

# The Problem of Auxiliary Verbs in the Turkic Languages

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## 1. Introduction to the Problem

In my modest contribution to this congress on the subject of auxiliary verb constructions in Turkic languages, I would like to accomplish several simple tasks. First of all, although many Turkic languages make constant use of auxiliary verb constructions, Republican Turkish does not rely on such constructions. Since most students of Turkology both in Turkey as well as outside of Turkey approach the study of other Turkic languages through the study of the Turkish language, a survey of the problem of auxiliary verb constructions in other Turkic languages may prove useful. Second, the study of auxiliary verb constructions in the Turkic languages has seen many important contributions in recent years. In this regard, I would simply like to review the conclusions of important works of the last decade on this question. Finally, I would like to offer some additional data and some of my own reflections on the importance of these constructions in the study of Turkology.

Our discussion of the study of auxiliary verb constructions in the Turkic languages should begin no doubt with the treatment of this phenomenon in various Turkic languages published by D.M. Nasilov in 1978.[1] In this article Nasilov treats the problem of auxiliary verbs together with the question of aspect not only in the Turkic languages, but in the Mongol and Manchu-Tunguz languages as well. He offers detailed enumerations of these auxiliary verbs as used in Old Turkic[2] and Uzbek,[3] and a brief description of the use of these verbs in Kazan Tatar.[4] In his Table I he offers long lists of these for Old Turkic, Uzbek, Karakalpak, Kazan Tatar, Tuvan, Turkish, and Yakut accompanied by the lexical meaning of these verbs by themselves as well as their meaning as auxiliary verbs.[5] Earlier, Nasilov had contributed a brief article in German relating to this topic to the proceedings of the I. Türk Dili Bilimsel Kurultayı which met in Ankara in 1972.[6] In this article he limits himself to an enumeration of such auxiliary verbs as used in Old Turkic.[7]

Since the publication of Nasilov's article two other monographic studies have appeared in West Germany treating this same topic, both in 1984. The first, by W.-E. Scharlipp, treats such auxiliary verbs in modern Uyghur.[8] The second, by C. Schönig, is a detailed theoretical description and classification of the functioning and phase structure of selected auxiliary verb constructions in Kazan Tatar.[9] Schönig's work also surveys auxiliary verb forms in a wide range of other Turkic languages.[10]

## 2. Function of Auxiliary Verbs

Auxiliary verbs as I am discussing in this paper are used not in the formation of compound tenses, but rather in such a manner as to influence the meaning of the main verb in a sentence. Nevertheless, beyond such a statement, there is still no scholarly consensus on the classification and interpretation of auxiliary verb constructions. Under the strong influence of Russian linguistics, where the question of aspect (Russian *vid glagola*) is a major topic, many Turkologists have also placed a strong emphasis on the question of aspect in the Turkic languages.[11] Aspect, however, can be explained as a semantic distinction in the meaning of a verb expressed through grammar. Aspect and related phenomena in Turkish has been studied in the fundamental work of L. Johanson.[12] In most Turkic languages, however, an auxiliary

verb modifies the meaning of the main verb in a sentence. This system of auxiliary verbs can be explained most usefully by the term Aktionsart. Aktionsart (Russian sposob deystviya) refers to the semantic distinctions represented through lexicalization (or according to some scholars through derivational morphology).[13]

Aktionsart in Turkic languages can refer to only one of the two kinds of verbal constructions, what Schönig calls "full verb constructions" (German Vollverbverbindungen) or "auxiliary verb constructions" (German Hilfsverbverbindungen). In both kinds of constructions, Verb 1--in the form of a gerund (present or past)--is immediately followed by Verb 2 in a finite form. A "full verb construction" exists when Verb 1 is a gerund and Verb 2 is a finite verb governing the case; Verb 2 brings no additional nuances to Verb 1. In an "auxiliary verb construction", Verb 1 governs the case and Verb 2 is modifying Verb 1 through the addition of nuances; in such a construction Verb 1 and Verb 2 can be separated by a non-lexical particle.[14] According to some scholars, in a full verb construction Verb 1 sets up a condition (Russian obstoyatel'stvo).[15] The meaning of Verb 2 in an auxiliary verb construction can differ based on whether it follows a past gerund (-p) or a present gerund (-a or its allomorphs). As Schönig also notes, many examples of full verb constructions will be identical with auxiliary verb constructions. To illustrate these two different constructions I offer the following examples from Kazan Tatar:

Full Verb Construction: akçanı kilep aldı "he came and took the money"

(Verb 2 governs case)[16] Auxiliary Verb Construction: öygä kerep kitte "he went into the house"

(Verb 1 governs case, Verb 2 modifies Verb 1)[17]

### 3. Auxiliary Verbs Used in the Turkic Languages

Nasilov offers very useful lists of auxiliary verbs in the different Turkic languages which continue to form the basis of more recent research on the subject. He has already given examples for Old Turkic in his article published in the proceedings for the congress of 1972,[18] though this topic requires more attention. In this paper I would like to list the auxiliary verbs which Nasilov gives for Uzbek together with the examples he gives. I have included brief Turkish translations of Nasilov's interpretations of the meanings of the various auxiliary verb functions for Uzbek.[19] As mentioned earlier, there is a great deal of disagreement over the meaning of these auxiliary verb constructions. For example, Schönig disagrees with the emphasis placed by Nasilov and others on the primary meaning of the auxiliary verb in interpreting its use as an auxiliary verb.[20] Therefore I give parallel Kazan Tatar forms so that one may refer afterwards to the analyses of Schönig and earlier authors who have treated equivalent constructions in Kazan Tatar. I have also given references to Scharlipp's work on modern Uyğur, a language very close to Uzbek. Finally, under each entry I will offer examples relevant to the subject of auxiliary verbs from the main entries in the 1981 two-volume Uzbek-Uzbek dictionary.[21] The following list of Uzbek auxiliary verbs is in the order given Nasilov in his text (it does not correspond to the numeration given by him on Table I in his article):

