Werk

Titel: Actionality operators in Uyghur

Autor: Rentzsch, Julian

Ort: Wiesbaden

Jahr: 2006

PURL: https://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?666048797_0010|LOG_0031

Kontakt/Contact

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

info@digizeitschriften.de

verb, e.g. *oqu-* 'to read' [–t, +dyn]; *kitap oqu-* 'to read in a book' [–t, +dyn] +LIM → *kitapni oqu-* 'to read the book' [+tf, –mom]. Serialization can be accomplished among other things by employing certain satellites signalling frequency, e.g. *kitapni oqu-* 'to read the book' [+tf, –mom] +SER → *yil mu yil kitapni oqu-* 'to read the book every year' [–t, +dyn]. Homogenization is triggered by various items like e.g. the potential suffix *ElE-*: *kitapni oquyala-* 'to be able to read the book' [–t, –dyn].

A phenomenon which has to be mentioned in this context is recategorization by means of systematical suppression or highlighting of the transformative phase of a given initio-transformative verb. For example, *oltur-* is a [+ti] verb which means 'to sit down' and 'to sit'. If a 'goal' in the DAT is mentioned, the actional phrase undergoes a process of limitation and becomes fini-transformative: *beŋdiŋge oltur-* 'to sit down on a bench' [+tf]. If a 'place' in the LOC is mentioned, the actional phrase is homogenized and becomes non-transformative: *beŋdiŋde oltur-* 'to sit on a bench' [–t, –dyn] (see also Johanson 1971: 214-219).

4. Grammaticalization

As mentioned before, productive actionality operators comprise unanalysable suffixes, analysable postverbial items as well as nominal constructions. The most typical morphological structure of actionality operators is the *postverbial* construction, which may develop into phonetically reduced suffixes in diachrony. Postverbial constructions usually[3] consist of a converbial word form and a postponed verb stem. The semantics of the latter stem is de-lexicalized and carries grammatical functions. The syntactic construction can be illustrated as <VERB STEM:CV + AUXILIARY STEM>.

The semantic path of grammaticalization of postverbial elements can be sketched as follows:

(A) Syndetic connection of independent verbs

(B) Modification of the succeeding verb

(C) Modification of the preceding verb (partial loss of the original semantics of the postponed verb)

(D) Signalization of purely actional values (complete loss of the original semantics of the postponed verb)

(E) Signalization of aspectual values.

Semantic processes like these may be accompanied by a process of *morphological reduction*. Periphrastic items gradually fuse to unanalysable suffixes. The starting point for the process of fusion is a change in intonation as recorded by Imart (1981: 1599) in the Kirghiz sentences *Men kitep oqup # turdum* 'I read a book and stood up' vs. *Men kitep oqup turdum* 'I was reading in a book for a while' (Imart 1981: 1747). A more reduced item *IptIr* (< *Ip turur*) originating from the same postverbial combi-

[3] For another construction type (two succeeding finite word forms), see Demir 1993: 40-52. This type is irrelevant to Uyghur.

nation renders a high focal postterminal: *Men kitep oqupturmun* 'I have read a book' (cf. Imart 1981: 1827).

The morphological process of fusion and reduction is optional during certain stages of semantic development, i.e. grammaticalization processes need not neccessarily be paralleled by formal reduction (Bisang 2004). E.g., the fused Uyghur participle *Ivatqan* (< *Ip yatqan*) [+INTRA^{+FOC}] signals a similar value like the non-fused Kirghiz item *E ǰatqan* (< *E yatqan*) [+INTRA^{+FOC}]. On the other hand, one given item may signal various values without any morphological variation, the correct meaning being activated exclusively by the context. Plurifunctional items may display various discrete values or a continuum of scalar values.

Examples for Uyghur stage E items resulting from fusions are **Ip yata turur* > *Ip yatadur* > *Ivatidu* and *E turɣan* > *E durɣan* > *Ediɣan*. An example for a fused stage D item is *Ip al-* > *Ival-*.

Postverbial constructions may render lexical amalgams. Turkish has a verb *alıko(y)-* 'to detain' (stage D) building on a converbial form of *al-* 'to take' and a postverbial segment *ko(y)-* 'to put' which is restricted to this unique combination. There is no productive actionality operator *Iko(y)-* in standard Turkish. Uyghur has lexically amalgamized stage C verbs like *ekel-* 'to bring hither' (< *alïp kel-* 'to take and come'), *eket-* 'to take away' (< *alïp ket-* 'to take and go away') and *appar-* 'to bring thither' (< *alïp bar-* 'to take and go to some place'). Items with different degrees of fusion may co-exist simultaneously even with virtually the same meaning. For example, less fused variants of *ekel-* and *appar-*, viz *ėpkel-* (< *alïp kel-*) and *ėpbar-* (< *alïp bar-*) are encountered in some standard Uyghur texts:

(1) *Rosiye emeldarliri qėčip kelgen bu kišilerni boz yer özleštürüš üčün mušu yerge ėpkėlip orunlašturuptu.*
'The Russian officials had brought the refugees to this place in order to cultivate the wasteland.' (Šehidi 1986: 1)

(2) *Üč ayliq tetil tügigendin kėyin, dadam mėni davamliq oqutuš üčün özi Qazanɣa ėpbėrip qoydi.*
'After three months of holidays, my father himself brought me to Kazan in order to continue the lectures.' (Šehidi 1986: 4)

Formal variants like these may or may not result from diatopical variation.

In diachrony, identical or similar structures can be re-grammaticalized in a kind of cyclical grammaticalization, e.g. *Ip turur* > *Iptur* > *Iptu* [+POST^{HF}] on the one hand and *Ip tur-* [+dur] on the other, both items building on the converb *Ip* and the postverbial segment *tur-* 'to stand'.

5. Actionality operators in Uyghur

What follows is a list of the actionality operators I could identify so far in written standard Uyghur. All items are supplemented by an explanation of the function as far

as I could establish it from the occurrences encountered. Each function identified is illustrated by at least one example. Remarks will be added in case a given operator displays rules with respect to the syntactic and semantic structure of the operandum (transitivity, intransitivity; volitionality, non-volitionality) or to the combination with aspectual items. Glosses are put into pointed brackets <...> and refer to the word forms or combinations immediately in front of them. They might not explain everything but still should be helpful for readers not familiar with Uyghur.

The items are ordered along the following parameters:

1. Fused, i.e. synchronically unanalysable items vs. non-fused, i.e. analysable ones,
2. Alphabetical order.

Note that with non-fused items, there is always an alternative possibility of interpretation according to the lexical meaning of the postponed verb (stages A and B). In this contribution, only examples will be quoted which strongly suggest a grammatical function. Morphemes of postverbial origin that do not primarily signal actional values, e.g. aspectual items or the potential *ElE-* < *E al-*, are ignored here.[4]

Ival-

Morphological structure: *Ip* + *al-* 'to take' [+tf, –mom]

Function: Carrying out the actional content to one's own benefit or with respect to oneself (subjective version[5]).

Examples:

(3) *Künlerdin bir küni dadisi Mis bašni yene qičqirivalidu.* <call:Ival.INTRA^{LF}.3>
'One day, the father summoned Copperhead again.' (UFA 200).

(4) *Yamγur yaγqanda, yamγur sulirini yiγivalimiz.* <collect:Ival.INTRA^{LF}.1P>
'When it rains, we collect rain water.' (Turdi 1999: 408-409).

(5) *Sözlivalsun.* <talk:Ival.IMP.3>
'Let her talk! (i.e. May she talk to her own satisfaction.)'
(Abduveli 2001: 532-533)

Iver-

Morphological structure: Might build on *E* + *ber-* 'to give' [+tf, –mom] or on *E* + *yiber-* or *Ip* + *yiber-* 'to send' [+tf, –mom]. The semantics of this item resembles Uzbek *Ip* + *yubår-* 'to send'. However, the standard Uyghur verb for 'to send' is

[4] Note that even the potential bears implications for the actional structure of a phrase in that it usually renders phrases with the IPS [–t, –dyn]. However, this implication is a secondary effect of a completely different grammatical function.

