t-Forms of the Akkadian Stative

Iris Kamil
iris.kamil@univie.ac.at

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Akkadian

Old Akkadian 2600-2000 BCE

Old Babylonian	2000	-	1500	Old Assyrian
Middle Babylonian	1500	-	1000	Middle Assyrian
Neo-Babylonian	1000	-	500	Neo-Assyrian
Late Babylonian	500	-	75 CE	

Cuneiform

- Logographically,   an, dingir; ilu, anu
- Syllabically,   an, il/el   ! Vowel length not always indicated
- Determinative,   [d](Enlil)   ! Gemination not always indicated
- Phonetic complement   -an, -il/el

Verbal paradigms

preterite	singular	dual	plural		perfective	singular	dual	plural
3.m	iprus	iprusā	iprusū		3.m	iptaras	iptarsā	iptarsū
3.f	iprus / taprus	iprusā	iprusā		3.f	iptaras / taptaras	iptarsā	iptarsā
2.m	taprus	taprusā	taprusū		2.m	taptaras	taptarsā	taptarsū
2.f	taprusī	taprusā	taprusā		2.f	taptarsī	taptarsā	taptarsā
1.c	aprus		niprus		1.c	aptaras		niptaras

durative/imperfective	singular	dual	plural
3.m	iparras	iparrasā	iparrasū
3.f	iparras / taparras	iparrasā	iparrasā
2.m	taparras	taparrasā	taparrasū
2.f	taparrasī	taparrasā	taparrasā
1.c	aparras		niparras

imperative	singular	plural
2.m	purus	pursā
2.f	pursī	pursā

Verbal paradigms

	simple	*intensive*	*causative*
active	iqrab (G) 'be(come) close'	uqarrib (D) 'bring'	ušaqrib (Š) 'present, attach'
passive	naqrab (N) 'make claim'	-	-
middle	iqtarib (Gt) 'come close to one another'	uqtarrib (Dt) 'be brought?'	uštaqrib (Št) 'come close to'

G – Grundstamm: 'qal'/'simple'
D – Dopplungsstamm: intensive/factitive-habitual
Š – Š-Stamm: causative
N – N-Stamm: passive

Verbal paradigms

	dur.	*perf.*	*pret.*	*imp.*	*part.*	*inf.*	*stat.*
G	iparras	iptaras	iprus	purus	pāris-	parās-	paris
Gt	iptarras	iptatras	iptaras	pitras	muptars-	pitrus-	pitrus
D	uparras	uptarris	uparris	purris	muparris-	purrus-	purrus
Dt	uptarras	uptatarris	uptarris	putarris	muptarris-	putarrus-	putarrus
Š	ušapras	uštapris	ušapris	šupris	mušapris-	šuprus-	šuprus
Št	uštapras	uštatapris	uštapris	šutapris	muštapris-	šutaprus-	šutaprus
N	ipparras	ittapras	ipparis	napris	muppars-	naprus-	naprus

Stative

- $C_1aC_2C_3$- + suffix

- What can be stativized?
  - Any noun or adjective
  - Verbal roots
    - Restrictions with non-resultative verbs

- → Gəˁəz perfect & Arabic perfective

Semantics …

stative	*singular*	*plural*
3.m	paris	pars**ū**
3.f	paris**at**	pars**ā**
2.m	pars**āta**	pars**ātunu**
2.f	pars**āti**	pars**ātina**
1.c	pars**āku**	pars**ānu**

independent personal pronouns	*singular*	*plural*
3.m	šū	šinu
3.f	šī	šina
2.m	attā	attunu
2.f	attī	attina
1.c	anāku	nīnu

puḫḫur-ū   *-šunūti*
√pḫr.INT-STAT.3.pl.m   ACC.3.pl.m
   'gather'
'they hold them assembled'

                                                 OBL 3:12, OB

u	*nīni*	*ina*	*ṣill-i*	*šarr-i*	*bēli-ni*	*ana*	*dāriš*	*balṭ-ānu*
and	we	ACC/GEN	shadow-GEN	king-GEN	lord.CSTR-POSS.1.pl	DAT	eternal	√blṭ-STAT.1.pl
								'live'

