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Middle voice in Iraqw

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LUGHA ZA TANZANIA
LANGUAGES OF TANZANIA

STUDIES DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF
PROF. CLEMENT MAGANGA

Edited by

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THE MIDDLE VOICE IN IRAQW

Maarten Mous & Martha Qorro

Kifupisho

Kauli ya kati katika Kırakı Kırakı, lugha ya Kıkushitiki ya Kusini inayozungumzwa Mbulu na katika wilaya jirani hulo kaskazini mwa Tanzania, kina kiambishi-tamati nyambuzi kimoja muongoni mwa vingine, ambacho kinaweza kuelezwa kuwa kina kazi ya kauli ya kati. Makala hii inachunguza maana za kati kadhaa za kiambishi hiki na kuonyesha kuwa hata katika verba deponentia yenye kiambishi tamati hiki, ruwaza za kisematiki zinafanana na zile za kauli ya kati katika lugha nyingine hasa Kisomali ambacho kinahusiana na Kırakı. Hata hivyo, kauli ya kati katika Kırakı ina kazi nyingine zaidi inavyovuta udadisi, yaani ile ya hali sitimilifu. Tutaonyesha jinsi hali hii ilivyozuka na jinsi dalili za kisematiki za maana ya kati zinavyojitokeza katika muktadha wa kihali.

Abstract

Iraqw a Southern Cushitic language spoken in Mbulu and adjacent districts in Northern Tanzania, has among its verbal derivational suffix, one that is best described as having the function of middle voice. The paper examines the range of middle meaning of this suffix and shows that even in the *verba deponentia* containing this suffix the semantic patterns parallel those of the middle voice in other languages, and in particular that of Somali, a related language. However, the middle voice in Iraqw has an interesting additional function, namely that of imperfective aspect. We will show how it developed and how semantic traces of the middle meaning still apply in the aspectual domain.

Introduction

Iraqw has a number of verbal extensions, among which a suffix *-t* whose basic meaning is that of middle voice¹. Iraqw is in the fortunate position of having a middle deri-

¹ We are very grateful to Roland Kiessling and Eithne Carlin for commenting on an earlier version of this paper. The Iraqw orthography is used in this paper. / is a voiced pharyngeal fricative with creaky voice, hh is a voiceless pharyngeal fricative, ' is a glottal stop (not written but present word initially and between different vowels, thus *at* is in fact *a't*), *sl* is a voiceless lateral fricative, *tl* and *ts* are ejective affricates, the former with lateral release, *ng* is a velar nasal word-initially and word-finally and followed by a voiced velar stop between vowels. Double vowels are long, (high) tone is only being marked on the first vowel symbol. Low tone is left unmarked. The following abbreviations are used: *adj* for adjective, *CAUS* for causative, *CON* for construct case, *DEM* for demonstrative (numbers refer to degree of distance), *DIR* for directional, *DUR* for durative, *EXPEC* for expectational, *F* for feminine, *F1* for a subgroup for feminine, *ideo* for ideophone, *IMPERAT* for imperative, *IMPFV* for imperfective, *IMPS* for impersonal, *INF* for infinitive,

vation that is clearly different from the reflexive and from the passive as well. Apart from its middle meaning, the suffix *-t* also functions in the domain of imperfective aspect. In the next section we give some background on verbal derivations. Then we briefly show that the reflexive/reciprocal and the so-called passive are indeed different. And in the following section we investigate the meaning and function of the middle derivation and compare our findings with those of Kemmer (1993) on the middle cross-linguistically and with those of Saeed (1995) on the middle in Somali, a related language. Finally, we discuss how the imperfective function is related to the middle meaning and we address the question as to whether we should consider the imperfective *-t* as a homophonous but different morpheme or not.

Verbal derivation

The main derivational suffixes of Iraqw are

- (1) - Habitual Reduplication of the penultimate consonant
 - Durative -m
 - Middle -t
 - Causative -s

When combined, the last of the derivational suffixes is preceded by the morphological epenthetic vowel *i(i)*, (2), cf. Lloret (1987: 145). This vowel assimilates to a stem vowel *a* or *u* (3) - but not *e* or *o* (4) if the intervening consonant is post-velar or velar, see van der Hulst and Mous (1992).

- (2) duux-t-s pull-MIDDL-CAUS → duxutis
 (3) duux-m pull-DUR → duuxuum
 (4) tleehh-t do-MIDDL → tleehhnt

Combinations of the derivational suffixes can only occur in the order durative *m* before middle *t* before causative *s*. This is a sequence restriction on the *forms* of the suffixes. The durative *m* must be infixal in any verb ending in *s* regardless of whether this *s* is the causative suffix, a petrified causative or not related to a causative. For example the verb /*uis* 'do' has a durative form /*i(i)mus*, and *axaas* 'listen' has a durative form *axmus*.

Verbs are derived from nouns by the addition of one of these suffixes, usually preceded by a verbalizing morpheme, the vowel *u*.

