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Predicative possession across Western Iranian languages

https://doi.org/10.1515/flin-2020-2038
Received September 14, 2019; revision invited December 15, 2019; revision received January 4, 2020; accepted January 19, 2020; published online November 6, 2020

Abstract: This paper offers a first systematic investigation of predicative possessive constructions across Western Iranian languages. The notion of possession is conceived as a prototypical domain. It is shown that investigated languages are classified into two major areally distributed groups with respect to predicative possessive constructions: (i) "be"-verb languages, (ii) "have"-verb languages. "Have"-possessives, which originated from "action schema", are argued to have superseded the archaic "be"-possessives, which trigger a non-canonical marking of the possessor argument. However, "have"-verb languages have preserved relics of the older "be"-possessive in some neighbouring domains to possession. In addition, two languages exhibit possession split and are in transition from "be"-possession to "have"-possession: these languages demonstrate the effect of alienability/inalienability in such a split.

Keywords: be-possessive, have-possessive, possession split, prototype, inalienability

1 Introduction

Possession is a universal domain and every language has a mechanism for encoding it (Heine 1997: 1; Aikhenvald 2013). The relation of possession involves a relationship between two entities: a possessor (PR) and a possessee (PE). The relation between the PE and the PR is assumed by a relator (e.g. a possessive marker, a predicate). The possessive relation can exert both within a noun phrase, in which case it is called "attributive" or "adnominal", e.g. *John's car*, or at the clause level, in which case it is referred to as "predicative", e.g. *John has a car*. My focus in this article is on predicative possession.

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There are various approaches to the definition of possession, among which a prototype approach, which considers possession a "semantic domain" (though it is not the only approach which considers possession a semantic category; see Mazzitelli [2015: ch. 1] for an overview of approaches to the definition of possession). Within the prototype approach, possession is conceived as a "conceptual space" which includes various possessive notions (or meanings). This approach is especially reflected in the works of Taylor (1989), Heine (1997), Stassen (2009), and Langacker (2009), among others. However, these works have different viewpoints on what forms the prototypical possessive relation. For Taylor (1989) and Heine (1997), it is ownership (or alienable possession), e.g. *Mary has a car*, which forms the core of a possessive relation. Under this approach, a prototypical possessive relation is one in which (i) the PR is a human being; (ii) the PE is a concrete item; (iii) the PR has the right to make use of the PE; (iv) PR and PE are in spatial proximity; (v) possession has no conceivable temporal limit (Taylor 1989: 202). Consequently, ownership is considered a prototypical case of possession while *Mary has a problem*, an instance of abstract possession, is not prototypical: PE is not concrete; the PR cannot make use of the PE; and it is highly likely that there will be a temporal limit to the relation of possession.

On the other hand, in Langacker's (2009) cognitive approach, prototypical possession is not limited to ownership, but includes kinship and whole/part relations as well. For Langacker, a possessive relation is a type of "reference-point relationship", where one of the entities is opted as the reference point, by recourse to which the relation of possession is established. For example, in *John has a house*, the *house* is characterized by reference to *John*. Langacker further adds that "all the three relations [i.e. ownership, kinship, and part/whole] have in common being central to our experience and lend themselves very well to this reference-point function" (2002: 338).

Stassen (2009) has the same stance as Taylor (1989) and Heine (1997) in considering ownership as the prototype of possessive notions. Stassen offers a classification of possessive relations based on two parameters: (i) permanent contact between the PR and PE, and (ii) the control[1] which PR can exert on PE. On this basis, possessive relations can be classified into the following subtypes:[2] (i) alienable possession (*e.g. I have a book*): [+permanent contact] and [+control];

1 Note that in the literature on possession, the notion of control has been crucial for making reference to different possessive relations.

2 See Heine (1997) for a different classification of possessive relations. Mazzitelli (2015: ch. 1) takes Heine's classification as the point of departure, yet offers a slightly different classification of possessive relations in which the latter can be distinguished on the basis of some binary properties. For example, in "ownership" the PR is [+human]; the PE is [−human], [−abstract], +alienable]; and the possessive relation is [+permanent].

(ii) inalienable possession (e.g. *Mary has two brothers/blue eyes*): [+permanent contact] and [–control]; (iii) temporary (physical) possession (e.g. *Look out! That guy has a knife!*): [–permanent contact] and [+control]; (iv) abstract possession (e.g. *I have no time/a problem)*: [–permanent contact] and [–control]. The possessive relations just mentioned can have different subdomains in themselves. For instance, in addition to body-part and kinship, inalienable possession is often attributed to part-whole relations (e.g. *The table has four legs*), body products, etc. (see Section 4.4).

While sticking to Stassen's classification, I will, following Mazzitelli (2017), distinguish the domains of "experience" and "attribution" from that of "abstract possession", thus restricting the latter to expressions such as *having time/an idea/a problem*, etc. In this paper, the domain of experience is confined to "physical sensations", e.g. *being warm/cold/hungry/thirsty*. And the domain of "attribution" is limited to the expression of "age", e.g. *Jane is 22 years old*. As will be seen, these domains are often encoded differently from typical possessive relations in Western Iranian languages (henceforth WILs), which use "have" as the predicate (relator) in predicative possessive constructions (PPCs) (see Section 4.4 for a diachronic motivation). In a way, then, these languages exhibit a kind of "split" in encoding possession and the domains which are conceptually close to it. This is also the case with some languages of Europe, e.g. Russian and (to a less extent) German (Mazzitelli 2017: 36–39).

PPCs show divergence in the way they are encoded cross-linguistically. This divergence seems to be attributable to the grammaticalization of source constructions[3] from which PPCs have evolved. Under Heine's cognitive approach (1997) these source constructions are called "source schemas". These schemas underlie the rise of different syntactic realizations of PPCs (Table 1).

As an example, English *have* is derived from a verb that originally meant "keep, hold", which was later grammaticalized into a possessive predicate, illustrating thus an instance of the derivation of possessive construction from the action schema.[4] This is indeed a frequent diachronic pattern: in addition to "hold", very often a verb meaning "take, get, grab, seize, obtain", etc., grammaticalizes into possessive markers (Heine 1997: 48; see Kuteva et al. [2019] for more directionalities of change and further instances, e.g. Old Chinese *de* "obtain" > Middle Chinese *de* "have"). It will be seen in Section 4.2 that the

3 These source constructions are in turn instantiations of the conceptual domains of Action, Location, Accompaniment, and Existence (comprising subdomains of Goal, Genitive, Topic and Equation).

4 It should be noted that possessive "have" was bleached further for the expression of a range of modal meanings as early as Old English (Fischer 2015: 126). Thus, we do not really know when the change from the meaning "hold" to "possess" happened; the change must have been pre-historical.

Table 1: Heine's (1997: 47) source schemas for predicative possession.

Schema	Syntactic structure
Action schema	PR: subject of a transitive predicate
"X takes Y" > X has Y	PE: object of a transitive predicate
Location schema	PR: locative adjunct
"Y is located at X" > X has Y	PE: subject of an existential predicate/locative copula
Companion schema	PR: subject of an existential predicate/copula
a. "X is with Y" > X has Y	PE: comitative adjunct
b. "Y is with X" > X has Y	PR: comitative adjunct
	PE: subject of an existential predicate/copula
Genitive schema	PR: genitival modifier of the PE
"X's Y exists" > X has Y	PE: subject of an existential predicate
Goal schema	PR: illative/dative or benefactive adjunct
"Y exists to/for X" > X has Y	PE: subject of an existential predicate/copula
Topic schema	PR: clausal topic
"As for X, Y (of X) exists > X has Y	PE: subject of an existential predicate
Source schema	PR: ablative adjunct
"X exists away from Y" > X has Y	PE: subject of an existential predicate
Equation schema	PR: is in the genitive/dative case
"Y is X's property	PE: subject of an existential predicate

predicate in "have"-possessive WILs is derived from the Old Iranian verb "hold, keep" through the re-interpretation of "action schema".

