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Titel: Multicomponent analytical predicates in Tuvan

Autor: Shamina , Ludmila A.

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Kontakt/Contact

Digizeitschriften e.V.
SUB Göttingen
Platz der Göttinger Sieben 1
37073 Göttingen

✉ info@digizeitschriften.de

Multicomponent analytical predicates in Tuvan

Ludmila A. Shamina

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In Turkic languages, a predicate can be expressed by structurally and functionally diverse groups of grammatically closely joined word forms constituting an analytical construction. Two-, three-, and even four-component predicates regularly occur in Tuvan. The components of these formations are forms of auxiliary verbs and infinite forms (converbs, participles and infinitives) of lexical verbs. The auxiliary component can also be expressed by the nominal predicates of existence (*bar* 'existent' and *čooq* 'non-existent') or by particles.

In the present article, we deal with Tuvan constructions consisting of a lexical verb in the converb form $-(X)p$ and an auxiliary verb in a finite form. In Turcology, such combinations are called "compound verbs", "biverbal constructions", "postverbal constructions", etc. Here, they are dealt with as analytical predicates. Their structure and function are analyzed according to several parameters: (1) the number of components, (2) the lexico-grammatical and grammatical characteristics of the components, and (3) their semantics.

L. A. Shamina, Institute for Philology, Siberian Branch of the RAS, Department of Native Siberian Languages, Novosibirsk, Russia.

A preliminary analysis of Tuvan predicates shows that their forms as well as their specific grammatical meanings are extremely diverse. The terms used in linguistic literature are not sufficient to describe these diverse forms. The wide spectrum of structural forms of predicates involves functional diversity. Multicomponent predicates consist of two, three, or more word forms of different grammatical nature, each one contributing its own function as part of the whole.

The first component of these predicates always expresses the main lexical meaning of the whole, while the subsequent components express lexico-grammatical meanings, in particular, actional (Aktionsart), modal, and some other characteristics. Analytical multicomponent forms also convey phase meanings of the initiation and termination of an action. These are expressed by the "complex verb" construction. They represent a different type since they contain a phase verb retaining its semantics.

The class of analytical multicomponent predicates encompasses several functional types of predicates, each of which is represented by a certain set of structural forms which may belong to several structural types.

The following functional types are expressed in Tuvan by means of analytical predicates.

1. The actional (Aktionsart) type

This type is composed of values of various modes of action expressed by so-called “complex verbs”. Structurally, the complex verbs are combinations of simple converbs (-*p*, -*a*) or the negative adverbial participle -*bain* with auxiliary verbs.

One task is to define the precise semantic content of each form and to analyze its systematic relationship with other similar forms. In what situations, and for what reason does a speaker choose a given form? In addition to the two-component constructions called complex verbs, various three-component constructions with two adverbial participles preceding the finite form participate in expressions of this type, conveying more complicated and delicate meanings. In these chains the first component itself may be a complex verb. These constructions appear as structural and semantic combinations of binary constructions, for example:

- (1) *Amīdirap čüglä äŋ-nä kaŋ-kadık,*
kadık-bärtkä ūdamık kižilärni šilip ap arttīrip algan.
 ‘Life has selected only absolutely healthy and difficulty-hardened persons.’

Here *šilip* means ‘choose’ and *arttīrip* means ‘retain’. Literally, ‘having chosen it, it retains = selects’. This is a four-component construction.

- (2) *Däŋ čirīn dolgandir üzüüt-xovagannar užup čorup turgannar.*
 ‘Night butterflies flew around the lamp.’
- (3) *A’t mannar čoruy bargan.*
 ‘The horse ran away.’
- (4) *Xäp däär orbak samdar čüvälärimni dürgän-nä kädip algaš,*
avamnīŋ čanīnga čügürüp čädä bārgän.
 ‘I quickly put on the tatters which they called clothes and set off running to my mother.’

2. The phase type

A predicate containing phase components principally may be a verb or a noun. As regards verbal predicates, the phase components may be found in both simple and analytical predicates.

The simple predicate may contain a phase component. This type includes analytical constructions whose first component is the -*p* converb and whose second component is a phase verb: *egele-* ‘to begin’; *soksaar-* ‘to stop’. For example:

(5) *čugaanī bayīr čādiriškinindān āgālāār*
 ‘to begin a speech with greeting’

(6) *Ča’s soksaan.*
 ‘The rain stopped.’

The predicate may be expressed by a simple verb, but in examples of the type *tudup āgālāār* ‘to begin to build’, *čirip āgālāār* ‘began to dawn’ it is expressed by a complex verb.

