Progressive to negative and other unexpected developments in Iranian languages

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Follow Along

Introduction

Unexpected developments

- Progressive to Negative

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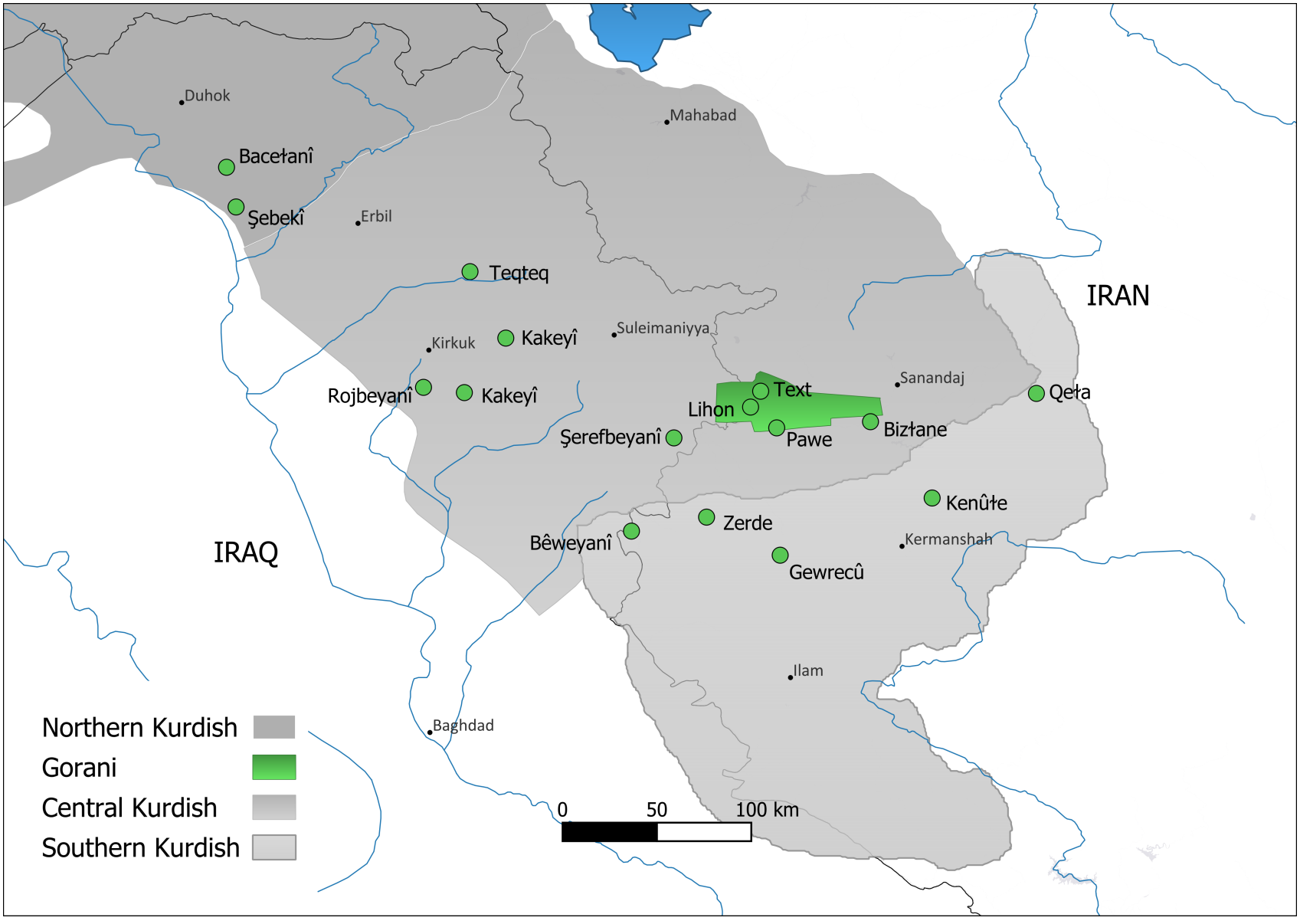
- But, I'll only talk about the first two.

