

“The centrality of the body”

(a comparative view of the Middle in Cushitic and a few problems)

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No Middle

- The Autobenefactive value so typical of Cushitic is actually limited to East Cushitic languages: Beja (North Cushitic), Central Cushitic, South Cushitic and Dahalo (“half way” between East and South) have reflexes of the same extension but with different values.
- Beja: (Vanhove 2014: 24 ff.) :
 - REFL (Prefix verbs only): a>i stem ablaut, plus prefix or infix /t/ in the Imperfective and Aorist;
 - PASS (Prefix verbs only) *at(o:)*- plus ablaut;
 - RECIPROCAL: *am(o:)*- plus ablaut; suffix verbs: *-sam*.
- Central Cushitic (Hetzron 1976: 31-32): PASS in *-s*, *-t*, *-st*, *-š*, etc; REFL in *-t* with ‘a great deal of overlapping between passive and reflexive’

Vanhove, Martine. 2014. “Beja Grammatical Sketch.” In: Amina Mettouchi and Christian Chanard (eds.). *The CorpAfr*

Hetzron, Robert. 1976. “The Agaw Languages.” *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 3/3.

No Middle, almost

- Iraqw (South Cushitic; Mous 1993: 175 ff.): lexicalized meanings, among which “grooming verbs”, or verbs where “the subject is affected and has no control over the action” (to sneeze; to get married (subj. woman), stative (“to be together”...), durative (“to go on searching”)—core meaning of a durative suffix *-m* (which makes a passive elsewhere).
- in the Middle ‘the action is directed at the body or executed by the body’ (Mous and Qorro 2000: 161)
- A reflexive value is rather expressed with REFL pronouns, sometimes, but not always, combined with a MID verbal form.

Mous, Maarten. 1993. *A Grammar of Iraqw*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.

Mous, Maarten and Martha Qorro. 2000. ‘The Middle voice in Iraqw’. In: Kulikoyela K. Kahigi, Yared Kihore and Maarten Mous (eds.), *Lugha za Tanzania/Language of Tanzania: Studies dedicated to the memory of Prof. Clement Maganga*, 141-159. Leiden: CNWS.

From Reflexive to Middle?

“The Cushitic languages show the centrality of the body in the semantics of middles”
(Mous 2012: 405)

- The path Reflexive → Middle is postulated by Kemmer (1993) and rests on her hypothesis that the Middle marks “a lower degree of elaboration of events” than the Reflexive.
- Kawachi (2004) argues that both values coexist in Sidaama; crucially, the Sidaama Middle codes the subject’s experience, rather than the subject role.
- Core meaning not just “affectedness of the subject” but “affectedness of *the body* of the subject”.
- Middle values often expressed through a Passive extension *-am*.

Kemmer, Suzanne. 1993. *The Middle Voice*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Kawachi Kazuhiro. 2004. “Middle Voice and Reflexive in Sidaama.” In: Nikki Adams, Adam Cooper, Fey Parrill and Thomas Wier (eds.), *Proceedings of the 40th Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society. Vol 2: Panels*, 119-133. Chicago, IL: Chicago Linguistic Society.

The Middle and beyond

- Hayward (1984) compared, analyzed and reconstructed the morphemes and allomorphs of the Middle in East Cushitic.
- Other markers, mainly -' and -*akk'* in Highland East Cushitic (Alaaba, Sidaama, Hadiyya, K'abeena...)
- Middle enters in combination with other derivational affixes, mainly but not only, the Causative (-s, -š...).
- The Middle also as an Inchoative, mainly de-adjectival and sometimes factitive, derivational marker, generally different in vowel (Hayward 1984 has *-āḏ, *-ōḏ...).

