

# An introduction to Sumerian Cuneiforms

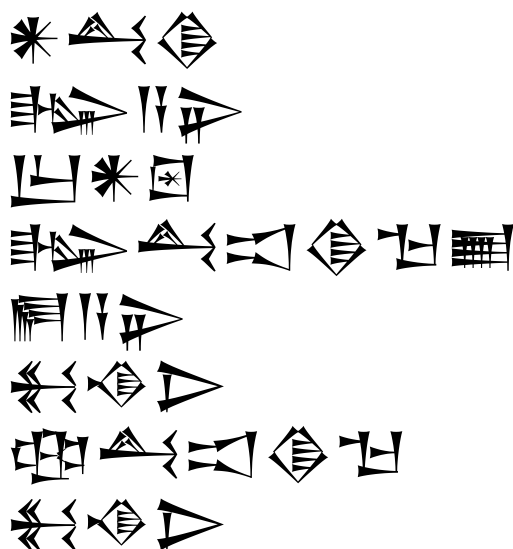
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# Chapter 1

## Ur-Nammu-9

The Sumerian cuneiform script was the first writing system invented by humankind. Therefore, all educated individuals should learn this 5,000-year-old script. In this tutorial, we will learn how to read and reproduce the writing on the Ur-Nammu 9 Brick.



There are few grammar books for Sumerian. Unfortunately, Marie-Louise Thomsen's "**The Sumerian Language**" does not use cuneiform, so I cannot recommend it. This leaves us with John Hayes' Manual of Sumerian and Joshua Bowen's Learn to Read Ancient Sumerian. Therefore, I advise you to buy "**A Manual of Sumerian: Grammar and Texts**" by Hayes to learn this ancient language in depth. It is also a good idea to acquire "**Learn to Read Ancient Sumerian**" by Joshua Bowen and Megan Lewis.

## 1.1 Disclaimer

The authors of this book are not a scholars in Sumerian studies in any sense. Therefore, they may not help serious students of cuneiforms to solve their pendencies and questions.

For scholars and graduate students who are writing their thesis, the authors recommend John Hayes' **Manual of Sumerian** and Joshua Bowen's **Learn to Read Ancient Sumerian**. Hayes' manual strong points are inscriptions and dedicatories, while Bowen and Lewis prefer literary texts.

## 1.2 Sentence structure

To discuss grammar, scholars use a transliteration of Sumerian cuneiforms to the Latin alphabet. Below, you will find the transliteration of the Ur-Nammu-9 document that we will study in this lesson.




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1- [NANNA
2-     LUGAL.ANI].{(R)} #dat           -- For his king
3- [UR-NAMMU                               -- Ur-Nammu,
4-     LUGAL.URIM5.{AK}].{E} #gen/erg  -- the king of UR,
5- [E2.ANI].{Ø} #object                 -- his temple
6- MU.NA.DU3 #verb                      -- he built
7- [BAD3.URIM5.{A(K)}].{Ø} #gen/obj     -- the city wall of Ur
8- MU.NA.DU3 #verb                      -- he built

```

## 1.3 Grammar functions in transliteration

In the transliteration, grammar functions are represented by indicators between braces. In the example, the grammar functions are:

- 1,2 The benefactive has an unwritten R, which is represented by {(R)}
- 3,4 The genitive ends in {AK} after consonant; the ergative ends in {E}
- 5 The object of the action has no ending, which is represented by {Ø}
- 7 The genitive has an unwritten K, which is represented by {A(K)}
- 8 The verbal chain  (tr mu na du3) starts with the ventive prefix , followed by a cross-reference  (tr na) to the dative.

Square brackets delimit a noun chain, i.e., a noun followed by a sequence of limiting qualifiers that may contain adjectives, apositives and a genitive. Example: [UR-NAMMU LUGAL.URIM5.{AK}].{E} means

[Ur-Nammu, Ur's king].{task-doer}

After the close square bracket, a braced symbol suffix indicates the function of the noun chain. For instance, .{E} shows that [UR.NAMMU...].{E} is the doer of the sentence's task. The {(R)} symbol shows that [NANNA...].{(R)} receives the benefits of the task: [God Nanna].{benefactive}.

