



Contact-Induced Progressives in Iranian Languages: A Typological Comparison of Caucasian Tat and Bashkardi

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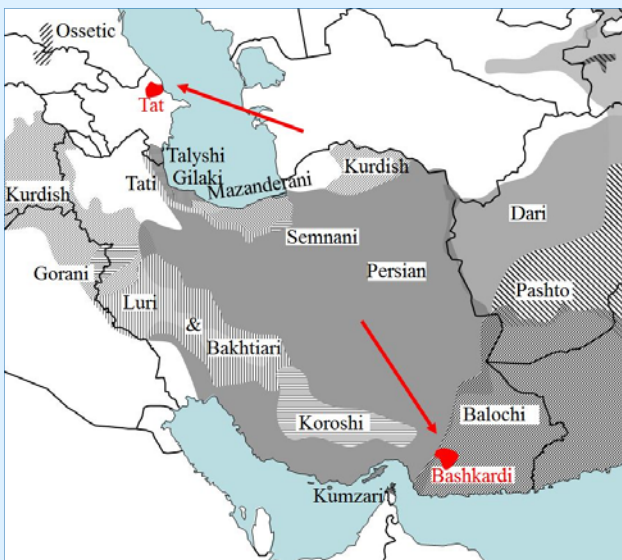
Agnes Korn & Murad Suleymanov

Progressive in Tat and Bashkardi

strikingly parallel present / imperfective structures
in Tat (particularly Muslim Tat) and Bashkardi:
despite major distance and despite different languages of contact

	Jewish Tat	Muslim Tat
“eventual”		<i>mə</i> -PRS-ending
subjunctive	<i>(bi-)</i> PRS-ENDING	<i>(bi-)</i> PRS-ENDING
present tense	PST-INF=COP	<i>bā-/mi-</i> PST-INF=COP

	North Bashkardi	South Bashkardi
“present”		<i>a</i> -PRS-ending
“subjunctive”	<i>be</i> -PRS-ENDING	<i>be-e</i> -PRS-ENDING
progressive	<i>a</i> -PST-INF=COP	<i>be</i> -PST(-INF)=COP



Parallel innovations

Middle Iranian:
inherited (unprefixed)
present includes modal
and future values

<i>nāz-ēnd</i>	<i>awēšān</i>	<i>kē</i>	<i>grīyīd</i>	<i>hēnd</i>	<i>ud</i>
rejoice.PRS-3PL	DEM.PL	REL	cry.PT	COP.3PL	and
‘those who cried are now rejoicing and					
<i>grīy-ēnd</i>	<i>imīn</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>nūn</i>	<i>xam-ēnd</i>	
cry.PRS-3PL	DEM.PL	REL	now	laugh.PRS-3PL	
these who are now laughing will cry’					

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Multiple grammaticalisation

hypothesis: multiple origin of prefixes

- subjunctive *be-*: verbal particle (possibly borrowed from Persian)
- progressive *be-*: preposition

evidence 1:

- different behaviour
in Tat of Upper Şirvan
(vowel; stress)

<i>bā-kīš-‘an=um</i>	<i>‘bi-kīš=um</i>
IPFV-kill.PST-INF=1SG	SBIV-kill.PRS=1SG
‘I kill / am killing’	‘(that) I kill’
<i>ba-burr-‘an=um</i>	<i>‘bu-bur=um</i>
IPFV-cut.PST-INF=1SG	SBIV-cut.PRS=1SG
‘I cut / am cutting’	‘(that) I cut’

evidence 2:

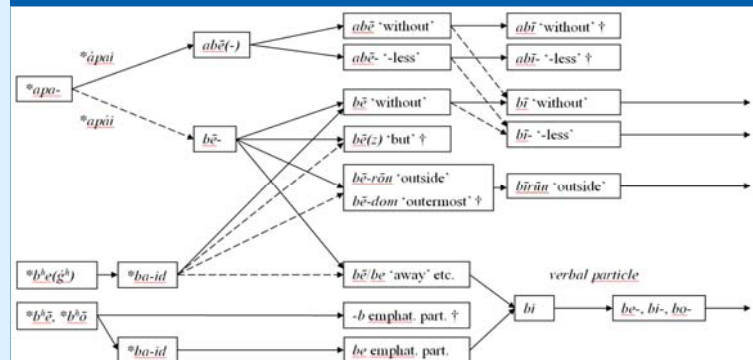
- negation on copula in South Bashkardi progressive
(INF / PST stem treated as verbal noun, not as verb form)

<i>ijāver</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>rivāhger-an</i>	<i>be-vīot</i>	<i>ne-h=en</i>
nowadays	DEM	foxcatcher-PL	IPFV-come.PST	NEG-HI-COP3PL
‘Nowadays these fox-catchers do not come.’				

data 3:

- fitting prepositions available (even synchronically)
functional prepositions ‘to’ (besides more specific lexical ones):
Tat *bā* (with dialectal variants)
North Bš: *ei, a* (also in compounded prepositions), *be*
South Bš: *bā, a*

Etymologies of “BE” elements (according to JÜGEL 2013)



Conclusions

Tat and Bashkardi confirm multi-origin of *BE*-elements
already suggested for Persian (JÜGEL 2013 and others before):

- traces of multi-origin of *BE* even synchronically in Tat and Bashkardi (not seen in Persian!)
 - › identical phonological form in Bashkardi potentially due to Persian influence
- in addition to origins already suggested:
possible prepositional origin of *BE* in the progressive
(formation not found in Persian)

Remains to be studied:

- potential multi-origin of Bashkardi *a-* ?