Progressive to Negative

Gorani languages/dialects/varieties



PROG > NEG

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

Gewrecûî	HewramText
me-*ṣûr-ế*	*ṣor-ó*
IPFV-wash.PRS-3SG	wash.PRS-3SG
*ní-**me**-ṣûr-ê*	***mé***-*ṣor-o*
NEG-IPFV-wash.PRS-3SG	NEG-wash.PRS-3SG

Hewramî Verbal Morphology

present-tense Examples

(1) a. ey paðşazað, 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-ấr-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 kérd-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	*kerî*	*mékerî*
-ACC	(ii)	PRS.SUB	*kérî*	*nékerî*
	(iii)	IMP	*kére*	*mékere*
	(iv)	PST.IPFV	*kerêníˆ*	*nékerênî*
ERG-	(v)	PST	*(=ṣ) kérðî*	*(=ṣ) nékerðî*
-ABS	(vi)	PST.COND	*(=ṣ) kérðɛnî*	*(=ṣ) nékerðɛnî*
	(vii)	PRS.PRF	*(=ṣ) kerðénî*	*(=ṣ) nékerðenî*
	(viii)	PRF.SUB	*(=ṣ) kerðébî*	*(=ṣ) nékerðebî*
	(ix)	PST.PRF	*(=ṣ) kerðébênî*	*(=ṣ) nékerðebênî*
	(x)	PRF.COND	*(=ṣ) kerðébîɛnî*	*(=ṣ) nékerðebîɛnî*

Verb Classes (present formation)

			IND	SBJ	IMP/PRH
1	*kerdey* ‘do’	AFF	*ker-î*	*kér-î*	*kér-e*
		NEG	*mé-ker-î*	*né-ker-î*	*mé-ker-e*
2	*day* ‘give’	AFF	*mi-ðe-î*	*bi-ðé-î*	*bi-ð-é*
		NEG	*mé-ðe-î*	*né-ðe-î*	*mé-ð-e*
3	*awirdey* ‘bring’	AFF	*m-ar-î*	*b-ár-î*	*b-ár-e*
		NEG	*ni-m-ár-î*	*n-ár-î*	*ni-m-ár-e*
4	*witey* ‘sleep’	AFF	*m-us-î*	*b-ús-î*	*b-ús-e*
		NEG	*mé-ws-î*	*né-ws-î*	*mé-ws-e*

Reconstructing the Hewramî System

Cognate? Constructions

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

Reconstruction

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

Sound Changes

The initial subjunctive stress shift

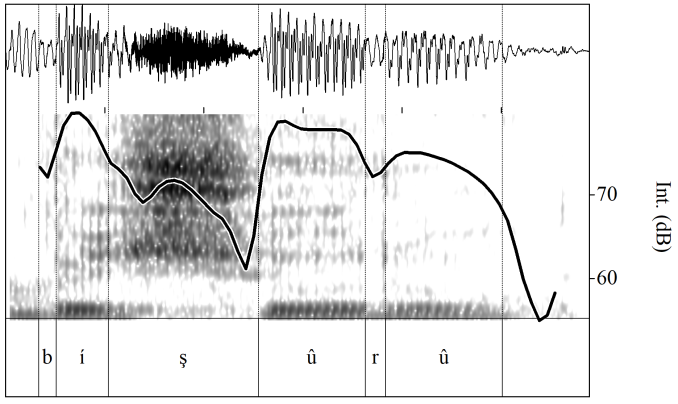


Figure: Zerde: SBJ ‘(that) s/he wash’

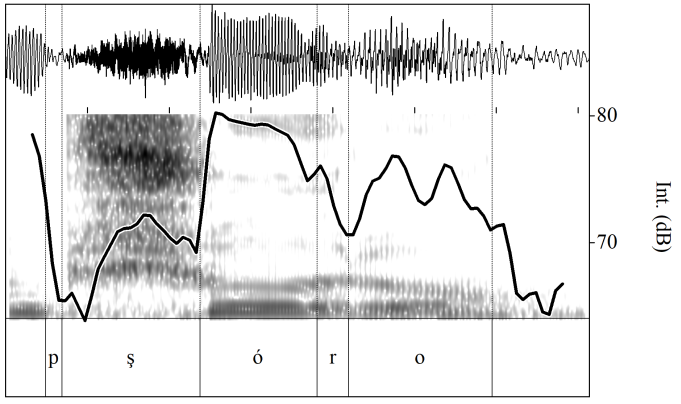


Figure: Pawe: SBJ ‘(that) s/he wash’

