

## Associated Motion in Old Assyrian

**Sergey A. Koval**

Institute of World History, Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow, Russia);  
isimudfni@gmail.com; ORCID: 0000-0003-1190-7049

**Abstract.** The Old Assyrian language belongs to the East Semitic, a language group extinct since approximately 400 BCE. The Old Assyrian texts used in this study were authored by Assyrian merchants between 1890 and 1860 BCE in Northern Mesopotamia and Central Anatolia. Despite the obvious limitations of working with an extinct language, i.e., the lack of the informants, the Old Assyrian corpus offers some advantages for a scholar. Unlike texts from the other East Semitic corpora, 99% of the Old Assyrian texts (22 300 units according to the last estimate) were excavated in the same place, the Old Assyrian Kaneš (modern Kültepe). Old Assyrian is not only the second best attested East Semitic language, but its corpus is also the most homogenous among all other known corpora of extinct languages. Its extensive corpus that reflects day-to-day vernacular provides good material for a linguistic study. Old Assyrian, as well as most other East Semitic varieties, had a ventive deictic marker which was regularly hosted on motion verbs. This marker could also occur with some non-motion verbs relating translocational motion to non-motion verb events, that is, denoting associated motion. I analyzed the forms of verbs compatible with the associated motion marker and gathered statistical data. I treated these verbs individually and traced the evolution of the associated motion marker from the initial lexicalization to its concluding stages. In the case of genuine motion verbs, ventive, originally used to indicate motion toward the author (speaker), evolved to refer to motion directed toward other speech act participants, whereby the associated motion marker underwent gradual semantic bleaching. The proposed paper is the first corpus-based description of an associated motion marker in Semitic languages.

**Keywords:** motion verbs; cislocative markers; associated motion; Old Assyrian; Akkadian.

## Сопутствующее движение в староассирийском языке

**С. А. Коваль**

Институт всеобщей истории РАН (Москва, Россия); isimudfni@gmail.com;  
ORCID: 0000-0003-1190-7049

**Аннотация.** Староассирийский язык принадлежит к восточноеврейской группе языков, исчезнувшей ок. 400 г. до н. э. Тексты, проанализированные для этой статьи, были написаны в XIX в. до н. э. Староассирийский корпус не только занимает второе место по величине среди восточноеврейских, но и является самым гомогенным среди известных корпусов мертвых языков. В староассирийском языке был вентив — дейктический показатель, который употреблялся при глаголах движения. Этот показатель также встречался на некоторых глаголах, не имеющих семантики движения; в таких случаях он придавал глаголу значение перемещения, т. е. обозначал сопутствующее движение.

**Ключевые слова:** глаголы перемещения; циклокативные показатели; сопутствующее движение; староассирийский; аккадский.

### 1. Introduction to the Old Assyrian language

This contribution deals with the ventive as an Associated Motion marker in Old Assyrian (OA), an East Semitic variety. East Semitic is a subgroup of closely related and amply attested ancient Semitic languages, traditionally labeled under an umbrella term “Akkadian”<sup>1</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> Genealogically, Semitic languages are divided into two branches: West and East Semitic. For reasons related to the history of Semitology, East Semitic languages are often referred to as “Akkadian” and are further subdivided into “dialects”, which are nonetheless languages in their own right.

The texts of the Old Assyrian corpus, created in Northern Mesopotamia and Central Anatolia, comprise over 300 000 words<sup>2</sup>. The texts date back to between 1890 and 1860 BCE and include correspondence, legal records, contracts, and private notes (memos). Unlike the consonantal alphabets of certain written West Semitic languages, Akkadian writing also indicates vowels, which opens a way for a more nuanced understanding of OA morphology.

While quoting OA words and texts, I follow the transcription rules developed in N. Kouwenberg's reference work *A Grammar of Old Assyrian* [Kouwenberg 2017].

OA is believed to possess 20 consonants. In the table that follows I provide a comparative chart of the traditional way to transcribe OA consonants and their IPA correspondences.

Table 1. OA consonants

<b>Stops and Affricates</b>	<b>Voiceless</b>	<b>Voiced</b>	<b>Pharyngealized</b>
Bilabial	<i>p/p</i>	<i>b/b</i>	
Alveolar	<i>t/t</i>	<i>d/d</i>	<i>ʈ/ʈʰ</i>
Post-Alveolar			
Palatal			
Velar	<i>k/k</i>	<i>g/g</i>	<i>q/q</i>
Uvular			
Glottal	<i>ʔ/ʔ</i>		

<b>Fricatives</b>	<b>Voiceless</b>	<b>Voiced</b>	<b>Pharyngealized</b>
Bilabial	<i>p/p</i>	<i>b/b</i>	
Alveolar	<i>s/s</i>	<i>z/z</i>	<i>ʃ/sʰ</i>
Post-Alveolar	<i>š/f</i>		
Palatal			
Velar			
Uvular	<i>ħ/χ</i>		
Glottal			

<sup>2</sup> The electronic corpus of Old Assyrian (<https://oare.byu.edu/>, last accessed on 24.11.2024) comprises some 8000 texts.

