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Tense and Aspect in Urdu

– English Summary[1] of BA-Thesis –

1 Introduction

1.1 Urdu

Urdu is an indoarian language spoken in Pakistan and India. Urdu and Hindi are similar in terms of phonological and grammatical reasons. But lexically there are differences because Urdu has quite a few borrowings from Arabic and Persian, and Hindi more from Sanskrit. The writing system is different as well. Urdu is written in Arabic Persian and Hindi in Devanagari.

In Urdu there is only a little morphology in connection with some axiliaries and aspectual verbs. Nevertheless the tense aspect system is quite complex. The progressive is very interesting as it's not clear yet which information comes from which part of sentence.

1.2 Tense and Aspect

Present, Past and Future are described by tense (lat., 'time')[2]. It describes in which temporal relation the speaker finds himself to what is said. Aspect (lat. a-spectus 'perspective', 'point of view')[3] describes the way in which something is said. Was something said in the past and is completed or does it still go on?

2 Theories and how to present the Data

2.1 Reichenbach (1947)

Reichenbach (1947) uses the following terms

- speech time S (point of time at which something is said)

[1] Note that this paper lacks all the passages about motivation and why I introduce some of the theories. That sort of information can be looked up in the original thesis 'Tempus und Aspekt in Urdu'.

[2] Translation from Bußmann (2002).

[3] Translation from Bußmann (2002).

- reference time R (point of time to which the spoken word is referred to)
- event time E (point of time at which the event spoken about takes place)

Reichenbach (1947) relates event and reference time and reference and speech time to one another, depending on which tense or aspect is described. Note that ◯ means simultaneity, < anteriority and > posteriority.

1. Present: E ◯ R & R ◯ S
   Frankie goes to Hollywood.

2. Past: E ◯ R & R < S
   Frankie went to Hollywood.

3. Future I: E ◯ R & R > S
   Frankie will go to Hollywood.

4. Perfect: E < R & R ◯ S
   Frankie has gone to Hollywood.

5. Past Perfect: E < R & R < S
   Frankie had gone to Hollywood.

6. Future II: E < R & R > S
   Frankie will have gone to Hollywood.

2.2 Ehrich (1992)

Ehrich (1992) shows a simple but valuable sheme, developed for German tense aspect analysis. Despite of concentrating on Urdu in this paper I want to show it because it is a DRT version of Reichenbach (1947).

		Contextually Determined	
		S , R	R < S
Intrinsic	E , R	Present	Past
Relations	E < R	Perfect	Past Perfect
	E > R	—	—

The contextually determined relations stand for tense, the intrinsic ones for aspect.

2.3 Kamp and Reyle (1993)

Kamp and Reyle (1993) developed the discourse representaion theory (DRT) which allows a more detailed presentaion of the relation between tense and aspect than Reichenbach's (1947) system does. That's because tense aspect has to be looked at in discourse context which DRT supports. Some exapmles:

(1) a. Mary wrote the letter on Sunday. (Kamp&Reyle 1993:510)

b.

$e\ t\ n\ x\ y$
$e \subseteq t$
$t < n$
Mary(x)
letter(y)
Sunday(t)
e: $\boxed{x\ write\ y}$

(Kamp&Reyle 1993:519)

The discourse representaion strucure (DRS) must be understood as follows. There is an *event e* which is embeded in the *location time t* ($e \subseteq t$). *t* takes place before the *utterance time n*. This means that the sentence is in the past. Besides that some other discourse referees are introduced, like *x* for *Mary* and *y* for *letter*. *t* stands for *Sunday*. At the end of the DRS the event *e* is submitted by *x write y*. Events and states are described without any mention of tense or aspect, as this should be clear from the analysis. That's why in this case there stands *write* instead of *wrote*. The head of the DRS contains all discourse referees mentioned.

To get an even better idea of Kamp and Reyle's (1993) DRT, a more complex example follows.

(2) a. A man entered the White Hart. He was wearing a black jacket. He had been running. (Kamp&Reyle 1993:580)

b.

$e\ t\ n\ x\ y\ s\ t'\ u\ w\ s'\ t''\ z\ s''\ e'$
$e \subseteq t$
$t < n$
man(x)
the White Hart(y)
e: $\boxed{x\ enter\ y}$
$s \bigcirc t'$
$t' < n$
$e \subseteq s$
$u = x$
black jacket(w)
s: $\boxed{u\ PROG(wear)\ w}$
$s' \bigcirc t''$
$t'' < n$
$e \subseteq s'$
$z = x$
$e' = end(s'')$
$e' \supset\!\subset s'$
s": $\boxed{z\ PROG(run)}$

(Kamp&Reyle 1993:584)

The DRS's head contains all discourse referees. The first sentence is *A man entered the White Hart* which is very similar to the one in (1). The analysis is the same, only the discourse referees are different. That's why we start off with the second sentence

He was wearing a black jacket. $s \bigcirc t'$ means that the *state* s is at t'. The tense is in the past ($t' < n$) and e is embeded in s which means that the man was wearing a black jacket (s) while entering the bar (e). In the second sentence the pronoun *he* comes up, which is introduced as u. Then u is equalised with x because *he* refers to *man*. *Black jacket* is described as w and s as u *PROG(wear)* w. *PROG* means that the sentence is a progressive one. In connection with $t' < n$ we get the *past progressive*.

With the third sentence *He had been running* things start to get very complex because of the already introduced discourse referees. Let's begin with $e' = end(s'')$. Everything before this notion should be clear by now. The *event* e' starts when the *state* s'' is over. $e' \supset\subset s'$ means that e' lasts till s' begins. The *state* s'' is described by z *PROG(run)* which means that the sentence is in past perfect progressive.

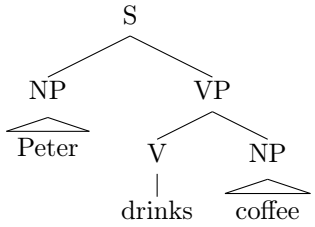
All this might be easier to understand if we rephrase it. The man which was wearing the black jacket (s) ran (s'') till he stoped doing so (e'). That's why he got into the state of having been running (s') to which the *event* e of entering the bar took place. At that time the man was still wearing the black jacket (s).

2.4 F-Structures

The Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) says that there are two levels of representation. One is the c-structure (constituent structure) and the other one is the f-structure (functional strucutre). A c-structure is represented as a phrase strucutre tree and a f-strucutre as a attribute value matrix (Butt at al. 1999).

(3) a. Peter drinks coffee.

b. c-structure:



c. f-structure:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{'drink <SUBJ,OBJ>'} \\ \text{SUBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{'Peter'} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{OBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{'coffee'} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

(Butt et al. 1999:4)

The c-structure of *Peter drinks coffee* contains a verbal phrase VP and a nominal phrase NP which become a sentence S. The VP consists of the verb *drink* and the NP *coffee*, the NP consist of the noun *Peter*. The f-structure says that there is a predicate *drink* which needs a sunject (*Peter*) and an object (*coffee*). These are very simple structures. To get a better idea of f-strucutres we'll have a look at a more complex one. I don't want to go any deeper in the topic of c-strucutres as these are of no use in this paper.

(4) a. The cat chased the dog.

b.
$$\begin{bmatrix}\text{PRED 'chase <cat,dog>'}\\ \text{SUBJ}\begin{bmatrix}\text{PRED 'cat'}\\ \text{SPEC}\begin{bmatrix}\text{DET}\begin{bmatrix}\text{PRED 'the'}\\ \text{DET-TYPE def}\end{bmatrix}\end{bmatrix}\\ \text{CASE nom, NUM sg, PERS 3}\end{bmatrix}\\ \text{OBJ}\begin{bmatrix}\text{PRED 'dog'}\\ \text{SPEC}\begin{bmatrix}\text{DET}\begin{bmatrix}\text{PRED 'the'}\\ \text{DET-TYPE def}\end{bmatrix}\end{bmatrix}\\ \text{CASE obl, NUM sg, PERS 3}\end{bmatrix}\\ \text{TNS-ASP}\begin{bmatrix}\text{MOOD indicative, PERF -, PROG -, TENSE past}\end{bmatrix}\\ \text{CLAUSE-TYPE decl, PASSIVE -, VTYPE main}\end{bmatrix}$$

This f-structure says that the predicate *chase* has the arguments *cat* and *dog*. Furthermore the subject is specified as *cat* and the object as *dog*. Both of the nouns are described in more detail. The nouns come up with the specific determiner *the*. Besides that their case, number and person are shown. Interesting for this paper is the section that says something about tense and aspect (TNS-ASP). In (4) there come up things like *indicative*, *no perfect* and *present*.