- (5) tla/a 'stone' tla/uut 'become hard like a stone'
 oona 'beer container' oonut 'be drunk'
 muuna 'heart' muunuut 'be in bad temper, sulk'

INSTR for instrumental, M for masculine, m1 for a subgroup of masculine, MIDDL for middle voice, N for neuter, O for object, PF for perfect, PL for plural, POSS for possessive, REC for reciprocal, RESPRO for resumptive pronoun, S for subject, SBJV for subjunctive, SG for singular

The reflexive and reciprocal

Reciprocal (and reflexive) objects need an object pronoun *ti*. The form of the pronoun is irrespective of person, gender and number of the subject/object. First person (12), second singular (8) and plural (6), third singular (9) and plural (7) all have the same object pronoun *ti*. The meaning of *ti* includes reciprocal (6,7) and reflexive objects (8,9). Reciprocal meaning is by necessity limited to plural referents, but these also allow reflexive meaning, (11). We consider reciprocity to be the basic meaning since reflexivity can be seen as a special case of reciprocity where subject and object not only overlap but coincide.

- (6) di-r ti dog-e'
 place CON-F REC meet 2-PI PAST
 Where did you meet?
- (7) naʕn ti al-ti'ina'
 children REC together-run 3PL
 The children run after each other
- (8) kuung ti gwab
 2SG M REC fast 2SG
 You should fast
- (9) mos ti tareree
 3SG REC hang 3SG M
 He will hang himself

There is ample evidence that *ti* is an object pronoun. First, it is in the same syntactic position as other object pronouns, i.e. it marks the beginning of the verbal complex. Second, the reciprocal pronoun *ti* excludes the possibility of having another object pronoun in the sentence. In sentence (10) *sawadi* can only appear after the reciprocal pronoun as an oblique object. This implies that the object slot is already taken by *ti*. Third, it allows the same range of modal and aspectual affixes to be added to it as pronouns allow. (10) The reciprocal object pronoun itself is invariable, that is, it lacks the person, gender and number agreement that other object pronouns show. It is homophonous with the first person plural object pronoun and conceivably historically related to it.

- (10) mos ti-na sawadi-r-i hanmis kil-os ale
 3SG REC-PAST present-F-DIR give DUR 3SG F self-3SG POSS RESPRO
 'She gave herself a present'

Some verbs require the reciprocal object, as is the case with the verb *laatlakwees* 'submit oneself, be polite, show humility', (11, 12)

- (11) *ti tlaatlakwees-áan*
 REC submit-1PL
 'We lower ourselves.'
- (12) *aníng ti tlaatlakwées dí-r hee-qá-qá*
 1SG REC submit:1SG place:of-F man-DEM3-DEM3
asma án sawaadí-r sláa' di-r-os-i alé.
 but 1SG present:of-F want:1SG place-F-his-DIR RESPRO
 'I am polite to that man because I want a present from him.'

Other verbs have a specialised meaning when used with the reciprocal pronoun, for example, *doog* 'increase, add to' means 'come from opposite directions, meet' when used with the reciprocal (13); *oh* 'hold, grasp' means 'agree' when used with the reciprocal (14); and *tsaahh* 'recognise, understand' means 'like each other' when used with the reciprocal.

- (13) *loo'tleer nee baha ti-na doog-iyé'*
 next:day with hyena REC-PAST meet-3PI-PAST
 'The next day he (the hare) met the hyena.'
- (14) *án nee hñya-éé' ti-n oh-áan*
 1SG and brother-my REC-EXPEC catch-1PL
 'I get along with my brother.'

The impersonal (the equivalent of the passive)

The impersonal is the equivalent of a passive construction. That is to say, it is a construction with an impersonal subject pronoun, in most cases combined with an object pronoun, while the verb has no subject marking (the 3SG.M form) and is only inflected for tense. The impersonal subject marker *ta* indicates that the subject is human (see Qorro 1982, 39-40) but not specific. It is similar to English "one", or German "man". This construction is used if the subject is irrelevant and therefore translates as a passive in English.

- (15) *ta-na haniis tsat'i*
 IMPS-PAST give:3SG.M:PAST knives
 'They gave knives.' or 'Knives were given'

If the patient-noun precedes the impersonal subject marker, the impersonal *ta* must be preceded by the prefix *g-* indicating a third person object and it must be followed by the object pronoun referring to that patient-noun. For example, if we move *tsat'i* 'knives' of (15) to the front, *ta* is now preceded by *g-* and followed by the pronoun *i* referring to the knives, and *g-ta-i* fuse into the form *ki*, (16). Likewise *ku* and *ka* would be used for masculine and feminine patients respectively. These forms are also used with predicative adjectives, (17).

- (16) tsat'i k1-na hanis
knives O 3 IMPS O N-PAST give 3SG M PAST
'Knives were given'
- (17) mo'in k1 hho'
they O 3 IMPS O N nice
'They are nice'

The middle voice derivational suffix -t

The suffix *-t* changes the meaning of the verb so that the action is directed at the body or executed by the body. For example, *baaq* 'fend, protect', (18), *baqut* 'put one's body in a protected position' (19), *tunqulaal* 'sprain' (body part is object) (20), *tunqulu/ut* 'sprain oneself' (body part is subject) (21)

- (18) aako-qa nu-na baaq
old man-DEM3 O2PL-PAST protect he PAST
'That old man protected you'
- (19) i-na dir gamu ko/i-r-i baq-ut
3-PAST at corner wall-I-DIR protect-MIDDL he PAST
kahhos xa'ano g-u harahu'-i-ka
in order tree O3-O M fall-INF-NEG
He squeezed himself into the corner of the wall so that the tree would not fall on top of him
- (20) ya'e-r-'ee'a-ga tunqulaal/
leg-F-my O I-PF sprain 1SG
'I sprained my ankle'
- (21) ya'e-r-'ee'aa tunqulu/ut
leg-F-my S3 PF sprain 3SG I
'My ankle sprained'

