

Speech and Speech Orienters in Uyghur: An Analysis Based on Memtimin Hoshur's Story "Nozugum"

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1. Introduction

Apart from the chapters in "Stroy Uygurskogo Yazyka"¹, and in "Hazirqi zaman uyghur tili"² I am not aware of any complete description of how direct and indirect speech are included in Uyghur texts, and what the structure of speech orienters is. In this paper I identify and categorize typical patterns as represented in one narrative text.

We will see that Uyghur displays a wide variety of options for including speech into narrative. Yet, there are patterns and rules. The most frequent pattern is the one where the direct speech (DS) occurs between two parts of the speech orienter (SO), in the order "subject - speech - verb", as in this example:

SO	DS	SO
subject	speech	verb
U	<<Kel!>>	dédi.

He said: "Come!"

The pattern where a sentence starts with direct speech and the speech orienter follows (DS - SO) is also found quite often. Sometimes it is modified in that the speech continues after the speech orienter (DS - SO - DS). Cases in which all constituents of a speech orienter precede the direct speech (SO - DS) seldom occur. Under certain conditions speech is included in the narrative without any speech orienter.

Finally, the word order in speech orienters will be discussed, and brief referenc will be made to indirect speech (which is built using the suffix *-KANliK*).

Given the limited text corpus, the observations are not to be taken as a definitive set of rules. Yet, a broad spectrum of possibilities is covered.

In addition, by consulting various sources, I give an overview of the versatile usages of the verb *démek*, which is so crucial for Uyghur syntax (see Appendix).

The Source Text

In order to base these notes not on elicited examples only, but on authentic written material, a piece of writing by a well-known author was chosen as base text. Since almost all examples are taken from there, a minimum of background ought to be provided about the theme of the story: "Nozugum" is the name of a national heroine. Her story is preserved in the form of the folk epic by the same name. She took part in an uprising in Kashgar in the first half of the 19th century, was taken captive and, with many others, deported to Ili, where she escaped, but was caught again and executed. Several writers have used this material to write their own prose version of the story. One of them is Memtemin Hoshur. Until his recent retirement he was the chairman of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region's Writers Association, and his works enjoy high popularity. His story *Nozugum* is found in *Memtimin Hoshur powestliridin tallanma* (see Bibliography), pp. 314-383. Numbers in the examples below are page numbers.

Definitions

Speech orienters are the clauses that are used to introduce direct speech, like "He said: ..." in English. Alternatively, they are called "speech margins" or "quote tags". In this paper the

¹ Stroy Uygurskogo Yazyka 1989:458-462, 405-409.

² Hazirqi zaman uyghur tili 1966:442-449.

following abbreviations are used: "Speech orienter" is abbreviated "SO"; "Direct speech" is abbreviated "DS"; and, finally, "S" stands for "subject", "O" for "object", and "V" for "verb". The transcription of Uyghur examples follows the *Uyghur Komputer Yeziqi Elipbesi*. The English translation of the examples is not so much concerned with good English style, but with reflecting the structure of the original.

2. The Verb *demek* as a Syntactical Marker

Forms of *demek* are used to mark the end of direct speech. Since they occur so often in the examples given further below, it might be helpful to consider the usage of *demek* in general first.

The verb *demek* ("to say, tell, call; think") has an essential function in Uyghur syntax. One of the ways in which it is used is as a connective: It marks the end of one part-of-speech or clause and connects it to the following part-of-speech or clause.³ Depending on the form of *demek*, a wide variety of meanings can be conveyed with the help of this verb. Some of the forms carry still their literal meaning. Others are lexicalized and not perceived as verb forms any more. They have taken on the function of conjunction, adverb etc. Some have a purely syntactic function and will remain untranslated in English. Without claiming completeness, in the appendix a list of such expressions is given. Some of the renderings are only approximate glosses.

3. Speech Embedded in a Sentence (Pattern SO - DS - SO)

A very short sentence shows the basic structure:

Men <<wah>> dewettim. (347)

I uttered: "Wow!"

The structure is Subject (S) - Direct Speech (DS) - *demek*. This matches the overall Uyghur word order Subject (S) - Object (O) - Verb (V). Here, *demek* functions both as the marker for the end of the speech, and as the finite verb. If another verb of speech is employed, *demek* is used in the form of the converb, *dep*.