1) -b ol- : "result of an action is used by the subject for himself, in his own interests". Examples: lektsiyani yozib ol-, oilasini çaqirtirib ol-, qazib ol-, uni qandaydir bir hissiyot qamrab oldi, yodlab ol-) [KT. -p al-]

-a/-y ol- : "possibility". Examples: yoza ol-, kela ol-, işlay ol-

ЎТЇЛ, i, p. 534: [16.] =i(b) affiksli ravişdoşlar bilan birikib, quşma fe"l hosil etadi va iş-harakatning uzi uçun bacarilganligini bildiradi, mas. bilib olmoq, tortib olmoq, yetib olmoq, yiğib olmoq, suğurib olmoq, yoza olmoq, qila olmoq.

2) -a/-y boşla- : "beginning of an action". Examples: aylana boşla-, çala boşla-, uqiy boşla-

ŪTİL, i, p. 139: [I.4.] =a, =y affiksli ravişdoşlar bilan ifodalangan iş-harakatning boşlanganligini yoki unga kirişilganligini bildiradi, mas. tükila boşlamoq, qariy boşlamoq, şabada esa boşladi.

3) -a/-y bor- : "gradual development of an action in a given direction in space". Examples: yaqinlaşa bor-, ıta bor-

-b bor- : "progressive and continuing action in a determined direction in space, time".

Examples: yugurib bor-, yozib bor-, qurib bor-, oşib bor- [Cf. Scharlipp, pp. 83-86]

ŪTİL, i, p. 132: [10.] Yetakçi fe"l ifodalagan iş-harakatning daracama-daraca rivoclanişini bildiradi. Şamol kuçayib borayotir. Bemorning ahvoli yaxşilanib boryapti. Tong yorişib bormoqda. Vaqt ıtib bormoqda.

Başorat singlisining kuz ıngida uzgarip borayotganini sezardi. A. Muxtor, Opa-singillar. Yoş yurak asta-sekin qarorini yuqota bordi. M. Ismoilıy, Farğona t.o.

Yetakçi fe"l ifodalagan iş-harakatning davomiyligini bildiradi. Sodiq uni [Otabekni] Quqon darvozasidan çiqarib, to karvonlarga quşilib olgunça ta"qib etib borgan edi. A. Qodiriy, Ūtgan kunlar. Nima bulsa ham, tevaragidagi kuklam bezaklarini kuzdan keçira boradir. A. Qodiriy, Ūtgan kunlar.

Yetakçi fe"l ifodalagan iş-harakatning tugallanganligini bildiradi. Zolototaryovka qışloğiga Ahmadcon va uning bulinmasi hammadan burun kirib bordi. A. Qahhor, Oltin yulduz. Bu yoz paxtani küriş uçun xucayin çiqib bordi. Oybek, Qutluğ qon.

4) -b ber- : "result of an action is used by the subject for someone else". Examples: yiğib ber-, aytib ber-, topib ber-, bilib ber- [KT. -p bir-; cf. Scharlipp, pp. 87-92]

-a/-y ber- : "slow, natural course of action, often with a meaning of repetition or typicalness". Examples: uqiy ber-, süray ber-, yiğlay ber-, bora ber-

ŪTİL, i, p. 104: [8.] Kümakçi fl. vazifasida =(i)b affiksli ravişdoş şaklida yetakçi fe"l orqali ifodalangan iş-harakatning birov uçun bacarilganligini bildiradi, mas. uqib bermoq, yozib bermoq, olib bermoq.

Siz Oltin yulduzni qanday qilib olgansiz? Şuni aytib bersangiz. A. Qahhor, Oltin yulduz. Xadiça xola, bolalik çoğidagi singari, uning [Sidiqconning] beliga non tugib berdi. A. Qahhor, Quşçinor.

[9.] Kümakçi fl. vazifasida =(a)y affiksli ravişdoş şaklidagi yetakçi fe"l orqali ifodalangan iş-harakatning davomiyligi yoki takroriyiligini bildiradi, mas. u uqiy berdi, men süray berdim.

Duşman rıparadan hucum qilib qayta-qayta qanğsari yorila bergandan keyin nayrang işlatmoqçi buldi. A. Qahhor, Oltin yulduz. -- Hüp mayli,-- dedi Ūrmoncon,-- bular iş bulib ıtıpti. Endi bemalol, bexavotir işlay bering. A. Qahhor, Quşçinor.

5) -a/-y bil- : "possibility of completing an action". Examples: qila bil-, gaplaşa bil-

ŪTİL, i, pp. 114-115: No examples.

6) -b bit- : "completion of action". Examples: yonib bit-, çirib bit-, tuzib bit- [KT. -p bet-/beter-]

ŪTİL, i, p. 122: [3.] =i(b) affiksli ravişdoşlar bilan kümakçi fe"l vazifasida kelib, iş-harakatning tugallanganligini bildiradi. Kiçikroq vodiyning har yer-har yeridan suyuq tutun kütarilmoqda --

qişloq batamom yonib bitgan. A. Qahhor, Oltin yulduz. Qizim, dadang, enang hasratingda kuyib bitdi. Oybek, Qutluğ qon.