*meṣoró *bíṣoro *nímeṣoro *mezanó *bízano *nímezano *mestanó *bístano *nímestano

↓

***pṣóro**

The second subjunctive stress shift

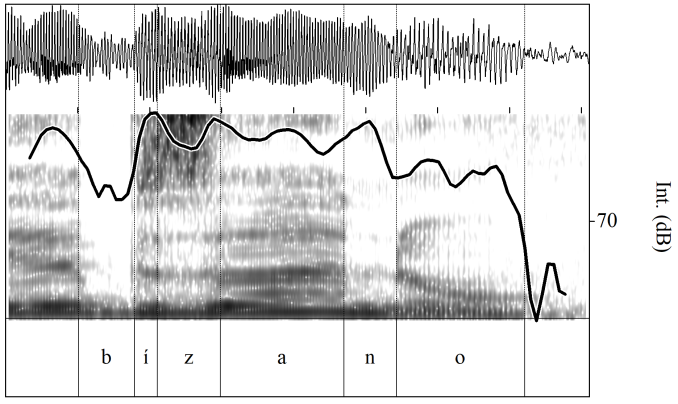


Figure: Pawe: SBJ ‘(that) s/he know’

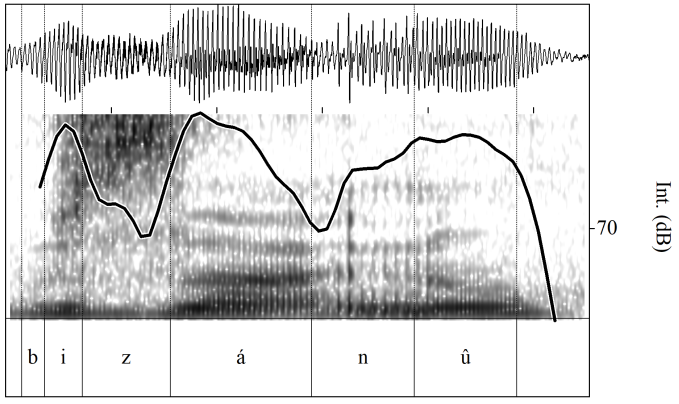


Figure: Lihon: SBJ ‘(that) s/he know’

*meṣoró *pṣóro *nímeṣoro *mezanó *bízano *nímezano *mestanó *bístano *nímestano

↓

***b$^{\text{i}}$záno**

Pretonic reduction

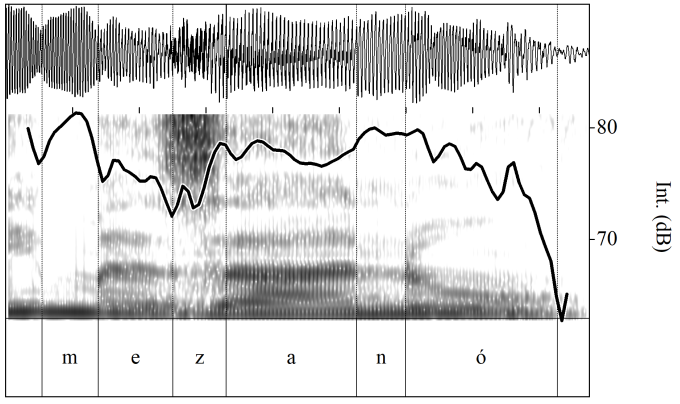


Figure: Pawe: IPFV ‘s/he knows’

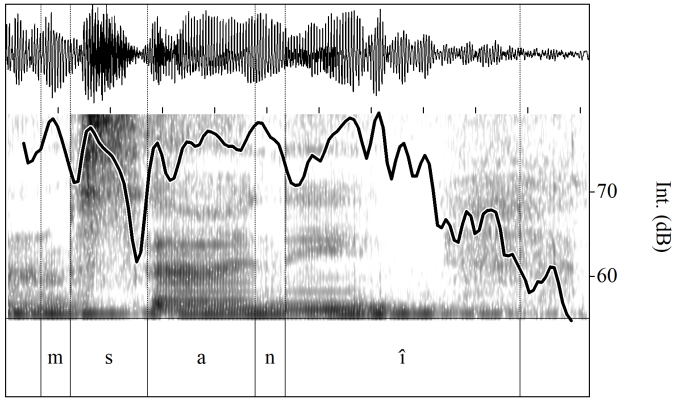


Figure: Text: IPFV ‘you buy’

*meṣoró *pṣóro *nímeṣoro *mezanó *bzáno *nímezano *mes(t)anó *bís(t)ano *nímes(t)ano

