urgent! = Urgently!

23'	š u n a - ¹ ab ¹ -t a -ak-ke	You must not touch!
24'	l a t a - ¹ la ¹ -p a -at	You must not touch!
25'	k i n u -u b - ¹ t a ¹ -a k -ke	I will not lie on the ground
26'	ú -ul a - ¹ la ¹ -p a -at	I will not touch
27'	š u m ₂ -m u -n a -a b	Give it to him!
28'	i -d i -i š -š u -um	Give to him!
29'	g a -n a -a b -š u m ₂	I will give it to him
30'	l u -d i -š u -um	I will give to him

i 4'. Reading of LA courtesy A. Cavigneaux. The preceding line presumably provided the corresponding Sumerian phrase.

i 6'–7'. A similar phrase, *ṭīdam ... [maḥ]a[s]*, translated *im ...* ¹sag₃-ga-ab occurs in the OB vocabulary BM 54746 i 5'–6'. 14'–15' (Civil 1998). Note also, as recognized by Civil (1998, 4–6), the sequence of *im sag₃ = maḥāšu* verbal phrases in OBG T III (MSL 4, 68–75).¹⁸ The present text, however, gives a variant phrase *dub sag₃ = tuppā maḥāšu*, “tablet” rather than “clay”. The semantic referent of the two phrases is likely similar, if not identical. The expression may occur in SP 5.61: [ur-maḥ-e l]u₂ *dub sag₃-ge-da-ke₄ ...* “A lion (like) a man who kneads a tablet”.¹⁹ The spelling for *tuppum* here with initial TU is less common than as a logogram with DUB (plus *Auslaut*), but not unattested.²⁰ In lists, the same spelling of *tuppu* occurs in the Neo-Assyrian sign list Idu (CT 11, 29 i 38).

i 8'. A reconstruction ¹ak¹ for the first sign is likely; a horizontal tail excludes *dug₄* as an option.²¹ For examples of the writing *ak-ga*, see Attinger (2005), especially the form in the entry ^{uz^un}i ḡ₂-ki ḡ₂-g₄-a *bar-tam ak-ga-ab = takaltam bêr* “Examine the innards” from the grammatical procedural HMA 9–1910 i 17 (Foxvog 1989).²² Note also an alternative correspondence given in the vocabulary BM 54746 i 8'. 17' (Civil 1998): *e-pu-uš ... di m₂ [...]*.

i 12'–13'. The complement -ba following TAG suggests a reading *sub₆*, “to rub” or “to complete”. The equation to

leqû seems discordant with the OB semantics of *sub₆* or any other reading of TAG.

i 14'. Traces are consistent with ¹iš¹-ku-un; *šu-ku-un* is excluded. The insertion of a third-person form in a listing of imperatives, however, seems odd. The first sign could be ḡar; a small sign may precede in the broken section. The traces are inconclusive.

i 15'–16'. The rare equation *naḡ = šaqû* is known from a Neo-Assyrian copy of the list Nabnitu 25 (2R, 30, 1 rev. ii 18 = MSL 16, 230: 266), and a bilingual incantation, K.3993+ rev. ii 13': *a kug-ga u-me-ni-naḡ: me-e el-lu-ti ši-qī-šu-ma* “Let him drink pure water”.²³

i 17'–18'. Based on the Akkadian translation *mê*, *a-gin₇* is understood as “like water” rather than “thus”; the Akkadian, however, gives no direct equivalent for *gin₇*. There is no room for *kî* or the like before *mê*. The reading *sa₉* (proposed by A. Cavigneaux) supposes an ending in -n, also suggested in a Middle Assyrian copy of Nabnitu 17 (MAOG I/2, 43–52 rev. ii 28 = MSL 16, 163: 302): ^{sa}sa₉-an = *nakāsu šá širi*. Akkadian *batāqu* is used for cutting off a water supply and for diverting water (CAD B s.v. *batāqu* 1b, resp. 2).

i 19'–24'. This same form is given as an equivalent of *ú-bi-lam* in a Neo-Babylonian copy of Ura 1 (BM 33838 ii 13).²⁴ The correspondence in i 25' indicates that the present form derives from the verb *de₆* (**/de-u-m/ > du-u-m*, where /u/ marks the imperative).²⁵

Note the similar, albeit different, language in Eduba A 13–14: *naḡ-e-tuku a naḡ-mu-ub-ze₂-en gu₇-e-tuku ninda šum₂-ma-ab-ze₂-en*, “I am thirsty; give me water to drink. I am hungry; give me bread.”

i 25'. *de-ba* is taken as an alternative imperative to the preceding *du-u-m*, to be translated by the imperative *tabal*, consistent with the common correspondence of

¹⁸ Civil's discussion is based on several small fragments (N 4217 + N 6939) in Philadelphia, which join a larger piece (Ni 10293) in Istanbul (unavailable to Civil; collated April 2013). On the pieces N 4217 + N 6939, see Black (2004, 152f.) and MSL SS 1, 91 as noted by Civil (1998, 4 fn. 2). See also UET 6, 673, a fragment of a grammatical procedural text also with clay-making instructions (Civil 1998, 6).