7) -b bitir- (bitkaz- ~ bitkar-) : "completion of action (transitive verbs)". Examples: yozib bitir-, sotib bitir-, qurib bitkaz-, xarclab bitir-

ŪTİL, i, pp. 121-122: No examples.

8) -b bül- : "full completion of action". Examples: yozib bül-, soğib bül-, ekib bül-

ŪTİL, i, p. 163: [I.14.] Kumakçi fe"l vazifasida =(i)b affiksli ravişdoşlar bilan qūşilib, iş-harakatning tugallanganligini bildiradi. Yozib bülmoq. Ūqib bülmoq.

Ayol paxtasini tukib bülgunça, Ğulomcon unga yer ostidan razm solib turdi. M. Ismoiliiy, Farğona t.o.

Būlişsiz formalarda kelib iş-harakatning amalga oşirilişi qiyinligini yoki mumkin emasligini bildiradi. It oğzidan suyak olib bülmas. Maqol.

Lektor mening gapimga avval hayron bülđi, keyin çuqur xürsinib: -- Qanday qilay, lektsiya ūqiganda quyuşqondan taşqari çiqib bülmaydi. A. Qahhor, Quyuşqon.

9) -a/-y yoz- : "action close to completion". Examples: yiqila yoz-, ūla yoz-

ŪTİL, i, p. 254: [III.3.] Kumakçi fe"l vazifasida -a bilan yasalgan ravişdoş bilan kelib, yetakçi fe"l anglašilgan iş-harakatning tula ruyobga çiqmaganligini, bacarilişiga sal qolganligini bildiradi. Ehtimol, [Olimcon] ana şu mehnat şavqiga kūmilib, Oyqizni ham unuta yozgandir. Ş. Raşidov, Būrondan kuçli. Hikoya bitgaç, [imom] zaharxanda bilan Samad buqoqqa qaradi, dami kesila yozgan buqoq bundan ruhlandi. A. Qodiriy, Mehribondan çayon.

10) -b yet- : "action reaching completion". Examples: borib yet-, kelib yet-, pişib yet- [KT. -p cit-/citker-]

ŪTİL, i, p. 251: [10.] Yetakçi fe"ldan anglašilgan iş-harakatning tugallanganligini bildiradi. Zaynab .. ūz uyiga borib yetdi. A. Qodiriy, Ūtgan kunlar. Yuq, hali anglab yetganingizça yuq. N. Safarov, Uyğoniş. Ota-onasiga ūz sūzini yetkazişga Saidiy işonib yetmadi. A. Qahhor, Sarob.

11) -b yubor- : "completion and exhaustiveness of action, accompanied sometimes with a nuance of intensity, short duration, etc.". Examples: doğ-duğ qilib yubor-, itarib yubor-, yiğlab yubor-, tukib yubor-, sūzlab yubor-, tutatib yubor- [KT. -p cibār-]

ŪTİL, ii, p. 461: [3.] =(i)b qūşimçali ravişdoşlardan keyin kumakçi fe"l vazifasida kelib, iş-harakatning tusatdan ruy berganligini va tugallanganligini bildiradi, mas. taşlab yubordi, yiğlab yubordi, içib yubordi, ūqib yubordi.

Lektor .. xatga qarab, cahl bilan yana bir marta "ūrtoqlar" dediyu, lektsiyani boşlab yubordi. A. Qahhor, Lektor. Hokim uçta mahbusni şahar turmasiga cūnatayotganida ūşalarni Quدرات akam qoçirib yubordi. M. Ismoiliiy, Farğona t.o. -- Ikki ūrtoğim meni, ūzini tutolmas, bir narsa deb baqirib yuborar, .. -- deb .. xavotir olişyapti, --- dedi Ahmadcon. A. Muxtor, Davr mening taqdirimda. Ali tacang burişiq peşanasini silab, lab-luncini tutolmay, kulib yubordi. Oybek, Quyoş qoraymas.

12) -b kel- : "continuing action centered in space or time around the direction of the speaker and proceeding until the final point in space or a determined moment in time". Examples: qaytib kel, ishlab kel, borib kel, saqlab kel- [Cf. Scharlipp, pp. 51-57]

ЎТЇЛ, i, p. 378: [13.] =(i)b ravişdoş formasidagi yetakçi fe"l bilan birikib, kumakçi fe"l vazifasida qullanadi va harakatning ança ilgaridan davom etayotganligini bildiradi. Nurining buyruqlariga süzsüz büysunib kelgan Gulnor, heç nima yulamasdan urnidan turdi. Oybek, Qutluğ qon. [Qori:] Men bu sirni şu çoqqaça içimda saqlab kelayotgan edim, endi aytmasam bülmaydi A. Qahhor, Xotinlar.

13) -b kür- (~ -a/-y kür-) : "attempt to complete action". Examples: üylab kür[!], yeb kür-, kela kür-(ma!) [Cf. Scharlipp, pp. 98-101]

ЎТЇЛ, i, p. 420: [13.] küm. fl. vazifasida: 1) ravişdoşning =(i)b affiksli formasi bilan birikib, sinaş, biliş uçun qilingan iş-harakatni bildiradi, mas. yeb kürmoq, hidlab kürmoq, çamalab kürmoq, ovqatning tuzini tatib kür;

2) ravişdoşning =a/=y affiksli formasi bilan birikib, biror iş-harakatni bacarmaslik haqida qat"iy ogohlantirişni bildiradi, mas. bora kürma, iça kürma, süray kürma.