In the absence of a lexical object, the element *i* in (22) and (23) is ambiguous as to whether it is a first person singular object pronoun or third person singular subject. The verb form *deeqw* 'shave, scrape sth' in (22) without the middle derivation requires the first reading because the verb is transitive, but the verb form with the middle derivation, *deequut* 'shave (oneself), be shaving' in (23) allows the second interpretation and the (own) body is the patient, *i e* with "reflexive" reading. No reflexive pronoun is needed. It is possible to use a reflexive pronoun in such sentences, but with a difference in meaning, see (30) below. The middle verb form is not necessarily intransitive either and even *deequut* can be used with an object and imperfective aspect

- (22) aako i deeqw
father O 1SG scrape 3SG M
'Father will shave me'

- (23) aako 1 deequut
 father S3 scrape MIDDLE 3SG M
 'Father is shaving/will shave'

The suffix *-t* also expresses that there is no outer force, e.g. *burumbuur* 'gather sth', *burumburiit* 'be gathered without any external force', *tuu/* 'take out, uproot', *tu/uut* 'go out on its own', as in (24)

- (24) sehhen01 tu/uut
 tooth S3 take out MIDDLE 3SG M
 'The tooth will fall out'

Closely linked to the shade of meaning of "no outer force" is the expression of a state with no indication as to how this state was reached. With the verb *dantsee/* 'bend sth' the stative reading requires perfect aspect (25). Compare (26) with a causative derivation to (27) with the middle derivation where the latter is a way of avoiding implicating an agent. The middle is one of the means used to express this pragmatic function.

- (25) daanda aa dantsee/-it
 back S3 PF bend-MIDDLE 3SG M PAST
 His back is bent

- (26) inqwar1 kaa kunjuu-s
 sheet I O3 IMPS O I PF fold-CAUS IMPS
 'The sheet has been folded'

- (27) inqwar1 aa kunjut
 sheet I S3 PF fold MIDDLE 3SG I PAST
 'The sheet is folded in a crooked way (you don't know how it got folded)'

As with all verbal derivation, some verbs with the middle voice suffix have acquired a special meaning, within or outside of the range of middle meaning. Some examples

- | | | | | |
|------|----------|---------------------------------|----------|---------------|
| (28) | bu'uut | 'be enough' | < buu' | 'pay' |
| | /ifit | 'sneeze' | < /uf | 'sigh' |
| | 'alki/it | 'narrate' | < 'alku/ | 'repeat' |
| | dafit | 'take away quickly' | < daaf | 'return home' |
| | leehhut | 'talk with father of the bride' | < leehh | 'bring' |

There is a fairly large set of verbs that have this suffix *-t* in their base, i.e. verbs that are never used without it and where the suffix is frozen on the verb root. A semantic analysis of these verbs is valuable because of the sheer number of them and also because the semantic investigation of productive derivation in *-t* is hampered by the additional imperfective aspectual functions (see below). For the verbs with a frozen suffix *-t* the middle derivation comes so naturally that the root without it has fallen into oblivion. At least that would explain why a semantic subclassification of this set of

verbs coincides so neatly with Kemmer's discussion of the semantic domain of the middle voice. The following semantic taxonomy is inspired by Kemmer (1993), but slightly adjusted to the Iraqw facts (see below). We have included verbs that are derived from nouns by means of a middle derivation in *-uut* or *-ut* (and not by means of a causative-like suffix *uus* as is the case with the majority of denominal verbs).² The assumption is that these denominal verbs contain the middle suffix *-t* and thus the choice for *-t* must be semantically motivated and turns out to be so since these denominal verbs fit neatly into the semantic classification set up for the *verba deponentia* in *t*.

Table 1 Semantic subclassification of *verba deponentia* in *t*

Body centred meanings

body motion

kweetlut	'stretch'
kurunkurit	'shrink'

body as agent

tsihhut	'cough'
/ifit	'sneeze'
sleeqawakuut	'have a skin disease'
nor'oot	'get a piece of skin scraped off'
slambaree/ut	'lose skin'
yuquut	'shudder because of a disturbing sound'
hiqut	'hiccup' from <i>hiq</i> (ideo)
\islut	'cause allergy' from <i>xisla</i> 'allergy'

body states

\ufiit	'be drunk'
slaqaat	'be tired'
nusquut	'exhausted, feel every part of body' from <i>nusqi</i> 'exhaustion'
waxiit	'be thirsty'
qwarrit	'be hungry' from <i>qwarri</i> 'hunger'
tsaquut	'be cold' from <i>tsaqma</i> 'cold'
ta/anderuut	'numb (body part is subject)' from <i>ta/anteeri</i> 'numbness'
kanga/uut	'thin, lose weight' from <i>kanga/i</i>
tu'uut	'have constipation' from <i>tu'a</i> (m) 'constipation'
saayuut	'be healthy' cf <i>sayuu</i> a greeting

