

t-Forms of the Akkadian Stative

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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,
- ☐ Syllabically,
- ☐ Determinative,
- ☐ Phonetic complement



an, dingir; ilu, anu
an, il/el
^d(Enlil)
-an, -il/el

! Vowel length not always indicated
! Gemination not always indicated

Verbal paradigms

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

		<i>durative/imperfective</i>	<i>singular</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>
			<i>3.m</i>	iparrasā	iparrasū
			<i>3.f</i>	iparras / taparras	iparrasā
<i>imperative</i>	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>2.m</i>	taparras	taparrasā
	<i>2.m</i>	pursā	<i>2.f</i>	taparrasī	taparrasā
	<i>2.f</i>	pursī	<i>1.c</i>	aparras	niparras

Verbal paradigms

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

G – Grundstamm: 'qal'/'simple'

D – Dopplungsstamm: intensive/factitive-habitual

Š – Š-Stamm: causative

N – N-Stamm: passive

Verbal paradigms

	<i>dur.</i>	<i>perf.</i>	<i>pret.</i>	<i>imp.</i>	<i>part.</i>	<i>inf.</i>	<i>stat.</i>
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	uštapis	ušapis	šupris	mušapis-	šuprus-	šuprus
Št	uštapras	uštatapris	uštapis	šutapis	muštapis-	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

↗ → Gə'əz perfect & Arabic perfective

<i>stative</i>	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
<i>3.m</i>	paris	parsū
<i>3.f</i>	parisat	parsā
<i>2.m</i>	parsāta	parsātunu
<i>2.f</i>	parsāti	parsātina
<i>1.c</i>	parsāku	parsānu

Semantics ...

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

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

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

- ∧ Huehnergard 1987
 - Differentiation between ‘regular’ and ‘active’ Stative

- ‡ 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

u Mood?

- Modifiable by mood particles, such as *lu/ū*: *lū šalmā ta lū baḷā ta* ‘May you be well! May you live!’ (AbB 1, 4:4-6)

ʾ Tense?

- Widely recognized answer: ‘no’.

ḏ 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 PN₁ PN₂ maḥir
 GEN/ACC middle-GEN half shekel.ABSTR silver-ACC GEN/ACC hand-GEN PN₁ PN₂ √mḥr.STAT.3.sg.m
 ‘face, receive’

‘As part payment, PN₂ has received half a shekel of silver from PN₁’

VAB 5 148:12-15;

qāti PN₁ u PN₂ nashā-ma
 hand-GEN PN₁ and PN₂ √nsh-STAT.3.pl.f-COM
 ‘pull out’

‘The claim(s) of PN₁ and (that of) PN₂ are withdrawn.’

CT 4 31b:6-8;

Stative – Aspect

⌘ Illingworth 1990

- Perfective, imperfective aspect + past tense

⌘ Kouwenberg 2000

- Imperfective aspect since Stative does not “envisage the beginning or the end of the state”

λ 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 tuppāt-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.ḥ.w-āni
I and you √aḥ.pl.<t>-1.pl
'brother' *n.*!

'You and I, we are brothers to one another'

AKT 6 306:34; OA

Analysis and Problems

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

Λ Predicativization of all forms

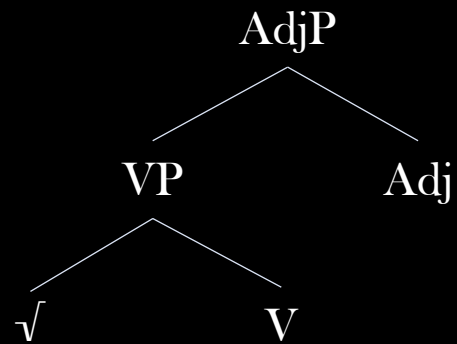
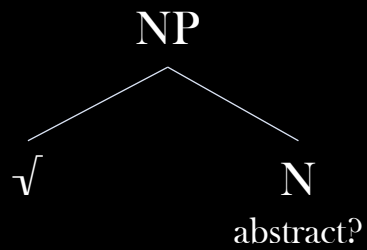
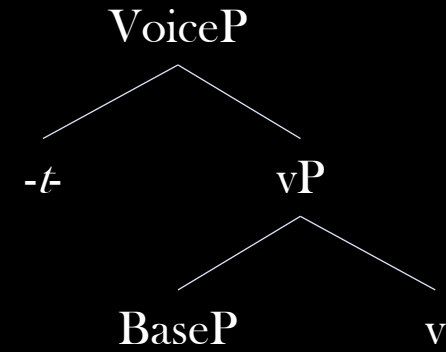
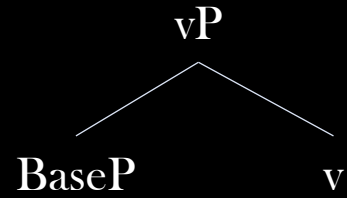
∂ Semantic differences between nominal, adjectival, and verbal Statives, as well as *within* verbal Statives

- Precise definition of the differences (active/passive?)

∞ Event type

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

Differences in the Structure



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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