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Messe-*t* up!

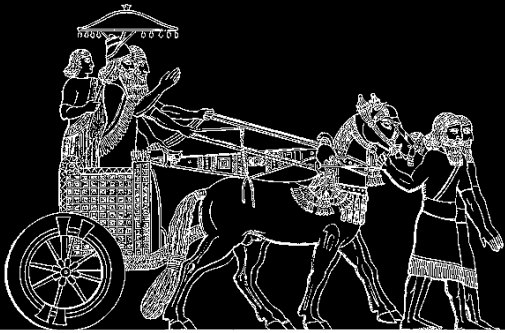
Aspect-Voice syncretism in the Akkadian t-morpheme

Workshop on the Afroasiatic Middle t-Morpheme

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Roadmap



The intensive &
Pluractional *t*

The
coordinator-*t*

Conclusions

The 'middle' *t*

Voice-Aspect
syncretisms

Diachrony?

The ‘Middle’ t

- Middles may be primarily defined via their morphology rather than via their syntactic properties, namely as marking a particular type of voice syncretism (Grestenberger & Kamil, Forthcoming)
 - Voice Syncretisms: Situations in which distinct syntactic alternations (e.g., passive and reflexive) are realized with identical morphology. (Embick 1998)
 - E.g., Haspelmath 1990; Kemmer 1993; Alexiadou and Doron 2012; Zúñiga and Kittilä 2019; Bahrt 2021; Inglese 2021; Oikonomou and Alexiadou 2022

The 'Middle' t

(1) Three types of synthetic voice syncretisms (Oikonomou & Alexiadou 2022)

- Type A: The same morpheme appears at least in reflexive, (reciprocal), anticausative, and passive constructions.
- Type B: The antipassive, reflexive, (reciprocal), anticausative, passive syncretism.
- Type C: The causative/anticausative/passive syncretism (attested mostly in Korean and Tungusic languages).

The 'Middle' *t*

The Akkadian Middle-*t* may express the following three functions:

- Reflexive/Reciprocal
- Passive
- Anticausative

The 'Middle' t

The Akkadian Middle-t may express the following three functions:

- Reflexive/Reciprocal

Root		Base		t-form	
√?pl	G	<i>apālu</i>	pay, answer so.	G	<i>atpulu</i> reciprocate, discuss
√bll	D	<i>bullulu</i>	coat/smear so. with sth.	D	<i>butallulu</i> be covered, smear oneself
√mhr	G	<i>mahāru</i>	face confront so.	G	<i>mithuru</i> attack each other
√mhr	Š	<i>šumhuru</i>	cause so. to face so.	Š	<i>šutamhuru</i> oppose/confront; compare os. with
√psm	G	<i>pasāmu</i>	veil so.	D	<i>putassumu</i> veil oneself
? √pqd	G	<i>paqādu</i>	entrust, care for, appoint	G	<i>pitqudu</i> behave cautiously

⇒ All transitive

The 'Middle' t

The Akkadian Middle-t may express the following three functions:

- Passive

Root		Base			t-form	
√ prr	D	<i>pururu</i>	disperse, scatter	G	<i>pituru</i>	be scattered, dispersed
√ rb?	D	<i>rubbu</i>	make great	D	<i>rutabbu</i>	be made superior
√ nblkt	Š	<i>šubalkutu</i>	bring across, transport	Š	<i>šutabalkutu</i>	be transported
√ mhš	Š	<i>šumhušu</i>	cause to beat	Š	<i>šutamhušu</i>	let os. be beat
√ pss	D	<i>pussusu</i>	flatten, destroy completely	D	<i>putassusu</i>	be flattened , collapse

⇒ All transitive

The ‘Middle’ t

The Akkadian Middle-t may express the following three functions:

- Anticausative

Root		Base			t-form	
√nph	G	<i>napāhu</i>	blow, light up, rise	G	<i>nitpuhu</i>	catch fire, be ablaze
√kpp	G	<i>kapāpu</i>	curve, wind up (tr.)	G	<i>kitpupu</i>	curve, wind up (intr.)
√wtr	G	<i>watāru</i>	increase (intr. & tr.)	Dt	<i>utatturu</i>	multiply greatly (intr.)
√?dr	G	<i>adāru</i>	be dark, gloomy	Dt	<i>utadduru</i>	become dark, gloomy
√?šš	G	<i>ašāšu</i>	be distressed	Dt	<i>utaššušu</i>	become distressed

The ‘Middle’ t

NB: ‘Middle’-semantics are not restricted to the t-Morpheme but can also be expressed through N stems and labile forms, too