² Some of these are body affected verbs, such as *sturquus* 'slurp', *xaxayuus* 'yawn', *yamuus* 'be ill in the first months of pregnancy'. The suffix *-us* is also used for agentives and loan verbs and contains the causative *s*, a combination of functions that is not uncommon. Not all derived verbs contain *-us*, verbalisers in *uum* or *um* are also attested, for example *ganslum* 'hurry' from *ganslay* (m) 'haste', *fukuum* 'twirl in hands' from *fuki* (f1) 'firestick'.

na/aruut	'become pressed, stuck together' from <i>na/aro</i> (f) 'pattern on the skin as a result of staying too long too close to the open fire'
surfiit	'be stunted, underdeveloped in physical growth' from <i>surfi</i> (f) 'child that is stunted, underdeveloped in growth'
tla/uut	'become hard of stomach' from <i>tlaa/a</i> 'stone'
hootuut	'be long overdue in pregnancy' from <i>hoota</i> (f) 'life'
nikuut	'be muddy' from <i>nika</i> (m) 'mud, dirt on body'
<i>body position</i>	
iwuit	'sit'
qaat	'lie down, sleep'
sihhuut	'stand up-right'
qurunquruit	'sit with knees close to the face'
kumbaalaalaa'aat	'lie with knees up to the chest'
tumbaaraaraa'aat	'kneel'
xaaraaraa'aat	'lean in a tilted manner'
tlambebe/uit	'drift, float'
gaalaalaa'aat	'be straight at ninety degrees to the surface'
<i>shape of body or things</i>	
maahhaat	'bend down'
qwambuut	'bend'
<i>body focused displacement</i>	
/akuut	'jump, run, fly'
hi'uit	'take a step, walk, go',
natlut	'dart off, jump'
gwangwara'aat	'roll down'
katla/aat	'do a hard job, climb a steep hill'
qumburu/uut	'dive into'
hapapa'amuit	'walk like an old man (close to the ground), grow a little'
tsaxuut	'jump fast' from <i>tsaxway</i> (m) 'grasshopper sp'
<i>movements of hands</i>	
huruit	'sew'
kwahhuut	'forge, break off by hand, husk grain' from <i>kwahha</i> 'throwing'
kwatuit	'touch'
<i>Mind (Psychological verbs)</i>	
<i>emotional middle</i>	
dayuut	'be afraid'
dawuit	'be annoyed'
dee/anuut	'show pride'

dogogo'oot	'be unhappy, afraid'
gahhaat	'scold'
kwuſlut	'be taken aback, surprised'
xuruut	'suspect, be in doubt' from <i>xuree</i> (f) 'doubt, thought'
muunuut	'sulk' from <i>mune</i> (f) 'anger'
hhaslut	'plane, worry'
dayuut	'fear' from <i>de'e</i> 'liver, fear'
<i>cognition</i>	
gunqaruut	'forget' from <i>gur'a+qara</i> stomach+poison
alqaysut	'go and look, consider'
<i>Verbs without an agent</i>	
<i>spontaneous events, no outer force</i>	
ti'it	'appear, come out'
harasliqut	'come upon by chance'
slaaslakuut	'come up, grow (of crops)' from <i>slaaslakwi</i> (f) 'vertical sticks of the wall'
<i>state of separation</i>	
qeet	'break'
pa/aat	'be split'
binki'it	'spread aside'
madut	'drive'
ku'uut	'be spilled'
bintloqut	'spill, overflow'
naasuut	'become small, thin, broken' from <i>naasu</i> (m) 'small particles, e.g. salt, grains'

Table 1 above gives a list of lexicalised middle derived verbs. There are also a number of verbs that do not fall into any of these categories, but the list is limited and is given in the following:

daarkut	'wake up in the middle of the night'
fi'it	'chase stolen cows, come after call for help'
gwa/aat	'shine, give light'
hhatlut	'share, take turns'
hhutruut	'be spoilt'
kumut	'continue'
kweetlut	'stretch, expand (e.g. a string)'
lakut	'wait'

Other verbalisers in *t* denote states and many of them have a negative connotation:

<i>verbalised by middle</i>		<i>derived from</i>	
/aruut	'covered by soot, dust'	/ara (m1)	'gathering of dust and soot'
deeruut	'exist'	deer (v/n)	'be present'

qarqaruut	'be bitter'	qarqaar (adj)	'bitter'
aluut	'be last'	alu	'behind'
qaruut	'be old, worn out'	qari	'age group'
xirfuut	'be praised'	xirif (m)	'fame'
na'aruut	'be worn out'	na'ari (f)	'something worn out'
qipit	'be closed tightly'	qip (ideo)	
hhuruut	'be spoilt, bad'	hhita (f)	'destruction'
kufuut	'become bad (of food)'	kufi	'mould'
bi/iruut	'be greedy'	bi/iri	'greed'
dee/anuut	'rebel, riot, oppose'	dee/ana	'spoil'
tleeharuut	'be completed'	tleehh	'do, build'

On the other hand, not every verb that fits into one of these semantic categories has a middle derivation, neither lexicalised nor as a productive suffix, e.g. *gee/oh* 'to belch', and *vaxayuu* 'to yawn'. Actions that are body-centred may, but need not, take a middle suffix.