Languages may have several constructions for the expression of distinct possessive relations. In Russian, for instance, two strategies are available for the expression of possession: (i) a locative strategy, consisting of a genitive form headed by the preposition "at", and (ii) a "have"-construction. The former is used in general for the encoding of all possessive relations, e.g. (1). The "have"-construction, on the other hand, is specialized mostly for cases of inanimate and abstract possession, e.g. (2).

(1) *u* *Ivana* *mnogo* *deneg*
at Ivan.GEN much.ADV *money*.GEN.PL
"Ivan has much money." (Mazzitelli 2015: 57)

(2) *Naša* *vselennaja* *imeet* *neopredelënnuju*
our.NOM.SG universe.NOM.SG have.PRS.3SG indefinite.F.ACC.SG
formu
shape.ACC.SG
"Our universe has an indefinite shape." (Mazzitelli 2015: 57)

Russian thus illustrates a case of "possession split". The latter term refers to cases where a language employs a different encoding strategy for some subtypes of

possession. Possession split might be susceptible to all components of the possessive relation, namely PR, PE, and/or the nature of relation between them (see Stolz et al. 2008 on possession splits in the languages of Europe).

Finally, a distinction is drawn in the literature between "be"-possessive languages – those which use "be"/"exist" or an equivalent as the predicate in PPCs – and "have"-possessive languages – those which employ "have" as the predicate in PPCs (Locker 1954; Isačenko 1974). Isačenko (1974) claims that Proto-Indo-European was a "be"-language, and verbs meaning "have" are likely to be secondary developments in Indo-European languages. While this binary classification has been criticized for being an oversimplification of the real distinctions between languages (e.g. Heine 1997), I continue to use "be"-possessive and "have"-possessive as "pre-theoretical" concepts for the investigation of PPCs in WILs. These languages employ either "be" or "have" as the main predicates in PPCs. "Be"-possessive languages are further distinguished on the basis of formal encoding of the participants, testifying to different diachronic paths of development (cf. Section 4.1).

This paper aims to give an overview of predicative possession in the Iranian branch of Indo-European, which is less known. More specifically, it seeks to illustrate the strategies used for the encoding of core possessive relations in WILs, and the extent to which these encoding strategies are used for encoding neighbouring domains of "experience" and "age". It offers an areal explanation of the extension of PPCs across WILs. PPCs of WILs have not been investigated in the literature on predicative possession. It is only recently that Stilo (2018: 763) has given a very brief overview of the existence of "be" and "have" as verbs of PPCs in the Caspian area in the North of Iran. Stilo suggests a preliminary isogloss between Iranian languages with "be" as the relator in PPCs, e.g. Kurdic and Zazaki, and those with "have", e.g. Persian and most Tatic languages. He draws a parallel between "be"-possessive Iranian languages and neighbouring non-Iranian languages, e.g. Azeri and Semitic languages. This paper is in fact an extension of Stilo's brief observation of PPCs across Western Iranian in the sense that it gives a detailed account of the subtypes of possession in WILs and takes diachronic derivations into account. It will be seen that contrary to Stilo's observation not all Kurdish and Hawrami (Gorani) varieties use "be" as the relator in PPCs; rather, the distribution of "be" and "have" is areally determined. Moreover, languages with "be" as the relator are not restricted to the northwestern periphery of the Iranian languages, as is implied in Stilo's observation (see Figure 2).

The paper is structured as follows: following a brief introduction to Iranian languages in Section 2, Section 3 gives an overview of PPCs in the Old and Middle Iranian periods. Section 4 takes up the same issue in modern Iranian languages, and classifies the PPCs of the latter into two major subgroups: (i) "be"-possessives

and (ii) "have"-possessives. In addition, a further subgroup is distinguished in which possession split occurs and the choice between "be"-verb and "have"-verb depends on the semantics of the possessive relation. Section 4 ends with an overview of the encoding strategies for the domains of "attribution" and "experience", which, as said, are conceptually close to possession. In Section 5, I provide a typology of PPCs in WILs and outline some areal and contact-induced explanations for the distribution of PPCs. Section 6 gives a brief overview of the grammaticalization of "have" and "be" in the formation of some TAM distinctions, and Section 7 is the conclusion.

2 Iranian languages

Iranian languages constitute one of the branches of the Indo-European language family. The oldest stages of Iranian languages are attested in Gatha Avestan, which is closely related to the earliest attested form of Indo-Aryan, namely Vedic. In addition to Avestan, Old Iranian is also attested in Old Persian texts, which are datable back to *c*. 500 BCE. Iranian languages are currently spoken in a very large area in Asia ranging from the westernmost provinces of China to the southeast of Turkey and northeast of Syria. Some of these languages are spoken by large national or ethnic communities, e.g. Persian, Kurdish, and Pashto, while others are considered endangered languages, e.g. Tati, Wakhi, and Davani.

Traditionally, Iranian languages are classified into two main groups, eastern and western, each with their own subgroupings based on northern and southern poles: thus, for example, the western branch is subdivided into northwestern and southwestern sub-branches. Although there are problems with this classification (Sims-Williams 1996), I continue to use this for purely practical reasons. In addition, I will focus solely on the western branch of Iranian languages, for many of which I have collected data during a few fieldtrips – especially on endangered languages – in Iran. The data are extracted from a corpus of natural data currently being developed within the framework of my PhD dissertation (Mohammadirad: forthcoming). The data analysed here are mainly from recordings of spontaneous speech, but also in few cases from elicitation tasks. Unless a source is mentioned the examples are from my own data. The languages studied can roughly be classified into major groupings (Table 2):[5]

Figure 1 illustrated the location of each of the languages studied.

Iranian languages exhibit two major shifts in their morphosyntax, the first one being a massive reduction in the inventory of the nominal case system, from an (up to)

5 This grouping of languages as such largely follows that of Windfuhr (2009: 12–15).

Table 2: A rough grouping of investigated languages.

Grouping	Languages
Kurdic	Nothern Kurdish, Zazaki, Central Kurdish, Southern Kurdish, Gourani group, Laki group
Caspian dialects	Gilaki, Mazandarani, Taleshi group
Tatic-type	Harzani, Chali, Takestani, Vafsi, Semnani
Central Plateau	Delijani, Meymei, Khansari, Abuzeydabadi, Badrudi, Naeini, Nikabad-Jondun, Yazdi Zoroastrian
Southwestern	Nodani, Davani, Delvari, Dashti, Behbahani, Luri-type, Persian, Sivandi
Southeastern	Lari, Bastaki, Bandari, Minabi
Balochi	Koroshi, Balochi of Turkmenistan

eight-term case system in Old Iranian to a two-term case system, i.e. direct vs. oblique, in Middle and some modern languages, e.g. Kurmanji, Taleshi, and Tati. Ultimately, the two-term case system was lost as well in some modern languages (e.g. Persian and dialects of southern Iran) and left the languages without case morphology.