..., <<wayjan!>> *dep warqiriwetti. (364)*

He cried out (saying): "Oh dear!"

Not only oral speech, but also thoughts, feelings and written words are expressed this way.

..., *dep oylap qaldi, ... (316)* - ..., he thought, ...

... *dep hayajanlinatti. (366)* - ... she got excited.

... *dep yezilghanidi. (374)* - ... was written.

The direct speech is usually, but not consistently, set in quotation marks (<< >>). Except for exclamation marks and question marks, no full stop is inserted.

The following quotes shall serve as examples for how the basic structure (S - DS - V) can be extended to include other clausal constituents and compound clause structures, as in sentences without direct speech. The first example starts with a temporal clause (which contains the subject), the second one goes on after the speech with another object and another verb.

Tagh ichini axturup yürgen chérikler qarighayliq ichidin kötürülüwatqan isni körgende, bu yerde birer malchining qara öyi bolsa kérek, dep oylap, gösh, qimiz teme qilip, atlirining bashlirini is chiqiwatqan terepke buridi. (371)

When the soldiers who searched the mountains saw smoke ascending from within the pine forest, they thought "at that place there must be the yurt of a cattle-rancher" and,

³ Compare Friederich 2002:211 ff.

hoping to get hold of some meat and qimiz [fermented mare's milk], they turned their horses' heads towards where the smoke came up.

..., *ular qorqunch bilen bir-birige qarap qoydi-de, Darén turghan supining aldigha kélip, bu hökümdarning aghzidin qandaq dehshetlik gep chiqarkin, dep bashlirini égip, qulaqlirini ding tutup turushti. (321)*

..., they glanced at each other with fear, came in front of the platform on which the Daren [chin. title] stood, and - wondering [saying], "what kind of horrible word might come out of this governor's mouth", stood, their heads dropped and their ears pricked up.

When the sentence includes a dative object indicating the person to whom the speech is addressed, this stands in front of the quote. The same is true for the genitive which tells the person who is asked a question.

Siz mendin: Ularning qebrisi hazirmu barmu? dep sorarsiz. (383)

You might ask (from) me: "Is their grave now still there?"

In one special case the subject comes *after* the speech.

Deslepte, Daloyi taza mezze qilip uxlawatqan oxshaydu, dep héchkim kirip oyghitishqa jür'et qilalmidi, ... (368)

At first, thinking [saying] "the Daloyi [chin. title] just seems to be sleeping soundly", **no-one** could dare to enter and wake him.

Here, the subject cannot be placed in front of the speech, because then the negative subject would also negate the speech ("no-one was saying"), which is not intended.

One can come across compound sentences, in which several verb phrases follow each other, and the clause which contains the direct speech and ends with *dep* is only one of them. See for instance the example from page 371 quoted above. In such a case it is hardly appropriate to speak of the remaining sentence as a "speech orienter" only, because the speech is not necessarily prominent in the whole sentence. In the present paper though, "speech orienter" is applied to all parts of a sentence other than the speech itself.

One relevant question is how long the direct speech may be if it is to be included according to the pattern SO - DS - SO. As for "Nozugum", there is no example where the DS extends over more than two sentences, although this is possible. Expressed in absolute length, no DS is longer than two lines, or 14 words (347, 374).

This way of rendering quotes (S - DS -V) is the most common in oral speech.

4. Speech about a Certain Person⁴

If a statement is made about a certain person, he or she is marked by the accusative-suffix *ni*.

Seni pak bolsun, xelqige, muhebbitige sadiq bolsun, dédi. (349)

He [your father] said about you, she may [3. person imperative] remain pure, and faithful to her people and to her lover [3. person possessive].

Note that neither the verb form nor the possessive construction within the segment representing the father's speech occur in second person ("You (shall) remain pure, and faithful to your people and to your lover!"), as would be the case in English indirect speech.

⁴ Compare Engesaeth Vol. 2: lesson 23, p. 75f.

To mark the person who is talked about with an accusative might seem foreign at first, but it is quite understandable, if one remembers that the verb *démek* does not only mean "to say", but also "to call". "To call" demands two accusative objects, both in English and in Uyghur ("to call somebody something").

Uni leshkerler <<Beyxuza Yang Darén>> déyishetti. (318)

The soldiers called him "Old Daren [title] Yang".

The first accusative object is "him", the second one "Old Daren Yang".