Sonorants	Nasal	Lateral	Apical	Approximant
Bilabial	<i>m/m</i>			<i>w/w</i>
Alveolar	<i>n/n</i>	<i>l/l</i>	<i>r/r</i>	
Post-Alveolar				
Palatal				<i>y/j</i>
Velar				
Uvular				
Glottal				

OA has eight vowels.

— Short: *a/a*, *e/e*, *i/i*, *u/u*

— Long: *ā/a:*, *ē/e:*, *ī/i:*, *ū/u:*

The symbols *â*, *ê*, *î*, *û* are used in grammatical descriptions of Akkadian to represent long vowels that result from contractions of two vowels.

In the interlinearized text, unlike in the running transcription, I present context-free shapes of grammatical forms and affixes, in particular those of the ventive itself. The ventive is marked by the final *-m* which always gets assimilated to the subsequent consonant, if any in the same phonetic word. The broad transcription will help the reader identify the ventive within the respective verb forms.

## 2. Associated motion and some statistics

A linguistic category introduced in 1984, “associated motion” (AM), is an umbrella term for markers relating translocational motion to non-motion verb events [Guillaume, Koch 2021: 3]. This category is attested mostly in African, Australian and South American languages; see [Guillaume, Koch 2021] for extensive description and further references. The present study shows that the East Semitic ventive, a cislocative marker on motion verbs, can be also used as an AM marker. In the terminology

of A. Belkadi, the Old Assyrian ventive is a D-AM marker, i.e. a marker that combines a deictic directional (D) meaning when hosted on motion verbs and an AM meaning when hosted on non-motion verbs [Belkadi 2015: 51].

On the Old Assyrian language and its ventive on genuine motion verbs, see [Koval, Loesov 2024].

Before dealing with the AM marker, it is necessary to introduce the East Semitic ventive. Ventive is a directional marker suffixed on finite forms of motion verbs. Ventive has three allomorphs appearing in complementary distribution. Thus, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural verb forms with the inflectional suffixes *-ū* and *-ā* take the ventive *-nem*: *illikū-nem* ‘they came hither,’ while 2SG.F verb forms with the inflectional suffix *-ī* take *-m*: *tallikī-m* ‘you (SG.F) came hither.’ The rest of the finite verb forms that have no inflectional suffixes host the ventive *-am*. The original meaning of the ventive is cislocative ‘hither’. In cases of author-oriented motion, this marker is mandatory. See (1) for a directional cislocative ventive hosted on a basic motion verb *alākum* ‘come’:

(1) *Abu-šalim lillikam.*

*Abu-šalim l-i-llik-am*

Abu-šalim VOL-3SG.M-come.PRT-VN

‘Abu-šalim **must come** hither (i.e. to where I am)’ [AKT 6A, 109: 18].

The key feature of the ventive is its capability for deictic shifts, whereby the deictic center shifts from the author to the addressee of the message or to non-speech-act participants (= non-SAPs). See an addressee-oriented example in (2):

(2) *Allakamma ēnēka ammar.*

*a-llak-am-ma ēn-ē-ka a-mmar*

1SG-come.FUT-VN-and eye.C-OBL-2SG.M 1SG-see.FUT

‘**I will come** to where you are and see you (lit. “your eyes”)’

[CCT 4, 43a: 50].

Addressee-oriented ventives are compulsory, while non-SAP-oriented ventives are very few and defy clear explanation: “the use of the non-SAP ventive is called for by fine pragmatic considerations difficult to grasp

in the absence of informants, notwithstanding a rather robust number of tokens” [Koval, Loesov 2024]. As a rule, non-SAP-oriented movement is not highlighted by the ventive morpheme. See a non-SAP-oriented example of a caused motion verb in (3):

- (3) *Ana Aššur-ṭāb ništāpram. Tirtušu litūramma ašar šaknu nušebbal-akkuššu.*

*ana Aššur-ṭāb ni-štāpr-am tirtu-šu*  
to Aššur-ṭāb 1PL-write.PRF-VN message.C-3SG.M

*l-i-tūr-am-ma ašar šakn-u*  
VOL-3SG.M-return.PRT-VN-and where place.SC-SBJV

*nu-šebbal-am-kum-šu*  
1PL-send.FUT-VN-DAT.2SG.M-3SG.M

‘We sent a message to Aššur-ṭāb. As soon as his answer comes back to me about where it (a missing document mentioned above in the letter) is, we shall send it (the document) to you’

[AKT 8, 83: 10–13].

As the AM ventive is a secondary development of the directional ventive, they are identical in form: *-am/-m/-nem*. In glossing, directional ventives are indicated here as VN and AM ventives as AM (Associated Motion marker).

Three types of AM motion — prior, concurrent and subsequent motion — are found across world languages. Prior motion occurs before the main action, concurrent motion happens simultaneously with it, while subsequent motion takes place afterwards. In Old Assyrian, the AM ventive can only denote **subsequent** motion.