The second major development in Iranian languages is the development of "tense-sensitive" alignment (or "split ergativity" in some sources) since the Middle Iranian period (around two millennia ago) (see Payne 1980; Dixon 1994: 100;

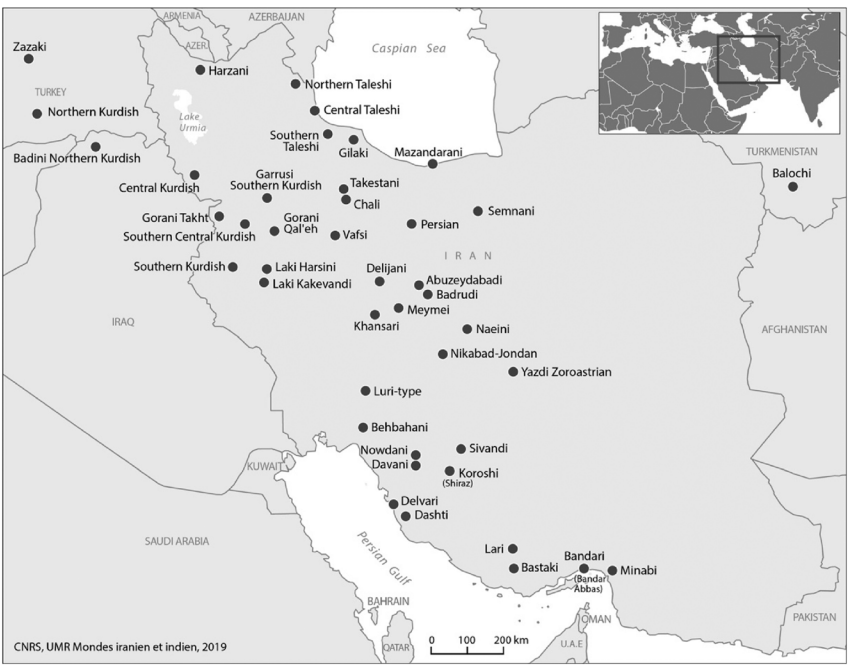

Figure 1: Investigated Western Iranian languages.

Haig 2008; Jügel 2015, among others). The workings of tense-sensitive alignment is as follows: following a whole set of changes to the verbal system in late Old Iranian and especially in Middle Iranian, ERGATIVITY emerged in the transitive verbs formed from the past stem (see Haig 2008, 2017 for details). However, the alignment in present-tense constructions remained NOMINATIVE-ACCUSATIVE. The ergative pattern just mentioned later shifted to other alignment types in past transitive constructions (see Haig 2008, 2018a, 2018b; and Jügel & Samvelian 2016 for details).

3 PPCs in the Old and Middle Iranian periods

This section provides a brief diachronic background to the discussion of PPCs. In the Old Iranian period, the existential/copular stem was used to establish a possessive relation. This stem goes back to the corresponding Indo-European verbal stems **H₁es-* and ***bʰeuH₂* (Cheung 2006).

(3) *nōit* *mē* ***asti***
NEG 1SG.DAT COP.PRS.3SG
"I have no …" (Young Avestan; Skiærvø 2003: 18)

(4) *dārayavahauš* ***puçā*** ***aniyaiciy*** ***āhantā***
Darius.GEN.M.SG son.NOM.M.PL other.NOM.M.PL exist.3PL.IPFV.MID
"Darius had other sons." (lit. "Of Darius, other sons existed")
(Old Persian; Schmitt 2009: 162, XPf)

Likewise, the existential stem continued to establish the possessive relation in the Western Middle Iranian languages Parthian (5) and Middle Persian (6):

(5) *ēn* *zan,* *kē=š* *yak* *pus* ***ast***
this woman who=3SG a son exist.PRS
"This woman, who has a son" [lit. "This woman, to whom a son exists"]
(Durkin-Meisterernst 2014: 371, paT. 707)

(6) *ērān-šahr* *dōsad-ū* *čehel* *kadag-xwadāy* ***būd***
Iran-city two_hundred-and forty house-lord exist.PST
"Iran had two hundred and forty landlords."
(Durkin-Meisterernst 2014:371, mpB. 708)[6]

6 This example is from a book written in Zoroastrian Middle Persian, which dates to the Later Middle Persian (seventh to ninth century CE). In the same text, one can find instances of "have"-possessives in Middle Persian. The existence of both "be" and "have" in these texts makes sense considering that they belong to later Middle Persian, which is chronologically closer to New Iranian period (starting around the ninth century CE).

The syntactic structure associated with examples (3)–(6) is that of a topicalized construction: the independent PR argument rests in the externalized topic position but is still identifiable as the modifier of the PE. In addition, the PE triggers agreement in number on the verb in the older construction of Old Iranian in (4). Consequently, one can say that the PPCs of Old and Middle Iranian are the result of grammaticalization of Heine's (1997) "topic schema". Note further that PR is in the dative case in Old Iranian, while in the Middle Iranian examples it is not case-marked, and the topicalized PR is further resumed by an enclitic pronoun in (5): this use of a clitic pronoun became obligatory in a number of modern languages, and the clitic pronouns came to obligatorily index the PR participant (see Section 4.1).

The Middle Iranian period shows some more variation with respect to the range of PPCs than its predecessors. In addition to the topicalized constructions above, one can also come across PPCs deriving from Heine's "goal schema", as shown in (7). Here, the PR is accompanied by the multifunctional postposition *rā*, and the PE is construed as the subject of the existential/copular stem. This schema was available in New Persian until the sixteenth century (Paul 2008).

(7) *Pābag* *rāy* *ēč* *farzand…* *nē* ***būd***
PN for any child NEG COP.PST
"Pābag had no child." (Paul 2008: 331, glossing modified)

Middle West Iranian also witnessed the first stages of the rise of a "have"-verb as the predicate in PPCs. The verb "have" originally had the meaning "hold, keep", INTR: "dwell" in Old Iranian (Cheung 2006: 57), as illustrated by the following Old Persian examples:

(8) *kāra* *haya* *Nadintabair-ahyā* *Tigr-ām* *a-**dāraya***
army of Nadintu_Bel-GEN Tigris-ACC IPFV-hold.3SG
"The army of Nadintu-Bel held the Tigris." (Schmitt 2009: 49, DB)

(9) *ima* *xšaç-am* *taya* *Adam* ***dãray**-āmi*
this empire-ACC which 1SG.NOM hold-1SG
"This is the empire which I hold." (Schmitt 2009: 119, DPh)

By (or during later stages of) Western Middle Iranian, *dār* "have" started to establish the possessive relation between the PR and PE, while at the same time the "be"-possessives still existed in the grammar (as seen in [5]–[6] above). Durkin-Meisterernst (2014: 371) notes that the meaning of *dār* in Middle Iranian can be both "hold" and "have". This means that the earlier meaning "hold, keep" continued in the new function "have". While the exact chronology of the introduction of "have" as a possessive marker in Middle Iranian is yet to be explored, this development means that both types of possessives co-existed in Middle Iranian.