When *démek* carries the meaning "to say", it may still come with two accusative objects - one being the speech itself ("he said **what**"), the other one being the person who is talked about.

Seni pak bolsun, ... dédi. (349)

He said about you, she may remain pure, ...

Compare the English construction "He considers him to be his friend", which is similar to "He says: 'He is my friend'."

Again, thoughts as well can be expressed this way.

Chaychining özini diwane dep oylap qélishidin ensirep, dastixangha aldin birnechche yarmaq tashlidi. (340)

He [the dervish] worried that the teahouse-keeper might think of him as a beggar [lit. He worried of the teahouse-keeper's coming-to-think about him [saying] "a beggar" / think him to be a beggar], and at first threw a few copper coins onto the tablecloth.

The accusative object can also occur without any content of speech being quoted:

Bowaydin Nozugumni sorap, uchurini alalmighan chérikler ... kétishti. (369)

Having asked the old man about Nozugum, the soldiers - not having been able to get any information - ... left.

In the *ni*-construction, the quote is normally not marked by punctuation marks, but there are cases where quotation marks are used for a given name.

Uni leshkerler <<Beyxuza Yang Darén>> déyishetti. (318)

The soldiers called him "Old Daren Yang".

5. Speech Followed by a Speech Orienter (Pattern DS - SO)

A sentence which contains direct speech does not have to start with the subject. It can also be the direct speech which occurs in the first position.

- *Men sizni tosmaymen. Choqum qaytip kéling! - dégenidi qiz. (338)*

I won't hinder you. You must come back! - had said the girl.

Again, *démek* marks the end of the direct speech. But when using the form *dep* all kinds of verbs of speech may be combined with it.

...? - *dep soridi herbiy emeldar. (372)*

...? - (saying) asked the military officer.

..., - *dep jawab berdi chérik bashliqi. (373)*

..., - (saying) answered the soldiers' chief.

As for punctuation, the standard practice in this story is to start the speech with a new indented line and a hyphen. The speech ends with a comma in the case of normal statements, or else with an exclamation- or question mark. In any case, it follows another hyphen and then the speech orienter, as can be seen in the above examples.

What is interesting about this pattern DS - SO is the fact that it changes the basic word order. As we can see in the examples, the subject occurs at the end of the sentence, while the sequence "object [i.e. the speech] - verb" remains intact. This applies accordingly to other parts of speech as well: In a speech orienter, the whole sentence is reversed in a mirror-like manner. Only the sequence "accusative object - verb" remains the same.

The usual order "Temp. - S - Dative obj. - Accusative obj. [=speech] - V.phrase" becomes "Accusative obj. [=speech] - V.phrase - Dative obj. - S - Temp.":

Compare:

Temp. S Dative obj. Accusative obj. [=speech] V.phrase
Shu chaghda men uninggha <<Yighlima. Apang hazir qaytidu.>> dep teselli berdim.

versus:

Accusative obj. [=speech] V.phrase Dat. obj. S Temp.
<<Yighlima. Apang hazir qaytidu.>> dep teselli berdim uninggha men shu chaghda.

The translation of both will be:

That time I comforted him saying: "Don't cry. Your mum will be back in a moment."

The next sentence shows how the SO can contain an extended verb phrase.

- *He, yaraydu, bu taza men oylighinimdin iken, - dep orundin turup ketti Shisen Maza (361)*

- Hey, wonderful, this is just what I had thought of, - said "Scarface" Shisen and stood up from his seat.

Another sentence illustrates how the temporal phrase changes its position and stands at the end.

...! - *dégenidi yigit shu chaghda. (338)*

...! - had said the guy at that time.

The above-given examples show the **unmarked** word order in a speech orienter that follows the direct speech. Deviations from this are possible, as with sentences which do not contain speech. They depend on what the writer wants to emphasize.

Remarkable are cases like the following sentence, where a finite form of *démek* is used, and after the subject another verb - in its *(V)p*-form - is added. Thus the converb *-(V)p*-form) occurs **after** the finite verb rather than before it, as is the case in basic word order!

- *Mundaq qilishqa bolmaydu, - dédi Damollam tatirip. (322)*

- Such cannot be done, - said the great mullah paling.

Another time, a more elaborate clause follows.

..., - *dédi derwish axir jimjitliqni buzup. (380)*

..., said the dervish, finally breaking the silence.

