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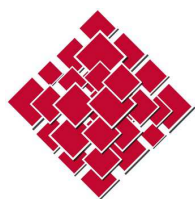
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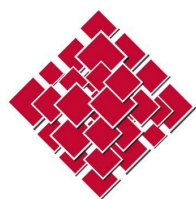
В сборник включены тезисы докладов участников международной научной конференции «Historical Linguistics of the Caucasus» («Историческое изучение языков Кавказа»), состоявшейся в Париже на базе Практической школы высших исследований в апреле 2017 г.

Доклады посвящены главным образом историческим аспектам изучения кавказских языков (нахско-дагестанских, абхазо-адыгских, картвельских, а также индо-европейских языков Кавказа). Отдельная тематическая сессия в рамках международного проекта IMMOCAL – *Imperfective Modalities in Caucasian Languages* (рук. Ж. Отъе) была посвящена имперфективности и ее связям с модальностью.

Для лингвистов, студентов филологических факультетов вузов и широкого круга читателей.

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This book brings together the abstracts for the oral and poster presentations delivered at the international conference “Historical Linguistics of the Caucasus”, which took place at École Pratique des Hautes Études in Paris, April 12-14, 2017.

The presentations deal mainly with historical aspects of the Caucasian language families – Nakh-Daghestanian, Abkhaz-Adyghe, and Kartvelian – as well as the Indo-European languages of the region. A special thematic workshop within the conference was devoted to imperfectivity and its relation to modality, as part of the international project IMMOCAL – *Imperfective Modalities in Caucasian Languages* (project coordinator Gilles Authier).

For linguists, students of linguistics and philology and all those interested in the languages of the Caucasus.

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**CONTACT-INDUCED PROGRESSIVES
IN IRANIAN LANGUAGES:
A TYPOLOGICAL COMPARISON OF
CAUCASIAN TAT AND BASHKARDI**

The progressive manifests itself in various ways across Iranian languages. The evolution of this category, influenced to some extent by internal factors and sometimes by language contact, presents an interesting case of parallel development in related languages that are geographically very distant from each other. This presentation will demonstrate a parallel development of a specific type of synthetic progressive in two allegedly Southwestern Iranian languages: Muslim Tat, spoken in northeastern Azerbaijan, and Bashkardi, spoken in southern Iran. Our data chiefly come from own fieldwork on Tat in the Upper Şirvan region and from recordings made by Ilya Gershevitch in Bashakerd in Iran in 1956.

Both languages show forms that are identical in structure to the present tense in Modern Persian (1):

(1) (a) Persian	(b) Tat	(c) Bashkardi
<i>mī-x^wor-am</i>	<i>mə-xor-um</i>	<i>a-xwar-om</i>
IPFV-eat.PRS-1SG	EVT-eat.PRS-1SG	IPFV-eat.PRS-1SG

The Tat form in (1b) historically corresponds to (1a) in usage (and, like the Persian prefix *mī-*, *mə-* derives from a particle with an imperfective meaning), but its semantics has changed into a non-focal and modal function of eventuality and gnomic value (cf. AUTHIER 2012:179). In Bashkardi, the origin of *a-* is not known, and the alleged present tense in (1c) is also used in future and modal function (2a).

- (2) (a) *be-yâr-ie* *ke*
 North SBJV-bring.PRS-2PL SUB
 Bashkardi *gwar=e* *hamie* *kabâb-ōn* *a-xwar-om*
 side=EZ DEM meat-PL IPFV-eat.PRS-1 SG
- (b) *biy-ār-īd* *ke*
 Persian¹⁴ SBJV-bring.PRS-2PL SUB
bā *īn* *kabāb* *be-x^wor-am*
 with DEM meat SBJV-eat.PRS-1 SG
 ‘Bring [the bread] so that I might eat it with the meat.’

It would then come as no surprise that both Muslim Tat and Bashkardi have developed a new present / progressive, which is based on the infinitive (3). The prefix is *bä-* (with its allomorphs *bə-*, *bi-* and *ba-*) in Upper Şirvan Muslim Tat, *mi-* (variants *ma-*, *mə-* and *mu-*) in Central Muslim Tat, *a-* again for Northern and *be-* for Southern Bashkardi. While the Tat formation is synchronically the normal present tense, the Bashkardi form, in spite of being called “continuous present” (SKJÆRVØ 1989:846, 848), should rather be considered a progressive and remains highly marked in usage.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| (3) (a) Central Muslim Tat | (c) Northern Bashkardi |
| <i>mə-saxt-än=üm</i> | <i>a-kerd-en=om</i> |
| (b) Upper Şirvan Muslim Tat | (d) Southern Bashkardi |
| <i>bə-soxt-an=um</i> | <i>be-kert(-en)=īn</i> |
| IPFV-do.PST-INF=1 SG | PROG-do.PST-INF=COP1 SG |
| ‘I do’ | ‘I am doing (right now)’ |

Like the Bashkardi prefixes, the prefix *bä-* in Upper Şirvan Tat seems to be multifunctional, as a group of change-of-state verbs show a subjunctive/imperative with prefix,¹⁵ mirroring the Persian form (4):

¹⁴ Constructed example.

