The Intensifying Suffix *-E (-a/-e)* with the Imperative

Most of the common reference works do not explain the morpheme *-E* in detail, although it is frequently used, at least in oral speech. It goes together with the imperative. Some of those books who do mention it, include it not in the section on the imperative, where a language learner might look for it, but under the particles.

1. Introduction

Pronunciation: *-a* versus *-e*
Tömür/Lee (505-7) and *Hazirqi zaman uyghur tili*[1] list the pronunciations *-a* and *-e* side by side. A footnote in Tömür/Lee says: "In Kashgar, the suffix *e* is used in place of *a* in this instance." Now several mother tongue speakers[2] from different regions of Xinjiang agree that the usual pronunciation is *-e*. As to literature, in the story *Bu chüsh emes*, for instance, the form is spelt inconsistently.[3] Friederich seems right, then, in saying that there is **"no strict rule"[4] about when which variant is used**.

Particle or suffix?
There are different views on how to classify this morpheme *-E*. Tömür/Lee (505) and *Hazirqi zaman uyghur tili* (2012) explain it as a sentence-final particle. They cover the entreating (or command-weakening) sense under *-a/-e*, while the sense of a rudely-given command is dealt with under the particle *-he*, # 6. This is questionable, because in most other usages *-he* occurs at the beginning of the sentence. **It seems easier to look at *-E* as a morpheme of its own which can take on a range of senses according to context.** Friederich (200), too, lists *-a/-e* among the particles. Hahn seems to take it as a regular suffix. Anyway, no sentence could be constructed which had the same morpheme in a place other than clause-final. One informant feels that *-E* could not be attached by hyphen, but should be written as an integral part of the verb. Someone else does see a connection to the particle *-he*. That, however, does not seem consequential, because – according to at least one speaker – there are cases where either *-E* or the particle *-he* can be attached to a certain verb, and the meaning is not the same.[5] *-E* expresses a quite sharp reproach, while *-he* expresses more a strong suggestion (but intonation matters too):

> *Uxliye!* – (Come on,) Sleep now!
> *Uxla-he!* – Sleep! (Why don't you sleep?! / It would be good you slept.)

At this point, then, it is difficult to come to a definite conclusion. Yet, **we consider it simpler to take the morpheme *-E* as a special suffix for the imperative.** One other

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[1] Under *Yüklimiler* (Particles) # 9+10, vol. 3, pp. 2012-15.
[2] Personal communication.
[3] *külüwetkine* 110, *béringa* 114, *dégine* 122, *oqughina / ekelgine* 133.
[4] Orig.: "Wann welche der beiden lautlichen Formen dieser Partikel verwendet wird, unterliegt keiner strikten Regel." (200).
[5] Differently: Tömür/Lee 507.

argument is the frequency with which it appears. While Uyghur does have numerous particles as well, and makes use of them a lot, it seems more appropriate to take -*E* as a suffix which modifies the verb, rather than a particle which qualifies a whole sentence.

Unrelated converb built with -*E*
The morpheme -*E* treated here is identical in form to one of the converbs ("gerunds" / "adverbials"), namely the one that Tömür/Lee call the "Associative adverbial" 285f., 290f. (Cf. *Imla lughiti* 850.) But that converb virtually always occurs in doubled form, like in *manga-manga, sözle-sözle*, and does not stand at the end of a sentence. A confusion of the imperative suffix -*E* with the converb ending in -*E* is quite impossible.

2. Function
Hahn includes an example for -*E* in his dialogues (288) and explains it as follows: "expresses **polite requests and urging or encouraging** in conjunction with imperative forms" (290).[6]
Friederich characterizes the function as follows: It "renders a demand **more polite or expresses intimacy** with the person addressed" (200, transl. mine).
Tömür / Lee (505f.) write: "*When attached to the Imperative Mood 2nd person predicate form of the verb,* it indicates **a sense of entreaty, or serves to weaken the style of the command**" (Bold emphases all mine). *Hazirqi zaman uyghur tili* offers the same explanation with varying examples.

-*E* is usually used among people who are close to each other. **Depending on the context and the kind of imperative – whether it is an order, request, offer or threatening command – its function can be either to make the imperative more polite or to give it an urging or threatening tone. The intonation also plays a role in how the "command" comes across.** A slightly prolonged -*E* is a friendly demand, while an -*E* which is pronounced with a louder voice comes across as hard or angry.

These imperatives can sometimes **be translated with "please" or "now" or "*do ...*"**. The imperative without this particle would at times sound rude. On the other side, a request expressed with the conditional suffix (-*sA*) (*alsingiz / alsingiz bolamdu?*) would come across too weak or would – in some private or informal settings – be overly polite and artificial.

Below are examples, one for the entreating and one for the threatening sense of -*E*:
Ex. 1.   U chaghda Toxti üjme üstide bolup, töwenge bir top qizlar olashqanidi. Ular: «Toxtika [= Toxti aka], irghitip béringa, irghitip béringa!» dep warqirashatti. (Hoshur: Bu chüsh emes 114)
At that time Toxti was in the mulberry tree, (when) at its bottom clustered a group of girls. They shouted: "Brother Toxti, please shake (it) and give us (some mulberries)! Please shake the tree for us! [lit.: shakingly give]

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[6] In the index it is listed as "#a" and characterized as "polite urging in requests" (423). In the appendix on inflections, -*E* is mentioned only together with -*Kin* and translated as "please, do...!" and "come on and ...!" respectively (611). – Questionable is the listing of identical forms in the column for plural. -*E* is normally only used in addressing individuals.