There are two types of AM constructions in Old Assyrian: independent and echo. In independent constructions, the motion component is added to a non-motion verb by means of an AM marker (4):

- (4) *Šumma šannātem tašamānem, šubātē kalašunu u šannātem ana Il-wēdāku piqdāma ḥarrān Durḥumit lisridam.*

*šumma šann-āt-em ta-šam-ā-nem šubāt-ē*  
if cauldron-PL-OBL 2-buy.PRT-PL-DAT.1SG textile-OBL

*kala-šunu u šann-āt-em ana Ilī-wēdāku piqd-ā-ma*  
all-3PL and kettle-PL-OBL to Ilī-wēdāku entrust.IMP-PL-and

*ḥarrān Durḥumit l-i-srid-am*  
 way.C Durḥumit VOL-3SG.M-load.up.PRT-AM

‘If you purchased cauldrons for me, hand over all the textiles and the cauldrons to Ilī-wēdāku so **he loads** (them) **up (and comes)** (to where I am) on his way to Durḥumit’ [VS 26, 18: 6–12].

The predicate of the verb phrase *ḥarrān Durḥumit lisridam* ‘may he load (them) up hither on his way to Durḥumit’ is a non-motion verb *sarādum* ‘pack, load cargo’, i.e., ‘load donkeys with merchandise’. The AM ventive on *sarādum* introduces the motion event thus denoting subsequent motion: ‘may he load (them) up and then come here’<sup>3</sup>.

Echo AM constructions are defined as follows: “AM combines with multi-verb constructions expressing motion or other contextually-established motion events, suggest that AM might function more like agreement or reinforcement, instead of independently predicating fact-of-motion itself” [Ross 2021: 68].

In Old Assyrian, echo constructions are introduced by means of chaining constructions consisting of verb phrases that are connected by the post-verbal consecutive conjunction *-ma* ‘and then’ (5).

(5) *Qāti aššitika šabtamma atalkam.*

*qāti aššit-ī-ka šabt-am-ma atalk-am*  
 hand.C wife.C-GEN-2SG.M grab.IMP-VN-and depart.IMP-VN

‘**Grasp** your wife’s hand (to where I am) and **depart** (to where I am)!’ [BIN 6, 52: 15].

In example (5), the non-motion verb *šabātum* ‘take, grasp’ anticipatorily takes the ventive that reappears on the head verb of the chaining construction *atalk-am* ‘depart (to where I am)’.

<sup>3</sup> Note that the verb phrase *taš’amā-nem* ‘buy for me’ includes the first person singular dative pronoun ‘for/to me’. It is formally identical to the ventive, to which it is related etymologically [Koval, Loesov 2024]. In the rest of the contribution, AM ventives / directional ventives are distinguished from the first person singular dative pronouns by means of the interlinear glossing.

In this paper, echo AM examples will not be discussed further; see [Koval, Loesov 2024] for more detail. However, as echo AM is important for my argumentation, I will address them again in Conclusions.

Table 2 demonstrates the distribution of independent +AM tokens vs. –AM tokens in the corpus, i.e., the number of cases like *isridam* ‘he loaded up (and came)’ vs. *isrid* ‘he loaded up’.

Table 2. The AM ventive in OA

	+AM ventive	–AM ventive
<i>ezābum</i> ‘to leave behind’	9	58
<i>saḥārum</i> ‘to tarry, delay’	1	17
<i>sarādum</i> ‘to pack, to load the cargo’	24	6
<i>šalāhum</i> ‘to salvage’	6	6
<i>utaḥḥurum</i> ‘to tarry, delay’	3	—

### 3. The case of advanced lexicalization

The verb *sarādum* ‘load, pack’ employs the AM ventive most consistently. In Table 3, I subdivided 30 +VEN and –VEN instances into additional categories depending on the location they point to and their motion / non-motion usage.

Table 3. Data on *sarādum*

	+AM ventive	–AM ventive
author’s location at coding time	16	—
addressee’s location at coding time	3	—
non-speech act participant location	2	2
non-motion usage	3	4

Regular author-oriented ventives make a half of the total sample thus requiring no further commentary. See example (4) above.



Example (6) highlights an important feature distinguishing some AM ventives from regular cases:

- (6) *Emārē uššerâmma warî?aka isarridûnem. Adi 10 ûmē uzakkâmma uššiam ... kaspam ubbalakkum.*

*emār-ē u-ššer-âm-ma warî?a-ka*  
donkey-OBL 1SG-release.FUT-VN-and bronze.C-2SG.M

*i-sarrid-û-nem adi 10 ûm-ē u-zakk-âm-ma*  
3-pack.FUT-PL.M-AM in ten day-OBL 1SG-get.ready.FUT-VN-and

*u-šši-am kasp-am u-bbal-am-kum*  
1SG-leave.FUT-VN silver-ACC 1SG-leave.FUT-VN-DAT.2SG.M

‘I have released the donkeys and **they** (this form is an impersonal plural) **will load** your copper (i.e. to where you are). I will get ready to go in 10 days and I will depart (i.e. to where you are) on my way to you. ... I will bring to you the silver’ [POAT 30: 20–29].