↓ ↓ ↓

***mⁱṣoró** ***mizanó** ***mis(t)anó**

Pretonic reduction blocked

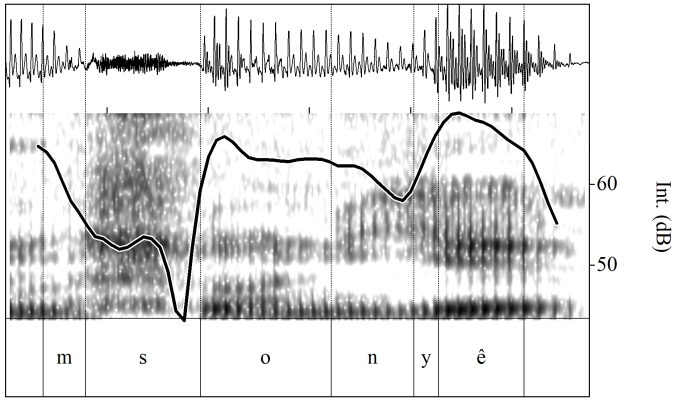


Figure: Bizłana: IPFV ‘s/he buys’

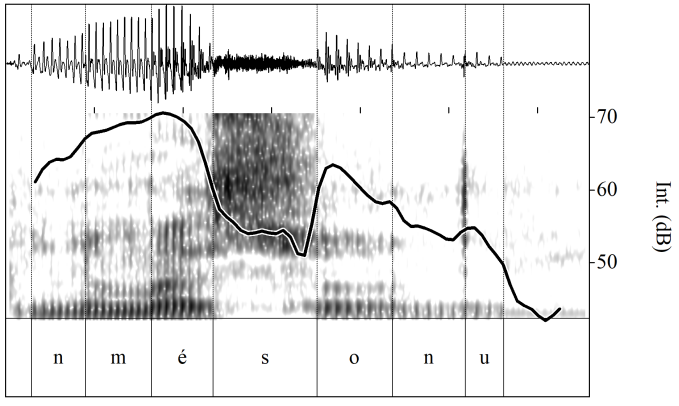


Figure: Bizłana: NEG.IPFV ‘s/he doesn’t buy’

*mṣoró *pṣóro *nímeṣoro *mizanó *bzáno *nímezano *mis(t)anó *bís(t)ano *nímes(t)ano

Loss of SBJV p- in clusters

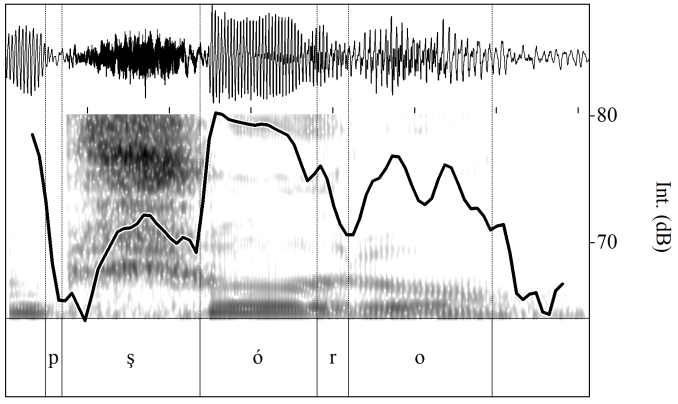


Figure: Pawe: SBJV '(that) s/he washes'

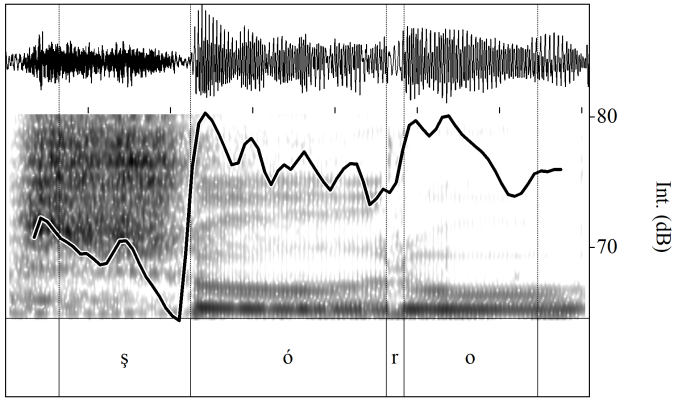


Figure: Text: SBJV '(that) s/he washes'