[5] For a very instructive definition of the term *version* with examples from Georgian, see Christophe 2004: 41-44.

evet- (cf. next entry). In Uyghur dialects, variants of the verb denoting 'to send' are recorded as *(y)iber-*, *(y)iver-*, *ever-* etc. (Jarring 1964: 137); therefore, etymologizing this morpheme as *E/Ip + yiber-* seems possible.

Turkish has a homophonous actionality operator *Iver-* with similar meanings, which grammars of Turkish usually etymologize as *I + ver-* 'to give' (Brendemoen & Hovdhaugen 1992: 171; Ersen-Rasch 2001: 257; Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 79, 157; Kononov 1956: 209-210; Lewis 1967: 191). However, it has to be stated that the etymology of this item is by no means secure.

Function:

1. Carrying out the actional content spontaneously or casually (6).
2. Carrying out the actional content quickly (7).

Examples:

(6) *Men bügün nahayiti aldiraš, birer iš bilen kelgen ademler bolsa, özüŋ bir terep qiliver.* <make:Iver.IMP.2S>
'I am extremely busy today; if somebody comes on a certain matter, simply decide on your own.' (Ilyas 1998: 54)

(7) *Vaqit xuddi mėni qoɣliɣandek ötüvergečke* <pass:Iver.CV>, *mėŋemge kirivalɣan azablirimni hazirče untudum.*
'As time was passing as if it was hunting me, I forgot the anguish in my head for the time being.' (Abduveli 2001: 135-136)

Ivet-

Morphological structure: Might built on *Ip + et-* 'to make, to do, to close' (for the meanings, see Clauson 1972: 36; Jarring 1964: 100; UTIL 1: 231-232) or *Ip + evet-* 'to send' [+tf, –mom]. Due to its semantic resemblance to Uzbek *Ip + yubår-* 'to send', the second possibility seems more plausible (this view is supported by Nadzhip 1971: 108 and Friederich 2002: 161; cf. the discussion in Tömür 1987: 408-409).

Functions:

1. Carrying out the actional content forcefully or abruptly (8-11).
2. Carrying out the actional content rapidly (12-15).
3. Carrying out the actional content casually (16-18).
4. Carrying out the actional content totally (19). In this function, the resulting actional phrase is [+tf].

As will be obvious from the examples, functions 1-3 are not always strictly distinct.

Examples:

(8) *Apaq Xoǰiniŋ pičaqči sopiliri bu yerge kiridiɣan su menbesini üzüvetkenidi.* <break:Ivet.POST^{LF}.PAST.3>
'Afak Hoja's knifer sufis had interrupted the water spring that entered the area.' (Turdi 2002: 117)

(9) *Ularniŋ quliqi tüvide kötürülgen bu tuyuqsiz avaz Hėlimšaniŋ gėpini üzüvetti.* <eak:Ivet.NEUT.3>
'The sudden noise arising below their ears interrupted Halim Shah's words.'
(Turdi 1999: 120)

(10) *Teqdir bu ikkiylenni qanče tėz učrašturγan bolsa šunče tėzla ayrivetti.* <separate:Ivet.NEUT.3>
'As quickly as destiny had united these two, it had separated them again.'
(Yünüs 1989: 570)

(11) *Böre üzümni bek köp yevetkečke* <eat:Ivet.CV> *tamdin zadila sekrep čiqip kėtelmeptu.*
'As the wolf had devoured very many grapes, it could by no means jump across the wall any more.' (Hašim 1981: 115)

(12) *U ikkisiniŋ mundaq qizγin mu'amilisi Heǰerniŋ keypiyatidiki bayiqi xapiliqni birdemdila untulduruvetti.* <forget:PASS.CAUS.Ivet.NEUT.3>
'The warm conduct of both of them let Hejer forget the indignation in his mind immediately.' (J̌ėlil 1989: 255)

(13) *Girde xuy yėgendin kėyin tonurniŋ aγzi ve dapxun ėčivėtilip* <open:Ivet.PASS.CV>, *otni yelpüp yėlinǰitidu.*
'When the girde[6] has become hot, one quickly opens the opening of the tandoor and the air slit and blows at the fire and makes it burn briskly.' (XJBS)

(14) *Čay yopurmiqi terkibidiki köp miqdarliq tannin kislatasi yėmekliklerdin qobul qilinidiγan aqsil bilen birikkendin kėyin üčeyniŋ lömüldišini astilitip, yėmeklik qalduqliriniŋ qorsaqta turuš vaqtini uzartivėtidu* <prolong:Ivet.INTRA^{LF}.3> *hemde qevziyet peyda qilγuči maddilarniŋ bedenge sümürülišini ašurivėtidu.* <increase:Ivet.INTRA^{LF}.3>
'After the tannic acid, which is present in the tea leaves in large quantities, has combined with the protein taken in with the food, it reduces the peristalsis of the intestines, prolonges the time the food leftovers remain in the stomach and rapidly increases the incorporation of constipating substances.' (XJBS)

(15) *U yügürüp kėtivėtip* <go:Ivet.CV> *ölgen Gomindaŋ eskiriniŋ ǰesitige yoluqti.*
'He rushed up to the corpse of the dead Guomindang soldier.' (Sabir 1999b: 436)

(16) *Vaqitni ötküzüvetmeŋlar.* <pass:CAUS.Ivet.NEG.IMP.2P>
'Don't waste your time.' (Q. Turdi 1989: 31)

[6] A round, thick kind of *nan* (bread) with a depression in the middle and sesame seed on its surface. Popular as travel provisions (XJBS; cf. Jarring 1964: 104).

(17) *Selim yiraqlarγa tikilip sözlivetkenlikinimu* <talk:Ivet.VN.POSS.3.ACC.EMP> *tuymidi.*
'Selim stared into the distance and did not even realize that he was talking to himself.' (Behram 1999: 294)

(18) *Kona quduqqa tašlivetsilimu* <throw:Ivet.COND.2.EMP> *bolγaniken.*
'It even would have been all right if you had thrown her into an old well.'
(Ilyas 1998: 232)

(19) *Qar kömüvetken* <bury:Ivet.VA> *bir top čiγ*
'A tuft of čiγ[7] reed totally covered with snow'
(Sadiq 2000: 338)

Ip baq-

Morphological structure: *Ip* + *baq-* 'to look' [–t, +dyn]

Functions:

1. Experientiality (20-22). Following Comrie's (1976: 58-59) definition of the "experiential perfect" ("The experiential perfect indicates that a given situation has held at least once during some time in the past leading up to the present."), I define experientiality as an actional modification presenting the actional content as having been valid at least once (negated: not yet) at a given point of view.

2. Attempt or venture (23-25).

This item often (but by no means obligatorily) combines with the postterminal aspect markers *GEn* and *GEn idi*.

Examples:

(20) *Siz burun xaŋda išlep baqqanmu?* <work:Ip+baq.POST^{LF}.Q>
'Did you ever work in a mine?' (Asim 2000: 33)

(21) *Sultan Xoten šehiride bundaq čirayliq hem nepis bėzelgen öyni ta hazirγiče körüp baqmiγanidi.* <see:Ip+baq.NEG.POST^{LF}.PAST.3>
'Sultan never had seen a house so beautifully and exquisitely furnished in Khotan before.' (Abduveli 2001: 394)

(22) *Čünki, ular ilgiri bundaq gep-sözlerni aŋlap baqmiγanidi.* <hear: Ip+baq.NEG.POST^{LF}.PAST.3>
'For they never had heard words like these before.' (Asim 2000: 73)

(23) *Karvandikiler šunče köp yol yürüpmu birer kėče aramxuda uxlap baqmidi.* <sleep: Ip+baq.NEG.NEUT.3>
'Although the travellers in the caravan had walked such a long way, they could not expect to sleep a single night in a carefree way.' (Turdi 1999: 121)

[7] *Arundinella nepalensis* (Jarring 1964: 70).

