A Novel Approach to Delineating Kazakh's Five Present Tenses: Lexical Aspect

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Abstract

The present tense in Kazakh may be expressed through the use of four auxiliary verbs (*jatir* '*lie*', *jür* '*go*', *tur* '*stand*', and *otir* '*sit*'), as well as through a form which is morphologically equivalent to the present tense in other Central Asian Turkic languages, but is usually considered to refer to future tense in Kazakh. Previous works concerning these forms ignore any differences in use; vaguely ascribe them to aspectual variation, at best alluding to a perfective/imperfective breakdown; or attempt to attribute the literal meanings of the auxiliaries to the position in which the event is performed. However, I have found that the specific temporal and aspectual differences between these five present tenses in Kazakh, as well as various restrictions on their uses, may be viewed as being based on aspectual properties of the events they pattern with—specifically, a system consisting of the distinctions $\pm telic$ and $\pm stages$. In addition, there are other aspectual properties, such as the duration of the event before the timeframe in question, which appear relevant as well.

1 Overview

The present tense in Kazakh may be expressed through the use of four verbs which pattern with a participial main verb: *jatur* '*lie*' (1a), *jür* '*go*' (1b), *tur* '*stand*' (1c), and *otur* '*sit*'(1d); in addition, the form which is morphologically equivalent to the present tense in other Central Asian Turkic languages retains some present tense usage in Kazakh (2a), though it is generally considered to refer to future tense (2b).¹

(1) a. $\ddot{U}y-ge$ kel-e jatir-min home-DAT come-presPART lie-1st.sg "I'm coming home."

¹Unless otherwise specified, all sentences are elicited in 2004 and 2005 from my primary informants (Anna Kudiyarova Mergenbaevna, Assel Nussupova, and Malika Nigmatulina—to whom I'm endlessly grateful), from communications with other native speakers of Kazakh, or from my own knowledge of the language. Of course, any errors in data or analysis are exclusively mine.

- b. $\ddot{U}y-ge$ kel-ip j $\ddot{u}r-min$ home-DAT come-presPART go-1st.sg "I come home [e.g., every day]."
- c. Ol qazir bastıq-qa sen-ip tur he now boss-DAT believe-pastPART stand "He believes his boss right now."
- d. Say is-ip otir-min tea drink-pastGER sit-1st.sg "I am drinking tea."
- (2) a. Ol bastiq-qa sen-e-di he boss-DAT believe-presPART-3rd "He believes his boss."
 - b. $\ddot{U}y-ge$ kel-e-min home-DAT come-PRES-1st.sg "I will come home."

These five present tense forms—the verbal quartet and the simple present tense—may appear at first glance to be interchangeable, and while most accounts treat them either as interchangeable or as varying in vague aspectual properties, a thorough analysis shows that many of the differences can be attributed to specific properties of lexical aspect.

2 Cutting the Quartet

2.1 Previous Analyses

Several superficial differences between the forms have been pointed out in existing literature. While some sources offer no explanation for the differences (Somfai Kara (2002), Kubaeva (2003), etc.), others ascribe them vaguely to aspectual differences (Kirchner (1998), Bekturova & Bekturov (1996), Krippes (1996), and Demirci (2003)).

One example of this is the analysis (?) that there are lexicalised perfective and imperfective verbs pairs as in Slavic languages; in fact, this analysis appears to have arisen from the tradition of Russian grammarians. Some interesting pairs are *need examples from source*. This analysis assumes the lack of a productive system, which is undesirable, and which after some structured investigation appears not to be the case.

Another source (?) suggests that there is a ranking of the auxiliaries based on the relative length of aspect frame which they convey

Bekturova & Bekturov (1996) also suggests that the auxiliary indicates the position in which the event in question is performed (see figure 1 on page 6).

While the first three illustrations in figure 1(a) literally depict the position suggested by the auxiliary used ($j\ddot{u}r$ "going," tur "standing," and otur "sitting"), the last illustration, using *jatur*, does not depict an event being performed lying down. Furthermore, with the exception of the sentence provided along with the explanation for $j\ddot{u}r$ under



The form of the Compound Present Tense has different shades of meaning. It depends on the usage of one of the verbs: **отыр, тұр, жүр, жатыр**.

1. Отыр denotes an action taking place at the moment of speaking (when the subject is sitting): Әділ кітап оқып отыр "Adil is reading a book". Кәрім шай ішіп отыр. "Karim is having tea".