This list deviates from Kemmer's inventory in that some of her categories are absent in Iraqw. Verbs in the category of "grooming and body care" are absent in the above lists because they do take the *t*-derivation productively. "Naturally reciprocal events" are absent but this is not a crucial category for Iraqw because such verbs would take the reciprocal/reflexive pronoun instead. There are no *t*-derived verbs that fit in the class of indirect or autobenefactive middles, the category that Hayward in his study on Eastern Cushitic middle voice calls "the middle-voice function par excellence" (Hayward, 1975: 209). The reason for this is that Iraqw has an inflectional hither or ventive marker to express the function of autobenefactive (Mous 1993: 134).

Our findings are comparable to those in Saeed's (1995) study of Somali middle voice. He arrives at the following semantic features of the suffix: Inherent reflexive, inherent reciprocal including family reciprocals such as the verb "marry", bodily affected actions such as motion and posture, grooming, clothing, actions affecting the mind/emotions of the subject, autobenefactives, uncontrolled inchoation. This taxonomy is very similar to the one we presented above and similar verbs in both Iraqw and Somali either contain, or may take a middle voice suffix. We have not used the labels inherent reflexive and inherent reciprocal. Most of Saeed's inherent reflexive verbs would fall under body affected in our list (verbs like "scratch oneself", "hide oneself", "shield oneself") or in the spontaneous events ("appear"). In these and similar cases, it is not obvious how to distinguish body affected from inherent reflexive meaning. The fine line between reflexive and body affection is easily crossed in languages with no formal middle using the reflexive for middle voice situations. When a language has separate formal means for middle and reflexive, the label reflexive is less appropriate to study the semantics of the middle. Both Iraqw and Somali have a separate reflexive/reciprocal pronoun at their disposal which is not obligatory with any of these middle voice verbs. The Somali reflexive

pronoun *is* which can glossed by 'self' or 'other' (Saeed, 1995 65,67) is functionally equivalent to the Iraqw reciprocal object pronoun *ti*

Kemmer (1993) proposes that the central semantic factor in the function of middle voice formatives is the low degree of distinguishability of the participants. When we contrast Iraqw *-t* with the reciprocal-reflexive marker, we see evidence that indeed the addition of a reciprocal allows a conceptual differentiation of agent and patient. The difference between the two sentences (29) and (30) is that the one with the reflexive marker (30) puts emphasis on the object. Emphasis on the object is only possible if one cognitively separates the subject from the patient in the conception of the action.

(29) aako i deequut
 father S3 shave MIDDLE 3SG M
 'Father is shaving'

(30) aako ti deequut
 father REC shave MIDDLE 3SG M
 'Father is shaving at himself'

The basic meaning of the middle voice suffix in Iraqw is that the action/state has the body of the subject as its central focus. The body is either part of the subject or it is the subject. The mind as part of the body can be affected too, as is evidenced in the emotional and mental middle verbs, a further development is the autobenefactive sense which is absent in Iraqw but abundant in Somali. From this central meaning, another developed meaning is the expression of "no outer force, no control" and form there to (inchoative) states. Saeed objects to Kemmer's characterisation of middle meaning on this particular point, namely that her characterisation cannot cope with one participant events of middle verbs with a sense of non-control (Saeed 1995 84). Our data support Saeed's criticism. Core of the meaning of the middle is not just "affectedness" of the subject, as is claimed by Klaiman (1991) and Lyons (1968) but more specifically affectedness of the *body* of the subject.

Imperfective aspect

Derived verbs in *-t* often express progressive aspect. The durative derivation *-m* is a rival in this respect. Most verbs that take a *t* derivation do not take a *m* derivation, for example, *migir* 'collect firewood' has *migdut* 'be collecting firewood' but not *migdum*, the verb *laay* 'eat' has the durative *laayum* but not the middle *laayut*. The semantic bridge from voice to aspect is along the following chain of semantic extensions:

(31) body orientation → no control, on it's own → steady state

A historical process reported in Kiessling (1994b) has contributed to this extension of meaning into the imperfective aspect domain. The imperfective derivation for verbs that have a derivation *t* was the reduplication of the penultimate consonant. Thus, the

imperfective of *tleehhut* 'build' was *tleehhahhut*, but on this form the following processes applied: deletion of the epenthetic vowel *a*, shortening of the vowel in the first syllable which had become closed and super heavy, and degemination of the consonant. The result was *tlehhut* 'be building' and the trace of the imperfective derivation is only the vowel shortening in the first syllable. Voiced stops have undergone a lenition process intervocally (Elderkin 1988) but this process was blocked by the imperfective reduplication which is therefore still recoverable, as for example in *madut* 'be turning', 1 e , imperfective middle, alongside *maarut* 'bend, refuse after agreeing earlier', 1 e , simple middle, both from *maar* 'turn, spin, swirl'. In the vast majority of cases, the former imperfective reduplication is no longer recoverable. Vowel length does not serve that purpose because shortening of stem vowels in itself is not uncommon in Iraqw verbal derivation, since the length opposition in the last syllable of the verb root is lost in present-day Iraqw, vowel length has become a conjugational person marker (see Mous, 1993: 156 for a synchronic account and Elderkin, 1988 for a historical account). Derived verbs in *t* with and without imperfective reduplication merged and as a consequence the extension of meaning into the imperfective domain was realised.

The question arises whether the merger is complete, or whether synchronically the situation of the derivation in *t* is best described by polysemy of one suffix or by two homophonous suffixes. One form can be assumed to be one morpheme unless the differences in meanings are too large to unify them or unless the differences in morphological behaviour warrant a departure from a unified analysis.