The form *issarridûnem* demonstrates that the general context of movement alone can cause the use of the AM ventive. In (6), this form does not imply that the people loading the donkeys are going to move towards the addressee, it is the author who is planning to do so. Thus, example (6) shows that the likely reason for the AM ventive developing in Old Assyrian is its connection to regular ventives hosted on genuine motion verbs. The fact that the ventive morpheme could have been induced even under the influence of verbs governed by different subjects as in (6) is particularly remarkable. See a similar example in (7) where the ventive indicates the direction to the author’s whereabouts:

- (7) *Ina ûmem ša ina Ḥaḥḥem tasarridanni nāgirka ṭurdamma ištēnma ina Ḥaqa lā tasahḥur!*

*ina ûm-em ša ina Ḥaḥḥ-em ta-sarrid-an-ni*  
on day-GEN REL in Ḥaḥḥum-GEN 2SG.M-pack.FUT-AM-SBJV

*nāgir-ka ṭurd-am-ma ištēn-ma ina Ḥaqa*  
messenger.C-2SG.M send.IMP-VN-and one-TOP in Ḥaqa

*lā ta-sahḥur*  
NEG 2SG.M-delay.FUT

‘On the day **you load the cargo** (i.e. to where I am) in Ḥaḥḥum (in order to come to me), send your messenger (i.e. to where

I am). Do not delay in Ҳақа a single (day)!' [AKT 11A, 101: 11–16].

Here, *tasarridanni* retains its original meaning ‘load cargo’. Rather than the act of translocational movement itself, it describes the preparation for it. Moreover, it is followed by a caused motion verb form *turdam* ‘send hither’. These two ventives, despite their adjacency, do not constitute a single motion event. However, *tasarridanni* seems to introduce *tasahhur*: after the addressee has loaded the cargo, he is expected to go northward, to the town of Ҳақа; on the relative positions of Ҳаҳҳум and Ҳақа, see [Barjamovic 2011: 104].

(6) also shows that verbs hosting an AM marker might have a spatial argument introduced via a prepositional construction.

For future reference, the term **induced ventive** will be used here for markers like those hosted on *issaridūnem* in (6) and on *tasarridanni* in (7).

Now compare examples (8) and (9) describing movement directed toward non-speech-act participant (=non-SAP) locations:

- (8) *Šumma ... ina tīrti ubartem ša Ušḫania sarād-am qabiātunu sirdāma harrākkunu atalkā.*

*šumma ina tīrti ubart-em ša Ušḫania sarād-am*  
if in letter.C station-GEN REL Ušḫania pack.INF-ACC  
*qabi-ātunu sird-ā-ma harrān-kunu atalk-ā*  
tell.SC-2PL.M pack.IMP-PL-and way.C-2PL.M depart.IMP-PL

‘If you ... have been ordered in the letter from the Ušḫania station to load the cargo, then **load the cargo** and depart on your trip’

[CTMMA 1, 80: 5–10].

The absence of the ventive on *atalkā* ‘depart!’ is expected, since non-SAP ventives on genuine motion verbs are observed only in exceptional cases. The form *sirdā* ‘load the cargo!’, clearly connected to *atalkā* by means of the postpositive conjunction *-ma*, follows the motion verb.

- (9) *Inūmi tuḫpīni ina Ālem tašamme?āni ina puḫrīkunu ana Zalpa sirdānem. Kīma ana Zalpa tērubāni...*

*inūmi tupp-ī-ni ina Āl-em ta-šamme?-ā-ni*  
 when letter.C-GEN-1P in City-GEN 2-hear.FUT-PL-SBJV

*ina puḥr-ī-kunu ana Zalpa sird-ā-nem*  
 in assembly.C-GEN-2PL.M to Zalpa pack.IMP-PL-AM

*kīma ana Zalpa tē-rub-ā-ni*  
 when to Zalpa 2-enter.PRT-PL-SBJV

‘When you hear our letter in the City, **load the cargo** to Zalpa all together. As soon as **you enter** Zalpa...’ [ArAn 6: 19–25].

Example (9) differs from (6). Although both *sirdānem* and *tērubāni*<sup>4</sup> are directed toward Zalpa, a non-SAP location, the first verb form is in the imperative, while the second is in the indicative, i.e. their syntactical bond is weaker because these verb forms do not correspond in mood.

As stated above, there is no need to explain the absence of the ventive when the movement is directed toward a non-SAP location, so *tērubāni* requires no further comment. At the same time, the ventive hosted on *sirdānem* that points to the same non-SAP location does require an explanation. A way to interpret this *-nem* morpheme is to assume that it represents a fully lexicalized AM ventive devoid of deictic force. This example will be further addressed in Conclusions.

To complete the survey of *sarādum*, we have to treat the examples where this verb does not have motion semantics and is not accompanied with a motion verb (10).

(10) *Umma Erišumma*, “*Igrē ša 4 emārē ša tasridu kaspam dinam!*”

*Umma Dādiyama*, “*Amma emārē sirid!*”

*umma Erišum-ma igr-ē ša 4 emār-ē ša*  
 QT Erišum-QT wage-OBL REL four donkey-OBL REL

*ta-srid-u kasp-am din-am umma*  
 2SG.M-pack.PRT-SBJV silver-ACC give.IMP-DAT.1SG.M QT

*Dādiya-ma amma emār-ē sirid*  
 Dādiya-TOP there donkey-OBL pack.IMP

<sup>4</sup> To avoid confusion, it is important to distinguish between the ventive morpheme *-nem* and the subjunctive morpheme *-ni* which are unrelated, although they may look similar.