(24) *Bu nėmidu? – dėgen oy bilen, qolidiki tayiɣi bilen asta čoqulap baqmaqči* <pick: Ip+baq.MOD> *bolidu.*
'With the question "What is this?" in mind, he carefully ventured forward picking with the stick in his hand.' (UFA 199)

(25) *Tova, mėniŋ puštumdin Efridindek aldamčiniŋ čiqišini oylapmu baqmiɣanikenmen.* <think:Ip.EMP+baq.NEG.POST^{LF}.IND.1S>
'My, I would never even have thought that a deceiver like Efridin would emerge from my loins.' (Sabir 1999a: 76)

Ip ber-

Morphological structure: *Ip* + *ber-* 'to give' [+tf, –mom]

Function: Carrying out the actional content to sombody else's benefit or with respect to sombody else (objective version).

Examples:

(26) *Men [...] učaŋɣa kiyim qilip berdim.* <make:Ip+ber.NEUT.1S>
'I provided you with clothes.' (Asim 2000: 66)

(27) *Bu yaɣliq mėniŋ kelgenlikimniŋ rastliqini ispatlap bėridu.* <prove:Ip+ber.INTRA^{LF}3>
'This scarf will prove that it is true that I have arrived.' (Sadiq 1999: 348)

(28) *Iš heqqimizni östürüp bėriŋlar!* <grow:CAUS.Ip+ber.IMP.2P>
'Increase our wages!' (Asim 2000: 50)

Ip bol-

Morphological structure: *Ip* + *bol-* 'to become' [+tf, –mom]

Function: Makes the actional phrase fini-transformative [+tf]. May operate on transitive and intransitive verbs.

Examples:

(29) *Bir sa'ettin köprek vaqittin kėyin, čaqniŋ astidiki qumni kolap bolduq.* <dig:Ip+bol.NEUT.1P>
'After more than one hour, we had dug away the sand beneath the wheel.' (Fušin 2005)

(30) *Yėqilip bolɣan* <bake:PASS.IP+bol.VA> *nanniŋ yüzige yene su urulup tonurniŋ aɣzi him yėpilidu.*
'Water is sprinkled on the baked bread again and the opening of the tandoor is closed tight.' (XJBS)

(31) *Bügün buni öginip bolmisam* <learn:Ip+bol.NEG.COND.1S> *bolmaydu.*
'I have to finish learning this today.' (Abduveli 2001: 2)

Ip čiq-

Morphological structure: *Ip* + *čiq-* 'to go out' [+tf, –mom]

Function: Produces fini-transformative [+tf] actional phrases. This operator is intercombinable both with transitive and with intransitive verbs.

Examples:

(32) *Bir küni dukinimizγa ellik-atmiš yašlarγa kirip qalγan bestlik bir qèri kiši kèlip, birmunče kitap alγandin kèyin, maŋa sepsèlip qarap čiqip* <look:Ip+čiq.CV>, *"Maŋa sizdek bir yigit kèrek idi, birerni tonušturup bèrelemsiz?" didi.*
'One day, a tall and sturdy oldster 50 or 60 years of age entered our shop. After he had bought a few books, he looked me up and down and said: "I would need a guy like you, can you introduce one to me?"' (Šehidi 1986: 6)

(33) *Qedimqi uyγur yèziγini oqušniŋ tesligimu mušu seveptin kèlip čiqqan.* <come:Ip+čiq.POST^{LF}>
'The difficulty of reading the Old Uyghur script arises ("has come") from this very fact.' (Mutiyi 1982: 23)

(34) *Qiziq tonu baliniŋ bèšidiki čèči bilen bir qevet tèrisini köydürüp čiqqanda* <sear:Ip+čiq.CV>, *bala "Rexmet sizge!", dep öyige qaytidu.*
'When the hot tandoor had singed off the hair on his head and a layer of his scalp, the boy said "Thank you!" and went back home.' (UFA 200)

(35) *Xudayim buyrusa Erkin katta bir adem bolup čiqidiγan* <become:Ip+čiq.VA> *oxšaydu balam.*
'God willing, it seems that Erkin will become a great man, my child.'
(Asim 2000: 316-317)

Ip čüš-

Morphological structure: *Ip* + *čüš-* 'to fall, to descend' [+tf, –mom][8]

Function: Adds a shade of destructivity or deterioration to the action. Occurs rather infrequently, sometimes with a meaning close to the main verb (36), but also purely grammatical as in (37), where it combines with a transitive verb.

Examples:

(36) *Pašayim pelempeydin čüšüvatqanda kimdur birsi Pašayimniŋ putini qattiq dessivalγanliqtin sentürülüp kètip yiqilip čüškili* <fall:Ip+čüš.CV> *tas qaldi.*
'When Pashayim was stepping down the stairs, she staggered as somebody stepped on her foot violently, and she almost fell.'
(Yünüs 1989: 564)

[8] This is only one prominent possibility. The IPS of *čüš-* is especially sensitive to the context.

(37) *Ularniŋ dukanliri malliriniŋ toliliqi, xilliqi bilen hemme dukanlarni bėsip čüšermiš!* <press:Ip+čüš.MOD.DISJ>
'They say their shops will ruin all the other shops with their abundance and choice of goods.' (Sabir 1999a: 108)

Ip kel-

Morphological structure: *Ip* + *kel-* 'to come' [+tf, –mom]

Function:

1. Spatial orientation of the action to its deictic center (38-41).
2. Temporal orientation of the action to its deictic center (42-44).

This is a very frequent operator. Although *kel-* as a lexical verb is [+tf], the post-verb *Ip kel-* in its second function does not imply [+tf].

Examples:

(38) *U qaytip keptu.* <return:Ip+kel.POST^{HF}.3>
'He has returned.' (Behram 1999: 129)

(39) *Xemit išikni ėčip kirip keldi.* <enter:Ip+kel.NEUT.3>
'Hamid opened the door and entered.' (Asim 2000: 196)

(40) *Davut attin sekrep čüšüp yügürüp keldi.* <run:Ip+kel.NEUT.3>
'David jumped off the horse and approached him running.'
(Behram 1999: 273)

(41) *Kėyin aldinqi küni kėčiče čiqqan borannıŋ bašqa yerdiki qumni bu yerge köčürüp kelgenlikini* <move:CAUS.Ip+kel.VN.POSS.3.ACC> *bilduq.*
'Later we learned that the storm that had arisen the night before had shifted the sands from elsewhere to this place.' (Fušin 2005)

(42) *Oqušniŋ šundaq tes boluši ɣa qarimay, bu yėziqniŋ šunče uzun zamanɣiče [...] išlitilip kėliši* <work:CAUS.PASS.Ip+kel.VN.POSS.3> *bu yėziq bilen ipadilengen mediniyetniŋ yuquriliɣidin bolɣan.*
'The fact that this script remained in use during such a long time in spite of its difficult readability is due to the high level of the civilization that manifests itself in this script.' (Mutiyi 1982: 23)

(43) *Mana men töt yildin buyan bayniŋ harvikiši bolup išlep kėlivatimen.* <work:Ip+kel.INTRA^{HF}.1S>
'I have been working as a cart driver for the bay for four years.'
(Litip & Polat 1981: 176)

(44) *U ta hazirɣiče xaŋ astida kömür čėpip išlep kėlivatidu.* <work:Ip+kel.INTRA^{HF}.3>
'He has been working down in the coal mine to this day.' (Asim 2000: 85)

Ip ket-

Morphological structure: *Ip* + *ket-* 'to go' [–t, +dyn]

Function:

1. Continuously progressing action (45-47).
2. Abruptness or suddenness (48-50).
3. Spatial (51-53), temporal (54-55) or figurative (56-58) orientation of the actional content away from its deictic center.

