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Titel: Phase marking on initiotransformative verbs in Altay Turkic

Autor: Bacanlı , Eyüp

Ort: Wiesbaden

Jahr: 2008

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Kontakt/Contact

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

✉ info@digizeitschriften.de

Phase marking on initiotransformative verbs in Altay Turkic

Eyüp Bacanlı

Bacanlı, Eyüp 2009. Phase marking on initiotransformative verbs in Altay Turkic. *Turkic Languages* 12, 170-186.

In this paper I examine the phase structures and actional content of initiotransformative verb lexemes in Altay Turkic. Initiotransformatives encompass both initial dynamic actions and posttransformative static actions. First, I deal with the internal phase structures of verb lexemes and explain the phenomenon of initiotransformativity as seen in Turkic verbs. Then, I present various Altay initiotransformative lexemes and briefly examine the interaction of these verbs with case markers and adverbs indicating direction, temporal limit and/or duration. Finally, I discuss the important role auxiliary verbs play in distinguishing the two coupled phases of initiotransformatives, i.e. the initial and stative phases. The largest part of my paper is devoted to the analysis of such auxiliary constructions as specifiers of initium, the process leading to initium, finality and state.

Eyüp Bacanlı, TOBB University of Economics and Technology, Faculty of Sciences and Literature, Turkish Language and Literature Department, 06560 Söğütözü – Ankara, Turkey. E-mail: ebacanlı@etu.edu.tr

1. Introduction

In this paper¹, I examine the realization of phase specification of initiotransformative (+ti) verb lexemes whose actional content is indefinite due to bipartite actions. The role of complementizers is dealt with briefly, whereas the functions assumed by postverbal constructions (PCs) are analyzed with special attention. I do not examine the interaction of inherent temporal features of actional phrases (APs) and aspectual markers.

According to the well-known Vendlerian verb classification, actions can be separated into four categories: states (know, love, believe), activities (run, walk, swim, push a cart), accomplishments (run a mile, draw a circle), and achievements (reach the top, win the race, be born). To date, some remarks and additions have been made to this classification (Comrie 1976; Taylor 1977; Dowty 1979; Carlson 1981; Verkuyl 1993; Bertinetto 1994; Smith 1997). Johanson's initiotransformatives, which I consider in this paper, constitute a distinct group from the above-mentioned verb classes. In Johanson's classification, Vendler's states and activities are designated

¹ An earlier version of this paper was presented at "Çağdaş Türklük Araştırmaları Sempozyumu", at Ankara University, 27-30 November 2007.

under the label of nontransformatives, whereas accomplishments and achievements are qualified as finittransformatives (Johanson 1971; 1996; 1999; 2000).

2. Initiotransformatives

Initiotransformative APs were first affirmed by Johanson in his study about aspectuality in Turkish (1971). (+ti) APs cover both an inchoative dynamic action and a subsequent resultant state. Most of them may be defined as inchoative-states, but crosslinguistically there are also certain (+ti) APs which must be named as ingressive-activities because of dynamic second phase, e.g. Turkic *min-* (or *bin-*) 'mount + ride (or be on)', Turkish *git-* 'go away + go', Classical Greek *órnymai* 'get in motion + move', Maltese *mexa* 'set out + walk' (Johanson 1971: 213; 2000: 63, 163). As Johanson states, (+ti) verb lexemes "conceptualize an initial evolutionary turning point as an inherent part of the actional content. They combine the concept of entering a state with that of the state itself" (2000: 62-63; see also 1971: 212-218; 1996: 236-237; 1999: 173-174, 176, 183). Thus, the same lexeme in Turkic languages may express both an initial dynamic and a posttransformative statal action, e.g. *bol-* 'become + be', *yat-* 'lie down + lie', *otur-* 'sit down + sit', *tur-* (or *diñel-*, or *söyel-*) 'stand up + stand' and etc. (+ti) APs may be observed in any language, but, as Johanson points out, "Turkic languages are relatively rich in initiotransformatives" (1999: 173).

Most (+ti) APs are intransitive, although there are certain transitive APs in Turkic languages corresponding to English verbs such as *know*, *understand* and *hide (something)*. The fact that this particular verb type is not included in the well-known classifications is probably due to their limited number and rare usage in the syntax of European languages. However, as a determination of (extra) linguistic reality, some linguists such as Chung & Timberlake (1985), Sasse (1991a; 1991b) and Breu (1984; 1994) have labeled them "inchoative (inceptive)-stative" verbs and accepted them as a particular verb kind in their actional classifications. There are also certain linguists who distinguish inchoative and posttransformational statal actions from other kinds of verbs (Bondarko et al. 1987: 185, 189).

3. Phase marking on initiotransformatives

Actions have three basic phases: initial, course (or statal) and final. Initial or final phases may be relevant or crucial (Johanson 2000: 59). With initiotransformatives, initial limit appears as the crucial and significant factor; with finittransformatives, the crucial limit is the point of finality. Languages possess linguistic devices for specifying transformative or nontransformative phases of APs whose actional content is vague. Transformativization (+T) markers highlight initial phases (by means of inchoative / inceptive / ingressive markers) and final phases (by means of completive / perfective markers); whereas nontransformativization (-T) markers specify the course or statal phases (by means of durative / continuative / imperfective markers). Even though the statal phases of (+ti) APs are more prominent, their actional content

is eventually neutral and unclear with regard to their phase structures. Thus, the ambiguity may be removed by (+T) and (-T) markers (see Johanson 2000; 2004).