Placing such a clause at the end of a speech orienter is very rarely done in the source text, but it is found with other authors. Usually such a sentence gives more details about the speech act, i.e. the manner in which something was said. The following sentences are taken from Qahar (1999:44ff.).

..., - *dédi Seydulla yerdin béshini kötürmey. (47) [with negative *-(V)p*-form]*

..., said Seydulla without lifting his head [his eyes] from the ground.

..., - *dédi qatardikilerdin biri ünlük warqirap. (51)*

..., said one from among the seated shouting with a loud voice.

As for oral speech, at the end of (3.) it was mentioned that the most common way of rendering direct speech is the pattern S - DS - V. But the pattern DS - V - S is possible as well.

<<Kel!>> *dédi u.*

"Come!" said he.

Oral speech is not so well thought through as written language. Thus, on the one hand it is natural for a speaker to add specifics, corrections or afterthoughts at the end, e.g.:

<<Kel!>> *dédi u manga warqirap.*

"Come!" told he me, shouting.

On the other hand, to extend such a "tail" and make a lengthy clause out of it is not perceived as natural or elegant. But a conjunction can be used to join two verb phrases.

<<Kel!>> *dédi u warqirap hem qolini pulanglitip.*

"Come!" said he, shouting and waving his hand.

Likewise it is in writing: When a sentence containing speech is continued with clauses which do not only report about the speech act, but give further actions, then such clauses can be connected by way of the conjunction *we* ("and"), rather than by the use of converbs (*-(V)p*-form) only.

Xeyr, sadaqetlik yarim! - dédi Baqem we qilichini sughuruwélip, yénidiki tagh térikining égilip chüshken chong bir shéxini bir chépip, shirttide üzüwetti-de, étigha irghip mindi. (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.

There are cases where the speech is neither introduced by a preceding SO, nor concluded by a SO, but followed by a new independent sentence which refers to the speech and integrates it this way into the context. The demonstrative determiners *bu* or (*ene*) *shundaq* serve to denote the speech.

[*dervish:*] - *Nozugum!*

Nozugum bu awazdin oyghinip ketti. (348)

[*dervish:*] - "Nozugum!"

Nozugum woke up from this voice.

<<Hey, shuning bilen méning yashliqim tügigenmidu? Iligha barghanda ajiz béshimgha néme künler chüsher ...?>> *Nozugum shundaq hesretlik xiyallar bilen uyqugha ketti. (348)*

"Hey, will my youth end with this? When I come to Ili, what kind of days might come down onto my weak head ...?" - Nozugum fell asleep with such sorrowful thoughts.

Thus, sometimes there is a proper SO following the DS and sometimes the following sentence only refers back to the speech. Finally, for cases where the action simply continues without any SO and without explicit reference to the speech in the following sentence see section (11.).

6. Speech Interrupted by a Speech Orienter (Pattern DS - SO - DS)

The difference to the pattern described under (5.) is that here the direct speech is continued after the speech orienter. This is not unusual in the text. When this is done, the first part of the speech is short - mostly not a full clause, but only an exclamation or a vocative.

As to the structure of the speech orienter, both patterns occur: The word order can be S - O - V (which means that the word order of a regular sentence is not reversed). Interestingly, all examples of this kind lack a form of *démek*.

- *Hebbelli! - Baqi tügülgen mushtini dastixan üstige qoydi, - bu xa'ingha jaza bérishni bizmu xéli burunla oyliship qoyghan. (342)*

- Excellent! - [said] Baqi and slammed his clenched fist down on the tablecloth, - We too have been thinking quite long ago about punishing this traitor.

Hah! Hah! Hah! ... - derwish saqallirini titritip külüp ketti, - Xuda yaxshi niyitingge yetküzsun oghlum. (342)

"Ha! Ha! Ha!", the dervish laughed so hard that his beard shook, "May God grant [the fulfilment of] your good intentions, my son."

Sidiq Ghoja?! - Nozugum seskinip ketti, - u yüzsiz héchkimning chirayigha tik turup qariyalmaydu. (349)

Sidik Ghoja?! - Nozugum [answered] in disgust, - That shameless one can not look straight into anybody's face.

Reversed word order occurs as well (V - S).

- *Xeyriyet! - dédi derwish, - gheyretlik bol, ... (349)*

- Farewell! - said the dervish, - Be strong, ...