2. Typ attaches the character of repetition to the action taking place at the given moment (or when the subject is standing): *Eki agam coŭzecin myp.* "Two men are speaking". (standing).

Ол маған қарап тұр "He is looking at me" (the definite period of time). *Сен маған келіп тұр*. "Come to me" (repetition).

3. Жатыр attaches the constant character to the action and points to its duration: Айгул институтта оқып жатыр "Aigul studies at the Institute (continues to study at the present moment). In this case it may be translated into English by the Present Indefinite. Мен келе жатырмын "I am going" (now).

4. **Жγp** also points to the constant character of the action or its repetition: Aŭrya uncmumymma oκμm жγp "Aigul studies at the Institute". In this case the two verbs are very close in their meaning. The difference is very slight. **Жүp** is more concrete.

(a) Illustration of the four auxiliaries

(b) Explanation of illustrations

Figure 1: Excerpts from Bekturova & Bekturov (1996, 67-68)

item 4 in figure 1(b), all example events provided are activities—that is, events with stages but no endpoint.

That said, position in which the event is performed *is* relevant to a complete analysis of the verbs' differences in use, and Bekturova & Bekturov, while vague in their wording, provide one of the best attempts to account for the differences between the verbs of Kazakh's present tense verbal quartet that I have encountered, as it does begin to extract some of the main differences.

2.2 The Theoretical Framework

Rothstein (2004) discusses the classic Vendlerian (Vendler, 1957, 1967) verb classes: states, activities, achievements, and accomplishments (see also Dowty (1979)). A verb (or verb phrase) may be classified as one of these based on the properties of the event in question—namely, along the lines of telicity (whether or not it has an end-point), and stages (whether or not multiple stages exist as part of the event). Rothstein (2004, 12) applies the features $[\pm telic]$ and $[\pm stages]$ (which, as will be seen, are important in helping to delineate the verbal quartet) to lexical classes as follows: states are events which have no endpoint or stages, such as *know*, *believe*, *desire*, etc. (Rothstein, 2004, 6); activities are events with stages, but no general endpoint: *walk*, *swim*, *push a cart*, etc; achievements have no stages, and the endpoint makes up almost the entire event: *recognise*, find, die, etc; accomplishments involve an endpoint and stages, and include phrases such as *paint a picture*, *write a book*, and *deliver a sermon*. Table 1 shows a breakdown of the four categories of lexical aspect by feature.²

 $^{^{2}}$ It should be noted that verb phrases can be coërced into a different event category given the right

| | $[\pm \texttt{stages}]$ | $[\pm \texttt{telic}]$ |
|-----------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| States | - | - |
| Activities | + | - |
| Achievements | - | + |
| Accomplishments | + | + |

Table 1: A Distinctive Feature Analysis of Lexical Aspect

2.3 The Differences

Given the tools of lexical aspect and the breakdown thereof by feature, the uses of Kazakh's simple present tense and quartet of auxiliaries used for the present tense may be delineated along the lines of lexical aspect of the verb phrases they select.

2.3.1 The Simple Present Tense

The simple present tense in Kazakh is used with non-telic events (states and activities) for generic statements (ex. 8), and with telic events (achievements and accomplishments) for future tense (ex. 9). It can also convey habitual aspect for any event type if given the right context (ex. 10).

- (3) Ol bastiq-qa sen-e-di
 3rd.sg boss-DAT believe-presPART-3rd
 "S/he believes his/her boss."
- (4) Men alma-ni je-y-min I apple-ACC eat-presPART-1st.sg "I'm going to eat the apple."
- (5) Kün-de alma je-y-min day-LOC apple eat-presPART-1st.sg
 "I eat an apple daily."

2.3.2 jatır - 'lie'

The verb *jatır* in Kazakh could be translated as something along the lines of "to be lying down." This is the most generally used of the present tense quartet's verbs, as it indicates progressive aspect. Its use is restricted to events with stages and coërces non-staged events into having stages.

The verb *jatur* is hence used with activities ([-telic,+stages], ex. 11) and accomplishments ([+telic,+stages], ex. 12) to indicate progressive aspect:

aspectual information—for example, an achievement is coërced into an accomplishment by using progressive aspect in English: "I'm finding my glasses."

(6) Men qazir jügir-ip jatır-mın I now run-pastPART lie-1st.sg "I'm running right now."

(7) Men qazir alma je-p jatır-mın I now apple eat-pastPART lie-1st.sg "I'm eating an apple right now."