14) -a/-y ket- : "beginning of an action and its intensive development without apparent completion". Examples: yugura ket-, maqtay ket-

-b ket- : "exhaustiveness of action accompanied by intensity and suddenness of the action; with verbs of motion it can indicate centering of the action away from the speaker". Examples: sirğanib ket-, terlab ket-, qop teşilib ket-(di), uzilib ket-, uni acina çalib ket-(ibdi), yuvib ket-, yalt etib ket-, üt olib ket-, buzilib ket-, boyib ket-, ülib ket- [KT. -p kit-; cf. Scharlipp, pp. 34-41]

ЎТЇЛ, i, p. 383: [16.] Kümakçi fl. vazifasida ravişdoşning =(i)b affiksli formasiga birikkanda: 1) harakat, holatning yuqori daracada yuz berişini bildiradi, mas. qizarib ketmoq, ğovlab ketmoq, çarçab ketmoq;

2) harakatning túsatdan, kutilmaganda va tez yuz berişini bildiradi, mas. turtinib ketdi, qurqib ketdi, maşina birdan guvillab yurib ketdi.

Qiz Yulçining yonidan ütib, boyning darvozasiga kirarkan, parancisi uning tizzasiga tegib ketdi. Oybek, Qutluğ qon;

3) harakatning davomiyligini bildiradi. Otabek .. yangi va eşiilmagan fikrlarni süzlab ketdi. A. Qodiriy, Ütgan kunlar.

[17.] Kümakçi fl. vazifasida, ravişdoşning =a/=y affiksli formasiga birikkanda, harakatning tez ve kuçli ravişda boşlanişi va davom etişini bildiradi. Samandarov .. qulidagi qoğozni Boltaboyga berib, unga allanimani tuşuntira ketdi. A. Qahhor, Quşçinor.

15) -a/-y qol- : "modal meaning of good will, a wish for completion of action". Examples: bora qol!, yoza qol!

-b qol- : "exhaustiveness, completion of action with an additional nuance of momentary action, suddenness of appearance, transformation of quality of subject or apparent character, condition, etc.". Examples: bilib qol-, düstlaşib qol-, buzilib qol-, yomğir yoğib qol-, osilib qol-, egilib qol-, anqayib qol- [KT. -p kal-; cf. Scharlipp, pp. 63-72]

ЎТЇЛ, ii, p. 595: [15.] =a/=y affiksli ravişdoşlarga quşilib, aytilayotgan fikrga nisbatan icobiy yoki befarq munosabatni, qistaş, piçing, kesatiş kabi ma"nolarni bildiradi, mas. bora qol, ola qol, oçığini ayta qoling, yozmay quya qoling.

Oyim kela qolmadi, issiq çoy damlab berardi. B. Rahmonov, Bahor arafasi. Teşaboyning takaburligini kùrib, Hasan sùfi indamay qùya qoldi. M. Ismoiliiy, Farğona t.o.

[16.] =(i)b, ba"zan =a/=y affiksli ravişdoşlarga qùşilib harakatning kutilmaganda sodir bulganligini, tugallanganligini yoki ta"qidlaş ma"nosini ifodalaydi, mas. bilib qoldi, kùrib qoldi, sezib qoldi, cùnab qoldi, telefon ciringlab qoldi, sut açib qoldi, oğriği bilinmay qoldi, bola çarçab qoldi.

Xotinlar palovni damlagan vaqtda, boy kelib qoldi. Oybek, Qutluğ qon. Qaydam, men bir miyasi açib qolgan çolman, bolam. S. Ahmad, Hukm. Endi men senga zanglagan mix bulib qoldimmi? A. Qahhor, Yangi yer.

16) -b qùy- : "completion, exhaustiveness of action with nuances of formation of an indication, sometimes a momentary action". Examples: ilcayib qùy-, tayyorlab qùy-, eltib qùy-, bildirib qùy-, qoqib qùy-, bekitib qùy-, nuqtagaça uqib qùy-, eslatib qùy-, ilib qùy-, açitib qùy- [KT. -p kuy-; cf. Scharlipp, pp. 42-50]

ŪTİL, ii, p. 633: [30.] =(i)b, =a/=y affiksli ravişdoşlarga birikib, kùmakçi fe"l sifatida harakatning tugallanganligini bildiradi, mas. ağdarib qùymoq, boy berib qùymoq, olib qùymoq, supurib qùymoq, eltib qùymoq, ùzini yùqotib qùymoq, kulib qùymoq.

Usta Bahrom tomoğini qirib, sekin yùtalib qùydi. M. Ismoiliiy, Farğona t.o. Yulakda turgan ùzbek oyim darvozadan mùralab qùydi. A. Qodiriy, Ūtgan kunlar. Ergaş işni çatoq qilib qùyida. A. Muxtor, Opa-singillar.

Şu pozitsiyada iş-harakat yoki voqeani túsatdan, kutilmaganda yuz berganini bildiradi, mas. aytib qùymoq, bildirib qùymoq.

17) -a/-y sol- : "indicates action to be followed directly by another". Examples: tura solib qoçdi, uyga kira solib karavotga ùzini taşladi

-b sol- : "completion of action with nuance of intensity". Examples: oçib sol-, tukib sol-, aytib sol- [KT. -p sal-]

ŪTİL, ii, p. 67: [17.] =a/=y yoki (-i)b affiksli ravişdoş bilan kelib, şu ravişdoş orqali ifodalangan iş-harakatning batamom yoki ruyi-rost bacarilganligini bildiradi. Bor gapni aytib solmoq.

Oçil sùragandan sùng ayta solgan. "Oçildov". Nizomcon çidamadi. Yuragida tùlib-toşgan gaplarni uzil-kesil tukib solmoqçi bulib, qizni izlab yana dalaga qarab ketdi. S. Ahmad, Ufq.