- *Xalayıq! - dep ornidin turdi Baqi, - biz Nozugumni qutuldurup qélish üçün uzun yollarni bésip kelgeniduq, ... (379)*

- Folks! - (saying) stood up from his seat Baqi, - we have come a long way to rescue Nozugum, ...

Under (5.) it was mentioned that a clause which contains information about the speech act, i.e. the manner in which something was said, can be placed at the end of a speech orienter. The examples given here under (6.) show that the SOs which interrupt the speech have the same function: to tell more about the speech act, or movements and feelings accompanying it. These SOs then are a means to attain dramatic effect.

7. Speech Introduced by a Preceding Speech Orienter (Pattern SO - DS)

Finally, speech can be introduced similarly to the English way in which S and V precede the DS ("He said: '...'",), but this is done quite rarely. In these cases, the first sentence ends with either a period, or a colon. The speech starts with a hyphen.

Here, the border between a proper speech orienter and a normal speech-preceding sentence becomes blurred: The first example below shows what can be called a speech orienter. In the second example, the speech-preceding sentence does not contain a verb of speech any more. In the third example, the speech-preceding sentence is - judging by the punctuation - altogether independent from the speech. Only by juxtaposition it functions similarly to a speech orienter.

... héliqi kishi öymu'öy yürüp ishiklerni qéqip warqiraytti: - I, qorqunchaq bendiler, ishikinglarni échinglar, ... (326)

... that man was going from house to house, banging at the doors and shouting: - "Hey, frightened servants of God, open your doors, ..."

..., u dümbisige xalta tashlap, qollirigha sapayi bilen tayaq tutqiniche sheher kochilirida peyda boldi: - Éh Xudaning möminliri! ... (326)

..., he threw the sack over his shoulder, and, holding in his hands a "sapayi" [percussion instrument] and a staff, he showed up in the town's streets: - "Hey, God's people! ..."

Derwish sapayisini sharaqlitip, yene ilgirilep ketti. - Ey, Xudaning yüreksiz bendiliri, ... (326)

The dervish, rustling his "sapayi", moved further on. - "Hey, God's timid servants, ..."

One special means of introducing direct speech is the use of the subordinating conjunction *-ki*. This comes very close to a speech orienter like in English or in the first of the three examples above.

U oxirqi yillarda shuni chüshinip yettiki, puqraning xandanliqqa qarshi qozghilishlirini basturup tügetkili bolmaydiken, ... (319)

He had in the last years come to understand this: the masses' uprisings against the dynasty's rule could not be suppressed and ended, ...

-ki marks the following sentence as the content to which the demonstrative pronoun *shuni* ("this") refers.

In such cases, it is a comma that separates both clauses.

Another way of introducing a quote is to employ the demonstrative pronoun *mundaq* and a form of *démek*. The usual form is *S - mundaq dédi* ("S said this"), and is followed by a colon. This pattern is regularly used in journalism and scientific literature, especially where longer quotes are to be introduced. It occurs in narrative too, but not in "Nozugum".

8. The Introduction of Songs and Pieces of Poetry

On several occasions the writer includes verses of songs, most of which are sung by the heroine. These verses are all clearly indented in the text. As with direct speech, the way they are introduced varies. There may not be any introduction in the text at all (336). But more often there is a preceeding speech orienter as described under (7.). Given the length and the character of the verses, the other patterns described above can not be employed (SO - DS - SO / DS - SO / DS - SO - DS).

U ixtiyarsiz derd-elemlirini naxsha qilip éytti: ... (359)

Spontaneously she put her sorrows into a song and sang:

Shu chagh sürgünler ichidin bir qizning yangraq awazda éytqan naxshisi kötürüldi: ... (335)

At that time, from amongst the captives a girl's song arose, sung in a strong voice: ...

In one case, where a poem is quoted, the demonstrative determiner *munu* is employed.

Hesen derwishning ésige shu tapta qaysibir sha'irning munu shé'iri kélip chüshiti: ... (343)

At that time, this (following) verse of some poet came to Hesen, the dervish's, mind: ...

Note that the demonstrative determiner *munu* is referring to something that **follows** (cataphoric reference). It could not be used **after** the quote for referring back to it, as the demonstrative determiners mentioned under (5.) do.

9. Indirect Speech

Let us now turn to sentences with indirect speech.

