

"And" in Uyghur:
Some Data and Discussion on the Additive Connectives
we, *hem* and *hemde* in Modern Uyghur Narrative

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1. Introduction

The default way for joining clauses in order to make compound sentences in Uyghur is to use converbs¹, the most common one being the *-(I)p*-form². This way is typical for Turkic languages. In addition, the conjunctions *we*, *hem* and *hemde* ("and" etc.) are also available in Uyghur.³ The first one is of Arabic, the second one of Persian origin. Both are used infrequently though. For example, the ten-page story *Noruz eshi* (Qadir) does not contain one single conjunction that would be translated by "and". The first chapter of the popular historical novel *Iz* (Ötkür) contains only two instances of a clause-joining *we* on twelve pages, whereas the *-(I)p*-form is used all the time. In his famous story *Bu chüsh emes*, Hoshur uses *we* to join clauses one single time on 36 pages (128). The question then is: What motivates the use of *we* or *hem*? Do they have a special function, and do the two conjunctions differ in their role?

¹ Or "gerunds"; Tömür / Lee: "Adverbials" (285f.).

² Tömür / Lee: "Associative Adverbial" (285f.).

³ In contrast, Kazakh for instance does not have *we*; As for *hem*, it is only used to join noun phrases.

Before we look at their role in compound sentences, we first present their usage within clauses.⁴

Our corpus mainly consists of sections from narrative texts by Hoshur, Ötkür and Qahar, who are all well-known and notable writers. Most of the texts were written in the 1980s. (The publication dates given under "References" partly refer to reprints.) The text by Nimshehit is older and the text about him is different in that it is a story-like *report* about how one of his works was saved from loss. In addition, we quote eclectic texts (fairytale, journal articles, textbooks, procedural) from recent years. I would like to acknowledge the support I have received from my various teachers at the Xinjiang Arts Institute, Urumchi. They helped me in translating the examples and by sharing their monther tongue speakers' assessment of the function of certain constructions.

Examples from Uyghur are transcribed using the standard *Uyghur Kompyutér Yéziqi* ("Uyghur Computer Script").

2. *we*

2.1. *we* Joining Noun Phrases

we is used to join nouns.

Ex. 1. achliq *we* harghinliq (Ötkür: Iz 2)
starvation and exhaustion

Ex. 2. traktor *we* harwilar (Qadir: Yenggiler 403)
tractors and [donkey] carts

Ex. 3. dostliri *we* qérindashliri (Bulaq: Sodiger 107)
her friends and sisters

Ex. 4. maddiy [dunya] *we* meniwi dunya (Derslik: Edebiyat tarixi 60)
physical [world] and spiritual world

Ex. 5. Dapchun *we* uning roli. (Hemdula: Nan)
The Airway and its Function [section heading]

Ex. 6. özining zérekliki *we* tirishchanliqigha tayinip (Nimshéhit: Bala sha'ir 13)
relying on his own intelligence and diligence

Ex. 7. zilcha-gilem *we* ap'aq kigizler (Ötkür: Iz 76₁)
carpets and white felt mats

As the following examples show, *we* can also join more complex noun phrases. In the first one, *we* combines two infinitives.

Ex. 8. Ayqiz shu kúndin bashlapla, öy yighishturush, qazan-qomuch yuyush *we* séghin qilishtin tartip, qurut qurutushqiche bolghan hemme ishlarni qilishqa kirishti. (Ötkür: Iz 11)

⁴ The usage of *bilen* "with, and", which can combine nouns, but not clauses, is not discussed here.

*Ayqiz, from that day on, started to do all (kinds of) chores, beginning from tidying the house, washing pots and pans **and** doing the milking, to drying [curds to make] cheese.*

- Ex. 9. ...; biraq, Ayqizning köngli da'im sunuq yürüşini **we** pat-patla ulugh-kichik tinip, ah chékishini körüp ichi pushatti. (Ötkür: Iz 11)
*...; but seeing Ayqiz being constantly grieved in her heart **and**, often times sighing deeply, [and] crying, they were depressed.*

Here, *we* combines two expanded infinitives, the second of which contains an *-ip*-form.

- Ex. 10. Özining paji'elik sergüzeshtliri **we** payansiz chölde kétiwétip, tün qarangghusida yoldin adashqan yoluchiningkidek namelum teqdiri tüpeyli, öz ismini özgertiwélishning lazimliyini oylap raziliq bildürdi. (Ötkür: Iz 10)
*Thinking about her own tragic experiences **and** the having-been on the flight in the boundless desert, her a-traveler-who-has-gone-astray-by-the-night's-darkness-like uncertain fate, [and] the need to change her name, she expressed her consent.*

This is the combining of two noun phrases. The second one includes a comparison (*-dek*); inside of the comparison there is a participle construction (*-qan*), which in turn includes an *-ip*-clause!