In Altay Turkic, case markers may have (±T) effect on the content of verb lexemes. For instance, dative case may specify the (initial or final) limit, e.g. *töjökkö çat-* (mattress:DAT + çat-) 'lie down on the mattress'; whereas locative case may specify statal action, e.g. *töjökkö çat-* (mattress:LOC + çat-) 'lie on the mattress'. Ablative case is used to encode the initial phase of the lexeme *tur-* 'stand up/get up + stand', e.g. *oturğuştan tur-* (seat:ABL + tur-) 'stand up from the seat'. Certain directional adverbs in Altay, such as *caar* 'towards', *tömön* 'down' *örö* 'up' may be utilized to specify the initial action of (+ti) APs, e.g. *steneniñ kiyni caar çajın-* (wall:GEN behind:POSS.3 towards + çajın-) 'hide/put oneself out of sight behind the wall', *örö tur-* (up + tur-) 'stand up', *örö kör-* (up + kör-) 'look up', *tömön kör-* (down + kör-) 'look down'. The type of adverbs may specify the actional content. For example, 'in X time' adverbs, which emphasize some "temporal limit" and "express total indivisible action" suit transformative APs well; whereas 'for X time' adverbs, which signalize "temporally delimiting duration" are appropriate for use with nontransformatives (Johanson 2000: 61; Bertinetto & Delfitto 2000: 199-201). Thus (+ti) APs possessing two evolutionally coupled-phases are suitable with both kinds of adverbs: e.g. *beş çilda üredüçi bol-* (five year:LOC teacher + bol-) 'become a teacher in five years' and *beş çil(din turgununa / ga) üredüçi bol-* (five year[:GEN throughout:POSS.3:DAT / DAT] teacher + bol-) 'be a teacher for five years'. Adverbs implying dynamicity and internal gradual change such as fast, sudden, gradual or slow actions suggest crucial (initial or final) limit, e.g. *araqydañ* 'slowly', *künden künge* 'day after day', *emeşteñ* 'little by little', *türgeñ* 'quickly', *kenerte/kenetiyn* 'suddenly', etc. (cf. Smith 1997: 42, 49, 112-117; Johanson 2000: 73-74; Bertinetto & Delfitto 2000: 205).

Aspectual markers cannot specify or change the actional content; however they may be more or less appropriate with certain kinds of verb types. So, the natural interrelation of aspect and actionality may also help us to specify the actional content. For example, in a narration, historic use of the present tense suffix *-at* often encodes the transformative action. The preterite *-di*, the low-focal postterminal *-gan* and the indirective postterminals *-iptir* and *-gan emtir* usually envisage current resultant states by reference to their inception. High focal intraterminals (progressives) such as *-p çatat* and *-p oturat* may express the inchoative action because of the dynamicity entailed by progressives. In this paper, I will not deal with such interactions. In Altay Turkic, postverbs that are typically appended to the basic verb substratum play the major role in specifying the actional content.

4. Initiotransformative APs in Altay Turkic

Altay possesses a considerable number of (+ti) APs as do other Turkic languages. Some of the (+ti) APs in Altay have a salient process leading to the limit, e.g. *bol-* 'become + be', *tüney bol-* 'become similar + resemble'. The initial phase of certain (+ti) APs may also have a process in extralinguistic reality, e.g. *uyuqta-* 'fall asleep +

sleep', *ĉat-* 'lie down + lie', *kiy-* 'dress + wear', etc. The initial phase may also appear as momentaneous, e.g. *kör-* 'catch sight of + see', *qorqı-* 'be scared + be afraid', etc. All of them imply a change of state. Some of them indicate both 'become' and 'be'; some indicate both 'getting into a posture' and 'the posture itself'; and the others just indicate 'getting into a state' and 'the state itself'.

Initiotransformativity is based on the capacity of a lexeme to express two different actions that are consecutive. Thus, initiotransformativity is naturally related to the lexicon. Like other Turkic languages, Altay possesses corresponding special verbs that express inchoative actions in the lexicon, such as *qap-* 'seize, snatch', *kiyin-* 'dress, put on' and *ĉoĉı-* 'be scared', along with their (+ti) counterparts such as *tut-* 'hold', *kiy-* 'wear' and *qorqı-* 'be afraid, fear'. Some Altay (+ti) verbs may also have other meanings in the lexicon, which are excluded from this paper.

The initial or the statal phase of the same (+ti) AP may be specified by more than one postverbal construction. Postverbs in Altay Turkic display different stages of grammaticalization, implying more or less desemanticization. Therefore, the root meanings and their related connotations may affect the choice of auxiliary. For example, inchoative actions denoted by the AP *tur-* 'stand up/stop + stand' may be expressed by new derivational APs such as *tura ber-*, *turıp al-*, *turıp qal-*, *turıp kel-*, *turıp iy-*, *tura tüš-*, each of whose actional content and connotations differ from the others. There are also further lexicalizations with postverbs, e.g. *tura ĉügür-* (stand [up]+CONV run) 'start up', *ĉada qal-* (lie [down]+CONV remain) 'expire', etc.

In the next table, the most prominent initiotransformative lexemes in Altay Turkic are presented with their English and Russian equivalents. Note that some equivalents are intrinsically (+ti), whereas some of them predominantly indicate states but may have inchoative uses at syntactic level. Note also that certain Russian inchoative equivalents have perfective/imperfective pairs in the lexicon.