This item seems to operate on intransitive verbs only. It is a very frequent operator.

Examples:

(45) *Islišip ketken* <soot:DNV.COOP.Ip+ket.VA> *mora iznasi*
'The contour of a chimney blackend by smoke'
(Ibrahim 1988: 8)

(46) *Issiqtin qizip ketken* <become hot:Ip+ket.VA> *mašina.*
'The car that had become hot in the heat of the summer'
(Turdi 1999: 404)

(47) *U [...] öz ehvaliniŋ osallišip kètivatqanliqini* <deteriorate:Ip+ket.VN.POSS.3.ACC> *sezgen idi.*
'He had felt that his health was deteriorating.'
(Turdi 1999: 125)

(48) *Sultan qaqaqlap külüp ketti-de.* <laugh:Ip+ket.NEUT.3>
'Sultan laughed out loudly' (Abduveli 2001: 538)

(49) *Yèqinda, radi'odin 2-qumluq tašyoliniŋ qurulidiɣanliqi toɣrisidiki xeverni aŋlap nahayiti süyünüp kettim.* <rejoice:Ip+ket.NEUT.1s>
'When I recently heard on the radio that a second desert highway will be constructed, I became extremely glad.' (Fušin 2005)

(50) *Sultanniŋ dèmekči bolɣanliri mèŋisidin yoqap ketti.* <disappear:Ip+ket.NEUT.3>
'Sultan forgot what he wanted to say.' (Abduveli 2001: 236)

(51) *Qoš taptin sella čiqip ketken idi.* <go out:Ip+ket.POST^{LF}.PAST.3>
'The plough had got out of the furrow a little bit.' (Litip & Polat 1981: 188)

(52) *Tülke arqisiɣa qarap čapti-de, bir čöplük ičige kirip ketti.* <enter:Ip+ket.NEUT.3>
'The fox looked back and ran off. He entered a meadow.' (Ezizi 1987: 99)

(53) *50 nečče döletniŋ sehiye mutexessisi ve emeldari tünügün Kopinhaginda yiɣin èčip, Yavrupada quš zukiminiŋ tarqap kètišidin* <disperse:Ip+ket.VN.POSS.3.ABL> *saqliniš üčün, quš zukimiɣa taqabil turuš tedbiri ve mas heriket qolliniš üstide meslihetlešti.*
'Health experts and officials from some 50 countries opened a conference in

Copenhagen yesterday and discussed measures and the taking of concerted action against bird flu in order to halt further spread of bird flu.' (XJBS 20051025)

(54) *Kirivèridiɣan vaqit ötüp ketti* <pass:Ip+ket.NEUT.3> *Alimǰan bašliq.*
'The times are over in which one simply could stroll in, chairman Alimjan.' (Asim 2000: 196)

(55) *Ozmiš Qaɣan text üstide uzaqtin uzaq xiyal sürüp olturup ketti.* <sit:Ip+ket.NEUT.3>
'Ozmish Khan remained seated on his throne for a long time and was lost in thought.' (J̌ilan 2005: 15)

(56) *Qedimqi uyɣur tili kök türk tilidin unče köp perqlinip ketmeydu.* <differ:Ip+ket.NEG.INTRA^{LF}.3>
'The Old Uyghur language does not differ very much from the language of the Kök Turks.' (Mutiyi 1982: 21)

(57) *Šu bir yili Aqbašxan teripidin öltürülgen sopi-dervišler qatarida ölüp ketti.* <die:Ip+ket.NEUT.3>
'He died among the sufis and dervishes that were slaughtered by Aqbash Khan that year.' (Ilyas 1998: 173)

(58) *J̌èni čiqip kètiške* <go out:Ip+ket.VN.DAT> *azla qaldi.*
'He very nearly lost control over himself.' (Sadiq 1998: 60)

Ip kör-

Morphological structure: *Ip* + *kör-* 'to see' [–t, +dyn]

Function: Attempt or venture (see *Ip baq-* 2).

Works on Uyghur grammar usually accept this item as a grammatical operator (Friederich 2002: 158; Hahn 1991: 615; Nadzhip 1971: 106; Scharlipp 1984: 98-101; Tömür 1987: 398-399). However, in the example given below (which is the only one I have found so far which suggests a grammatical meaning), *kör-* could also be interpreted lexically, i.e. 'things unthought and unseen'. Until now, I have been unable to find other examples in literature in which *Ip kör-* is to be interpreted differently than lexically.

Example:

(59) *Bu dunyada, oylap körmigen* <think:Ip+kör.NEG.VA> *išlar bolup turidiken*
'In this world, things you would not even dare to think happen time and again.' (Ilyas 1998: 173)

Tömür (1987: 399) quotes the examples *Men sorap kördüm, bilmeydiken* 'I tried to find out (literally 'ask'), but it turned out that he did not know', which is quite a good example for the assumed grammatical function, and *Sanap kördüm, durus iken* 'I looked after by counting and it turned out, that it was correct' which looks more like a stage B connection of two lexical verbs.

Ip oltur-

Morphological structure: *Ip* + *oltur-* 'to sit down, to sit' [+ti]

Function: Seems to convey the meaning of dwelling on or lingering over the actional content. This item occurs rarely in the texts I have seen. The resulting actional phrase is [–mom] (i.e., either [–t] or [+ti] or [+tf, –mom]).

Example:

(60) *Qedimqi uyγur yéziγida yézilγan yadikarliqlarni bu yerde tepsili tonušturup oltur-maymiz.* <present:Ip+oltur.NEG.INTRA^{LF}.1P>
'We shall not dwell on a detailed presentation of the documents written in the Old Uyghur script here.' (Mutiyi 1982: 25)

Ip öt-

Morphological structure: *Ip* + öt- 'to pass' [+tf, –mom]

Function:

1. Carrying out the actional content totally, i.e. to its very end (61-62). The resulting actional phrase is [+tf].

2. Carrying out the actional phrase briefly, superficially (63-64). The overall IPS is [+tf], too. In (64), the interaction of this function with a reference to the past produces a secondary reading 'already'.

Examples:

(61) *Buniŋ bilen 1995-yili, yene Aptonom Rayonimiz qurulγanliqiniŋ 40 yilliqi mezgilide Teklimakan qumluqini késip ötken* <cut:Ip+öt.VA> *vaqittiki bezi išlar ésimge kélip qaldi.*
'Furthermore, some events of 1995, the time of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of our Autonomous Region, when the Taklamakan desert was cut through, came into my mind.' (Fušin 2005)

(62) *Siler halaket déŋizini késip ötmekči* <cut:Ip+öt.MOD> *bolivatisiler, qum barxanliri yoluŋlarni tosup qoyuši mumkin. Teyyarliqni yaxši qiliŋlar.*
'You are about to cut through the Ocean of Death; it is possible that sand drifts will cover your path. Be prepared well!' (Fušin 2005)

(63) *Peqet bediy edibiyatqa a'it bezi eserlernila körsitip ötimiz.* <show:Ip+öt.INTRA^{LF}.1P>
'Let us just present some works of esthetical literature.' (Mutiyi 1982: 25)

(64) *Yuqurida éytip ötkinimdek* <say:Ip+öt.VA.POSS.1S.EQU>, *men 1944-yil 11-ayniŋ 28-küni türmidin čiqtim.*
'As already mentioned above, I was released from prison on November 28, 1944.' (Šehidi 1986: 594)

Ip qal-

Morphological structure: *Ip* + *qal-* 'to enter a state, to remain' [+ti]

Functions:

1. Entering the situation of the actional content to occur (65-69).

2. Fini-transformativity [+tf] with the additional implication that the postterminal situation[9] continues for an unspecific duration (70-72).