The noun chain may contain a genitive, as was stated in the previous paragraph. If you don't know the role of a genitive, it is a grammar function that shows possession. In English, the Saxon genitive marks the possessor with apostrophe-s and comes before the noun: *Ur's king*. In Sumerian, the possessor follows the noun and is marked with {AK} after consonant and {K} after vowel: {URIM5 MA}.{K} is equivalent to *Ur's king*.

Braces represent the grammatical function endings. For instance, the ergative function-ending represents the doer of the task and is written as {E} #erg, where #erg is a comment that will be omitted in more advanced lessons. The person who receives the benefit of the action is called dative and is represented as {RA} #dat, where the #dat comment is usually omitted.


The empty ending of the object is commented as {} #obj or simply as {} #obj. In the example, the objects are the constructions of king Ur-Nammu:




[E2 A NI].{ } -- his temple  
 [[BAD3.URIM5].{A(K)}].{ } -- the city wall of Ur



Unwritten endings are placed between parentheses, such as {(R)}.


## 1.4 Line 1 & 2

The Ur-Nammu 9 document is divided into eight lines.

  
<sup>d</sup>nanna                  lugal                  a ni  
 (tr an nanna lugal a ni)  
 For the god Nanna, his master,

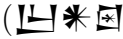




 (<sup>d</sup>nanna) the god Nanna  
 (lugal) king, master  
 (a ni) his



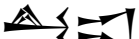


In the first line, the text  is written, which is the Sumerogram for the name of Nanna, the god of the Moon. The  symbol is read as *an* (or *digir*) and is determinative for deity. We will learn in the next paragraph that this word is in the dative case; therefore, the translation of the rectangle is “*For Nanna.*”



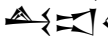




Sumerian uses symbols, called determinatives, to make the meaning clearer. The star  in front of a god’s name is the determinative of divinity. In transliteration, the determinatives are represented as a superscript letter, such as <sup>d</sup>nanna.


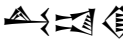



The Emacs command (tr an nanna lugal a ni) is used to typeset Sumerian. There are instructions about this command on the page where you found this tutorial.


## 1.5 Line 3 & 4



The third line of the Ur-Nammu-9 document contains the name of Ur-Nammu () the king who rebuilt the temple of <sup>d</sup>Nanna and is the document’s author. The king’s name is formed by  (*ur*), which means *man* or *dog*, and  (<sup>d</sup>nanna), the Mother Earth of the Sumerians. Therefore, the king’s name, , means “*The Man of Nammu.*” Note that the determinative of deity () precedes the goddess’ name.

				
ur- <sup>d</sup> nammu	lugal	urim	ma	ke4
(tr ur nammu lugal urim ma ke4)				
<i>Ur-Nammu, the king of Ur,</i>				

	(ur- <sup>d</sup> nammu) King Ur-Nammu
	(lugal) king, master
	(urim <sup>ki</sup> ) the city of Ur
	(ki) <i>determinative of places</i>
	(ma(k)) <i>dative after the consonant “M”</i>
	(ke4) <i>contraction of dative with ergative</i>
	(ma ke4) <i>genitive contracted with ergative</i>



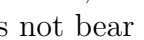
The fourth line contains  (tr lugal urim2 ma ke4), where  (tr urim) represents the city that was the cult center of Nanna. It is formed by the Sumerograms (tr shesh) () and (tr unug) (). The Sumerogram  is the determinative for geographic names. Determinatives,




such as ✱ ("digir" - deity) and  ("ki" - place), are not pronounced. Their role is to make the meaning of the word clearer.

The genitive case denotes possession. Unlike the dative, English has a genitive case, formed by an apostrophe followed by "s." In English, one would say, "Urim's King." In Sumerian, the genitive follows the possessor and is marked with {ak} after consonants and {k} after vowels. In this nominal chain, the "a" of {ak} was assimilated with the previous consonant, becoming  (ma). The Sumerogram  (ke4) represents the {k} of the genitive and the {e} of the ergative.