Hayward, Richard J. 1984. A Reconstruction of Some Root Extensions of the Eastern Cushitic Verb." In: James Bynon (ed.), *Current Progress in Afro-Asiatic Linguistics. Papers of the third international Hamito-Semitic Congress*, 69-109. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

/t/ and /d/

- Overwhelmingly a suffix. Prefix Middle extension in Saho-‘Afar (Qafar), to be reconstructed as *t-. Possibly, residually in Burji, where evidence points to *d- (more data needed).
- Both /t/ and /D/ (other morphemes in Highland East Cushitic) in the expression of the Middle.
- /D/ is either retroflex /ɖ/ (in a minority of languages: ‘Afar, Somali...) or implosive /ɗ/
- Whenever /D/ is a marker of the Middle it is implosive, never retroflex.
- Where /D/ is retroflex, /t/ and plain /d/ are the most common allomorphs of the Middle (-o in IMPV.SG in Somali and related Omo-Tana languages).
- Implosive as possibly original, but no implosives in a part of East Cushitic.

Tosco, Mauro. 1988. “The Phoneme D and the Marker of Reflexive-Middle Voice in Eastern Cushitic.” In: Marianne B

A case study: verbal derivation in Gawwada

extensive derivation, both intra- and extra-categorical; very regular morphology;
extensive use of reduplication

- intracategorical derivations:

- Causative
- Middle
- Passive
- Intensity-modifying:
 - Punctual
 - Pluractional
 - (Frequentative)

extension
a. suffix-based

Causative

tag

CAUS

basic allomorph

-(V)s

Factitive

FACT

-oos, -ees

Middle (Autobenefactive)

MID

-ad

Inchoative

INCH

-ood

Passive/Reflexive

PASS

-am

Inceptive/Resultative

INC

-um

Ingressive

INGR

-uy, -aw

b. reduplication-based

Punctual

PUNCT

$C_1 V(V) C_2 \sim C_2 \sim (V)(V)(C_X \sim C_X)$

Pluractional

PLURACT

$C_1 V(V) \sim C_1 V(V) C_2 (X)$

Frequentative

FREQ

$C_1 V(V) C_2 \sim C_1 V(V) C_2 (X)$

where X is whatever string of segments and may be null)

- extracategorical derivations:

- Factitive
- Inchoative
- Inceptive
- Ingressive

The regularity of inflection

A Positive Perfective paradigm

	affixes
1SG	- <i>i</i>
2SG	- <i>tí</i>
3M	- <i>i</i>
3F	- <i>tí</i>
1PL	- <i>ne</i> , - <i>neni</i> , - <i>nenku</i>
2PL	- <i>te</i> , - <i>tenku</i>
3PL	- <i>e</i> , - <i>eni</i> , - <i>enku</i>

Alveolar assimilation: 1. $d, t, t' + t \rightarrow tt$
2. $d, t, t' + n \rightarrow nn$

1S	?an=dal-ad-i
2S	?ad=dal-att-i
3M	?í=dal-ad-i
3F	?í=dal-att-i
1P	?an=dal-ann-e
2P	?ad=dal-att-e
3P	?í=dal-ad-e

The recursivity of derivation

	CAUS	FACT	MID	INCH	PASS	INC	INGR	PUNCT	PLURACT	FREQ
CAUS	✓		✓							
FACT	✓		✓			✓				
MID		✓								
INCH			✓							
PASS		✓								
INC	✓									
INGR	✓									
PUNCT	✓	✓	✓		✓					
PLURACT	✓	✓		✓				✓		
FREQ								✓		

- CAUS is the only derivation that can combine with itself
- CAUS has the highest amount of combinatorial possibilities
- CAUS-MID ok but also MID-FACT (FACT replaces CAUS when preceded by MID)
- INCH-MID ok
- reduplication-based PUNCT liberally combines with suffix derivations

The Middle in derivation

- CAUS-MID (doŋ-os-ad from doŋ ‘to fall’)

expected; cf. Somali)

- MID-FACT (dal-t-ees from dal ‘to generate’)

possibly directly from *dal-t-e* ‘birth;’ hence simply MID)

- INCH-MID (hayy-ood-ad from hayy-ood ‘to get drunk’)

denominal derivation

- FACT-MID (hin-oos-ad ‘to smell’ (tr.) **from hin-**

- PUNCT-MID (qootʊt-ad from qoot-a ‘to share’)

PUNCTual: reduplication of the last C of the stem.