Table 1

Altay (+ti) VPs	English equivalent		Russian equivalent	
	1. action	2. action	1. action	2. action
<i>bol-</i>	<i>become</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>stat'</i>	<i>byt'</i>
<i>tüney bol-</i>	<i>come to</i>	<i>resemble</i>	<i>upodobit'sja</i>	<i>poxodit', sxodit'</i>
	<i>resemble</i>			
<i>oorı-</i>	<i>get ill</i>	<i>be ill</i>	<i>zabolet'</i>	<i>bolet'</i>
<i>süü-</i>	<i>fall in love</i>	<i>love</i>	<i>vljubit'sja</i>	<i>ljubit'</i>
<i>uyuqta-</i>	<i>fall asleep</i>	<i>sleep</i>	<i>zasnut'</i>	<i>spat'</i>
<i>ĉat-</i>	<i>lie down</i>	<i>lie</i>	<i>leč'</i>	<i>ležat'</i>
<i>otur-</i>	<i>sit down</i>	<i>sit</i>	<i>sest'</i>	<i>sidet'</i>
<i>tur-</i>	<i>stand up</i>	<i>stand</i>	<i>vstat'</i>	<i>stojat'</i>
<i>bil-</i>	<i>come to know</i>	<i>know</i>	<i>uznat'</i>	<i>znat'</i>
<i>oñdo-</i>	<i>come to</i>	<i>understand</i>	<i>ponjat'</i>	<i>ponimat'</i>
	<i>understand</i>			
<i>süün-</i>	<i>get pleased</i>	<i>be pleased</i>	<i>obradovat'sja</i>	<i>radovat'sja</i>

<i>qorqĩ-</i>	<i>be frightened /scared</i>	<i>be afraid, fear</i>	<i>ispugat'sja</i>	<i>bojat'sja</i>
<i>ćara-</i>	<i>grow fond of</i>	<i>like</i>	<i>ponravít'sja, poljubit'</i>	<i>nravit'sja</i>
<i>sanaarqa-</i>	<i>become worried</i>	<i>be worried</i>	<i>zavolnovat'sja, zatoskovat'</i>	<i>volnovat'sja</i>
<i>qayqa-</i>	<i>get suprised</i>	<i>be surprised</i>	<i>udivit'sja</i>	<i>udivljat'sja</i>
<i>ačĩn-</i>	<i>get angry</i>	<i>be angry</i>	<i>rasserdít'sja</i>	<i>serdít'sja</i>
<i>qunuq-</i>	<i>get sorry</i>	<i>be sorry</i>	<i>ogorčít'sja</i>	<i>grustít', ogorčat'sja</i>
<i>erik-</i>	<i>get bored</i>	<i>be bored</i>	<i>soskuchít'sja</i>	<i>skuchat'</i>
<i>uyal-</i>	<i>become ashamed of</i>	<i>be ashamed of</i>	<i>zastydít'sja</i>	<i>stydít'sja</i>
<i>sĩsta-</i>	<i>suffer</i>	<i>suffer</i>	<i>postradat'</i>	<i>stradat'</i>
<i>sana-</i>	<i>miss</i>	<i>miss</i>	<i>soskuchít'sja</i>	<i>skučat'</i>
<i>tut-</i>	<i>grasp, seize</i>	<i>hold</i>	<i>xvatat'</i>	<i>deržat'</i>
<i>ćölön-</i>	<i>repose on, lean</i>	<i>lean</i>	<i>operet'sja</i>	<i>opirat'sja</i>
<i>tayan-</i>	<i>lean</i>	<i>lean</i>	<i>prislónít'sja</i>	<i>prislónjat'sja</i>
<i>ćajĩr-</i>	<i>put smt out of sight.</i>	<i>keep smt. out of sight</i>	<i>sprjatat'</i>	<i>skryvat'</i>
<i>ćajĩn-</i>	<i>put oneself out of sight</i>	<i>keep oneself out of sight</i>	<i>sprjatat'sja</i>	<i>skryvat'sja</i>
<i>kıy-</i>	<i>dress, put on</i>	<i>wear</i>	<i>odet'sja</i>	<i>nosít'</i>
<i>kör-</i>	<i>glance, catch sight of</i>	<i>look, see</i>	<i>zagljánut', uvidet'</i>	<i>smotret', videt'</i>
<i>körün-</i>	<i>become visible</i>	<i>seem, be seen</i>	<i>stat' vidnym</i>	<i>vidnet'sja</i>
<i>qorča-</i>	<i>occupy one's surround- dings</i>	<i>surround</i>	<i>okružít'</i>	<i>okružat'</i>
<i>ilin-</i>	<i>be hung</i>	<i>hang</i>	<i>povesít'sja</i>	<i>viset'</i>
<i>min-</i>	<i>mount</i>	<i>ride</i>	<i>sest' na verx</i>	<i>katat'sja</i>
<i>kāy-</i>	<i>be turned on</i>	<i>be on</i>	<i>zagoret'sja</i>	<i>goret'</i>
<i>ćarĩ-</i>	<i>become enlightened</i>	<i>be enlightened</i>	<i>osvetít'sja</i>	<i>osveščat'sja</i>
<i>qarar-</i>	<i>grow dark</i>	<i>be dark</i>	<i>stemnet'</i>	<i>byt' temnym</i>

4.2. Phase marking with postverbal constructions

Various auxiliaries in Turkic languages operate on basic APs as actional specifiers. They specify the actional content as ingressive/inchoative/inceptive, durative/imperfective, or completive/perfective. They not only clarify the phase structure of APs, but also have descriptive functions concerning spatial direction (deixis), intensity, continuity, temporariness, consistency, permanency, suddenness, inattentiveness, etc. Their functions sometimes change crosslinguistically. In Altay Turkic, it is observed that inchoative/ingressive +T markers such *-A/-y ber-*, *-p al-* and *-p qal-* are typically used to highlight the initial phase of APs. Even though the phases

of (+ti) APs are coherent, these phases are perceivable as two actions; and therefore, especially the initial phase may transact as an independent telic action. That means that as in case of other telic APs, the inchoative action may be specified by completive +T markers indicating completion or suddenness such as *-p sal-*, *-A/-y tüş-* and *-p iy-*, which are typically used to encode the transformation point. There are also directional (or deictic) markers such as *-p kel-* ‘CONV + come’ and *-p bar-* ‘CONV + go (to)’, which are utilized to specify the initial phase of certain (+ti) APs. The statal phase is mainly specified by *-p tur-* and *-p cür-*, both of which express different connotations of actionality.