Baqining adamliri, bu yerde Nozugumning bügün chüshte öltürülgenlikini anglighandin kéyin, héchkimning gélidin bir chishlem nerse ötmidi, ... (378)

Of Baki's men no-one could get down one bite of anything, after they had heard here that Nozugum had been killed this day at noon.

The message that Baki's men received was (if it came from an eyewitness):

Nozugum bügün chüshte öltürüldi.

Nozugum was killed today at noon.

This sentence is nominalized using the two suffixes *KAn* (participle) and *liK* (nominalizer). Rendering speech is only one function of this *KAnliK*-construction. The author uses it in other ways too.

..., *chérıklar néme ish bolghanliqini chüshinip*, ... (379)

..., when the soldiers understood what had happened, ...

For rendering speech though, this construction is extremely rarely used in the story.

Apparently, it is perceived as too clumsy for story-telling, or maybe it makes an event appear too much as a distant, objective fact. The use of indirect speech is partly replaced by the construction "*dégen* + noun", as will be described under (12.).

Yang darén ... Chingoning <<Eger bu sheharning sépili ichige kiriwalsam, ademlirining birini qoymay qirip tashlaymen!>> dégen sözini eslidi, ... (320)

The Daren Yang remembered that Chingo, ..., had said: "If I make it into this town's city walls, I will kill its inhabitants and not leave one!"

In connection with indirect speech often *éytmaq* ("to tell, say, inform") is used instead of *démek* (see Stroy 1989:461). Other verbs of speech occur too, e.g. *uqturmaq*, *élan qilmaq*.

10. Semi-direct Speech

One also finds examples for what in Stroy is called *несобственно-прямая речь*. Its features are the following: It lacks introduction by any speech orienter. It is not a subordinate clause or otherwise integrated into another sentence. In it, the word order and the wording of the speech are retained, as is done in direct speech, but it is rendered in the 3rd person: verb endings, possessive constructions and pronouns are given from the writer's viewpoint (see Stroy 1989:462). The first sentence in the example is not part of the semi-direct speech, but included here to give the context.

Nozugum béshi üstidin uchup ötken qushlarga telmürüp qaridi. Uningmu shu tapta ashundaq bir jüp qaniti bolsa, u bulutlarchiche kötürülüp, Qeshqer terepke qarap biraqla uchup ketse ... (366)

Nozugum looked with yearning at the birds which were flying and passing over her head. If only she as well had such a pair of wings at this moment, she would ascend to the clouds and fly away at once towards Kashgar.

If this was direct speech, it would read like this:

Nozugum béshi üstidin uchup ötken qushlarga telmürüp qaridi. Mangimu hazir ashundaq bir jüp qanitim bolsa, men bulutlarchiche kötürülüp, Qeshqer terepke qarap biraqla uchup ketsem ...

Nozugum looked with yearning at the birds which were flying and passing over her head. If only I as well had such a pair of wings now, I would ascend to the clouds and fly away at once towards Kashgar.

Another example is this:

Nozugum béshigha kelgen külpetlarning qaysibirini éytip tügitelisun, u sözini Tümen boyidiki jengdin bashlisunmy yaki chöl yolliridiki azabtinmu? Yaki öz nomusini bulghimaqchi bolghan yawuzni bugün kéche qandaq ujuqturghinini éytsunmu? ... (367)

Which of the hardships that had come upon her should Nozugum tell everything about [lit. say and be-able-to-finish]? Should she begin her talk with the battle on the Tumen river's banks or with the suffering on the desert roads? Or should she tell how she killed last night the brutal man who wanted to defile her purity?

If one put this into the mouth of Nozugum, it would go like this:

Men béshimgha kelgen külpetlarning qaysibirini éytip tügiteley, men sözimni Tümen boyidiki jengdin bashlaymy yaki chöl yolliridiki azabtinmu? Yaki öz nomusumni bulghimaqchi bolghan yawuzni bügün kéche qandaq ujuqturghinimni éytaymu? ...

Which of the hardships that had come upon me should I tell everything about? Should I begin my talk with the battle on the Tumen river's banks or with the suffering on the desert roads? Or should I tell how I killed last night the brutal man who wanted to defile my purity?

The use of semi-direct speech seems to be a means of identifying with the fate of the heroine.