2.2. *we* Joining Adjectives

Below are cases where *we* combines adjectives. The first is not from a narrative text.

- Ex. 11. xushxuy **we** chiqishqaq mijezi (XJ Yashliri: Bilim 14)
*a cheerful **and** outgoing temperament*
- Ex. 12. bipayan **we** uzaq Tarim wadisi (Source?)
*the vast **and** long Tarim riverbed*

Here, *we* joins question words:

- Ex. 13. Ular bu öz ayighi bilen kelgen qutluq kélinning merikisini qachan **we** qandaq ötküzüsh ghémige chüshkenidi. (Ötkür: Iz 19)
*They had gotten concerned about when **and** where to hold the [wedding] celebration for this blessing-bringing daughter-in-law who had come of her own accord.*

2.3. *we* in Enumerations

we is used in front of the last item in a listing.

- Ex. 14. On ikki tagh: Tarati, Qoray, Tashar, Édir, Baghdash, Chotuntam, Shopul, Bay, Aratürük, Nom, Türkül **we** Nérinkir dégen yerlerdin ibaret idi. (Ötkür: Iz 5)
*The twelve mountains included the places called: Tarati, Qoray, Tashar, Édir, Baghdash, Chotuntam, Shopul, Bay, Aratürük, Nom, Türkül **and** Nérinkir.*
- Ex. 15. Uning qéri anisi, xotuni **we** usshaq baliliri zar-zar yiglap, néme qilishini bilmey turatti. (Ötkür: Iz 81)
*His old mother, his wife **and** small children cried bitterly and stayed behind not knowing what to do.*

Yet, a list does not have to include any *we*.

Ex. 16. Bu yigirme besh yilning köp qismi u yéqi Béyjing, bu yéqi Mori, Guchung, Altay-Chöchek, Ürümchi, Turpan yollirida, Wangning soda karwanlirida töge yétilish bilen ötti. (Ötkür: Iz 6)

The larger part of these twenty-five years he spent leading camels in the Wang's [title of local king] trade caravans, on the roads [leading] on the one side to Beijing, on the other side to Mori, Guchung, Altay-Chöchek, Urumchi, Turpan.

Ex. 17. Lékin, Ermiya özining zéréklili we tirishchanliqigha tayinip yézishni, oqushni öginiwalidi. (Nimshéhit: Bala sha'ir 13)

But Ermiya, relying on his own intelligence and diligence did learn writing, reading.

We could not identify a reason for when a list includes a *we* and when not. Possibly, one factor is whether the listing contains a definite number of items or whether it is open and incomplete; but there are examples that do not support this hypothesis (Ötkür: Iz 76₂).

3. *hem*

3.1. *hem* Joining Adjectives

Ex. 18. Biraq, Ermiya kichikidinla qorqumsiz hem yumurluq idi. (Nimshéhit: Bala sha'ir 13)

But Ermiya was from his childhood on a fearless and funny boy.

Ex. 19. eng chong hem ejellik ajizliq (Tengritagh: 2012- yili, 25)

the greatest and most fatal weakness

Ex. 20. xémirturuch sélip yéqilghan nan, yumshaq hem singishliq bolidu. (Hemdula: Nan)

Bread which was baken after yeast has been added to it is soft and digestable.

These examples contain more complex adjectival / participle phrases:

Ex. 21. japaliq hem melum jehette xetiri bar ishlarning biri (XJ Yashliri: Közimiz 23)

a hard work and one of those that are in a certain way dangerous

Ex. 22. Ana kiyim-kéçekliri höl [bolup ketken], hem laygha milinip ketken qizini körüp, ... (Derslik: Uyghur tili 47)

When the mother saw her girl, with her clothes being wet and (herself) stained with mud, ...

3.2. *hem* Joining Noun Phrases

hem is not often used for this purpose. In the first example, the noun phrase actually describes a quality.

- Ex. 23. Yélinish **hem** xushamet teleppuzida (Qadir: Ketmen 29)
*in a pleading [infinitive] **and** flattering tone of voice*
- Ex. 24. ... özining **hem** yénidiki toshqanning sudiki sholisini körüp, ... (Oqushluq: Yolwas bilen toshqan 49)
*... seeing the reflection of himself **and** of the rabbit at his side in the water ...*
- Ex. 25. ... Muhemmet Béshir Wangning Teyjisi **hem** uning yéqin tughqini bolghan Tajiddin Teyji dégen kishining Qumul taghlirining biride aman saqlinip qalghan bir oghli ... (Ötkür: Iz 92)
*... a son who had survived on one of the Qumul mountains, [a son] of a man called Tajiddin Taiji [title], who [in turn] was Muhemmet Béshir Wang [king's title]'s Taiji [title] **and** [at the same time] his close relative ...*
- Here, the twofold relationship between two people is described.

