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Some Comments on Usage of Analytical form *-p bar-* in the Old Uyghur Language

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Abstract: This article examines the use of the analytical form *-p bar-* as a means to express aspectual meanings and the conditions for its use. In the Old Uyghur language, which is considered one of the early stages of development of Turkic languages, morphological means are used to clarify the nature of actions. One of these means is the analytical form *-p bar-*. In studies on the Old Turkic and Old Uyghur languages, the use of the analytical form *-p bar-* to express the aspectual meaning of punctual action has not been previously noted. From this point of view, functional characteristics of this form's use are investigated in the study. Analyzed examples serve as evidence that the Old Uyghur language had grammar means of expressing the aspectual meaning of punctual action.

Key words: aspect, punctual aspect, analytical form, Turkic manuscripts

Introduction

In the study of aspectual features of morphological means in Turkic languages, verbal analytical forms based on the model CVB+AUX, where CVB is converb and AUX is auxiliary verb, are of particular interest for research. These forms are widely used in modern Turkic languages, for example, in Turkish, Uzbek, Tatar, etc. Durative forms expressing the middle phase of an action are found in materials of Turkic languages¹. For example, *-(u)ḡ myp-* in Uzbek is used as durative form². In addition to durative meaning, *-(u)n myp-*³ is found in Azeri and expresses the meaning of perfect

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¹ PLUNGIAN 2011: 294.

² NASILOV 1989: 148.

³ TENISHEV 2002: 188.

that indicates a past that has not lost relevance to the present.⁴ Also widespread are forms with completive meaning indicating the final phase of action characterized as a completed action. In the Tuvan language there is a way to express completive by means of the analytical form *-(ы)н бар*.⁵ In the Turkic languages resultative forms are widely used to indicate that action has been completed and turned into a result.⁶ For example, there is *-(а/ы)н кьал*- form⁷ in the Karachay-Balkar language. In modern Turkic languages formally similar analytical forms appear, but they have different aspectual meanings. The form *-а бар*⁸ in Uzbek is used to express progressive meaning indicating the middle phase of a process without specifying its beginning and end. The similar *-(y)л ver-* form used in the Turkish language⁹ contains the same components but its aspectual meaning is different. This form expresses the punctive indicating the phase of an action instantaneously reaching its limit.¹⁰ The action has no middle phase and its beginning is characterised by suddenness and instantaneity.¹¹

Data sources of the study

The range of aspectual meanings, that is, most typical and frequent universal aspectual meanings,¹² in modern Turkic languages is formed on the basis of general ideas about the functioning of morphological means of their expression. Special means of understanding the nature of actions and indicating their “aspect” are used to show the way a native speaker conceptualizes actions. This conceptualizing is determined historically and can be considered diachronically.

Ancient manuscripts are considered to be of primary importance for diachronical studies. Their linguistic data can clarify the development of various means to express certain aspectual semes. Analysis of the Turkic aspectual system of the verb traditionally begins with Old Turkic languages,

⁴ COMRIE 1976: 55; LINDSTEDT 2000: 366.

⁵ SHAMINA 2013: 138.

⁶ PLUNGIAN 2011: 295.

⁷ ULMEZOVA 2012: 43.

⁸ NASILOV 1989: 163.

⁹ GUZEV 2015: 152.

¹⁰ GUZEV 2015: 295.

¹¹ BONDARKO 1987: 155; PLUNGIAN 2011: 298; KASHLEVA 2015: 83.

¹² PLUNGIAN 2011: 301.

Old Uyghur in particular, since numerous manuscripts written in this language are extant. The Old Uyghur language in this study is chosen to demonstrate one stage of development of Turkic languages.¹³

The sources for the study are manuscripts written in the Old Uyghur language that date back to approximately the 10th–12th cc. The manuscripts examined include the Buddhist *Golden Light Sutra* (*Altun yaruq*), *The Uyghur version of the biography of Xuanzang*, and *The Adoration of Magi*.

Aspect and morphological forms

The aspectual system of the Old Uyghur language is a two-level structure of linear and secondary aspect. This study examines only morphemes of linear aspect because its meanings form the structural basis of the aspectual system of the language.¹⁴ The secondary aspect includes meanings indicating a transition to a different action class.¹⁵ The linear (primary) aspect is represented more widely than the secondary one. The structure of the linear aspect is based on the structure of an observed situation. Linear aspect meanings are based on five phases distinguished in actions: preparatory, initial, middle, final, result. It is also taken into account that a situation may not have a gap between the beginning and the end, and may be characterized by instantaneousness of the action.¹⁶ Based on this structure of a situation, grammatical means to express aspect meanings such as progressive, durative, completive, resultative, punctive, and limitative aspectual meanings are identified. Examples in the examined manuscript texts serve as evidence that the Old Uyghur language had a relatively developed set of means for aspectual and actional description of actions.

In Old Uyghur, analytical forms based on model CVB+AUX are used to clarify aspectual meanings. Most often such analytical forms are used in finite forms, but there are also cases of non-finite verbal forms (most frequently in adverbial clauses), for example, *alu tükädükte...* (Hüen¹⁷ V27, 11) ‘when [the monk] had taken [in his hands]’. In this example, the

¹³ TENISHEV 2002: 726.