[18.] =a/=y affiksli ravişdoş bilan kùmakçi fe"l vazifasida kelib, şu ravişdoş orqali ifodalangan iş-harakatning darhol bacarilganligini bildiradi. Bola tura solib uyiga qoçdi. M. Ismoiliiy, Farğona t.o. Zamon kela solib u odamdan sùradi. M. Ismoiliiy, Farğona t.o.

18) -b taşla- : "completion of action taking place intensively, sometimes very quickly".

Examples: yozib taşla-, titib taşla-, supurib taşla-, maydalab taşla-, qirib taşla-, çuqib taşla-, ùrab-çirmab taşla- [KT. -p taşla-; cf. Scharlipp, pp. 93-97]

ŪTİL, ii, p. 139: [13.] =(i)b affiksi bilan yasalgan ravişdoşli qùşma fe"l tarkibida kùmakçi fe"l vazifasida kelib, harakatning tez va tugal bacarilganligini bildiradi, mas. qirib taşlamoq, sidirib taşlamoq, otib taşlamoq, uruşib taşlamoq, qùporib taşlamoq. Burunni sassiq deb kesib taşlamas. Maqol.

Ra"no .. atlas kùylakni yaxşigina turtib turgan sirli kukragi ustiga yon ùrim soçlarini olib taşladi. A. Qodiriy, Mehrobdan çayon. Hayot tulqini ocizlarni qirğoqqa irğitib taşlaydi. A. Ahmad, Ifq.

19) -b tuş- : "completed action, sometimes with a preservation of a downward spacial orientation". Examples: ağdarilib tuş-, uçib tuş-, siqrab tuş-, yetaklab tuş-, osilib tuş-

ŪTİL, ii, pp. 238-239: [24.] =(i)b, =a affiksli ravişdoşlar bilan kelib, iş-harakatning tugallanganligini bildiradi, mas. qulab tuşmoq, quyib tuşmoq, küçib tuşmoq, yiqilib tuşmoq.

Uning kalmagina müylovi, qop-qora қоşı üziga yaraşib tuşgan. H. Şams, Duşman. Mening nazarimda unga .. qoraçadan kelgan yigit yoqib tuşganga uxşardi. A. Ubaydullayev, Qonli izdan. [Kumuşning] kamon қоşlari, .. bir oz bota tuşgan şahlo küzlari tağin ham tim qoralıq, tağin ham hurlilik kasb etgan edilar. A. Qodiriy, Ūtgan kunlar. Nimaga yiğlamay, қоşki küzim oqib tuşsa, heç nimani kürmesam. Oybek, Qutluğ qon.

Oşib tuşmoq 1) baland narsa, tüsiq va ş. k.dan oşib ūtmoq. Devordan oşib tuşmoq.

[Otabek] xaroba imoratlarning ūrta bir yeridagi raxnadan oşib tuşış qulayroq bulgani uçun, şuning ostiga şumşayib ūtirdi. A. Qodiriy, Ūtgan kunlar;

2) küçma ortıqça, ustiga-ustak bulmoq. Sening gaping oşib tuşdi!

Bu kun tağin yiğisi oşib tuşdi. A. Qodiriy, Ūtgan kunlar;

3) küçma ūzmoq, ūtmoq. Pet'ka huzur qilib kuldi. -- Tursunbetovdan ham oşib tuşding-ku! A. Qahhor, Oltin yulduz.

[25.] =(i)b affiksli ravişdoşlar bilan kelib, iş-harakatning birdan, qūqqisdan, keskin sodir bulganligini bildiradi, mas. çüçib tuşmoq, sakrab tuşmoq.

Kamolxonov bir irğib tuşdi, gangidi: -- Yoğe, rostdanmi? A. Qahhor, İkki yorti -- bir butun.

20) -b çiq- : "completion of action in its full extent". Examples: uqib çiq-, küçirib çiq-, uylab çiq-, ūrmalab çiq-, qaynab çiq-, tekşirib çiq- [Cf. Scharlipp, pp. 58-62]

ŪTİL, ii, p. 375: [22.] =(i)b affiksli ravişdoşlar bilan kelib, iş-harakatning boşdan oyoq bacarılğanligini, tugallanganligini ifodalaydi, mas. işlab çiqmoq, kürib (qarab, küzdan keçirib) çiqmoq, sanab çiqmoq, olib çiqmoq, küçirib çiqmoq.

21) -b ūt- : "action slowing down in its development and appears for a time as though by itself, in context there originate sometimes nuances of accompaniment to another action and movement across something else". Examples: esiga solib ūt-, kürib ūt-, yoğib ūt-, qayd etib ūt-, eslatib ūt-, bosib ūt-, ta"qidlab ūt-, hazil qıstirib ūt-

ŪTİL, ii, p. 523: [30.] Ravişdoş formasidagi fe"ldan keyin kelib yul-yulakay bacarıladigan iş-harakatni bildiradi. Osmondagi samolyot, Qanotingni pastlab ūt, Qanotingni xat yozay, Sevganimga taşlab ūt. "Quşıqlar". [Valixūca:] Bir yula magazinga ham kirib ūta qol. N. Safarov, Hayot maktabi.

[31.] Kūmakçi fe"l vazifasida kelib, yetakçi fe"ldan anglaşılğan ma"noni küçaytiriş, unga diqqat calb etiş uçun xizmat qiladi. Hammasini yengib ūtar, Yengib ūtdi neça bor. T. Tula. Daftar muttasil ikki yılning sarguzaştlaridan sidirğa küz yumib ūtadi.. Ğ. Ğulom, Tirilgan mudra. Ūşa alam uning yuragini timdalab ūtdi. S. Ahmad, Mastura. [Rūzimat:] Ahmedov akam traktor tūğrisida gapirdilar. Men ham şu tūğrida gapirib ūtmoqçiman. A. Qahhor, Quçınor.