*mṣoró *pṣóro *nímeṣoro *mizanó *bzáno *nímezano *mis(t)anó *bís(t)ano *nímes(t)ano

↓

ṣóro

Loss of SBJV b- in clusters

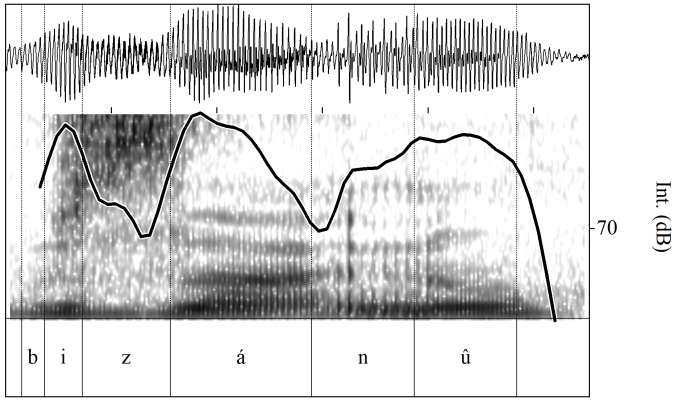


Figure: Lihon: SBJV '(that) s/he knows'

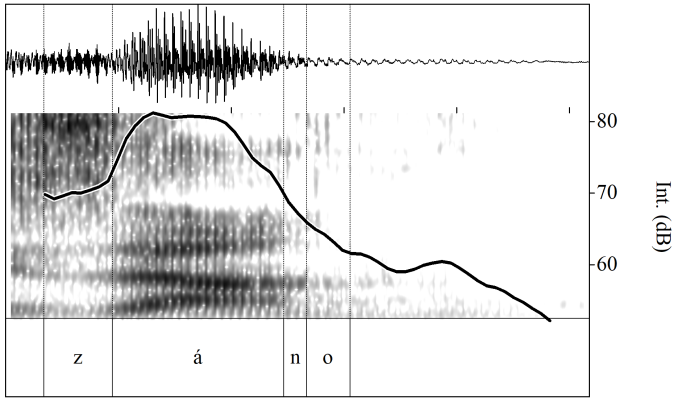


Figure: Text: SBJV '(that) s/he knows'

*mṣoró *ṣóro* *nímeṣoro *mizanó *bzáno *nímezano *mis(t)anó *bís(t)ano *nímes(t)ano

↓

záno

The third subjunctive stress shift

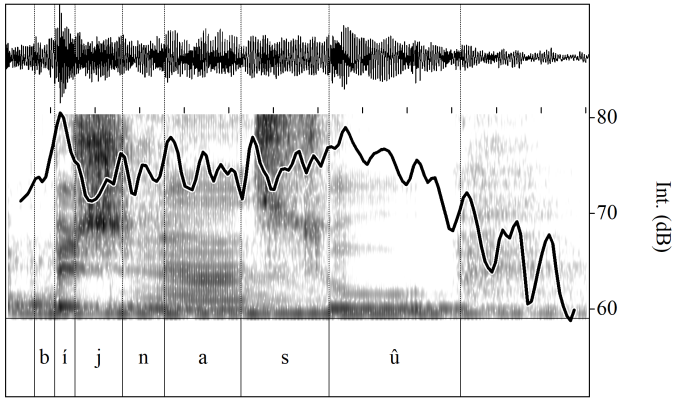


Figure: Text: SBJ ‘(that) s/he know’

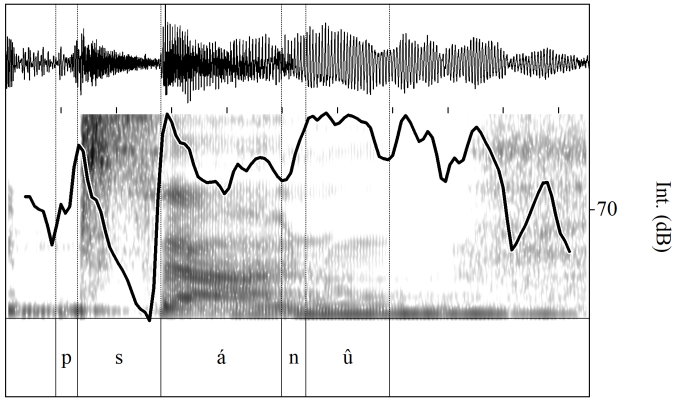


Figure: Text: SBJ ‘(that) s/he buy’