3 Survey of Tense and Aspect in Urdu

Examples are given with transitive (*mārnā*, 'hit'), unergative (*hasnā*, 'laugh') and unaccusative (*girnā*, 'fall') verbs to show whether there are differences in construction or not. Furthermore most of the examples are presented in DRSs and f-structures. Note that only one f-structure is given when there are similar sentences which solely differ in tense (present or past). In such cases the only difference in the f-structures would be the attribute *TENSE* with the value *pres* for present tense and *past* for past tense.

3.1 Tense

3.1.1 Present, Subjunctive and Imperative

In Urdu there is only present tense for the verb *hōnā* (be).

(5) **Present of hōnā** (be)

	Sg	Pl	rude	familiar	respect
1.	hũ	hɛ̃			
2.			hɛ	hō	hɛ̃
3.	hɛ	hɛ̃			

hō- (be) (Butt&Rizvi 2008:5)

(6) *nādyā* *lambī* *hɛ*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom tall.F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya is tall.' (Butt&Rizvi 2008:5)

(7) a. nādyā lambī hɛ.

b.

s t n x
$s \bigcirc t$ $t = n$ *nādyā(x)* *s:* [*x lambī*]

Other verbs use the paradigma shown in (5) for the subjunctive and questions in first and third person present.

(8) **Subjunctive**

	Sg	Pl	rude	familiar	respect
1.	mār-ũ	mār-ẽ			
2.			mār-ē	mār-ō	mār-ẽ
3.	mār-ē	mār-ẽ			

mār- (hit) (Butt&Rizvi 2008:4)

Subjunctive:

(9) a. *agar mɛ̃ adnān=kō mār-ũ, tō acc^{h}ā hō-g-ā*
if I.Nom Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-1.Sg so good be-Fut-M.Sg
'If I were to hit Adnan, that would be good.'

b. *agar mɛ̃ has-ũ, tō acc^{h}ā hō-g-ā*
if I.Nom laugh-1.Sg so good be-Fut-M.Sg
'If I were to laugh, that would be good.'

c. *agar mɛ̃ gir-ũ, tō burā hō-g-ā*
if I.Nom fall-1.Sg so bad be-Fut-M.Sg
'If I were to fall, that would be bad.'

Questions:

(10) a. *mɛ̃ adnān=kō ab mār-ũ?*
I.Nom Adnan.M.Sg=Acc now hit-1.Sg
'Should I hit Adnan now?'

b. *mɛ̃ ab nahā-ũ?*
I.Nom now bath-1.Sg
'Should I take a bath now?'

In (10) it's semantically better to use *nahānā* (take a bath) instead of *hasnā* (laugh) because t a k i n g a b a t h is more under control than l a u g h i n g. There is no example for *girnā* (fall) as this verb cannot be used here.

Part of the paradigma in (8) is used for the imperative. Note that there is a polite form as well (Butt&Rizvi 2008).

(11) **Imperative**

	rude	familiar	respect	polite
2.	dēk^h	dēk^h-ō	dēk^h-ẽ	dēk^h-īyē

dēk^h- (see) (Butt&Rizvi 2008:5)

(12) a. *adnān=kō* *mār-ō*
Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Imp.Fam
'Hit Adnan.'
b. *nahā-ō*
bath-Imp.Fam
'Take a bath.'

And again there is no example for *girnā* (fall) because the imperative can only be formed with accusative verbs.

3.1.2 Future

Special about the future is that it marks number twice – once with a number/gender morpheme and once with a person/number morpheme. Between those two there comes the future morpheme *g*.

(13) **Future**

	Sg M/F	Pl M/F	rude M/F	familiar M/F	respect M/F
1.	mār-ũ-g-ā/ī	mār-ẽ-g-ē/ī			
2.			mār-ē-g-ā/ī	mār-ō-g-ē/ī	mār-ẽ-g-ē/ī
3.	mār-ē-g-ā/ī	mār-ẽ-g-ē/ī			

mār- (hit) (Butt&Rizvi 2008:7)

Future I:

(14) *nādyā* *lambī* *hō-g-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom tall.F.Sg be-Fut-F.Sg
'Nadya will be/become tall.'

(15) a. nādyā lambī hōgī.

b.
s t n x
s ◯ *t* *t* > *n* *nādyā(x)* *s:* *x lambī*

Future II

(16) a. *nādyā=nē* *adnān=kō* *mār-ā* *hō-g-ā*
Nadya.F.Sg=Erg Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Perf.M.Sg be-Fut-M.Sg
'Nadya will have hit Adnan/Nadya will probably have hit Adnan.'
b. *nādyā* *has-ī* *hō-g-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Perf.F.Sg be-Fut-F.Sg
'Nadya will have laughed/Nadya will probably have laughed.'
c. *nādyā* *gir-ī* *hō-g-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom fall-Perf.F.Sg be-Fut-F.Sg
'Nadya will have fallen/Nadya will probably have fallen.'

(17) a. nādyānē adnānkō mārā hōgā.

b.
$e\ t_1\ n\ t_2\ x\ y$
$e \subseteq t_1$
$t_1 > n$
$t_2 > t_1$
nādyā(x)
adnān(y)
e: $x\ mārnā\ y$

Was there a definition for t_2 like *tomorrow* the DRS would be easier to understand.

(18) a. nādyā hasī hōgī.

b.
$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED 'has <nādyā>'} \\ \text{SUBJ} \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED 'nādyā'} \\ \text{NTYPE} \begin{bmatrix} \text{NSEM} \left[\text{PROPER} \left[\text{PROPER-TYPE name}\right]\right] \\ \text{NSYN proper} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{SEM-PROP} \left[\text{SPECIFIC +}\right] \\ \text{CASE nom, GEND fem, NUM sg, PERS 3} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{CHECK} \begin{bmatrix} \text{VMORPH} \left[\text{MTYPE infl}\right] \\ \text{AUXASP +, RESTRICTED –} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{TNS-ASP} \left[\text{ASPECT perf, MOOD indicative, TENSE fut}\right] \\ \text{CLAUSE-TYPE decl, PASSIVE –, VFORM perf, VTYPE main} \end{bmatrix}$$

Future Morphology with the Imperfect

(19) a. *nādyā* *adnān=kō* *mār-t-ī* *hō-g-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Impf-F.Sg be-Fut-F.Sg
'Nadya may be hitting Adnan.'

b. *nādyā* *has-t-ī* *hō-g-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Impf-F.Sg be-Fut-F.Sg
'Nadya may be laughing.'

c. *nādyā* *gir-t-ī* *hō-g-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom fall-Impf-F.Sg be-Fut-F.Sg
'Nadya may be falling.'

(20) a. *nādyā* *adnān=kō* *mār rah-ī* *hō-g-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit stay-Perf.F.Sg be-Fut-F.Sg
'Nadya might be in the process of hitting Adnan.'

b. *nādyā* *has* *rah-ī* *hō-g-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh stay-Perf.F.Sg be-Fut-F.Sg
'Nadya might be in the process of laughing.'

c. *nādyā* *gir rah-ī* *hō-g-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom fall stay-Perf.F.Sg be-Fut-F.Sg
'Nadya might be in the process of falling.'

It's not possible to have a full analysis with DRS and F-structure for every example as this would extend this paper too far. Nevertheless some thoughts about the above.

(16), (19) and (20) are special in that they describe possibility. This could be shown by an attribute value pair like *CERT* –, whereas *CERT* certainty means. In (20) the progressive marker *rahnā* (stay) is used which would support a value like *prog* for the attribute *ASPECT* in its f-structure.

Immediate Future

(21) a. *mɛ̃=nē adnān=kō ab^{h}ī mār-ā*
I=Erg Adnan.M.Sg=Acc now hit-Perf.M.Sg
'I'll hit Adnan right away.'

b. *mɛ̃ ab^{h}ī nahā-yī*
I.Nom now bath-Perf.F.Sg
'I'll take a bath right away.'

c. *mɛ̃ ab^{h}ī gir-ī*
I.Nom now fall-Perf.F.Sg
'I'll fall right away.'

The immediate future is special in that the event already took place (perfect morphology) and that the reference time is overlapping or just beyond the speech time (temporal adverbial) (Butt&Rizvi 2008). In a DRS it would be convenient to have $e \subseteq t$ and $t \leq n$ to describe this matter.

