

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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- Slot competition between definite and plural

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- Transitive alignment: $A = P$

Unexpected developments

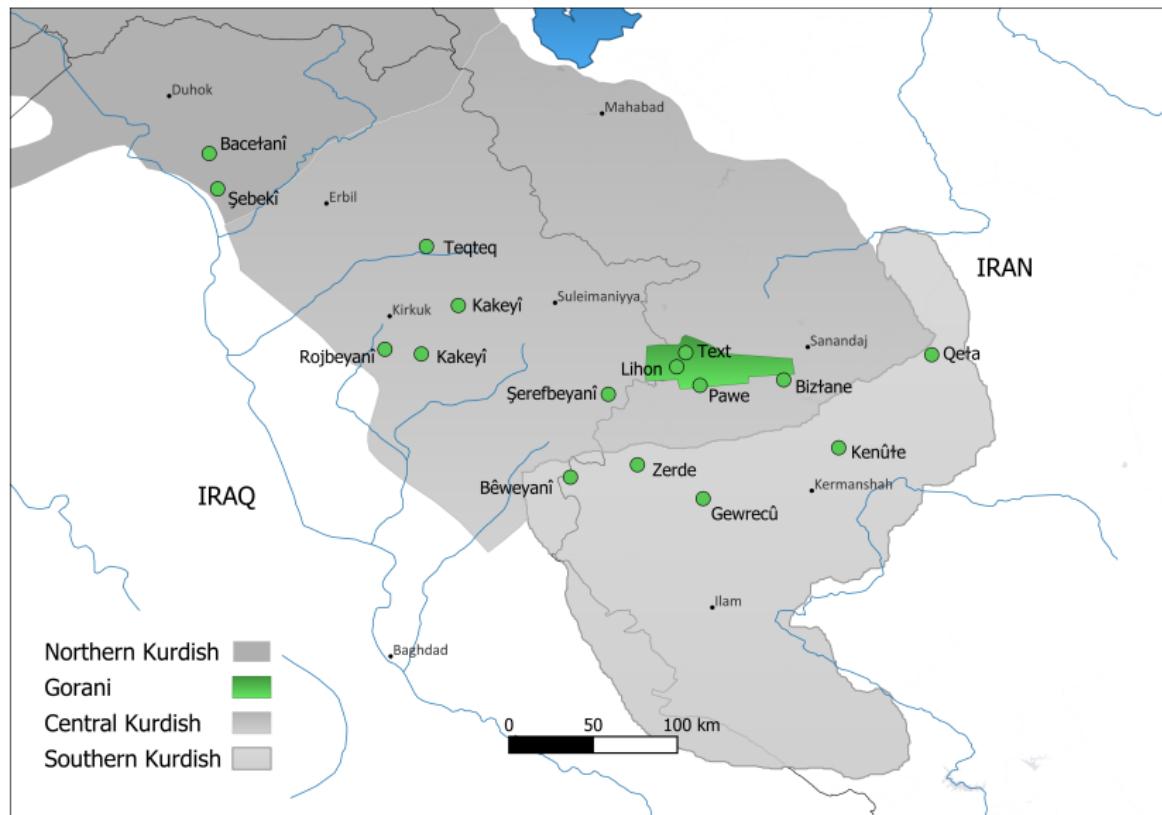
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- Progressive marked only in the negative
- Slot competition between definite and plural
- Transitive alignment: $A = P$
- OBL.SG = DIR.PL

Unexpected developments

- 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

Gorani languages/dialects/varieties



PROG > NEG

Shabaki	Paweyane
me-şor-ó	me-şor-ó
IPFV-wash.PRS-3SG	IPFV-wash.PRS-3SG
ní-me-şor-o	ní-me-şor-o
NEG-IPFV-wash.PRS-3SG	NEG-IPFV-wash.PRS-3SG

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

Hewramî Verbal Morphology

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>keréñî</i>	<i>nékeréñî</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

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>

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

The initial subjunctive stress shift

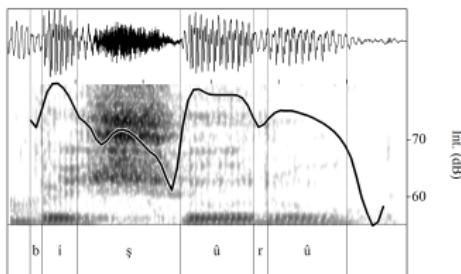


Figure: Zerde: SBJ '(that) s/he wash'