11. Speech Without Speech Orienter

There are certain conditions under which a speech orienter is not required. The direct speech is then given without any kind of speech orienter.

a) When a certain character is already activated and on the scene, his speech may lack a special introduction.

Del shu chaghda, chayxana aldigha atliq bir kishi kélip toxtidi.

- *Hey, chaychi ustam! Bu yerge derwish süpet bir méhman kelgendek boldimu? (340)*

Exactly at that time, a man on horseback came in front of the teahouse and stopped.

- *Hey, teahouse-keeper! Did any man come here who looked as if he was a dervish?*

In such cases, the speech begins with, or contains, a vocative. Thus, it is clear who addresses whom.

b) In an ongoing dialogue, the change of speakers may be indicated by formatting and punctuation only, i.e. the beginning of a new line with a hyphen. Often though vocatives are used which help the reader to keep track of who is talking to whom (329).

Even when a dialogue is interrupted, but both persons are still activated, a vocative is enough to indicate that the talk continues.

..., ular chaychi bilen xoshliship yolgha chiqti.

- *Qeni oghlum, sen étinggha min, men piyade mangimen, ... (342f.)*

..., they said good-bye to the teahouse-keeper and left.

- *My son, you ride your horse, I will walk on foot, ...*

At times, not even a vocative is needed.

Yüsüp ... xenjerni ... derwish qoligha uzatti.

- *Xosh. Men bu xenjerni ... Nozugumgha yetküzimen. (329)*

Yusuf handed the dagger over to the dervish.

- *Agreed. I will pass this dagger on to Nozugum.*

In this particular case, the speech begins with a kind of exclamation, which may function as a signal like a vocative. Also, from the action described it becomes clear who must be talking to whom.

c) When the writer pauses in his story-telling and expresses his own thoughts or addresses the reader, this happens by means of a vocative or exclamation.

Ah, Tümen deryasi! Shu küni sende su emes, qipqizil qan aqti, ... (316)

Oh, River Tumen! That day not water, but red blood flew in you, ...

Kitabxan, ... heywetlik qarighayni kesseng, u ünchiqmay örülidu ... (354)

Reader, ... when you cut a majestic pine tree, it falls without uttering a cry.

12. Speech Modifying a Noun

As was mentioned under (2.), a form of *démek* can be used to connect two phrases. In the source text, this is done quite frequently in the following way. First the content of an utterance is given in the form of direct speech. This ends with either *dégen* or *dep*. Then follows the noun which shows what **kind** of an utterance was made (e.g. "order, decision, call" in the sentences below). In short, the pattern is

content of utterance + *démek* + kind of utterance.

dégen or *dep* remain untranslated. While we have direct speech here, syntactically the speech clause only modifies one part-of-speech within the main clause. In a more elegant English translation one might use "to" (e.g. "the order to ..."), or indirect speech (e.g. "had said that ...").

Ching emeldarliri sheher xelqige: <<Birmu jan qalmay Yarbagh derwazisi aldigha chiqsun!>> dep buyruq chüshürgen bolsimu, bu ademler ichide yashlar körünmeytti. (333f.)

The Ching leaders had passed down to the people of the town the order [saying] "Not one soul remaining behind, (everyone) shall go out in front of the "Yarbagh" gate!", but even so among these people young ones were not seen.

..., ademler: beribir ölüm, bir düşmenni bolsimu oshuqraq öltürüp, merdane yiqilish kérek, dégen qarargha kélishop, düşmengen qarshi qehri bilen tashlandi... (315)

..., the people had arrived at the decision [saying]: "(I) must die anyway; if only I can kill one enemy more and bravely fall", and stormed against the enemy with anger.

..., doghapchilarning <<Hem tatliq hem soghuq!>> dep xéridar chaqirishliri, ... (325)
..., the refreshment-sellers' "Sweet and cold!" [saying] calls to the customers, ...

Yang darén Ili leshkerlirining bashliqi Chingoning <<Eger bu sheherning sépili ichige kiriwalsam, adamlirining birini qoymay qirip tashlaymen!>> dégen sözini eslidi, ... (320)

The governor Yang remembered that Chingo, the chief of the Ili soldiers, had said [lit.: remembered Chingo's "...-called word.]: "If I make it into this town's city walls, I will kill its inhabitants and not leave one!"