(10) *ku* *kirm* *bunag* ***dāšt***
where dragon abode have.PST
"Where the dragon had the abode."
(Middle Persian; Jügel 2015: 837, KN 10/1)

(11) *u=š* *was* *zanag* *dāmag* *und* *wiβandag* ***dird***
PTC=3SG many rampant trap and snare have.PST
"And he (a hunter) had many traps and snares."
(Parthian; Durkin-Meisterernst 2014: 371, paT. 709)

As for the encoding strategy, the Iranian verb meaning "to hold, keep" is a regular transitive verb which assigns nominative case to its subject argument and accusative case to its object argument. In terms of agreement, it agrees with the subject NP. As the data in (10)–(11) suggest, the same syntactic structure is used in the grammaticalized "have" in Middle Iranian.

The development of the verb meaning "have" from the Old Iranian verb meaning "hold" suggests that the "action schema" is accountable for this shift: the PR is treated as the grammatical subject (with which the verb agrees), and the PE as the grammatical object (marked by the accusative case). Givón (1984: 134) states that the change from a verb of action, e.g. "take", to a verb of possession, i.e. "have", might be driven by inference. This can also be said for the change from the verb meaning "hold" to "have", i.e. "if one has held possession of something, one has it."

4 PPCs in Western Iranian languages

The predicative possessive constructions of WILs are of three types: (i) "be"-possessives, (ii) "have"-possessives, and (iii) a less frequent type in which both "be"-verb and "have"-verb co-occur. We begin our discussion of PPCs with the more archaic "be"-possessives.

4.1 "Be"-possessive

"Be"-possessives refer to constructions in which a copula/existential verb establishes the possessive relationship between the PR and PE. The existential/copular stem is manifested in two ways across WILs: (i) the suppletive copula stem: prs. *a-/e-* vs. past. *bu-/u-/du-*; (ii) the suppletive existential stem "prs. *ha-/he/e-* vs. past. *habu-*" followed by 3SG copula marker; thus *ha-ya* "it exists".[7] While a few Iranian

7 It seems that only the copula *ya* in *ha-ya* is the remnant of old Iranin stem *asti*, while *ha* is a particle of unknown origin.

languages make a formal distinction between copular and existential stems, e.g. Northern and Central Kurdish, the majority uniformly use the copula stem for both existential and copular uses.

Western Iranian "be"-possessive languages are distributed into the two geographical areas Northwest and Southwest. In the northwestern expanse the following languages are found: Northern Kurdish, Zazaki, Harzani, Northern and Central Taleshi, Central Kurdish, and the more conservative Gorani dialects. The dialects in the southwestern expanse include Behbahani, Nodani, Davani, Koroshi, Delvari, Dashti, Lari, Bastaki, Bandari, and Minabi.

"Be"-possessive WILs are further classified into four subgroups with respect to the constructions in which PPCs are found. The first group consists of only the conservative Bādīnānī (Badini) dialect of Northern Kurdish. Here, like in the Old Iranian period, PPCs are formulated in a "topic schema", in which PR is topicalized and where the verb agrees with the PE.

(12) *naqlakē* ***hakim-ak-ī*** ***sē*** ***kur*** ***habō-n***
at.a.time prince-INDF-OBL three son exist.PST-PL
"Once a prince had three sons" (lit. "once to-a-prince three sons existed")
(Haig 2008: 258, citing MacKenzie 1962: 320; glossing modified)

The second group is comprised of Classical Tajik (13) and Central Taleshi (14). The PPCs in these languages are a continuation of the "goal schema" in Middle Iranian discussed above (cf. [7]): The PR is accompanied by the multifunctional postposition *rā*, and the PE is considered the subject of the existential/copular stem.

(13) *uu-ro* *yak* *pisar* ***bud***
3SG-for a boy COP.PST
"He had a son." (Heine 1997: 61)

(14) *i-la* *merdi-rā* *karg-i* ***hest*** *be*
a-CLF man-for hen-INDF exist COP.PST
"A man had a hen." (lit. "there existed a hen for a man")

The third group of languages has witnessed the shift from a "topic schema" to a "genitive schema", exemplified in Zazaki (15) and in the less conservative Kurmanji dialects (16). Here, the PR is a genitival modifier of the PE and the verb agrees with the PE:

(15) *yew* ***mešnā***-y^{8} *mi* ***est-ā***
a sheep-EZ 1SG.OBL exist-3SG.F
"I have (a) sheep." (Zazaki; Paul 1998: 270, sentence 1)

8 *Ezafeh*, a feature of some West Iranian languages, is a head-marking affix used in the structure of an NP, linking the head noun to its modifiers and to the possessor NP.

(16) ***heval-ēn*** *me* ***he-ne***
friend-EZ.PL 1PL.OBL exist-3PL
"We have friends." (Kurmanji; Bedir Khan & Lescot 1970: 229)

The last group forms the majority of WILs: here, the PPCs are similar to the third group, with the difference that the PR is a bound genitival modifier of the PE, and the "be"-verb does not usually agree with the PE. In addition, the bound expression of PR through pronominal clitics has (in the majority of languages) become obligatory, contrary to the pronominal status of the latter in Middle Iranian. The examples below illustrate instances of "alienable possession" in the languages of this group:

(17) *bāx-ē=š* ***han***
garden-PL.DIR=3SG exist.PRS.3PL
"He has (some) gardens." (Gorani Takht)

(18) *hānā ye mai š=**en***
PN a fish 3SG=COP.PRS
"Hanah has a fish." (Delvari)

(19) *ya bāx-e golābi=š **bi***
a garden-EZ pear=3SG COP.PST
"He had a pear garden." (Behbahani)

(20) *o=mu ya xar-i **bi***
PTC=1PL a donkey-INDF COP.PST
"We had a donkey." (Davani)

(21) *merd-ak ye nardebun-e čūī=am eš=**bi***
man-DIM a ladder-ez wooden=ADD 3SG=COP.PST
"The man had a wooden ladder as well." (Nodani)

Examples (22)–(30) are instances of "inalienable possession" in the languages of the fourth group.

(22) *dū mināl=ī* ***has***
two child=3SG exist.PRS.3SG
"He has two children." (Southern Central Kurdish)

(23) *yak kari se tā beč oš=**an***
a sheep three CLF kid 3SG=COP.PRS.3SG
"A sheep has three kids." (Lari)

(24) *šāš gəla=m bəva **hest**=e, i-la huā*
six CL=1SG brother exist=COP.3SG one-CL sister
"I have six brothers and one sister." (Northern Taleshi; Paul 2011: 222)

(25) *ye bozi bi, so tā baçe eš=**bi***
a goat-INDF exist three CLF child 3SG=COP.PST
"There was a goat who had three kid-goats." (Nodani)

(26) ***hest**=æm=æ here zöræ*
exist=1SG=COP.3SG three son
"I have three sons." (Harzani; Stilo 2018: 764)

(27) *yāzda tā zen=eš=am **bi***
eleven CLF woman=3SG=ADD COP.PST
"In addition, he had eleven wives." (Dashti)

(28) *yeki dot oš=**bode***
one girl 3SG=COP.PST
"She had a daughter." (Bastaki)

(29) *se tā bača š=**asta***
three CLF child 3SG=exist.PST
"She had three kids." (Bandari)

(30) *tanhā ye tā čuk **hast**=om-en*
only a CLF boy exist=1SG-COP.3SG
"I had but one child." (Minabi)

The examples below are illustrative of "abstract possession", cf. (31)–(32), and "part-whole possession", cf. (33).

