

Progressive to negative and other unexpected developments in Iranian languages

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Introduction

Unexpected developments

- Progressive to Negative

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- Progressive marked only in the negative

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- Progressive marked only in the negative
- Slot competition between definite and plural

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- Transitive alignment: $A = P$

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- $OBL.SG = DIR.PL$

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- Progressive to Negative
- Progressive marked only in the negative
- Slot competition between definite and plural
- Transitive alignment: $A = P$
- $OBL.SG = DIR.PL$
- But, I'll only talk about the first two.

Progressive to Negative

Acknowledgements

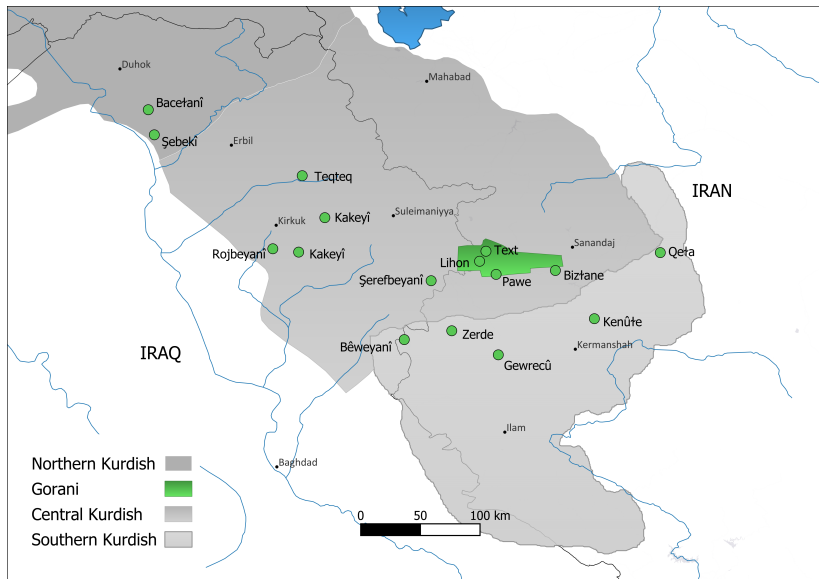


- The progressive-to-negative project represents a collaboration between Masoud Mohammadirad and myself.
- It represents a merger between my ongoing work on imperfective marking in Iranian languages and his ongoing linguistic and documentary work on Hewramî, Gorani, and Kurdish varieties.
- Our work is supported by the European Research Council ALHOME project led by Geoffrey Khan



European Research Council
Established by the European Commission

Gorani (Mohammadirad and Karim, in review)



Shabaki	Paweyane
<i>me-şor-ó</i>	<i>me-şor-ó</i>
IPFV-wash.PRS-3SG	IPFV-wash.PRS-3SG
<i>ní-me-şor-o</i>	<i>ní-me-şor-o</i>
NEG-IPFV-wash.PRS-3SG	NEG-IPFV-wash.PRS-3SG

Gewrecûî	HewramText
<i>me-şûr-ê</i>	<i>şor-ó</i>
IPFV-wash.PRS-3SG	wash.PRS-3SG
<i>ní-me-şûr-ê</i>	<i>mé-şor-o</i>
NEG-IPFV-wash.PRS-3SG	NEG-wash.PRS-3SG

Hewramî Verbal Morphology

- (1) a. ey paḏṣazaḏ, girew-êw
oh prince, wager-INDF.M.DIR
kér-mê
make.PRS.SUB-2PL.A
Lihon: 'Oh prince, let's make a wager. (MacKenzie, 1966, 80)
- b. a kitêb-î=m=e
DEM.DIST book.M.SG.OBL=1SG.P=DEM
b-âr-e
IMP-BRING-2SG.IMP
'bring that book of mine!' (MacKenzie, 1966, 26)

Past-tense Examples

- (2) a. a=ne tewen-ek-ê=ne
DEM.DIST=DEM stone-DEF-F.SG.DEF=COP.F.SG
to bas=it kéréd-e
2SG mention=2SG.A do.PST-3SG.F
'that is the stone you mentioned' (MacKenzie, 1966,
54)
- b. baba xwà-y da
grandfather.M God-OBL.M give.PST.M.3SG
'God granted the grandfather [a son].'
(Mohammadirad, in prep: BP.3)