Strategy	Root	Base		Other form	
Reflexive	√ʔnh	<i>šūnuhu</i>	trouble/exert o.s.	<i>šutānuhu</i>	weary o.s., make an effort
Reflexive	√lbš	<i>labāšu</i>	clothe os.	<i>litbušu</i>	is clad/overlaid with
Reflexive	√ʔzh	<i>ezēhu</i>	gird so.	<i>nenzuhu</i>	gird o.s.
Anticausative	√mqt	<i>maqātu</i>	fall, collapse	NO N OR T-FORM	/
Anticausative	√pṭr	<i>paṭāru</i>	loosen, release	<i>napṭuru</i>	be loosened, disappear
Passive	√spn	<i>sapānu</i>	flatten, level	<i>naspunu</i>	be flattened, levelled

The intensive & pluractional t

Intensive/pluractional aspect

- Correlation between intensivity and pluractionality seen for instance in intensifying adverbs
 - E.g., *very, so much, extremely, terribly, deeply, fully*, etc. (Zhiber & Korotina 2019)
- Also found in Afroasiatic: Hausa (Chadic) intensive/pluractional verbs (Součková & Buba 2008)
 - Reduplication: *fitoo* ‘come out’ *fir-fitoo* ‘(many people) come out’
- Pluractionality often correlated with progression
 - Laca 2004; Mattiola 2019; Schulze-Berndt 2012
 - Correlation of atelicity (i.e., between *iparras* and the *tan*-stems) has been suggested before

The intensive & pluractional t

Intensive/pluractional -*t*

Root		Base			t-form	
√br?	G	<i>barû</i>	see, look at	G	<i>bitrû</i>	look at thoroughly
√br?	G	<i>barû</i>	see, look at	G	<i>bitarrû</i>	look at repeatedly
√lmn	G	<i>lemēnu</i>	be(come) bad	G	<i>letmunu</i>	be(come) very angry
√kmr	G	<i>kamāru</i>	pile up	G	<i>kitmuru</i>	pile up permanently

Voice-Aspect Syncretism

Why syncretism?

		G	D	Š
Active	<i>iprus</i>	$i-XV_R Z$	$u-XaYYiZ$	$u-ša-XYiZ$
	<i>iptaras</i>	$i-X<ta>YV_{\uparrow} Z$	$u-X<ta>YYiZ$	$u-š-ta-XYiZ$
	<i>iparras</i>	$i-XaYYV_{\uparrow} Z$	$u-XaYYaZ$	$u-ša-XYaZ$
Middle	<i>iprus</i>	$i-X<ta>YV_R Z$	$u-X<ta>YYiZ$	$u-š-ta-XYiZ$
	<i>iptaras</i>	$i-X<ta-(t)>YV_{\uparrow} Z$	$u-X<ta-(ta)>YYiZ$	$u-š-ta-(ta-)XYiZ$
	<i>iparras</i>	$i-X<t>aYYV_{\uparrow} Z$	$u-X<ta>YYaZ$	$u-š-ta-XYaZ$
Pluractional	<i>iprus</i>	$i-X<ta(Y)>YV_R Z$	$u-X<ta>YYiZ$	$u-š-ta-XYiZ$
	<i>iptaras</i>	$i-X<ta-(taY)>YV_{\uparrow} Z$	$u-X<ta-(ta)>YYiZ$	$u-š-ta-(ta-)XYiZ$
	<i>iparras</i>	$i-X<tan>aYYV_{\uparrow} Z$	$u-X<tan>aYYaZ$	$u-š-taX-XYaZ$

Voice-Aspect Syncretism

- Aspect-Voice convergences
 - Comrie (1976, 1981) – A(gent) vs. P(atient)-focus
 - Crosslinguistically, a tendency for subject-focus is observed (A-focus)
 - Perfect(ive)s (in resultative reading) tend to be object-focussed (P-focus)
 - Evidence from Armenian (IE), Nivkh (isolate)
 - Zagana (1999) (building on Saltarelli 1994, Cinque 1988)
 - Syntactic relation between Voice and lexical aspect (following Vendler 1964, Pustejovsky 1989): presence/absence of a Spec-head feature-checking an argument determines whether or not aspectual features associated with said argument become part of the interpretation
 - Evidence from Spanish (IE)