The *-p başta-* (CONV *B* + begin) auxiliary construction is the universal phase specifier for both transformative and nontransformative verb types; and it may be used with all initiotransformative verb lexemes, e.g. *uyuqtap başta-* ‘begin to sleep’, *süüp başta-* ‘begin to love’, *çajınıp başta-* ‘begin to hide’, etc. It will not be dealt with here since it is not a grammaticalized phase marker but rather a phasal verb.

4.2.1. Inchoative operators

4.2.1.1. *-A ber-* operator

The PC *-A ber-* (CONV *A* + give) always specifies the initial phase of the nontransformative (dynamic and static) and initiotransformative actions, sometimes with a connotation of suddenness (Dyrenkova 1940: 191; Tybykova 1966: 44-45; Baskakov 1966: 46; 1972: 65; 1985: 39; Anderson 2004: 111). It is generally used in the following APs, which are associated with nonagency: *bolo ber-* ‘become’, *uyuqtay ber-* ‘fall asleep’, *oorıy ber-* ‘get ill’, *sıstay ber-* ‘begin to suffer’, *süüy ber-* ‘fall in love’, *qorqıy ber-* ‘get scared’, *oñdoy ber-* ‘come to understand’, *süüne ber-* ‘get pleased’, *körine ber-* ‘become visible’, *körö ber-* ‘give a look’, *qayqay ber-* ‘get surprised’, *çaray ber-* ‘grow fond of’, etc. It seems that during the grammaticalization of the PC *-A ber-*, a metaphor as “to surrender oneself to the realization of an action” has occurred, which is extracted from the denotation of the verb *ber-*. Examples:

- (1) *Udabay Arına tñj oorıy berdi.*
 Shortly after Arina.NOM quite get ill:PRET
 Shortly thereafter, Arina fell quite ill.
- (2) *Čoldñj čanında küzüñilü uylar, qoylor*
 way:GEN nearby:LOC rattle:ADJ cow:PL sheep:PL
kelip çat... Kenetiyn uylar ulustar bolo berdiler.
 come:CONT suddenly cow:PL people:PL become:PRET:3PL
 Near the road, the cows and sheep with bells were (lit. are) coming. Suddenly the cows turned into people.

4.2.1.2. *-p al-* operator

The PC *-p al-* (CONV *B* + take) indicates ability and inchoative/ingressive actions. When it is used to specify initial action, there is an additional meaning of the action being self-benefactive or a subject version, which implies that the action is performed to the benefit of the subject (Dyrenkova 1940: 191; Tybykova 1966: 41-42; Baskakov 1966: 46; 1972: 64; 1985: 38; Anderson 2004: 190-200; Erdal 2004: 261). The PC *-p al-* is usually used within such APs as *bilip al-* ‘become aware of, come to understand’, *ćadip al-* ‘lie down’, *oturip al-* ‘sit down’, *turip al-* ‘stand up’, *kiyip al-* ‘dress, put on’, *ćölönip al-* ‘begin to lean’, *tayanip al-* ‘begin to recline’, *ćajñip al-* ‘hide, put oneself out of sight’, *minip al-* ‘mount’. However, *-p al-* may even specify the statal action with a delimitative reading in *uyuqtap al-* ‘sleep for a while, nap’, the meaning of which may, of course, have developed as a result of change in the core meaning: ‘take a nap (for one’s own benefit)’.

All of these APs correspond to actions that may readily be associated with agency. Agency is sometimes rendered more precisely with certain adverbs, such as *ćazap* ‘carefully’, *keze* ‘intent’, *laptap* ‘attentively’, etc. Examples:

- (3) *Enirler sayın taqtanıñ üstine ćadip alala,*
 evening:PL every plank:GEN over:POSS.3S:DAT lie down:CONV
Leningradtı eske alınıp ćadar.
 Leningrad.NOM:ACC recall:HAB.-P ĆADAR
 Every evening as he lies down on the planks, he keeps remembering Leningrad.

- (4) *Ćarajın qayqaardan ozo*
 Beauty:POSS.3:ACC be amazed:INF:ABL before
ćay-qılığın bilip alar.
 belief-character:POSS.3:ACC come to know:HAB.FUT.-AR
 Before being amazed by someone’s beauty, one should know/learn his/her character.
 (Altay proverb)

The feature of specifying the initial phase with *-A ber-* is very salient and regular. Certain APs implying agency may also even be used with the PC *-A ber-*. Thus, APs such as *tuda ber-* ‘grasp, catch’, *onđoy ber-* ‘come to understand’, *bile ber-* ‘come to know, learn’, *ćölönö ber-* ‘begin to lean’, *ćajña ber-* ‘hide, put oneself out of sight’, *tura ber-* ‘stand up’, *otura ber-* ‘sit down’, and *ćada ber-* ‘lie down’ may be observed to connote unexpectedly, indiscriminatively, weakly or silently realized actions, some of which may also be carried out by inanimate subjects. Therefore, agency has an effect on the choice of required periphrastic form. For example, while the AP *ćadip al-* ‘lie down’ is always used for human beings (agent), the AP *ćada ber-* ‘lie down’ is more appropriate for animals and inanimate subjects. So, the AP *ćadip al-* corresponds to the Russian verb *leč’*, whereas the AP *ćada ber-* is analogous with the Russian verb *poleč’*. Since ‘becoming’ is generally realized in a non-agentive mode, the AP *bolo ber-* or *bolip qal-* ‘become’ is used; but when ‘becoming’ is performed

by a conscious subject, one should use the AP *bolıp al-*. In (5), the initial action expressed by the AP for inanimate subjects is taking place distributively at present; whereas in (6), the action ‘becoming’ is presented as it was carried out:

- (5) *Qaazalar qandıy éaqşı soyılğılayt. Ćuldudañ*
 bark:PL how nice peel off:REC1:PRES stem:ABL
belen ayılğılap, tulquraya éatqılay beret.
 ready sunder:REC1:CONV abreast lie down REC1:PRES
 Oh, how easily the (pieces of) bark are peeled off. Separating readily from the trunk, they drop/lie down next to each other.
- (6) *Boyınıñ qara mekelerile Ćurtsovettiñ*
 own insidious guile:PL:POSS.3:INS rural-council:GEN
predsedateli bolıp alala, bisti sotsializmge braatqan
 chairman:POSS.3 become:CONV us socialism:DAT be going:PART
el-éondu, iç éanıñay kemirerge umzangan
 people:ACC within gnaw:INF:DAT attempt:PART
Bayćürek bazılğan.
 Bayd’ürek:NOM be ousted:POST
 After becoming the chairman of the rural council by means of his insidious guiles, Bayd’ürek, who attempted to manipulate our people, who preferred (lit. who was going to) socialism, was ousted. (Ozonova 1999: 19)

As stated above, the *-p al-* operator is utilized for indicating the initial phase and ability. The ability function occurs particularly when it is used with a negative suffix. Thus, the negative *-p alba-* (CONV *B* + take:NEG) form may express both the initial phase and ability for the same lexeme, *turıp alba-* (stand [up]:CONV *B* + take:not) ‘be not able to stand up’. Ability for the second action is then expressed with the *-p bolbo-* form, e.g. *turıp bolbo-* ‘be not able to stand’. Consider the next example:

- (7) *Ćoo-o, aču, tartqılaba, men anayda turıp albazım.*
 Noo hurtful tug:REC1:NEG I that way stand up:INCH.ABIL:NEG.PRES:1S
 No-oo, it is painful. Do not pull me up. I can not get up that way.

4.2.1.3. *-p qal-* operator

The PC *-p qal-* (CONV *B* + remain) in Turkic languages “realizes semantics of inchoative by revealing the moment of jump into the state, which [had] not previously existed” (Nasilov 1989: 145). This meaning is very much related to the fact that the verb *qal-* is also a (+ti). The lexeme *qal-* intrinsically “covers two phases: the transformative phase ‘to get into a state’ and the following posttransformative phase ‘to remain in that state’” (Johanson 2004: 187). As Rentzsch points out, “-Ip qal- frequently operates on intransitive verbs” (Rentzsch 2006: 208). The auxiliary *qal-* in Altay Turkic also operates on certain intransitive (+ti) APs and constructs new

inchoative APs implying non-agency, such as *bolıp qal-* ‘become’, *uyuqtap qal-* ‘fall (sound) asleep’, *oorıp qal-* ‘fall ill’ and *ćajınıp qal-* ‘(for inanimate subjects) put oneself out of sight’, *sanaarqap qal-* ‘become worried’, *qayqap qal-* ‘become surprised’, etc. Examples for inchoative specification:

- (8) *Ćaŋı ċıqqan uul bala uyuqtay bererde,*
 newly be born:PART boy child fall asleep:CONV
emegender boylorı da uyuqtap qaldılar.
 grandmother:PL self:PL.POSS.3 CONJ fall asleep:PRET:3PL
 When the newborn baby fell asleep, the grandmas also fell sound asleep.
- (9) *Ömölik bu la ćuuqta ayıldı-ćurttu bolup qalğan.*
 Ömölik.NOM recently house:ADJ-home:ADJ become:POST
 Ömölik has recently gotten married (lit. Ömölik recently has become “with house and home”).
- (10) *Eki ćerde odudaŋ iř ari-beri ćayqanıp, tolgolıp,*
 two place:LOC fireplace:ABL smoke around swing:CONV twist:CONV
örö ċıgıp, agařtardıŋ ortozına qayılıp, ćajınıp qalat.
 move up:CONV tree:PL:GEN amidst fade away:CONV hide oneself:PRES
 At two places, smoke coming out of the stove, rolling, twisting and rising, fades away and hides (lit. puts itself out of sight) among the trees.

4.2.2. Directional operators

The *-p kel-* (CONV *B* + come) and *-p bar-* (CONV *B* + go to) PCs in Altay display themselves as directional markers; and they imply an action taking place towards a crucial limit.

4.2.2.1. *-p kel-* operator

The operator *-p kel-* (CONV *B* + come) may encode both spatial and temporal location of actions. It is generally used with two (+ti) APs as *tur-* ‘stand up + stand’ and *körin-* ‘become visible + seem’, implying completion and a sort of spatial location of action towards the speaker.

- (11) *Saygačı ćoboŋıp, kemzinip turup keldi.*
 Saygachy.NOM calm down:CONV repent:CONV stand up:PRET
 Saygachy calmed down, felt sorry, and then stood up.