‘Erišum said: “Give me the wages in silver for the 4 donkeys that **you loaded the cargo!**” Dādiya answered: “There, **load the cargo on the donkeys (yourself!)**” [AKT 6D, 854: 3–9].

[Veenhof 2017: 120] remarks about the donkeys: “They have been packed, but it is not clear whether they have actually been sent off with their loads”. The absence of the ventive here should be explained by the dissociation from the motion event. Cf. another non-motion –VEN example (11), with a different nuance of meaning:

- (11) *Ištu wadi isarriduni adi 6 šanāt ište Puzur-Anna uššab.*  
*ištu wadi i-sarrid-uni adi 6 šanāt*  
 since already 3SG.M-pack.FUT-SBJV for six year.PABS  
*ište Puzur-Anna u-ššab*  
 with Puzur-Anna 3SG.M-sit.FUT

‘From the moment **he starts working** as a donkey driver, he will remain in Puzur-Anna’s service for 6 years’ [AAA 1, 14a: 7–11].

The absence of the ventive on non-motion forms of *sarādum* is expected. These examples, however, are contrasted to +VEN forms (12).

- (12) *Šumma ana Ālem lā ikšudamma ištēa lā isridam.*  
*šumma ana Āl-em lā i-kšud-am-ma*  
 if to city-GEN NEG 3SG.M-arrive.PRT-VN-and  
*ištē-a lā i-srid-am*  
 with-1SG NEG 3SG.M-pack.PRT-AM

‘If he does not arrive (i.e. to where I am) into the City and **does not load the cargo** together with me’ [AKT 8, 67: 6–8].

The AM ventive hosted on *isridam* might be induced by the directional ventive on *ikšudam* ‘(if) he arrives’ and thus could be interpreted as an echo construction.

In (13), no further movement is indicated. Though the form *nisridam* in (13) resembles the forms *tasridu* and *sirid* in example (10), it hosts the ventive morpheme. This difference indicates that the lexicalization process of the AM ventive is incomplete: under the same circumstances, the non-motion forms of *sarādum* might or might not host the ventive morpheme, cf. (13).

- (13) *Ammākam kārām muḥurma merā Lataarak qurub lu nisridamma ina Zalpa lu nuqaʔʔiṣu.*

*ammākam kār-am muḥur-ma merā Lataarak*  
 there trade.factory-A appeal.IMP-and son.C Lataarak

*qurub lu ni-srid-am-ma ina Zalpa lu*  
 approach.IMP VOL 1PL-pack.PRT-AM-and in Zalpa VOL

*nu-qaʔʔi-ṣu*

1P-wait.PRT-3SG.M

‘There, apply to the trade factory and approach Lataarak’s son. **We shall load the cargo** (and go there) and wait for him in Zalpa’ [AKT 9a, 10: 15–20].

As in (8), no further movement is indicated in (13), which attests to the more advanced stage of lexicalization: the component ‘and go’ is introduced by the AM marker without a motion verb in the context.

This analysis may be summed up as follows. The AM ventive can be used on *sarādum* in a variety of contexts, both deictic and non-deictic; it can occur in both the presence of an overtly expressed motion verb in the context and in its absence. Deictic AM ventives hosted on *sarādum* in the presence of a motion verb in the context are closer to directional ventives and non-deictic AM ventives hosted in the absence of an overtly expressed motion verb in the context attest to further lexicalization process of the AM ventive.

#### 4. A case of the first stage of lexicalization

A case opposite to *sarādum* ‘pack, load cargo’ is *sahārum* ‘delay’. Out of the 18 examples of its use attested, only one form does host the ventive morpheme, while 17 do not. See an illustrative –VEN case of the author-oriented movement:

- (14) *Ammākam lā ta-sahḥur tibʔamma atalkam.*

*ammākam lā ta-sahḥur tibʔ-am-ma*

there NEG 2SG.M-delay.FUT get.up.IMP-VN-and

*atalk-am*

depart.IMP-VN

‘Don’t delay there, get up and depart (i.e. to where I am)’

[KTH 4: 11–13].

Despite the close semantic association with the motion verb form *atalkam* ‘depart hither!’ and the fact that the moods do correspond,<sup>5</sup> *tasahhur* does not host the induced ventive morpheme as opposed to *sarādum* in (7) and (8). The contrast is highlighted by the connecting ventive morpheme hosted on *tibʔamma* ‘get up and then’: the non-motion verb *tabāʔum* ‘get up’ regularly acquires inchoative meaning as the first constituent of a phasal verb construction whose second link is a genuine verb of translocation, in this case, *atalkam*. We might expect that *sahārum* would join the phasal verb construction \**lā tasahhuramma tibʔamma atalkam*, but *sahārum* resists its influence. See (15) with non-SAP oriented movement:

- (15) *Ammala tirtika ana Waḥšušana attallak. Hurāšam alaqqeammatallakam, ūmakkal lā asahhur.*

*ammala tirt-ī-ka ana Waḥšušana*

following letter.C-GEN-2SG.M to Waḥšušana

*a-ttallak a-laqqe-am-ma a-ttallak-am*

1SG-depart.FUT 1SG-take.FUT-VN-and 1SG-depart.FUT-VN

*ūmakkal lā a-sahhur*

a.day NEG 1SG-delay.FUT

‘In accordance with your letter, I will go Waḥšušana. I will take the gold and depart (to where you are); **I will not delay** a day’

[AKT 9a, 26: 9–15].

