Converbs and related tense-aspect forms in Karachai-Balkar (Igor Nedjalkov, St. Petersburg, Russia)

Karachai-Balkar (KB) has ten converbal forms (CF), i.e. subordinate verb forms whose main function is to express adverbial meaning(s). On semantic grounds these CFs (like CFs in any other 'converbal' language) may be divided into two groups: (1) contextual CFs (expressing more than one adverbial function, e.g. simultaneity and condition, or anteriority and cause) and (2) specialized CFs (expressing just one meaning, either relative-temporal or non-temporal). There are three contextual CFs in KB: 1) the perfective converb of anteriority in -b/-p (the most frequent CF in folklore texts), 2) the imperfective converb of simultaneity in -a/-e/-i (depending on the vowel harmony and the final sound of the verb stem) and 3) the negative converb in -mai/-mei (this marker consists of the negative suffix -ma/-me and the suffix -i forming CFs of simultaneity). The group of specialized CFs includes the following seven forms: two perfective converbs of anteriority (-gandan and ganly), two imperfective converbs of simultaneity (in -ganda and -ganlai), the perfective converb of posteriority (-gynchy), the conditional converb in -sa and the converb of concession in -ganlykga. The majority of these CFs are also found in other Turkic languages, e.g. Kumyk and Nogai.

KB is unique among other Turkic languages in that respect that it has more than a dozen productive periphrastic tense-aspect (TA) forms based on two contextual CFs (in -b/-p and in -a/-e/-i). Specialized CFs do not form such periphrastic TA forms. The majority of TA forms involving these two converbs (plus additional element edi 'was' and/or the conjugated auxiliary verb tur- 'stand') are polysemous. They have one clear-cut main meaning (either progressive or perfect, or resultative) plus (depending on the lexical meaning of the verb) one or more additional meanings which are realized much rarer in texts. There are the following formal and semantic types of TA forms based on two contextual converbs under discussion (examples below contain TA forms of a transitive verb stem al- 'take' for the 3rd person singular):

A) one synthetic perfect form based on perfective converb of anteriority in -b/-p plus person-number agreement markers (e.g. al-yb-dy '(s)he has taken');

B) eight analytic tense-aspect forms based on the same converb in -b/-p: 1) aorist -b/-p edi (al-yb edi 'took', 'had taken'), 2) perfect / resultative -b/-p tur-a-, e.g. al-yb turady 'has taken' (with processive verbs this TA form can also express either indefinite present or present progressive meaning), 3) past perfect -b/-p tura edi (e.g. al-yb tur-du 'took'), 5) pluperfect -b/-p tur-gan-dy (e.g. al-yb tur-gan-dy 'had taken', 'took'), 6) pluperfect -b/-p turgan edi (e.g. al-yb turgan edi 'had taken'), 7) habitual present -b/-p tur-uuchan-dy (e.g. al-yb turuuchandy 'is in the habit of taking'), 8) habitual past -b/-p tur-uuchan edi (e.g. al-yb turuuchan edi 'was in the habit of taking');

C) six analytic tense-aspect forms based on CF in -a/-e/-i: 1) past progressive -a/-e/-i edi (al-a edi 'was taking'), 2) present progressive -a/-e/-i tur-a- (e.g. al-a turady 'is taking'), 3) past progressive -a/-e/-i- tura edi (e.g. al-a tura edi 'was taking'), 4) imperfect -a/-e/-i- tur-gan-dy (e.g. al-a tur-gan-dy 'was taking'), 5) habitual present -a/-e/-i- tur-uuchan-dy (e.g. al-a tur-gan-dy 'is in the habit of taking'), 8) habitual past -a/-e/-i- tur-uuchan edi (e.g. al-a tur-gan-di 'was in the habit of taking'). Converbs of simultaneity in -a/-e/-i do not form aorist TA forms with the auxiliary verb form tur-du (* al-a tur-du) and the pluperfect forms with tur-gan edi (* al-a turgan edi). The paper analyses the polysemy of TA forms based on contextual converbs.