*mṣoró *ṣóro* *nímeṣoro *mizanó *bzáno *nímezano *misanó* *psáno *nímesano

↓

psáno

Loss of m(i)-

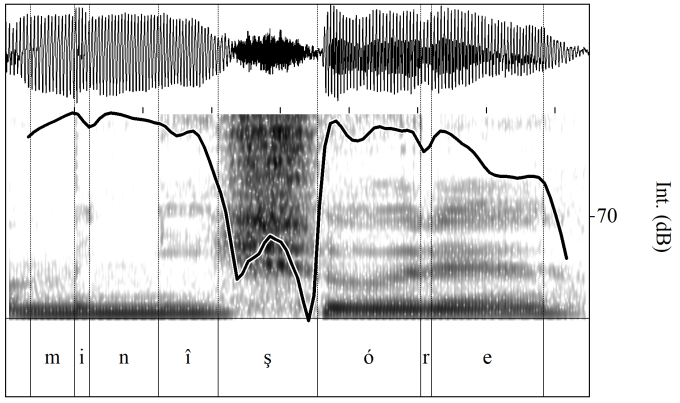


Figure: Lihon: IPFV 's/he sits'

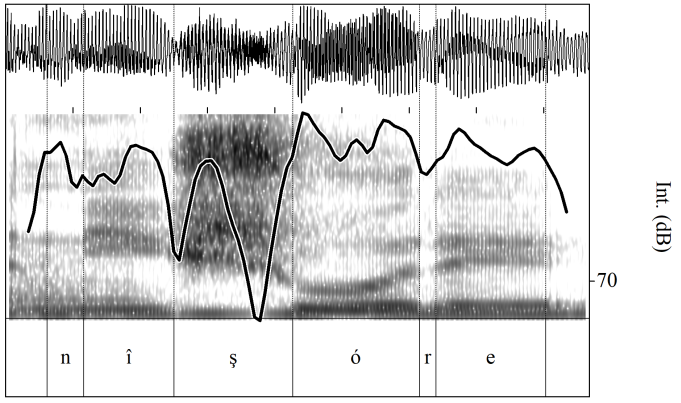


Figure: Text: IPFV 's/he sits'

*mṣoró *ṣóro* *nímeṣoro *mizanó *záno* *nímezano *misanó psáno* *nímesano

↓ ↓

ṣoró ***zanó***

Loss of ni- in nime-

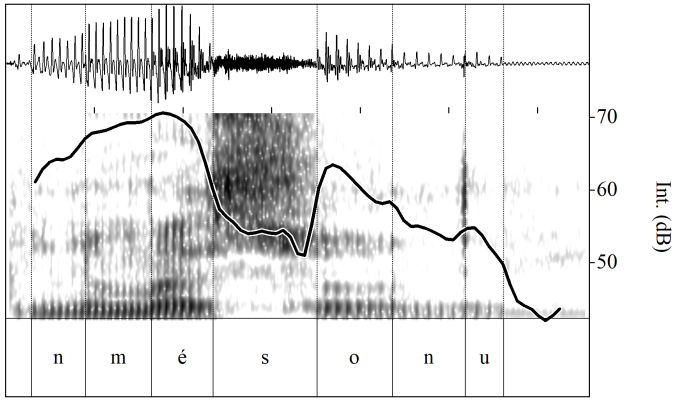


Figure: Bizłane: NEG.IPFV ‘I don’t buy’

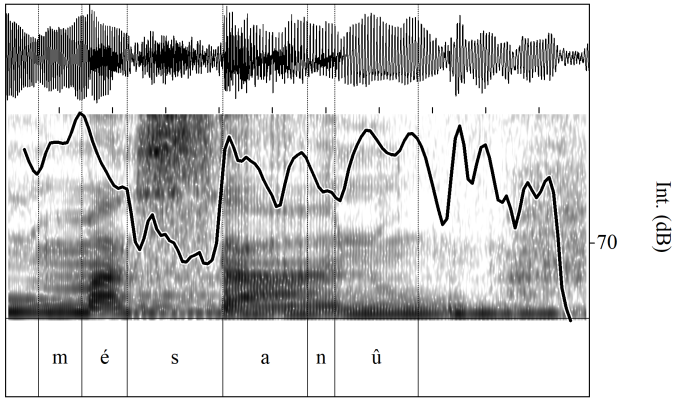


Figure: Text: NEG.IPFV ‘I don’t buy’