3. Pure fini-transformativity [+tf] without further implications for the temporal structure of the actional phrase (73-78).

In all its functions, this item obviously adds a component of non-volitionality or unintentionality. As transitivity mostly implies volitionality, *Ip qal-* frequently operates on intransitive verbs. An example to the contratry is (76) with *untu-* 'to forget' as a non-volitional, transitive verb.

Examples:

(65) *Pašayim čandurmastin közinin quyruqida yénidiki yigitke qaridi ve ularnin közliri učrišip qaldi.* <encounter:Ip+qal.NEUT.3>
'Pashayim secretly stole a glance at the guy beside her, and it happened that their eyes met.' (Yünüs 1989: 563)

(66) *Aptomobil qapsilip qalɣan* <trap:PASS.Ip+qal.VA> *yerdin čiqip, barmaqči bolɣan menzilimizge davamliq atlanduq.*
'The car became free from where it had been stuck in. We got back in and proceeded to our destination.' (Fušin 2005)

(67) *Basmillar axir uyɣurlarniŋ čoŋ qošuniɣa učrap qélištin* <encounter:Ip+qal.VN.ABL> *ensirep qoɣlaštin toxtidi.*
The Basmil were afraid to bump into the large army of the Uyghurs at last and gave up the pursuit.' (Jilan 2000: 54)

(68) *Köp oquɣan ezimet iken, némišqimu xaŋɣa čiqip qalɣandu?* <go out:Ip+qal.POST^{LF}.MOP>
'He is an educated guy; how could it happen that he works down the mine?' (Asim 2000: 70-71)

(69) *Emise, sel tézrek maŋayli, bolmisa menzilge yételmey qalimiz.* <reach:POT.NEG.Ip+qal.INTRA^{LF}.1P>
'If so, let's walk a little bit faster, otherwise (it will happen that) we won't be able to reach our destination.' (Ilyas 1998: 339)

(70) *Pašayim néme déyišini bilmey turup qaldi.* <stand:Ip+qal.NEUT.3>
'Pashayim remained standing without knowing what to say.' (Yünüs 1989: 564)

[9] I.e. the situation applying after the transgression of τ_C, i.e. in this case: the final limit.

(71) *Danyal Xoǰa xėli uzaqqiče gep qilmay turup qaldi.* <stand:Ip+qal.NEUT.3>
'Daniel Hodja stood there for a long while without saying a word.' (Ilyas 1998: 102)

(72) *Sultanniŋ bėši yerge saŋgilap qalɣanidi.* <dangle:Ip+qal.POST^{LF}.PAST.3>
'Sultan hung his head.' (Abduveli 2001: 178)

(73) *Siz kičik bala emes, čoŋ bolup qaldiŋiz.* <become:Ip+qal.NEUT.2S>
'You are not a small child; you have become big.' (Ezizi 1987: 70)

(74) *Men bolsam qėrip qaldim.* <become old:Ip+qal.NEUT.1S>
'As for me, I have become old.' (UFA: 198)

(75) *Qarliq taɣ čoqqilirimu yiraqlarda körünüp qalidu.* <see:PASS.Ip+qal.INTRA^{LF}.3>
'Also snow covered mountain tops became visible in the distance.'
(Sabir 1999a: 132)

(76) *Tamaq yėyišni untup qaptu!* <forget:Ip+qal.POST^{HF}.3>
'He has totally forgotten to eat!' (Turdi 1998: 22)

(77) *Čokisiɣa qarimamsiler, leɣmende uxlap qaptu.* <sleep:Ip+qal.POST^{HF}.3>
'Look at his chopsticks; they have fallen asleep in the leghmen.'[10]
(Turdi 1998: 22)

(78) *Toxti öziniŋ aldinip qalɣanliɣini* <deceive:PASS.Ip+qal.VN.POSS.3.ACC>
emdila čüšendi.
'At this very moment Tokhti realized that he had been cheated.' (Litip & Polat 1981: 192)

Ip qoy-

Morphological structure: *Ip* + *qoy-* 'to put' [+tf, –mom]

Function: Carrying out the actional content casually, carelessly or temporarily.

Examples:

(79) *Memet arilap-arilap köziniŋ quyruqida Pašayimɣa*
qarap qoyatti. <look:Ip+qoy.INTRA^{LF}.PAST.3>
'Time and again Memet stole a glance at Pashayim.' (Yünüs 1989: 565)

(80) *Šopur ikkimiz bir-birimizge qarap qoyɣandin kėyin* <look:Ip+qoy.CV>, *qum kolaš*
sür'itini tėzlettuq.
'After the driver and I had given a quick glance at one another, we increased the speed of our digging' (Fušin 2005)

[10] "A dish, consisting of boiled strips of dough" (Jarring 1964: 182).

(81) *U arilap-arilap töpilikler arisidin čiray*
körsitip qoyidu-de <show:Ip+qoy.INTRA^{LF}.3>, *yene yoqilip kėtidu.*
'Time and again it quickly showed its face between the hills and disappeared again.' (Sabir 1999a: 132)

(82) *Derya boyiŋa tašlap qoyŋan* <throw:Ip+qoy.VA> *telpek qėlipiŋa oxšap kėtidiŋan bu döŋ*
'This hill that resembled a fur cap thrown at the bank of the river'
(Ibrahim 1988: 8)

(83) *Ėkskursiyičiler uniŋŋa diqqiti čėčilŋan halda anda-munda qarapla qoyidu* <look:Ip.EMP+qoy.INTRA^{LF}.3>, *xalas!*
'Occasionally, the excursionists just looked at him absent-mindedly, that's all.'
(Turdi 1998: 113)

Ip sal-
Morphological structure: *Ip* + *sal-* 'to put, to place' [+tf, –mom]
Alleged function: Carrying out the actional content unintentionally, accidentally.
This combination is recorded in some publications on Uyghur, e.g. Hahn (1991: 616-617), Friederich 2002: 162, Schwarz (1992: 462). I have not been able to find any occurrence of it to this day. Friederich (2002: 162) mentions among others the following examples: *Tilini čišlep saldi* 'He bit his tongue'; *Bala ištiniŋa siyip saldi* 'The child made a mess in its pants'.

Ip tašla-
Morphological structure: *Ip* + *tašla-* 'to throw' [+tf, –mom]
Function:
1. Carrying out the actional content casually, without effort (84).
2. Carrying out the actional content carelessly, accidentally (85-86).
Examples:

(84) *Čašqan kėlip ötkür čišliri bilen aŋamčilarni bir demdila qirqip tašlaptu* <cut:Ip+tašla.POST^{HF}.3> *de, širni azat qiptu.*
'The mouse came closer, gnawed through the ropes in a trice and set the lion free.' (Hašim 1981:121)

(85) *Šuniŋ bilen uniŋ tumšuŋinimu yasap qoymaqči bolup, yėrimini kėsip tašlaptu.* <cut:Ip+tašla.POST^{HF}.3>
'For that reason he also wanted to embellish its beak also and cut off half of it.'
(Hašim 1981: 118)

(86) *Netijide oxšašla Qipčaq tili guruppisiŋa mensup bolŋan Qazaq ve Qirŋiz tilliri bir biridin bek yiraq ayrip tašlanŋan.* <divide:Ip+tašla.PASS.POST^{LF}.3>
'Consequently, the Kazakh and Kirghiz languages that both belong to the Kipchak group were put into totally different subgroups as well.' (Mutiyi 1982: 16-17)

Ip tur-

Morphological structure: *Ip* + *tur-* 'to stop/to stand up + to stand' [+ti]

Function: Durativity [+dur], i.e. the actional content is presented as having a certain extension in time. Based on this core meaning, this item often produces serial (e.g. 87, 94), sometimes habitual (88, 89) or state-like (95) readings without positively signalling any of these features. The different kinds of readings can be supported by appropriate satellites (e.g. *her yili* 'every year' in 89). Obviously, this item always has a non-transformativizing effect on the actional phrase.[11]

This actionality operator displays an affinity to combining with the low focal interterminal aspect operators *Edu* and *Etti* [+INTRA^{LF}] in finite position (rendering *Ip turidu*, *Ip turatti*, see examples 87-90) and with the aspectually neutral participle in *GEn* in attributive position (rendering *Ip turγan*, see examples 92-94). The other syntactic positions, i.e. converb clauses and constituent clauses, do not display equally striking combination patterns.