Deponents in Gawwada

As elsewhere in Cushitic, a good number of MID verbs are deponents

- *ʔaakutaḏ*- ‘to swear; to promise not to’
- *ʔiraaraḏ*- ‘to go around in circle’
- *ʔokaḏ*- ‘to walk’
- *ʕiišaḏ*- ‘to trill, ululate in celebrations’
- *ḡuutaḏ*- ‘to wear shoes’
- *hammaḏ*- ‘to excel, overcome’
- *kollaḏ*- ‘to learn’
- *kuftaḏ*- ‘to build one’s own house’
- *pinad*- ‘to regain consciousness’ (cf. *pinkis-a* ‘epilepsy’)

Most are “fake deponents” (inchoative denominals)

(morphologically -V*ɔ*-extended, hence “Middle”, but semantically like -oo*ɔ*-extended Inchoatives)

- *ʔorh-ooɔ*- ‘to give milk’ (< *ʔorh-e* ‘milk’)
- *ʔoypatt-ooɔ*- ‘to become yellow’ (< *ʔoypatt-o* ‘yellow color’ (n.))
- *mahnaʔ-ooɔ*- ‘to become short’ (< *mahnaʔ-a* ‘short’)
- *muš-ooɔ*- ‘to have indigestion’ (< ??)
- *nass-ooɔ*- ‘to breath’ (< *nass-o* ‘breath’)
- *peepp-ooɔ*- ‘to become boastful’ (< *peepp-o*, *peepp-e* ‘pride, arrogance’)
- *powaɣ-ooɔ*- ‘to get malaria; to become ill’ (< *powaɣ-o* ‘malaria; illness’)
- *qaš-ooɔ*- ‘to chop, cut to pieces’ (?? < *qaš* IDEOPH ‘sound of death’)
- *woh-ooɔ*- ‘to bark’ (< IDEOPH *wohh* ‘barking sound’)

Which way the derivation?

(possibly many deponents from which a noun—never basic—is derived)

- *ʔorh-ol-od-* ‘to give abundant milk’ (< *ʔorh-ol-akk-o* ‘producing abundant milk’)
- *ʔošon-ad-* ‘to be, get cold’ (< *ʔošon-k-o* ‘cold (n.)’)
- *ʕiišt-ad-* ‘to call for collective work to be paid in kind’ (< *ʕiišt-akk-o* ‘call...’ (n.))
- *haaf-ad-* ‘to become thin’ (< *haaf-akk-o* ‘thin’)
- *hašhaš-ad-* ‘to whisper’ (< *hašhaš-t-e* ‘whisper (n.)’)
- *kart-ad-* ‘to become wide. fat’ (irr. < *kart-anʕn-a* ‘wide; fat’ (adj.))
- *kuttum-ad-* ‘to stumble against a stone’ (< *kuttum-att-e* ‘stumbling’)
- *piʔ-ad-* ‘to become sleepy’ (< *piʔ-att-e* ‘sleepiness’)
- *piif-ad-* ‘to lunch’ (< *piif-e* ‘lunch’)
- *purč'-ad-* ‘to be back and white’ (subj.: animal) (< *purč'-akk-o* ‘black-and-white animal’)
- *reʕiš-ad-* ‘to become heavy’ (< *reʕiš-ank-o* ‘heaviness’)

“True” Inchoatives

(mostly derived from basic nouns)