Jatir is used with states ([-telic,-stages]) and achievements ([+telic,-stages]) only to coërce [+stages], just as use of the progressive does in English.³ States become activities (13) and achievements become accomplishments (14):

- (8) Palaw oğan qazir una-p jatır plov (a rice dish) 3rd.sg.DAT now like-pastPART lie
 "He likes plov right now," "He is sitting at the table and enjoying having plov for lunch or dinner."
- (9) Ata-si qazir öl-ip jatır grandfather-POS.3rd.sg now die-pastPART lie "His grandfather is dying right now."

$2.3.3 \quad j\ddot{u}r - 'go'$

The verb **jür** in Kazakh means literally "to be going" or "to run" (of a machine) (Balakaev et al., 1962, 277). It generally indicates either habitual aspect—which has varied implications depending on the aspectual properties inherent to the event—or a sort of perfect progressive.

When *jür* is used with states ([-telic,-stages]), it adds to the present tense the aspectual properties of the state having already begun but still being true—a persistent aspect akin to perfect progressive:

(10) a. Oğan una-p jür-min 3rd.sg.DAT like-pastPART go-1st.sg "S/he likes me." (i.e., "S/he has liked me for a certain amount of time.")
b. Oğan bas-ı awr-ıp jür 3rd.sg.DAT head-POSS.3rd hurt-pastPART go "His/her head has been hurting."

When $j\ddot{u}r$ is used with achievements ([+telic,-stages]), it adds the aspectual meaning to the achievement of regular recurrence:

(11) Jib-ip jür melt-pastPART go "It melts." (e.g., "every day")

The verb $j\ddot{u}r$ is used with activities ([-telic,+stages]) to show a perfect progressive sort of persistence:

³I have very sparse data on the use of jatir with states and achievements.

- (12) Men kün-de biyle-p jür-min I day-LOC dance-pastPART go-1st.sg
 "I dance every day." (i.e., "I've been going dancing. [I've started lessons and go every day.]")
- (13) Bir sağat jügir-ip jür one hour run-pastPART go
 "S/he's (been) running for an hour."

When used with **accomplishments** ([+telic,+stages]), *jür* adds the aspectual information of on-going participation (though not necessarily at the present time) in various stages of an accomplishment:

(14) Kitap jaz-ıp jür-min book write-pastPART go-1st.sg
"I'm writing a book." (i.e., "I started writing a book; I've been writing and doing research for it, and will finish at some undetermined point in the future.")

2.3.4 tur - 'stand'

The verb tur in Kazakh means literally "to be standing."

The auxiliary verb tur may be used with states ([-telic,-stages]), to show that the event is occuring *now* (compare 20b against 20a, which uses the simple present tense) or during some period of time (21):

(15)a. Ol bastiq-qa sen-e-di he boss-DAT believe-presPART-3rd "He believes his boss." b. Ol gazir bastiq-qa sen-ip turhe now boss-DAT believe-pastPART stand "He believes his boss right now." (16)a. *Oğan* una-ptur-min 3rd.sg.DAT like-pastPART stand-1st.sg "S/he likes me [e.g., during some period of time, such as 'right now']." bas-i awr-ipturb. Oğan 3rd.sg.DAT head-POSS.3rd hurt-pastPART stand "His/her head hurts [e.g., right now]."

Tur may be used with achievements ([+telic,-stages]) to show that the endpoint that constitutes the achievement is occuring *now*, and practically coërces stages in so doing (compare 22a and 22b):

- (17) a. **Biz taw** töbe-si-ne kün-de jet-e-miz we mountain peak-POS.3rd-DAT day-LOC reach-presPART-1st.pl "We reach the summit of the mountain every day."
 - b. Biz taw töbe-si-ne qazir jet-ip tur-miz we mountain peak-POS.3rd-DAT now reach-pastPART stand-1st.pl "We are reaching the summit of the mountain right now."

Tur is occasionally⁴ used with activities ([-telic,+stages]), to show that the activity is being performed in a standing position; except possibly for a adding a more focussed immediacy to the connotation, its use is in all other ways similar to that of *jatur*:

(18) a. Ol süwret sal-ıp jatır s/he picture/drawing put-pastPART lie "S/he's drawing."
b. Ol süwret sal-ıp tur s/he picture/drawing put-pastPART stand

"S/he's drawing standing."

