Tense and Aspect in Urdu
– English Summary 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’) It describes in which temporal relation the speaker finds himself to what is said. Aspect (lat. a-spectus ‘perspective’, ‘point of view’ 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)

1Note 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’.
2Translation from Bußmann (2002).
3Translation 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 scheme, 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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intrinsic</th>
<th>E &lt; R</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Past Perfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Relations</td>
<td>E &gt; R</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 representation theory (DRT) which allows a more detailed presentation 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 examples:
The discourse representation structure (DRS) must be understood as follows. There is an event $e$ which is embedded 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.

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. $s \circ t'$ means that the state $s$ is at $t'$. The tense is in the past ($t' < n$) and $e$ is embedded 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 stopped 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 structure). A c-structure is represented as a phrase structure tree and a f-structure as an attribute value matrix (Butt at al. 1999).

(3) a. Peter drinks coffee.

b. c-structure:

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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c. f-structure:

```
[PRED 'drink <SUBJ,OBJ>']

[SUBJ [PRED 'Peter']]

[OBJ [PRED 'coffee']]
```

(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 subject (Peter) and an object (coffee). These are very simple structures. To get a better idea of f-structures we’ll have a look at a more complex one. I don’t want to go any deeper in the topic of c-structures as these are of no use in this paper.
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 un-accusative (*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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>Pl</th>
<th>rude</th>
<th>familiar</th>
<th>respect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>hū</td>
<td>hē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>hē</td>
<td>hō</td>
<td>hō</td>
<td>hē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>hē</td>
<td>hē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*hō-* (be) (Butt&Rizvi 2008:5)

(6) *nādyā* *lambī* hē

Nadya.F.Sg.Nom tall.F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg

‘Nadya is tall.’ (Butt&Rizvi 2008:5)
(7) a. nādyā lambī he.

\[
\begin{array}{cc|c}
\text{Sg} & \text{Pl} & \text{rude} & \text{familiar} & \text{respect} \\
1. & mār-ū & mar-ē & mār-ē & mār-ē \\
2. & mār-ē & mār-ō & mār-ē & mār-ē \\
3. & mār-ē & mār-ē & mār-ē & mār-ē \\
\end{array}
\]

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

(8) **Subjunctive**

\[
\begin{array}{cc|c}
\text{Sg} & \text{Pl} & \text{rude} & \text{familiar} & \text{respect} \\
1. & mār-ū & mar-ē & mār-ē & mār-ē \\
2. & mār-ē & mār-ō & mār-ē & mār-ē \\
3. & mār-ē & mār-ē & mār-ē & mār-ē \\
\end{array}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. agar mē adnān=kō mār-ū, tō acchā hō-gā</td>
<td>I.Nom Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-1.Sg so good be-Fut-M.Sg</td>
<td>If I were to hit Adnan, that would be good.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. agar mē has-ū, tō acchā hō-gā</td>
<td>I.Nom laugh-1.Sg so good be-Fut-M.Sg</td>
<td>If I were to laugh, that would be good.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. agar mē gir-ū, tō burū hō-gā</td>
<td>I.Nom fall-1.Sg so bad be-Fut-M.Sg</td>
<td>If I were to fall, that would be bad.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In (10) it’s semantically better to use nahānā (take a bath) instead of hasnā (laugh) because taking a bath is more under control than laughing. There is no example for girnā (fall) as this verb cannot be used here.

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

(9) **Imperative**

\[
\begin{array}{cc|c}
\text{rude} & \text{familiar} & \text{respect} \\
1. & dēk^{h} & dēk^{h}-ō \\
2. & dēk^{h}-ē & dēk^{h}-iye \\
\end{array}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. mē adnān=kō ab mār-ū?</td>
<td>I.Nom Adnan.M.Sg=Acc now hit-1.Sg</td>
<td>Should I hit Adnan now?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. mē ab nahā-ū?</td>
<td>I.Nom now bath-1.Sg</td>
<td>Should I take a bath now?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Butt&Rizvi 2008:4)
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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>Pl</th>
<th>rude</th>
<th>familiar</th>
<th>respect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>M/F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>mār-ū-gā/ī</td>
<td>mār-ē-g-ē/ī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
<td>mār-ē-g-ā/ī</td>
<td>mār-ō-g-ē/ī</td>
<td>mār-ē-g-ē/ī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>mār-ē-g-ā/ī</td>
<td>mār-ē-g-ē/ī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$mār$ (hit)  
(Butt&Rizvi 2008:7)

**Future I:**

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

(15) a. **nadya** lambī hōgī.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>s t n x</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s ○ t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t &gt; n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nādyā(x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s: [x lambī]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. **nadya** lambī hōgī.