Sumerian is an ergative language, meaning the agent of transitive actions is marked. In Sumerian, the ergative marker is {e}. However, the subject of an intransitive verb, like "to go" or "to sleep," does not receive the {e} that marks the agent, whom linguists call ergative. Unmarked functions, such as the Sumerian subject of an intransitive verb and direct object of a transitive verb, are called absolutive and said to be marked with the null symbol {Ø}. In short, for the Sumerians and modern Basques, if the subject of a sentence does not perform a task, it cannot be called ergative.

## 1.6 Line 5


The fifth rectangle introduces the temple (e2 - ) that Ur-Nammu built. The expression  (e2 ani) means "his temple." It is in the absolutive case and, therefore, receives the null symbol mark {Ø}, a technical way of saying it does not bear a mark. The noun chain  (e2 ani) undergoes the consequences of the task performed. Thus, it is often called patient, accusative or target.




    
e2      a      ni  
(tr e2 a ni)  
*his temple*

---




 (e2) house, temple  
 (e2 me esh-pl) pl. houses, temples  
 (a ni) his

## 1.7 Line 6


A verbal stem prefixed by a sequence of particles and possibly followed by a suffix is called a *verbal chain*. The verbal chain  (mu-na-du3) can be translated as “*built*.”


    
 mu na du3  
 (tr mu na du3)  
*he has built for the god*

---

 (du3) to build, to make, to plant  
 (mu) *conjugation prefix (CP), ventive prefix, here*  
 (na) *cross-references the dative*








The verbal chain of the example has two prefixes and a stem:







 — Ventive Conjugation Prefix (CP). The Ventive CP indicates that the action occurs here, close to the speaker.

 — Dimensional Prefix (DP) cross-referencing the dative. Sumerian has a DP for each sentence component, except the ergative and the absolutive cases.



 — verbal stem, *he has built*

## 1.8 Line 7 & 8

The noun phrase       (tr bad3 urim ma) means “*wall of Ur*.” The sumerogram  (tr bad3) means “*city wall*.” The {(k)} of the genitive is omitted, meaning it is not expressed because it was not pronounced at the end of a nominal phrase.

       
 bad3 urim ma mu na du3  
 (tr bad3 urim ma mu na du3)  
*the city wall of Ur, he has built*

---

 (ra) ra, *dative ending*  
 (na) *reference to dative*



## 1.9 Reading the brick

Let's read the whole brick inscription.

1. (tr an nanna) (𒀭𒂗𒍪) – *For the god Nanna...*
2. (tr lugal ani) (𒌦𒂗𒍪𒀭) – *his master*, // The word 'lugal' means king or master. It is formed from 'lu2,' (𒌦) which means 'man,' and 'gal,' (𒂗) which can be translated as 'great.' The expression 'a-ni' (𒀭) is equivalent to the possessive pronoun 'his.'
3. (tr ur-nammu) (𒌦𒀭𒍪) – *Ur-Nammu*,
4. (tr lugal urim ki ma ke4) (𒌦𒂗𒍪𒀭𒌦𒍪𒀭𒍪𒍪) – *the king of Ur*,
5. (tr e2 a ni) (𒂗𒍪𒀭) – *his temple*, // Remember that you already learned the meaning of 'a ni.'
6. (tr mu na du3) (𒄀𒍪𒀭𒍪) – *he has built*.
7. (tr bad3 urim ma) (𒂗𒍪𒀭𒍪𒀭𒍪) – *The wall of Ur*,
8. (tr mu na du3) (𒄀𒍪𒀭𒍪) – *he built for Nanna*.

## 1.10 Translation

The meaning of the whole document is something like this: *“For the god Nanna, his Master, Ur-Nammu, the King of Ur, built his temple. The king also built the city walls of Ur for Nanna.”*

## 1.11 The method

I will use the method I employed in this first chapter to introduce a few other documents. In other words, each chapter will contain grammar, vocabulary, syllables, and essential Sumerograms for reading a Sumerian document. This methodology ensures you can handle a manageable amount of information initially.