 'we, however, are flourishing (live for eternity) under the aegis of the king, our lord'

                                               ABL 886: r. 4; NB

ana	*pašāš*	*ṣabim*	*wašib*	GIŠGU.ZA
dat	√pšš.inf.cstr	people.sg-gen	√wšb.stat3.sg.m	wood (det.)-chair (Sumerian!)
	'anoint'		'sit'	

'for the anointing of the persons sitting on chairs'

ARM 7 14:9; OB

mārē	*šiprika*	*ana*	*teknê*	*ina*	*maḫrija*	*lu*	*ašbu/ū*
?	messenger-POSS.2.sg.m	DAT	hospitality.GEN	ACC/GEN	front.CSTR-POSS.1.sg	PREC	√wšb.stat.3.pl.m
							'sit'

'your messengers were allowed to be seated in my presence in order to honor (them)'

EA 16:8; (MA)

šinniš-ā
woman-stat.3.pl.f
'(they) are women'

ARM 1 64:12; OB

rēmēn-êta
merciful-stat.2.sg.m
'you are merciful'

BMS 27:18; LB

zikar-āku
man-stat.1.sg
'I am a man'

Asn. I 33; NA

Stative

- ✦ Buccellati 1968
  - A nominal sentence with a predicate in the predicative state, made up of nominal base and pronominal suffix

- y Kraus 1984
  - Semantic split of the forms: *stative-fientic-nominal*

- ∧ Huehnergard 1987
  - Differentiation between 'regular' and 'active' Stative

- ч Kouwenberg 2000
  - Statives are finite verbs; semantic differentiation between Statives and nominal predicates

- ⊓ Carver 2016
  - Non-finite verb denoting situations with non-progressive, imperfective aspect
  - T/A/M

Stative – T/A/M

℧ Mood?
- Modifiable by mood particles, such as lu/ū: *lū šalmāta lū balṭāta* 'May you be well! May you live!' (AbB 1, 4:4-6)

⋀ Tense?
- Widely recognized answer: 'no'.

⋔ Aspect?
- Yes, but only viewpoint aspect relevant to finiteness
- Type of aspect exemplified especially clearly in legal context

Legal use of the Stative

awīlt-um … ana mutī-ša   2   *mār-ī*   *aldat*
woman-NOM DAT husband-POSS.3.sg.f 2 son.pl-GEN √wld-3.sg.f
                                                     'bear'

'The woman has borne two sons for her husband'

AbB 7 106:19-21; OB

ina   *libb-i*   ½   *šiqil*   *kasp-am*   *ina*   *qāt-i*   PN$_1$ PN$_2$ *maḫir*
GEN/ACC   middle-GEN half shekel.ABSTR silver-ACC GEN/ACC hand-GEN PN$_1$ PN$_2$ √mḫr.STAT.3.sg.m
                                                         'face, receive'

'As part payment, PN$_2$ has received half a shekel of silver from PN$_1$'

VAB 5 148:12-15;

qāti   PN$_1$ *u*   PN$_2$ *nasḫā-ma*
hand-GEN PN$_1$ and PN$_2$ √nsḫ-STAT.3.pl.f-COM
                                   'pull out'
'The claim(s) of PN$_1$ and (that of) PN$_2$ are withdrawn.'

CT 4 31b:6-8;

Stative – Aspect

א Illingworth 1990
  - Perfective, imperfective aspect + past tense

ב Kouwenberg 2000
  - Imperfective aspect since Stative does not "envisage the beginning or the end of the state"

ג Carver 2016
  - Comrie 1976: 46: the Stative, like the nominal predicate, is a predicate that denotes a static situation, which "is one that is conceived of as existing, rather than happening, as being homogenous, continuous and unchanging throughout its duration"
  - "Non-progressive, continuous category of imperfective aspect, which views the situation (i.e., state/condition) as ongoing without change." (Carver 2016:17)
  - No habitual, progressive, or iterative connotations (like durative)

Stative suffixes

ا   Carver: "actor affixes" with similar functions as affixes of preterite, perfect, and imperfective

ب   Suffix sets Stative morphologically apart from verbal adjective and (abstract) noun
-   Suffix always predicates
-   Huehnergard: stativizing element

ج   Suffix open to concatenation of (external) verbal morphemes

→   v-head

t-Morpheme

- Middle-marker, attested in (all?) Semitic languages

- Overlaps between perfective and *t*-paradigms (especially in D and Š

- Behaviour and nature still puzzling

- Can the interaction between the *t*-morpheme and the Stative help us make inferences about either form?