Differences in form exist in a very limited number of verbs, be it that the formal difference is not in the suffix but in the allomorphy of the root, and this difference in form corresponds to a difference in meaning. In addition to *tlehhut* and *tleehhut*, and *madut* and *maarut*, which are mentioned above, these verbs are *gweerut* 'be open', alongside *gwedut* 'be opening' from *gweer* 'open', *tsarut* 'be two' and *tsadut* 'make two', both derived from *tsar* 'two', *xislut* imperfective of *xisl* 'cause allergy' and *xislut* imperfective of *xisl* 'scrape' (from Maghway 1995: 183). Most verbs have only one derived form in *t*, including those that show traces of earlier reduplication, such as *fadut* 'be counting' from *faar* 'count'.

Differences in meaning can be bridged, as we argued above, but there are differences in morphological behaviour. These differences happen to show that speakers are aware of the differences in meaning. The morphological differences lie in nominalisation: some verbs that end in *ut* nominalise in *uta*, resulting in a feminine noun, but not in *it* which would result in a masculine noun, while for others this is the other way around, (32). The distribution is related to aspect: If the verb form in *ut* has no imperfective meaning, it belongs to the former type; if it functions as an imperfective, it belongs to the latter type. If both nominalisations are possible, there is a difference in meaning, e.g. the verb *hirut* 'sew' has *hirut* (m) as its most common nominalisation and *hriita* (f) to indi-

cate the "resultant state of the action". It is only the verb *lehhut* 'go to get sth., act as middleman in marriage negotiations' which is a lexicalised derived form of *leehh* 'fetch, carry', that has no imperfective meaning, the imperfective derivation being *leeleehhaahhut*. This verb does not permit a verbal noun ending in *uta*

(32) *Table of nominalisation in it or uta*

'iwit	sit	'iwita (f)	
'iwiiit	sit IMPFV		'iwiiit (m)
hi'ut	walk, travel	hi'uta (f)	
hi'iumit	walk IMPFV		hi'iumit (m)
darakit	get up in the middle of the night	darakita (f)	
darakimut	IMPFV		darakimut (m)
fuutl	whistle	fuutla (f)	
fuutliit	whistle IMPFV		futlit (m)
leeleehh	search	leeleehha (f)	
leeleehhut	search IMPFV		leeleehhut (m)
lehhut	go to get sth		lehhut (m)

One may take this difference in morphological behaviour as evidence for setting up two homophonous suffixes *-i*, one that indicates imperfective aspect and requires the masculine nominalization —as imperfectives in general do— and another with middle meaning that requires the feminine suffix —as most aspectually underived verbs do. This is the solution that Kiessling (1994a 101-3, 116) adopts for a parallel case in Burunge, a closely related language³. Alternatively, one could attribute the differences to the nominalizers themselves. The suffix *-a* indicates the action in itself or its result with no aspectual implications while the vowel shortening is one of the nominalizations with imperfective meaning. We prefer the second option due to our reluctance to accept homophony. Even if this results in double marking of aspect in verbal nouns and appeals to the speakers' ability to distinguish the differences in meaning.

We have shown how the middle derivation has acquired imperfective senses of meaning through a historical merger and that this extension of meaning can be seen as a

³ Kiessling gives a second reason against a mono-morphemic analysis in Burunge: his continuative *-id* is one of the means used to form a plural verbal stem in agreement with plurality of the object, but the medio-passive *-id* is not. This argument is not available for Iraqw, because the agreement phenomena of pluractional verbs are slightly different and in actual fact not an agreement phenomenon. Van Loon (1995) shows that a transitive sentence such as *aning garida yarur iga slaw* 'I obtained many cars' does not require a pluractional derived verb as it would do in Burunge, and the pluractional verb is not in agreement with the object but rather an expression of the type of action since the choice of single *gaas* 'kill, extinguish' versus pluractional *tsu* 'kill, extinguish' in the following sentence depends on whether the object *asloo* means 'fires' or 'lights' *aning alsoo yarur iga gaas* 'I extinguished the lights' or *aning alsoo yarur iga tsuu* because of the difference in the nature of the actions, extinguishing lights by one movement of the switch while extinguishing several fires requires more plural action.

natural development of middle meaning. Now we want to examine the precise nature of the imperfective aspectual senses of the middle derivation. This we do by comparison with the primary imperfective derivation, the durative *m*. As already stated above, most verbs take either *m* or *t* to indicate imperfective aspect. We will examine whether the central meaning of the middle is still reflected in this distribution. But before doing so we examine the semantic and morphosyntactic differences between the forms with *m* and *t* for those few lexemes that allow both and we show that the original middle meaning shines through in the imperfective usages.

The differences in meaning between the imperfective usages of verbs with *-m* and *-t* are in terms of whether the subject has control over the action and whether a patient is required (usually the self) or whether the emphasis is on the action.