After discussing how to read a Sumerian inscription, each chapter contains an in-depth presentation of the Sumerian grammar. Initially, you can do without reading this final grammar section. You can return to it after practicing Sumerian with a few inscriptions.

Congratulations. You have finished the first lesson. This appendix gives further details about the case elements, the noun chain and the verbal chain. If you don't feel like it, you don't need to read it now. You can return to this lesson after completing a few Sumerian documents.

The subject of a sentence is the topic of the conversation. Besides the subject, the sentence may have other marked components called case elements. Case elements may have references in the verbal chain. The leading case elements with their marks and references are:

The king built the city wall of Ur.

The king built the wall of Ur for his lady.

The king built a house in the city.

I will go there to my city.

Ablative: 𐤔𐤁 {ta}/ 𐤔𐤁 (-ta-) or 𐤕𐤗 (-ra-) out of

田中 五郎

(cn uru ta ba ta ģen)



He went out from the city.

Comitative:  {da} /  (-da-) with

△ 重慶市公共事業發展中心

(tr lugal e dumu a ni da e2 mu un da du3)

The king built the house with his son.

Equitative:  {gin} /  (-gin-) like, as

(tr a ba shesh ġu10-my gin-equitative)

Who is like my brother?

**Absolute:**  $\emptyset$

三才圖會

(tr nin a ni ra lugal e bad3 mu na du3)

For his lady, the king has built the city wall.

## Dative conjugation

When used as a prefix to a verb, the dative takes different forms depending on the person and number it is referring to.

ㄹ (-ma-) to me

上海金耀米业有限公司

(tr ê26 ra lugal e e2 mu ma du3)

The king built a house for me.

**4** (-ra-) to you

知不足齋書影印

(tr ze2 ra lugal e e2 mu ra du3)

The king has built a house for you.

  
(tr nin ra lugal e e2 mu na du3)

► (-me-) to us

(tr lugal e e2 mu me du3)

𐎠𐎡𐎴 (-ne-) to them

  
(tr lugal e e2 mu ne du3)

The king has built a house for tem.

## Transitive verbs

A transitive verb describes an action that transitions from a subject to a direct object. In a transitive verb, the subject is the doer of the action and is called ergative, which is the Greek term for the person who performs a task. In Sumerian, the ergative is marked with **𒂗** {e}.

The absolute case is the entity that undergoes the consequences of a task. The absolute case can be the person accused of a deed. In this case, it is called accusative.

The absolute case can also be a target of a shooting. Or it can be the object of health care, in which case it is called patient by the doctors.

Some linguists call *patient* all kinds of absolutive cases of a transitive verb, while others prefer the term accusative. In Sumerian, the absolutive case receives no mark, but the linguists say it is marked by the null symbol  $\{\emptyset\}$ .

The transitive verb itself comes last in a Sumerian sentence, and is described by a chain of affixes surrounding the stem. This verbal chain may contain a Modal Prefix (MP, such as 𒄩 • nu • not), a Conjugation Prefix (CP, such as 𒄩 • mu • *ventive*, here), initial pronominal prefix (IPP, such as N in 𒄩𒄩𒄩𒄩 • mu-n.dab.e • he seizes her) and suffix pronouns (𒄩𒄩𒄩 • en-de3-en • us, 𒄩𒄩𒄩𒄩 • un-ze2-en • you people). Below, there are examples of all initial pronominal prefixes.



• (munus) woman, female

- (ra) *dative marker*

𐤀 • (lu2) man, male

- (e) *ergative marker*

• (še) barley, grain

• (uru) city

¶ • (a) *locative marker*

• (mu) *venitive conjugation prefix*, here









- (na) *cross-reference to the dative, to her*









- (ab) *Initial Prefix Pronoun*, it

• (shum2) to give


## Intransitive verb


An intransitive verb does not have a direct object. In Sumerian, the subject of an intransitive verb goes to the absolutive case and, therefore, is not marked.