3.3. *hem* ... *hem* ... Signifying "both ... and ..."

Both adjectives and nouns can be combined in this way.

- Ex. 26. ..., doghapchilarning «**Hem** tatliq **hem** soghuq!» dep xéridar chaqirishliri, ... (Hoshur: Nozugum 325)
*..., the refreshment-sellers' "(Both) sweet **and** cold!" [saying] calls to the customers, ...*
- Ex. 27. ... seher yoli **hem** uzaq, **hem** müshkül yol iken. (Qadir: Aq we qizil 348)
*The early morning's road ... was **both** long **and** hard (to walk).*
- Ex. 28. ... **hem** ijtimai'y qimmetke **hem** bedi'y qimmetke igé (Derslik: Edebiyat tarixi 26)
*of **both** social **and** aesthetic value*
- Ex. 29. **hem** ziyaret, **hem** tijaret (Hoshur: Bu chüsh emes 121)
***both** travel **and** trade [recreation and business]*
- Ex. 30. Sulayman **hem** peyghember, **hem** padishah bolghan bilen ... (Ötkür: Iz 80)
*Since Solomon was **both** a prophet **and** a king, ...*

3.4. *hem* in Enumerations

Only one example was encountered.

- Ex. 31. körmes, anglimas **hem** sözliyemes bolup qalghan amérikiliq dangliq yazghuchi, ma'aripchi Xélin Kéllér (XJ Yashliri: Ibret 11)

4. *hemde*

hemde is rarely used. No example has been found of *hemde* joining adjectives.

4.1. *hemde* Joining Noun Phrases

In the whole corpus there are only two instances where *hemde* is used in this way in narrative; a couple other cases come from an explanatory and a hortatory text.

Ex. 32. Kéyin, Aygül uning bir amal qilip Sélimni özidin chetleshtürüwatqanliqini hemde hiyle-mikir ishlitip birdem harwida enje toshushqa, birdem yiraqtiki ormiliqqa yalghuz orma orushqa ewetiwatqanliqini pamlidi. (Turdi: Boghda Ata 244)

Then Aygül sensed that he [Neghem Haji] found a way to remove Selim from herself and that, using a trick, he sent him one time to transport piles of cut grain with the cart, another time to harvest alone on a far-away field.

Here, *hemde* joins two participle constructions (-*qanliq* / "that-sentences").

Ex. 33. «... Shu wejidin, – déyilgenidi xetning axirida, – Shamexsut Qing Wang janabliri ulugh Chini xaqangha bolghan en'eniwi sadaqet we beqamal ita'et izhari hemde Qumul wangliqining uzaq yillar seltenet dewrani sürüşige kapaletlik qilish üçün, derhal chare-tedbirlerge kiriship, birinchidin, yaman ademlerning Qumul zéminida topilang qilishigha zinhar yol qoymighayli. Ikkinchidin, ... » (Ötkür: Iz 102)

"... For this reason – was said at the end of the letter, – for the sake of the expression of his Majesty the Qing [dynasty's] Wang [king's title] Shamexsut [proper name]'s traditional loyalty toward the Great Khan [ruler's title] of China and (his) unreserved obedience and for guaranteeing the Wang-of-Qumul's long-lasting kingdom-era's dominion, immediately undertaking ways and measures, firstly, let us absolutely not give way to evil people making a rebellion in the country of Qumul. Secondly, ..."

Ex. 34. soda bixeterliqi hemde mal satquchi we sétiwalghuchilarning iqtidarini östürüş üçün (Kompyutér: Dukan échish 39)
for the sake of the trade security and for increasing the performance of sellers and buyers

Ex. 35. yémeklikning hemde balilar buyumlrining taziliqigha diqqet qilish (XJ Yashliri: Bala béqishta 25)
paying attention to the cleanliness of the food and the children's things

4.2. *hemde* in Enumerations

In a list it can be used in front of the last element.

Ex. 36. Uningda bari ingliz tili sewiyesi, etrapliq pilan, choyundek iradisi, xushxuy we chiqishqacq mijezi, ümidwarliqi hemde kona adetlerge qarita bashqiche tepekkur qilalaydighan ötkür kallisi idi. (XJ Yashliri: Bilim 14)

All he had was a [good] level of English, an overall plan, a will like iron, a cheerful and outgoing temperament, optimism and a sharp mind willing to take a fresh look at old customs.

5. *we*, *hem*, *hemde* and *bilen* in Multi-level Noun Phrases

When compound noun phrases include elements which are in themselves compound noun phrases, there could be patterns and restrictions as to which additive connective is likely to occur on which level. So far, only the following data has been collected.

Ex. 37. ... Seperqul bilen Amanqulni we medet bergen Tömür Mujangni [< chin. mùjiàng] qattiq yamanlap, ...