(31) *o=š ārāmeš na-**bi***
PTC=3SG calmness NEG-COP.PST
"He didn't have calmness." (Davani)

(32) *waxt=im **has***
time=1SG exist.3SG
"I have (some) time." (Southern Central Kurdish)

(33) *dār galā=y **haya***
tree leaf=3SG exist
"(A) tree has leaves." (Central Kurdish)

These examples suggest that there is no semantic restriction on the possessive notions expressed by "be"-possessives, that is, "be" encodes all possessive relations (alienable, inalienable, abstract). In terms of encoding, it is the copula stem that forms the main predicate of the syntactic construction associated with predicative possession. The copula used in these construction can be further viewed as a truncated form of the existential stem: this is supported by the mechanism of diachronic change through which "expressions for verbal 'be' [expressing

existence] develop into expressions for copula 'be'" (Heine 1997: 211; see also Benveniste 1960).

In sum, modern WILs with "be" as the relator in PPCs have in common the irregular marking of the PR participant in the predicative possession: i.e. through oblique marking, flagging, or clitic marking. As discussed, the divergence in the range of PPCs in modern languages is linked to (i) the continuation of the source constructions of predecessor languages in modern languages, e.g. the topicalized PR in Badini, and the flagged PR in Central Taleshi; (ii) a further shift from the source constrictions of Old Iranian, i.e. the derivation of a genitive schema in modern languages from the erstwhile topic schema. These facts are illustrated in Table 3.

The existential/copular stem triggers non-canonical marking of the PR participant in all tenses, different from tense-sensitive alignment associated with regular verbs (see Section 2). Thus, regardless of the tense of the copula/existential verb, the PR participants appear either in the oblique form (as in the Old and Middle Iranian data, Badini, Kurmanji, and Zazaki), or trigger agreement through clitic person markers in the majority of examples in (17)–(33). What prompts this non-canonical marking of the PR is that the existential/copular verb "be" is intransitive and has the PE as its grammatical subject: e.g. *a child exists*. Consequently, another participant which is going to be added to the argument structure of "be" has to appear in an oblique form, hence *to me a child exists*/*my child exists*.

Table 3: Source schemas for "be"-possessives across Western Iranian languages.

Source schema	Syntactic structure	Languages
Topic schema	PR: clausal topic	Old Iranian, Middle Iranian,
"As for X, Y (of X)" exists	PE: subject of an existential predicate	Badini Northern Kurdish
Genitive schema	PR: genitival free modifier of the PE	Northern Kurdish, Zazaki
"X's Y exists" > X has Y	PE: subject of an existential predicate	
	PR: genitival bound modifier of the PE	Central Kurdish, Hawrami,
	PE: subject of an existential predicate	Behbahani, Davani, Nowdani, Dashti, Delvari, Lari, Bastaki, Bandari, Minabi, Harzani, Northern Taleshi
Goal schema	PR: illative/dative or benefective adjunct	Middle Persian, Early New Persian, Classical Tajik, Central Taleshi
"Y exists to/for X"	PE: subject of an existential predicate/copula	

4.2 "Have"-possessive

In many WILs, the verb meaning "have" establishes the possessive relation between PR and PE. These languages include Persian, Balochi of Turkmenistan, and other general groupings such as Tatic dialects (Chali, Takestani, Vafsi, Semnani), Caspian dialects (Gilaki and Mazandaranim Southern Taleshi), Central Plateau dialects (Delijani, Meymei, Khansari, Abuzeydabadi, Badrudi, Naeini, Nikabad-Jondun, and Yazdi Zoroastrian), most of the southern Kurdish dialects, Luri-type dialects, Laki group, and the less conservative Qal'eh dialect of Gorani.

As explained in Section 3, in (later) Western Middle Iranian "be"-possessives and "have"-possessives coexisted. This situation changed in "have"-possessives languages, where the latter replaced the former. Consequently, "have" came to appear as the sole verb establishing possessive relations. Examples (34)–(37) are instances of the "have"-verb marking alienable possession:

(34) *æz ila ka=ni* ***dār****-əm*
1SG one house=also have.PRS-1SG
"I have another house"
(Southern Taleshi; Paul 2011: 254, glossing modified)

(35) *men pül ne-****der****-on*
1SG money NEG-have.PRS-1SG
"I don't have (any) money." (Meymei)

(36) *di bāxebun se tā sabad=oš* ***dārt***
DEM gardener three CLF basket=3SG have.PST
"This gardener had three baskets." (Naeini)

(37) *i nafar-e taraktor* ***dard***
a person-OBL tractor have.PST
"A person had a tractor." (Chali)

In (38)–(42), the "have"-verb establishes inalienable possession. Furthermore, (42) is an example of part-whole possession being encoded through a "have"-verb.

(38) *i dune boz bo se duno bozqālu=š* ***dard****-en*
a CLF goat COP.PST.3SG three CLF goat.kid=3SG have.PST-3PL
"There was a goat who had three kids" (Badrudi)

(39) *per=ə mår* ***dar****-i*
father=and mother have.PRS-2SG
"Do you have a father and mother?"
(Gilaki; Rastorgueva et al. 2012: 382, sentence 106)

(40) *xwar-i* ***dār****-am*
sister-INDF have.PRS-1SG
"I have a sister."
(Luri; Amān Allāhi Bahārvand & Thackston 1986: 153, sentence 58)

(41) *az in bāw-a pir* ***dir****-ome*
1SG.DIR DEM father-EZ old have.PRS-1SG
"I have this elderly father."
(Vafsi; Stilo 2004: 34, transcription slightly modified)

(42) *otâq panjere* ***dār****-ad*
room window have.PRS-3SG
"The room has a window (windows)." (Persian; Lambton 1960: 127)

Finally, the examples in (43)–(45) are instance of abstract possession being encoded by a "have"-verb in "have"-possessive languages.

(43) *mi kār* ***dār****-ī*
1SG task have.PRS-2SG
"I have a task."(Gorani Qal'eh)

(44) *vaz-e nāmonāseb=o birixt-i* ***dār****-ā*
appearance-EZ inappropriate=and formless-INDF have.PRS-3SG
"He has an inappropriate appearance (in terms of clothing)." (Yazdi Zoroastrian)

(45) *ta čē unar* ***dār****-ay ?*
2SG what skill have.PRS-2SG
"What skill do you have?" (Balochi of Turkmenistan; Axenov 2006: 117)

What all these languages have in common is the establishment of the possessive relation though the verb *dār* and its cognates *dir/der/dar* "have". The latter is a regular transitive verb which, as in the "action schema", assigns subject properties to the PR and object properties to the PE. As for encoding, the verb agrees with the PR through inflectional morphology in the present tense or via clitic person markers in the past tense.[9] However, the PE does not trigger agreement on the verb.[10]

9 Note that in the Chali example in (37), the oblique-marked subject NP blocks the doubling via a clitic index, resembling the Middle Iranian pattern exemplified in (6).

10 An exception would be the conservative dialect of Badrudi (38), in which, following the ergative alignment in past transitive constructions, the verb agrees with the object NP.

4.3 Transitional languages with possession split

In addition to two major types of PPCs in WILs, that is, "be"-possessives and "have"-possessives, there exists a further type in which "be" and "have" co-occur in a single language, yet covering different meanings. Put differently, these languages have possession split. What triggers the split is the nature of the possessive relation as being either inalienable or alienable: inalienable possession tends to be encoded by the "be"-possessive, while the "have"-possessive is preferred for alienable possession.