**Future II**

(16) a. **nadya**=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. **nadya** 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. **nadya** 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.
   
   \[
   e \subseteq t_1 \\
   t_1 > n \\
   t_2 > t_1 \\
   nādyā(x) \\
   adnān(y) \\
   e: [x mārnā y]
   \]

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

(18) a. nādyā hasī hōgī.
   
   \[
   \text{PRED} '\text{has} <nādyā>' \\
   \text{PRED} 'nādyā' \\
   \text{NTYPE} \left[ \text{NSEM} \left[ \text{PROPER} \left[ \text{PROPER-TYPE name} \right] \right] \right] \\
   \text{SEM-PROP} \left[ \text{SPECIFIC +} \right] \\
   \text{CASE} \text{ nom}, \text{GEND fem}, \text{NUM sg}, \text{PERS 3} \\
   \text{CHECK} \left[ \text{VMORPH} \left[ \text{MATURE infl} \right] \right] \\
   \text{AUXASP +, RESTRICTED –} \\
   \text{TNS-ASP} \left[ \text{ASPECT perf, MOOD indicative, TENSE fut} \right] \\
   \text{CLAUSE-TYPE decl, PASSIVE –, VFORM perf, VTYPE main}
   \]

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-Perf.F.Sg be-Fut-F.Sg
   ‘Nadya may be hitting Adnan.’
   
   b. nādyā has-t-ī hō-g-ī
   Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Perf.F.Sg be-Fut-F.Sg
   ‘Nadya may be laughing.’
   
   c. nādyā gir-t-ī hō-g-ī
   Nadya.F.Sg.Nom fall-Perf.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 rahna (stay) is used which would support a value like prog for the attribute ASPECT in its f-structure.

**Immediate Future**

(21)  

a.  
\[ mē=nē \text{ adnān}=kō \quad ab^hī \text{ mār}=ā \]  
I=Erg Adnan.M.Sg=Acc now hit-Perf.M.Sg  
‘I’ll hit Adnan right away.’  

b.  
\[ mē \quad ab^hī \text{ nahā}=yī \]  
I.Nom now bath-Perf.F.Sg  
‘I’ll take a bath right away.’  

c.  
\[ mē \quad ab^hī \text{ gir}=ā \]  
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 \( e \leq t \) and \( t \leq n \) to describe this matter.

**Imminent Future**

Examples with \( vālā \) (one, like in ‘the egg-eating-one’):

(22)  
a.  
\[ nādyā \quad adnān=kō \quad mār-nē=\text{vālī} \quad hē \]  
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.  
\[ nādyā \quad \text{has-nē}=\text{vālī} \quad hē \]  
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Inf.Obl=one.F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg  
‘Nadya is about to laugh.’  

c.  
\[ nādyā \quad \text{gir-nē}=\text{vālī} \quad hē \]  
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.  
\[ nādyā \quad adnān=kō \quad mār-nē=kō \quad hē \]  
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Inf.Obl=Acc be.Pres.3.Sg  
‘Nadya is about to hit Adnan.’  

b.  
\[ nādyā \quad \text{has-nē}=kō \quad hē \]  
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Inf.Obl=Acc be.Pres.3.Sg  
‘Nadya is about to laugh.’  

c.  
\[ nādyā \quad \text{gir-nē}=kō \quad hē \]  
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 he
   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 he
   Nadya.F.Sg=Dat laugh-Inf.M.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
   ‘Nadya will laugh.’

c. nādyā=kō gir-nā he
   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)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>Pl</th>
<th>rude</th>
<th>familiar</th>
<th>respect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>M/F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>tʰ-ā/ɨ</td>
<td>tʰ-ē/ɨ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
<td>tʰ-ā/ɨ</td>
<td>tʰ-ē/ɨ</td>
<td>tʰ-ē/ɨ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>tʰ-ā/ɨ</td>
<td>tʰ-ē/ɨ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰ- (be)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Butt&amp;Rizvi 2008:10)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(26) nādyā cʰōtɨ tʰ-ɨ
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom small.F.Sg be.Past-F.Sg
‘Nadya was small.’