Imminent Future

Examples with *vālā* (one, like in 'the egg-eating-one'):

(22) a. *nādyā adnān=kō mār-nē=vālī hɛ*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Inf.Obl=one.F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya is about to hit Adnan.'

b. *nādyā has-nē=vālī hɛ*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Inf.Obl=one.F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya is about to laugh.'

c. *nādyā gir-nē=vālī hɛ*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom fall-Inf.Obl=one.F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya is about to fall.'

Examples with the dative/accusative case clitic *kō*:

(23) a. *nādyā adnān=kō mār-nē=kō hɛ*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Inf.Obl=Acc be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya is about to hit Adnan.'

b. *nādyā has-nē=kō hɛ*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Inf.Obl=Acc be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya is about to laugh.'

c. *nādyā gir-nē=kō hɛ*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom fall-Inf.Obl=Acc be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya is about to fall.'

Examples with an infinitival phrase with *hōnā* (be):

(24) a. *nādyā=kō* *adnān=kō* *mār-nā* *hɛ*
Nadya.F.Sg=Dat Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Inf.M.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya will hit Adnan.'
b. *nādyā=kō* *has-nā* *hɛ*
Nadya.F.Sg=Dat laugh-Inf.M.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya will laugh.'
c. *nādyā=kō* *gir-nā* *hɛ*
Nadya.F.Sg=Dat fall-Inf.M.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya will fall.'

In (22) to (24) it's important to know that the events are very likely to happen. Again *CERT* can be used only this time with a positive value *+*. (22) and (23) differ in their construction but are similar otherwise. (24) however implies that the event is forced to happen which could be described by *FORCE +*.

3.1.3 Past

Similar to the present tense there is only past morphoogy for *hōnā* (be). Note that *tʰ* is its suppletive form.

(25) **Past of hōnā** (be)

	Sg M/F	Pl M/F	rude M/F	familiar M/F	respect M/F
1.	tʰ-ā/ī	tʰ-ē/ĩ			
2.			tʰ-ā/ī	tʰ-ē/ī	tʰ-ē/ĩ
3.	tʰ-ā/ī	tʰ-ē/ĩ			

tʰ- (be) (Butt&Rizvi 2008:10)

(26) *nādyā* *cʰōṭī* *tʰ-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom small.F.Sg be.Past-F.Sg
'Nadya was small.'

(27) a. nādyā cʰōṭī tʰī.

b.
s t n x
$s \bigcirc t$ $t < n$ *nādyā(x)* *s:* [*x cʰōṭī*]

The past of *hōnā* (be) can be combined with verbal nouns as well, just like in the future. In terms of construction and meaning this is similar to the immediate future. So one could describe this form of the past as immediate.

(28) a. *nādyā* *adnān=kō* *mār-nē=kō* *tʰ-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Inf.Obl=Acc be.Past-F.Sg
'Nadya was just about to hit Adnan.'
b. *nādyā* *has-nē=kō* *tʰ-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Inf.Obl=Acc be.Past-F.Sg
'Nadya was just about to laugh.'

c. *nādyā* *gir-nē=kō* *t^h-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom fall-Inf.Obl=Acc be.Past-F.Sg
'Nadya was just about to fall.'

(29) a. nādyā adnānkō mārnēkō t^hī.

b.
e t_1 *n* t_2 *x y*
$e \subseteq t_1$ $t_1 < n$ $t_1 \geq t_2$ *nādyā(x)* *adnān(y)* *e:* *x mārnā y*

$\geq$[4] stands for *just about to*.

All the other verbs use perfect morphology when needed in the past tense.

(30) **Perfect/Past**

	Sg M/F	Pl M/F	rude M/F	familiar M/F	respect M/F
1.	mār-ā/ī	mār-ē/ī			
2.			mār-ā/ī	mār-ē/ī	mār-ē/ī
3.	mār-ā/ī	mār-ē/ī			

mār- (hit) (Butt&Rizvi 2008:10)

(31) a. *nādyā=nē* *adnān=kō* *āj* *sʊbah* *mār-ā*
Nadya.F.Sg=Erg Adnan.M.Sg=Acc today morning hit-Perf.M.Sg
'Nadya hit Adnan this morning.'

b. *nādyā* *āj* *sʊbah* *has-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom today morning laugh-Perf.F.Sg
'Nadya laughed this morning.'

c. *nādyā* *āj* *sʊbah* *gir-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom today morning fall-Perf.F.Sg
'Nadya fell this morning.'

(32) a. nādyānē adnānkō āj sʊbah mārā.

b.
e t n x y
$e \subseteq t$ $t < n$ *nādyā(x)* *adnān(y)* *this morning(t)* *e:* *x mārnā y*

(33) a. nādyā āj sʊbah hasī.

[4]Butt and Rizvi (2008) use $\geq$ with the immediate future.

b.
$$\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PRED 'has <nādyā>'} \\
\text{SUBJ} \begin{bmatrix}
\text{PRED 'nādyā'} \\
\text{NTYPE} \begin{bmatrix} \text{NSEM} \begin{bmatrix} \text{PROPER} \begin{bmatrix} \text{PROPER-TYPE name} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{NSYN proper} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{SEM-PROP} \begin{bmatrix} \text{SPECIFIC} + \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CASE nom, GEND fem, NUM sg, PERS 3}
\end{bmatrix} \\
\text{ADJUNCT} \begin{bmatrix}
\text{PRED 'sʊbah'} \\
\text{SPEC} \begin{bmatrix} \text{'āj'} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{NTYPE} \begin{bmatrix} \text{NSEM} \begin{bmatrix} \text{TIME} + \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CHECK} \begin{bmatrix}
\text{VMORPH} \begin{bmatrix} \text{MTYPE infl} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{AUXASP} -, \text{RESTRICTED} -
\end{bmatrix} \\
\text{TNS-ASP} \begin{bmatrix} \text{MOOD indicative, TENSE past} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CLAUSE-TYPE decl, PASSIVE} -, \text{VFORM perf, VTYPE main}
\end{bmatrix}$$

3.2 Aspect

3.2.1 Perfect

The paradigma was introduced in (30). When used with *hōnā* (be) one gets common present and past readings.

Present Reading

(34) a. *nādyā=nē* *adnān=kō* *mār-ā* *hɛ*
Nadya.F.Sg=Erg Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Perf.M.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya has hit Adnan.'

b. *nādyā* *has-ī* *hɛ*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Perf.F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya has laughed.'

c. *nādyā* *gir-ī* *hɛ*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom hit-Perf.F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya has fallen.'

(35) a. nādyānē adnānkō mārā hɛ.

b.
$s\ t\ n\ e\ x\ y$
$s \subseteq t$
$t = n$
$e \supset\subset s$
nādyā(x)
adnān(y)
e: $\boxed{x\ mārnā\ y}$

(36) a. nādyā hasī hɛ.

b.
$$\begin{bmatrix}\text{PRED 'has <nādyā>'} \\ \text{SUBJ} \begin{bmatrix}\text{PRED 'nādyā'} \\ \text{NTYPE} \begin{bmatrix}\text{NSEM} \begin{bmatrix}\text{PROPER} \begin{bmatrix}\text{PROPER-TYPE name}\end{bmatrix}\end{bmatrix} \\ \text{NSYN proper}\end{bmatrix} \\ \text{SEM-PROP} \begin{bmatrix}\text{SPECIFIC +}\end{bmatrix} \\ \text{CASE nom, GEND fem, NUM sg, PERS 3}\end{bmatrix} \\ \text{CHECK} \begin{bmatrix}\text{VMORPH} \begin{bmatrix}\text{MTYPE infl}\end{bmatrix} \\ \text{AUXASP +, RESTRICTED –}\end{bmatrix} \\ \text{TNS-ASP} \begin{bmatrix}\text{ASPECT perf, MOOD indicative, TENSE pres}\end{bmatrix} \\ \text{CLAUSE-TYPE decl, PASSIVE –, VFORM perf, VTYPE main}\end{bmatrix}$$

Past Reading

(37) a. *nādyā=nē adnān=kō mār-ā t^h-ā*
Nadya.F.Sg=Erg Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Perf.M.Sg be.Past-M.Sg
'Nadya had hit Adnan.'

b. *nādyā has-ī t^h-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Perf.F.Sg be.Past-F.Sg
'Nadya had laughed.'

c. *nādyā gir-ī t^h-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom fall-Perf.F.Sg be.Past-F.Sg
'Nadya had fallen.'