Inalienable possession often covers body-part and kin terms, part-whole and/or spatial relations, and culturally basic possessed items; what these items have in common is that they denote an inherent and inseparable relation between the PR and the PE (see Chappell and McGregor 1996).

The first language showing the formal distinction between inalienable and alienable possession is the southern Kurdish dialect of Garrusi. Here, inalienable possession is normally encoded by the "be"-possessives, as shown below in the relations of kinship (46)–(47), part-whole (48), and bodily product (49):

(46) *dot=ī* ***dū***
daughter=3SG COP.PRS
"She will have a daughter."

(47) *kor=ī* *nī-**yu***
son=3SG NEG-COP.PST
"(The king) didn't have (a) son."

(48) *dār* *galā=y* ***dū***
tree leaf=3SG COP.PRS.3SG
"The tree will have leaves." (lit. "the tree, its leaves exist")

(49) *bizn-a* *īšī* *šīr=im* *ni-**ya***
goat-DEF say.PRS.3SG milk=1SG NEG-exist.PRS
"The goat says: "I don't have milk'."

On the other hand, alienable possession, cf. (50)–(51), and abstract possession, cf. (52)–(53), are encoded by the "have"-verb:

(50) *īme* *kewš* *n-**eyr**-īmān*
1PL shoes NEG-have.PRS-1PL
"We don't have shoes."

(51) *yey* *pirežinī* *dū* *pišī-yī* ***dīr**-ī*
a old.woman COP.PRS.3SG cat-INDF have.PRS-2SG
"There is an old woman, who has a cat."

(52) *min* *kār* ***dīr**-im* *badbaxtī* ***dīr**-im*
1SG task have.PRS-1SG problem have.PRS-1SG
"I have a task (to do), I have a problem."

(53) *īma* *sawād* ***dīr**-īmān*
1PL literacy have.PRS-1SG
"We have literacy."

What we see here is the preservation of the older existential construction for encoding cases of inalienable possession, and the adoption of the "have"-verb construction for instances of alienable possession and abstract possession. Note that alienable possession is the one that supposedly corresponds more closely to Heine's prototypical possession. However, here we see that it is the inalienable possession that still preserves the older "be" construction.

Another language in which the nature of the possessive relation (e.g. alienable vs. inalienable) is decisive for the choice of construction, is Sivandi, spoken in the Fars province of Iran. Here, the existential verb marks instances of inalienable possession, including kinship in (54)–(55), and body-part in (56):

(54) *ye* *pādešā-ī* ***bī***, *ye* *žin-ī=š* ***bī***
a king-INDF COP.PST a son-INDF=3SG COP.PST
ve ye kurr-ī
and a son-INDF
"There was a king, who had a wife and a son." (Eilers 1988: 172, sentence 1)

(55) *ye* *ālū-ī=š* ***bi***
a uncle-INDF=3SG COP.PST
"He had an uncle." (Lecoq 1979: 128, sentence 14)

(56) *ī* *ke* *čaš=eš* ***bi**-yān*
DEM who eye=3SG COP.PST-3PL
"The one who had eyes (= who could see)." (Lecoq 1979: 160, sentence 18)

In Lecoq's descriptive grammar there were three tokens in which the copula stem established arguable cases of alienable possession (see [57] for an example). However, the more frequent pattern was to use the "have"-verb for establishing alienable possession, as illustrated in (58)–(60):

(57) *manzel-i* *ke* ***bi**=eš*
house-INDF that COP.PST=3SG
"The house which he had." (Lecoq 1979: 158, sentence 5)

(58) *vali* *kolepošti* ***dār**-e* *na* *jāme* ***dār**-e*
but haversack have.PRS-3SG NEG cup have.PRS-3SG
"But he has the haversack, not the cup." (Lecoq 1979: 95, sentence 78)

(59) *qal'e-y* *mojallal-i* *xeyli* *xub-i* ***dār**-une*
castle-EZ splendid-EZ much nice-INDF have.PRS-3PL
"They have a splendid castle." (Lecoq 1979: 153, sentence 32)

(60) *mē* *halvā* ***dār**-ī*
1SG dessert have.PRS-1SG
"I have a sweet dessert." (Eilers 1988: 140, sentence 6)

Finally, all examples of abstract possession are encoded by "have"-verb constructions:

(61) *hiç* *ra-ī* *ham* *na-**dar**-e*
no way-INDF too NEG-have.PRS-3SG
"He has no option neither."

(62) *me* *ye* *hilegari* ***dār**-i*
1SG a trick have.PRS-1SG
"I have a trick." (Lecoq 1979: 152, sentence 21)

(63) *çiçi* ***dār**-i?*
what have.PRS-2SG
"What do you have?"

As can be seen, Sivandi and Garrusi are somewhat different in the extent to which the existential construction establishes the possessive relation, with Sivandi loosely employing the latter construction for alienable possession. On the whole, these two languages clearly demonstrate instances of possession split triggered by the nature of the possessive relation, roughly corresponding to the inalienability–alienability distinction.

The possession split seen in these two languages is not rare cross-linguistically. For example, Aikhenvald (2013: 33) reports that in Jarawara (Arawan; Brazil), the "have"-verb is solely used with instances of alienably possessed nouns, while the copula or the existential clause is used for the expression of kinship relations.[11] The situation thus resembles that of Sivandi and Garrusi seen here. Aikhenvald (2013: 33) adds that the pattern attested in the use of alternative constructions for marking possession with the verb points to the association of verb-less clauses and copula clauses with the "be"-verb vs. more transitive clauses with the "have"-verb. This asymmetry is explained by the cross-linguistic tendency to associate "have" with "less intimate", "less stable" and "more alienable possession", while copula clauses and verb-less clauses are basically used for

11 See Stolz et al. (2008) for a detailed account of possession splits in some European languages, e.g. Icelandic, in which "have" and "be" verbs are used in establishing different possessive notions.

expressing "time-stable relationships". As can be seen, Garrusi and Sivandi conform to this tendency.

4.4 Domains of "experience" and "attribution"

The domains of "experience" and "attribution" are conceptually close to possessive relations, as discussed in Section 1. Recall that "experience" here refers to the expression of "physical sensations" as "being cold, warm, thirsty, hungry", and "attribution" is limited to the expression of "age". The question arises whether the encoding of these domains is similar to that of core possessive meanings. The answer is yes. To start with "be"-possessive languages, the domains of "experience" (64)–(66) and "attribution" (67)–(68) are marked by the same "be"-verb used in PPCs.

