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Intensive, factitive, and definitely not SIMPLE!

Valency alternations in Akkadian INTENSIVE verbs

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Contents



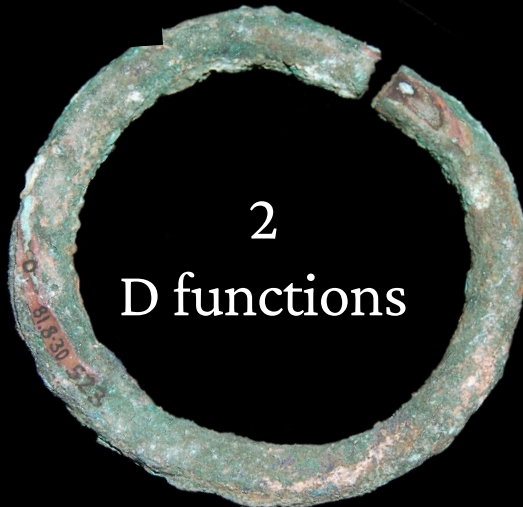
1
Semitic verbal
morphology



3
Pluractionality
and Aspect



5
Conclusion



2
D functions



4
Two causatives:
D vs. Š



Semitic Verbal Morphology

Selected bibliography:
Arad (2005), Faust & Hever (2010), Kastner (2019),
McCarthy (1981), but also Ussishkin (2000) for stem-
based approach

$\sqrt{XYZ}$ + Template Order matters!

Table 1: Derivations of the root $\sqrt{\text{šrq}}$ ‘steal’

Template	Function		Form	Meaning	
XaYāZu	infinitive	⇒	šarāqu	‘to steal’	} verbs
naXYuZu	passive infinitive	⇒	našruqu	‘to be abducted’	
XaYYaZu	participle.M	⇒	šarrāqu	‘thief’	} nouns
XaYYaZītu	participle.F	⇒	šarrāqītu	‘female thief’	
XaYZu	verbal adjective	⇒	šarqu	‘stolen’	} adjectives
XaYYiZu	participial adj.	⇒	šarriqu	‘thieving’	

$\sqrt{\text{šqr}}$ ‘to pierce’
 $\sqrt{\text{qrš}}$ ‘to chop (up)’



Semitic Verbal Morphology

Selected bibliography:

Al Kaabi & Ntelitheos (2019), Arad (2005),
Arbaoui (2010), Doron (2003), Kastner (2020),

In most Semitic languages three general template ‘patterns’ are differentiated:

- A base pattern, characterised by ‘minimal’/unmarked morphology.
- A doubling pattern, characterised by a geminated second root radical.
- A ‘causative’ pattern, characterised by a H/S affix, in Akkadian a š-, prefixed to the root.

Common labels

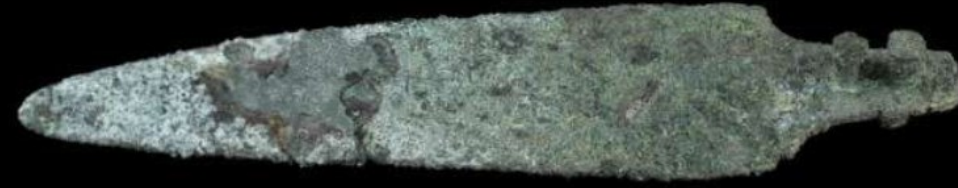
Base	Doubling	Causative
G	D	Š
simple	intensive	causative

Table 2: Conjugations in the template patterns

	Base pattern	Doubling pattern	‘Causative’ pattern
infinitive	XaYāZ-u	XuYYuZ-u	šu-XYuZ-u
perfective	i-XYuZ	u-XaYYiZ	u-ša-XYiZ
imperfective	i-XaYYaZ	u-XaYYaZ	u-ša-XYaZ
resultative	XaYiZ	XuYYuZ	šu-XYuZ