Hewramî Verbal Morphology

			AFF	NEG
NOM-	(i)	PRS.IND/IPFV	<i>kerî</i>	<i>mékerî</i>
-ACC	(ii)	PRS.SUB	<i>kérî</i>	<i>nékerî</i>
	(iii)	IMP	<i>kére</i>	<i>mékere</i>
	(iv)	PST.IPFV	<i>kerênî</i>	<i>nékerênî</i>
	ERG-	(v)	PST	<i>(=ş) kerdî</i>
-ABS	(vi)	PST.COND	<i>(=ş) kerdênî</i>	<i>(=ş) nékerdênî</i>
	(vii)	PRS.PRF	<i>(=ş) kerdênî</i>	<i>(=ş) nékerdenî</i>
	(viii)	PRF.SUB	<i>(=ş) kerdebî</i>	<i>(=ş) nékerdebî</i>
	(ix)	PST.PRF	<i>(=ş) kerdebênî</i>	<i>(=ş) nékerdebênî</i>
	(x)	PRF.COND	<i>(=ş) kerdebênî</i>	<i>(=ş) nékerdebênî</i>

Verb Classes (present formation)

			IND	SBJ	IMP/PRH
1	<i>kerdey</i> 'do'	AFF	<i>ker-î</i>	<i>kér-î</i>	<i>kér-e</i>
		NEG	<i>mé-ker-î</i>	<i>né-ker-î</i>	<i>mé-ker-e</i>
2	<i>day</i> 'give'	AFF	<i>mi-đe-î</i>	<i>bi-đe-î</i>	<i>bi-đe-é</i>
		NEG	<i>mé-đe-î</i>	<i>né-đe-î</i>	<i>mé-đe-e</i>
3	<i>awirdey</i> 'bring'	AFF	<i>m-ar-î</i>	<i>b-ár-î</i>	<i>b-ár-e</i>
		NEG	<i>ni-m-ár-î</i>	<i>n-ár-î</i>	<i>ni-m-ár-e</i>
4	<i>witey</i> 'sleep'	AFF	<i>m-us-î</i>	<i>b-ús-î</i>	<i>b-ús-e</i>
		NEG	<i>mé-ws-î</i>	<i>né-ws-î</i>	<i>mé-ws-e</i>

Reconstructing the Hewramî System

Cognate? Constructions

			IND	SBJ	IMP/PRH
Kurdish (Mukrî)	<i>kirdin</i>	AFF	<i>de-ke-î</i>	<i>bí-ke-î</i>	<i>bí-ke</i>
		NEG	<i>ná-ke-î</i>	<i>né-ke-î</i>	<i>mé-ke</i>
Persian (Tehran)	<i>kærdæn</i>	AFF	<i>mî-kon-î</i>	<i>bé-kon-î</i>	<i>bé-kon</i>
		NEG	<i>né-mî-kon-î</i>	<i>ná-kon-î</i>	<i>ná-kon</i>
Balochi (Rakhshani)	<i>kirdin</i>	AFF	<i>a-kar-áy</i>	<i>bé-kar-ay</i>	<i>bé-kar</i>
		NEG	<i>(a-)ná-kar-ay</i>	<i>ná-kar-ay</i>	<i>má-kar</i>
Gorani (Zerde)	<i>kerdey</i>	AFF	<i>me-ker-î</i>	<i>bí-ker-î</i>	<i>bí-ker-e</i>
		NEG	<i>ní-me-ker-î</i>	<i>né-ker-î</i>	<i>mé-ker-e</i>

IPFV.PRS.3SG	NEG.IPFV.PRS.3SG
*me-STEM-ó	*ní-me-STEM-o
↓	↓
STEM-ó	<i>mé</i> -STEM-o
<i>mir-ó</i>	<i>mé-mir-o</i>
die.PRS-3SG	NEG-die.PRS-3SG

Sound Changes

The initial subjunctive stress shift

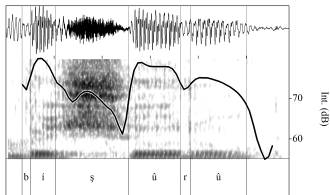


Figure: Zerde: SBJ '(that) s/he wash'