One of the differences between the derivation in *-m* and that in *-t* is the expression of control of the subject over the action/event of the verb. The derivation in *-t* typically expresses non-control and evidence for this comes from four different observations. First of all, this is supported by the difference between *tluwit* 'leak' for which a typical subject is the roof or the house and *tlubiim* 'rain' for which the subject is the rain, and by the comparison of sentences (33) and (34). Sentence (33) contains an impersonal subject, the Iraqw equivalent of a passive construction (see above), and in addition, the verb in *t* is used in order to avoid expressing an agent while the derivation with *m* is used for sentence (34) that is agent focussed:

- (33) qware'amo-sing ku-na ma'ar islkúut
calabash-that IMPS:O.M-PAST water-INSTR draw:3SG.M:PAST
'With that calabash water was taken.'
- (34) lakitee daxta inós i islkun
wait:IMPERAT now s/he S3 draw:3SG.M:SBJV
'Wait, let him draw.'

Secondly, the difference is one of control of the subject for those derived verbs in *t* which have the body as patient and as subject, compared to their counterpart with a subsequent derivation in *m* which will have the person and not the body now as subject, as in *hootumiit* 'be overdue in pregnancy' (subject is a woman) from *hootuut* 'be overdue in pregnancy' (subject is a foetus), *sol'oomiit* 'be paralysed' (subject is a person) from *sol'oot* 'be paralysed' (subject is a body part), and in *kwislmiit* 'shudder' in (36) when compared to (35):

- (35) slaqwa i-na kwisliit
body S3-PST shudder:MIDDL:3SG.M
'The body shuddered.'
- (36) na/ay i kwislmiit
child S3 shudder:DUR:MIDDL:3SG.M
'The child is shuddering.'

Thirdly, the derivation in *-m* is used instead of the one in *-t* when control is paramount, as in imperatives, even for those verbs that otherwise lack a derivation in *-m* such as *tsadut* 'make two' for which the imperative is *tsadim* 'make two!' and *awaatl* 'open the mouth' which has *awtlut* for durative aspect and not *awtlum* but which needs the latter for an imperative sentence. Fourthly, lack of control on the part of the subject is responsible for the ungrammaticality of using an instrument in a sentence with *baqut* fend MIDDLE as in (37), compared to (19)

- (37) * an-a-ga baqut ar hhara
 1SG-S1/2-PF fend MIDDLE 1SG by stick

And similarly, the fact that a reflexive object pronoun implies an agent role for the subject, makes it incompatible with the *t*-derivation of a verb like *dux* 'pull out' that has no problem taking reflexive objects when it does not contain the middle *t*, (38). Need for control in sentence (39) excludes the use of the middle verb in it

- (38) lach ti kilos dux, duxun * duxut
 Lach RFC self pull 3SG M pull-DUR 3SG M pull-MIDDLE 3SG M
 'Lach pulls himself out'

- (39) na'i loosi ngaa diya'iyé, diya'ane'.
 children beans O N PF spread-3PI PI spread-DUR 3PI PF
 *diya'atiye'
 spread-MIDDLE -3PL PF
 'The children spread the beans'

The difference between imperfective verbs with *t* versus those with *m* can also be the need for those in *t* to have a patient, normally the self, while the equivalent verb in *m* does not require a patient. This becomes clear when we compare the verbs *deequum* and *deequut* both derived from the verb *deequ* 'scrape, shave' which is transitive and where the object is not the self, in sentence (40) *t* in itself is ambiguous as it can mark either third person subject with no object, or a first or second person singular feminine object, the latter reading is obligatory in this sentence. The verb *deequut*, however, needs a patient, that is, when used without an object it assumes the self to be the undergoer, which is why sentence (41) is not problematic, the subject being male who can undergo his shaving, but sentence (42) is problematic because the subject is female, and the verb means "scraping" and it now expects an object different from the self, whereas the same sentence with *deequum*, (43), is unproblematic

- (40) aako t deeqw
 father O2SG F shave 3SG M
 'Father will shave you'
- (41) aako t deeq-ut
 father S3 shave-MIDDLE 3SG M
 'Father is shaving'

- (42) *aama 1 deeq-ut hamu
 mother S3 scrape-MIDDL 3SG F now
 ? The sentence evokes the question 'What?'
- (43) aama 1 deeq-uun
 mother S3 shave-DUR 3SG F
 'Mother is scraping'

Sentences with verbs in *m* often lack an object because the derivation in *m* puts the emphasis on the action as can be seen from the difference in focus in (44) when compared to its equivalent without the derivation *m*, (45)

- (44) aning a-ga aw-um
 I S1/2-PI carry child on back-DUR
 'I am carrying a child'
- (45) aning na/ay u-ga awaaw
 I child O M-PI carry child on back
 'I carry a child'

Derived verbs in *m* are by no means always intransitive, nor do they exclude human patients. In fact, for quite a number of verbs, the derivation in *m* expresses that the action affects a person, but not the self: *qawum* 'stop sb from crying' from *qaaw* 'keep silence', *laqaam* 'show sb' from *laaq* 'do', *duuxuum* 'marry' from *duux* 'take out', *meetum* 'avoid other people out of fear of contamination' from *meet* 'remain, be left over', *looslum* 'insult sb' from *loosl* 'curse' and in *deponentia* such as *firim* 'ask sb', *slu'um* 'commit adultery', *sayum* 'let sb take over a task', *litum* 'refuse, hinder, deprive', *geetum* 'stand in the way of sb', *xawum* 'copulate', *sleemus* 'get sth for sb' from *slees* 'take up', *hhehhe'eemus* 'circumcise' from *hhehhe'ees* 'clean'. It is for the same reason that a number of causatives require the addition of *m* because they now have a person as object: *laay* 'eat', *laymus* 'feed sb', *laal* 'cry', *lalmus* 'mourn sb', *daawit* 'be troubled', *daawitumus* 'annoy sb', *nunuu'* 'suck', *nunu'umus*, *tsuuq* 'spit, bewitch', *tsuunqumus* 'mourn, weep for sorrow', *kahmus* from *kah* 'be dry', *baqmus* from *haaq* 'fend'.