- *ʒarm-ood* ‘to have a running nose’ (< *ʒarm-o* ‘mucus’)
- *č’oorroq-ood* ‘to have filth in the eyes’ (< *č’oorroq-e* ‘fith in the eyes’)
- *d’akk-ood* ‘to be deaf’ (< *dakk-ond-e* ‘deafness’ —which is not basic)
- *fanaht-ood* ‘to have a diastema between the two upper front teeth’ (< *fanaht-e* ‘diastema’)
- *garš-ood* ‘to undergo circumcision’ (< *garš-e* ‘circumcision’)
- *payš-ood* ‘to get wounded’ (> *payš-e* ‘wound’)
-

Inchoative+Middle

(the reason why in Gawwada INCH and MID are separate derivations)

A single example in my data:

- *hayy-ood* INCH ‘to get drunk’ (< *hayy-e* ‘intoxication’) > *hayy-ood-ad* INCH-MID

as well as PLURACT-INCH-MID *hawhayy-ood-ad*

Not just autobenefactives

- Grooming verbs: *fil-* ‘to comb’ > *fil-ad* ‘to comb oneself’; *šoh-* ‘to wash’ > *šoh-ad* ‘to wash oneself’
- Positional (often deponents): *ʕakkad-* ‘to sit down’; *ḡullad-* ‘to kneel’
- Cognition and emotions:
- *ʔar-a* ‘to know’ > *ʔar-ad* ‘to learn’, *dih-* ‘to count’ > *dih-ad* ‘to imagine, phantasize’; *č’ik-a* ‘to like’ > *č’ik-ad* ‘to love’

Looking for reflexives

- Uncontrolled inchoation:

dab- 'to lose' > *dab-ad* 'to get lost'; *dal-* 'to generate' > *dal-ad* 'to be born'; *hum-* 'to finish' (intr.) > *hum∞m-ad* PUNCT-MID 'to be close to delivery' (subj: pregnant woman)

- Resultative: *dooh-* 'to take one ear of corn' > *dooh-ad-* 'to chew corn'

- Reflexive: *hapul* 'to fan' > *hapul-ad* 'to fan oneself' (OR JUST AUTOBENEFACTIVE?)

The regularity and productivity of autobenefactives

Autobenefactive is the only productive and the only meaning with MID as second derivation

- *doɣ* 'to fall' > CAUS *doɣ-os* > CAUS-MID *doɣ-os-ad* (no vowel harmony!)
- *far-* 'to die' > CAUS *far-as* > CAUS-MID *far-as-ad*
- *haɣ* 'to rise' > CAUS *haɣ-as* > CAUS-MID *haɣ-as-ad*

The decay of Middle?

- Again, Autobenefactive as a **fairly** productive category:

dís ‘to build’ > *dísu* ‘to build one’s house’, *már* ‘to cut’ > *máru* ‘to cut for oneself’

Malefactive:

módob ‘to rot’ > *mósu* ‘to let something rot, go bad’

Also without a corresponding basic verb:

^háasu ‘to hunt’

Grooming verbs and the like:

ďúur ‘hair’ > FACT *ďúuriš* ‘to shave (tr.)’ > MID *ďúursu* ‘to shave (intr.)’

Reciprocal:

lálu (no Basic) ‘to sing, dance, play’, *^hibísu* (no Basic) ‘to dance (between sexes)’

Where have all the reflexives gone?

“there is relatively little use of the inherent reflexive and inherent reciprocal meaning of middle markers, which is not surprising given the presence of reciprocal/reflexive pronouns” (Mous 2012: 406).

- Dhaasanac: expressive Middle verbs without a corresponding basic verb expressing ‘activities which require a particularly purposeful attitude or a greater than normal amount of physical effort on the part of the agent’ (Tosco 2001: 186):

dúu ‘to run’, *ďánu* ‘to swim’, *féenu* ‘to gnaw’, *yugúsu* ‘to recover forces after an illness’...

No reflexives, but use of Somali Reflexive PRO *is*, Oromo *ufi*, Dhaasanac *^húol*, Gawwada *?ille*, *Iraqw ti*...

Dh: *^húol ^húof* ‘to scratch oneself’, Som. *is dil* ‘to kill oneself’

Usually no MIDDLE with these!

From passive to reflexive?