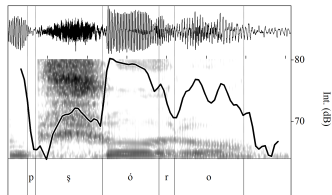


Figure: Pawe: SBJ '(that) s/he wash'

*meşoró *bíşoro *nímeşoro *mezanó *bízano *nímezano *mestanó *bístano *nímestano

↓
***pşóro**

The second subjunctive stress shift

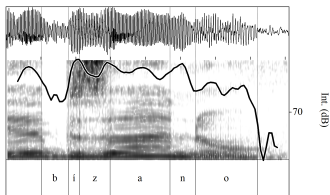


Figure: Pawe: SBJ '(that) s/he know'

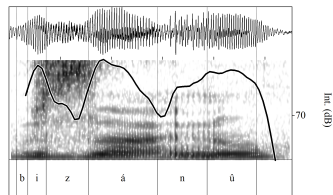


Figure: Lihon: SBJ '(that) s/he know'

*meşoró *pşóro *nímeşoro *mezanó *bízano *nímezano *mestanó *bístano *nímestano

↓
*b'ízano

Pretonic reduction

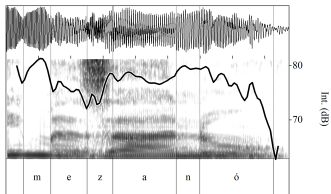


Figure: Pawe: IPFV 's/he knows'

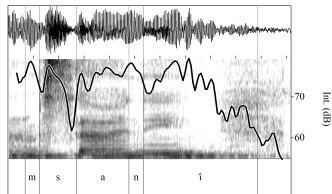


Figure: Text: IPFV 'you buy'

*meʃoró *pʃoró *nímeʃoro *mezanó *bzáno *nímezano *mes(t)anó *bís(t)ano *nímes(t)ano
↓ ↓ ↓
***mʲiʃoró** ***mizanó** ***mis(t)anó**

Pretonic reduction blocked

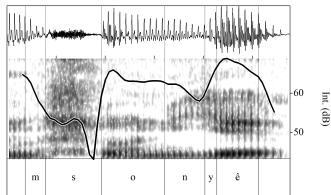


Figure: Bizłana: IPFV 's/he buys'

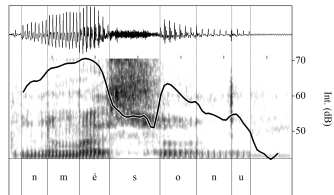


Figure: Bizłana: NEG.IPFV 's/he doesn't buy'

*mşoró *pşóro *nímeşoro *mizanó *bzáno *nímezano *mis(t)anó *bís(t)ano *nímes(t)ano

Loss of SBJV p- in clusters

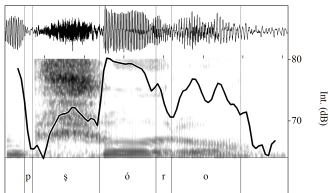


Figure: Pawe: SBJV '(that) s/he washes'

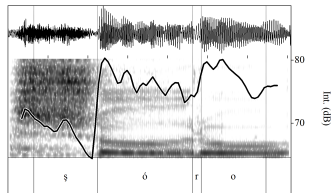


Figure: Text: SBJV '(that) s/he washes'

*mʂoró *pʂóro *nímeʂoro *mizanó *bzáno *nímezano *mis(t)anó *bís(t)ano *nímes(t)ano

↓
ʂóro

Loss of SBJV b- in clusters

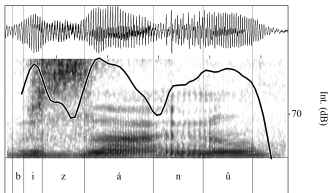


Figure: Lihon: SBJV '(that) s/he knows'

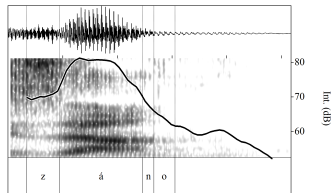


Figure: Text: SBJV '(that) s/he knows'

*mşoró şóro *nímeşoro *mizaná *bzáno *nímezano *mis(t)aná *bís(t)ano *nímes(t)ano



záno

The third subjunctive stress shift

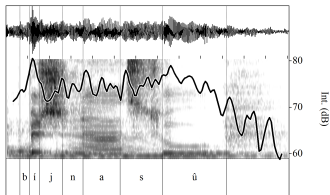


Figure: Text: SBJ '(that) s/he know'