22) -b qara- : "attempt at completion of action". Example: ūylab qara!

ŪTİL, ii, p. 553: [16.] Kūmakçi fe"l vazifasida kelib, yetakçi fe"ldan anglašilgan iş-harakatning bacarişga urinmoq, sinab kūrmoq, unnab, harakat qilib kūrmoq kabi ma"nolarni ifodalaydi, mas. ūylab qaramoq, suriştirib qaramoq.

23) -b boq- : "attempt at completion of action". Examples: ūqib boq-(ing!), yeb boq-(ing!) [Cf. Scharlipp, pp. 98-101]

ŪTİL, i, p. 141: [7.] Kūmakçi fe"l vazifasida kelib, yetakçi fe"ldan anglašilgan iş-harakatni bacarişga uriniş, sinaş ma"nosini bildiradi. Ūqib boq. Yeb boqing.

Yulçi Şokir otaning dūkonxonasi eşiğini astagina oçib boqdi. Oybek, Qutluğ qon. Heç kimga kūrınmay ham boqdim. Oydin, Sadağang bulay, komandir.

24) -b ūl- : "intensive appearance of condition". Examples: çirçib ūl-, soğinib ūl-

ŪTİL, ii, p. 504: [4.] Fe"lning ravişdoş formalari bilan birikib kelib iş-harakatni ūta orttirib kūratiş ūçun xizmat qiladi. Yaxşi tuyib ol, bulmasa keçgaça oçqab ulasan. Peçkaga ūt yoqqunça sovqotib ūldik.

[Tūybeka:] Meni erga berganlarida senga ūxşaş men ham yiğlagan edim, ammo içimda nikoh kunining tezroq kelişini kuta-kuta ūlgan edim. A. Qodiriy, Ūtgan kunlar. Endi men qūrquib ūlaman! P. Qodirov, Qora kūrular.

25) -b yur- : "duration, repetition or typicalness of action, usuality of action". Examples: ūçib yur-, axtarib yur-, kungli ğaş bulib yur-, erinib tur- [?yur-] [KT. -p yöre-]

ŪTİL, ii, p. 473: [12.] =(i)b qūşimçali ravişdoşlardan keyin kūmakçi fe"l vazifasida kelib, harakatning davomiyligini bildiradi, mas. tomoşa qilib yurmoq, kolxozda işlab yurmoq, nima qilib yuribsiz? Men ūğlimni axtarib yuribman.

Nizomiddinovning qulidagi papirosidan sizib çiqayotgan tutun uy içida xalqa-xalqa bulib suzib yuribdi. S. Ahmad, Hukm. Qudrat ana şu yerlik halq orasida revolyutsion varaqalar mazmunini ūz tilida tuşuntirib yurdi. M. Ismoiliy, Farğona t.o.

-b yot- : Examples: ūğlim Moskvada ūqib yot-(ibdi), mevalar pişib yot-(ibdi) [KT. -p yat-]

ŪTİL, i, p. 263: [8.] Raviş va ravişdoşlar bilan birikib, iş-harakat yoki holatning doimiy, davomiy ekanligini bildiradi, mas. bekor yotmoq, işlab yotmoq, qarovsiz yotmoq.

Ūç xonali uy būm-būş, huvillab yotardi. A. Ubaydullayev, Qonli izdan. Bu e"lonlar oldida turli kasbdagi odamlar uymalanib yotadi. A. Muxtor, Opa-singillar. Bilasanmi, yer-suvdan acragan unsurlar hali-beri tinç yotmaydi. S. Ahmad, Hukm. Zazvanov: Mana ūrtoqlar, duşman tek yotmaydi. Z. Said, N. Safarov, Tarix tilga kirdi.

-b ūtir- : Examples: nima qilib ūtir-(ibsiz?), ūylab ūtir- [KT. -p utir-]

ŪTİL, ii, p. 519: [10.] Qūşma fe"l tarkibida kūmakçi fe"l vazifasida kelib, yetakçi fe"ldan anglašilgan ma"noni ta"kidlaš, unga diqqat calb etiş ūçun xizmat qiladi. Kap-katta bola çoynakni sindirib ūtiribdi-ya! Arzimagan gapga arazlab ūtiribsanmi?

Qassob labini burdi: -- Be! Biz nimani tuşunamiz. Tuşunsak, sizdan sūrab ūtirarmidik. P. Tursun, Ūqituvçi. -- Bu kişi hidlab ūtirmaydi, tūğri yeydi-qūyadi, -- dedi. A. Qahhor, Qūşçinor. Mening uyim, sizning ham uyingiz. Aytdirib yuborişimni kutib ūtirmay, bor-yuğimdan ham kelib turing. S. Ahmad, Hukm.



-b tur- : Examples: balqib tur-, yoyilib tur-, çaynab tur-, olib tur-, havo dim bulib tur-([i]bdi)  
[KT. -p tor-; cf. Scharlipp, pp. 73-82]

-a/-y tur- :

ŪTİL, ii, p. 227: [13.] Kumakçi fe"l vazifasida kelib, harakatning doimiyligini, takroriyligini yoki davomiyligini ifodalaydi. Soat yurib turibdi. Tez-tez kelib turing. Men uni har kuni kutrib turaman. Bu ariqda suv qışin-yozin oqib turadi.

Toleimga, kolxoz qurmoqçi bulib yurgan batraklarga sarkorlik qilib turgan Sattorqul akam kürinib qoldi. Ğ. Ğulom, Tirilgan murda. U [Mahmud Torobiy] ūzining Muhammad va Ali ismli ikki ukasi bilan sahardan to şomgaça mehnat qilib, katta rūzğorni tebratib turardi. M. Osim, Acdodlarimiz qissasi. İkromcon unga [Nizomconga] ūgirilib qaradi. Uning oq oralab qolgan soqollarida yoş tomçilari titrab turardi. S. Ahmad, Ufq.

Olib turmoq 1) doimiy ravişda olmoq, har doim olmoq. Çol pensiya olib turadi;

2) ehtiyot qilmoq, saqlamoq, asramoq. Olib çiqqandan süng uni Marğilon içida olib turib bulmaydi: to rom qilgunça birorta qışloqqa yuborişga tuğri keladilar [dedi Homid]. A. Qodiriy, Ūtgan kunlar.

[14.] =(i)b affiksli ravişdoş formasida kelib, uzidan oldingi ravişdoş bilan birga, harakatning ayni vaqtda davom etayotganligini bildiradi. İşlab turib ūqimoq. Yulda keta turib, sizni esladim. U fel'eton ūqib turib, taaccublandi.

Yigit velosipedni yonboşlatib turib egarga mindi-da, bir qullab rulga tiralib pedalni bosdi. S. Ahmad, Ufq. Polvon yelkasiga taşlab çiqqan qiyiğini oldi-da, uni ikki uçidan uşlab turib, bir ikki aylantirdi. M. Ismoiliy, Farğona t.o.

26) kir- : "intensity". (no. 17, Table I)

ŪTİL, i, p. 388: No examples.

yetqaz- : "completed action". (no. 44, Table I)

ŪTİL, i, p. 250: No examples.

Schönig's aforementioned study of Kazan Tatar is based on the auxiliary verb constructions -p al-, -p bir-, -p kuy-, -p sal-, -p taşla-, -p irğit-, -p cit-/citker-, -p bet-/beter-, -p cibär-, -p kit-, -p kal-, -p tor-, -p utır-, -p yat-, -p yöre-.[22] Although he discusses -a başla-, -a tor-, he does not consider these to be auxiliary verb constructions.[23] (Contrast this with Nasilov's inclusion of these in the list above.) He also does not treat Kazan Tatar verbs with modal nuances (-a al-, -p bul-, -a bel-, -a kür-).[24] He reviews the features described above as enumerated by Nasilov and other scholars[25] and he offers a further division of these verbs into the categories of verbs which cause movement (Verben des Etwas-Bewegens, namely al-, bir-, kuy-, sal-, taşla-), verbs which move on their own (Verben der Eigenbewegung, namely cit-, kit-, yöre-, kal-), and verbs of non-movement (Verben der Nichtbewegung, namely tor-, utır-, yat-).[26]

The bulk of his monograph, however, is devoted to a classification of verbal phases represented in auxiliary verb constructions drawing upon Johanson's theoretical discussions of aspect and Aktionsart in Turkish.[27] He divides verbs into the categories Initialtransformativ, Finaltransformativ, and Nontransformativ. (Initialtransformativ would be as in RT. kal-, where the transformation takes place early; Finaltransformativ would be as in RT. hazırla-; and Nontransformativ would be as in KT. köt-, so RT. bekle-.) There is also the category of desinent (terminated) versus non-desinent (non-terminated). He demonstrates that auxiliary verbs change the phase structure of a verbal expression from one category to another. His

approach has broad application to the study of auxiliary verbs other Turkic languages. In a future paper I hope to try to apply this model to the equivalent verbs in Uzbek.

#### 4. Differences between Languages: A Possible Classificatory Feature

In trying to understand the importance of auxiliary verb constructions, one naturally notices the large differences between the use of auxiliary verb forms in the various the Turkic languages. Already there were large discrepancies between the Uzbek and Tatar examples listed above by different scholars. Such constructions are not unknown in Turkish, either. From N. Yüce's list we can quote one example of each:[28]

- 1) bil- : gelebilir
- 2) ver- : aynı zamanda bir otobüs gelivermişti
- 3) yaz- : düşe yazdım
- 4) git- : iyiliğe kemlik ola gelmiş ola gider
- 5) gel- : severler dilberi ola gelmiştir
- 6) var- : gidip varır
- 7) yürü- ~ yörü- : gide yürürken
- 8) dur- : sen başka ufuklar bularak yüксеle durdun
- 9) kal- : Fazıl olduğu yerde dona kaldı
- 10) otur- : bahçede öte beri dolaşip oturur
- 11) yat- : gidi yatırım
- 12) koy- : Faik Bey onu alıkoymak için pek çok ısrar etti
- 13) düş- : bağıra düşdü
- 14) gör- : işleyü gör!

J. Deny also lists a series of these auxiliary verbs for Ottoman, including bilmek, vermek, yazmak, durmak, yatmak, gelmek, gitmek, kalmak, and komak.[29] For additional examples from early Anatolian Turkish, one may consult for example Z. Korkmaz's study of the 14th-century translation of the Marzubanname, where she lists the auxiliary verbs bil-, u-, ı-, tur-/dur-, gel-, gör-, ko-, vir-, yat-, yoru-.[30] As you know very well, however, modern Turkish hardly makes use of such constructions. Other differences between various Turkic languages are readily seen from Table I in Nasilov's article.