(27) a. nādyā cʰōtɨ tʰ-ɨ.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>s t n x</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

b. 

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-ɨ
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-ɨ
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Inf.Obl=Acc be.Past-F.Sg
‘Nadya was just about to laugh.’
c. nādyā  
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom fall-Inf.Obl=Acc be.Past-F.Sg

‘Nadya was just about to fall.’

(29) a. nādyā adnānkō mārēkō tʰɪ.

b. N

t_1 n t_2 x y

e \subseteq t_1

t_1 < n
t_1 \geq t_2

(30) Perfect/Past

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>Pl</th>
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<th>respect</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>M/F</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>M/F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>mār-a/₁</td>
<td>mār-e/₁</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>mār-a/₁</td>
<td>mār-ē/₁</td>
<td>mār-ē/₁</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>mār-a/₁</td>
<td>mār-ē/₁</td>
<td>mār-ē/₁</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Butt and Rizvi (2008:10)

(31) a. nādyā=nē  
Nadya.F.Sg=Erg Adnan.M.Sg=Acc today morning hit-Perf.M.Sg

‘Nadya hit Adnan this morning.’

b. nādyā  
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom today morning laugh-Perf.F.Sg

‘Nadya laughed this morning.’

c. nādyā  
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom today morning fall-Perf.F.Sg

‘Nadya fell this morning.’

(32) a. nādyānē adnānkō āj sobah mārā.

b. N

t_1 n x y

e \subseteq t

t < n

(33) a. nādyā āj sobah hasī.

4Butt and Rizvi (2008) use ≥ with the immediate future.
3.2 Aspect

3.2.1 Perfect

The paradigm 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 hē
    Nadya.F.Sg=Erg Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Perf.M.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
    ‘Nadya has hit Adnan.’

b. nādyā has-ī hē
    Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Perf.F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
    ‘Nadya has laughed.’

c. nādyā gir-ī hē
    Nadya.F.Sg.Nom hit-Perf.F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
    ‘Nadya has fallen.’

(35) a. nādyānē adnānkō mārā hē.

(36) a. nādyā hasī hē.
b. \[
\begin{align*}
\text{PRED 'has <nādyā>'} & \quad \text{PRED 'nādyā'} \\
\text{SUBJ NTYPE} & \quad \text{NSEM [PROPER [PROPER-TYPE name]]} \\
\text{SEMPROP} & \quad \text{NSEM proper} \\
\text{CASE nom, GEND fem, NUM sg, PERS 3} & \quad \text{SEM-PROP [SPECIFIC +]} \\
\text{CHECK} & \quad \text{SPECIFIC +} \\
\text{TNS-ASP} & \quad \text{CASE nom, GEND fem, NUM sg, PERS 3} \\
\text{CLAUSE-TYPE decl, PASSIVE –, VFORM perf, VTYPE main}
\end{align*}
\]

Past Reading

(37) a. \lbrack nādyā=nē adnān=kō mār-ā t\textsuperscript{h}-ā \rbrack
Nadya.F.Sg=Erg Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Perf.M.Sg be.Past-M.Sg
‘Nadya had hit Adnan.’

b. \lbrack nādyā has-ī t\textsuperscript{h}-ī \rbrack
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Perf.F.Sg be.Past-F.Sg
‘Nadya had laughed.’

c. \lbrack nādyā gir-ī t\textsuperscript{h}-ī \rbrack
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.

(38) a. \lbrack nādyānē adnānkō mārā t\textsuperscript{h}ā \rbrack
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. \lbrack arē dēk\textsuperscript{h}-ō nādyā=nē adnān=kō mār-ā! \rbrack
Hey look-Imp.Fam Nadya.F.Sg=Erg Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Perf.M.Sg
‘Hey look, Nadya has hit Adnan!’