... speaking very badly about Seperqul **and** Amanqul, **and** the having-support-given Tömür the Carpenter ... (Iz 79)

In the following rather complex sentence, the numbers in superscript indicate the noun phrase levels, with <¹> being the lowest.

Ex. 38. Yéqindin béri 淘宝 soda sheherqisi bir qisim tüzülme **we**¹ iqtidarlarni östürüş bilen bille² soda bixeterliqi **hemde**³ mal satquchi **we**¹ sétiwalghuchilarning iqtidarini östürüş üçün 淘宝 da dukan échishning birinchi qedimini bashlighanda 淘宝 tor békiti **we** soda supisigha alaqidar uniwersal bilimler heqqide sinaq imtihan élishni yolgha qoydi. (Kompyutér: Dukan échish 39) *Recently, Táobǎo marketplace [Chinese website for online shopping] brought underway the taking of a test exam about general knowledge regarding the Táobǎo website **and** trading platform [to be taken] when beginning the first step of opening a "store" in Táobǎo, [all this] for the sake of – **alongside**² increasing part of the structure **and**¹ [own] performance – trade security **and**³ for increasing the performance of sellers **and**¹ buyers.*

6. *we*, *hem* and *hemde* Joining Clauses

What is the function of the above additive connectives, and how do they differ? – Mother tongue speakers perceive *we*, *hem* and *hemde* as largely interchangeable in meaning. On the other side, it is normal for languages which have two additive connectives, like here *we* and *hem*, that one of them is the default one while the other one specifically conveys simultaneousness or sameness of events. One could expect this in Uyghur too, and the "Handbook" (EngYakDwy) points in this direction:

"The conjunction *we* can also link two complex clauses, generally whole sentences, **and these do not have to occur simultaneously**. Both sentences have finite verbs and could occur independently." (99) And on *hem*: "*hem* **most commonly** links two predicates or verb phrases **to express a simultaneous state or action**." (EngYakDwy: Handbook 99 [emphases JD])

Below we present a collection of examples for the use of both *we* and *hem* in literature. These examples do not suggest a clearly distinct usage between *we* and *hem*.

Observations:

Syntax:

- The theoretical possibility of both *we* and *hem* joining clauses with different subjects is demonstrated by examples in "Hazirqi zaman uyghur tili".⁵ Yet, our corpus does **not** contain one single example where either *we* or *hem* joins independent clauses with **different subjects**. (Ex. 41 is not an exception, because "her eyes", being body parts, should be regarded as the same subject as "the girl".) I.e., in this regard we could not show a difference between *we* and *hem*.

Distribution:

- *we* occurs a bit more often than *hem* in our corpus.
- *hem* was **not used at all** for joining clauses by Hoshur, Ötkür and Qahar. It is quite frequent in the texts by and about Nimshehit.

⁵ Hazirqi zaman uyghur tili 3 / 2173f. Cf. Derslik: Uyghur tili 276f.

- In our whole corpus of proper narrative texts there is only one sentence by a less well known author in which *hemde* is used. The other examples are from an expository text and from a short biography in a magazine.

Pragmatic function:

- Sequence *versus* simultaneousness *versus* sameness: *we* combines actions that follow each other (Ex. 45), but there are also instances where the actions are clearly simultaneous or at least overlapping (Ex. 41). The same is true of *hem* (see Ex. 58 for simultaneous actions, Ex. 55 for subsequent actions). – I.e. a clear distinction between the usage of *we* and *hem* in this regard can not be determined. If one speaks of "sameness" instead and defines it as "**expressing either two aspects of the same event or two closely related events**", then all cases of both *we* and *hem* can be said to do so.
- In a good number of cases *we* combines an action and a speech act that goes together with it. This is less clearly the case with *hem*. A couple of times the speech is accompanied by the act of handing over something or entrusting somebody to the addressee.
- Also, *we* occurs where especially meaningful statements are made. While we can not prove this for every instance, there is a tendency for *we* to be used in moments that have a bearing on the further development of the plot.
- At times at least *we* is used to **highlight** an action (see for instance the first and last examples under 6.1.) and its usage could be interpreted as a little slowing-down device (pause in reading).
- According to mother tongue speakers, *hemde* sets the content of the following clause apart from the preceding clause(s), as especially Ex. 63 illustrates. At times a translation with "even" might be in place.
- When joining clauses, *we* does not necessarily introduce the last verbal clause. The clause beginning with *we* can end with a converb and the sentence be continued. See for instance the first and last examples under 6.1.) This is in contrast to enumerations of nouns, where *we* comes before the last element.