ṣoró ṣóro *nímeṣoro *zanó záno* *nímezano *misanó psáno* *nímesano

↓ ↓ ↓

nméṣoro ***nmézano*** ***nmésano***

↓ ↓ ↓

méṣoro ***mézano*** ***mésano***

Summary of phonological changes in Gorani

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

Systemic effects

Phonemic Stress

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

NEG.IPFV = PROH

NEG.IPFV.PRS.2SG	PROH.PRS.2SG
*níme-STEM-î	*mé-STEM-e
↓	↓
*mé-STEM-î	*mé-STEM-e
mé-mir-î	*mé-mir-e*
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

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* máre

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- *nímare*

Understanding PROG $>$ NEG

Etyma

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

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- *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 $\rightarrow$ 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 $\sim$ *mus-i

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- Umlaut: *mus $\sim$ *mysi

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Morphologization

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

Demorphologization and Remorphologization

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- Demorphologization:
  - The prefix *me- only survives as a placeholder for stress, the last remnant of a former negative 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

Typology of Negation I

Mazandarani ‘eat’ (Borjian, 2021)

	AFF	NEG
NPST	*xənna*	*naxənna*
SBJ	*baxəre*	*naxəre*
IMP	*baxər*	*naxər*
NPST.PROG	*dar xənna*	= NPST.NEG

Typology of Negation II

Zazaki ‘eat’ (Paul, 1998)

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

CK Suleymani ‘eat’ (McCarus, 2009)

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

Typology of Negation III

NK Duhok ‘eat’ (Haig, 2023)

	AFF	NEG
NPST	*t-xw-e*	*na-xw-e*
SBJ	*bi-xw-e*	*ne-xw-e*
IMP	*bi-xw-e*	*ne-xw-e*
NPST.PROG	*=ê t-xw-e*	= NPST.NEG

Typology of Negation IV

Typology of Negation

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

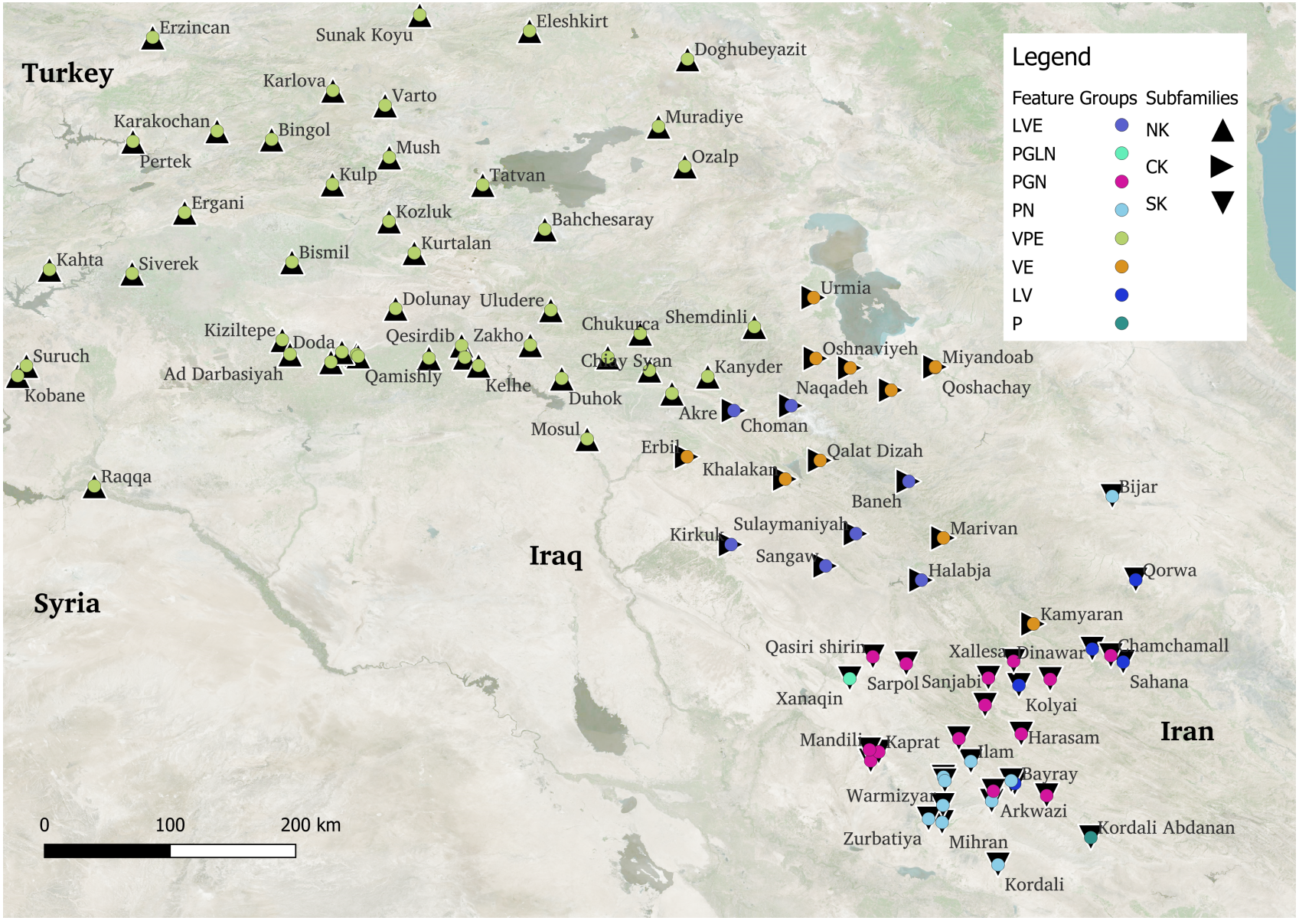
- Symmetric: 114 (negated clause = AFF + NEG)
- Asymmetric: 53 (negated clause $\neq$ AFF + NEG)
- Mixed: 130