A number of verbs has a derivation in *t* but not in *m* and this *t* has the role that the suffix *m* usually has, namely that of an imperfective derivation. Below, we give a full list of such cases, to be compared with a selection of the verbs that take *m* to the exclusion of *t* further below. They are ordered in the same semantic classification that we used for *deponentia* with *t* showing that these verbs fit the same semantic network for middle voice. Apparently, verbs that are middle in meaning when underived disallow a derivation in *m* and instead the middle derivation *t* is available for the function of the excluded *m*. We have added verbs for which the causative requires the addition of *t*, thus *-tus* and not *-us*.

Table 2 Imperfective derivations in *t* to the exclusion of *m**Body centred meanings**body as agent*

/orootl	'growl'	/ortlaatlut
xorootl	'snore'	xortlut
xuruu'	'roar'	xuru'uut
hal'atus	'gobble down food, swallow in a hurry'	
guntsituis (g or q)	'gulp'	from <i>gunts</i> or <i>qunts</i> (ideo)

body states

wanaanaa'	'soft, faint'	wana'aat 'be exhausted'
tampu'utus	'make blind'	from <i>tampa</i> 'blind person'

body focused displacement

waraahh	'pass'	waraahhaat 'be passable'
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movements of hands

duts	'rub'	dutsut
hhuutl	'plait, knit'	hhuutlut 'spin'
tsaweer	'strangle by hand'	tsaweerut,
tsoo/	'wring, squeeze'	tsoo/ut (Maghway, 1995)
hhoosl	'scratch'	hhoslut
xaaf	'scrape land'	xaafut (Maghway, 1995)
doosl	'cultivate'	dooslaslut,
dooslituis	teach to cultivate'	

*Mind (Psychological verbs)**emotional middle*

aahh	'hate'	aahhut ⁴
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cognition

tlaak	'deny'	tlakaakaat
aldaakw	'plane, debate, explain'	aldakuut
mslawtuis	'remind'	from <i>mslaw</i> 'remember'
xu'utuis	'make known'	from <i>xuu'</i> 'know'
mitsahhatis	'teach'	from <i>mitsahh</i> 'get used to'

*Verbs without an agent**spontaneous events, no outer force*

nagaaf	'sticky'	nagfaafut
ninkiruts	'slippy'	ninkirutsut

state of separation

gweer	'open'	gweerut / gweedut
haaf	'transplant seedlings'	haatlut

⁴ Cf *aahh* 'bray (of animals)', imperfective *aahhamum*

The following exceptions, however, do not fit this semantic classification

hhaakw	'dish out'	hhaakwaakuut
hheek	'fetch water'	hheekut
leeleehh	'search'	leelehhut
lohtus	'make move'	from <i>loh</i> 'move house'

Table 3 Imperfective derivations in *m* to the exclusion of *t*

/aay	'eat'	/ayum
eehar	'follow, go after sth sb'	eeharum
gagaar	'carry a load'	gagrum
harweer	'encircle'	harweeru
hhaaf	'spread'	hhafum
kiku'	'spread'	kikuum
kutsuuhh	'pinch'	kutsuhuum
kuutl	'sign, wink, signal secretly'	kutlum
kwaandeekw	do first hoeng'	kwaandeeuum
laqwaal	'become a parent, give birth'	laqlum
loot	'milk an animal'	lootum
muut	'pierce'	muutum
nuq	'fill'	nuqum
/oosl	'insult'	/ooslum
sluk	'annoint'	slukum
suruuk	'move aside, shift oneself'	suruum
sluuq	'kill a big animal'	sluquum
uuruux	'pull, breathe in'	uruxuum
tlaaxw	'buy'	tlaxuum
xoosl	'grind'	xooslum
slaahh	'beat'	slahhaam
tliwii/	'push'	tliwiium
tsit	'wear, dress'	tsitum

Conclusion

The verbal derivation in *t* has a basic middle voice function. The reciprocal pronoun which includes the reflexive and the impersonal subject construction, which is the equivalent of the passive, are both clearly distinct from this middle voice suffix. The semantic subclassification of middle voice functions cross-linguistically as proposed by Kemmer is confirmed in Iraqw by examining *verba deponentia* containing this suffix and by examining verbs that exclude the durative suffix and take the same suffix *t* instead. However, one adjustment is proposed, namely that the core meaning of the middle voice is orientation on the body and not just affectedness of the subject. In addition to its middle meaning, the derivation in *t* also shows aspectual function. One of

the meaning extensions from body orientation is "no control" and from there a stative meaning has developed. This development went hand-in-hand with a historical merger between the imperfective form of the middle and the plain form of the middle. In the imperfective usages of *t*, the middle meaning still plays a role as can be seen from their morphosyntactic restrictions and from the semantic subclassification of those verbs with *t* for the primary imperfective.

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