The centrality of the human body (of the subject > patient), again

- Phonologically rather stable Passive extension **-am*
- Lost in the Omo-Tana branch. Change to an adjectivizing affix:
- Somali *fur* ‘to open’ > **furan* ‘to be opened’ > *furan* ‘opened’
- (*-m/-ann* build the Imperfective of many verbs in Dhaasanac; reportedly the same in extinct Yaaku).
- (*-m* is a durative extension in Iraqw)
- Productive *-am* in other languages. Gawwada: *pat* ‘to disappear’ > *pat-am* ‘to hide oneself’, *šap* ‘to tie’ > *šap-am* ‘to be tied, caught, imprisoned’. *šiin* ‘to cover with mud, to anoint with butter’ > *šiin-am* ‘to spread one’s head with butter’
- Konso *-am*: *muk-am* ‘to spend the night’ [sleep-PASS]
- Sidaama *-am*: *il* ‘to give birth’ > *il-am* ‘to be born’; *dib-* ‘to cause sickness’ > *dīw-am* ‘to get sick’

The impersonal and a “new passive”

- Impersonal pronoun:
- Somali *la*, Gawwada *a=*, Iraqw *ta*
- Expression of the agent is excluded
- Somali *waa la qabtay* (DECL IMP take-MID-PST.3M) ‘he/she/it was caught’
- Gawwada *?a=y-i* ‘it is said [that...]’ (IMP=say_PFV.3M) ‘it is said [that...]’
- Iraqw *ino’in ta do’* (they IMP house) ‘they are at home’ (Mous 1993: 137)

Middle for reflexive

- Eastern Oromo: Owens labels the Middle “subject reflexive”: ‘the action takes place on behalf of the subject [...] the subject is intimately connected with the object, as, for example, its owner:

húcc’úu bit-ádd’-é ‘I bought myself clothes’ (Owens : 170)

- Bayso:

Owens, Jonathan. 1985. *A Grammar of Harar Oromo (Northeastern Ethiopia)*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.

- Middle, always with *isii* for reflexive

úsu goljaa lagadera ‘he has killed a warthog’

úsu isii lagadatera ‘he has killed himself’

- Middle, optionally with *usuun*, for autobenefactive

ése isoon gafte ‘she cooked for them’

ése usuun gafatte ‘she cooked for herself’

[*ése isii gafatte* ‘she cooked herself’!] (Hayward 1978: 551)

Hayward, Richard J. 1978. Bayso Revisited: Some Preliminary Linguistic Observations – 1.” *BSOAS* 41/3: 539-570.

Middle + reflexive Pro

- Alaaba: reflexive meaning, optionally with *gag-* ‘self’ + gender/number/case:
- *giiráan(i) gagúk(i) bussitóot(i)*
- ‘do not burn yourself (M) with the fire!’
- possible but dispreferred use of the Medium:
- *giiráan(i) gagúk(i) bussakkitóot(i)* (Schneider-Blum 2007: 191-192)
- (similar in K’abeena; Crass 2005)

Schneider-Blum, Gertrud. 2007. *A Grammar of Alaaba*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.

Conclusions (kind of)

