Un paradosso di Wackernagel: diatesi media e desinenze personali attive. Una possibile soluzione

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ABSTRACT

The anticausative value of Vedic aduhat "[she] yields milk", as opposed to the active "to draw milk [from]", testifies that aduhat belongs to the middle voice. Wackernagel analyzed it as a-duh-a-t, where -a-was interpreted as an old middle ending (or "stative" ending, following a different definition). However, he could not account for the overspecifying active ending -t-, which marks the singular third person. In the present paper, it has been shown that this surface aporia relies on the fact that the Middle category, originally belonging to the Indo-European Perfect system, was included in the Present/Aorist system after the grammatical encoding of tense, which happened at a later stage. When aduhat acquired the ending-t, the middle markers characterizing the Present/Aorist system had not yet appeared.