Voice-Aspect Syncretism

- Diachronically passives can arise from perfect(ive)s (Hallman 2021, Haspelmath 1994, 2001, Wegner 2019a, b, review of literature in Grestenberger & Kamil, Forthcoming)
 - Usage of verbal/eventive participles can be seen early in Old English & Old High German, though with restriction to telic events-participles (Abraham 1992)
 - Perhaps due to some verb types inherently entailing change, e.g., verbs of the *crack*-type (Levin 1993)

⇒ In all of these cases, the aspect is telic/perfect(ive)

⇒ In Akkadian, on the other hand, we are dealing with atelic/imperfective aspect

Voice-Aspect Syncretism

- As with the “pure” Voice-syncretism, forms are not always differentiable, but often overlap

Root		Base		t-form	
√kpd	G	<i>kapādu</i>	plan, scheme	G	<i>kitpudu</i> devote os. to sth. consistently
√ʔnh	G	<i>anāhu</i>	be(come) tired	Š	<i>šutān/hhu</i> weary os.
√lbb	G	<i>labābu</i>	rage	Š	<i>šutalbubu</i> exert os.
√pqd	D	<i>puqqudu</i>	entrust, care for	D	<i>putaqqudu</i> exert os.
√ptʔ	Š	<i>šuptû</i>	make sth. open	Š	<i>šutaptû</i> express os. openly

The coordinator-t

- Known as iptaras, or “perfect” (von Soden 1995, Streck 1995, Huehnergard 2018, etc.)
- Suggested meanings
 - Perfect (Hackl 2005, Kouwenberg 2010a 2010b, von Soden 1995, Streck 1995, 1997, 1998, 1999)
 - Epistolary perfect (Streck 1999)
 - Intermediary event between a reference point and a following event (Streck 1999)
 - Progression-indicator
- Arises in the Old Babylonian period with no or questionable Old Akkadian attestations

- (1) *lā ta-hammūt-Ø-ma Hana lā tu-bbab-Ø šumma Yarim-Addû*
 neg 2-√hmt.impfv-sg.m-conj Hana neg 2.D. √?bb.impfv-sg.m if PN
qerb-ek-kum ana āl-im alk-an-nim-ma
 √qrb.stat.3.sg.m-ven-dat.2.sg.m dat city-gen √?lk.imper2.sg.m-ven-dat-conj
lu-wa'êr-ka-ma a<t>lak
 prec-√w?r-acc.2.sg.m-conj √?<t>lk.imper.2.sg.m

“Do not hasten! Do not count the Hana! If Yarim-Addû is near you, go to the city and I may instruct you and (then) you will go.

- (2) *anumma 4 ward-ī zitt-i bēl-iyā u-š-ta-bil-Ø-am*
 now 4 slave-gen.pl part-gen lord-poss.1.sg 1-caus-t-√wbl.pftv-sg-ven

“Now, I have sent four slaves to your side.” (ARM 2 13:7-8)

(3) *umman-āt-um šalm-ā umman-āt-um i-p<ta>ṭr-ā-nim ana*

troops-pl.f-nom √šlm.stat-stat.3.pl.f troops-pl.f-nom 3-√pṭr.<ta>.pftv-pl.f-ven dat

Hamšâ i-kšud-ā-nim

Hamšâ 3-√kšd.pftv-pl.f-ven

“The troops are well, the troops have been liberated, they have arrived at Hamšâ.”
(ARM 1 4:18-21)

(4) *šarr-u ištu attalû u-t<ta>mmer-Ø-u ana šūti u-š-kên-Ø*

king-nom since eclipse.nom 3-D. √nmr.pftv-sg.m-subj dat south.gen 3-caus-√kʔn.pftv-sg.m

“As soon as he (Sîn) had cleared the eclipse, the king prostates himself towards the South” (CT 4 5:7)

Diachrony?

- Aspect-Voice development more easily reconstructible, but still problematic, due to imperfective/atelic nature
 - Also problematic: direction.
 - Usually Aspect→Voice,
 - Here potentially Voice→Aspect, since Voice is attested across AA, not however the Aspect
- Voice→Aspect→Event-coordinator
 - Event-coordination and progression as a result of progressive pluractionality?

Conclusions

- The t-morphemes functions in Akkadian summarised:
 - Middle Voice-syncretism
 - Reflexive/reciprocal
 - Passive
 - Anticausative
 - Aspect-Voice syncretism
 - Intensive/Pluractional aspect
 - Middle
 - Event-coordination/progression

Conclusions

- It is likely that the Middle function is the most archaic given its spread in Semitic and Afroasiatic
- Any inner-Akkadian diachrony is yet unclear
 - To be solved:
 - How did intensive/pluractional, or atelic, Aspect arise?
 - How did the event-coordination feature arise?



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