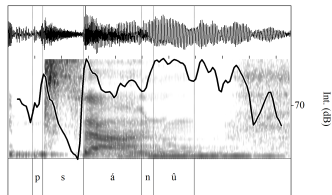


Figure: Text: SBJ '(that) s/he buy'

*mşoró şoro *nímesoro *mizanó *bzáno *nímezano *misanó* *psáno *nímesano

↓
psáno

Loss of m(i)-

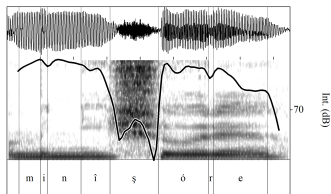


Figure: Lihon: IPFV 's/he sits'

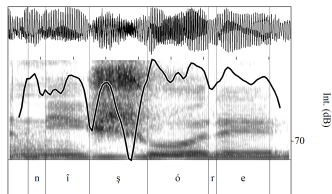


Figure: Text: IPFV 's/he sits'

*mşoró şoro *nímeşoro *mizanó záno *nímezano *misanó psáno* *nímesano



şoró



zanó

Loss of ni- in nime-

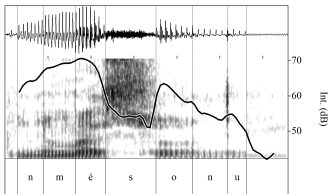


Figure: Bizłane: NEG.IPFV 'I don't buy'

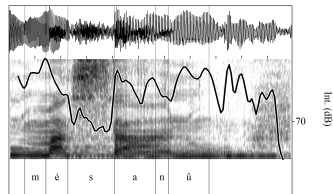


Figure: Text: NEG.IPFV 'I don't buy'



Summary of phonological changes in Gorani

	Text	Lihon	Bizłana	Pawe	Zerde
(1) bí → b[Cv] / #_TVC					
(2) b → p / #_T					
(2) me → m(i) / _C(VC)v					
(2) ní → n[Cv] / #_me					
(3) p/m/n → Ø / #_C					
(4) bí → b[Cv] / #_ZVC					
(4) m- → nim- / _v [PROH]					
(5) b → Ø / #_C					

Systemic effects

IPFV.PRS.3SG

*me-STEM-ó



STEM-ó

mir-ó

die.PRS.IPFV-3SG

SBJ.PRS.3SG

*bí-STEM-o



STÉM-o

mír-o

die.PRS.SBJ-3SG

NEG.IPFV.PRS.2SG	PROH.PRS.2SG
*níme-STEM-î	*mé-STEM-e
↓	↓
*mé-STEM-î	*mé-STEM-e
<i>mé-mir-î</i>	<i>mé-mir-e</i>
NEG-die.PRS-2SG	PROH-die.PRS-2SG

According to Christensen & Benedictsen (1921), *mämirī* / *mæmira*.

Four-part Analogy

NEG.IPFV.PRS.2SG

PROH.PRS.2SG

mé-mir-î

:

mé-mir-e

NEG-die.PRS-2SG

PROH-die.PRS-2SG

as

ní-m-ar-î

:

X

NEG-IPFV-bring.PRS-2SG

PROH-bring.PRS-2SG

Four-part Analogy

NEG.IPFV.PRS.2SG

mé-mir-î

NEG-die.PRS-2SG

ní-m-ar-î

NEG-IPFV-bring.PRS-2SG

PROH.PRS.2SG

mé-mir-e

PROH-die.PRS-2SG

as

X

PROH-bring.PRS-2SG

* máre

Four-part Analogy

NEG.IPFV.PRS.2SG

PROH.PRS.2SG

mé-mir-î

:

mé-mir-e

NEG-die.PRS-2SG

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as

ní-m-ar-î

:

X

NEG-IPFV-bring.PRS-2SG

PROH-bring.PRS-2SG

* máre

- According to Christensen & Benedictsen (1921), *máre*.

