$\tau$-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, an, dingir; ilu, anu
‡ Syllabically, an, il/el
¶ Determinative, d(Enlil)
‖ Phonetic complement -an, -il/el

! Vowel length not always indicated
! Gemination not always indicated
### Verbal paradigms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preterite</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m</td>
<td>iprus</td>
<td>iprusā</td>
<td>iprusū</td>
<td>3.m</td>
<td>iptaras</td>
<td>iptarsā</td>
<td>iptarsū</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.f</td>
<td>iprus / taprus</td>
<td>iprusā</td>
<td>iprusā</td>
<td>3.f</td>
<td>iptaras / taparas</td>
<td>iptarsā</td>
<td>iptarsā</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.m</td>
<td>taprus</td>
<td>taprusā</td>
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<td>taparsū</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.f</td>
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<td>taprusā</td>
<td>taprusā</td>
<td>2.f</td>
<td>taparsī</td>
<td>taparsā</td>
<td>taparsā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c</td>
<td>aprus</td>
<td>niprus</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.c</td>
<td>aptaras</td>
<td></td>
<td>niptaras</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Durative/Imperfective</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<tr>
<td>3.m</td>
<td>iparras</td>
<td>iparrasā</td>
<td>iparrasū</td>
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<td>3.f</td>
<td>iparras / taparras</td>
<td>iparrasā</td>
<td>iparrasā</td>
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<tr>
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<td>taparrasā</td>
<td>taparrasū</td>
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<td>2.f</td>
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<td>taparrasā</td>
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<td>1.c</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.m</td>
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<td>2.f</td>
<td>pursī</td>
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Verbal paradigms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>simple</th>
<th>intensive</th>
<th>causative</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>active</td>
<td>iqrab (G)</td>
<td>uqarrib (D)</td>
<td>ušaqrib (Š) ‘present, attach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘be(come) close’</td>
<td>‘bring’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>passive</td>
<td>naqrab (N)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘make claim’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle</td>
<td>iqtarib (Gₜ)</td>
<td>uqtarrib (Dₜ)</td>
<td>uštaqrib (Šₜ) ‘come close to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘come close to one another’</td>
<td>‘be brought?’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

G – Grundstamm: ‘qal’/‘simple’
D – Dopplungsstamm: intensive/factive-habitual
Š – Š-Stamm: causative
N – N-Stamm: passive
Verbal paradigms

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>dur.</th>
<th>perf.</th>
<th>pret.</th>
<th>imp.</th>
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<th>inf.</th>
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<td>iprus</td>
<td>purus</td>
<td>pāris-</td>
<td>parās-</td>
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<td>Gt</td>
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<td>iptatras</td>
<td>iptron</td>
<td>muprois</td>
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<td>pitrus-</td>
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<td>uparras</td>
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<td>upriss</td>
<td>muparriss</td>
<td>minterpret-</td>
<td>purriss-</td>
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<td>Š</td>
<td>ušapras</td>
<td>ušatapis</td>
<td>ušapris</td>
<td>mupapis</td>
<td>mušapris-</td>
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<tr>
<td>N</td>
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<td>ittapras</td>
<td>ippariss</td>
<td>muparriss</td>
<td>muppariss-</td>
<td>napriss-</td>
<td>napriss</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Stative

- $C_\gamma aC_\omega C_\eta +$ suffix

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

- $\to$ גו perfect & Arabic perfective

### Independent Personal Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>singular</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>šinu</td>
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<td>šina</td>
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<td>attunu</td>
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<td>2.f</td>
<td>attī</td>
<td>attina</td>
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<td>1.c</td>
<td>anāku</td>
<td>nīnu</td>
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<td>parsū</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f</td>
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<td>parsā</td>
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</tr>
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<td>2.m</td>
<td>parsāta</td>
<td>parsātunu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f</td>
<td>parsāti</td>
<td>parsātina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c</td>
<td>parsāku</td>
<td>parsānu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
puḫḫur-ū  -šunūti
√pḫr.INT-STAT.3.pl.m  ACC.3.pl.m
‘gather’
‘they hold them assembled’

u  nīni  ina  șill-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
‘we, however, are flourishing (live for eternity) under the aegis of the king, our lord’

ABL 886: r. 4; NB
ana pašāš šabim wašib ḡiS GU.ZA

dat √pšš.inf.cstr people.sg-gen √waš.b.stat3.sg.m wood (det.)-chair (Sumerian!)