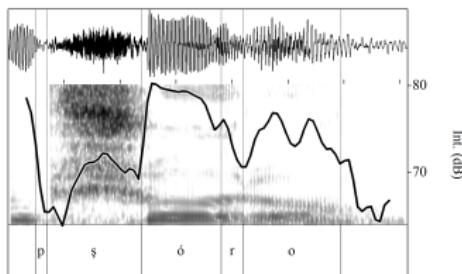


Figure: Pawe: SBJ '(that) s/he wash'

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



***pşoro**

The second subjunctive stress shift

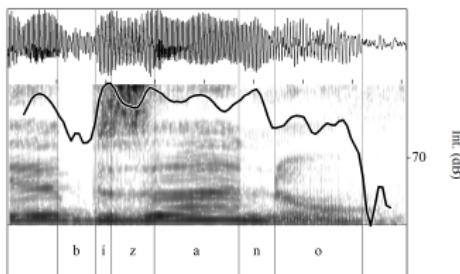


Figure: Pawe: SBJ '(that) s/he know'

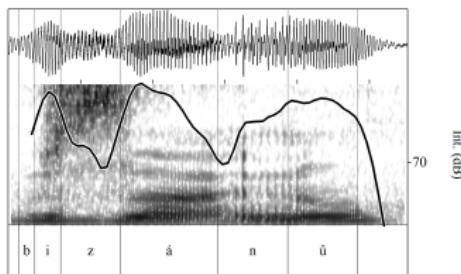


Figure: Lihon: SBJ '(that) s/he know'

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

↓
***bⁱzáno**

Pretonic reduction

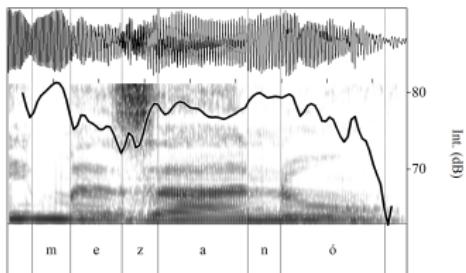


Figure: Pawe: IPFV 's/he knows'

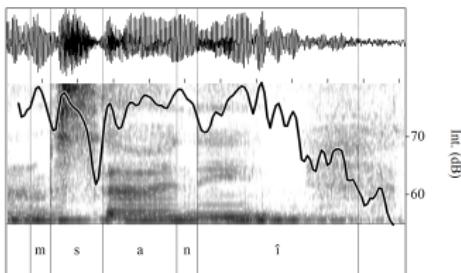


Figure: Text: IPFV 'you buy'

*meşoró *pşóro *nímeşoro *mezanó *bzáno *nímezano *mes(t)anó *bís(t)ano *nímes(t)ano
↓
***mⁱşoró**

↓
***mizanó**

↓
***mis(t)anó**

Pretonic reduction blocked

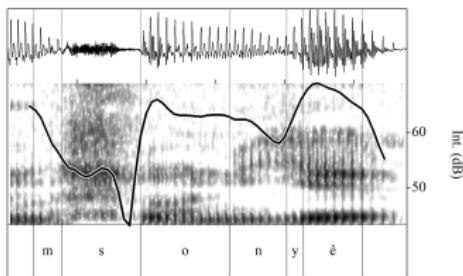


Figure: Bizłana: IPFV 's/he buys'

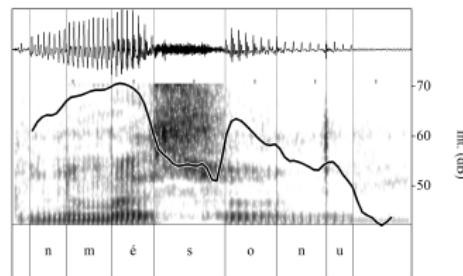


Figure: Bizłana: NEG.IPFV 's/he doesn't buy'

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

Loss of SBJV p- in clusters

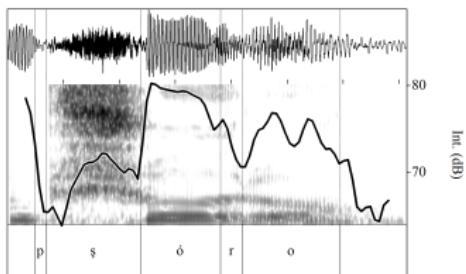


Figure: Pawe: SBJV '(that) s/he washes'

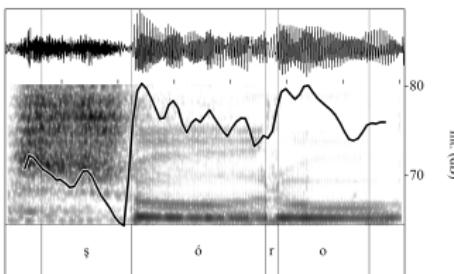


Figure: Text: SBJV '(that) s/he washes'