\textsuperscript{5}Tikaram Poudel pointed this out.
b. \textit{arē dēkʰ-ō nādyā has-ı!}  
Hey look-Imp.Fam Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Perf.F.Sg  
‘Hey look, Nadya has laughed!’

c. \textit{arē dēkʰ-ō nādyā gir-ı!}  
Hey look-Imp.Fam Nadya.F.Sg.Nom fall-Perf.F.Sg  
‘Hey look, Nadya has fallen!’

Prohibition:

(40) a. \textit{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. \textit{mat has-ā kar-ō}  
not laugh-Perf.M.Sg do-2.Fam  
‘Don’t laugh!’

c. \textit{mat gir-ā kar-ō}  
not fall-Perf.M.Sg do-2.Fam  
‘Don’t fall!’

In (40) c. \textit{girnā} (fall) is used as an unergative verb because such constructions aren’t possible with unaccusatives.

Command:

(41) a. \textit{adnān=kō mār-ā kar-ō}  
Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Perf.M.Sg do-2.Fam  
‘You should keep hitting Adnan.’

b. \textit{has-ā kar-ō}  
laugh-Perf.M.Sg do-2.Fam  
‘You should keep laughing.’

c. \textit{gir-ā kar-ō}  
fall-Perf.M.Sg do-2.Fam  
‘You should keep falling.’

In (41) c. \textit{girnā} (fall) is used as an unergative again.

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

3.2.2 Imperfect

Here the paradigm:

(42) \textbf{Imperfect}  
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
 & Sg & Pl & rude & familiar & respect \\
 & M/F & M/F & M/F & M/F & M/F \\
1. & mār-t-ä/ı & mār-t-ë/ı & & & \\
2. & mār-t-ä/ı & mār-t-ë/ı & & & \\
3. & mār-t-ä/ı & mār-t-ë/ı & & & \\
mār- & (hit) & & & & \\
\end{tabular}  
(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  
*he*

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  
*he*

Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Impf-F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
‘Nadya laughs.’

c. *nādyā*  
*gir-t-ī  
*he*

Nadya.F.Sg.Nom fall-Impf-F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
‘Nadya falls.’

(44) a. *anjum*  
*adnānkō mār-tī  
he*

(45) a. *nādyā*  
*has-tī  
*he*

Past Reading:

(46) a. *anjum*  
*adnān=kō  
mār-t-ī  
*tī-

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  
*tī-

Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Impf-F.Sg be.Past-F.Sg
‘Nadya used to laugh.’
c. Nadya.F.Sg.Nom fall-Impf-F.Sg be.Past-F.Sg
   ‘Nadya used to fall.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. anjum adnānkō mārtī thī.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s t n x y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s ⊕ t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t &lt; n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anjum(x) adnān(y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s: x HAB(marnā) y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Used on its own the imperfect describes counterfactuals.

**Counterfactuals:**

(48) a. (agar) mē adnān=kō mār-ā-t-ī...
   if I.Nom Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Caus-Impf-F.Sg
   ‘Had I hit Adnan,...’

b. (agar) mē has-ā-t-ī...
   if I.Nom laugh-Caus-Impf-F.Sg
   ‘Had I made someone laugh,...’

c. (agar) mē 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) mē has-t-ī...
   if I.Nom laugh-Impf-F.Sg
   ‘Had I laughed,...’

b. (agar) mē 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 rahna (stay) in its perfect form and a form of hōnā (be).

**Present Reading:**

(50) a. 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. *Nadya* F.Sg.Nom *laugh* stay-Perf.F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg 'Nadya is laughing.'

c. *Nadya* F.Sg.Nom *fall* stay-Perf.F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg 'Nadya is falling.'

(51) a. anjum adnānkō mār rahī hē.

b. PRED 'has <nādyā>'

(52) a. nādyā F.Sg.Nom *has* rahī hē.

b. PRED 'has <nādyā>'

Past Reading:

(53) a. *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. *Nadya* F.Sg.Nom *laugh* stay-Perf.F.Sg be.Past-F.Sg 'Nadya was laughing.'

c. *Nadya* F.Sg.Nom *fall* stay-Perf.F.Sg be.Past-F.Sg 'Nadya was falling.'

---

6I 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.

7And 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.
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
   be.Pres.3.Sg
   ‘Nadya keeps on hitting Adnan.’

b. nādyā has-t-ī rah-t-ī
   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
   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 he.
   s t n x y
   s ⊈ t
   n ≤ t
   nādyā(x)
   adnān(y)
   s: x ITER/CONT(mārnā) y

(57) a. nādyā hastī rahtī he.
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.’