Restrictions:

- According to a mother tongue speaker, there is a slight difference between *we* and *hem* joining adjectives. While *we* simply puts together two qualities, in *hem* the second quality can expand on the first one, as is seen in Ex. 19 (the greatest **and** most fatal weakness), where one could also translate "the greatest, in fact, most fatal weakness". Here, *we* would not be fitting.

Residue:

- The use of *we*, *hem* and *hemde* differs between written and oral language, between different types of texts, and is perhaps also dependent on the register. Finally, language shift might play a role. Not all of these aspects could be included here. Allegedly, both *we* and *hemde* are almost absent from oral speech.
- Below is an example where *we* is not used in the way that was described as typical above. While the scene will reveal an important decision (namely the agreement to a marriage), this news is only reported a couple sentences later. So the *we*-clause does not contain most prominent information, unless one considers the deep emotions as such.

Ex. 39. Del shu chaghda Rewixan Momaymu taladin külüp kirdi **we**
xushalliqidin tili gepke kelmey, hedep köz yashlirini sürттetti. (Öткür:
Iz 48)

*Right at that time Grandma Rewixan also came in from outside laughing, **and** out of joy not being able to say anything she kept wiping her eyes' tears.*

6.1. Examples with *we*

- Ex. 40. Qiz bolsa, özining nijatchisi bolghan yigitke astirtin qarap, néminidur démekchi boldiyu, gep qilalmay lewliri titrep ketti **we** shu chaghdila, yigitning uyer-buyeri yirtilghan chapini bilen boyun arilap sol mürisidiki tirnaq izliridin tepchiwatqan qan tamchilirini körep qélip, derhal romili bilen sürtmekchi boldi. (Ötkür: Iz 3)

*As to the girl, she was looking secretly at the guy who was her savior, wanting to say something, but not being able to speak a word her lips became trembling **and** right at that time she came to see the guy's coat which was torn between two places and the blood drops seeping from the claws' marks reaching from his neck onto his left shoulder, and immediately she wanted to wipe it off with her scarf.*

After the dramatic rescue, the mutual observation of the guy and the girl gives way to the first dialog between them.

- Ex. 41. Qiz etraptiki qérindashlirigha toymay qaraytti **we** uning közliri top ichidin kimlernidu izdeytti. (Hoshur: Nozugum 336)
*The girl looked tirelessly at the surrounding "relatives" [fellow citizens of that town] **and** her eyes searched certain ones in the crowd.*

The girl, who has been taken captive, does not find her loved ones in this scene, but her father will send someone to help her.

- Ex. 42. Sidiq Ghoja! – dep ghezepke keldi yol chétidiki kishiler arisida turghan Hesén derwish **we**, – tüfi, munapiq! – dep yerge tükürdi. (Hoshur: Nozugum 335)
*Hesén the dervish who stood among the people by the side of the road saying "Sidiq Ghoja [title]!" became angry **and**, (saying) "[exclamation of disgust], traitor!", he spit onto the ground.*

The dervish will eventually kill the traitor.

- Ex. 43. Xeyr, sadaqetlik yarim! - dédi Baqem **we** qilichini sughuruwélip, yénidiki tagh térikining égilip chüshken chong bir shéxini bir chépip, shirtide üzüwetti-de, étigha irghip mindi. (Hoshur: Nozugum 381)
*"Good-bye, my faithful sweetheart!" said Baqem **and** drew his sword, hit hard a big branch that had bent down from a nearby mountain poplar tree and split it with a rustling sound, jumped onto his horse and rode away.*

The description of the farewell brings some closure to the story.

- Ex. 44. [Thinking by himself of an earlier incident:] – Men sizni yaxshi körimen ... – u kütüpxana keynidiki bükkide ormanliq ichide qosh kishilik orundaqta olturup, qizning közige uzaq tikildi **we** shundaq dédi, – chaqchaq qiliwatqinim yoq, men sizni bekla yaxshi körimen ... (Ghopur: Künlüksiz adem 205)
*"I love you ..."; he had sat down on the double seat in the dense forest behind the library, gazed for a long time at the eyes of the girl **and** said so, "I'm not joking, I love you very much ..."*

A declaration of love is by its very nature a high point.

Ex. 45. Dadam yene üç aydin keyin on tengge ösümi bilen qayturidighan bolup, baydin ottuz tengge qerz aldi **we** uninggha bir eshek setiwelip, yene oqitini dawamlashturdi. (Qahar: Emethaji 33)
*My dad, agreeing to pay it back after another three months with ten Tenge [currency] interest, received from the bay thirty Tenge as a loan **and** bought a donkey for it, and still continued with his business.*
 While taking a loan and buying a donkey are two different acts, they are closely related.
 – Because the father can not pay back this loan, his son becomes the serf of the Bay.
 So, the loan becomes very significant.