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

Loss of SBJV b- in clusters

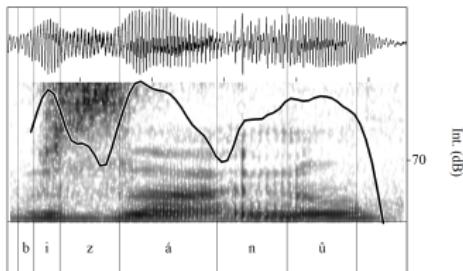


Figure: Lihon: SBJV '(that) s/he knows'

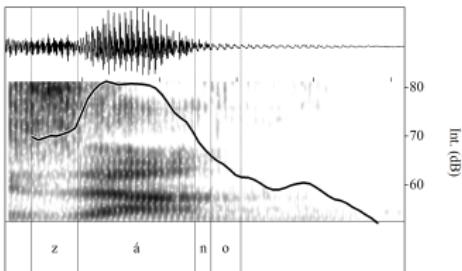


Figure: Text: SBJV '(that) s/he knows'

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



záno

The third subjunctive stress shift

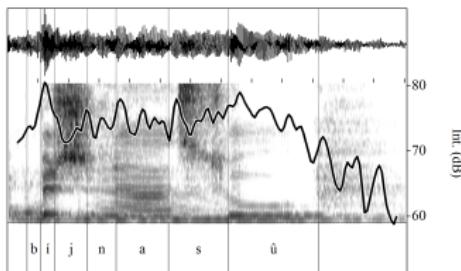


Figure: Text: SBJ '(that) s/he know'

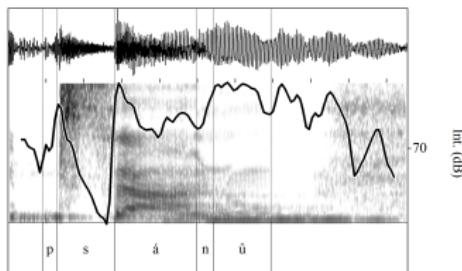


Figure: Text: SBJ '(that) s/he buy'

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



psáno

Loss of m(i)-

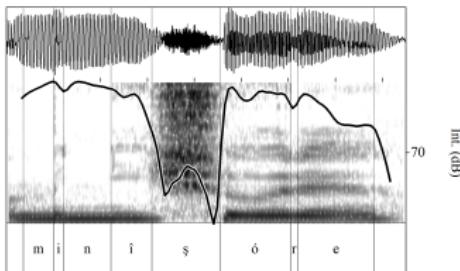


Figure: Lihon: IPFV 's/he sits'

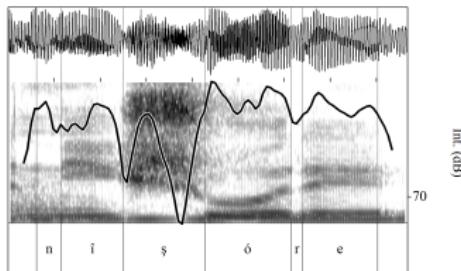


Figure: Text: IPFV 's/he sits'

*mšoró šoro *nímesoro *mizanó záno *nímezano *misanó psáno* *nímesano

↓

šoró

↓

zanó

Loss of ni- in nime-

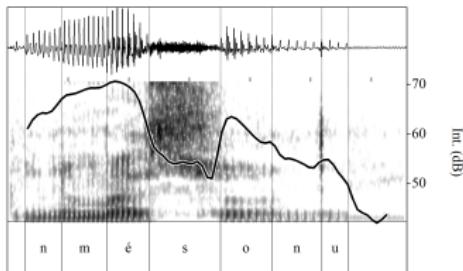


Figure: Bizłane: NEG.IPFV 'I don't buy'

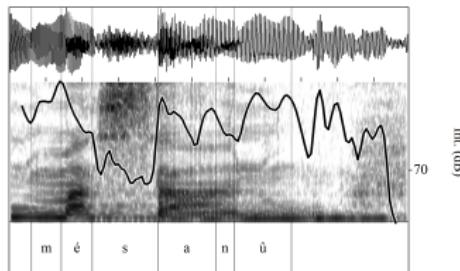


Figure: Text: NEG.IPFV 'I don't buy'

şoró şóro *nímeşoro zanó záno *nímezano misanó psáno *nímesano

↓
***nímeşoro**

↓
méşoro

↓
***nímezano**

↓
mézano

↓
***nímesano**

↓
mésano

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

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-î</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

PROH.PRS.2SG

mé-mir-e

PROH-die.PRS-2SG

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ní-m-ar-î

:

X

NEG-IPFV-bring.PRS-2SG

PROH-bring.PRS-2SG

* *máre*

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

Four-part Analogy

NEG.IPFV.PRS.2SG

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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*