  
 (tr lu2 uru gu10-my she-goal i3 im gen)


 lu2	    uru gu10 she-goal	  i3 im	 gen
the king	to my city	<i>finite verb prefix</i>	came


The translation of the above example is: *The king came to my city*. You find the vocabulary necessary to scan this example below.


 • (lugal) king


 • (im) *finite verb marker*

 • (ĝen) to come

 • (še3) to, towards

 • (uru) city

 • (uru.ĝu10) my city

 • (uru ĝu10 she-goal) to my city

## Modal Prefix (MP)

The modal prefixes express modality, i.e., relationships to reality or truth. You can only learn the indicative and negation modal prefixes for now. You may learn the other prefixes when you encounter them in Sumerian documents.

### Indicative: (∅-)


In Sumerian, the indicative is unmarked. The empty prefix /∅-/ may represent this fact in transliteration. However, people rarely show unmarked prefixes.

### Negation: /nu-/



(tr nu un gu7)

He didn't eat it.

Let him:  hhe2-



(tr hhe2 ib gu7 e)

Let him eat it.

Indeed:  hha-



(tr hha an gu7)

He ate it, indeed.

Cohortative:  ga-



(tr ga i3 ib2 gar re en ne en)

Let us put it there.

Prohibitive:  na-




(tr na ab gu7 e)

He must not eat it.

## Conjugation Prefix (CP)

The main Conjugation Prefixes (CP) are /mu-/ to indicate that the action occurs here, /bi2-/ in front of open vowels such as /i/, /ba/ to form middle/passive voice, /i3/ to create a finite verbal tense, and /ma/ in combination with /ra/ of benefit. Below, you will find a fairly complete list of Conjugation Prefixes, but you need to learn only /mu-/ and /i3/ for this first lesson.

1. Here: 

(tr mu un re6)

He brought it here.



**2. Followed by open vowel:** 𒄀𒄀 - 𒄀𒄀𒄀𒄀

(tr bi2 in re6)

He made the team bring it.

**3. Followed by ra:** 𒄀𒄀 - 𒄀𒄀𒄀𒄀

(tr ma ra an re6)

He brought it here to you.

**4. Finite verb:** 𒄀𒄀 - 𒄀𒄀𒄀𒄀

(tr i3 im ġen)

He came here.

**5. Middle voice:** 𒄀𒄀 - 𒄀𒄀𒄀𒄀

(tr ba an re6)

He took it for himself.

*Obs. The middle voice with /ba/ indicates an action that affects the doer.***6. Passive voice:** 𒄀𒄀 - 𒄀𒄀𒄀𒄀

(tr ba re6)

It was brought.

**Nominal chain**

In Sumerian, most adjectives are formed from verbs by adding the suffix 𒄀𒄀 {a}. For example, the verb below means to be strong.

**𒄀𒄀 • (kalag) to be strong**

To form an adjective from kalag, one adds an {a}. In Sumerian, different from English, the adjectives follow the noun.

The expression below means *mighty king*. Note that the adjective follows the verb, and the 𒀭 marker contracts with the previous consonant to form the 𒀭 (ga) syllable.



(tr lugal kalag ga)  
a mighty king

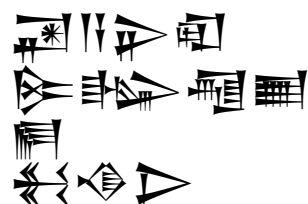
In English, the Saxon genitive is marked with S and precedes the verb. Therefore, one writes “*Elil’s Warrior*.” In Sumerian, the genitive is marked with {k} after a vowel and {ak} after a consonant. Like the adjective, the genitive follows the noun. The {k} of the genitive was rarely written except when combined with the ergative. In this case, it was written as 𒀭 {ke4}.