In (15), *sahārum* does not host the induced ventive despite the anaphoric ventive indicating the future location of the author on *attallak-am*. For a detailed description and more examples of the anaphoric ventive referring to the future location of the author, see [Koval, Loesov 2024]. The motion is expressed in the pre-text, just as with *sarādum* in example (7),

<sup>5</sup> The prohibitive *lā tasahhur* and the imperative *atalkam*.

but the AM ventive is absent because of its incompatibility with *saḥārum*. This fact highlights that a motion event in the context does not trigger the AM ventive automatically. Moreover, the incompatibility is highlighted by the fact that the order the events are introduced in has nothing to do with their actual time ordering: irrespective of whether the delay takes place before or after the motion event, the motion verb *atlukum* precedes *saḥārum*.

In short, the author states his intention to go to Waḥšušana twice using the same verb form, and the second ventive is anaphoric: *attallakam* ‘I will depart THERE’. Since *saḥārum* is introduced as a part of the same motion event, we might expect it to host the ventive as well: *\*attallakam ūmakkal lā asaḥḥuram* ‘I will depart THERE; I will not delay a day THERE’. However, as confirmed by the previous example, the verb *saḥārum* is hardly compatible with AM ventive evens in ventive-inducing syntactic environments.

The only instance available of +VEN *saḥārum* indicates movement towards the author and reads as in (16):

- (16) 2 *ūmē lā taṣaḥḥuram. Saḥrātī napraṣ u maškē šapātēa lā tēzibam.*  
 2 *ūm-ē lā ta-saḥḥur-am saḥr-āt-ī napraṣ*  
 two day-OBL NEG 2SG.M-delay.FUT-VN wares.C-PL-1SG chisel.ABS  
*u mask-ē šap-āt-ē-a lā tē-zib-am*  
 and fleecce-OBL wool.C-PL-OBL-1SG NEG 2SG.M-leave.PRT-DAT.1S

‘Do not **delay** (i.e. to where I am) by two days. You did not leave me my small goods, a chisel and my woolen fleeces’ [AKT 6c, 585: 15–18].

In this text, there is no genuine motion verb that could induce the ventive on *taṣaḥḥuram*. However, it is hardly a coincidence that in this single example the ventive is used in its basic function as in examples (7) and (8). We might assume that originally the ventive must have been induced by adjacent genuine motion verbs; example (13) represents the second stage of lexicalization, since the AM ventive is used independently. The lack of examples where *saḥārum* represents the induced ventive is probably due to chance.

The ratio between +VEN and –VEN examples allows us to conclude that the AM ventive on *saḥārum* underwent only the initial stages of the lexicalization process.

## 5. Intermediate cases

In contrast to *saḥārūm* stands a less frequent verb with a similar meaning: *utahḥurūm* ‘delay’. It is unattested without the ventive morpheme (17):

- (17) *Šumma lā tutahḥiram anākuma akannakma ašṣēr aḥātīka ušeb-balšu.*

*šumma lā tu-tahḥir-am anāku-ma a-kannak-ma*  
if NEG 2SG.M-delay.FUT-AM 1SG-TOP 1SG-seal.FUT-and

*ašṣēr aḥāt-ī-ka u-šebbal-šu*  
to sister.C-GEN-2SG.M 1SG-send.FUT-3SG.M

‘If you **are not delayed** (i.e. to where I am), I will seal (the silver) and send it to your sister’ [TC 3, 16: 18–22].

The verb *ezābum* requires the AM ventive whenever the context implies a motion event, see (18):

- (18) *Suḡam ina panīka nanši?am. Šumma tezzibašši libbī ilamminak-kum.*

*suḡ-am ina panī-ka nanši?-am šumma*  
hammer.stone-A in.person-2SG.M bring.IMP-VN if

*te-zzib-aš-ši libb-ī i-lammin-akkum*  
2SG.M-leave.FUT-AM-3SG.F heart.C-1SG 3SG.M-be.angry.FUT-DAT.2SG.M

‘Bring here a hammer stone personally. **If you leave it behind** (and come here), I will be angry at you (lit. “my heart will be angry at you”)’ [TC 3, 98: 19–22].

A motion event is absent from the majority of contexts. In these cases, the AM ventive is not hosted:

- (19) *Mimma tēzibu paḥḥirāma ana ḥuršem ištēn šēribāma kīma iāti kunkā.*

*mimma tē-zib-u paḥḥir-ā-ma*  
everything 2SG.M-leave.PRT-SBJV collect.IMP-PL-and

*ana ḥurš-em ištēn šērib-ā-ma*  
to storeroom-GEN one bring.IMP-PL-and



*kīma iāti*            *kunk-ā*  
 my.representative   seal.IMP-PL

‘Collect everything **she left** and bring it into one single storeroom and seal it in my name’ [AKT 8, 260: 8–12].