In (58) 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).  

### 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 introduced by rahnā (stay) (see (65)).

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

---

8Unfortunately I couldn’t think of any DRS for the past reading.
9Many 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
he 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 he
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 he
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 In this section girnā (fall) is only used as an unergative verb.

(60) a. nādyā adnān-kō mār-tī jātī he.

b. s t n x y

s ∩ t
n ⊆ t
nādyā(x)
adnān(y)
s: x ITER(mārnā) y

(61) a. nādyā hastī jātī he.

b. [PRED 'has <nādyā>':
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 [CONT –, ITERATIVE +, DUR short, MOOD indicative, TENSE pres]
CLAUSE-TYPE decl, PASSIVE –, VFORM impf, VTYPE main]

Here ITERATIVE gets a positive value because of jānā (go).
There is the possibility to add calnā (walk) to the construction 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 he
go-Impf-F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
‘Nadya keeps on hitting Adnan (willfully, over a long time).’
b. nādyā  has-t-ī  cal-ī  jū-t-ī
   Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Impf-F.Sg walk-Perf.F.Sg go-Impf-F.Sg
   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
   be.Pres.3.Sg
   ‘Nadya keeps on falling (willfully, over a long time).’

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
s \circ t \\
 n \subseteq t \\
 nādyā(x) \\
 adnān(y) \\
 x \text{ DUR}(mārnā) y
\end{array}
\]

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

(64) a. nādyā  hastī  calī  jātī  he.

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

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

Because of the imperfect form of \textit{jānā} (go), (59) and (62) imply habits. It might be good to introduce an attribute like \textit{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 \textit{rahnā} with contrstructions like the above. This implies that the event is still going on. Here only the stem of \textit{jānā} is used which deletes any habitual reading.
(65)  a. nādyā adnān-kō mār-t-ī cal-ī ḥa
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Impf-F.Sg walk-Perf.F.Sg go 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 ḥa
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Impf-F.Sg walk-Perf.F.Sg go stay-Perf.F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
‘Nadya keeps on laughing (willfully, over a long time, continuously).’

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

(66)  a. nādyā adnān-kō mārtī calī ḥa.

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 ḥa.

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)  
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{a. } & \text{nādyā  } \text{ adnān=kō  } \text{ mār-t-ī  } \text{ ga-yī} \\
\text{b. } & \text{nādyā  } \text{ has-t-ī  } \text{ ga-yī} \\
\text{c. } & \text{nādyā  } \text{ gir-t-ī  } \text{ ga-yī} \\
\end{array}
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Nadya.F.Sg.Nom Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Impf-F.Sg go-Perf.F.Sg} \\
\text{Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Impf-F.Sg go-Perf.F.Sg} \\
\text{Nadya.F.Sg.Nom fall-Impf-F.Sg go-Perf.F.Sg} \\
\end{array}
\begin{array}{l}
\text{‘Nadya kept on hitting Adnan (despite potential obstacles).’} \\
\text{‘Nadya kept on laughing (despite potential obstacles).’} \\
\text{‘Nadya kept on falling (despite potential obstacles).’} \\
\end{array}

(69)  
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{a. } & \text{nādyā  } \text{ adnān=kō  } \text{ mār-t-ī  } \text{ cal-ī} \\
\text{b. } & \text{nādyā  } \text{ has-t-ī  } \text{ cal-ī  } \text{ ga-yī} \\
\text{c. } & \text{nādyā  } \text{ gir-t-ī  } \text{ cal-ī  } \text{ ga-yī} \\
\end{array}
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Nadya.F.Sg.Nom Adnan.M.Sg=Acc hit-Impf-F.Sg walk-Perf.F.Sg} \\
\text{Nadya.F.Sg.Nom laugh-Impf-F.Sg walk-Perf.F.Sg go-Perf.F.Sg} \\
\text{Nadya.F.Sg.Nom fall-Impf-F.Sg walk-Perf.F.Sg go-Perf.F.Sg} \\
\end{array}
\begin{array}{l}
\text{go-Perf.F.Sg} \\
\text{‘Nadya kept on hitting Adnan (despite potential obstacles).’} \\
\text{‘Nadya kept on laughing (despite potential obstacles).’} \\
\text{‘Nadya kept on falling (despite potential obstacles).’} \\
\end{array}