Below, there is another example of the adjective 𒀭 {a} marker contracting with the previous consonant to form an open syllable.



(tr e2 lugal la)  
the king’s house

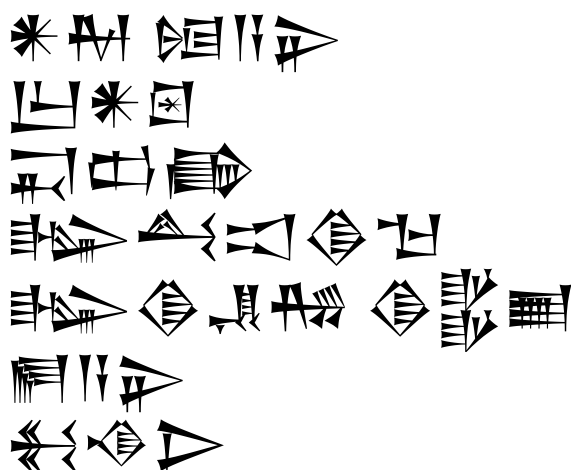
Now, let us examine a somewhat longer example of a noun chain.



(tr ama a ni ra) for his mother,  
(tr dumu lugal la ke4) by the king’s son  
(tr e2) a house  
(tr mu na du3) was built for her

## Chapter 2

### Inscription in Inanna's temple



Translation: *For Inanna, his lady, Ur-Nammu, the mighty man, the king of Ur, the king of Sumer and Akad, built her temple.*

#### 2.1 Sentence structure

1-	[inanna nin a ni].{(r)}	-- For Inanna, his Lady,
2-	[ur-nammu	-- Ur-Nammu,
3-	[nita kalag].{a}	-- the mighty man,
4-	[lugal urim ma].{(k)}	-- the king of Ur,
5-	[lugal ki-en-gi ki uri].{k}].{e}	-- the king of Sumer and Akkad,
6-	[e2 a ni].{ }	-- her (Inanna's) temple
7-	mu na du3	-- built.

From now on, the sentence structure will not contain the comments  
. {k} #gen for the genitive, . {r} #dat for the dative or . {e} #erg for the

ergative (doer of the task). The suffixes  $\{r\}$  for the dative,  $\{k\}$  for the genitive and  $\{e\}$  for the ergative should suffice for showing the grammatical function of the noun chain and its components. However, functional suffixes you didn't learn in the previous lessons will be commented on.

## 2.2 Annotations

𒀭 𒂗 𒂊 𒀭 𒀭

𒀭 𒂗 𒂊 𒀭 𒀭

an inanna nin a ni  
(tr an inanna nin a ni)

*For Inanna, his lady,*

---

𒀭 𒂗 • (dinana) Inanna

𒂊 • (nin) lady, queen, mistress

𒀭 𒀭 • (a ni) his, her

This noun phrase ends in an unwritten  $\{r\}$ , the dative marker. However, there is no ambiguity since the verb chain has a dative reference.

𒌦 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

𒌦 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

ur-nammu nita kalag ga  
(tr ur-nammu nita kalag ga)

*Ur-Nammu, the mighty man,*

---

𒀭 • (nita) man, male

𒀭 • (kalag) to be strong, to be mighty

𒀭 𒀭 • (kalag ga) *adj. from verb*, mighty

One may form adjectives by adding a nominalizing  $\{a\}$ -particle to a verbal root, *kalag* in the present expression. The nominalizing particle contracts with the preceding word's final *g*, giving extra information about its correct reading. Different from English, Sumerian adjectives follow the noun they modify.

lugal      urim      ma  
 (tr lugal urim ma)  
*the king of Ur,*

As we learned from text 1, the genitive is formed by {k} after vowels and {ak} after consonants. The scribe often omitted the {(k)} of {ak}. The “m” of “ma” is contamination from the final consonant of the previous word.

lugal      ki-en-gi      ki uri      ke4  
 (tr lugal ki-en-gi ki uri ke4)  
*the king of Sumer and Akkad,*

---

• (ki-en-gi) Sumer  
 • (ki-uri) Akkad

In ke4 (), the {k} is the genitive marker, and the {e} is the ergative marker. You already saw the analysis of the last two lines in lesson 1, therefore they should pose no difficulty to you.

