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Agnes Korn, Murad Suleymanov

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

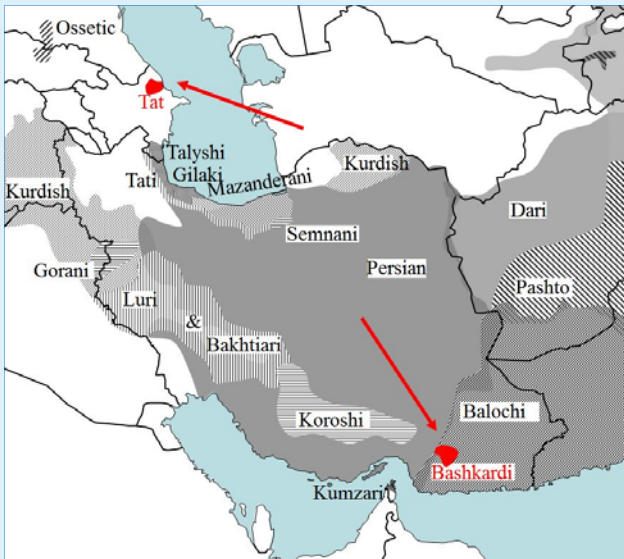
Agnes Korn & Murad Suleymanov

## 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 kē</i>	<i>grīyīd</i>	<i>hēnd</i>	<i>ud</i>
rejoice.PRS-3PL	DEM.PL	REL	CTY.PT	COP.3PL
‘those who cried are now rejoicing and				
<i>grīy-ēnd</i>	<i>imīn</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>nūn</i>	<i>xam-ēnd</i>
CTY.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-bur-‘an=um</i>	<i>‘bu-bur=um</i>
IPFV-cut.PST-INF=1SG	SBIV-cut.PRS=1SG
‘I cut / am cutting’	‘(that) I cut’

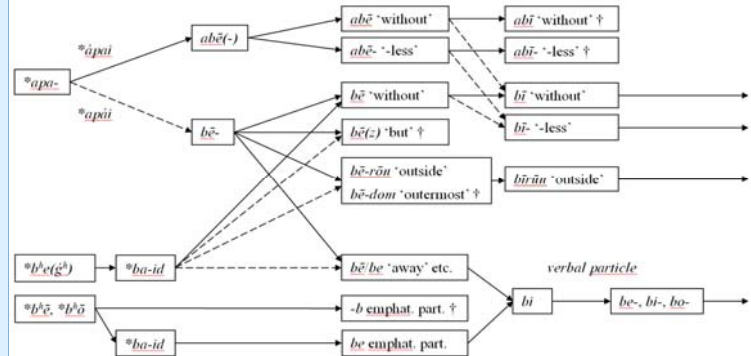
evidence 2:  
• negation on copula in South Bashkardi progressive  
(INF / PST stem treated as verbal noun, not as verb form)

*ījāver*    *ī*    *rivāhger-an*    *be-vīot*    *ne-h=en*  
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-* ?