In (37) *hōnā* (be) being in the past implies that the described event never happened before.[5]

(38) a. nādyānē adnānkō mārā t^hā.

b.
t_1 n t_2 e x y
$t_1 < n$
$t_2 < t_1$
$e \subseteq t_2$
nādyā(x)
adnān(y)
e: $\boxed{x \text{ } mārnā \text{ } y}$

The DRS would be easier to understand if there was a context, so that t_1 and t_2 could be related to one another. The f-structure for (37) b. only differs in *TENSE past* from the one in (36).

Being used on its own, perfect describes surprise, as well as prohibition and command.

Surprise:

(39) a. *arē dēk^h-ō nādyā=nē adnān=kō mār-ā!*
hey look-Imp.Fam Nadya.F.Sg=Erg Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Perf.M.Sg
'Hey look, Nadya has hit Adnan!'

[5]Tikaram Poudel pointed this out.

b. *arē dēkʰ-ō nādyā has-ī!*
hey look-Imp.Fam Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Perf.F.Sg
'Hey look, Nadya has laughed!'
c. *arē dēkʰ-ō nādyā gir-ī!*
hey look-Imp.Fam Nadya.F.Sg.Nom fall-Perf.F.Sg
'Hey look, Nadya has fallen!'

Prohibition:

(40) a. *adnān=kō mat mār-ā kar-ō*
Adnan.M.Sg=Acc not hit-Perf.M.Sg do-2.Fam
'You shouldn't keep hitting Adnan!'
b. *mat has-ā kar-ō*
not laugh-Perf.M.Sg do-2.Fam
'Don't laugh!'
c. *mat gir-ā kar-ō*
not fall-Perf.M.Sg do-2.Fam
'Don't fall!'

In (40) c. *girnā* (fall) is used as an unergative verb because such constructions aren't possible with unaccusatives.

Command:

(41) a. *adnān=kō mār-ā kar-ō*
Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Perf.M.Sg do-2.Fam
'You should keep hitting Adnan.'
b. *has-ā kar-ō*
laugh-Perf.M.Sg do-2.Fam
'You should keep laughing.'
c. *gir-ā kar-ō*
fall-Perf.M.Sg do-2.Fam
'You should keep falling.'

In (41) c. *girnā* (fall) is used as an unergative again.

For (39) one could introduce *SURPR* for surprise and give it a positve value *+*. In (40) and (41) attributes like *FORBID* for forbiddance and *COMM* for command could be given a positve value *+*. The question that arises is, how many attributes should be introduced at all. This has to be discussed.

3.2.2 Imperfect

Here the paradigma:

(42) **Imperfect**

	Sg M/F	Pl M/F	rude M/F	familiar M/F	respect M/F
1.	mār-t-ā/ī	mār-t-ē/ī			
2.			mār-t-ā/ī	mār-t-ē/ī	mār-t-ē/ī
3.	mār-t-ā/ī	mār-t-ē/ī			

mār- (hit) (Butt&Rizvi 2008:13)

Just like in the perfect there are common present and past readings by using different forms of *hōnā* (be). The imperfect is used to describe habits.

Present Reading:

(43) a. *anjum* *adnān=kō* *mār-t-ī* *hɛ*
Anjum.F.Sg.Nom Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Impf-F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Anjum hits Adnan.' (Butt&Rizvi 2008:13)

b. *nādyā* *has-t-ī* *hɛ*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Impf-F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya laughes.'

c. *nādyā* *gir-t-ī* *hɛ*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom fall-Impf-F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya falls.'

(44) a. anjum adnānkō mārtī hɛ.

b.
s t n x y
$s \bigcirc t$ $t = n$ *anjum(x)* *adnān(y)* *s:* [*x HAB(mārnā) y*]

HAB standing for habitual isn't mentioned in Kamp and Reyle (1993). *s* is used because a habit is rather a state than an event.

(45) a. nādyā hastī hɛ.

b.
[PRED 'has <nādyā>'
SUBJ [PRED 'nādyā'
NTYPE [NSEM [PROPER [PROPER-TYPE name]]
NSYN proper]
SEM-PROP [SPECIFIC +]
CASE nom, GEND fem, NUM sg, PERS 3]
CHECK [VMORPH [MTYPE infl]
AUXASP +, RESTRICTED –]
TNS-ASP [ASPECT impf, MOOD indicative, TENSE pres]
CLAUSE-TYPE decl, PASSIVE –, VFORM impf, VTYPE main]

Past Reading:

(46) a. *anjum* *adnān=kō* *mār-t-ī* *t^h-ī*
Anjum.F.Sg.Nom Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Impf-F.Sg be.Past-F.Sg
'Anjum used to hit Adnan.' (Butt&Rizvi 2008:13)

b. *nādyā* *has-t-ī* *t^h-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Impf-F.Sg be.Past-F.Sg
'Nadya used to laugh.'

c. *nādyā* *gir-t-ī* *t^h-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom fall-Impf-F.Sg be.Past-F.Sg
'Nadya used to fall.'

(47) a. anjum adnānkō mārtī t^hī.

b.

s t n x y
s ◯ *t* *t* < *n* *anjum(x)* *adnān(y)* *s:* [*x HAB(mārnā) y*]

Used on its own the imperfect describes counterfactuals.

Counterfactuals:

(48) a. *(agar) mɛ̃* *adnān=kō* *mār-ā-t-ī...*
if I.Nom Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Caus-Impf-F.Sg
'Had I hit Adnan,...'
b. *(agar) mɛ̃* *has-ā-t-ī...*
if I.Nom laugh-Caus-Impf-F.Sg
'Had I made someone laugh,...'
c. *(agar) mɛ̃* *gir-ā-t-ī...*
if I.Nom fall-Caus-Impf-F.Sg
'Had I made someone fall,...'

Without the causative marker *ā* we get the following meanings for (48) b. and c.:

(49) a. *(agar) mɛ̃* *has-t-ī...*
if I.Nom laugh-Impf-F.Sg
'Had I laughed,...'
b. *(agar) mɛ̃* *gir-t-ī...*
if I.Nom fall-Impf-F.Sg
'Had I fallen,...'

The examples in (48) get *CAUS +*. Whether it is useful to introduce *COUNT* for counterfactual has to be discussed.

3.3 Continuation

3.3.1 Progressive

The progressive is achieved by using the verb stem in combination with the progressive auxiliary *rahnā* (stay) in its perfect form and a form of *hōnā* (be).

Present Reading:

(50) a. *anjum* *adnān=kō* *mār* *rah-ī* *hɛ*
Anjum.F.Sg.Nom Adnan.M.Sg.Acc hit stay-Perf.F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Anjum is hitting Adnan.' (Butt&Rizvi 2008:14)

b. *nādyā* *has* *rah-ī* *hɛ*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh stay-Perf.F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya is laughing.'

c. *nādyā* *gir* *rah-ī* *hɛ*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom fall stay-Perf.F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya is falling.'[6]

(51) a. anjum adnānkō mār rahī hɛ.

b.
s t n x y
$s \bigcirc t$ $t = n$ *anjum(x)* *adnān(y)* *s:* [*x PROG(mārnā) y*]

(52) a. nādyā has rahī hɛ.

b.
$$\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PRED 'has <nādyā>'} \\
\text{SUBJ} \begin{bmatrix}
\text{PRED 'nādyā'} \\
\text{NTYPE} \begin{bmatrix} \text{NSEM} \begin{bmatrix} \text{PROPER} \begin{bmatrix} \text{PROPER-TYPE name} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{NSYN proper} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{SEM-PROP} \begin{bmatrix} \text{SPECIFIC +} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CASE nom, GEND fem, NUM sg, PERS 3}
\end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CHECK} \begin{bmatrix} \text{VMORPH} \begin{bmatrix} \text{MTYPE infl} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{AUXASP +, RESTRICTED –} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{TNS-ASP} \begin{bmatrix} \text{ASPECT prog, MOOD indicative, TENSE pres} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CLAUSE-TYPE decl, PASSIVE –, VFORM bare, VTYPE main}
\end{bmatrix}$$

Past Reading:

(53) a. *anjum* *adnān=kō* *mār* *rah-ī* *t^h-ī*
Anjum.F.Sg.Nom Adnan.M.Sg.Acc hit stay-Perf.F.Sg be.Past-F.Sg
'Anjum was hitting Adnan.' (Butt&Rizvi 2008:14)

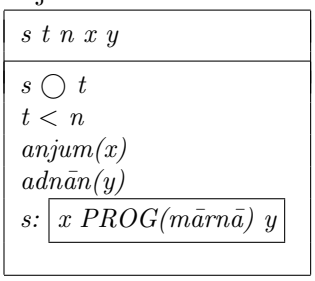
b. *nādyā* *has* *rah-ī* *t^h-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh stay-Perf.F.Sg be.Past-F.Sg
'Nadya was laughing.'

c. *nādyā* *gir* *rah-ī* *t^h-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom fall stay-Perf.F.Sg be.Past-F.Sg
'Nadya was falling.'[7]

[6] I was told that *Nadya is about to fall* would be a better way to translate. A translation with *is falling* would be possible only if the subject was plural. I couldn't find any proof for this which is reason for the translation with *is falling*. A sports reporter could utter a sentence like *Nadya is falling*. Further investigations are required.