Ex. 46. Namazdiger bolghan chaghda bir aptobus hazigha tolghan hoylining aldida toxtap, ichidin Yüsüp bilen yigirmidek yigit chüshti **we** ittik méngiship derwazidin kirip keldi. (Qadir: Yenggiler 403)
*In the time of the late-afternoon prayer a bus stopped in front of the courtyard that was filled with mourning; from it got off Yüsüp and some twenty young men **and** walked rapidly in through the gate.*
 Once more, this arrival of the guys (expressed in two combined actions) are meaningful, because it starts the surprising turning point to a happy end.

Ex. 47. – He balilirim, yaxshi turduqlarmu? Siler döletning xojiliri, yaxshi oqunglar. Mekteptin qalmanglar, iqtidarliq adem bolunglar, – dédi **we** shu mezmunda besh minutche sözlidi. (Osman/Hapiz: Tewerrük 104)
*Hey, children, are you doing well? You are the country's leaders, study well. Do not stay away from school, become capable people, – he said **and** talked about this topic for about five minutes.*
 These are the first words the author hears from the man who will become his revered teacher.

Ex. 48. – Pat-pat pushqurup (yadlap turung dégen menide) yürüng, méning könglüm parakende, kitab, qolyazmilirim tügidi, jahan tinchighanda yézip qoyarsiz, – dédi u **we** yanchuqidin bir dane qelemni élip manga sowgha qildi. (Osman/Hapiz: Tewerrük 107f.)
*"Keep memorizing it frequently, my heart is distressed, the book, the handwritten manuscripts are gone, when the world has become quieter, have it written up", – he said **and** from his pocket he took a pen and gave it to me as a gift.*
 The pen given to the friend is both a souvenir (mentioned as such in the story's title) and an obligation to fulfill a task.

Ex. 49. Tenqid, küresh axirlashqandin kéyin urush teyyarliqi üçün kolanghan üç mitir chongqurluqtiki lehmige tökülüp kömüwétildi **we** üstige su qoyuwétildi. (Osman/Hapiz: Tewerrük 106)
*After the criticism and fighting had ceased they were thrown out and buried away in a three-meter-deep trench that had been dug in preparation for the war **and** water was poured over them.*
 These are two sides of the same activity again.

Ex. 50. U titrep turghan qolliri bilen asta aldi **we**: – Rehmet, Molla Rozum, kayipsiz, – dédi. (Osman/Hapiz: Tewerrük 107)

*He took (it) slowly with trembling hands **and** said: "Thank you, Molla Rozum, it would not have been necessary."*

This describes a get-together after a long time of separation.

- Ex. 51. Xotunini aq köngül bir momaygha tapshuruptu **we** yoshurup qoyghan perizatning kiyimlirini élip uninggha bérip: – Buni zinhar perizatqa körsetmeng, – dep tapilap, éhtiyat bilen tirikchilik üçün japa yoligha qedem tashlaptu. (Bulaq: Sodiger 107)
*He entrusted his wife to a kind-hearted old women **and** took the fairy's clothes that he had hidden away, gave them to her, charging her saying: "By no means show these to the fairy!", and with caution set out on the road of hardship for the sake of making a living.*

In the whole fairytale this is the only clause-combining *we*. The scene is no peak, but in the course of the story that old woman disobeys the command given here, which causes the unhappy end of the story; so this scene is very relevant for what comes later.

6.2. Examples with *hem*

- Ex. 52. Bashqa qizlarmu «towa» déyiship yaqisini chishlidi **hem** bu ayalning kichik balining qiliqidek ghelite ishlarni qiliwatqanliqini eyibleshti: – Bizning yézining ayalliri néme bolup kétiwatqandu? (Qadir: Yenggiler 401)
*The other girls too said "towa" [exclamation of aversion], but their collars [in astonishment] **and** faulted this woman's doing strange things like those of a small child: "What have the women in our village become like?! ..."*

The reaction of the girls is part of releasing the tension in a critical moment.

- Ex. 53. Pashigha gep ötküzüşke közi yetmigen qarlighach insanlarning kéyinki teqdirige qayghuruptu **hem** könglide bir eqil oylap tepiptu. (Qadir: Aq we qizil 345)
*The swallow, not being able to face up to talking to the mosquito, became sad for the humans' later fate **and** came up with an idea.*

Obviously, this idea will play a role in the rest of the story.

- Ex. 54. Hey balek, bikegine, – dep uni yénigha chaqirdi **hem** mesliki kelgen halda gepke saldi, – kimning balisisen? (Nimshéhit: Bala sha'ir 9)
*Saying "Hey, my child, come here [dialect variant]", – he called him to himself **and** in a soft manner made him talk: "Whose son are you?"*

This is the first encounter between the man and the child. The dialog continues and becomes the beginning of a close relationship between the master and his disciple.