‘anoint’

‘for the anointing of the persons sitting on chairs’

ARM 7 14:9; OB

mārē šiprika ana teknē ina maḥrija lu ašbu/ū

? messenger-POSS.2.sg.m DAT hospitality.GEN ACC/GEN front.CSTR-POSS.1.sg PREC √waš.b.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’

rēmēn-ēta
merciful-stat.2.sg.m
‘you are merciful’

zikar-āku
man-stat.1.sg
‘I am a man’
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

Mood?
- Modifiable by mood particles, such as ū/ū: ū šalmāta ū baltāta ‘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

\( \textit{awilt-um} \ldots \textit{ana muṭī-ša} \ 2 \, \textit{mār-ī \ aldat} \)

\begin{align*}
\text{woman-NOM} & \quad \text{husband-POSS.3.sg.f} & \quad 2 \, \text{son.pl-GEN} & \quad \sqrt{\text{wld}-3.sg.f} \\
\text{‘The woman has borne two sons for her husband’} & & \end{align*}

\( \textit{ina} \ \textit{libb-i} \ \textstyle \frac{1}{2} \ \textit{šiqil} \ \textit{kasp-am} \ \textit{ina} \ \textit{qāt-i} \ \textit{PN_1} \ \textit{PN_2} \ \textit{mahir} \)

\begin{align*}
\text{GEN/ACC} & \quad \text{middle-GEN} & \quad \text{half} & \quad \text{shekel.ABSTR} & \quad \text{silver-ACC} & \quad \text{GEN/ACC} & \quad \text{hand-GEN} & \quad \textit{PN_1} & \quad \textit{PN_2} & \quad \sqrt{\text{mḥr}.\text{STAT.3.sg.m}} \\
\text{‘As part payment, PN}_2 \text{ has received half a shekel of silver from PN}_1 \text{’} & \end{align*}

\( \textit{qāti} \ \textit{PN}_1 \ u \ \textit{PN}_2 \ \textit{nasḥā-ma} \)

\begin{align*}
\text{hand-GEN} & \quad \textit{PN}_1 & \quad \text{and} & \quad \textit{PN}_2 & \quad \sqrt{\text{nḥ}-\text{STAT.3.pl.f-COM}} \\
\text{‘The claim(s) of PN}_1 \text{ and (that of) PN}_2 \text{ are withdrawn.’} & \end{align*}

\( \text{AbB 7 106:19-21; OB} \)

\( \text{VAB 5 148:12-15;} \)

\( \text{CT 4 31b:6-8;} \)

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Iris Kamil - t-Forms of the Akkadian Stative
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”

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-progressve, 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

Carver: “actor affixes” with similar functions as affixes of preterite, perfect, and imperfective

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

Suffix open to concatenation of (external) verbal morphemes

v-head
ε-Morpheme

- Middle-marker, attested in (all?) Semitic languages
- Overlaps between perfective and ε-paradigms (especially in D and Š)
- Behaviour and nature still puzzling

- Can the interaction between the ε-morpheme and the Stative help us make inferences about either form?
ūl a.ta.mur-at ʾuppāt-im
NEG √amr,⟨t⟩-3.sg.f clay tablet.pl-GEN
‘see’
‘PN has not acquired (much) experience’

mi.t.gur-at amas-si
√mgr,⟨t⟩-3.sg.f amat-3.sg.f.ACC/GEN
‘agree’ ‘word’
‘her word is friendly’

ši.tak.kun
√škn,⟨ta(n)⟩.3.sg.m
‘put’
‘(it) is laid/placed again and again’

anāku u attā a.ta.h.w-āni
I and you √aḥ.pl,⟨t⟩-1.pl
‘brother’ n.
‘You and I, we are brothers to one another’
Analysis and Problems

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

∧ Predicatization of all forms

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

evento Event type
   - What element harbours it?
     - Suffix?
     - purs- vs. pars-
Differences in the Structure

![Diagram of syntactic tree structures for t-Forms of the Akkadian Stative]
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?
Bibliography


Bibliography


“I know your kindness to listen to me”