D Functional Scope



(1) G–D correspondences

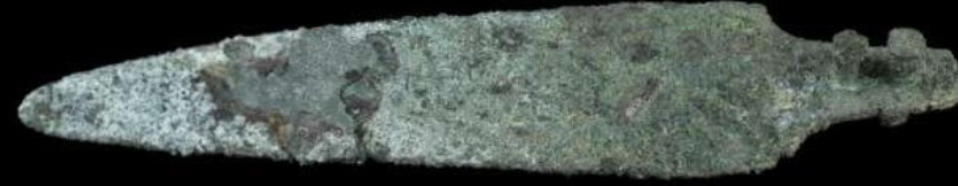
G verb

waqāru ‘be(come) rare, expensive’
mašālu ‘be(come) equal to’
lamādu ‘understand, learn’
ḥabābu ‘murmur, hum’
abāku ‘turn upside down’
pazāru ‘hide (intr.)’
saḥāpu ‘envelop, overwhelm’

D verb

wuqquru ‘make rare, expensive’
muššulu ‘make equal to’
lummudu ‘inform’
ḥubbubu ‘hiss’
ubbuku ‘tear out’
puzzuru ‘hide (tr.)’
suḥḥupu ‘cover, lay flat’

D Functional Scope



States/achievements

Intr. waqāru ‘be(come) rare, expensive’

Tr. mašālu ‘be(come) equal’

Tr. lamādu ‘understand, learn’

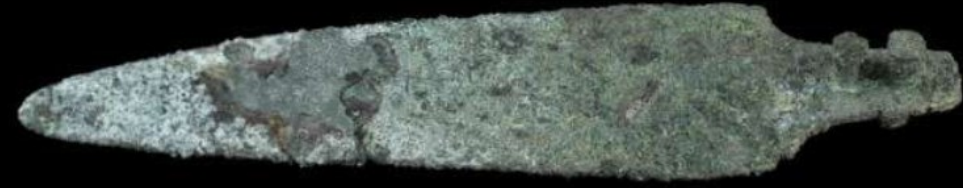
wuqquru ‘make rare, expensive’

muššulu ‘make equal’

lummudu ‘inform’

→ Factitive

D Functional Scope



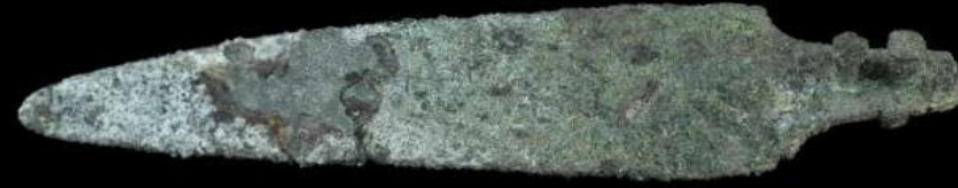
Activities

Intr. ḥabābu ‘murmur, hum’
Tr. abāku ‘turn upside down’

ḥubbubu ‘hiss’
ubbuku ‘tear out’

→ Intensive D

D Functional Scope



This group is difficult to categorise!
Most accomplishments are not one-place predicates but arise through the eventive make-up.

Accomplishments

Intr. pazāru 'hide (intr.)'
Tr. saḥāpu 'envelop, overwhelm'

puzzuru 'hide (tr.)'
suḥḥupu 'cover, lay flat'

→ Mixed

D Functional Scope

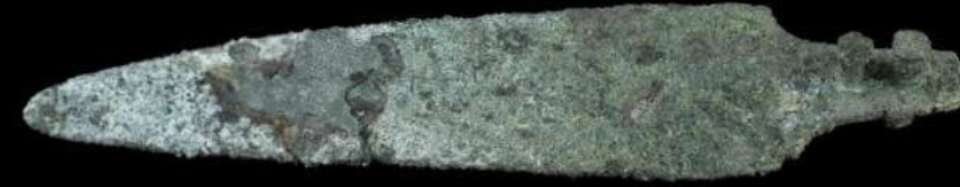


Table 3: Summary of D stem functions across Aktionsarten

G base verb	G valence	D function	D valence
State/Achievement	1	Factitive	2
State/Achievement	2	Factitive	3
Activity	1	Intensive	1
Activity	2	Intensive	2
Accomplishment	1	Factitive?	2
Accomplishment	2	Intensive?	2

Type 1 (factitive): [+AGENT] Valence: +1
Type 2 (intensive): [+INTENSITY] Valence: ±0

Let us take a deeper look at the functions!