ūl   a.ta.mur-at   ṭuppāt-im
NEG   √amr.<t>-3.sg.f   clay tablet.pl-GEN
         'see'
'PN has not acquired (much) experience'

ARM 1 85:7; OB

mi.t.gur-at   amas-si
√mgr.<t>-3.sg.f   amat-3.sg.f.ACC/GEN
  'agree'   'word'
'her word is friendly'

JAOS 88 127 *ii* b 13; NB (8th c. BCE)

ši.tak.kun
√škn.<ta(n)>.3.sg.m
  'put'
'(it) is laid/placed again and again'

YOS X 40:11; LB

anāku u   attā a.ta.ḫ.w-āni
I   and you   √aḫ.pl.<t>-1.pl
                'brother' *n.*ǃ
'You and I, we are brothers to one another'
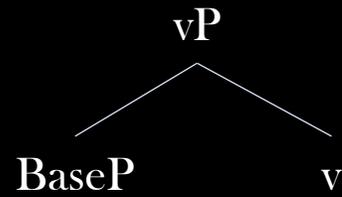
AKT 6 306:34; OA

Analysis and Problems

ʊ Same morphological mechanism (suffixing from a set paradigm) applied to the verbal/adjectival & nominal elements resulting in two(?) different (?) types of Statives

ʌ Predicatization of all forms

ɦ Semantic differences between nominal, adjectival, and verbal Statives, as well as *within* verbal Statives
- Precise definition of the differences (active/passive?)

ɷ Event type
- What element harbours it?
- Suffix?
- *purs-* vs. *pars-*

Differences in the Structure

VoiceP

-t-   vP

BaseP   v

vP

BaseP   v

NP

√   N
abstract?

AdjP

VP   Adj

√   V

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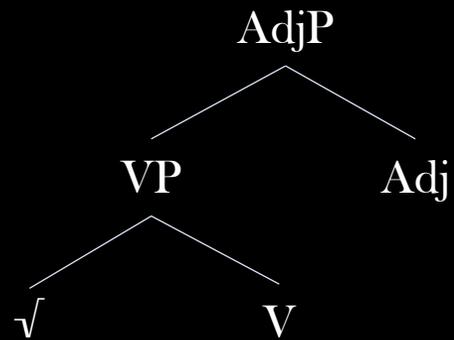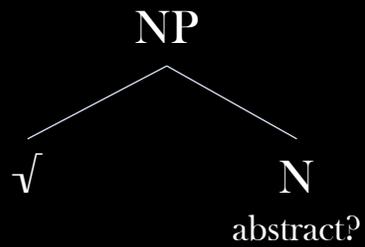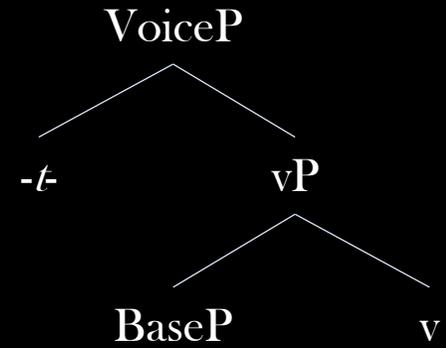
Conclusions and Questions

Morphophonological form correlated to syntactic-semantic 'form and contents'

Remaining unclarities and to-dos:
- Event-type & argument structure
- How (and whether) differences in the structure affect the conveyed semantics
  - Difference in meaning between nominal and verbal/adjectival Statives?
  - Distinction of active-passive Stative?

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ṭubātikunu   *naʾādinni*   *idi*

kindness.CSTR-your.pl   pay attention.INF-GEN-VEN-DAT.1.sg   know.1.sg.PRET

"I know your kindness to listen to me"