[7] And again I was told that *Nadya was about to fall* would be a better way to translate. This would imply that Nadya has already fallen more than once. But like above I couldn't find any proof for this.

(54) a. anjum adnānkō mār rahī t^{h}ī.

b.


It might be good to get rid of *PROG* and *ASPECT* in (51), (52) and (54) because these attributes are quite universal. As we will see below continuation in Urdu is quite complex and therefore in need of better distinction. The next section introduces *CONT* for continuous. This might be a better attribute to use in this section as Butt and Rizvi (2008) describe the events in (50) and (53) as being continuous.

3.3.2 Iteration and Longer Continuation with the Progressive

In the present reading the main verb and *rahnā* (stay) are in the imperfect and *hōnā* (be) is used in its present tense. All this implies longer continuation and many iterations. Besides *CONT* we need *ITER* respectively *ITERATIVE* to describe the many iterations.

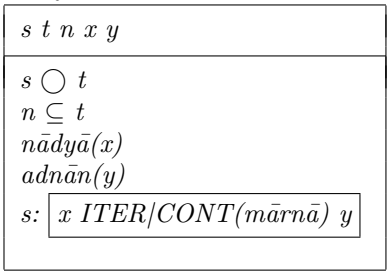
Present Reading:

(55) a. *nādyā* *adnān=kō* *mār-t-ī* *rah-t-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Impf-F.Sg stay-Impf-F.Sg
hɛ
be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya keeps on hitting Adnan.'

b. *nādyā* *has-t-ī* *rah-t-ī* *hɛ*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Impf-F.Sg stay-Impf-F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya keeps on laughing.'

c. *nādyā* *gir-t-ī* *rah-t-ī* *hɛ*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom fall-Impf-F.Sg stay-Impf-F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya keeps on falling.'

(56) a. nādyā adnānkō mārtī rahtī hɛ.

b.


(57) a. nādyā hastī rahtī hɛ.

b. $$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED 'has <nādyā>'} \\ \text{SUBJ} \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED 'nādyā'} \\ \text{NTYPE} \begin{bmatrix} \text{NSEM} \left[\text{PROPER} \left[\text{PROPER-TYPE name}\right]\right] \\ \text{NSYN proper} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{SEM-PROP} \left[\text{SPECIFIC +}\right] \\ \text{CASE nom, GEND fem, NUM sg, PERS 3} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{CHECK} \begin{bmatrix} \text{VMORPH} \left[\text{MTYPE infl}\right] \\ \text{AUXASP +, RESTRICTED –} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{TNS-ASP} \left[\text{CONT +, ITERATIVE +, MOOD indicative, TENSE pres}\right] \\ \text{CLAUSE-TYPE decl, PASSIVE –, VFORM impf, VTYPE main} \end{bmatrix}$$

TENSE pres comes from *hōnā* (be), *CONT +* and *ITERATIVE +* from *rahnā* (stay). In the past reading below, we see that only the main verb in its imperfect form and *rahnā* in its perfect form are used. There is no *hōnā* here.

Past Reading:

(58) a. *nādyā* *adnān=kō* *mār-t-ī* *rah-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Impf-F.Sg stay-Perf.F.Sg
'Nadya kept on hitting Adnan.'

b. *nādyā* *has-t-ī* *rah-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Impf-F.Sg stay-Perf.F.Sg
'Nadya kept on laughing.'

c. *nādyā* *gir-t-ī* *rah-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom fall-Impf-F.Sg stay-Perf.F.Sg
'Nadya kept on falling.'[8]

In (55) *TENSE pres* comes from *hōnā* (be). But in (58) there is no such form. Question is, where does *TENSE past* come from here? It was decided that by default it has to come from *rahnā* (stay).[9]

3.3.3 Iteration and Longer Continuation with *jānā* and *calnā*

In this section several attributes are used. As already seen above *ITERATIVE* stands for iteration. In (59) it comes from *jānā* (go). Longer continuation is described by *DUR long* and comes up, when *calnā* (walk) is used (see (62)). Then there is *CONT +* which is intoduced by *rahnā* (stay) (see (65)).

jānā is usually used as passive auxiliary and light verb. Only in (59) it functions as tense/aspect auxiliary.

[8]Unfortunatelly I couldn't think of any DRS for the past reading.
[9]Many thanks to Miriam Butt for this decision.

(59) a. *nādyā* *adnān=kō* *mār-t-ī* *jā-t-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Impf-F.Sg go-Impf-F.Sg
hɛ
be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya keeps on hitting Adnan (willfully, over a long time, in many iterations).'

b. *nādyā* *has-t-ī* *jā-t-ī* *hɛ*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Impf-F.Sg go-Impf-F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya keeps on laughing (willfully, over a long time, in many iterations).'

c. *nādyā* *gir-t-ī* *jā-t-ī* *hɛ*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom fall-Impf-F.Sg go-Impf-F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya keeps on falling (willfully, over a long time, in many iterations).'[10]

(59) a. can be understood as a stage direction.

(60) a. nādyā adnānkō mārtī jātī hɛ.

b.
s t n x y
$s \bigcirc t$ $n \subseteq t$ *nādyā(x)* *adnān(y)* *s:* *x ITER(mārnā) y*

(61) a. nādyā hastī jātī hɛ.

b.
$$\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PRED 'has <nādyā>'} \\
\text{SUBJ} \begin{bmatrix}
\text{PRED 'nādyā'} \\
\text{NTYPE} \begin{bmatrix} \text{NSEM} \left[\text{PROPER} \left[\text{PROPER-TYPE name}\right]\right] \\ \text{NSYN proper} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{SEM-PROP} \left[\text{SPECIFIC +}\right] \\
\text{CASE nom, GEND fem, NUM sg, PERS 3}
\end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CHECK} \begin{bmatrix} \text{VMORPH} \left[\text{MTYPE infl}\right] \\ \text{AUXASP +, RESTRICTED −} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{TNS-ASP} \left[\text{CONT −, ITERATIVE +, DUR short, MOOD indicative, TENSE pres}\right] \\
\text{CLAUSE-TYPE decl, PASSIVE −, VFORM impf, VTYPE main}
\end{bmatrix}$$

Here *ITERATIVE* gets a positive value because of *jānā* (go).

There is the possibility to add *calnā* (walk) to the constuction in (59). The meaning differs in that in (62) the event is seen as continuing longer than in (59).

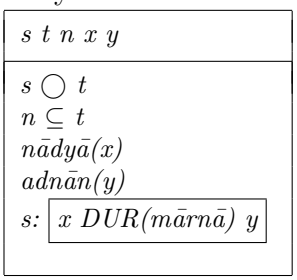
(62) a. *nādyā* *adnān=kō* *mār-t-ī* *cal-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Impf-F.Sg walk-Perf.F.Sg
jā-t-ī *hɛ*
go-Impf-F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya keeps on hitting Adnan (willfully, over a long time).'

[10] In this section *girnā* (fall) is only used as an unergative verb.

b. *nādyā* *has-t-ī* *cal-ī* *jā-t-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Impf-F.Sg walk-Perf.F.Sg go-Impf-F.Sg
hɛ
be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya keeps on laughing (willfully, over a long time).'

c. *nādyā* *gir-t-ī* *cal-ī* *jā-t-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom fall-Impf-F.Sg walk-Perf.F.Sg go-Impf-F.Sg
hɛ
be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya keeps on falling (willfully, over a long time).'

(63) a. nādyā adnānkō mārtī calī jātī hɛ.

b. 