The same principle holds for the verb *šalāḥum* ‘retrieve’. See (20) with a motion event implied:

- (20) *Ana warīṭika ninaṭṭidma warīṭaka nišallaḥam ana warīṭika libbaka lā iparrid.*

*ana warīṭ-ī-ka*            *ni-naṭṭid-ma*            *warīṭa-ka*  
 to    copper.C-GEN-2SG.M    1PL-take.care.FUT-and    copper.C-2SG.M

*ni-šallaḥ-am*            *ana warīṭ-ī-ka*            *libba-ka*  
 1PL-retrieve.FUT-AM    to    copper.C-GEN-2SG.M    heart.C-2SG.M

*lā i-parrid*  
 NEG    3SG.M-take.care.FUT

‘We shall take care of your copper and **retrieve** your copper (and come to you). Do not worry about your copper’

[AKT6d, 796: 14–16].

Also see (21) without a motion event:

- (21) *Inūmi tattalku lā tīde kīma ḥarranātum u ekallū dannūni. Adi šubātē ašluḥu 7 warḥē ina libbi mātem ašḥur.*

*inūmi ta-ttalk-u*            *lā tī-de*            *kīma*  
 when    2SG.M-depart.PRF-SBJV    NEG    2SG.M-know.FUT    REL

*ḥarran-āt-um u ekall-ū*            *dann-ū-ni*            *adi*  
 road.PL-NOM    and    palace-NOM.PL    be.hard.SC-M.PL    until

*šubāt-ē a-šluḥ-u*            7            *warḥ-ē*  
 textile-OBL    1SG-retrieve.PRT-SBJV    seven    month-OBL

*ina libbi māt-em a-šḥur*  
 in    inner.part.C    country-GEN    1SG-stay.PRT

‘When you departed, did you not know that the roads and the palaces were causing difficulties? Until **I had retrieved** the textiles, I stayed seven months in the inner part of the country’

[AKT 8, 190: 26–27].

## 6. Conclusions

My analysis of the OA corpus allows to conclude that the AM ventive in OA denotes only subsequent motion:

- *ezābum* ‘leave behind (and go)’
- *saḥārum* ‘tarry, delay (and go)’
- *sarādum* ‘pack (and go), load the cargo (and go)’
- *šalāḥum* ‘retrieve (and go)’
- *utaḥḥurum* ‘tarry, delay (and go)’

This fact does not fit well with the commonly accepted AM motion hierarchy: prior > concurrent > subsequent: “we should find no languages with Concurrent AM that do not also have Prior, and no languages with Subsequent that do not have Prior and Concurrent. Furthermore, there are implications for diachronic development, such that languages would develop first Prior, then Concurrent, and finally Subsequent AM morphology” [Ross 2021: 46]<sup>6</sup>. Overall, subsequent motion is the least frequent AM type in the world languages [Ross 2021: 48]. Most likely, the absence of prior and concurrent motion in OA is a data distortion due to the limited corpus.

In [Belkadi 2016: 64] the following verb classes are proposed: “Path Motion > Motion translocational > Causative motion > Perception > (Natural phenomena and bodily secretions?) > Activities not involving translational motion > States. It follows from this that satellites triggering AM readings with verbs on the left side of the scale are more likely to be ‘real’ markers of motion and belong to the category of AM, while those triggering directional readings with verbs from the lower part of the scale are more likely to be path expressions. ... the distinction between AM markers and path expressions is more gradual (and probably dynamic) than clear cut”.

The Old Assyrian data does not allow assumptions about the verbs of perception and “natural phenomena and bodily secretions”; activities

---

<sup>6</sup> For example, see [Guillaume 2016: 83] for South American data that supports this hierarchy.

not involving translational motion are the only group that assumes the AM ventive. States hosting the AM ventive are not attested in Old Assyrian.

Echo AM usage is more universal. A much wider range of verbs may take the echo AM marker.

Echo AM must have been the source for independent AM constructions. The verbs that were frequently introduced into echo constructions due to their contextual connection to motion started to assume the AM marker independently: initially, there were only examples like (12), but already in the pre-OA period, independent usage of the AM ventive on some verbs was developed.

The independent AM ventive underwent different stages of lexicalization on different verbs. Despite the scarcity of the evidence, we may trace the lexicalization process. In example (13), the only instance of *sahārum* ‘delay’ with the AM ventive, the marker points to the whereabouts of the author, i.e., the ventive abides by its primary function. I argue that *sahārum* represents the first stage of lexicalization of the AM ventive, that is, an explicit indication of the first-person deixis.

On the contrary, *sarādum* ‘pack, load the cargo’ employs the fully lexicalized and thus bleached AM ventive. At the concluding stage of the process, the AM ventive loses its deictic function and gets integrated into the paradigm. It is worthy of note that no genuine motion verbs in OA follow this strategy, since the semantics of motion is inherent to them: as a result, the ventive holds to its deictic function at all times. While on motion verbs the ventive develops in the direction of deictic shifts (author-oriented > addressee-oriented > non-SAP-oriented), the AM ventive on non-motion verbs transforms into a general marker of movement.