Pluractionality & Aspect

(2) Intensive D alternations

Intensity	{	abāku I ‘send, dispatch’	ubbuku ‘drive away, expel’
		abāku II ‘turn upside down’	ubbuku ‘tear out’
		darāsu ‘trample, push back’	durrusu ‘push away, repudiate’
Pluraction- ality	{	baqāmu ‘pluck’	buqqumu ‘tear out (one’s hair)’
		dabābu ‘speak’	dubbubu ‘grumble, complain’
No difference?	{	abātu ‘destroy’	ubbutu ‘destroy’
		pasāmu ‘cover, conceal’	pussumu ‘veil’
		saḥāpu ‘envelop, overwhelm’	suḥḥupu ‘cover, lay flat’



Pluractionality & Aspect

(3) *buppān-ī=ja* *t-abuk-Ø=an=ni*

face-GEN=POSS.1.SG 2-√'bk. 'overturn'.PFTV-SG.M=VEN=DAT.1.SG

“You have overturned me (~made me lie face down)!” (LKA 29 1 6)



Pluractionality & Aspect

- (4) šūt-u i-tebbi-Ø=ma bīt-ān-im
south-NOM 3√tb'.'rise'.IMPF-SG.M.=CONJ house-PL.M-OBL
ubbak-Ø
3.D.√'bk.'overturn'.IMPFV-SG.M
“A south wind will rise and overturn houses” (ACh Sin 35:43)

Note the plural object!



Pluractionality & Aspect

(5) ikrib ... ta-dabbub-Ø

prayer.CSTR ... 2-√dbb.‘speak’.IMPFV-SG.M

“You recite the prayer (accompanying the presenting of water for the hands of the gods)” (BBR No. 75-78 r. 55)

(6) ... ~~idi=š=šum=ma~~ lā

... √ndn.‘give’.IMPER.SG.M=VEN=DAT.3.SG.M=CONJ NEG

u-dabbab-Ø

3-D.√dbb.‘speak’.IMPFV-SG.M

“Give him (a house as good as the old one) so that he won’t grumble.” (CT 29 7a:2)



Pluractionality & Aspect

(7) šipirt-i ... mamma lā i-pessin-Ø

writing-OBL ... anyone NEG 3-√psm.‘hide, cover’.IMPFV-SG.M

“Nobody should suppress the letter!” (ABL 1404:18)

(8) šumma a’īl-u esirt-u=šū u-paṣṣan-Ø

if man-NOM concubine-NOM=POSS.3.SG.M 3-√psm.‘hide, cover’.IMPFV-SG.M

... u-paṣṣan-Ø=šī

... 3-√psm.‘hide, cover’.IMPFV-SG.M=ACC.3.SG.F

“If a man (intends to) cover his concubine, (he shall assemble five or six of his comrades and) he shall veil her (in their presence)” (KAV 1 vi 1ff.)



Pluractionality & Aspect

- (8) *šumma a'īl-u esirt-u=šū u-paṣṣan-Ø*
if man-NOM concubine-NOM=POSS.3.SG.M 3-√psm.‘hide, cover’.IMPFV-SG.M
... *u-paṣṣan-Ø=šī*
... 3-√psm.‘hide, cover’.IMPFV-SG.M=ACC.3.SG.F
“If a man (intends to) cover his concubine, (he shall assemble five or six of his comrades and) he shall veil her (in their presence)” (KAV 1 vi 1ff.)