¹⁴ PLUNGIAN 2011: 285.

¹⁵ PLUNGIAN 2011: 283.

¹⁶ PLUNGIAN 2011: 286.

¹⁷ Hereinafter: Hüen = *The Uyghur version of the biography of Xuanzang*. Published in: TUGUSHEVA 1991.

adverbial form *-dikta/dikte* with a temporal meaning and the aspectual form *-a tükä-* with the meaning of completive are used.

This study focuses on cases when the analytical form *-p bar-* is used in a meaning that has not been noted before in Old Turkic languages and in the Old Uyghur language.

The form *-p bar-* is a variation of the model *-p/pan + AUX-*, where *bar-* ‘go, reach’ is the auxiliary verb. The presence of this auxiliary verb suggests that the verb marks the final and/or resultative stage of the action. Grammatically, this form contains the converb *-p* or its variant *-pan* in the Old Uyghur language and indicates the precedence of the action expressed by the lexical verb (converb in the analytical form) relative to the action being specified. The converb *-p* indicates the meaning of completion and result of action. The combination of *-p/pan* with the auxiliary verb *bar-* also indicates the action tends towards its limit.¹⁸

In the Old Turkic languages the form *-p bar-* is mostly considered to be a form of completive action.¹⁹ Examples of usage of the form found in different manuscripts demonstrate that *-p bar-* expresses the meaning of intense start and finish of the action, that is, it is not a completive action. The action has no middle stage. This development of the process corresponds to punctual action (punctive aspect). Punctual meaning may be emphasized by a temporal morpheme, frequently a past tense morpheme, that follows the aspectual analytical morpheme. For example, the finite form with morpheme *-p bar-*: “(...) *erkän ölüp bardı*” (Suv²⁰ 4, 17–19) is followed by the morpheme *-dı* that indicates that action took place in the past.

It is noteworthy that in manuscript texts aspectual models *-p/pan + AUX-*, where *-p/pan* is negative, are not attested. In Old Turkic dated to the 10th–11th cc. written either in Runic or Old Uyghur script the converb *-matı/matın* functions as the negative form of *-p/pan*. No difference in meaning can be found, so the negative form of *-p* is traditionally considered to be *-matı*.²¹ Manuscript data contains (see below) examples of analytical forms with *-matın/-madın*.

¹⁸ YULDASHEV 1965: 75.

¹⁹ ERDAL 2004: 254.

²⁰ Hereinafter: Suv = Suvarṇaprabhāsa, i.e. The Golden Light Sutra (Altun yaruq).
Published in: *Altun Yarok B01*.

²¹ KONONOV 1980: 128; TELITSIN 1994: 124.

Examples from the texts

In the examples below, the form *-p bar-* is marked as part of verbal word forms that function as finite and non-finite forms.

(1) jemä bu bitiglär kelgincä udun χanta tütülp baryalı bolmajuuqa ötrü bu tıltay tavvaç χanqa bitig qılıp... (Hüen, 116, 11–14)

jemä bu	bitig-lär	kel-gincä	udun χan-qa		
again this	book-3PL	come-CVB	Udun ruler-DATLOC		
tüt-İL-İp_bar-vali		bol-ma-juq-qa			
stay-PASS-ASP-CVB		become-NEG-PTCP-DATLOC			

ötrü	bu	tıltav	tavvaç	χan-qa	bitig	qıl-İp
POST	this	reason	tabgatch	ruler-DATLOC	letter	do-CVB

...until these books arrived, he had not done anything to stay at the court of Udun ruler, later he described this reason in the letter to the tabgatch ruler...

In example (1), the analytical form *-p bar-* is used as part of the participial form *-yalı*, stressing the meaning of goal. The lexical verb is *tütülp-* ‘to stay’, with actional characteristic of having a limit. Lexically and grammatically, the word form indicates rapid completion of action. The form *-yalı*, regardless of the analytical form, marks the meaning of reaching a goal.

Lexical meaning of the converb determines the choice of the auxiliary verb which modifies the action’s aspectual meaning of completion and having a limit. Moreover, it removes the action’s middle phase. Thus, *-p bar-* marks only the beginning and the end of the action, i.e. it conveys the meaning of punctual action.

(2) samtso ačari alyalı unamađın bardı (Hüen 15a, 23–24)

samtso	ačari	al-vali	una-mađın_bar-dı
Tripitaka	teacher	accept-CVB	agree-ASP-3SGPST

The Tripitaka teacher did not agree to accept...

Example (2) is interesting because it probably uses the negative form *-p* or a synonymous negative form. The analytical form indicates non-completion and instantaneousness of the action of ‘agree’.

(3) *adaqin buymaq üzä jükünüp tapinip bardılar* (Hüen V27, 14–16)

<i>adaq-in</i>	<i>buy-maq</i>	<i>üzä</i>	<i>[jükün-üp tapin]-ip_bar-dī-lar</i>
leg-3POSS-ACC	deflect-SF	by means of	bow-ASP-3PLPST

Having bent [their] knees, they bowed and prayed...

