ANTICAUSATIVISATION STRATEGIES *in* AKKADIAN
Inherited and Innovated

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DIACHRONIC *and* TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES *on* ANTICAUSATIVIZATION

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Roadmap

- Transitivity Alternations in Semitic – The Root & Template System

- Anticausativisation Strategies in Semitic

- Inherited Anticausativisation Strategies in Akkadian

- Innovated Anticausativisation Strategies in Akkadian

- The Akkadian Stative

- Conclusions

Transitivity Alternations *in* Semitic
The Root & Template System

Semantic base

$$\sqrt{}\quad X\quad Y\quad Z$$

i- X Y V$_R$Z-Ø		
ta- XaYYV$_T$Z-ī		
i- n/XXa Y i Z	G Grundstamm "Base"	0
Xa Y Z-āku		
Xā Y i Z-u		
Xa Y a Z		
u- XaYY i Z-ū		
tu- XaYY a Z-ā	D Dopplungsstamm "Intensive"/"Factitive"	0/+1
nu- ša-X Y i Z-Ø	Š Š-Stamm "Causative"	+1
šu-X Y u Z-ātina		

Categorial info
- ❑ Word class
- ❑ T/A/M
- ❑ Φ-features
- ❑ Argument structure
- ❑ …

TRANSITIVITY ALTERNATIONS in SEMITIC
The Root & Template System

√	G	D	Š
blṭ	live	revive, allow to stay alive	give life to
dlḫ	disturb, stir up	disturb, trouble so.	cause disturbance
kṣr	tie, knot; gather	bind round; assemble	cause to organise
ktm	cover	cover	make so. cover
mṭʾ	be(come) little, low	reduce, curtail	lessen, neglect
rmk	bathe, wash (o.s)	bathe, wash in (tr.)	cause to be drenched/washed
šqʾ	be(come) high, elevated	raise up	exalt, elevate
šrḫ	take pride in	make proud, glorify	glorify
zbl	carry, deliver	linger, keep so. waiting	make so. carry, deliver

But these were the transitivity increasing operations.

What about the transitivity reducing operations?

ANTICAUSATIVISATION STRATEGIES IN SEMITIC

De-transitivisation – Morphology

- *t*-morpheme
- N-stems
- Internal passives

		t-morpheme:	N-stems:	Internal passives:
		- either prefixed to the root or inserted after the first overt con-sonant of a word	- prefixed to the root	- The vocalic pattern of a word is changed (Ablaut)
Hebrew (Modern)	xileq divide	i-t-xaleq be divided, divide (AC)	ne-xlaq be divided	xulaq be divided
	tiher cleanse	i-(t)-taher purify oneself	ni-thar be cleansed (lit.)	tuhar be cleansed
	sireq comb	i-s<t>areq comb one's hair	ni-sraq be combed, searched	suraq be combed

ANTICAUSATIVISATION STRATEGIES IN SEMITIC

De-transitivisation – (Functional) Distribution

- *t*-morpheme
- N-stems
- Internal passives

- Passive
- Reflexive/reciprocal
- Anticausative

But do all morphemes have all three functions?

	t-morpheme			N-Stems			Internal Passives		
	Pass	Refl	AC	Pass	Refl	AC	Pass	Refl	AC
Akkadian	✓	✓	✓	✓	/	✓		/	
Hebrew	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓?	✓	✓	/	/
Arabic	✓	✓	✓	✓	?	✓	✓	?	✓?
Amharic	✓	✓	✓		(✓)		?	?	?
Tigre	✓	✓	?		(✓)		✓	?	?
Mehri	✓	?	?		(✓)		✓	?	?

ANTICAUSATIVISATION STRATEGIES *in* AKKADIAN
The Inherited *t-* and n-Morphemes

- Most anticausatives appear in G

- To *derive* anticausatives from (transitive) G verbs, Akkadian uses three strategies

  - t-morpheme:

    - G → Gt

      - ?

    - G → Dt
      - √msʾ G *mesû* 'wash (tr.)' → Dt *mutessû* 'wash (intr.)'

  - N-stem:

    - G → N
      - √ʾll G *alālu* 'hang (tr.)' → N *naʾlulu* 'hang (intr.)'

Anticausativisation Strategies in Akkadian
The Innovated Stative-strategy

- Stative:
  - G → G Stat
    - √šbr G šebēru 'break (tr.)' → šebir 'break (intr.)'

- The Stative is a verbal paradigm found in all derived stems and its derived voices
  - G, Gt, N, D, Dt, Š, Št
- Made up of nominal elements, it is synchronically a <u>verb</u>
  - Verbal Adjectival base: XaYZ-
  - Suffixes derived from independent personal pronouns
- Denotes a state following a change-of-state associated event

	Singular	Plural
3 masc	XaYiZ	XaYZ-ū
3 fem	XaYZ-at	XaYZ-ā
2 masc	XaYZ-āta	XaYZ-ātunu
2 fem	XaYZ-āti	XaYZ-ātina
1 com	XaYZ-āku	XaYZ-ānu

ANTICAUSATIVISATION STRATEGIES *in* AKKADIAN

The Innovated Stative-strategy

(1) *awilt* *-um* ... *ana* *mutī* *-ša* *2 mār* *-ī* *ald* *-at*

woman -NOM ... DAT husband.CSTR -3.SG.F.ACC 2 son -PL.GEN bear.STAT -STAT.3.SG.F

'The woman has borne two sons for her husband.' (AbB 7, 106: 19-21)

(2) *ana* *iâši* *ruṣi* *ban* *-at* *u* *addir* *-at*

DAT DAT.1.SG hurry.IMP.SG.F beautiful -STAT.3.SG.F and darkening -STAT.3.SG.F

'Come to my help, now you are beautiful, now you are faint' (Craig ABRT 1 67:24)

(3) *karpas* *-sa* *hapi* *-at* *qablīs* *-sa* *šibr* *-it*

clay tablet.CSTR -ACC.3.SG.F smash.STAT STAT.3.SG.F qablītu -ACC.3.SG.F break.STAT STAT.3.SG.F

'Her clay tablet (is) smashed, her qablītu (is) broke(n)' (CT 48 49:3)

Conclusions

- Focussing on derivational morphology, Semitic has three common strategies for de-transitivisation
    - t-morpheme, N-stems, Internal Passives
- The t-morpheme commonly functions as an anticausative marker across different branches of Semitic
- Where productive, N-stems can also form anti-causatives
- Both the t-morpheme and the N-stems are anticausativisation markers in Akkadian
- The more productive strategy for anticausativisation in Akkadian is the usage of a Stative
    - Statives denote states following change-of-state associated events while not specifying the causer of these events

Anticausativisation strategies *in* Akkadian
Inherited and Innovated

Thank you kindly
For *your* Attention

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