→ Process-focus



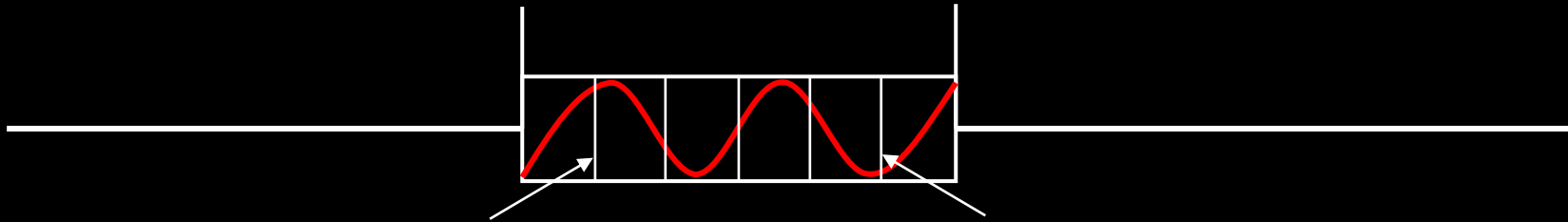
Pluractionality & Aspect

Selected Bibliography:
Inglese & Mattiola (2020), Krifka (1998), Schultze-
Berndt (2012), Tovená (2011)

→ Process-focus vs. result-focus

→ imperfective vs. perfective aspect,

→ atelic vs. telic events



These points are subintervals of one event.

Aspectual focus on the duration/eventuation of an event

→ Associated with **durativity**, **continuity**, **pluractionality**



Pluractionality & Aspect

Selected Bibliography:
Inglese & Mattioli (2020), Krifka (1998), Schultze-
Berndt (2012), Tovená (2011)

Tovená (2011) differentiates diminutive/decrease type pluractionals ...

e.g., It. saltellare, Fr. sautillier 'hop, jump around'

... and augmentative/increase type pluractionals

e.g., Arab. kassara 'smash', ḍarraba 'beat up'

└─ This is the case of D verbs across Semitic

└─ Through increasing pluractionality
intensity, plural objects derive



Pluractionality & Aspect

Selected Bibliography:

Bonacchi (2017), Groneberg (1989), Magni (2017),
Rozhanskiy (2015), Rundgren (1959, 1963)

Back to morphology:

Table 4: Second radical duplications in Akkadian

Root	D infinitive	G imperfective	G intensive N/Adj
√lmn 'be(come) bad'	lummunu 'make bad'	ilammīn 'he will fall into misfortune'	lemmenu 'very bad'
√prṣ 'breach'	purrūṣu 'tell lies'	iparrāṣ 'he is/was breaching'	parrīṣu 'lying'
√škr 'be(come) drunk'	šulkuru 'make drunk'	išakkir 'he becomes/became drunk'	šakkarû 'drunkard, bibulous'

D verbs, imperfective G verbs, and intensive G-derived lexical items all feature a doubled middle radical.

→ Reduplication as a marker of pluractionality typologically very common.



Two causatives: D vs. Š — process vs. result focus



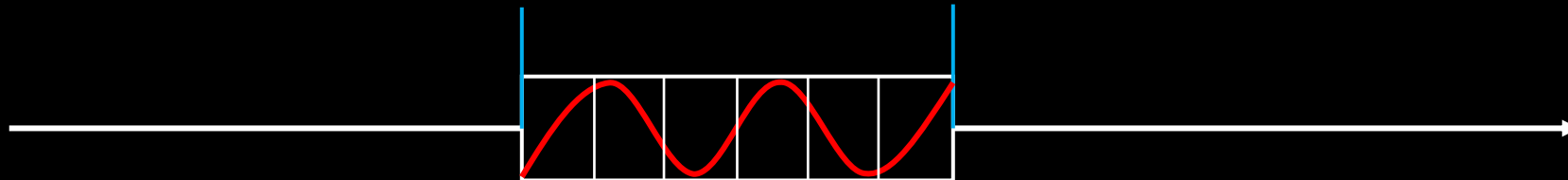
(9) Factitive-causative D-Š alternations

a. waqāru ‘be(come) expensive, rare

→ D wuqquru ‘make expensive’ Š šūquru ‘cause to be(come) expensive’

b. qatû ‘perish, come to an end’