In (63) there is only *DUR* used because, as mentioned above, *jānā* (go) only marks tense/aspect in (59). This is the reason why *ITERATION* isn't used as an attribute here. Later we will see that a construction without *jānā* isn't possible. Nevertheless there is no explicit reading of iterations in (62).

(64) a. nādyā hastī calī jātī hɛ.

b.
$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED 'has <nādyā>'} \\ \text{SUBJ} \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED 'nādyā'} \\ \text{NTYPE} \begin{bmatrix} \text{NSEM} \left[\text{PROPER} \left[\text{PROPER-TYPE name}\right]\right] \\ \text{NSYN proper} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{SEM-PROP} \left[\text{SPECIFIC +}\right] \\ \text{CASE nom, GEND fem, NUM sg, PERS 3} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{CHECK} \begin{bmatrix} \text{VMORPH} \left[\text{MTYPE infl}\right] \\ \text{AUXASP +, RESTRICTED –} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{TNS-ASP} \left[\text{CONT –, ITERATIVE –, DUR long, MOOD indicative, TENSE pres}\right] \\ \text{CLAUSE-TYPE decl, PASSIVE –, VFORM impf, VTYPE main} \end{bmatrix}$$

Here *DUR long* comes from *calnā* (walk). As seen above *ITERATIVE* has to have a negative value as iteration is only described by *jānā* (go) in (59).

Because of the imperfect form of *jānā* (go), (59) and (62) imply habits. It might be good to introduce an attribute like *HAB* for DRSs and f-structures. Note that it's not always the main verb which is responsible for a habitual reading.

Further more it's possible to use *rahnā* with contrstructions like the above. This implies that the event is still going on. Here only the stem of *jānā* is used which deletes any habitual reading.

(65) a. *nādyā* *adnān=kō* *mār-t-ī* *cal-ī* *jā*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Impf-F.Sg walk-Perf.F.Sg go
rah-ī *hɛ*
stay-Perf.F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya keeps on hitting Adnan (willfully, over a long time, continuously).'

b. *nādyā* *has-t-ī* *cal-ī* *jā* *rah-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Impf-F.Sg walk-Perf.F.Sg go stay-Perf.F.Sg
hɛ
be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya keeps on laughing (willfully, over a long time, continuously).'

c. *nādyā* *gir-t-ī* *cal-ī* *jā* *rah-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom fall-Impf-F.Sg walk-Perf.F.Sg go stay-Perf.F.Sg
hɛ
be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya keeps on falling (willfully, over a long time, continuously).'

(66) a. nādyā adnānkō mārtī calī jā rahī hɛ.

b.
s t n x y
s ◯ *t* *n* ⊆ *t* *nādyā(x)* *adnān(y)* *s:* [*x DUR/CONT(mārnā) y*]

In (66) *ITER* isn't mentioned. But *DUR* has to be there because it isn't included by *CONT* which comes from *rahnā* (stay). We will see that this kind of progressive doesn't need *calnā* which is responsible for *DUR*.

(67) a. nādyā hastī calī jā rahī hɛ.

b.
$$\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PRED 'has <nādyā>'} \\
\text{SUBJ} \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED 'nādyā'} \\ \text{NTYPE} \begin{bmatrix} \text{NSEM} \left[\text{PROPER} \left[\text{PROPER-TYPE name}\right]\right] \\ \text{NSYN proper} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{SEM-PROP} \left[\text{SPECIFIC +}\right] \\ \text{CASE nom, GEND fem, NUM sg, PERS 3} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CHECK} \begin{bmatrix} \text{VMORPH} \left[\text{MTYPE infl}\right] \\ \text{AUXASP +, RESTRICTED –} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{TNS-ASP} \left[\text{CONT +, ITERATIVE –, DUR long, MOOD indicative, TENSE pres}\right] \\
\text{CLAUSE-TYPE decl, PASSIVE –, VFORM impf, VTYPE main}
\end{bmatrix}$$

In (67) *CONT +* is introduced by *rahnā* (stay). With this kind of progressive *ASPECT prog* isn't necessary anymore because of all the new attributes which describe the progressive even better and in more detail.

If in (59) and (62) perfect morphology is used on *jānā* (go) instead of the imperfect one , it describes that the event takes place despite of possible obstacles (Butt&Rizvi 2008). Below some examples:

(68) a. *nādyā* *adnān=kō* *mār-t-ī* *ga-yī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Impf-F.Sg go-Perf.F.Sg
'Nadya kept on hitting Adnan (despite potential obstacles).'

b. *nādyā* *has-t-ī* *ga-yī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Impf-F.Sg go-Perf.F.Sg
'Nadya kept on laughing (despite potential obstacles).'

c. *nādyā* *gir-t-ī* *ga-yī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom fall-Impf-F.Sg go-Perf.F.Sg
'Nadya kept on falling (despite potential obstacles).'

(69) a. *nādyā* *adnān=kō* *mār-t-ī* *cal-ī* *ga-yī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Impf-F.Sg walk-Perf.F.Sg go-Perf.F.Sg
'Nadya kept on hitting Adnan (despite potential obstacles).'

b. *nādyā* *has-t-ī* *cal-ī* *ga-yī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Impf-F.Sg walk-Perf.F.Sg go-Perf.F.Sg
'Nadya kept on laughing (despite potential obstacles).'

c. *nādyā* *gir-t-ī* *cal-ī* *ga-yī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom fall-Impf-F.Sg walk-Perf.F.Sg go-Perf.F.Sg
'Nadya kept on falling (despite potential obstacles).'

In (65) it's not possible to use perfect morphology instead of the imperfect one on *jānā* (go) because only its stem is used.

Butt and Rizvi (2008) say that the difference between (55) and (59) is that in (59) purpose is implied. This would mean that *jānā* is responsible for such a reading. Let's have a look at the following example:[11]

(70) *daraxt* *baṛ^h-t-ā* *jā* *rah-ā* *hɛ*
tree.M.Sg.Nom grow-Impf-M.Sg go stay-M.Perf be.Pres.3.Sg
'The tree is growing continuously.'

If a subject which can't do something volitionally is used in context with the progressive discussed in this section, *calnā* (walk) cannot be used. The reason is that such a subject lacks volition.[12] (70) might be a good example for, that volition doesn't come from *jānā* (go) but from *calnā*. Another possibility is that volition is only accepted with subjects that can do something volitionally. Otherwise this kind of reading is just left out. In this case volition isn't connected with *calnā*. This is in need of further investigation.

Note that *calnā* can be left out in any case. It is responsible for *DUR long* which doesn't seem to be that important. *jānā* cannot be left out although it only marks tense/aspect (iteration) in (59). *rahnā* (stay) cannot be deleted as well. This auxiliary is responsible for continuation. One explanantion for the possible deletion of *calnā* is that its attribute *DUR long* is already understood by *CONT +* (from *rahnā*).

If volition really comes from *calnā* and not from *jānā*, it might be possible to utter unintentional actions by deleting it (only thinkable with subjects that can do something volitionally). This aspect has to be looked furher into as well.

[11] Tikaram Poudel and Tafseer Ahmed suggested the example in (70).

[12] I was told that a human being cannot grow volitionally either. This is correct. In (70) *tree* was chosen because it lacks volition. And in this case *calnā* m u s t n o t be used. In sentences with subjects that can do something volitionally *calnā* does n o t h a v e to be deleted, it m a y be, though.

3.4 Light Verbs and Aspectual Verbs

It is also possible to use light verbs which have aspectual effects in Urdu, as well as aspectual verbs. There are some examples in Butt and Rizvi (2008) and some more in the following section, where we will see other possibilities of construction.

3.5 Summary

This chapter dealt with tense and aspect in Urdu. In the examples the transitive verb *marnā* (hit), the unergative verb *hasnā* (laugh) and the unaccusative verb *girnā* (fall) were used to see whether there are any differences in construction. The exapmles with *marnā* and *hasnā* are very regular. Because of semantic reasons it was better to use *nahānā* (take a bath) instead of *hasnā* in (10), (12) and (21). But *girnā* wasn't that simple in use. Some types of sentences cannot be constructed with this verb at all and sometimes it has to be used as an unergative one. All in all there aren't any major differences in use of the three verbs mentioned above. The different forms of the progressive should be analysed further, as these are very complex and there are still some unanswered questions.

4 Further Possibilities of Construction

All the examples below are based on the ones in Butt and Rizvi (2008).

4.1 Tense and Aspect in General

We already know the examples in (71) from (14) and (26).