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mé-mir-î

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mé-mir-e

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PROH-die.PRS-2SG

as

ní-m-ar-î

:

X

NEG-IPFV-bring.PRS-2SG

PROH-bring.PRS-2SG

* máre

- According to Christensen & Benedictsen (1921), *máre*.
- *nímare*

Understanding PROG > NEG

- *me-* < *ham + *a: same + imperfective past (augment)

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- Emergent Progressive: used first to mark acts in progress

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- Suffix conjugation takes over the past imperfective.
- *me-* becomes the distinguishing characteristic of the present indicative
- Demorphologization and Remorphologization

- Greek past-tense marker *e-*:
 - (3) a. paidéu-o e-paidéu-on
teach-1SG AUG-teach-1SG
'I teach' vs 'I taught'
 - b. lambán-ete e-lambán-ete e-láb-ete
take-2PL AUG-take-2PL AUG-take-2PL
'you (pl) take' vs 'you (pl) took (IPFV)' vs 'you (pl) took'
 - c. lambán-ei é-lab-e
take-3SG AUG-take-3SG
'he takes' vs 'he took' Joseph & Janda (1988, 198)

- $e \rightarrow \emptyset / \#_ :$ unstressed *e is deleted word-initially

(4) *é-lav-a* *∅-láv-ame*
AUG-take.PST-1SG AUG-take.PST-1PL
'I took' vs 'we took' Joseph & Janda (1988, 199)

- Original: *mus ~ *mus-i

- Original: *mus ~ *mus-i
- Umlaut: *mus ~ *mysi

- Original: *mus ~ *mus-i
- Umlaut: *mus ~ *mysi
- Deletion: *mus ~ *mys

Morphologization

- Original: *mus ~ *mus-i
- Umlaut: *mus ~ *mysi
- Deletion: *mus ~ *mys
- (Merger, vowel shift): *mouse* ~ *mice*

Demorphologization and Remorphologization

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 - If the prefixes are stress-bearing, their stress shifts to the right: **bímiro* > *míro*, **nímemiro* > *mémiro*

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 - If the prefixes are stress-bearing, their stress shifts to the right: **bímiro* > *míro*, **nímemi-ro* > *mémiro*
- Demorphologization:
 - The prefix **me-* only survives as a placeholder for stress, the last remnant of a former negative marker.

Important Points

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- The original progressive aspect marker *me-* is now a marker *mé-* only because it is a placeholder for stress, the only remnant of the negation marker.

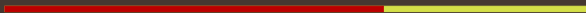
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Important Points

- The original progressive aspect marker *me-* is now a marker *mé-* only because it is a placeholder for stress, the only remnant of the negation marker.
- The prohibitive was borrowed from the negative imperfective, **the opposite of MacKenzie (1966)'s claim**
- No semantic explanation is warranted

A related story



**Progressive only when negated in
Southern Kurdish**

Mazandarani 'eat' (Borjian, 2021)

	AFF	NEG
NPST	<i>xənnə</i>	<i>naxənnə</i>
SBJ	<i>baxəre</i>	<i>naxəre</i>
IMP	<i>baxər</i>	<i>naxər</i>
NPST.PROG	<i>dar xənnə</i>	= NPST.NEG

Typology of Negation II

Zazaki 'eat' (Paul, 1998)

	AFF	NEG
NPST	<i>wer-en-o</i>	<i>nê-wer-en-o</i>
SBJ	<i>b-ur-o</i>	<i>nê-wer-o</i>
IMP	<i>b-ur-i</i>	<i>nê-wer-i</i>
NPST.PROG	<i>=o wer-en-o</i>	<i>= NPST.NEG</i>

CK Suleymani 'eat' (McCarus, 2009)

	AFF	NEG
NPST	<i>e-xw-a</i>	<i>na-xw-a</i>
SBJ	<i>bi-xw-a</i>	<i>ne-xw-a</i>
IMP	<i>bi-xo</i>	<i>me-xo</i>
NPST.PROG	<i>le xwardin=a=ye</i>	<i>= NPST.NEG</i>

NK Duhok 'eat' (Haig, 2023)

	AFF	NEG
NPST	<i>t-xw-e</i>	<i>na-xw-e</i>
SBJ	<i>bi-xw-e</i>	<i>ne-xw-e</i>
IMP	<i>bi-xw-e</i>	<i>ne-xw-e</i>
NPST.PROG	=ê <i>t-xw-e</i>	= NPST.NEG

Typology of Negation

According to Miestamo (2007); Miestamo & van der Auwera (2011); Miestamo (2005):