The predicate expressed by a complex verb permits a phase component if it expresses an imperfective continuous action or state. These are analytical lexico-grammatical constructions with one of the four verbs *tur-*, *olur*, *čüt-*, and *čor-* as the first auxiliary component and with the phase verb as the second component. The component preceding the phase verb takes the *-p* converb.

3. The temporal type

This type encompasses multicomponent forms of predicates expressing localization of an action or a state in time. Traditionally, these forms are not included in the tense categories.

Temporal meanings of this type are expressed, first of all, by various “periphrastic” or “descriptive” forms of predicate verbs, composed of participial forms of the lexical verb, in combination with certain tense forms of auxiliary verbs, namely *bol-*, the defective verb *e-* ‘be’ and the verbs of state *tur-* ‘stand’, *čüt-* ‘lie’. For example:

(7) *Xäy-lä oon-bilä margišpas turgan men.*
 ‘I really should not have argued with him.’

(8) *Xäymär-oolga šagda čüglä kara karaktar taaržir čoraan.*
 ‘Very long ago Xäymär-ool liked only black eyes.’

4. The modal type

The modal constructions are analytical predicate constructions which express meanings of potentiality and irreality.

Unlike Russian, Tuvan has very few modal words. The main expression of subjective modality is a predicate of an analytical type.

The modal particles are numerous and frequent, though they differ from the Russian particles in a number of important ways.

The Russian modal particles function as parenthetical words which belong to a sentence, but not as “sentence parts”. Their position in the sentence is relatively free; they may move to refer to parts of the sentence or the sentence as a whole. The Tuvan modal particles may be inserted into the predicate as an analytical component. They often assume personal markers, which demonstrates their predicative nature.

Semantically, the particles carry both modal and expressive meanings. It is quite usual that one particle has both modal and expressive meanings simultaneously.

The essentially modal analytical forms of predicates are forms that express the following meanings:

A. Potential action:

(a) An action that the subject intends to carry out in the near future:

- (9) *Ool-āštāringā čādārīn kīzīp turar.*
'The boy is trying to catch up with his friends.'

(b) An action which the subject is going to carry out or wants to carry out in the near or relatively far future:

- (10) *Mašina sadīp salīr dāp tur men.*
'I am going to buy a car.'

(c) An action which the subject is not going to carry out (negated forms):

- (11) *Men īnaar baarīn čūū-daa dāp bodavas mām.*
'I think I am not going to go there.'

(d) An action which seems possible to carry out, depending on various degrees of probability:

- (12) *Sāni dāāš, čāčākti kayīn-daa tīp ākkāp bolur mām.*
'For you, I can find flowers anywhere.'

- (13) *Sān ōōrānīp šīdaar īškažīl sen.*
'That means you can learn.'

- (14) *Ānik īt artap kirā albas.*
'The puppy cannot step over.'

(e) An action which should / should not occur:

- (15) *Ol ākzamānni čādīīškinīg dužaar xūlālgālig.*
'He has to succeed in passing the exam.'

(f) An action which is, or is not permitted to take place:

- (16) *Artīk sōs sōglādir āvāstār.*
'No extra word is permitted to be said.'

In the expression of these meanings, the first component usually is the future participle. Its function in Tuvan is analogous to that of the infinitive in Altay, Shor, and Khakas.

B. Unreal action: This form of expression is used to inform the addressee that the action is to be considered as imagined rather than having happened or likely to happen in the future. For example:

- (17) *Saktirimga daštin xavazī-bilä kadī sälgüüstäp turgan-daa iškaš.*
'It appeared as if he walked outside together with his puppy.'

There are also analytical constructions relating to social space and expressing in whose interests and to whose favor the action is taken, i.e. whether it is directed towards the benefit of the speaker itself or towards the benefit of another person. For example:

- (18) *Däädigän bāzin bo-la sägirip alir.*
'The hawk also often seizes (its prey).'
- (19) *Avam uruglarinčä xalip käl čidir.*
'My mother is running to her children.'

5. The expressive-evaluative type

This type is represented by several constructions: (a) constructions of nominal predicates in the accusative form and (b) constructions with a participle having personal markers of the possessive type and with the demonstrative pronouns *ol* or *bu* as the final form.

6. The negative type

The main way of expressing verbal negation in Tuvan is by using the suffix *-ba*, which occupies the position in front of the tense-mood marker. The negation of presence is expressed by *čoq*. The negation of a predicative marker is expressed with the particle *eves*.

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