SK Malikṣay ‘chase’ (Fattah, 2000)

	AFF	NEG
NPST	*der kerêg*	*der nye-kerêg*
NPST.PROG	*der di-kerêg*	*der nye-di-kerêg*
PST	*der kird*	*der ne-kird*
PST.IPFV	*der di-kird*	*der nye-kird*
PST.PROG	= PST.IPFV.AFF	*der nye-di-kird*

The Parallel Development of Southern Kurdish and Hewramî

Map of Kurdish Imperfectives



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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	*dekerế	*nídekerê
Pretonic shortening	*mⁱkeró	*nímekero	*dⁱkerế	*nídekerê
Stress shift	*mⁱkeró	*nⁱmékero	***dⁱkerế***	***nyékerê***
(Zagros *d*)				
Cluster Deletion	*keró*	*mékero*	*kerế*	*nyékerê*

Malikṣay developments

Malikṣay gaps

SK Malikṣay ‘chase’ (Fattah, 2000)

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NPST	*der kerêg*	*der nye-kerêg*
NPST.PROG	*der di-kerêg*	*der nye-di-kerêg*
PST	*der kird*	*der ne-kird*
PST.IPFV	*der di-kird*	*der nye-kird*
PST.PROG	= PST.IPFV.AFF	*der nye-di-kird*
	(!der di-di-kird)	

Malikṣay developments I

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

di-ker-êg	:	*nye-Ø-ker-êg*
IPFV(+PROG)-do.PRS-3SG		NEG-IPFV(!PROG)-do.PRS-3SG
X	:	*nye-Ø-ker-êg*
IPFV-do.PRS-3SG		NEG-IPFV-do.PRS-3SG
di-ker-êg	:	Y
PROG-do.PRS-3SG		NEG-PROG-do.PRS-3SG

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di-ker-êg	:	Y
PROG-do.PRS-3SG		NEG-PROG-do.PRS-3SG

- X = *Ø-kerêg*

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di-ker-êg	:	Y
PROG-do.PRS-3SG		NEG-PROG-do.PRS-3SG

- X = *Ø-kerêg*
- Y = *nye-di-kerêg*

Malikṣay developments II

- The same does not work in the past:

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

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Ø-kird	:	*ne-Ø-kird*
PFV-do.PST.3SG		NEG-PRF-do.PST.3SG
X	:	*nye-Ø-kird*
IPFV-do.PRS-3SG		NEG-IPFV-do.PST.3SG
di-ker-êg	:	Y
PROG-do.PST.3SG		NEG-PROG-do.PRS-3SG

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IPFV-do.PRS-3SG		NEG-IPFV-do.PST.3SG
di-ker-êg	:	Y
PROG-do.PST.3SG		NEG-PROG-do.PRS-3SG

- X = *Ø-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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