(71) a. *nādyā* *cʰōṭī* *tʰ-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom small.F.Sg be.Past-F.Sg
'Nadya was small.'

b. *nādyā* *lambī* *hō-g-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom tall.F.Sg be-Fut-F.Sg
'Nadya will be/become tall.'

With *hōnā* (be) past and future tense are quite easy to achieve. The corresponding sentence in present tense can be found in Butt and Rizvi (2008).

(72) a. *nādyā* *ā-yī* *hɛ*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom come-Perf.F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya has already arrived.'

b. *nādyā* *ā-yī* *tʰ-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom come-Perf.F.Sg be.Past-F.Sg
'Nadya arrived.'

In (72) a. Nadya is still there, whereas in (72) b. this doesn't have to be the case.

(73) a. *kaʃtī* *ḍūb-nē=vālī* *tʰ-ī*
boat.F.Sg.Nom drown-Inf.Obl=one.F.Sg be.Past-F.Sg
'The boat was about to sink.' (Lit. 'The boat was a sinking one.')

b. *kaʃtī* *ḍūb-nē=vālī* *hō-g-ī*
boat.F.Sg.Nom drown-Inf.Obl=one.F.Sg be-Fut-F.Sg
'The boat will be about to sink.' (Lit. 'The boat will be a sinking one.')

(73) b. is predictional. Note that the corresponding sentence in present tense in Butt and Rizvi (2008) implies the imminent future.

(74) a. *is* *laṛkī=kī* *ʃādī* *hō-nē=kō* *tʰ-ī*
this girl.F.Sg=Gen.F.Sg marriage.F.Nom be-Inf.Obl=Acc be.Past-F.Sg
'This girl's wedding was taking place soon.'
b. *is* *laṛkī=kī* *ʃādī* *hō-nī* *tʰ-ī*
this girl.F.Sg=Gen.F.Sg marriage.F.Nom be-Inf be.Past-F.Sg
'This girl's wedding would take place.'

(74) implies that the wedding didn't take place, but there was a point of time in the past when it was certain that it would take place. (74) could be described as imminent past, analogue to the imminent future.

(75) a. *mɛ̃* *abʰī* *ā-yī* *hũ*
I.Nom now came-Perf.F.Sg be.Pres.1.Sg
'I've just arrived.'
b. *mɛ̃* *abʰī* *ā-yī* *tʰ-ī*
I.Nom now came-Perf.F.Sg be.Past-F.Sg
'I just arrived.'

(75) a. is currently relevant, but (75) b. isn't. Reason for that could be the present respectively past form of *hōnā* (be).

(76) a. *jab* *ḍākṭar sāhib* *bōl-nē=kō* *hō-t-ē*
when doctor sahib.M.Nom speak-Inf.Obl=Acc be-Impf-M.Hon
hɛ̃ *tō* *sab lōg* *cʊp* *hō* *jā-t-ē*
be.Pres.M.Hon though all people.Nom quiet become go-Impf-M.Hon
hɛ̃.
be.Pres.M.Hon
'When the doctor is about to speak, everybody falls quiet.'
b. *jab* *ḍākṭar sāhib* *bōl-nē=kō* *hõ-g-ē* *tō*
when doctor sahib.M.Nom speak-Inf.Obl=Acc be-Fut-M.Hon though
sab lōg *cʊp* *hō* *jā-ɛ̃-g-ē*
all people.Nom quiet become go-Subj-Fut-M.Hon
'When the doctor will be about to speak, everybody will fall quiet.'

(76) b. is predictional as the speaker cannot be entirely sure whether the event will take place or not.

(77) a. *mēm-sāhibā* *cāī* *banā-nē=kō* *hɛ̃*
Madam.F.Nom tea.F.Nom make-Inf.Obl=Acc be.Pres.F.Hon
'Madam is just about to make tea.'
b. *mēm-sāhibā* *cāī* *banā-nē=kō* *hõ-g-ī*
Madam.F.Nom tea.F.Nom make-Inf.Obl=Acc be-Fut-F.Hon
'Madam will just be about to make tea.'

Although *hōnā* (be) is in present tense in (77) a., the tense here is immediate future. (77) b. is predictional again.

(78) a. *anjum* *rōz* *sʊbah* *skūl* *jā-t-ī*
Anjum.F.Sg.Nom every morning school.F.Sg.Loc go-Impf-F.Sg
hɛ
be.Pres.3.Sg
'Anjum goes to school every morning.'

b. *anjum* *āj* *sʊbah* *skūl* *jā-ē-g-ī*
Anjum.F.Sg.Nom today morning school.F.Sg.Loc go-Subj-Fut-F.Sg
'Anjum will go to school this morning.'

c. *anjum* *āj* *sʊbah* *skūl* *jā-ō-g-ī*
Anjum.F.Sg.Vok today morning school.F.Sg.Loc go-Subj-Fut-F.Sg
'Anjum, will you go to school this morning or not?'

Butt and Rizvi (2008) used *calnā* (walk) instead of *jānā* (go). I was told that this isn't correct because *jānā* points towards an end (here *school*), whereas *calnā* doesn't do so.[13]

(79) *anjum* *ādnān=kō* *dēkʰ-t-ī* *hō-g-ī*
Anjum.F.Sg.Nom Adnan.M.Sg=Acc see-Perf.M.Sg be-Fut-M.Sg
'Anjum will be seeing Adnan.'

In (79) the speaker cannot be sure whether Anjum sees Adnan as they are at some other place.

Future of the Progressive with *rahnā*:

(80) *anjum* *ādnān=kō* *mār* *rah-ī* *hō-g-ī*
Anjum.F.Sg.Nom Adnan.M.Sg.Acc hit stay-Perf.F.Sg be-Fut-F.Sg
'Anjum will be hitting Adnan.'

(81) *kʊttā* *bʰõk-t-ā* *rah-ē-g-ā*
dog.M.Sg.Nom bark-Impf-M.Sg stay-Subj-Fut-M.Sg
'The dog will keep on barking.'

In Butt and Rizvi (2008) there are the corresponding sentences in present and past tense. To get the future tense, only *hōnā* (be) respectively the progressive auxiliary *rahnā* (stay) has to be changed. Note that (81) isn't entirely correct in terms of semantics, as one cannot be sure for how long the dog will keep on barking.

Past of the Progressive with *jānā and calnā:*

(82) a. *kʊttā* *bʰõk-t-ā* *jā-t-ā* *tʰ-ā*
dog.M.Sg.Nom bark-Impf-M.Sg go-Impf-M.Sg be.Past-M.Sg
'The dog kept on barking (willfully, over a long time, in many iterations).'

[13]Tafseer Ahmed and Tikaram Poudel mentioned this.

b. *kʊttā* *bʰõk-t-ā* *cal-ā* *jā-t-ā*
dog.M.Sg.Nom bark-Impf-M.Sg walk-Perf.M.Sg go-Impf-M.Sg
tʰ-ā
be.Past-M.Sg
'The dog kept on barking (willfully, over a long time).'

c. *kʊttā* *bʰõk-t-ā* *cal-ā* *jā rah-ā*
dog.M.Sg.Nom bark-Impf-M.Sg walk-Perf.M.Sg go stay-Perf.M.Sg
tʰ-ā
be.Past-M.Sg
'The dog kept on barking (willfully, over a long time, continuously).'

Future of the Progressive with *jānā and calnā:*

(83) a. *kʊttā* *bʰõk-t-ā* *jā-t-ā* *hō-g-a*
dog.M.Sg.Nom bark-Impf-M.Sg go-Impf-M.Sg be-Fut-M.Sg
'The dog will keep on barking (willfully, over a long time, in many iterations).'

b. *kʊttā* *bʰõk-t-ā* *cal-ā* *jā-t-ā*
dog.M.Sg.Nom bark-Impf-M.Sg walk-Perf.M.Sg go-Impf-M.Sg
hō-g-a
be-Fut-M.Sg
'The dog will keep on barking (willfully, over a long time).'

c. *kʊttā* *bʰõk-t-ā* *cal-ā* *jā rah-ā*
dog.M.Sg.Nom bark-Impf-M.Sg walk-Perf.M.Sg go stay-Perf.M.Sg
hō-g-a
be-Fut-M.Sg
'The dog will keep on barking (willfully, over a long time, continuously).'

The examples in (83) are semantically odd as well because one cannot know for how long the dog will keep on barking. In terms of construction (83) is correct.

As seen in (82) and (83), the corresponding present and future tense forms of the progressive can easily be formed by changing *hōnā* (be) as required.