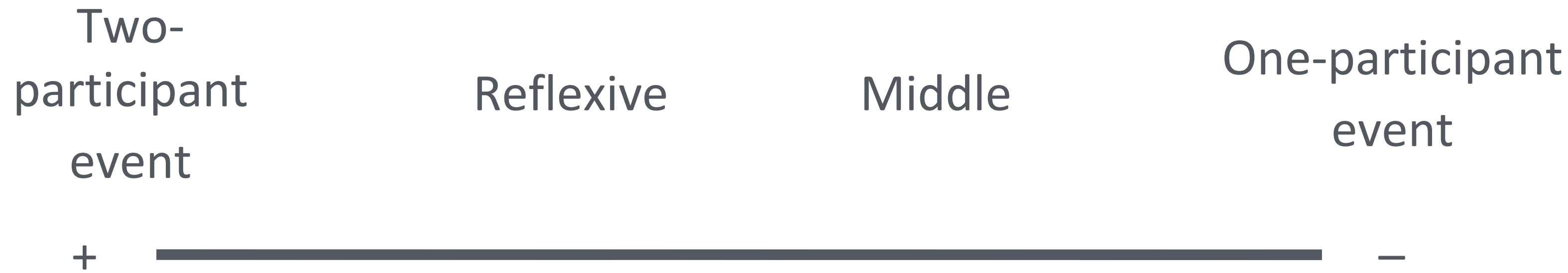
The data

- An alveolar verbal extension (or traces thereof) everywhere in Cushitic.
- A Middle extension in East Cushitic only.
- The prototypical distinction between two participants is eroded.
- Autobenefactive as productive value.
- Other values lexicalized.
- Reflexive value rare or non-existent.
- Limited evidence for an earlier reflexive stage of the Middle.

Where is the Middle?

Kemmer, Suzanne. 1994. "Middle Voice, Transitivity and the Elaboration of Events." In: Barbara Fox and Paul J. Hopper (eds.), *Voice: Form and Function*, 179-230. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Kemmer's (1994: 209) degree of distinguishability of events:



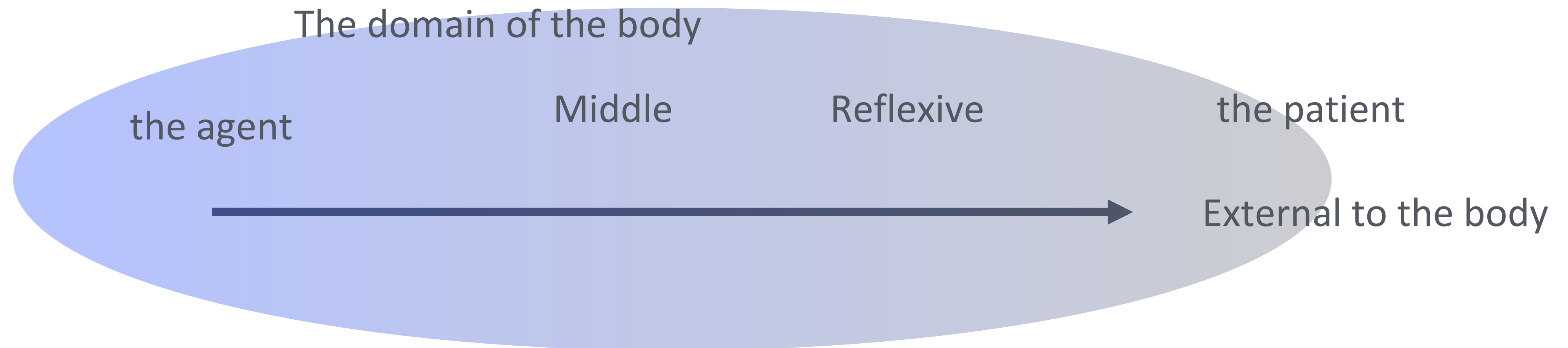
but:

- Cushitic Middles can be either transitive or intransitive and they can involve a two- or one-participant event.
- Kemmer's distinction between two-forms and one-form opposition in reflexive and middle markers does not apply.
- In the East Cushitic Middle the semantic roles of Initiator and Endpoint definitely do not refer to "a single holistic entity" (Kemmer 1984: 207).
- On the other hand, note that Hayward (1975) proposes a reflexive/internal passive > middle path.

The centrality of the body, again

A proposed revision

“body” to be taken in rather extensive way, to encompass its reaching and interests (akin to Klaiman’s 1991 notion of *affectedness*):



- Connection with the ventive markers (Somali *soo*, Gawwada *u=*, Iraqw *ni ...*) to be explored. Explicitly mentioned by Mous and Qorro (2000: 166) for the expression of the autobenefactive meaning in Iraqw.

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