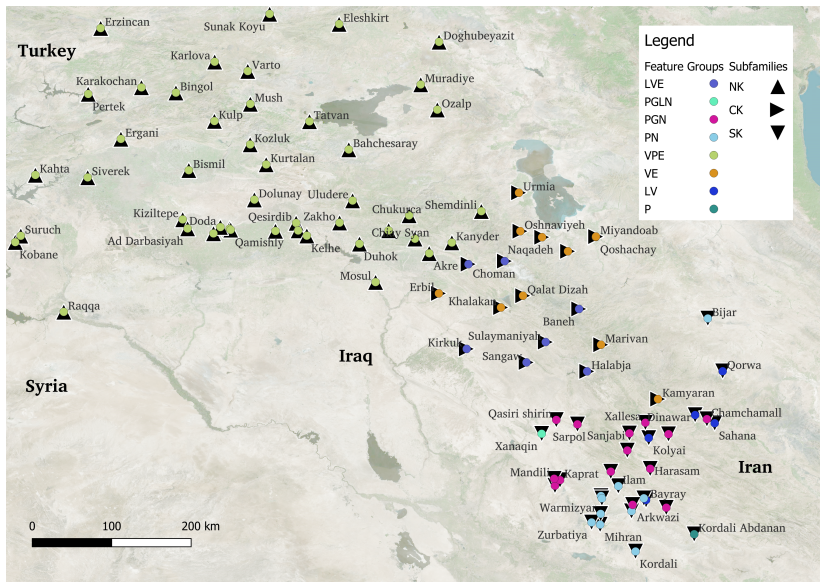
- Symmetric: 114 (negated clause = AFF + NEG)
- Asymmetric: 53 (negated clause \neq AFF + NEG)
- Mixed: 130

SK Malikşay 'chase' (Fattah, 2000)

	AFF	NEG
NPST	<i>der kerêg</i>	<i>der nye-kerêg</i>
NPST.PROG	<i>der di-kerêg</i>	<i>der nye-di-kerêg</i>
PST	<i>der kird</i>	<i>der ne-kird</i>
PST.IPFV	<i>der di-kird</i>	<i>der nye-kird</i>
PST.PROG	= PST.IPFV.AFF	<i>der nye-di-kird</i>

The Parallel Development of Southern Kurdish and Hewramî

Map of Kurdish Imperfectives (Karim, in review)



The etyma (Karim, 2020)

- the locative *antara used as a preposition or postposition became the locative circumposition in Kurdish, e.g., Mukrî: *de NP=da* (Öpengin, 2016).

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- The short infinitive/participle was recruited with the locative construction as a periphrastic progressive **de=INF=da*.
- Some varieties lost the prefix, the suffix, both or neither for both phonological and analogical reasons.
- Just looking at the prefix conjugation, there was essentially parallel development with Hewramî and Southern Kurdish, spoken in the same towns and villages for centuries.

	Hewramî		Southern Kurdish	
	AFF	NEG	AFF	NEG
Etyma	*mekeró	*nímekero	*dekerê	*nídekerê
Pretonic shortening	*m ⁱ keró	*nímekero	*d ⁱ kerê	*nídekerê
Stress shift (Zagros <i>d</i>)	*m ⁱ keró	*n ⁱ mékero	<i>d'kerê</i>	<i>nyékerê</i>
Cluster Deletion	<i>keró</i>	<i>mékero</i>	<i>kerê</i>	<i>nyékerê</i>

Malikşay developments

SK Malikşay 'chase' (Fattah, 2000)

	AFF	NEG
NPST	<i>der kerêg</i>	<i>der nye-kerêg</i>
NPST.PROG	<i>der di-kerêg</i>	<i>der nye-di-kerêg</i>
PST	<i>der kird</i>	<i>der ne-kird</i>
PST.IPFV	<i>der di-kird</i>	<i>der nye-kird</i>
PST.PROG	= PST.IPFV.AFF (!der di-di-kird)	<i>der nye-di-kird</i>

- The tendency for progressives (act-in-progress) not to be negated sets up the multiple four-part analogies:

<i>di-ker-êg</i>	:	<i>nye-Ø-ker-êg</i>
IPFV(+PROG)-do.PRS-3SG		NEG-IPFV(!PROG)-do.PRS-3SG
<hr/>		
X	:	<i>nye-Ø-ker-êg</i>
IPFV-do.PRS-3SG		NEG-IPFV-do.PRS-3SG
<hr/>		
<i>di-ker-êg</i>	:	Y
PROG-do.PRS-3SG		NEG-PROG-do.PRS-3SG