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:

\begin{array}{l}
\text{daraxt} \text{ barī-
\text{-t-ā} \text{ jā} \text{ rah-ā} \text{ he} \\
\text{tree.M.Sg.Nom grow-Impf-M.Sg go stay-M.Perf be.Pres.3.Sg} \\
\end{array}
\text{‘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.\footnote{Tikaram Poudel and Tafeer Ahmed suggested the example in (70).} (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 explanation 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.

\footnote{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 must not be used. In sentences with subjects that can do something volitionally calnā does not have to be deleted, it may 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 examples 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.  
\[ \text{Nadya.F.Sg.Nom} \quad \text{small.F.Sg} \quad \text{be.Past-F.Sg} \]  
\[ 'Nadya was small.' \]

b.  
\[ \text{Nadya.F.Sg.Nom} \quad \text{tall.F.Sg} \quad \text{be-Fut-F.Sg} \]  
\[ 'Nadya will be/become tall.' \]

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.  
\[ \text{Nadya.F.Sg.Nom} \quad \text{come-Perf.F.Sg} \quad \text{be.Pres.3.Sg} \]  
\[ 'Nadya has already arrived.' \]

b.  
\[ \text{Nadya.F.Sg.Nom} \quad \text{come-Perf.F.Sg} \quad \text{be.Past-F.Sg} \]  
\[ 'Nadya arrived.' \]

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

(73) a.  
\[ \text{boat.F.Sg.Nom} \quad \text{drown-Inf.Obl=one.F.Sg} \quad \text{be.Past-F.Sg} \]  
\[ 'The boat was about to sink.' (Lit. ‘The boat was a sinking one.’) \]
b.  kaftī  dūb-nē=vālī  hō-g-i
   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  larkī=kī  ādī  hō-nē=kō  th-i
     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  larkī=kī  ādī  hō-nī  th-i
     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.  mē  abh-i  ā-yī  hū
     I.Nom now came-Perf.F.Sg be.Pres.1.Sg
     ‘I’ve just arrived.’

b.  mē  abh-i  ā-yī  th-i
     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  dāktar sāhib  bōl-nē=kō  hō-tē
     when doctor sahib.M.Nom speak-Inf.Obl=Acc be-Impf-M.Hon
     hē  tō  sab lōg  cop  hō  jā-tē
     be.Pres.M.Hon though all people.Nom quiet become go-Impf-M.Hon
     hē.
     be.Pres.M.Hon
     ‘When the doctor is about to speak, everybody falls quiet.’

b.  jab  dāktar sāhib  bōl-nē=kō  hō-gē  tō
     when doctor sahib.M.Nom speak-Inf.Obl=Acc be-Fut-M.Hon though
     sab lōg  cop  hō  jā-ē-gē
     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  caī  banā-nē=kō  hē
     Madam.F.Nom tea.F.Nom make-Inf.Obl=Acc be.Pres.F.Hon
     ‘Madam is just about to make tea.’

b.  mēm-sāhibā  caī  banā-nē=kō  hō-g-i
     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 sōbah skūl jā-t-ī*
    Anjum.F.Sg.Nom every morning school.F.Sg.Loc go-Impf-F.Sg
    *be.Pres.3.Sg*
    ‘Anjum goes to school every morning.’

b. *anjum āj sōbah 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 sōbah skūl jā-o-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.  

(79) *anjum ādnān=kō dēk-k-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) *kuttā bōk-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. *kuttā bōk-t-ā jā-t-ā bā-l-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).’
b. kuttā  b̲̂h ō̲̂k-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. kuttā  b̲̂h ō̲̂k-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. kuttā  b̲̂h ō̲̂k-t-ā  jā-t-ā  ĥ̲ō-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. kuttā  b̲̂h ō̲̂k-t-ā  cal-ā  jā-t-ā
dog.M.Sg.Nom bark-Impf-M.Sg walk-Perf.M.Sg go-Impf-M.Sg
ĥ̲ō-g-a
be-Fut-M.Sg
‘The dog will keep on barking (willfully, over a long time).’