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

Understanding PROG > NEG

Etyma

- *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

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

(4)	$\acute{e}\text{-}lav\text{-}a$	$\emptyset\text{-}l\acute{a}v\text{-}ame$
	AUG-take.PST-1SG	AUG-take.PST-1PL
	'I take'	vs 'we take' Joseph & Janda (1988, 199)

Morphologization

- Original: *mus ~ *mus-i

Morphologization

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- Umlaut: *mus ~ *mysi

Morphologization

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- 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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 - prefixes with the weak vowel $\overset{i}{e}$ are lost: $*m(i)-$, $*b(i)-$, $*n(i)-$

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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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- 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**

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>t-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):

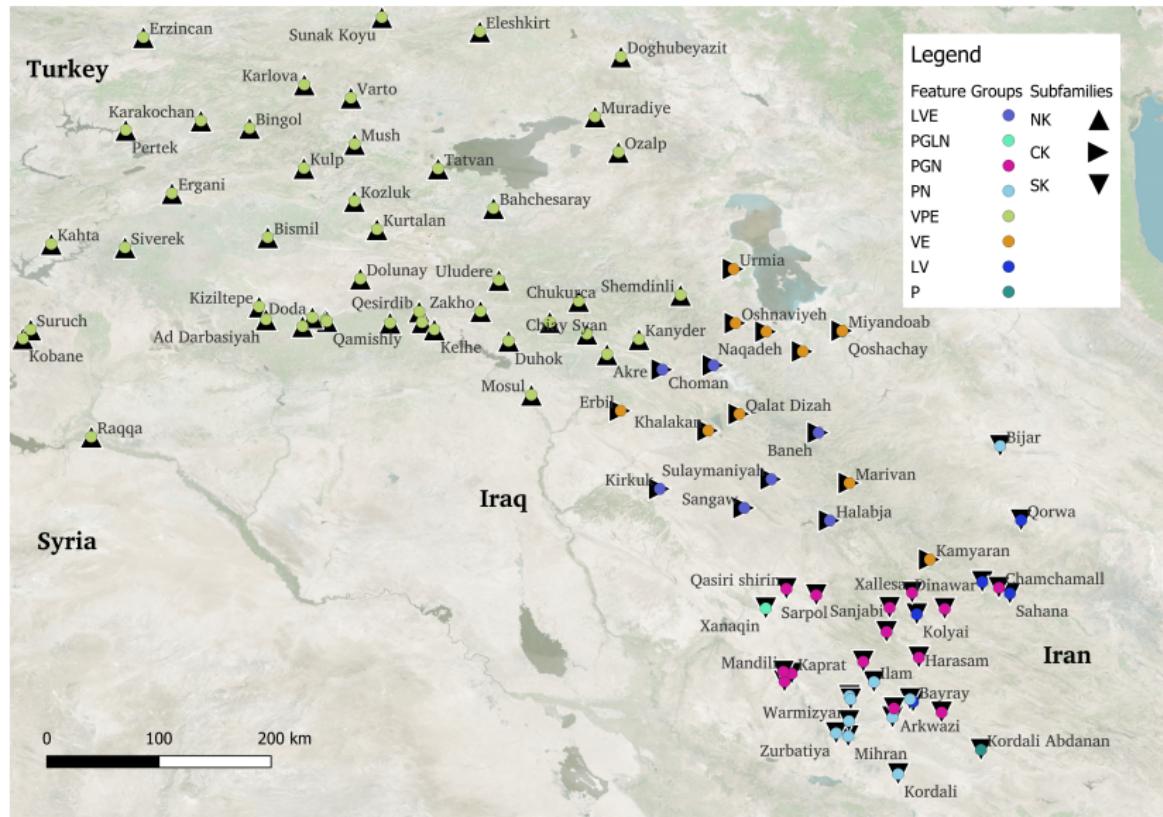
- Symmetric: 114 (negated clause = AFF + NEG)
- Asymmetric: 53 (negated clause \neq AFF + NEG)
- Mixed: 130

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

Map of Kurdish Imperfectives



- the locative *antara used as a preposition or postposition became the locative circumposition in Kurdish, e.g., Mukrî: *de NP=da* (Öpentin, 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>dⁱkerê</i>	<i>nyékerê</i>
Cluster Deletion	keró	mékero	kerê	nyékerê

Malikşay developments

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

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IPFV-do.PRS-3SG		NEG-IPFV-do.PRS-3SG
<hr/>		<hr/>
<i>di-ker-êg</i>	:	Y
PROG-do.PRS-3SG		NEG-PROG-do.PRS-3SG
	•	<i>Ø-kerêg</i>

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

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

Malikşay developments II

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

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.
- 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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