In example (3), the morpheme of the analytical form is attached to verbs according to the lexical meanings. The combination of verbs *jükün-* ‘bow’, *tapin-* ‘serve’ makes their lexical meaning more precise and serves as the basis to which the analytical morpheme with punctual meaning is attached. The action reaches the end immediately after its beginning.

(4) *inčip igläyü birlä ök sav söz kodup tutar kapar erkän ölüp bardī* (Suv 4, 17–19)

<i>inčip</i>	<i>iglä-jü</i>	<i>birlä ök</i>	<i>[sav söz] kod-up</i>
so	to be ill-CVB	POST PART	lose speech-CVB
<i>[tut-ar kap-ar] erkän öl-üp_bar-dī</i>			
die-ASP-3SGPST			

And being ill, he lost his speech, convulsed, and died.

In this example the analytical form is used with two lexical verbs *kod-* and *öl-* together with the auxiliary verb *bar-*. The context demonstrates that the meaning of punctual action is expressed.

(5) *biz jämä emgäktin oztumuz kutrultumuz tip munča sözläp jitlinip bartılar* (Suv 1.00.10)

<i>biz</i>	<i>jämä</i>	<i>emgäk-tin</i>	<i>[oz-tumuz kutrul]-tumuz tip</i>
we	now	torment-ABL	[save become free]-1PLPST QUOT
<i>munča sözläp jitl-in-ip_bar-tılar</i>			
that	say-CVB	disappear-PASS-ASP-3PL PST	

“We have become free from torments,” they said and immediately disappeared.

The analytical form *-p bar-* in this context clearly expresses the meaning of punctual action. The verb *jitlin-* ‘disappear’ is used as a verb indicating an action that immediately tends towards the end. Thus, grammatically and contextually the analytical form indicates rapid achievement of a limit, end of the action, i.e. it expresses a punctual action.

(6) nečuki urislimtın önüp bardılar (Uig²² 1, 8–9)

nečuki	urislimtın	ön-üp_bar-dılar
when	Jerusalem-ABL	leave-ASP-3PLPST

When they immediately left Jerusalem.

In this example, the use of the analytical form puts emphasis on the fact that the Magi left Jerusalem hastily. The action ‘leave’ is carried out as fast as possible and reaches its end.

Conclusion and results

Morphological means of expressing aspectual meanings common in Turkic languages are represented mainly by analytical forms which combine converbs with an auxiliary verb that has lost its main lexical meaning.

The morphemes described above are used to indicate the meanings of both linear and secondary aspects, including aspectual clusters such as extended perfect. Based on the Old Uyghur language data, basic meanings of the aspectual system (the linear aspect) were analyzed. The meanings of the linear aspect reflect the structure of action in which five stages are distinguished: preparatory, initial, middle, final, result. Some actions under observation do not necessarily have a middle phase, so they occur instantly, i.e. they only have initial and final phases. This kind of aspectual meaning is called punctual action (punctive aspect).

In research on the Old Turkic and Old Uyghur languages, analytical forms capable of expressing aspectual meanings have not been studied in detail using the approach that examines the internal structure of action. The analytical form *-p bar-* studied in the this article is usually viewed as

²² Uig = The Adoration of the Magi. Published in: MALOV 1951: 132.

expressing a completive meaning, i.e. indicating the final point of some situation. The contextual use of *-p bar-* in the Old Uyghur language, however, demonstrates that this form indicates an intense beginning and instantaneous completion of action without any middle phase. Contextual situations found in the data from Old Uyghur manuscripts indicate that *-p bar-* is capable of expressing the meaning of instantaneous or punctual action.

Studying the structure and features of aspectual meanings in the Old Uyghur language makes it possible to describe and understand the semantic field of aspectuality of Turkic languages more accurately and in greater detail. Studying contextual situations in which specific analytical forms are used helps assess the scope of semantic use of these forms. Diachronic analysis of the use of analytical forms creates the foundation for a more detailed study of aspectual semes and morphemes in modern Turkic languages.

Applying diachronic approach in research gives a new perspective to the studies of modern Turkic languages that are carried out based on synchronic approach.

Further research on the aspectual system of the Old Uyghur language, based on the linguistic data found in available manuscripts, will clarify and refine our understanding of aspectuality in Turkic languages.

List of abbreviations

ABL	Ablative case	OPT	optative
ACC	Accusative case	PART	particle
ASP	Aspectual seme	PL	plural
CAUS	causative	POSS	possessive
CVB	converb	PRF	perfect
DATLOC	dative locative case	PRS	present tense
DISTR	distributive consonant	PST	past tense
EQT	equative	PTCP	participle
FUT	future tense	QUOT	quotation
GEN	Genitive case	SG	singular
IMP	imperative	SREP	secondary representation
LOCABL	locative ablative case	1	1st person
MOD	modality	2	2nd person
NEG	negative	3	3rd person

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