One conclusion that can be drawn from this is that the differences in use of auxiliary verb construction in the different Turkic languages--both in the individual verbs used and in the frequency of their usage--can serve as an additional classificatory feature among the modern dialects. Since this problem has hardly been touched upon for any of the historical languages other than Old Turkic (in both Runic and Uyğur scripts), it is still not clear how this system developed. In fact, I hope to show elsewhere that our understanding of the auxiliary verb system in Old Turkic still needs to be refined.

There are different possibilities for interpreting differences in syntax as great as between Turkish and modern Kazan Tatar, Uzbek, and Uyğur. Nasilov considers that Gagauz and Karaim do not exhibit this system of auxiliary verbs perhaps as a result of Slavic influence.[31] Whether the variation in this system is a result of divergent development in different linguistic areas or if it is a reflection of variation which existed in the earliest recorded Turkic dialects is a question which requires further study. The development of this feature of the Turkic verbal system will be better understood only when the methodology of historical syntax is applied systematically to the wealth of evidence in the Old and Middle Turkic texts.

NOTES:

- [1] D.M. Nasilov, "Formi viraeniya sposobov glagol'nogo deystviya v altayskix yazıka (v svyazi s problemoy glagol'nogo vida)", *Oçerki sravnitel'noy morfologii altayskix yazıkov*, ed. O.P. Sunik (Leningrad, 1978), pp. 88-177. For additional bibliography on this topic see this article and the works of L. Johanson, W.-E. Scharlipp, and C. Schönig listed below.
- [2] "Formi viraeniya sposobov glagol'nogo deystviya", pp. 115-122.
- [3] "Formi viraeniya sposobov glagol'nogo deystviya", pp. 122-133.
- [4] "Formi viraeniya sposobov glagol'nogo deystviya", pp. 133-135.
- [5] "Formi viraeniya sposobov glagol'nogo deystviya", pp. 136-137.
- [6] D.M. Nasilov, "Zur Interpretation der Hilfsverben in den türkischen Sprachen", *Bilimsel Bildiriler 1972* (Ankara, 1975), pp. 505-511.
- [7] "Zur Interpretation der Hilfsverben in den türkischen Sprachen", pp. 508-510.
- [8] W.-E. Scharlipp, *Auxiliarfunktionen von Hauptverben nach Konverb in der neuuigurischen Schriftsprache von Sinkiang, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 87* (Berlin, 1984).
- [9] C. Schönig, *Hilfsverben im Tatarischen. Untersuchung zur Funktionsweise einiger Hilfsverbverbindungen, Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission 35* (Wiesbaden, 1984).
- [10] *Hilfsverben im Tatarischen*, pp. 292-323.
- [11] "Formi viraeniya sposobov glagol'nogo deystviya", pp. 88-101.
- [12] B. Comrie, *Aspect* (Cambridge, 1976), p. 6 n.4. See also Nasilov, "Formi viraeniya sposobov glagol'nogo deystviya", pp. 130-133; Scharlipp, *Auxiliarfunktionen von Hauptverben nach Konverb*, pp. 28-33; and Schönig, *Hilfsverben im Tatarischen*, pp. 13-27.
- [13] L. Johanson, *Aspekt im Türkischen. Vorstudien zu einer Beschreibung des türkeitürkischen Aspektsystems, Studia Turcica Upsaliensia* (Uppsala, 1971).
- [14] *Hilfsverben im Tatarischen*, pp. 7-12.
- [15] Schönig, *Hilfsverben im Tatarischen*, p. 8.
- [16] Modified example taken from Schönig, *Hilfsverben im Tatarischen*, pp. 8-9.
- [17] See Schönig, *Hilfsverben im Tatarischen*, p. 198 for this combination.
- [18] "Zur Interpretation der Hilfsverben in den türkischen Sprachen", pp. 508-510.
- [19] "Formi viraeniya sposobov glagol'nogo deystviya", pp. 122-133. Cf. Schönig, *Hilfsverben im Tatarischen*, pp. 304-305. The numbers do not correspond to their order in Table I.
- [20] Schönig, *Hilfsverben im Tatarischen*, pp. 40-44.
- [21] *Ūzbek tilining izohli luğati, i-ii* (Moskva, 1981), which I have abbreviated ŪTİL. Some of the examples included in these entries clearly do not relate to auxiliary verb constructions. My transliteration of the Uzbek original into the Republican Turkish alphabet will hopefully be clear to all Turkologists with the exception of:
- o = T. a
- u = T. o/ö
- [22] *Hilfsverben im Tatarischen*, chaps. 2-6.
- [23] Schönig, *Hilfsverben im Tatarischen*, chaps. 7-8.
- [24] Schönig, *Hilfsverben im Tatarischen*, p. 3.
- [25] Schönig, *Hilfsverben im Tatarischen*, pp. 50-58.
- [26] Schönig, *Hilfsverben im Tatarischen*, pp. 40-44.
- [27] *Aspekt im Türkischen*, pp. 194-233; and Schönig, *Hilfsverben im Tatarischen*, pp. 34-46.
- [28] "Gerundien im Türkischen. Eine morphologische und syntaktische Untersuchung", *Inaugural-Dissertation* (Mainz, 1973), pp. 12-14.
- [29] *Grammaire de la langue turque (Dialecte osmanli)* (Paris, 1921/ *Niederwalluf bei Wiesbaden*, 1971), pp. 514-521.
- [30] Sadruddin Şeyhoğlu, ed.-trans. Z. Korkmaz, *Marzubān-nāme tercümesi. İnceleme-Metin-Sözlük-Tıpkıbasım* (Ankara, 1973), pp. 182-184.
- [31] Nasilov, "Formi viraeniya sposobov glagol'nogo deystviya", p. 138.