- Ex. 55. Bu ish tola tekrarliniwergechke, Ermiya bizar bolup: Mollam ... [4-line-poem] dep qoshaq qatti **hem** balilargha oqup berdi. (Nimshéhit: Bala sha'ir 11f.)
*Since this kept happening all the time, Ermiya got fed up, composed these verses: ... [4-line-poem] **and** taught them to the children.*

The composing of the verses and the teaching of them to others go together.

- Ex. 56. Biz retlik tizilip turduq **hem** mektep mudirining tonushturushidin uchisigha neshe reng peltu ... kiygen, ... [it follows a longish description] kishining Nimshéhit Ermiya Damolla ikenlikini bilduq. (Osman/Hapiz: Tewerrük 104)

*We stood in orderly rows **and** learned from the introduction of the principal that the man dressed in a cream-colored coat over his shoulders was Nimshehit Ermiya Damolla.*

Once more, this is the first encounter of the writer with the key figure and thus significant.

Ex. 57. Shu chaghda Ildin Qizilgha qaytip kelgen milliy armiyining Abduraxman isimlik ofitseridin «Ming öy we Perhad-Shérin» dastanining metbe'ede bésilghan nuschasini alghan **hem** uni zor qiziqish bilan oqushqa kiriship ketkenidim. (Osman/Hapiz: Tewerrük 103f.)

*At that time I had received a copy of the dastan "Thousand houses and Perhad and Sherin", which had been printed in a printing house, from an officer of the national [three-province-] army called Abdurachman, who had returned from Ili to Qizil, **and** had started to read it with a strong interest.*

Again, receiving the book and starting to read it are most closely related. The interest in the book incites the man who tells this story to memorize the content of it. This is crucial for the preservation of the work.

Ex. 58. Biz tekliq qilsaqla, u kemterlik bilen kelip qatniship beretti **hem** köyümchan ustaz süpitide bizni yétekleytti ... (Osman/Hapiz: Tewerrük 105)

*When we invited him, he used to come in meekness to participate **and** lead us as a kind master.*

Two sides of one habit: The participation in teaching is how the master lead the others.

Ex. 59. «Ming öy we Perhad-Shérin» dastanini qayta toluqlap yazghanda, men yene dawamliq köchürüp bergén **hem** yadlap mangghanidim ... (Osman/Hapiz: Tewerrük 105f.)

*While he was completing the writing of the dastan "Thousand houses and Perhad and Sherin" once more, I again kept copying it for him **and** memorizing it.*

The copying was one way of the memorizing process.

Ex. 60. shuning bilen birge tonurning aghzini choqum nemlengen taghardek qélin nersiler bilen dümlesh kérek, bundaq qilghanda tonurning ichi hordinip **nan** ich-ichidin singiship pishidu, yéyishlik bolidu **hem** uzun saqlighili bolidu, ashqazanghimu paydiliq. (Hemdula: Nan)

*By the same logic it is absolutely necessary to cover the opening of the oven with something thick like a moistened sack, this way the oven's inside becomes steamy and the breads get well-done [even] from the inside, and will be edible **and** long-preservable, and also good for the stomach.*

In this explanatory text two different qualities of the bread are mentioned side by side.

6.3. Examples with *hemde*

Ex. 61. [a speech orienter in between the first and the second part of a direct speech:] ... yenggisi ghotuldighiniche Gülbaharning ikki mürisidin bésip, tünügün téxi tikküchining qolidin chiqqan bu yéngi kastum – burulkingining üstige olturghuzup qoydi **hemde** köyünüş ahangida chüshendürüşke bashlidi, – ... (Qadir: Yenggiler 400)

... her sister-in-law, while muttering to herself, pressed Gülbahar's two shoulders down and made her sit down on the this new suit which had only yesterday emerged from the tailor's hands **and** started to explain in a caring tone: ...

The pushing-down onto the chair and the explaining go together. The tension in the story is about to be released at this point.

Ex. 62. Nimshéhit Bayda yazghan "Bilim ishqida", "Bay nahiyisining hesretlik tarixi" qatarliq shé'irlar sha'ir ijadiyidiki munewwer eserlerdin bolup hésablinidu **hemde** uyghur shé'iriyet tarixidimu muhim orun tutidu. (Derslik: Edebiyat tarixi 16)

*Nimshehit's poems "In passion for knowlege", "Bay county's Sad History" and so on are considered to be outstanding works of prose composition **and** hold an important place also in the history of Uyghur prose.*

One could interpret this *hemde* as "in fact, they are *so* outstanding, that they are historical".

