An unusual grammaticalization path of future tenses in Vedic Sanskrit and some modern Hindu Kush languages

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Vedic Sanskrit (more specifically the language of late Vedic prose texts) has developed a future tense from a periphrastic construction consisting of an agent noun in $-t\acute{a}r$ - and an inflected form of the copula (cf. Tichy 1992, Lowe 2017). This construction exhibits grammaticalization effects in showing verbal agreement and a wider range of possible lexical inputs than the agent noun by itself (cf. Tichy 1992: 335–336).

A development of future tense from agent nouns has so far not been taken into account in typological studies on source constructions of future tenses. It is, for example, entirely absent from the possible "pathways to future" presented by Bybee et al. (1994: 251–254), though attention was drawn to the Vedic construction in a recent workshop presentation by Keydana (2018).

In an independent grammaticalization process, some languages of the Nuristani group of Indo-Iranian (spoken in the Hindu Kush mountains of Eastern Afghanistan and Pakistan) have also developed future tenses from an agent noun in -ala (m.) / -ali (f.) (cf. Degener 1998: 63; Tāza 2017: 37, 44; Grjunberg 1980: 210, 234–235; Morgenstierne 1929: 214, 217). On the grounds of historical phonology, this formation was likely borrowed from neighboring Indo-Aryan (Dardic) languages and in turn probably derived from an extension of the same Old Indo-Aryan agent noun in -tár- (viz. -tr-aka-) that was grammaticalized in Vedic.

<Agent noun + copula> thus is a recurring pattern of future grammaticalization and should be taken into account in a general theory of grammaticalization of future tenses.

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