Ex. 2.   Amanqul ... ...: – Hey, xotun talaq, bu yerde néme qilip yürisen? – dep gélidin siqti.
– Bir qoshuq qénimni tileymen, – dep yighlashqa bashlidi Yaqup yasawul.
– He, éyte! Bu yerde néme qilip yürisen? (Ötkür: Iz 222)
Amanqul ... ..., choking him, said: Hey, you divorced woman [?] [swearword], what are you doing here?
– Yaqup the guard started crying, saying: Spare me [lit. I plead for a spoon of my blood]!
– Hey, tell me! What are you doing here?

3. Form
The tables below show how -*E* attaches to different types of verbal stems.
The particle -*E* is never used with the plural imperative forms (*élinglar* etc.).

Familiar form *(sen)*					
	Positive imperative		Negative imperative		
Stem	Without particle	With particle*	Without particle	With particle*	Translation
ئال	ئال	ئاله	ئالما	ئالمىيه	Take! / Don't take!
بەر	بەر	بىره	بەرمە	بەرمىيه	Give! / Don't give!
تۇر	تۇر	تۇره	تۇرما	تۇرمىيه	Stand! / Don't stand!
كۈت	كۈت	كۈته	كۈتمە	كۈتمىيه	Wait! / Don't wait!
قۇي	قۇي	قۇيه	قۇيما	قۇيمىيه	Pour! / Don't pour!
تاقا	تاقا	تاقىيه	تاقما	تاقمىيه	Shut! / Don't shut!
رەتله	رەتله	رەتلىيه	رەتلىمه	رەتلىمىيه	Tidy up! / Don't tidy up!
ئوقۇ	ئوقۇ	ئوقۇيه	ئوقۇما	ئوقۇمىيه	Read! / Don't read!
تېرى	تېرى	تېرىيه	تېرىما	تېرىمىيه	Sow! / Don't sow!
ئېيت	ئېيت	ئېيته	ئېيتمه	ئېيتمىيه	Tell! / Don't tell!

* Note the vowel harmony: adding the particle triggers vowel reduction in the preceding syllable (a/e > é).

Polite form *(siz)*					
	Positive imperative		Negative imperative		
Stem	Without particle	With particle	Without particle	With particle	Translation
ئال	ئېلىڭ	ئېلىڭه	ئالماڭ	ئالماڭه	Take! / Don't take!
بەر	بېرىڭ	بېرىڭه	بەرمەڭ	بەرمەڭه	Give! / Don't give!

تۇر	تۇرۇڭ	تۇرۇڭە	تۇرماڭ	تۇرماڭە	Stand! / Don't stand!
كۈت	كۈتۈڭ	كۈتۈڭە	كۈتمەڭ	كۈتمەڭە	Wait! / Don't wait!
قۇي	قۇيۇڭ	قۇيۇڭە	قۇيماڭ	قۇيماڭە	Pour! / Don't pour!
تاقا	تاقاڭ	تاقاڭە	تاقماڭ	تاقماڭە	Shut! / Don't shut!
رەتله	رەتلەڭ	رەتلەڭە	رەتلمەڭ	رەتلمەڭە	Tidy up! / Don't tidy up!
ئوقۇ	ئوقۇڭ	ئوقۇڭە	ئوقۇماڭ	ئوقۇماڭە	Read! / Don't read!
تېرى	تېرىڭ	تېرىڭە	تېرماڭ	تېرماڭە	Sow! / Don't sow!
ئېيت	ئېيتىڭ	ئېيتىڭە	ئېيتماڭ	ئېيتماڭە	Tell! / Don't tell!

When the suffix *-Kin (-qin / -ghin / -kin / -gin)*[7] is used together with *-E*, the forms look like below:

	Positive imperative		Negative imperative		
Stem	Without particle	With particle	Without particle	With particle	Translation
ئال	ئالغىن	ئالغىنە	ئالمىغىن	ئالمىغىنە	Take! / Don't take!

- Kin is only used with the familiar form *sen*, never with the polite imperative form *(siz)*, nor with any plural imperative.

4. Sample Text
This scene is taken from a movie. Two couples sit at a table. One of the guys tries to talk his friends into drinking.

Guy A: Ichinge! *["Have a drink!"]*
Girl B: Ichelmeymen.
Guy A: Hoy, mushu birini ichinge! Héchnéme bolmaydu.
Girl B: Rast ichelmeymen. Ichip baqmighan.
Guy A: Ichinge!
Guy B: Néme qiliwatisen?
Guy A: Birerni ichip qoysun dédim – shu.
Guy B: Özüngning muhebbitingchu?
Guy A: U ichmeydu.
Guy B: Özüngningki ichmeydu. Méning muhebbitim ichemdu? Yaman bolsang
          özüngningkini ichirip baqmamsen?
Guy A: He, boldi qile! *["Enough!"]* Chaqchaq qilip qoysam qaynap kettingghu.
          Özümla ichiwetsem bolidighu-he? Qéni, xosh emise, ichiwetimen-he?!

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[7] Tömür/Lee: "intimate or affectionate command" (309).

Girl A: U silerge chaqchak qoydi. U shundaq shox. Chaqchaqchi. <u>Élinge</u>. *["Take some!"]* Woy, <u>élinge</u>. Némige qarap boldingiz? Chaqchaq qoyding-he?

Girl B: <u>Boldi qilinge</u>! *["Enough now!"]* Hemmimiz dost tursaq némanche qapiqingizni türüp olturiwalisiz?

Guy A: Boldi, balilar, emise ichiwettim-he, xushe, xushe.

<div align="right">(Exmet: Ana méhrige teshna qiz)</div>

5. References

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