e2      a      ni  
 (tr e2 a ni)  
*his temple*

---

(e2) house, temple  
 (e2 me esh-pl) houses, temples  
 (a ni) his



mu na du3

(tr mu na du3)

*he has built for the god*

---

▷ (du3) to build, to make, to plant

⌘ (mu) *conjugation prefix (CP), ventive prefix, here*

◀ (na) *cross-references the dative*

## APPENDIX 2: Conjugation

Congratulations again! You have finished the second lesson. As in the first lesson, this appendix details Sumerian pronouns and verbs. You can return to it after completing the fifth lesson to gain an in-depth understanding of possessive pronouns, independent pronouns, interrogative pronouns and verb conjugation.


### Possessive Pronouns

In the first lesson, you found two instances of a possessive pronoun in the expressions ⌘▷⌘ (tr lugar ani) “his master”, and ⌘⌘⌘ (tr uru ĝu10-my) “my city”. Below, I’ve included a complete list of possessive pronouns.

⚡ (ǵu10) m.y

**F** (zu) thy

!y (a-ni) his/her

 (bi, be2) its

‣ (me) our

**𐀵𐀺𐀸𐀺** (zu-ne-ne) your




𐎠𐎡𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩 (a-ne-ne) their

## Independent pronouns

Sumerian has a set of independent pronouns that I advise you to learn right away. They are very important.

𐎠𐎢𐏁 (gē26) I/me

**𐤆𐤊𐤍** (ze2) thou/thee

Obs.  (ze2) becomes  (za) when followed by the dative  (ra).

𐌲𐌹𐌸𐌰 (a-ne) he/she/him/her

𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 (a-ne-ne) they

**Ex:** 恒 恒 恒 恒 恒 恒









a ne      dab5      za ra      ma ra ab shum2 mu

he the tablet to you will give

*He will give you the tablet.*

𐎠𐎡𐎺 (a-ne) he/she

 (dab5) the tablet

𐎶𐎵𐎲𐎠 (zara) to you

𐍲𐍲: 𐍲𐍺 (ze2) followed by 𐍲𐍺 (ra) becomes 𐍲𐍺 (za)

五、豐順紅土

五、豐采堂下邊

五豐商店

五、變態下位五音

五、豐、采、禾、木、火、土、金、水

四 變 圖 一 五 五 下

(tr gu5 li zu (your friends) a ne ne me esh-pl (they are))  
They are your friends.



Ex:

gu5-li	zu	ge26	me en
friend	your	I	am

*I am your friend*

## Vocabulary

(gu5 li) friend

(zu) thy, your, *2nd-person possessive pronoun*

(ge26 me en) *copula*, I am

## Interrogative pronouns

Sumerians marked yes/no interrogative sentences only by intonation and possibly by lengthening the final vowels, like many modern languages, such as Spanish and Portuguese. To ask who performed a task, Sumerians used the interrogative word (tr a ba a), as shown below.

. .

(tr e2 • a ba a • in du3)

the temple • who • built?

Who built the temple?


To ask who is something, Sumerians used the interrogative pronoun (tr a-ba), as shown in the following example:







. .



















(tr a ba • utu • gin-equitative)

Who • Utu • is like?

Who is like Utu?

. .   
(tr lugal e • a na • mu un ak)  
the king • what • did he do?  
What did the king do?







  
 (tr a na • am3 • ne e)  
 what • is • this?  
 What is this?



















  
 (tr a na ash • am3 • i3 ghen)  
 what is it • that he came?  
 Why did he come?

The expression  $\text{𐎠𐎡𐎴}$  (a-na-ash) that one usually translates as “why?” means literally “what for?”