(64) s*armā=yš-yat=ī*
cold=ADD-COP.3SG=3SG
"He is cold as well." (Central Kurdish)

(65) *te* *sar-**e**?*
2SG.OBL cold-COP.3SG
"Are you cold?" (Kurmanji; Bedir Khan and Lescot 1970: 330)

(66) *tešna* *šu=**en***
thirsty 3PL=COP.3SG
"They are thirsty." (Nodani)

(67) *pos=et=eš* *čan* *sāl-**ā**?*
boy=2SG=3SG how.many year-COP.3SG
'How old is your son? (Davani)

(68) *pos=et* *čan* *sāl=eš-**en***
boy.DEF=2SG how.many year=3SG-COP.3SG
'How old is your son? (Behbahani)

Interestingly, the default pattern for "have"-verb languages is also to use the existential stem in marking the domains of "experience" and "attribution". In a way, then, these languages exhibit a split in marking possessive notions and the closely related domains of "experience" and "attribution". Examples of "physical sensations" encoded by the older "be"-verb are presented below:

(69) *sārmā=m-**ā***
cold=1SG-COP.3SG
"I"m cold.' (Yazdi Zoroastrian)

(70) *gwisna-**(a)s**=ī* *tišna-**(a)s**=ī*
hungry-COP.3SG=3SG thirsty-COP.3SG=3SG
"She is hungry (and) thirsty" (Laki Harsini; Belelli 2016: 172, sentence 13)

(71) *az* *gošne=m-**a***
1SG.DIR hungry=1SG-COP
"I am hungry." (Chali)

For the expression of "age" on the other hand, two patterns are attested; the majority of "have"-languages use the older copula stem to encode the PR:

(72) *Minā* *dah* *sāl=eš-**e***
PN ten year=3SG-COP.3SG
"Mina is ten years old." (Persian)

(73) *por=i* *čan* *sāl=eš-**e**?*
son=2SG how.many year=3SG-COP.3SG
"How old is your son?" (Chali)

(74) *čeme* *fel* *davāzda* *sāl=eš-**e***
1SG.OBL son twelve year=3SG-COP
"My son is twelve years old." (Takestani)

(75) *si* *sāl=em* ***bo***
thirty year=1SG COP.PST
"I was thirty years old." (Meymei)

However, among "have"-verb languages, Semnani (76) and Gilaki (77) extend the "have"-verb to the domain of attribution, and as a result mark the latter as a normal transitive construction.

(76) *ta* *pir* *čon* *sāl-i* ***dār**-e?*
2SG.OBL son how.many year-OBL have.PRS-3SG
'How old is your son?

(77) *haf* *sål* ***dar**-e*
seven year have.PRS-3SG
"He is seven years old." (Gilaki; Rastorgueva et al. 2012: 54)

Overall, the typical pattern for both "be"-verb and "have"-verb languages is to use the copula construction for encoding the domains of "experience" and "attribution". This construction is actually the same as the one used for establishing possessive relations in "be"-possessive languages, suggesting that the latter are uniform in encoding possessive meanings and the closely related domains of "experience" and "attribution". For "have"-verb languages, the use of the copula stem for encoding the domains of "age" and experience' suggests that "have" has not completely superseded the domain of usage of the older "be"-verb.

Finally, the existential constructions of a few languages suggest that the syntactic structure associated with "be"-possessives is used as a reference for establishing an existential construction, confirming further the possible derivation of existential constructions from the related domain of "possession" (see Heine 1997).

(78) ***has***=*eyān*
exist.PRS=3PL
"Are they (there)?" (Southern Kurdish; Ilam dialect)

(79) *boč-ā=t* ***nis***=*šu* *xo*
child-PL=2SG NEG.COP.PRS=3PL INTJ
"Your children are not (around)." (Delvari)

5 Areal distribution of the predicative possessive subtypes

In Section (3) we classified the WILs according to the type of possessive constructions they have into three groups: (i) "be"-possessives; (ii) "have"-possessives; (iii) both "be"-verb and "have"-verb occur depending on the nature of the possessive relation. It was argued that "be"-possessives go back to Old Iranian, and ultimately to Indo-European, hence they are more archaic than "have"-verb possessives. On the other hand, the earliest attestation of "have" goes back to the Middle Iranian period, where it had preserved to some degree its original meaning "hold, keep". Figure 2 illustrates the distribution of "be"-possessives and "have"-possessives.

Among the languages studied, 22 establish the possessive relation with a regular "have"-verb (languages coloured in red). On the other hand, 19 languages (marked in green) use the existential stem as a possessive marker.[12] Finally, two languages use both constructions. A look at the map suggests that the PPCs of Western Iranian are more or less areally distributed: languages with the "be"-possessive are mostly placed at the northwestern and southwestern peripheries of WILs, areas where one can also come across neighbouring non-Iranian "be"-languages, e.g. Azeri and Turkish in the north, and the Semitic languages Aramaic and Arabic to the west and southwest. On the other hand, languages with "have"-possessives are found at the centre and north of the investigated languages. Transitional languages with both "be" and "have" are located at the border of the "be"-possessive and "have"-possessive languages.

12 Contrary to "have"-possessive languages, *dâr* as a verb stem does not occur in "be"-possessive languages.

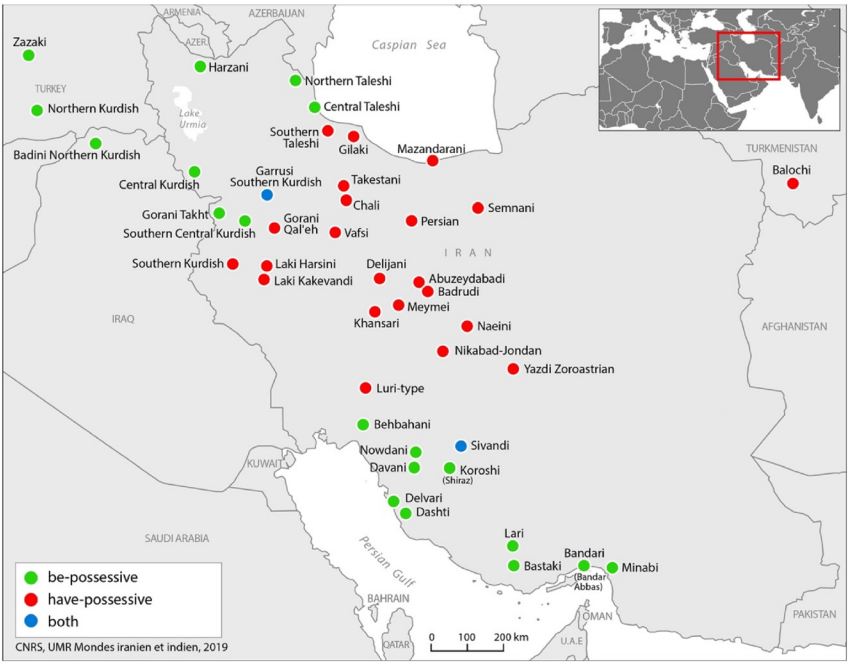

Figure 2: Predicative possessive constructions across Western Iranian languages.

In addition, the map illustrates that the "areal effect" is more revealing in the distribution of "be"-and "have"-possessives than the "variety membership". For instance, Southern Taleshi is distinct from Central and Northern Taleshi in adopting the "have" strategy. The same can be said for Southern Kurdish among the Kurdish varieties, and for Gorani Qal'eh, a language island spoken far from the centre of the Gorani speech zone in the border region between Iran and Iraq.[13]

The question remains as to why a good number of languages have adopted a regular "have"-verb for establishing the possessive relation. The answer to this question is quite difficult since, except for Persian, there is no known historical record for the other languages. Notice that these languages are related; in other words, we may be dealing with independent parallel developments of *dār* as a possessive verb. These languages, therefore, may have followed the same path as that of Persian, that is the verb meaning "have" was derived from the original meaning "to hold, keep" in some period

13 Likewise, Stilo (2018) mentions that some dialects of Central Tati, e.g. Kajali, are classified as "be"-possessive while others are "have"-possessive.

corresponding to that of Middle Iranian. Under this hypothesis, we assume that "have" replaced the original "be"-verb, in some period corresponding approximately to (late) Middle Iranian.