4.2 Light Verbs

As mentioned above, light verbs are part of aspect in Urdu, too. Unlike in Butt and Rizvi (2008) the light verb isn't always the final one marked with tense/aspect in the examples beneath. The reason is, that in present tense *hōnā* (be) is required which comes at the end of each sentence. The light verb is therefore the one before *hōnā*. Present tense usually expresses habits. Future tense doesn't need *hōnā*, so that in these examples the light verb is the final one.

(84) a. *nādyā* *xat* *likʰ* *lē-t-ī* *hɛ*
Nadya.F.Nom letter.M.Nom write take-Impf-F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya is able to write letters.'

b. *nādyā* *xat* *likʰ* *lē-g-ī*
Nadya.F.Vok letter.M.Nom write take-Fut-F.Sg
'Nadya, will you write the letters?'

In past tense *lēnā* (take) implies completeness (Butt&Rizvi 2008). In present and future tense the focus is rather on the ability on doing something. The following constructions are possible as well.

(85) a. *nādyā das bajē tak xat likʰ-ē-g-ī*
Nadya.F.Nom ten o'clock till letter.M.Nom write-Subj-Fut-F.Sg
'Nadya will write the letters till 10 o'clock (must not be completed).'
b. *nādyā das bajē tak xat likʰ lē-g-ī*
Nadya.F.Nom ten o'clock till letter.M.Nom write take-Fut-F.Sg
'Nadya will be finished with the letters by 10 o'clock.'

We see that completeness can only be expressed in future tense by specifying time. In (85) a. no light verb is used which means, that Nadya must not be finished writing the letters by 10 o'clock. But in (85) b. completeness is described by specifying time and using *lēnā* (take). So the reading here is similar to the one in Butt and Rizvi (2008).

(86) a. *nādyā makān banā dē-t-ī hɛ*
Nadya.F.Nom house.M.Nom make give-Impf.M.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya usually makes houses for others.'
b. *nādyā makān banā dō-g-ī*
Nadya.F.Nom house.M.Nom make give-Fut-F.Sg
'Nadya will build a house for someone else.'
c. *nādyā makān banā dō-g-ī*
Nadya.F.Vok house.M.Nom make give-Fut-F.Sg
'Nadya, will you build a house for someone else?'

Because of the imperfect (86) a. expresses a habit. The meaning that Nadya builds the house/houses for others is achieved by using the light verb *dēnā* (give). It is implied that the ability of building houses is existend. The question in (86) c. can be recognised only because there is a pause in speaking after Nadya.

(87) a. *nādyā rō paṛ-t-ī hɛ*
Nadya.F.Nom cry fall-Impf.F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya usually cries.'
b. *nādyā rō paṛ-e-g-ī*
Nadya.F.Nom cry fall-Subj-Fut-F.Sg
'Nadya will cry.'

(88) a. *nādyā gir paṛ-t-ī hɛ*
Nadya.F.Nom fall fall-Impf.F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya usually falls (down).'
b. *nādyā gir paṛ-ē-g-ī*
Nadya.F.Nom fall fall-Subj-Fut-F.Sg
'Nadya will fall (down).'

(87) b. and (88) b. imply that it's certain that Nadya will cry respectively fall.

(89) a. *nādyā gir jā-t-ī hɛ*
Nadya.F.Nom fall go-Impf.F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya usually falls (down).'

b. *nādyā* *gir* *jā-ē-g-ī*
Nadya.F.Nom fall go-Subj-Fut-F.Sg
'Nadya will fall (down).'

(88) a. and (89) a., as well as (88) b. and (89) b. are semantically equal.

(90) a. *nādyā* *bōl* *ʊṭʰ-t-ī* *hɛ*
Nadya.F.Nom speak rise-Impf-F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya usually speaks up/breaks into speech (unexpectedly).'
b. *nādyā* *bōl* *ʊṭʰ-ō-g-ī*
Nadya.F.Nom speak rise-Subj-Fut-F.Sg
'Nadya will speak up/break into speech (unexpectedly).'

(90) is as regular in construction as all the other examples in this section. Interseting are the following sentences, as (91) c. doesn't follow the pattern seen so far.

(91) a. *nādyā* *cal* *paṛ-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom walk fall-Perf.F.Sg
'Nadya went suddenly.'
b. **nādyā* *cal* *ga-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom walk go-Perf.F.Sg
c. *nādyā* *cal-ī* *ga-ī*
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom walk-Perf.F.Sg go-Perf.F.Sg
'Nadya went.'

In (91) c. perfect is marked twice which is very uncommon. Usually the stem of the main verb and the inflected light verb are used. But in (91) c. the main verb is inlfected as well. *jānā* (go) and *calnā* (walk) can only be combined as seen above. Note that *calnā* cannot be used as light verb, whereas *jānā* can.

The question which arises now is, whether light verbs in present and future tense can be seen as part of the aspectual system in Urdu. In present and future tense the light verbs only imply ability to do something, certainty that something happens or unexpectedness. At least in past tense there sometimes is implied that an event is completed which, in my opinion, is more part of aspect than the above mentioned features. Butt and Rizvi (2008) say that light verbs do have to be part of the aspectual system in Urdu because more information is assumed than the main verb itself gives. In terms of this definiton light verbs, no matter if in past, present or future tense, are part of aspect.

4.3 Aspectual Verbs

There are two aspectual verbs, *cuknā* (pick up) and *lagnā* (be attached). The former one stands for the end of an event, the latter one for the beginning (Butt&Rizvi 2008). As mentioned in Butt and Rizvi (2008), aspectual verbs can be used in any tense/aspect form there is.

(92) a. *nādyā* *makān* *banā* *cʊk-ī* *tʰ-ī*
Nadya.F.Nom house.M.Nom make pick.up-Perf.F.Sg be.Past-F.Sg
'Nadya had built a house (finished it completely, already by a point of time in the past).'

b. *nādyā* *makān* *banā* *cʊk-ī* *hō-g-ī*
Nadya.F.Nom house.M.Nom make pick.up-Perf.F.Sg be-Fut-F.Sg
'Nadya will have built a house (finished it completely, already by a point of time in the future).'

(93) a. *nādyā* *gā* *cʊk-ī* *t^h-ī*
Nadya.F.Nom sing pick.up-Perf.F.Sg be.Past-F.Sg
'Nadya had sung (completely, already by a point of time in the past).'

b. *nādyā* *gā* *cʊk-ī* *hō-g-ī*
Nadya.F.Nom sing pick.up-Perf.F.Sg be-Fut-F.Sg
'Nadya will have sung (completely, already by a point of time in the future).'

(94) a. *nādyā* *tasvīr* *banā-nē* *lag-t-ī*
Nadya.F.Nom picture.F.Nom make-Inf.Obl begin-Impf-F.Sg
hɛ
be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya usually begins making pictures (whenever she wants to).'

b. *nādyā* *tasvīr* *banā-nē* *lag-ē-g-ī*
Nadya.F.Nom picture.F.Nom make-Inf.Obl begin-Subj-Fut-F.Sg
'Nadya will begin making a picture.'

The corresponding sentences in present respectively in past tense for the examples above are listed in Butt and Rizvi (2008).

According to Butt and Rizvi (2008) light verbs and aspectual verbs have to be separated from one another because the latters can be combined with any main verb there is. Light verbs are very restricted in use though.

4.4 Summary

This section showed new possibilities to use the tense/aspect system shown in chapter 3. Compared to the examples in Butt and Rizvi (2008) the differences are mainly in tense, less in construction itself. Note that most notably there were differences in meaning with the light verbs. Besides this, nothing significant could be declared.

5 Conclusion

This paper dealt with tense/aspect in Urdu. One main point was, whether there are differences in using transitive and intransitive verbs. Then good methods of analysing the examples were mentioned and in chapter 4 as many different constructions as possible were given. As seen above there is no big difference between transitive and intransitive verbs. Worth mentioning is, that the unaccusative verb *girnā* (fall) cannot be used in all of the examples. This is hardly a surprise seen from a crosslinguistical point of view. In chapter 4 the differences to the examples in Butt and Rizvi (2008) mainly are limited to tense. Only with the light verbs there are some different meanings. What must be discussed is, which features are necessary for the f-structures and DRSs. Better analyses should be made for the different forms of the progressive. It's still not clear, which auxiliary is responsible for intentional actions and whether it's possible to imply unintentional actions by deleting *calnā* (walk).

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