This is an extremely frequent item, which fact is illustrated by example (95) in which it occurs thrice in different syntactic positions. *Ip tur-* may operate both on transitive and on intransitive verbs.

Note that there is also an invariable modal converb *Ip turup* that denotes the manner how or the circumstances under which the superordinated action is carried out: *Šu vaqitta möšük ornidin sekrep turup, oγriniŋ üzige ėtilip morlašqa bašlaydu.* 'At this very moment the cat, leaping up from its place, threw itself at the thief's face and started scratching him' (UFA 199) <jump:Ip+turup> This item has no actional function at all; rather it is used to form modifying satellites from verbals. As such, it can be compared to *bolup* (cf. Turkish *olarak*), which forms modifying satellites from nominals as in *harvikeš bolup išle-* 'to work as a cart driver' (see example 43 above; cf. Turkish *arabacı olarak çalış-*).

There is also a construction *Gili tur-* 'to commence', i.e. the converb in *Gili*, which relates the relevant limit (τ_R) of the actional phrase to the aspect viewpoint or a non-aspectual orientation point marked at or suggested by the matrix clause (often resulting in readings like 'since' or 'in order to')[12], combined with *tur-* 'to stand'. Like all constructions with the meaning 'to begin', the resulting actional phrase is always fini-transformative [+tf, –mom]. As the meaning of this item is evident, it will not be considered in detail here.

Examples:

[11] Contrary to the first intention, *bölüp tur-* 'to divide' of example (95) is not transformative [+tf, –mom], but non-transformative [–t, –dyn]. The actional content *divide* may refer to two extralinguistic situations, viz. a processual situation implying an internal development and a potential final limit as in *He is dividing the cake in four parts* and a statal situation without an internal development as in *The equator divides the earth into two halves.*

[12] A more detailed account of the function of *Gili* is given in Rentzsch 2005: 169-170.

(87) *Dala jïmliqini peqet at-ulaqlarniŋ boɣuz čayniɣan avazi bilen bi'ep yètip qalɣanlarniŋ xoreklirila buzup turidu.* <break:Ip+tur.INTRA^{LF}.3>
'Only the noise of the beasts of burden chewing the fodder, and the snoring of those lying uncomfortably are breaking the silence of the wilderness.'
(Turdi 1999: 76)

(88) *Bu dunyada, oylap körmigen išlar bolup turidiken.* <become:Ip+tur.INTRA^{LF}.IND.3>
'In this world, things happen you would not even dare to think.' (Ilyas 1998: 173)

(89) *Gorkiniŋ yurti Nèžnida her yili sekkizinči ayda yermenke ötküzülüp turatti.* <pass:CAUS.PASS.Ip+tur.INTRA^{LF}.PAST.3>
'In Nižnij, the home of Gorki, a trade fair took place every August.'
(Šehidi 1986: 6)

(90) *Men Moskva-Lènin toɣrisidiki xèli jïq kitablarni, šèirlarni oquɣanliqim üčün, Moskvaɣa yèqinlašqansèri hayajanlanmay turalayttimmu?!* <get excited:NEG.Ip+tur.POT.INTRA^{LF}.PAST.1S.Q>
'How could I, having read so many books and poems on Moscow and Lenin, remain calm (lit. 'unexcited') as we were approaching Moscow?'
(Sabir 1999a: 137-138)

(91) *Bu gepler uniŋ quliqiɣa nahayiti očuq aŋlinip turdi.* <hear:PASS.Ip+tur.NEUT.3>
'These words reached his ears very clearly.' (Turdi 1999: 30)

(92) *Bular kèlivètip, išik aldida muŋlinip turɣan* <be gloomy:Ip+tur.VA> *möšükke yoluqidu.*
'They are coming closer and meet the cat that is sitting gloomily before the door.'
(UFA: 198)

(93) *Öyge kirse, kaŋniŋ üstide bir qizirip turɣan* <become red:Ip+tur.VA> *čoɣni köridu.*
'As he enters the house, he sees a piece of coal that is glowing red on the platform of the oven.' (UFA 199)

(94) *Meyin šamalda irɣaŋlap turɣan* <sway:Ip+tur.VA> *aq tèreklerniŋ köpkök yapraqliri*
'The deep green leaves of the white poplars swaying in the light wind'
(Abduveli 2001: 536)

(95) *Bu yerniŋ bir alahidiliki, öydin čiqsila čoqqiliridin qar ketmeydiɣan ve ɣerbiy diyarni ikkige bölüp turidiɣan* <divide:Ip+tur.VA> *Teŋritèɣi körünüp tursa* <see:PASS.Ip+tur.COND>, *yene bir tereptin, šu heyvetlik taɣ baɣiliridin bužunlinip čiqqan sulardin peyda bolɣan Ili deryasiniŋ šavqunliri aŋlinip turatti.* <hear:PASS.Ip+tur.INTRA^{LF}.PAST.3>
'A special feature of this place was that, as soon as you step out of the house, the Tianshan became visible, the peaks of which are always covered with snow and that divides the western land into two; and on the other hand the roaring of the Ili river became audible, which originates from the water emerging from the slopes of these mountains foamingly.' (Ilyas 1998: 21)

Ip tüget-

Morphological structure: *Ip* + *tüget-* 'to consume, to finish' [+tf, –mom]

Function: Finishing the actional content. The resulting actional phrase is always [+tf]. However, this item is not a bare [+tf] operator, but points to the final point of the action more explicitly.[13] An alternative construction to this postverb is *Ištin tüget-* <VN:ABL+finish>. Complementary constructions, i.e. constructions meaning 'to begin', are the above-mentioned *Gili tur-* and *IšKE bašla-* <VN:DAT+begin>. A converb-based equivalent **Ip bašla-* does not exist in Uyghur. *Ip tüget-* obviously only operates on transitive verbs.

Examples:

(96) *Xetni oqup tügetküče* <read:Ip+tüget.CV>
'Until he finished reading the letter' (Sadiq 1998: 60)

(97) *Mušu xil muhit ičide ėrišidiɣanlirimɣa ėrišip, yazidiɣanlirimni tėzrek yėzip tügetsem* <write:Ip+tüget.COND.1S> *sen hemmini čüšinip qalisen.*
'If I achieve what I want to achieve, and finish writing what I want to write faster in this environment, you will understand everything.' (Abduveli 2001: 538)

Ip yür-

Morphological structure: *Ip* + *yür-* 'to walk' [–t, +dyn]

Function: Durativity [+dur] combined with dynamicity [+dyn]. The resulting actional phrase is always non-transformative [–t]. Operating on fini-transformative contents, a secondary reading of seriality or habituality arises.