Tur is used with accomplishments ([+telic,+stages]), to convey a progressive meaning like *jatir*, with the added connotation of either a standing position or of a sort of immediacy:

- (19) Men qazir alma jep tur-min I now apple eat-pastPART stand-1st.sg "I'm eating an apple (standing / right) now."
- (20) ?Men qazir xat-tı jaz-ıp tur-mın I now letter-ACC write-pastPART stand-1st.sg "I'm writing the letter (standing / right) now."

2.3.5 ot ir - 'sit'

The verb **otir** in Kazakh means literally "to be sitting." Its use as an auxiliary generally conveys progressive aspect, but with the connotation that the event has already started some time in the past and/or that the event is performed in a sitting position.

With activities ([+stages,-telic], 26) and accomplishments ([+stages,+telic], 27), *otur* indicates progressive aspect with the added information of sitting:⁵

- (21) Süwret sal-ıp otır picture put-pastPART sit "S/he's (sitting and) drawing."
- (22) Men qazir alma je-p otir-min I now apple eat-pastPART sit-1st.sg "I'm (sitting and) eating an apple now."

With states ([-stages,-telic]) and achievements([-stages,+telic]), *otir* is rare, but like *jatir*, can coërce a progressive reading (i.e., [+stages]), but with the added notion of the event being performed in a seated position (ex. 28a;⁶ cf. 21a),

⁴I have few examples of tur with activities because most of the activities that I elicited involved verbs of motion, which cannot be carried out standing [in Kazakh]. *Süwret sal* (lit. "*put a picture*") is a light verb meaning "*draw*;" it should not have an accomplishment reading of "*draw a picture*."

⁵The verb *otur* is largely unattested in my data with activities, apparently due to the fact that most of the activities that I elicited involved movement (e.g., *dance*, *swim*, *run*), which are not naturally carried out sitting.

⁶The provided example is the only such example in my dataset.

or can add the aspectual nuance of the event having already begun (ex. 28b; cf. 15b, 21b).

(23) a. Oğan una-p otır-mın 3rd.sg.DAT like-pastPART sit-1st.sg "S/he is liking me (right now, and I am sitting)."
b. Oğan bas-ı awr-ıp otır 3rd.sg.DAT head-POSS.3rd hurt-pastPART sit

"His/her head hurts [e.g., right now, and has for some time]."

2.4 Codifying the Differences

| | states | achievements | activities | accomplishments |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|------------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| | like, believe | find, die, reach | dance, run, draw | eat an apple |
| $\pm \texttt{stages}$ | _ | _ | + | + |
| $\pm \texttt{telic}$ | _ | + | _ | + |
| simple | habitual, | habitual, | habitual, | habitual, |
| present | $\operatorname{generic}$ | future | (generic) | future |
| jatır - 'lie' | coërces progressive | | progressive | |
| | (+stages) | | | |
| $j\ddot{u}r$ – 'go' | $\operatorname{perfect}$ | habitual | perfect | habitual |
| | progressive | recurrence | progressive | participation |
| tur - 'stand' c | immediate, | | immediate, | |
| | coërces standing progressive | | standing progressive | |
| otir - 'sit' | | sistent, | persistent, | |
| | coërces sitting progressive | | sitting progressive | |

Table 2 summarises the differences in use between the five present tenses in Kazakh, as determined by this study.

Table 2: Breakdown of Kazakh Present Tense

3 Closing Thoughts

3.1 Summary

This paper has examined several problems presented by the situation of the present tense in Kazakh. The evidence indicates that the four verbs used in the present tense should be considered auxiliaries—as opposed to light verbs—due to their defective paradigms, their semi-independent status in the language, and the fact that they pattern only with other verbs. It has also been shown that the differences in usage between the five forms constituting the present tense in Kazakh—the four auxiliaries and the simple present—may be delineated through lexical aspect; a summary of the results of this is shown in table 2. Furthermore, not only is lexical aspect crucial for considering this problem, but it is evident that an analysis which divides the aspectual categories along the features $[\pm stages]$ and $[\pm telic]$ provides a convenient way to approach it.

3.2 What's Left

Further elicitations and evalution could provide more comprehensive and specific generalisations about the aspectual nuances of each form and the uses of the auxiliary quartet in other tenses, as well as help to determine the productivity of the descriptive function of the **participle + helping verb** construction (such as the "sitting" and "standing" progressives) in Kazakh.⁷

⁷Thanks to Andrew Nevins for suggesting this possibility.

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