4.2.2.2. *-p bar-* and *-p braat-* operators

The present form of *bar-* ‘go (to)’ and all aspect-tense forms of *barat-* (*braat-*) ‘be going (to)’ with the anterior converb *B* indicate actions in gradual progress towards a

crucial limit. The lexeme *barat-* (or *braat-*) is a progressive variant of *bar-* ‘go (to)’ and has been lexicalized analogically as a result of combination with the progressive marker *-a yatir*: *barayatir* > *baryatir* > *baratir* > *braadiri* ‘is going now’ (cf. Dyrenkova 1940: 192; Baskakov 1952: 371-372). In general, the verb *braat-* is not considered to be a derivational form of the lexeme *bar-*, and is examined in the same way as *bar-* in research related to Altay lexicography and grammar. The lexeme *barat-* (or *braat-*) may accept all kinds of verbal suffixes that are compatible with progressivity. The present form of *bar-* (i.e. *barat* or *braat*) and all aspect-tense forms of *barat-/braat-* (i.e. *braadat*, *braadiri*, *braatqan*, *braatti*, *braadatan*, *braadar*) together with the *-B* converb in Altay Turkic, convey different modes of action with different kinds of actional contents. The verb *braat-* has two basic meanings, both of which have intrinsically progressive readings, e.g. ‘be going to’ and ‘be going’. With the first meaning implying a goal, *-p braat-* is used with transformatives to encode an action in gradual progress towards the crucial limit. This form can also be observed in other Turkic languages with present forms of lexemes which mean “go to”, such as *-p bara(di)*, *-p bormoqda* and *-p gidä*: (Nasilov 1989: 164; Bertinetto et al 2000: 546-549; Gökçe 2007: 107-110, 188-189; Bacanlı 2007: 15-16). The auxiliary *bar-* has not been grammaticalized in expressing initial or final limit, as it is observed in Khakas, Shor and Chulym Turkic (see examples in Anderson 2004: 120-123, 224). Quite the opposite, *-p bar-* in Altay generally signals entry into a state using negative constructions with the meaning of ‘stop’, e.g. *körünbey bar-* ‘stop appearing, disappear’, *unčuqpay bar-* ‘stop speaking’, *ugulbay bar-* ‘stop being heard’, etc.

As stated above, the meaning ‘be going to’ occurs only with verbs indicating transformative actions. Hence, *-p braat-* can be used both with finittransformatives indicating a decisive final limit and with initiotransformatives indicating a decisive initial limit e.g. *ölüp braat-* ‘be (in the process of) dying-’, *ceñip braat-* ‘be (in the process of) winning’, *bolıp braat-* ‘be (in the process of) becoming’, *tüney bolup braat-* ‘be (in the process of) coming to resemble’, *uyuqtap braat-* ‘be (in the process of) falling asleep’, *çölönip braat-* ‘(for inanimate subjects) be (in the process of) lying on/touching’, etc. Alternate readings, such as proximative aspect or immanent future, may sometimes emerge from the central meaning of ‘be in the process of going to the crucial limit’. The present form of *-p bar-* and all aspect-tense forms of *-p braat-* may also indicate the meaning, “the rise or intensification of the process”, which is asserted by Juldašev in reference to *-p ket-* (CONV *B* + go away) operator in Turkic languages (1965: 86), e.g. *qorqıp braat-* ‘be getting more scared’. Finally, when *-p braat-* is used with dynamic nontransformatives, it functions as a spatial deictic operator. Such constructions may be considered within taxis relations indicating synchronic actions, as in *qojonđop braat-* ‘be going by singing’, and within phraseologism, as in *çügürüp braat-* ‘be running over (lit. be going by running)’, etc. Examples with (+ti) APs:

- (12) *Kün qırğa éölönip braattı.*
 sun field:DAT be reposing/lying on:PRET
 The sun (looks like it) was going to touch (was in the process of touching) the field.
- (13) *Čyngkys balazı éaar körzö,*
 Čyngkys.NOM child:POSS.3 towards see:COND
ol uyuyqtap braatqan emtir.
 he be falling asleep:PART EVID
 When Čyngkys looked at her child, (she saw that) he was falling asleep.

4.2.3. Completive operators

4.2.3.1. -p sal- operator

The PC *-p sal-* (CONV *B* + put) is an actional operator which indicates that the given action is accomplished determinedly (Dyrenkova 1940: 192; Tybykova 1966: 28-29; Baskakov 1972: 64; Anderson 2004: 123). There are a few examples of inchoative APs formed with basic (+ti) verbs in Altay, such as *éajırıp sal-* ‘put something out of sight’, *kiyip sal-* ‘put on’ and *körıp sal-* ‘give a look’; and this situation implies that the core meaning of the auxiliary, ‘put’, has not yet totally faded away. In Teleut dialect, there is also a derivational lexeme as in *turup sal-* which means ‘stand up’. Examples:

- (14) *Bičikti qayda éajırıp saldıñ?*
 book:ACC where put out of sight:PRET:2S
 Where have you hidden the book?
- (15) *Uylardı ol baya barıp, körıp salgan.*
 cow:PL:ACC s/he just now go:CONV take a look:POST
 She has just now gone and taken a look at the cows.

4.2.3.2. -A tüş- operator

The PC *-A tüş-* (CONV *A* + fall/go down) indicates that the given dynamic action takes place suddenly and that its direction is down (Dyrenkova 1940: 193; Tybykova 1966: 36-37; Anderson 2004: 128), e.g. *otura tüş-* ‘instantly sit down’, *tura tüş-* ‘suddenly stop’, *éada tüş-* ‘lie down as if falling’, *éarıy tüş-* ‘in a flash become enlightened’. Examples:

- (16) *Aydıñ la Körmö abraga éetkileyle,*
 Aydıñ.NOM and Körmö.NOM cart:DAT arrive:REC1:CONV
éajıl-kök ölöngö otura tüşkiledi.
 green-blue pasture:DAT suddenly sit/plop down:REC1:PRET

When Aydıñ and Körnő arrived at the carriage, they plopped down on the green and blue pasture.

- (17) *Mašina eski baraqıardıñ ğanıña tura tüşti.*
 car old barrack:PL:GEN nearby:POSS.3:DAT suddenly stop/halt:PRET
 The car suddenly halted next to the old barracks.