Examples:

(98) *Šundin kėyin Hörnisa Eysa Yavaštin özini qačurup yürdi.* <flee:CAUS.Ip+yür.NEUT.3>
'From this day onward, Hörnisa kept away from Eysa Yavash.' (Yünüs 1989: 576)

(99) *Ėšek ėgisiniŋ qolida uzun žillar išlep žürüp*[14] <work:Ip+yür.CV>, *ištin zaliqip, bir küni ėgisige aččiq qilip öydin čiqip kėtidu.*
'A donkey had been working for his master for many years and had become tired of the work. One day, he became angry with his master and left his home.'
(UFA: 198)

[13] I.e. it carries a semantic surplus in addition to [+tf]. *Xetni oqu-* 'to read the letter' of example (96) alone is already [+tf], but *Xetni oqup tüget-* means 'to finish reading the letter'. In this respect, the item can be compared to complementary constructions like *Gili tur-* 'to begin', which are also [+tf] but carry a meaning in addition to [+tf]. *Xetni oquɣili tur-* is [+tf] like *Xetni oqu-* but means 'to begin reading the letter'.

[14] *žür-* is the Soviet/GUS standard variant of *yür-*, which is sometimes pronounced *žür* in Xinjiang, too.

(100) *Dukandar ėrinmey tolγap yürüp* <twist:Ip+yür.CV>, *axir bir yerdin orduče sözlevatqan bir qanalni tapti.*
'The shopkeeper turned the button incessantly. Finally, he found a channel on which Urdu was spoken.' (Turdi 1999: 119)

(101) *Heǰqiliš – Atixanniŋ uzaq yillardin bėri köŋlige püküp yürgen* <bend:Ip+yür.VA> *yüksek arzusi idi.*
'Going on the pilgrimage was a desire Ata Khan had been bearing in mind for many years.' (Turdi 1999: 10)

6. *mEKtE* as an actionality operator

The morphological form *mEKtE* occurs in various Turkic languages in different functions which are commented on in detail elsewhere (Rentzsch in print). The morphological structure is completely different from the postverbial combinations mentioned above. Still, *mEKtE* may have a function in Uyghur which can be said to be actional with quite a bit of justification.

mEKtE is originally the combination of a verbal noun in *mEK*, which is in itself aspectually neutral, with the locative in *DE*. In later stages of grammaticalization, this combination may predicate finite sentences and develop actional and aspectual functions.

In Uyghur, *mEKtE* is not a purely actional item but is in a transitional state which results in two different functions. The appropriate interpretation is triggered by cotext or context.

The function of *mEKtE* may be pre-aspectual, i.e. form statal [+stat] expressions of the type *Asmanda qušlar učmaqta* 'In the sky there are birds in flight'. These are nominal expressions referring to states without suggesting an internal development. It is irrelevant whether the state referred to is physically dynamic. Actions like the flight of birds or the flow of a river, while being dynamic by nature, may be presented in language as being devoid of dynamicity.

The second function of *mEKtE* in Uyghur is aspectual, signalling high focal interterminality as in expressions like *Axirqi šeherlerdin ötmektimiz* 'We are passing the last towns' (Sabir 1999a: 138).

As an item suitable for the presentation of states, Uyghur *mEKtE* may be considered belonging to the domain of actionality. However, due to its advance into the domain of aspectuality, it is neither an unambiguous nor a typical member of the inventory of actionality operators in Uyghur.

7. Semantic features of the actionality operators of Uyghur

The items considered above convey a large variety of actional notions. Actionality operators *sensu stricto* signalize notions connected to the direction in time and space, version, dynamicity, frequency and duration. Some items exclusively mark IPS features (*Ip bol-, Ip čiq-*) and can be compared to Indo-European preverbials as in German *durchlesen* or *aufessen*, others carry more complex functions that directly affect

the IPS of the actional phrase (e.g. *Ip qoy-*, *Ip tur-*, *Ip tüget-*, *Ip yür-*), still others have no implications for the IPS at all. Items on the margin of actionality add psychological features to the action.

Some of the main actional features of the Uyghur actionality operators are summarized in the table below. Note that the oppositions in this table are not treated privatively, i.e. a negative feature is only ticked in cases where a given operator obligatorily renders an actional phrase characterized by the negative feature.

	[+t]	[–t]	[+dyn]	[–dyn]	[+mom]	[–mom]	[+stat]	[+ser]
Ival-								
Iver-			x					
[1,2,3]Ivet-			x					
[4]Ivet-	x		x					
Ip baq-								
Ip ber-								
Ip bol-	x		x			x		
Ip čiq-	x		x			x		
Ip čüš-			x			x		
1Ip kel-	x		x			x		
[2]Ip kel-						x		
[1,2]Ip ket-			x					
[3]Ip ket-								
Ip kör-								
Ip oltur-						x		
Ip öt-	x		x			x		
Ip qal-	x		x			x		
Ip qoy-	x		x			x		
Ip sal-	x		x					
Ip tašla-	x		x					
Ip tur-		x				x		
Ip tüget-	x		x			x		
Ip yür-		x	x			x		
mEKtE		x		x		x	x	

As can be seen from the table, there is obviously no operator in Uyghur that obligatorily signalizes the features [+mom] and [+ser]. The items *Ival-*, *Ip baq-*, *Ip ber-* and *Ip kör-* seem to be indifferent to primitive IPS features. For the items *Ivet-*, *Ip kel-* and *Ip ket-*, different stages of semantic development that are directly connected with IPS features coexist without any discernible morphological variation. The relevant function is activated by the cotext exclusively. Only *Iver-* and *Ip oltur-* seem to be connected with just one IPS feature.

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
[±AD]	adterminal vs. non-adterminal
CAUS	causative
COND	conditional
COOP	cooperative
CV	converb
DAT	dative
DISJ	disjunctive
DNV	denominal verb
[±dur]	durative vs. non-durative
[±dyn]	dynamic vs. non-dynamic
EMP	emphatic particle
EQU	equative
[±FOC]	focal vs. non-focal
[HF]	high focal
HOM	homogenization
IMP	imperative
IND	indirective
[±INTRA]	intraterminal vs. non-intraterminal
IPS	internal phase structure
[LF]	low focal
LIM	limitation
LOC	locative
MOD	modal
MOP	modal particle
[±mom]	momentaneous vs. non-momentaneous
NEG	negative
[NF]	non-focal
NEUT	neutral aspect [(–INTRA) (–POST)]
P	plural
PASS	passive
PAST	past
POSS	possessive
[±POST]	postterminal vs. non-postterminal
POT	potential
Q	question
S	singular
SER	serialization
[±ser]	serial vs. non-serial
[±stat]	statal vs. non-statal
[±t]	transformative vs. non-transformative
[+tf]	fini-transformative
[+ti]	initio-transformative
τ_C	crucial limit
τ_R	relevant limit
τ_1	terminus initialis
τ_2	terminus finalis
V	aspect viewpoint
VA	verbal adjective (participle)
VN	verbal noun
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person

References

Bisang, Walter 2004. Grammaticalization without coevolution of form and meaning as an areal phenomenon in East and mainland Southeast Asia – the case of tense-aspect-mood (TAM). In: Bisang, Walter & Himmelmann, Nikolaus P. & Wiemer, Björn (eds.). *What makes grammaticalization? A look from its fringes and its components*. (Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs 158.) Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 109-138.

Bodrogligeti, András J. E. 2001. *A grammar of Chagatay*. (Languages of the World/Materials 155.) München: LINCOM.

Brendemoen, Bernt & Hovdhaugen, Even 1992. *Tyrkisk grammatikk*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Brockelmann, C. 1954. *Osttürkische Grammatik der islamischen Litteratursprachen Mittelasiens*. Leiden: Brill.

Christophe, Bernard 2004. *Studier i de sydkaukasiske sprogs aspektologi*. (Acta Humaniora 190.) Oslo.