¹⁹ In previous editions, DUB has been read *kišib*. Compare Alster (1997, 130 f.) as well as ETCSL 6.1.05.

²⁰ See Streck (2009, 136–139) for discussion of *tuppum* against *tup-pum* and a listing of forms of *tuppu* and *tupšarru* with initial TU.

²¹ Collation by A. Kleinerman.

²² See Attinger (2005, 47–53) for discussion on writings (and implications) for the final phoneme. I retain *ak* in lieu of *AK* for the sake of convention.

²³ K.3993 (AMT, pl. 61, 7) + K.4611 (4R, 26, 7) + K.15743. Collation courtesy J. Taylor. Note the remarks by R. Borger (1982, 370) on this tablet.

²⁴ Other witnesses to this line give [...] -un = *ú-bi-la* (K.8521: ii 45), [...] = ¹ú²-bi-lam¹ (BM 54757 rev. ii 30'), [...] = [...] -¹lum¹ (K.4158 rev. ii 10').

²⁵ Analysis courtesy A. Cavigneaux (see also Foxvog 1974, 76). On *de₆* (and *tu m₂*), see Sallaberger (2004) and Meyer-Laurin (2010).

Sum. ba- forms to Akk. t-infixed forms (see von Soden 1965; Black 2004, 27–29).

ii 26'–27'. The translation “What are your lines?” is in keeping with the theme of Eduba phraseology.

ii 2'. There appears to be another sign following the A, but it may be surface damage. If it is a sign, LA for *alāku* is a possibility; NA for *anāku* is unlikely.

ii 3'–6'. $\hat{g}en = alāku$ is a frequent topic of grammatical paradigms (e.g., UET 7, 100; OBG VII).

ii 7'–8'. An irregular spelling, a-na-am i-ni-ia for literary standard Sum. a-na-am₃ i₃-ni-ak “What did you do?” and thus corresponding to Akk. *mīnam tēpušam*. The writing a-na-am for a-na-am₃ is rare, but note, for example, the entry ni \hat{g}_2 -gi-na-ta a-na-am i b_2 -ta-sa₂ “what is compared to truthfulness?” in the legal phrasebook from Tell-Dhiba'i (AOAT 25, 2 iii 15).²⁶ See Attinger (2005, 55) for examples of ak written IA indicating the second person agent. Unlike other forms in this text, this equation does not include an /m/, which in this text is interpreted as a ventive in the Sum. Instead, /ni/ corresponds to the Akk. ventive.

ii 9'–10'. Compare OBG II 8–9 (MSL 4, 66).

ii 11'–12'. A. Cavigneaux suggests to me that a-na-aš-šum^{u4}-mi-zal reflects a type of “sandhi” writing with the u₄ as a semantic indicator. Alternatively, a-na-aš-šum could be understood as a-na-aš “why” plus the copula (*a-na-aš-am₃), but to my knowledge, this form with vowel dissimilation is not attested elsewhere.

ii 13'–14'. The equation ka š₄ = *lasāmu* is well-known. Two exemplars of OB Izi I 432 gloss ka š₄ with *lasāmu*; OBG VIII (MSL 4, 100–103) and BT 12 (Veldhuis 2005a, 239–241) provide full paradigms of ka š₄ du g₄ = *lasāmu*. The unique Middle Babylonian(?) grammatical text BM 23330 (Civil 2002) begins with a brief treatment of Sumerian words that equal *lasāmu*, beginning with ka š₄ and ka š₄ du g₄. The second line offers a contrast between imperative with a supposed ventive and the preceding without. The second sign of the Sumerian is unclear.

ii 15'–16'. The base of the compound verb ud zal is here understood to be ud-zal (compare ii 11'). Note the form 'ba¹-ud-zal-ak, again in the OB legal phrasebook from Tell-Dhiba'i (AOAT 25, 2 i 39). Such examples of morphological compounding in noun incorporation is rare in OB, but is known especially in later lists for si sa₂ and ki a \hat{g}_2 and others (Attinger 1993, 179–182; Karahashi 2004; Zólyomi 1996, 99–102.; Edzard 2003, 147).²⁷ The pairing of

ud zal = *šumšulu* in ii 11'–12' and here provides a clear contrast of perfective/preterite versus imperfective/durative with prohibitive.