→ D quttû ‘destroy’ Š šuqtû ‘cause to come to an end’



D verbs

Š verbs

Two causatives: D vs. Š — process vs. result focus



(10) iṣṣ-ē rab-ût-e uqqir-ū

tree.PL.OBL big-PL-OBL 3.D.√wqr.‘rare’.PFTV-PL.M

“(For the manufacture of ships,) they made the great trees (near the forests) rare (in all their lands).” (OIP 2 118:10, 104 v 69, Sumer 9 154 vi 6)

(11) maštīt-u u-š-âqir ana pī=šun

drink.NOM 1.SG-CAUS-√wqr.‘rare’.PFTV DAT mouth.PL.OBL=POSS.3.PL.M

“(I held back the water for the preservation of their life,) I caused the drink to become rare/valuable for their mouths (and they laid down their live(s) from parching thirst).” (Streck Asb. 74 ix 34)

Summary & Conclusions

Table 5: Process vs. result-focus alternations

G Aktionsart	D process-focus	Result-focus alternant
States/achievements	Factitive	Š
Activities	Intensive/pluractional	G

Summary & Conclusions

- Akkadian D verbs may denote factitive or intensive/pluractional verbs to G equivalents, the functions depending on the lexical aspect of G verbs
- Both the factitive and intensive functions arise from the primary process-focus the D template pattern denotes
- Is it possible to predict which intensive D verbs derive which type of pluractionality?, i.e., plural objects, intensive agentivity, or process-focus vis-à-vis G verbs
- Morpho-syntactic consequence & mirroring?





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Thank you kindly for your attention!



References

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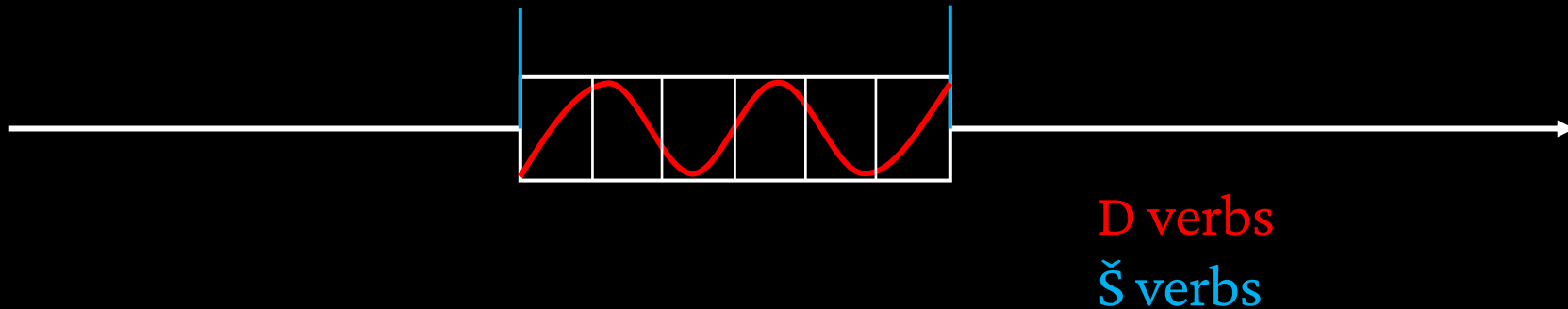
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Appendix: Two causatives – D vs. Š



Back to morphology (again):



D verbs feature process/internal event focus. They modify a root internally.

XYZ → X**YY**Z

Š verbs denote external causation & result focus. They modify a root externally.

XYZ → **ša**-XYZ