Clauson, Gerard 1972. *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Comrie, Bernard 1976. *Aspect. An introduction to the study of verbal aspect and related problems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Demir, Nurettin 1993. *Postverbien im Türkeitürkischen. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung eines südanatolischen Dorfdialektes*. (Turcologica 17.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Eckmann, János 1959. Das Tschaghataische. In: Deny, Jean & Grønbech, Kaare & Scheel, Helmuth & Togan, Zeki Velidi (eds.) 1959. *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta* 1. Aquis Mattiacis: Steiner. 138-160.

Ersen-Rasch, Margarete I. 2001. *Türkische Grammatik für Anfänger und Fortgeschrittene*. Ismaning: Hueber.

Friederich, Michael 2002. *Uyghurisch Lehrbuch*. In Zusammenarbeit mit Abdurishid Yakup. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Göksel, Aslı & Kerslake, Celia 2005. *Turkish: A comprehensive grammar*. London & New York: Routledge.

Hahn, Reinhard F. 1991. *Spoken Uyghur*. Seattle & London: University of Washington Press.

Hahn, Reinhard F. 1998. Uyghur. In: Johanson, Lars & Csató, Éva (eds.) 1998. *The Turkic languages*. London & New York: Routledge. 379-396.

Imart, Guy 1981. *Le kirghiz. Turk d'Asie Centrale Soviétique*. 1-2. Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence.

Jarring, Gunnar 1964. *An Eastern Turki-English dialect dictionary*. (Lunds Universitetets Årskrift 56/4.) Lund: CWK Gleerup.

Johanson, Lars 1971. *Aspekt im Türkischen. Vorstudien zu einer Beschreibung des türkeitürkischen Aspektsystems*. (Studia Turcica Upsaliensia 1.) Uppsala.

Johanson, Lars 1995. On Turkic converb clauses. In: Haspelmath, Martin & König, Ekkehard (eds.) 1995. *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective. Structure and meaning of adverbial verb forms – adverbial participles, gerunds*. (Empirical approaches to language typology 13.) Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 313-347.

Johanson, Lars 1998. The structure of Turkic. In: Johanson, Lars & Csató, Éva (eds.) 1998. *The Turkic Languages*. London & New York: Routledge. 30-66.

Johanson, Lars 2000. Viewpoint operators in European languages. In: Dahl, Östen (ed.). *Tense and Aspect in the Languages of Europe*. EUROTYP 20-6. Berlin & New York: de Gruyter, 27-187.

Kononov, A. N. 1956. *Grammatika sovremennogo tureckogo literaturnogo jazyka*. Moskva & Leningrad.

Lewis, Geoffrey L. 1967. *Turkish grammar*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.

Nadzhip, E. N. 1971. *Modern Uigur*. Moscow.

Pritsak, Omeljan 1959. Das Neuuigurische. In: Deny, Jean & Grønbech, Kaare & Scheel, Helmuth & Togan, Zeki Velidi (eds.) 1959. *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta* 1. Aquis Mattiacis: Steiner. 525-563.

Rentzsch, Julian 2005. *Aspekt im Neuuigurischen*. (Turcologica 65.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Rentzsch, Julian in print. On Turkic mEKtE, to appear in *Acta Orientalia* 67.

Scharlipp, Wolfgang-Ekkehard 1984. *Auxiliarfunktionen von Hauptverben nach Konverb in der neuuigurischen Schriftsprache von Sinkiang*. (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 87.) Berlin: Schwarz.

Schönig, Claus 1984. *Hilfsverben im Tatarischen. Untersuchungen zur Funktionsweise einiger Hilfsverbverbindungen*. (Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz (VOK) 35.) Wiesbaden: Steiner.

Schwarz, Henry G. 1992. *An Uyghur-English dictionary*. Bellingham: Western Washington.

Tömür, Xemit 1987. *Hazirqi zaman uyɣur tili gramatikisi (Morfologiye)*. Beijing. [Translation: Tömür, Hämit 2003. Modern Uyghur grammar (Morphology). Translated by Anne Lee. Dil ve Edebiyat Dizisi 3. Istanbul: Yıldız.]

UTIL: *Uyɣur tiliniŋ izahliq luɣiti 1990-1999. Šinǰaŋ uyɣur aptonom rayonluq milletler til-yéziq xizmiti komitéti luɣet bölümi tüzgen*. 1-6. Beijing.

Primary sources:

Abduveli, Hüsenǰan 2001. *Közge aylanɣan köŋül*. Ürümči: Šinǰaŋ xelq nešriyati.

Asim, Ғeyret 2000. *Yiɣlima insan*. Ürümči: Šinǰaŋ xelq nešriyati.

Behram, J̌alalidin 1999. *Méhrigiyah*. Ürümči: Šinǰaŋ xelq nešriyati.

Ezizi, Seypidin 1987. *Sutuq Buɣraxan*. Beijing: Milletler nešriyati.

Fušin, J̌aŋ 2005. *Halaket déŋizidiki eslimiler*. XJBS 20050629.

Hašim, Exet (ed.) 1981. *Uyɣur xelq meselliri*. Ürümči: Šinǰaŋ xelq nešriyati.

Ibrahim, Ebeydulla 1988. *Tündiki čaqmaq*. Ürümči: Šinǰaŋ yašlar – ösmürler nešriyati.

Ilyas, Yüsüp [2]1998. *Éɣir tiniqlar*. Ürümči: Šinǰaŋ xelq nešriyati.

J̌élil, Qahar 1989. Turmuš qaynimida. In: Exet Turdi (ed.) 1989. *Boɣda ata*. Beijing: Milletler nešriyati. 228-311.

J̌ilan, Perhat 2000. *Orxun šeǰerisi*. Ürümči: Šinǰaŋ xelq nešriyati.

Litip, Muhemmet & Polat, Muhemmet 1981. *Čin dostluq*. Beijing: Milletler nešriyati.

Mutiyi, Ibrahim 1982. Memlikitimizdiki türki tillar ve bu heqtiki ilmiy tetqiqat. In: Rehim, Zayit 1982 (ed.). *Türki tillar tetqiqqati*. Part 1. Beijing: Milletler nešriyati, 1-72.

Sabir, Zordun 1999a. *Qerzdar*. Ürümči: Šinǰaŋ yašlar – ösmürler nešriyati.

Sabir, Zordun 1999b. *Gülemxan*. Ürümči: Šinǰaŋ yašlar – ösmürler nešriyati.

Sadiq, Mehemmetǰan 1998. *Zulpiqar* 1. Ürümči: Šinǰaŋ xelq nešriyati.

Sadiq, Mehemmetǰan 1999. *Zulpiqar* 2. Ürümči: Šinǰaŋ xelq nešriyati.

Sadiq, Mehemmetǰan 2000. *Zulpiqar* 3. Ürümči: Šinǰaŋ xelq nešriyati.

Šehidi, Burhan 1986. *Šinǰaŋniŋ 50 yili*. Beijing: Milletler nešriyati.

Turdi, Exet 1998. *Yiraqta qalγan muhebbet*. Ürümči: Šinǰaŋ yašlar – ösmürler nešriyati.
Turdi, Exet 1999. *Sersan roh*. Qešqer: Qešqer uyγur nešriyati.
Turdi, Exet 2002. *Bextsiz se'idiye*. Ürümči: Šinǰaŋ xelq nešriyati.
Turdi, Exet (ed.) 1989. *Boγda ata*. Beijing: Milletler nešriyati.
Turdi, Qeyyum 1989. Boγda ata. In: Exet Turdi (ed.) 1989. *Boγda ata*. Beijing: Milletler nešriyati. 2-93.
UFA: *Uyγur folklorinin antologiyasi*. Alma Ata 1988.
XJBS: http://uygur.chinabroadcast.cn
Yünüs Tursun'ay 1989. Hayat siniqi. In: Exet Turdi (ed.) 1989. *Boγda ata*. Beijing: Milletler nešriyati. 561-635.