ii 17'–18'. These two lines continue the theme of urgency, running, and delivery with Sum. u₂-la corresponding to the Akk. verbs *arāhu* and *hamātu*.²⁸ Sum. u₂-la is unorthographic for ul₄-la. This same spelling occurs in TCS 1, 5 i 7 and TCS 1, 56: 9 confirming the use of this spelling in a Sumerian epistolary context. A short paradigm of ul₄ = *hamātu* is given in OBG IX 149–151 (MSL 4, 109 f.). In (later) lexical lists, forms of *arāhu* and *hamātu* regularly occur in sequence, corresponding to ul₄-la (cf. CAD s.v. *arāhu* A, lex. section). The first entry appears to be u₂-la-am, perhaps as an imperative form of the verb ul₄; the second is clearly u₂-la-bi (compare AM and BI in i 20').

ii 19'–20'. The GI₄ in ki \hat{g}_2 -gi₄-a and the GI₄ in the verb are written differently; the sign in the verbal form is more archaic. The verb gi-ri-ib-gi₄ is for /ga.ra.e.b.gi₄/ with vowel harmony in the modal prefix. I can find no other examples of this exact spelling. Civil (2013, 8–12) discusses the volitive prefix /ga/ > /gi/ before /Ci/ as an Ur III morphophonemic alternation. His examples, however, indicate that the writing of /gi/- in such instances is GI₄ rather than GI as here (see also Attinger 1993, 291 f.). Moreover, Civil notes that post-Ur III scribes generally did not follow these conventions. Nevertheless, it appears as though the writer of this OB vocabulary adopted this variation.

ii 21'. Reading suggested by A. Cavigneaux. I am unaware of any other explicit attestations of ennu \hat{g} = *uznu*, but the semantic notion of “keep watch, pay attention” is certainly applicable to both.

ii 22'. The spelling a-ma-ru-ka for a-ma-ru-ka m is, to my knowledge, unique – although the apocopation of the copula is, of course, not uncommon. The KA is broken, but the traces suggest KA and exclude KAM.

ii 23'–26'. Note the syllabic spelling ta-ak-ke for tag-ge(-en). Here, ki tag is translated *lapātu*, an equation which, to my knowledge, is otherwise unknown. In Sumerian literary contexts, ki tag is “to lie down on the ground” and various similar meanings (Civil 1985, 32).²⁹ In this text, however, ki tag is taken as (essentially) synonymous with šu tag.

²⁶ Al-Fouadi 1976; see also the edition at oracc.org/dcclt/P274929.

²⁷ Note that clear noun incorporation (si-sa₂ as the verbal root) occurs already during the time of Hammurabi (see Wilcke 2005, 279 with fn. 271), as in the form $\hat{h}e_2$ -ni-ib-si-sa₂ in the royal inscription

tion Hammurabi 11, 57 (RIME 4.3.6.11), in the form nu-si-sa₂ in a copy (provenance unknown) of the letter of Ninšatapada to Rim-Sin, 11 (Brisch 2007, 246–261), and in various forms of the verb si $\hat{h}e_2$ -em-si-sa₂ in non-Nippur copies of Šulgi A, 28 (Delnero 2006, 1876 f.).

²⁸ For the use of these two verbs in letters, see Sallaberger (1999, 152 f.) within his discussion of Akkadian practice letters.

Multilingualism in Old Babylonian Schools

Old Babylonian school texts rarely reflect the multilingual reality of the period, during which several languages were in use in cities and countryside. The vast majority of school texts are unilingual Sumerian, including the group of texts now housed in the Rosen Collection alongside the RV. Of the several thousand OB school texts known to exist as of 2015, fewer than 150 provide any explicit Akkadian translations. I have discussed elsewhere that translations expressed in school texts from Nippur reflect a mode of scholarly knowledge production I term analogical hermeneutics (Crisostomo 2014). The present text lacks overt examples of analogy based on graphic, semantic, or phonologic extension. Nevertheless, if we accept that vocabularies such as this were produced in the same school contexts as other lexical lists and that vocabularies offer translations to excerpts from, or allusions to, literary texts, our picture of multilingualism in OB schools continues to develop.