Another explanation could be that the languages spoken in the centre and in the north have long been under contact influence from Persian as the official language: this influence has possibly been greater here than on the peripheral "be"-languages. It is thus possible that through contact with Persian these languages have adopted the "have" strategy' (i.e. as opposed to the "be" languages).[14] However, if it was only contact pressure, one might have expected a possessive to develop from a cognate of *gereftan* "to take", which is present in nearly all of WILs. This, however, as far as is known, has not been attested. That brings us back to the first hypothesis. The development of a "have"-possessive seems to be reliant on the presence of a specific verb lexeme in the lexicon. It is of course possible that the verb itself is borrowed from Persian, but this is unlikely, as there is irregularity in the cognates of "have" (*dir*, *dar*, *dēr*) in other "have"-languages. Thus, the development seems to be contingent on quite a specific feature of the lexicon. In any case, the introduction of "have" as a possessive verb is unlikely to be related to a reanalysis of "be", as assumed in the literature (Stassen 2009: ch. 6); rather, as said, "have" was introduced into the grammar through the grammaticalization of the verb meaning "hold, keep".

Finally, transitional languages give support to a direction of change from "be"-languages to that of "have"-languages. This change apparently happened gradually and affected first some subdomains of possession (i.e. abstract and alienable possession). The possession split along alienability lines is so far the last stage of development.[15] It is expected that eventually the inalienable possession will also be affected by the shift from "be" to "have".

14 Note that the majority of "have"-verb languages in Figure 2 are not close to Persian in terms of Iranian dialectology. Persian itself is assumed to have originated in the southwest of Iran, and a member of southwest Iranian languages. Most of the languages coloured in red are rather traditionally classified as members of the northwestern sub-branch of Western Iranian languages.

15 Data from the Gorani dialect of Gawraju spoken in western Iran in an area where Southern Kurdish (with "have" as the predicate) is the main vernacular, provides further support for the direction of change from "be" to "have". Here, the language is basically "be"-possessive, but one instance of "have" was attested for encoding a body-part relation (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 71, sentence 60).

6 "Have" and "be" as markers of abstract grammatical meanings

It is common for predicative possessive constructions to give rise to more abstract grammatical meanings, e.g. aspect and tense (Heine 1997: ch. 4; Kuteva et al. 2019). One oft-cited example is the use of "have" in English as an auxiliary for the perfect tense (e.g. *he has gone*), and also in expressing deontic modality (*John has to go*).

The Iranian languages under investigation here are no exception to this general tendency. Davari and Naghzguy-Kohan (2017) report that in Persian the lexical verb *dāštan* "have" has developed into a marker of progressive aspect, as in (80), and now expresses more fine-grained aspectual distinctions, such as prospective aspect, as in (81):

(80) *dār-am* *mi-nevis-am*
PROG-1SG IND-write.PRS-1SG
"I am writing."
(Davari and Naghzguy-Kohan 2017: 164, glossing modified)

(81) *dār-e* *mi-mir-e*
PROSP-3SG IND-die.PRS-3SG
"He is about to die."
(Davari and Naghzguy-Kohan 2017: 183, glossing modified)

Indeed, "have" has developed into an auxiliary, marking progressive aspect in the rest of the "have"-possessive languages as well.[16] Examples are seen in (82)–(83), where the auxiliary does not agree with the subject, while it does so in (84)–(85):

(82) *se* *tā* *por* ***dār*** *hume-ynde*
three CLF boy AUX come.PST-3PL
"Three boys were coming." (Jondun)

(83) *por-e* *ji* *swār* *çarx* *bā* ***dār*** *hüme*
boy-DEF too rider bicycle COP.PST AUX come.PST.3SG
'The boy was on the bicycle, and was coming (toward the tree) (Badrudi)

(84) ***dard=eš*** *ma-šā*
AUX.PST=3SG IPFV-go.PST.3SG
"He was going away." (Semnani)

16 Note, however, that in the Caspian dialects of Gilaki and Mazandarani the auxiliary *dar*, marker of progressive aspect, is apparently derived for the locative copula *dar* (Vafaeian 2018; see also Stilo 2018).

(85) *mā=š* ***dard=eš*** *nun=eš* *a-pat*
mom=3SG AUX.PST=3SG bread=3SG IPFV-bake.PST
"His mother was baking bread." (Delijani)

On the other hand, a trace of an older copula, itself deriving from the existential stem (see above), is identifiable in the formation of different TAM distinctions in both "be"-verb and "have"-verb languages. Most notably, the copula is used in the formation of the perfect tense, as in the following pair:

(86) a. *bird-ū=mān-**a***
take.PST-PTCP=1SG-COP.3SG
"We have taken."
b. *bird-**bū**=mān*
take.PST-COP.PST=1PL
"We had taken." (Central Kurdish)

7 Conclusions

The aim of this paper was to investigate the predicative possessive constructions of the Western Iranian languages. These languages were found to be divided, with respect to these constructions, into two main types: (i) "be"-verb, and (ii) "have"-verb. "Be"-verb languages use an existential/copular verb for establishing the possessive relation. This irregular verb triggers non-canonical marking of the PR participant as an oblique argument, and gives rise to three source schemas from which predicative possessive constructions with "be" as the main predicate have arisen: these sources schemas are the topic schema, the genitive schema, and the goal schema, each of which is accountable for the range of PPCs in a subset of "be"-possessive languages.

On the other hand, "have"-verb languages use the regular verb "have" (*dār-*, *dāšt*, and its cognates) as the relator in predicative possessive constructions. The verb "have" was argued to be derived from the verb meaning "hold, keep" in the Old Iranian period through the "action schema". "Have" in Iranian is a regular verb, which assigns the grammatical subject role to the PR and the grammatical object role to the PE. It was further shown that "have" did not supersede "be" in all the domains relevant to possession; the older "be"-construction still marks the domains of "age" and "physical sensations".

A less frequent type of Western Iranian languages was shown to be those with possession split. Here, the more archaic "be"-verb strategy and the less archaic "have"-verb strategy co-exist in the grammar. This state of affairs occurs in Garrusi and Sivandi, in both of which the "be"-verb establishes instances of alienable possession

with a more inherent and quite close relationship between the PR and the PE, while the "have"-verb encodes alienable possession and all instances of abstract possession.

In terms of areal extension, "be"-possessive languages are mainly found at the peripheries of the western Iranian language area, while "have"-possessive languages located in more central and northern zones have adopted "have"-verb, possibly through independent parallel developments. Finally, languages have grammaticalized the possessive verbs of "have" and "be" for the formation of some TAM distinctions.

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative
ADD	additive
ADV	adverb
CLF	classifier
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DIR	direct
EZ	ezafeh
F	feminine
GEN	genitive
IND	indicative
INDF	indefinite
INTJ	interjection
INTR	intransitive
IPFV	imperfective
M	masculine
MID	middle
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative
OBL	oblique
PL	plural
PN	proper noun
PRS	present
PST	past
PTC	particle
PTCP	participle
PUNCT	punctual
SG	singular

Acknowledgement: A first version of this paper was presented at the 52nd annual meeting of Societas Linguistica Europaea in Leipzig, 2019. I thank the audience for their comments and criticisms. I am especially indebted to Geoffrey Haig for his rich feedback on the earlier versions of this paper. In addition, the reviewers' and editors' comments were very insightful and greatly improved the paper. Last but not least, I am grateful to Emmanuel Giraudet from the research group 'Monde Iranien et indien', for the creation of maps. Any remaining shortcomings are, of course, my sole responsibility.

Funding: This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No. 665850.

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