Ex. 63. Özining xizmetke bolghan qizghin pozitsiyesi, estayidilliqi bilen tézla közge körünüp, yoqiri derijilik orunlar we rehberlerning étirap qilishigha érishti **hemde** 1997- yili sherep bilen Zhunggo Kommunistik Partiyesige kirdi. (XJ Yashliri: Bazar bashliqi 14)

*His passionate attitude toward the work alongside his seriousness quickly being noted, he gained the acknowledgement of higher-level places and leaders, **and** in 1997 he entered the Chinese Communist Party with honor.*

Becoming a member of the Party counts as highest achievement.

7. Appendix: The Conjunction *-de*

The conjunction *-de* (postposed) is quite frequent in various authors. (It is not to be confused with the particle *-Te*.⁶) This conjunction too joins coordinate clauses. It functions quite similarly to *we* and *hem*. Eleven instances in the first two chapters of *Iz* (Ötkür: *Iz* 1-22) were investigated.

Observations:

- The subject of the joined clauses is always the same (in one case switching from one person to that same person and another one).
- *-de* can combine all the following with each other: clauses with **verbs of action, of speech or of thinking, emotion and attitude**. One typical case is the combination of a decision and an action that logically follows from it.
- In the majority of cases, there is a **sequence**, rather than simultaneousness. Like with *we* and *hem*, "**sameness**" characterizes the two clauses combined by *-de*. (Cf. "observations" under 6.)
- In about half the cases one can speak of two actions following each other **swiftly** (cf. Friederich). A mother tongue speaker also describes the use of *-de* as for actions "without any time interval" between them. (This is not to say that such actions can not also be connected by *we*, see e.g. Ötkür: *Iz* 66-68). *-de* therefore appears not rarely in the description of **dramatic moments**.

⁶ For the particle, cf. Tömür / Lee 495-7; Friederich 198f. (both listed together).

- Like with *we* and *hem*, *-de* is sometimes used in places where the event or speech act is in itself meaningful or where it has significance for the ongoing story.

8. Summary and Conclusion

we and *hem* are not used arbitrarily. While the converb (*-(I)p*-form) mainly serves for a subordinate or before-and-after-relationship,⁷ *we* and *hem* express two aspects of the same event or two closely related events. A distinct difference in their use could not be established. *we* in particular ties together a speech act and an action that go together. Both are used where moments and actions are described that are meaningful in the development of the story. I.e. they can function as a signal for the reader to "expect more". *hem* was not used in our core corpus of narrative sections from the 80ies by some popular authors.

The foreign language learner, when wanting to combine parts of speech, will be on the safe side in using *we* for nouns (although it also joins adjectives) and *hem* for adjectives (although it also joins noun phrases).

For enumerations, *we*, *hem* and *hemde* all can be used, whereby *we* is the most common one. One should also keep in mind the possibility of not using any connective and just listing items (in writing separated by comma).

In joining clauses, an interpreter should be aware that, when searching for an equivalent of "and", in many places a construction with *we* or *hem* will be possible grammatically, but sound unnatural. To state it positively, *we* or *hem* can be used purposefully in specific places to join together two closely related events and/or to underline an event that is significant in the plot.

We end by quoting examples that we consider as typical for how *we*, *hem* and *-de* are employed to join clauses.

Ex. 64. Xotunini aq köngül bir momaygha tapshuruptu **we** yoshurup qoyghan perizatning kiyimlirini élip uninggha bérip: – Buni zinhar perizatqa körsetmeng, – dep tapilap, éhtiyat bilen tirikchilik üçün japa yoligha qedem tashlaptu. (Bulaq: Sodiger 107)
*He entrusted his wife to a kind-hearted old women **and** took the fairy's clothes that he had hidden away, gave them to her, charging her saying: "By no means show these to the fairy!", and with caution sat out on the road of hardship for the sake of making a living.*

Ex. 65. Biz retlik tizilip turduq **hem** mektep mudirining tonushturushidin uchisigha neshe reng peltu ... kiygen, ... [it follows a longish description] kishining Nimshéhit Ermiya Damolla ikenlikini bilduq. (Osman/Hapiz: Tewerrük 104)
*We stood in orderly rows **and** learned from the introduction of the principal that the man dressed in a cream-colored coat over his shoulders was Nimshehit Ermiya Damolla.*

⁷ Tömür / Lee (293) mention "Simultaneous Relationship" as *one* usage of the *-(I)p*-form: "The action expressed ... happens at the same time as another action." Compared to the "Subordinate Relationship" and the "Before and After Relationship" mentioned before, this seems to be a rarer use though.

Ex. 66. Qiz bu geplerni anglap, maqul boptu-**de**, ikki at teyyarlap, bir kéchisi héchkimge tuydurmay yolgha chiqiptu. (Ötkür: Iz 15)
*The girl, hearing these words, agreed, (**and**) got two horses ready [and] one evening, without letting anybody notice, they went on their way.*
(From the context it is clear that the guy and the girl left together. The subject of the third verb "get ready" is ambiguous though. It could be just the girl, or both of them.)

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