Although it is possible that Sumerian was indeed spoken in school contexts, as alluded to especially in the Eduba literature and dialogues (see Volk 2000), such oral discourse may be divorced from the written practices. As I have argued elsewhere, the substantial use of graphic analogies as an (occasionally obscure) ordering principle strongly suggests that the writing system, more so than discourse potential, was at the core of scribal education during the OB period, at least insofar as we understand the practice of copying lexical and literary compositions (Crisostomo 2014, 27–29, 33–78).³⁰ These writing practices thus govern our understanding of all cases of multilingualism in the lexical lists and, by extension, the grammatical texts and vocabularies.

Multilingualism in OB schools is an extension of the analogical practices that student scribes developed and habitualized as part of their training in the cuneiform writing system. Just as the graphic analogy of DU to kaš₄(DUšeššig) connects lu₂ erim₂ DU “enemy” to the

following lu₂ kaš₄-e “runner” in the primary Nippur version of Lu-azlag (Seg.1 46–47; see Crisostomo 2014, 60 f.)³¹ and the phonological analogy of the reading e gir₅ “wall” for sig₄ (Civil 2011, 232 f.) to e₂-gar₈ “wall” allows a transition from a graphic sig₄ section to a thematic “Wall” section in Izi (I 274–299; see Crisostomo 2014, 67),³² so too does linguistic analogy allow a correspondence between a Sumerian word/phrase and an Akkadian. In other words, analogies are not confined to individual signs and words, but can be extended across languages.

The paradigmatic grammatical texts adopt these strategies in the extreme, enabling scholars to demonstrate their command of the cuneiform writing system and the languages it expressed (see Black 2004; Veldhuis 2014, 219 f.). In those grammatical discourses, scholars could create and invent forms on the basis of analogy and analyze them interlingually. It is clear that many mixed vocabularies are ordered, at least in part, as much by the Akkadian correspondences as by the possible phonological or graphic analogies provided either in Sumerian or Akkadian.³³ As I show below, the ordering principle may move between the two languages intermittently. As Michalowski (2010) has argued, the profound and multi-level interlingual and multilingual practices that are now being recognized have far-reaching consequences for our understanding of OB school texts, both sociologically and philologically.

Vocabularies such as RV allow for a similar interlingual exploration of literary phrases, again extending the potentiality of analogy beyond words and signs. In RV, although apparently no entries directly quote any known compositions, the allusions are clear. We might speculate that vocabularies allow reformulation or extrapolation of expressions known from literary texts and translated accordingly. This suggestion may account for the lack of direct literary quotations in these vocabularies. Thus, these vocabularies may allow the writers to allude to a literary composition via a phrase, provide a suggested interlingual (Akkadian) correspondence, and sequentially generate analogous phrases. The RV, then, gives lines referencing – but not directly quoting – Eduba A (i 19'–22') and relevant Akkadian expressions. These allusions, in turn, allow the scribe to generate similar entries (i 23'–24') and subsequently lead to entries dealing with other expressions emerging from the Eduba (or related) texts (e.g., ii 1'–ii 12').

²⁹ Note the discussion by Karahashi (2000, 39–42) on compound verbs with ki as the nominal element.

³⁰ See also Veldhuis's (2014, 209–212) discussion of the use of various animal-head signs in the ordering proverbs. The mixed vocabularies further affirm the point. Like many curricular lexical lists, the mixed vocabularies are ordered by multiple processes, including graphic analogy. One obvious example of such is found in OBGT XI (MSL 4, 114 f; PBS 5, 136; see also <http://oracc.org/dcclt/P227688>), where a section of d u₇-d u₇ lines (6'–10') is immediately followed by lines beginning with ul such as ul gu r₃-ru, ul ti-a, and ul-d u₃-a (v 11'–14'); acrographic structuring is not limited to the curricular lexical lists.

³¹ oracc.org/dcclt/Q000302.

³² oracc.org/dcclt/Q000050.

³³ For example, UET 7, 93 (Sjöberg 1996), N 970 (see <http://oracc.org/dcclt/P228085>), and UET 6/2, 358 (MSL 16, 45 f.).

UET 7, 94 seems to function similarly (after Civil 2009):

1	[bar]-zag ₃ ^{bar-sag}	ṭú-up-l[um [?]]	insult	SEpM 18, 14
2	ni ₂ ¹ -bar ₃ ^{ni-bar}	pu-uq-qum	to pay attention	SEpM 18, 15
3	maḥ	šu-qú-ú-um	high	SEpM 18, 13
4	šu dag	ka-du-um	to be distressed	SEpM 18, 15
7	dub-sar ḡeštug ₂ -ak!-a	ṭup-šar pe-tu-um	an attentive scribe	(SEpM 18, 16)
9	bir ₂	ši-iḥ-tum	laughter	SEpM 18, 12
10	i-si-iš	ši-iḥ-tum	laughter	SEpM 18, 12
11	IL ₂ ^{il?}	sa ¹ -a-ú-um	to groan(?)	
12	šu-kar ₂	ṭú-pu-ul-lu-um	scorn	
13	[s]u-lum mar	ṭú-pu-lu-um	to scorn	

As Civil has recognized, UET 7, 94 cites SEpM 18 (Kleinerman 2011, 167), although some entries give spellings or morphologies that do not align with any known copies of SEpM 18, including two copies from the same archaeological context at Ur, No. 1 Broad Street (UET 6, 175. 176).³⁴ The citations in UET 7, 94 do not correspond to the order the lemmata appear in SEpM 18. The rearrangement may have analogical importance. The first two entries both include /bar/ in the Sumerian. The following entries perhaps focus on phonological resemblance in the Akkadian correspondences – /q/ occurs in the second syllable of both *puqqum* and *šūqum*, and a dental occurs in the second syllable of *kādum*, *petūm*, and *ših̄tum*. Line 7 is not a direct quotation from SEpM 18; the use of ḡeštug₂ echoes the line ḡeštug₂ šag₄ tuku-tuku lib bi-ḡar in UET 6, 176.³⁵ The scribe of UET 7, 94 seems to connect the line from SEpM 18 with an entry from elsewhere.³⁶ The entry IL₂^{il} = *sā'u* is phonologically reminiscent of the preceding *ših̄tum* (derived from *šāḥu*) entries and semantically connected to the earlier entry *šu-dag* = *kādu*. It also corresponds to the meaning of *i-si-iš* given in the gloss *ta-as-lim¹-tu-ka* in UET 6, 175.³⁷ The sense of distress and

discomfort signaled here then leads back to the sources (in the letter) of the emotional pain, mockery and insults, expressed by *ṭupullūm* and *ṭuppulum* as in the first entry of UET 7, 94.

The post-OB lexical lists Erimḥuš and Nabnitū and the various group vocabularies demonstrate similar analogical ordering operations. Connections between entries which appear (to us) vague, demonstrate a robust knowledge of the possibilities of cuneiform scholarship, including the writing system, the languages, and the compositions associated with the scribal arts. Michalowski (1998) has shown that a few lines in Erimḥuš indeed draw on the literary composition Inana C, establishing that the analogical connections may represent a dependency between the lexical and literary bodies. Perhaps, then, the mixed vocabularies, operating within the same conceptualization of scribal knowledge, allow for similar expansion based on a literary allusion rather than necessarily direct quotation (as we typically understand such). Further examination of the entire corpus of mixed vocabularies – a project beyond the scope of the present contribution – should further clarify this suggestion.³⁸

C. Woods (2006, 111–118) proposed that the procedural lists with scribal drill exercises could be understood as evidence for the use of Sumerian outside of schools during the OB period. If, however, mixed vocabularies provide instead excerpts and translations from literary texts along with related phrases, the expressions from such texts reflect not the vernacular, but the possibilities of generating knowledge by means of written multilingual scholarship.

šag₄ al-li-bi = *i-sā-ú* in the MB list of diseases. Civil (2009, 67) suggested that *sa-a-ú-um* “may be meant to clarify the phonology of the root *šāḥu*”.

³⁸ Veldhuis has already suggested that “some of these [miscellaneous vocabularies] may have been at the origin of later lexical series such as Nabnitū or Erimḥuš” (Veldhuis 2014, 177).

³⁴ See the catalogue by Charpin (1986, 441. 451) and the edition of SEpM 18 by Kleinerman (2011, 167–170, 283–289). Notably, UET 6, 176 includes a subscript quoting excerpts from the letter in Akkadian and UET 6, 175 gives some Akkadian glosses; thus, all attestations of this literary letter at Ur offer Akkadian renderings of various words/phrases, although none concur on the Akkadian correspondences when they overlap (Civil 2009, 67; Kleinerman 2011, 111f.).

³⁵ The line is omitted in UET 6, 175.

³⁶ The similar entry *dub-sar ḡeštug₂-šu₂-ak-a* occurs in a Middle Babylonian version of the list Lu(=šā) from Nuzi (see MSL 12, 80f.). There is no reason to connect the entry with the present text from Ur.

³⁷ The later Middle Babylonian list of diseases, BM 13128 (oracc.org/dcclt/P429486), gives a connection between the meaning of *šu-dag* found here and *sā'u* (šag₄ šu dag-ga = *sā-ú-um*), where *sā'u* is an expression of pain or discomfort (see citations in CAD S s.v. *sā'u*). The present entry in UET 7, 94 may be reflected in the entry

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