The verbs *ezābum* ‘leave behind’ and *šalāhum* ‘retrieve’ represent an intermediate stage of lexicalization. They host the AM ventive whenever a movement event is implied and do not host it elsewhere.

Finally, *utaḥḥurum* ‘delay’ is a difficult case. It does not provide enough evidence for reliable analysis. It employs the AM ventive at all times, but the cases in question represent only movement towards the author and thus there are no contrasting cases to consider. I am unable to say whether *utaḥḥurum* follows the pattern of *sarādum* or that of *ezābum*. At any rate, it stands in stark contrast to its more frequent counterpart *sahārum*

which, as a rule, does not host the ventive. If it is not due to lack of examples, we may assume that even verbs with similar meanings like *saḥārum* and *utahhurum* might have adopted the AM ventive to varying degrees.

## Abbreviations

ACC — accusative case; AM — associated motion marker; ABS — absolute state; C — construct state; DAT — dative pronoun; F — feminine; FUT — future; GEN — genitive case; IMP — imperative; INF — infinitive; M — masculine; NOM — nominative case; NEG — negative; OBL — oblique case (plural only); PL — plural; PRF — perfect; PRT — preterite; REL — relative; SG — singular; SBJV — subjunctive; SC — suffixed conjugation; TOP — topicalization; QT — quotation marker; VN — ventive; VOL — volative.

## Bibliographical abbreviations

AAA — *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*; AKT — *Ankara Kültepe Tabletleri* (Ankara); ArAn — *Archivum Anatolicum* (Ankara); BIN — *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of JB. Nies* (New Haven); CCT — *Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum* (London); CTMMA — *Corpus of Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York); KTH — *Lewy 1930*; POAT — *Gwaltney 1983*; TC — *Lewy 1935*; VS — *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Berlin).

## References

- Barjamovic 2011 — G. Barjamovic. *A historical geography of Anatolia in the Old Assyrian colony period*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2011.
- Belkadi 2015 — A. Belkadi. Associated motion with deictic directionals: a comparative overview. *SOAS Working Papers in Linguistics*. 2015. No. 17. P. 49–76.
- Belkadi 2016 — A. Belkadi. Associated motion constructions in African languages. *Africana Linguistica*. 2016. No. 22. P. 43–70. DOI: 10.2143/al.22.0.3197351.
- Clay 1927 — A. T. Clay. *Letters and transactions from Cappadocia*. (Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies. Vol. 4). New Haven; London: Yale University Press; Oxford University Press, 1927.
- Garelli, Collon 1975 — P. Garelli, D. Collon. *Cuneiform texts from Cappadocian tablets in the British Museum*. Pt. 6. London: British Museum Press, 1975.

- Guillaume 2016 — A. Guillaume. Associated motion in South America: typological and Areal Perspectives. *Linguistic Typology*. 2016. Vol. 20 (1). P. 81–177. DOI: 10.1515/lingty-2016-0003.
- Guillaume, Koch (eds.) 2021 — A. Guillaume, H. Koch (eds.). *Associated motion*. Boston; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2021. DOI: 10.1515/9783110692099.
- Hakan 2016 — E. Hakan. *Kultepe tabletleri IX-a*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2016.
- Hakan 2018 — E. Hakan. *Kultepe tabletleri XI-a*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2018.
- Kouwenberg 2017 — N. J. C. Kouwenberg. *A grammar of Old Assyrian*. Leiden: Brill, 2017. DOI: 10.1163/9789004472846.
- Koval, Loesov 2024 — S. Koval, S. Loesov. The ventive and the deictic shift: The Case of Old Assyrian. *Studies in Language*. 2024. DOI: 10.1075/sl.23050.kov.
- Larsen 2010 — M. T. Larsen. *Kultepe tabletleri VI-a. The archive of the Šalim-Aššur family I*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2010.
- Larsen 2014 — M. T. Larsen. *Kultepe tabletleri VI-c. The archive of the Šalim-Aššur family III*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2014.
- Larsen 2018 — M. T. Larsen. *Kultepe tabletleri VI-d. The archive of the Šalim-Aššur family IV*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2018.
- Lewy 1930 — J. Lewy. *Die Kültepe-Texte aus der Sammlung Frida Hahn*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1930.
- Lewy 1935 — J. Lewy. *Tablettes cappadociennes 3*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1935.
- Myres (ed.) 1908 — J. L. Myres (ed.). *Annals of archaeology and anthropology*. Vol. 1. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1908.
- Ross 2021 — D. Ross. A cross-linguistic survey of associated motion and directionals. A. Guillaume, H. Koch (eds.). *Associated motion*. Boston; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2021. P. 31–87. DOI: 10.1515/9783110692099-002.
- Smith 1927 — S. Smith. *Cuneiform texts from Cappadocian tablets in the British Museum*. Pt. 4. London: British Museum Press, 1975.
- Spar 1988 — I. Spar. *Cuneiform texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Tablets, Cones, and Bricks of the Third and Second Millennia B. C*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988.
- Veenhof 2017 — K. R. Veenhof. *Kultepe tabletleri 8: the archive of Elamma, son of Id-din-Suen, and his family*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2017.
- Yasemin 2003 — A. Yasemin. *Archivum anatolicum 6*. Ankara: Ankara University, 2003.