¹⁵ Other verbs would have a non-prefixed form in this function.

- (4) (a) Upper Şirvan Tat *bə-xost-an=um* *ki* *bī-niš=i*
 IPFV-want.PST-INF=1 SG SUB SBJV-be.seated.PRS=2 SG
 (b) Persian¹ *mī-x^wāh-am* *(ke)* *be-nešīn-ī*
 IPFV-want.PRS-1 SG SUB SBJV-sit.down-2 SG
 ‘I want you to sit down.’

However, the phonetic behaviour of *bä-* in Upper Şirvan Tat leads us to assume that the two prefixes, viz. that of the progressive and that of the subjunctive/imperative (which is present in this dialect of Tat more than in others), are historically different morphemes. While some of the verbs that take the latter have the same form of the prefix in both categories, others show a vowel assimilation in the subjunctive not seen in the progressive of the same verbs (5)-(6), which is all the more remarkable as the prefix is stressed (marked by ' in (5)-(6)).

- Upper Şirvan Tat
- | | |
|--|--|
| (5) (a) <i>bä-kišt-'an=um</i>
IPFV-kill.PST-INF=1 SG
‘I kill / am killing’ | (6) (a) <i>'bī-kiš=um</i>
SBJV-kill.PRS=1 SG
‘(that) I kill’ |
| (b) <i>ba-burr-'an=um</i>
IPFV-cut.PST-INF=1 SG
‘I cut / am cutting’ | (b) <i>'bu-bur=um</i>
SBJV-cut.PRS=1 SG
‘(that) I cut’ |

The progressive prefix, on the other hand, is probably the result of a grammaticalisation of the preposition *bä* (etc.) ‘to’, also used in for marking objects (7). In the progressive, the Tat construction ceased to be perceived as a prepositional group and acquired regular verbal negation, preceding the prefix (8a).

- (7) (a) Upper Şirvan Tat *ba xuna nist=um*
 LOC home NEG.EXIST=1 SG
 ‘I am not at home.’
 (b) Southern Bashkardi *ba to=m dīt*
 to you.SG=PC2SG see.PST
 ‘I saw you.’

- (8) (a) Upper Şirvan Tat *na-bi-xost-an=um*
 NEG-PROG-want.PST-INF=1 SG
 ‘I don’t want (that)’
- (b) Southern Bashkardi *be-vuot* *ne=hen*
 PROG-come.PST NEG=COP3PL
 ‘they don’t come’

We argue, then, that the Bashkardi prefix *be-* is the result of more than one etymon as well, agreeing with the suggestion that the Middle Persian particle *bē* derives from several origins (cf. JÜGEL 2013 and CHEUNG fthc., among others). While no differences in pronunciation are found for the prefix of the Southern Bashkardi progressive and subjunctive, the fact that the former is based on a verbal noun already hints at the possibility of the pattern containing a preposition, and negation still is on the copula (8b), showing that the progressive is less “verbalised” and the pattern less grammaticalised than in Tat.

The subjunctive morpheme *be-* (exx. 2, 4, 6) seems to be a morphological borrowing from Persian, and its function has been applied to the historically zero-marked imperatives and subjunctives. The seeming identity with the progressive prefix in Bashkardi could be due to Persian influence, where *be-* is the only comparable element. Upper Şirvan Tat, which has not been in contact with Persian in recent times, may have acquired the subjunctive/imperative marker *bə-* via North West Iranian languages such as Taleshi, and the similarity with the infinitive-based progressive using the preposition *bä* is coincidental.

In Central Muslim Tat, which marks the “old present” with *mi-*, the marker has been extended to an infinitive-based synthetic progressive (3a), agreeing with the observation (JEREMIÁS 1993:103) that verbal prefixes are the most widespread way of marking the imperfective in Iranian. The origin of the prefix *a-* in Bashkardi remains an open question.

In conclusion, it seems that each variety has developed its own way of marking the progressive, either by extending the functions of a pre-existent morphological inventory, or by copying morphology from neighbouring languages, sometimes transforming its functions.

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