4.2.3.3. -p iy- operator

The PC *-p iy-* (CONV *B* + send) is defined in traditional grammatical studies as “expressing a single event that occurs suddenly” (Tybykova 1966: 31-32; Baskakov 1966: 47; 1972: 63-64). Although Anderson qualified the PC and its phonetical variants in Altay-Sayan Turkics as a perfective marker (2004: 103-111), the derivational forms of the lexemes, which are constructed with *-İbİs-* *-İvİt-* and *-p iy-*, are not considered to be Perfectives in the Russian sense. Even when the PC operates on finittransformative APs, it just indicates the very transformation point of the event, which, in its turn, appears as a subevent of the given event, but not the attainment of the given limit. I have found that it is used in Altay literary texts with such lexemes as *bil-*, *kör-*, *tut-*, *tur-*, *otur-*, *kiy-*, with connotations of sudden, unexpected, cursory or inattentive action. Or it may even be used in an AP indicating the posttransformative phase with the connotation of a cursory action, e.g. (*emeş*) *uyuqtap iy-* ([a little] + *uyuqtap iy-*) ‘to sleep a little’.

- (18) *Arına közin açıp bolboy, ulustardıñ*
 Arina.NOM eye:POSS.3:ACC open:ABIL:NEG.CONV people:PL:GEN
adıñ braatqandarın bilip iydi.
 shoot:REC2:PROG.P BRAAT:PART:PL:POSS.3:ACC come to understand:PRET
 Arina, without opening her eyes, sensed that the people were passing by shooting.

- (19) *biyik beldü ğimjaq oturgıñına qayra kerteye oturıp iydi.*
 high backed soft chair:POSS.3:DAT backward stretching sit down:PRET
 He sat down by stretching back in his high-backed soft armchair.

4.2.4. Second phase operators

The second action indicated by (+ti) APs is statal; therefore, in order to be considered as a statal action, actional operators specifying the nontransformative phase are needed. They are essentially *-p tur-* and *-p ğür-* PCs. But certain uses of *-p otur-* and *-p ğat-* may also qualify as actional. These actional markers must be distinguished from *-p turu*, *-p ğürü*, *-p oturu* and *-p ğat/ğadı/ğadıñı* preaspectual forms, which have progressive or present tense meanings. With the exception of *-p ğat/ğadı/ğadıñı*, the other markers also preserve the actional functions of the PCs. However, certain conventional uses of *-p ğat/ğadı/ğadıñı* also signal actional mean-

ings and specify phase structure. All of them are originally relics of Old Turkic periphrastic markers formed with old present $-(y)Xr$. While the PCs $-p\ tur-$, $-p\ cür-$ and $-p\ otur-$ always need a tense-aspect marker to operate on them, $-p\ \acute{e}at$ indicates continuous tense as a contracted variant of $-p\ \acute{e}ad\acute{i} < -p\ \acute{e}ad\acute{i}r\acute{i}$.

4.2.4.1. $-p\ tur-$ operator

The PC $-p\ tur-$ (CONV B + stand) functions in most Turkic languages as an actional homogenizer specifying statal or course phases of nontransformative action or indicating serial realization of a transformative action. In any event, $-p\ tur-$ (CONV B + stand) is utilized as a nontransformative marker which blocks transformative readings (Johanson 1999: 174; 2004: 183, 186). With initiotransformatives, it suggests posttransformative statal action, e.g. *bilip tur-* ‘know’, *oorip tur-* ‘be ill’, *bolip tur-* ‘be’, *tudip tur-* ‘hold’, *süüp tur-* ‘love’, *qorqip tur-* ‘fear, be afraid of’, *çölönip tur-* ‘be leaning’, *çajınip tur-* ‘hide, keep oneself out of sight’, *kiyip tur-* ‘wear’, *qorçap tur-* ‘surround’, *sıstap tur-* ‘suffer’, *qayqap tur-* ‘be surprised’, etc. In contrast to usage in Karachay, Qumuk and South-western Anatolian dialects, this operator is not used in Altay Turkic with (+ti) verbs such as *çat-* ‘lie’, *uyuqta-* ‘sleep’ and *otur-* ‘sit’, which are in accordance with its own lexical meaning, ‘stand’. The auxiliary is also incompatible with itself; thus, *turup tur-* sounds odd. Example:

- (20) *Eki kelin sanangıladı la sanangıladı.*
 two woman think:REC1:PRET CONJ think:REC1:PRET
Ömölik mında kemdi süüp turganın,
 Ömölik.NOM here who:ACC love:PART:POSS.3:ACC
çek sanangılap tappadı.
 at all guess:REC1:NEG:PRET
 The two women thought for a while. They couldn’t guess at all whom Ömölik loved.

$-p\ turu$ is a relic form of the Old Turkic preaspectual form $-p\ turur$ and preserves the phase marking function of the PC $-p\ tur-$. Therefore, the $-p\ turu$ preaspectual progressive form in Altay never highlights the dynamic inchoative actions expressed by (+ti) APs. Consider the next example:

- (21) *Men andıy nemeni ederiney qorqıp turum, blar.*
 I such thing:ACC do:INF:POSS.3:ABL fear:PROG.-P TURU:1S sir
 I am afraid of doing such a thing, sir.

4.2.4.2. $-p\ cür-$ operator

The PC $-p\ cür-$ (CONV B + move/live) is used as a homogenization device, i.e. for specification of the statal phase with certain (+ti) APs. Its lexical meanings are given as “walk, move” and “live”. When it is combined with nontransformative motion

verbs, the meaning of the auxiliary may be related to ‘moving.’ But when it combines with (+ti) verbs, the meaning of the auxiliary is perceived as ‘living’, which implies that the given action is a characteristic of the subject’s life. This meaning’s use is restricted to only some of (+ti) verbs: those having a statal phase that exists permanently. The APs which have this feature are *bol-* ‘be’, *bil-* ‘know’, *süü-* ‘love’, *oori-* ‘be ill, have an illness’, *qorqi-* ‘be afraid of’, *sista-* ‘suffer’ and *čajin-* ‘hide, burrow’.