(83) c. kuttā  b̲̂h ō̲̂k-t-ā  cal-ā  jā  rah-ā
dog.M.Sg.Nom bark-Impf-M.Sg walk-Perf.M.Sg go stay-Perf.M.Sg
ĥ̲ō-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  he
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. \[ \text{nādyā} \quad \text{das bajē} \quad \text{tak xat} \quad \text{lik}_h{\text{-e-g-ī}} \]
\[ \text{Nadya.F.Nom ten o’clock till letter.M.Nom write-Subj-Fut-F.Sg} \]
\[ \text{‘Nadya will write the letters till 10 o’clock (must not be completed).’} \]

b. \[ \text{nādyā} \quad \text{das bajē} \quad \text{tak xat} \quad \text{lik}_h{\text{e-g-ī}} \]
\[ \text{Nadya.F.Nom ten o’clock till letter.M.Nom write take-Fut-F.Sg} \]
\[ \text{‘Nadya will be finished with the letters by 10 o’clock.’} \]

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. \[ \text{nādyā} \quad \text{makān} \quad \text{banā} \quad \text{dē-t-ī} \quad \text{he} \]
\[ \text{Nadya.F.Nom house.M.Nom make give-Impf.M.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg} \]
\[ \text{‘Nadya usually makes houses for others.’} \]

b. \[ \text{nādyā} \quad \text{makān} \quad \text{banā} \quad \text{dō-g-ī} \]
\[ \text{Nadya.F.Nom house.M.Nom make give-Fut-F.Sg} \]
\[ \text{‘Nadya will build a house for someone else.’} \]

c. \[ \text{nādyā} \quad \text{makān} \quad \text{banā} \quad \text{dō-g-ī} \]
\[ \text{Nadya.F.Vok house.M.Nom make give-Fut-F.Sg} \]
\[ \text{‘Nadya, will you build a house for someone else?’} \]

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. \[ \text{nādyā} \quad \text{rō} \quad \text{par-t-ī} \quad \text{he} \]
\[ \text{Nadya.F.Nom cry fall-Impf.F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg} \]
\[ \text{‘Nadya usually cries.’} \]

b. \[ \text{nādyā} \quad \text{rō} \quad \text{par-e-g-ī} \]
\[ \text{Nadya.F.Nom cry fall-Subj-Fut-F.Sg} \]
\[ \text{‘Nadya will cry.’} \]

(88) a. \[ \text{nādyā} \quad \text{gir} \quad \text{par-t-ī} \quad \text{he} \]
\[ \text{Nadya.F.Nom fall fall-Impf.F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg} \]
\[ \text{‘Nadya usually falls (down).’} \]

b. \[ \text{nādyā} \quad \text{gir} \quad \text{par-e-g-ī} \]
\[ \text{Nadya.F.Nom fall fall-Subj-Fut-F.Sg} \]
\[ \text{‘Nadya will fall (down).’} \]

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

(89) a. \[ \text{nādyā} \quad \text{gir} \quad \text{ja-t-ī} \quad \text{he} \]
\[ \text{Nadya.F.Nom fall go-Impf.F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg} \]
\[ \text{‘Nadya usually falls (down).’} \]
b. nādyā  gir jā-ē-g-i  
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  ut₃-t-i  h-c  
Nadya.F.Nom speak rise-Impf-F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg  
‘Nadya usually speaks up/breaks into speech (unexpectedly).’

b. nādyā  bōl  ut₃-ō-g-i  
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. Intersting
are the following sentences, as (91) c. doesn’t follow the pattern seen so far.

(91) a. nādyā  cal  par-i  
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom walk fall-Perf.F.Sg  
‘Nadya went suddenly.’

b. *nādyā  cal  ga-i  
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom walk go-Perf.F.Sg  

b. *nādyā  cal  ga-i  
Nadya.F.Sg.Nom walk 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 inflected
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 definition 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  cuk-i  th₃-i  
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 cok-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 cok-ī ṭū-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 cok-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 tasvī banā-nē lag-t-ī
Nadya.F.Nom picture.F.Nom make-Inf.Obl begin-Impf-F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
‘Nadya usually begins making pictures (whenever she wants to).’

b. nādyā tasvī 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).
References


www: