

# **Progressive to negative and other unexpected developments in Iranian languages**

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## **Introduction**

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## Unexpected developments

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- Transitive alignment: A = P
- OBL.SG = DIR.PL
- But, I'll only talk about the first two.

## **Progressive to Negative**

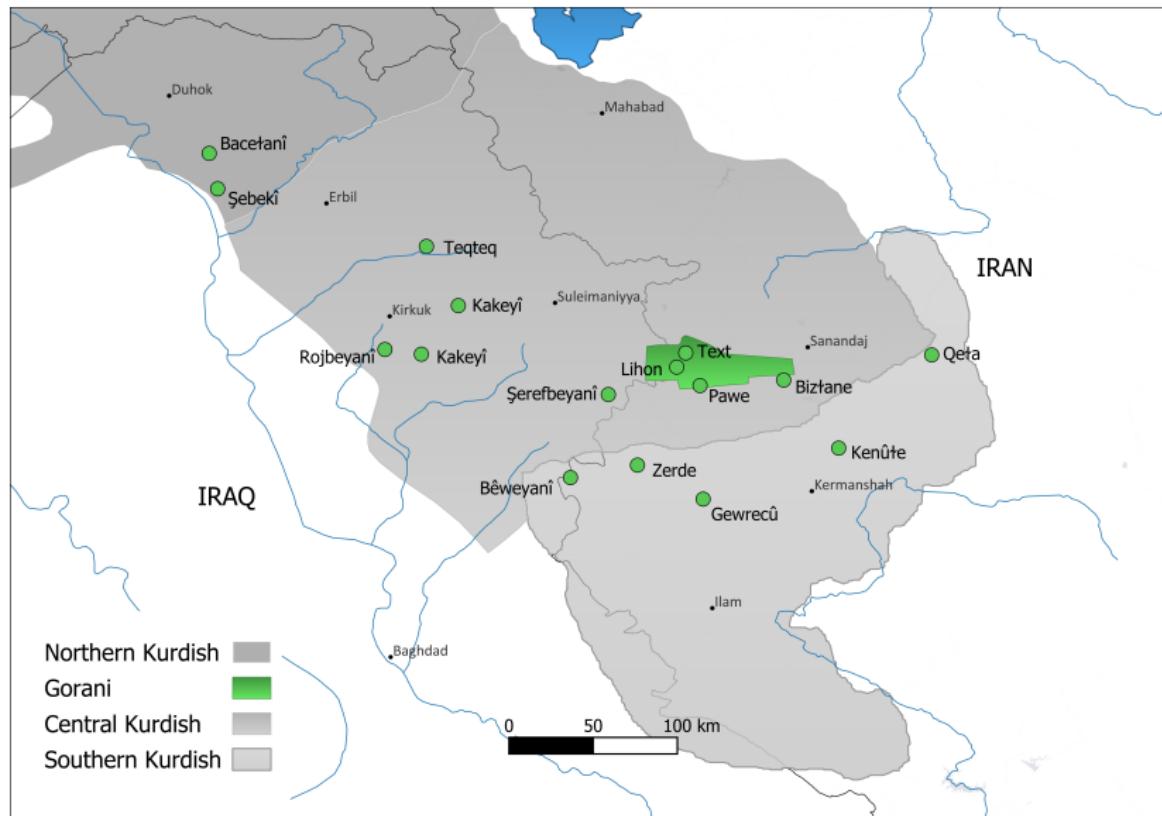
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# Acknowledgements



- 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

# Gorani (Mohammadirad and Karim, in review)



# PROG > NEG

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

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

# **Hewramî Verbal Morphology**

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## present-tense Examples

- (1) a. ey paðšazað, 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 kérд-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- -ACC	(i)	PRS.IND/IPFV	<i>kerî</i>	<i>mékerî</i>
	(ii)	PRS.SUB	<i>kérî</i>	<i>nékerî</i>
	(iii)	IMP	<i>kére</i>	<i>mékere</i>
	(iv)	PST.IPFV	<i>kerêñî</i>	<i>nékerêñî</i>
ERG- -ABS	(v)	PST	(=s) <i>kérðî</i>	(=s) <i>nékerðî</i>
	(vi)	PST.COND	(=s) <i>kérðεnî</i>	(=s) <i>nékerðεnî</i>
	(vii)	PRS.PRF	(=s) <i>kerðénî</i>	(=s) <i>nékerðenî</i>
	(viii)	PRF.SUB	(=s) <i>kerðébî</i>	(=s) <i>nékerðebî</i>
	(ix)	PST.PRF	(=s) <i>kerðébêñî</i>	(=s) <i>nékerðebêñî</i>
	(x)	PRF.COND	(=s) <i>kerðébîεnî</i>	(=s) <i>nékerðebîεnî</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-ðe-î</i>	<i>bi-ðé-î</i>	<i>bi-ð-é</i>
		NEG	<i>mé-ðe-î</i>	<i>né-ðe-î</i>	<i>mé-ð-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

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# 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-əy</i>	<i>bé-kar-əy</i>	<i>bé-kar</i>
		NEG	<i>(a-)ná-kar-əy</i>	<i>ná-kar-əy</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>

## Reconstruction

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

# **Sound Changes**

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# The initial subjunctive stress shift

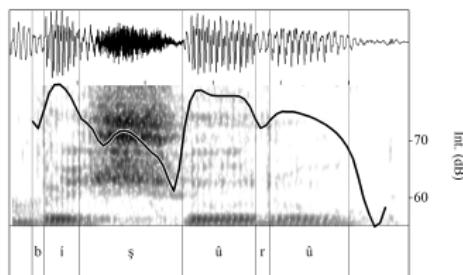


Figure: Zerde: SBJ '(that) s/he wash'

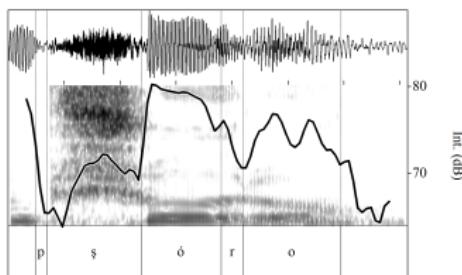


Figure: Pawe: SBJ '(that) s/he wash'

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



**\*psóro**

# The second subjunctive stress shift

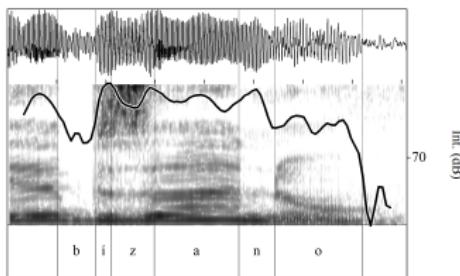


Figure: Pawe: SBJ '(that) s/he  
know'

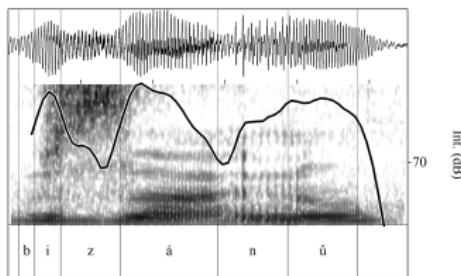


Figure: Lihon: SBJ '(that) s/he  
know'

\*meşoró \*psóro \*nímeşoro \*mezanó \*bízano \*nímezano \*mestanó \*bístano \*nímestano

↓  
**\*b<sup>i</sup>záno**

# Pretonic reduction

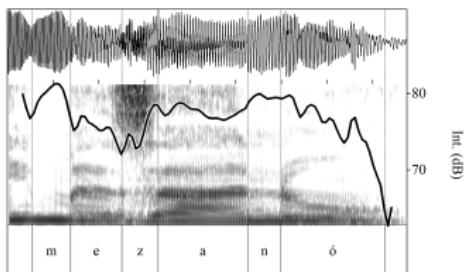


Figure: Pawe: IPFV 's/he knows'

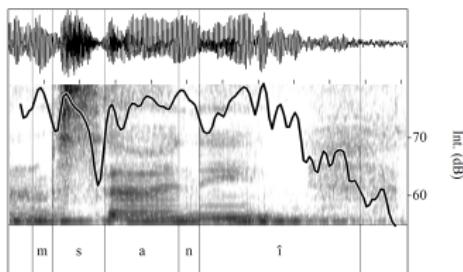


Figure: Text: IPFV 'you buy'

\*mešoró \*psóró \*nímešoro \*mezanó \*bzáno \*nímezano \*mes(t)anó \*bís(t)ano \*nímes(t)ano  
↓  
**\*m<sup>i</sup>šoró**

↓  
**\*mizanó**

↓  
**\*mis(t)anó**

# Pretonic reduction blocked

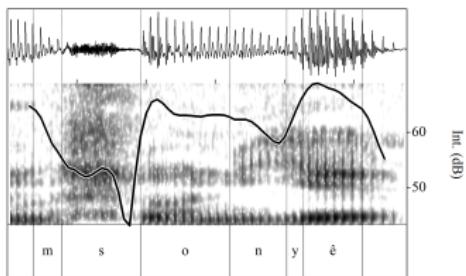


Figure: Bizłana: IPFV 's/he buys'

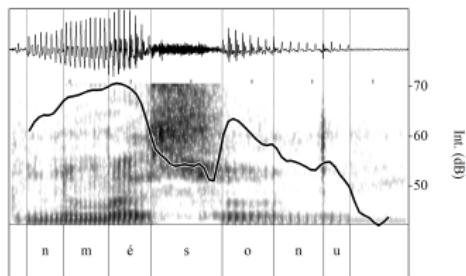


Figure: Bizłana: NEG.IPFV 's/he doesn't buy'

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

# Loss of SBJV p- in clusters

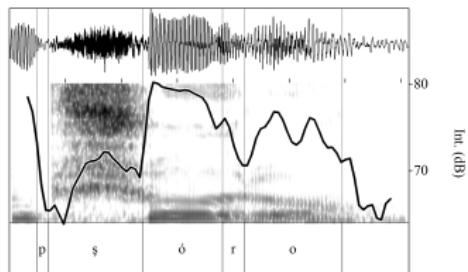


Figure: Pawe: SBJV '(that) s/he washes'

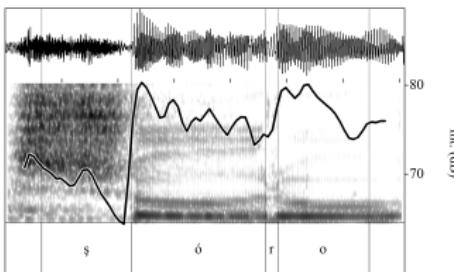


Figure: Text: SBJV '(that) s/he washes'

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

↓  
**sóro**

# Loss of SBJV b- in clusters

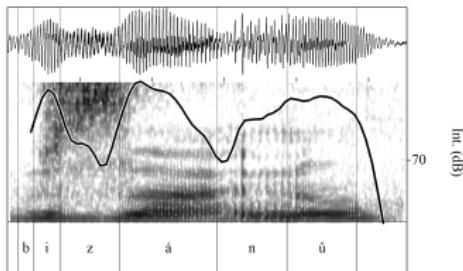


Figure: Lihon: SBJV '(that) s/he knows'

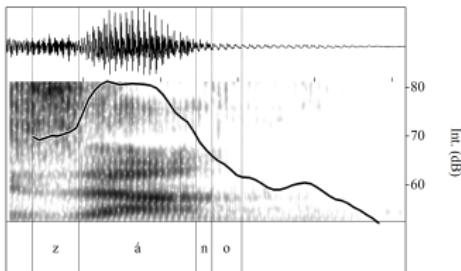


Figure: Text: SBJV '(that) s/he knows'

\*m̥šoró ſóro \*nímeſoro \*mizanó \*bzánó \*nímezano \*mis(t)anó \*bís(t)ano \*nímes(t)ano

↓  
**záno**

# The third subjunctive stress shift

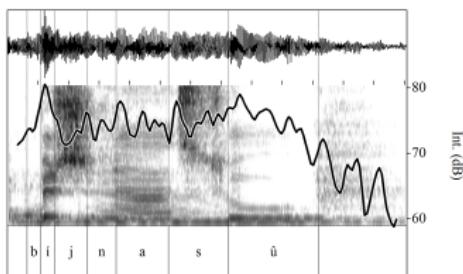


Figure: Text: SBJ '(that) s/he  
know'

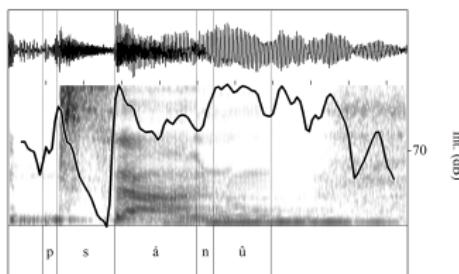


Figure: Text: SBJ '(that) s/he  
buy'

\*mşoró şoro \*nímeşoro \*mizanó \*bzáno \*nímezano *misanó* \*psáno \*nímesano



***psáno***

# Loss of m(i)-

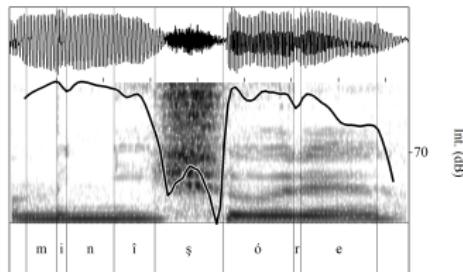


Figure: Lihon: IPFV 's/he sits'

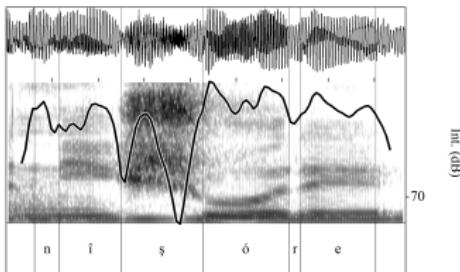


Figure: Text: IPFV 's/he sits'

\*mſoró ſoro \*nímeſoro \*mizanó záno \*nímezano misanó psáno \*nímesano



*ſoró*



*zanó*

# Loss of ni- in nime-

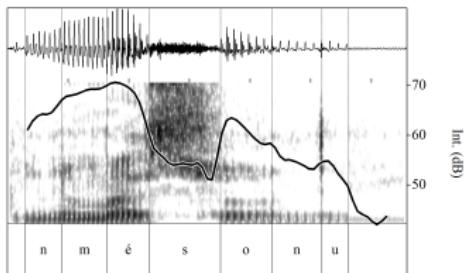


Figure: Bizłane: NEG.IPFV 'I don't buy'

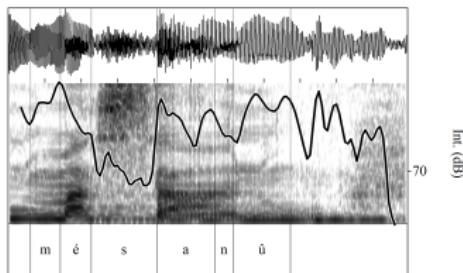


Figure: Text: NEG.IPFV 'I don't buy'

şoró şoro \*nímeşoro zanó záno \*nímezano misanó psáno \*nímesano

↓  
\*nímeşoro

↓  
mésoro

↓  
\*nímezano

↓  
mázano

↓  
\*nímesano

↓  
másano

# Summary of phonological changes in Gorani

	Text	Lihon	Bizłana	Pawe	Zerde
(1) $bí \rightarrow b[C\acute{v}] / \#_TVC$					
(2) $b \rightarrow p / \#_T$					
(2) $me \rightarrow m(i) / _C(VC)\acute{v}$					
(2) $ní \rightarrow n[C\acute{v}] / \#_me$					
(3) $p/m/n \rightarrow \emptyset / \#_C$					
(4) $bí \rightarrow b[C\acute{v}] / \#_ZVC$					
(4) $m- \rightarrow nim- / _\acute{v} [PROH]$					
(5) $b \rightarrow \emptyset / \#_C$					

## Systemic effects

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## Phonemic Stress

IPFV.PRS.3SG	SBJ.PRS.3SG
*me-STEM-ó	*bí-STEM-o
↓	↓
STEM-ó	STÉM-o
<i>mir-ó</i>	<i>mír-o</i>
die.PRS.IPFV-3SG	die.PRS.SBJ-3SG

# NEG.IPFV = PROH

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

According to Christensen & Benedictsen (1921), *m mir * / *m mira*.

## Four-part Analogy

NEG.IPFV.PRS.2SG

*mé-mir-î*

NEG-die.PRS-2SG

PROH.PRS.2SG

*mé-mir-e*

PROH-die.PRS-2SG

as

*ní-m-ar-î*

NEG-IPFV-bring.PRS-2SG

X

PROH-bring.PRS-2SG

## Four-part Analogy

NEG.IPFV.PRS.2SG

*mé-mir-î*

NEG-die.PRS-2SG

PROH.PRS.2SG

*mé-mir-e*

PROH-die.PRS-2SG

as

*ní-m-ar-î*

:

X

NEG-IPFV-bring.PRS-2SG

PROH-bring.PRS-2SG

\* máre

## Four-part Analogy

NEG.IPFV.PRS.2SG

*mé-mir-î*

NEG-die.PRS-2SG

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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*.

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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**

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# Etyma

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

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- *me-* < \*ham + \*a: same + imperfective past (augment)
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- Suffix conjugation takes over the past imperfective.
- *me-* becomes the distinguishing characteristic of the present indicative
- Demorphologization and Remorphologization

# Demorphologization I

- 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)

## Demorphologization II

- e → Ø / #\_: unstressed \*e is deleted word-initially

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

# Morphologization

- Original: \*mus ~ \*mus-i

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- Umlaut: \*mus ~ \*mysi

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

# Demorphologization and Remorphologization

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  - Pretonic e shortens to  $\overset{i}{\text{e}}$ :  $*\text{me-} > m(i)-$

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- Morphologization:
  - Pretonic e shortens to  $i$ :  $*me-$  >  $m(i)-$
  - prefixes with the weak vowel  $i$  are lost:  $*m(i)-$ ,  $*b(i)-$ ,  
 $*n(i)-$

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  - Pretonic e shortens to *i*: \*me- > *m(i)-*
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- 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**

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**Progressive only when negated in  
Southern Kurdish**

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# Typology of Negation I

Mazandarani 'eat' (Borjian, 2021)

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

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>	= NPST.NEG

# Typology of Negation III

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	$=\hat{e} \ t-xw-e$	= 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

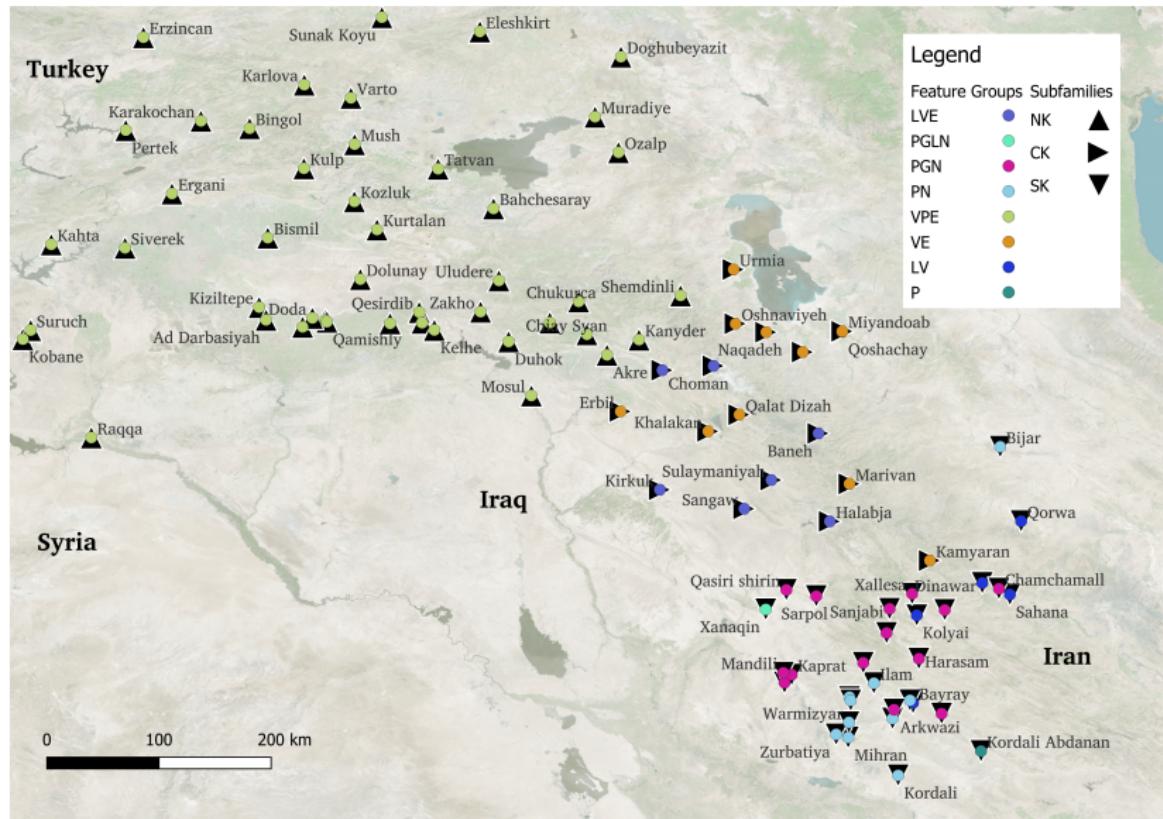
## SK Malikşay 'chase' (Fattah, 2000)

	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**

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# 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:  
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- 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.

# Parallels

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

## **Malikşay developments**

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# Malikşay gaps

## 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>

# Malikşay developments 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

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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
	• X = Ø-kerêg	

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<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
	• X = Ø-kerêg	
	• Y = nye-di-kerêg	

## Malikşay developments II

- The same does not work in the past:

$\emptyset\text{-}kird$	:	$ne\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}kird$
PFV-do.PST.3SG		NEG-PRF-do.PST.3SG
$di\text{-}kird$	:	$nye\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}kird$
IPFV(+PROG)-do.PST.3SG		NEG-IPFV(!PROG)-do.PST.3SG
<hr/>		
$\emptyset\text{-}kird$	:	$ne\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}kird$
PFV-do.PST.3SG		NEG-PRF-do.PST.3SG
<hr/>		
X	:	$nye\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}kird$
IPFV-do.PRS-3SG		NEG-IPFV-do.PST.3SG
<hr/>		
$di\text{-}ker\text{-}\hat{e}g$	:	Y
PROG-do.PST.3SG		NEG-PROG-do.PRS-3SG

## Malikşay developments II

- The same does not work in the past:

$\emptyset\text{-}kird$	:	$ne\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}kird$
PFV-do.PST.3SG		NEG-PRF-do.PST.3SG
$di\text{-}kird$	:	$nye\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}kird$
IPFV(+PROG)-do.PST.3SG		NEG-IPFV(!PROG)-do.PST.3SG
<hr/>		
$\emptyset\text{-}kird$	:	$ne\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}kird$
PFV-do.PST.3SG		NEG-PRF-do.PST.3SG
<hr/>		
X	:	$nye\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}kird$
IPFV-do.PRS-3SG		NEG-IPFV-do.PST.3SG
<hr/>		
$di\text{-}ker\text{-}\hat{e}g$	:	Y
PROG-do.PST.3SG		NEG-PROG-do.PRS-3SG
<hr/>		
• X = * $\emptyset\text{-}kird$		

## Malikşay developments II

- The same does not work in the past:

$\emptyset\text{-}kird$	:	$ne\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}kird$
PFV-do.PST.3SG		NEG-PRF-do.PST.3SG
$di\text{-}kird$	:	$nye\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}kird$
IPFV(+PROG)-do.PST.3SG		NEG-IPFV(!PROG)-do.PST.3SG
<hr/>		
$\emptyset\text{-}kird$	:	$ne\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}kird$
PFV-do.PST.3SG		NEG-PRF-do.PST.3SG
<hr/>		
X	:	$nye\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}kird$
IPFV-do.PRS-3SG		NEG-IPFV-do.PST.3SG
<hr/>		
$di\text{-}ker\text{-}\hat{e}g$	:	Y
PROG-do.PST.3SG		NEG-PROG-do.PRS-3SG
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• X = *<math>\emptyset\text{-}kird</math></li><li>• Y = <math>nye\text{-}di\text{-}kird</math></li></ul>		

## **Important Points**

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- Parallel developments in Hewramî and other regional languages give us insight into these developments that would otherwise be opaque.

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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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