- The tendency for progressives (act-in-progress) not to be negated sets up the multiple four-part analogies:

<i>di-ker-êg</i>	:	<i>nye-∅-ker-êg</i>
IPFV(+PROG)-do.PRS-3SG		NEG-IPFV(!PROG)-do.PRS-3SG
<hr/>		
X	:	<i>nye-∅-ker-êg</i>
IPFV-do.PRS-3SG		NEG-IPFV-do.PRS-3SG
<hr/>		
<i>di-ker-êg</i>	:	Y
PROG-do.PRS-3SG		NEG-PROG-do.PRS-3SG

- X = ∅-kerêg

- The tendency for progressives (act-in-progress) not to be negated sets up the multiple four-part analogies:

<i>di-ker-êg</i>	:	<i>nye-∅-ker-êg</i>
IPFV(+PROG)-do.PRS-3SG		NEG-IPFV(!PROG)-do.PRS-3SG
<hr/>		
X	:	<i>nye-∅-ker-êg</i>
IPFV-do.PRS-3SG		NEG-IPFV-do.PRS-3SG
<hr/>		
<i>di-ker-êg</i>	:	Y
PROG-do.PRS-3SG		NEG-PROG-do.PRS-3SG

- X = *∅-ker-êg*
- Y = *nye-di-ker-êg*

Malikşay developments II

- The same does not work in the past:

<i>Ø-kird</i>	:	<i>ne-Ø-kird</i>
PFV-do.PST.3SG		NEG-PRF-do.PST.3SG
<i>di-kird</i>	:	<i>nye-Ø-kird</i>
IPFV(+PROG)-do.PST.3SG		NEG-IPFV(!PROG)-do.PST.3SG
<hr/>		
<i>Ø-kird</i>	:	<i>ne-Ø-kird</i>
PFV-do.PST.3SG		NEG-PRF-do.PST.3SG
<hr/>		
X	:	<i>nye-Ø-kird</i>
IPFV-do.PRS-3SG		NEG-IPFV-do.PST.3SG
<hr/>		
<i>di-ker-êg</i>	:	Y
PROG-do.PST.3SG		NEG-PROG-do.PRS-3SG

- The same does not work in the past:

<i>∅-kird</i>	:	<i>ne-∅-kird</i>
PFV-do.PST.3SG		NEG-PRF-do.PST.3SG
<i>di-kird</i>	:	<i>nye-∅-kird</i>
IPFV(+PROG)-do.PST.3SG		NEG-IPFV(!PROG)-do.PST.3SG
<i>∅-kird</i>	:	<i>ne-∅-kird</i>
PFV-do.PST.3SG		NEG-PRF-do.PST.3SG
X	:	<i>nye-∅-kird</i>
IPFV-do.PRS-3SG		NEG-IPFV-do.PST.3SG
<i>di-ker-êg</i>	:	Y
PROG-do.PST.3SG		NEG-PROG-do.PRS-3SG

- X = *∅-kird

Malikşay developments II

- The same does not work in the past:

<i>∅-kird</i>	:	<i>ne-∅-kird</i>
PFV-do.PST.3SG		NEG-PRF-do.PST.3SG
<i>di-kird</i>	:	<i>nye-∅-kird</i>
IPFV(+PROG)-do.PST.3SG		NEG-IPFV(!PROG)-do.PST.3SG
<hr/>		
<i>∅-kird</i>	:	<i>ne-∅-kird</i>
PFV-do.PST.3SG		NEG-PRF-do.PST.3SG
<hr/>		
X	:	<i>nye-∅-kird</i>
IPFV-do.PRS-3SG		NEG-IPFV-do.PST.3SG
<hr/>		
<i>di-ker-êg</i>	:	Y
PROG-do.PST.3SG		NEG-PROG-do.PRS-3SG

- X = *∅-kird
- Y = *nye-di-kird*

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- Parallel developments in Hewramî and other regional languages give us insight into these developments that would otherwise be opaque.
- Developments that are not predicted from a semantic or typological perspective need not have a semantic or typological explanation.

Zor supastan ekem!

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