Both *-p tur-* and *-p cür-* encode the statal phase of initiotransformatives; but there is a difference between them in regard to temporariness and permanency, e.g. *oorip turgan qargan* (be[come] ill:P TUR:PASTPART + old person) ‘the old person who is ill nowadays/temporarily’, *oorip cürgen qargan* (be[come] ill:P CÜR:PAST.PART + old person) ‘the old person who is ill/has a permanent illness’. This difference is presented in (22) and (23). In the first sentence, the doctor has not yet checked her patient; but it is not long before she discerns that the illness is consistent and serious. Similarly in (24), the action ‘hiding’ is presented as a characteristic of the subject:

- (22) *Oorip turaar* *ba, bilar?*
 be ill:PROG.-P TURU:2PL Q sir/ma’am?
 Are you ill, ma’am?

- (23) *Vrač Körmönin edi-qanına, cürayına,*
 doctor Körmö.NOM:GEN meat:POSS.3-blood:POSS.3:ABL face:POSS.3:ABL
tingan tınıjına qandiy oorudañ
 inhale:PART breath:POSS.3:ABL which disease:ABL
oorip cürgenin bilip alğan.
 be ill:PART:POSS.3:ACC come to understand:POST
 Examining Körmö’s physical features, face and breath, the doctor came to know what kind of an illness she had.

- (24) *Qoyondiy qorqınçak bolbo, momon cılap cājınip cürbe.*
 rabbit:SIM coward be:NEG.IMP mole like hide:NEG.IMP
 Do not be a coward like a rabbit, do not burrow like a mole. (Altay proverb)

4.2.4.3. *-p otur-* operator

The PC *-p otur-* (CONV *B* + sit) indicates progressive and/or continuative action, and may rarely operate on (+ti) verbs, when the action takes place while sitting: *bilip otur-* ‘know, be aware of (while sitting)’, *oñdop otur-* ‘understand (while sitting)’, *saqıp otur-* ‘keep waiting (and sitting)’, etc. Example:

- (25) *Men seni ne aldırğam bilip oturıñ ba?*
 I you:ACC why call:POST:1S know:PROG.-P OTURİ:2S Q
 Do you know why I have summoned you?

4.2.4.4. *-p éat-* operator

The PC *-p éat-* (CONV *B* + lie) must be carefully distinguished from the aspectual marker *-p éat*. The latter has continuous tense functions and is further in grammaticalization than the previous three forms. However, there is a linguistic convention pertaining to the use of the aspect marker *-p éat* and the actional marker *-p éat-* with certain (+ti) verbs, especially with those that refuse to combine with *-p tur-* because of the interference of incompatible lexical meanings. They are, as stated above, *uyuqta-* ‘sleep’ and *éat-* ‘lie’. Thus, we can contrast aspectual combinations such as *uyuqtap éat*, which means ‘is asleep (not, ‘falls/is falling asleep’)', and *éadip éat*, which means ‘is lying (not, ‘lies/is lying down’)', with actional combinations such as *uyuqtap éatqan bala*, which means ‘the child who is/was asleep’, and *uyuqtap éadatan bala*, which means ‘the child who used to be (or is always) asleep’. Participle forms have also corresponding predicative functions by means of change in syntactic order of the elements, e.g. *bala uyuqtap éatqan* ‘the child was asleep’, *bala uyuqtap éadatan* ‘the child used to sleep / used to be sleeping’ or ‘is always asleep’. The continuity of certain other actions, which is realized by lying, may also be underscored by means of the *-p éat-* PC. Here we would do well to remember the predication of the (3)rd example, *eske alinip éadar* ‘always keeps remembering (while lying)’. Example:

- (26) *Qargan emegender türülip alala, birüzi*
 old woman:PL scrunch oneself up:CONV some
taqtada, birüzi érde uyuqtap éatılar.
 plank:LOC some floor:LOC be sleeping:PRET:3P
 The old women were sleeping scrunched up, one of them on the planks and one of them on the ground.

Conclusions

Postverbal constructions in Altay Turkic play a crucial role in specifying the phase structure of initiotransformatives and other kinds of verbs; however, they are not constant in usage as in the Russian sense even though some similarities implying code copying from Russian may be observed. Several biverbial lexemes indicating different modes of action may be used for the same event. The most grammaticalized item for inchoativity/ingressivity is *-A ber-* and for stativity, *-p tur-*; however, the first item is restricted in terms of nonagency, and the latter item, in terms of temporary duration. Some of the basic APs refuse to combine with certain PCs which do not match with their own lexical meanings. Finally, combinations of the lexeme *uyuqta-* with PCs *-p iy-* and *-p al-* always express a delimitative reading of the second action.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Nadejda Tydykova and Marina Takšina for their contributions explaining the meanings of some actional phrases and informing me about the possibility of the combinations of (+ti) verbs with the auxiliaries.

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Abbreviations

ABIL	ability	GEN	genitive	PART	participle
ABL	ablative	HAB	habitual	PL	plural
ACC	accusative	HAB.FUT	habitual future	POSS	possessive
ADJ	adjective suffix	IMP	imperative	POST	postterminal
COND	conditional	INCH.ABIL	inchoative ability	PRES	present
CONJ	conjunctive	INF	infinitive	PRET	preterite
CONT	present continuous	LOC	locative	PROG	progressive
CONV	converb	NEG	negation	Q	question
DAT	dative	NEG.CONV	negative converb	REC	reciprocal
INS	instrumental	NEG.IMP	negative imperative	S	singular
EVID	evidential	NOM	nomen	SIM	similarity