The following example illustrates how flexibly this kind of a construction can be utilized. The verb *qara-* means "to look at", but also to "consider". A "consideration", or viewpoint, equals an utterance, the content of which may be expressed by postposing *dep*. Since the verb *qara* in this case happens to be a nominalized participle and denotes some people, the phrase in front of *dep*, i.e. the soldiers' opinion ("fit for work") characterizes these people. Thus, what comes in the form of direct speech could otherwise be expressed with an adjective (or relative construction) ("fit [for work]").

Leshkerler Tümen boyidiki jengde tirik qolgha chüshkenler ichidin ishqa yaraydu, dep qarighanlirini talliwélip, ... (333)

The soldiers, from among the people who they had captured alive in the fight by the river Tumen, selected those who they considered fit for work.

In the next sentence the construction "*démek* + noun" is used to indicate a point of time:

<<Keldi! Keldi! >> dégen awazlar bilen teng ademler topi tewrinip, sheher derwazisi ichidiki yolgha aqti. (334)

Simultaneously with the shouts [saying] "They've come! They've come!" the crowd of people vibrated and flowed towards the road inside the city gates.

It is possible for the noun-qualifying speech to extend beyond sentence-length, i.e. a quote of two or three sentences, put in quotation marks, may modify one single part-of-speech within the main clause. In "Nozugum" though, the modifying speech is never longer than two lines (320). This matches the length of DS in the pattern SO - DS - SO as described under (3.). Note that in such cases, where speech is used to modify a noun, the speaker may or may not be the subject of the whole sentence. This is a difference to the pattern SO - DS - SO.

Another way of expressing the content of an utterance is to use the construction with the *(V)sh*-infinitive. It is sometimes preceded by *dégen*, but with the *(V)sh*-infinitive, the form of *démek* may also be dropped.

..., *leshker bashliqlirigha, qarshiliq qilghanlirini rehim qilmay qirip tashlash, köplirini tirik esir élish buyruqini chüshürdi.* (316)

..., he gave down to the soldiers' leaders the order to kill without mercy the ones who resist, but to capture the majority alive.

U atisi éytqan <<pakliqini saqlash, muhebbitige sadiq bolush>> dégen wesiyetlarning ehdisidin chiqalarmu? (364)

Will she be able to keep the promise (to fulfill) her father's last will [saying] "she shall maintain her purity and remain faithful to her lover"?

The punctuation mostly follows the pattern <<[speech](!)>> *dégen/dep [noun]*, i.e. the speech is set into quotation marks (and often ends with an exclamation mark, but never with a period). At times there are no quotation marks, a colon is used to signal the beginning of the speech, or a comma to signal the end, etc. Such deviations might partly be explained by inconsistencies in the interpretation of orthography rules, and might partly depend on the words that precede the speech in a given sentence - because certain cases might look so unambiguous to the mother tongue reader that marking the speech is perceived to be superfluous. Likewise, with the *-(V)sh*-infinitive, quotation marks are not used every time.

13. Conclusion and Residue

We have examined the different patterns that are used to express speech in Uyghur narrative. As was mentioned in the introduction, the following patterns are used (in approximate order of frequency):

(a) SO - DS - SO (S - DS - V)

(b) DS - SO (DS - V - S)

(c) DS - SO - DS

(d) SO - DS.

(e) DS may also be expressed without any accompanying SO, if the person who utters the speech is activated in the discourse, and especially in longer dialogues. The same is true when the writer expresses his own thoughts. In such cases, the DS usually contains a vocative or an exclamation.

One important point for employing direct speech according to (a) is the usage of the accusative suffix (*ni*) for indicating to who the direct speech refers. Regarding (b), a special feature is the reversed word order in the SO. Particularly remarkable is the fact that in the construction (c) the SO may show either the normal word order (with no form of *démek* being employed), or the reversed word order. As to (d), at times a preceding independent sentence takes on the logical function of a speech orienter, without carrying its grammatical features. We have also seen how in Uyghur syntax speech can be used to modify a noun.

Pieces of poetry are usually introduced according to the pattern (d) SO - DS.

Only a few examples of indirect speech (*-KANlik*) and semi-direct speech are found in the source text.

It has not yet been determined what makes an author choose a certain pattern at a given place. Apart from the length of the quote, this has supposedly to do with the flow of the narrative and the crafting of dialogues.

Further examination of deliberate changes of word order within speech orienters (for the sake of focussing or emphasizing) would be worthwhile - independent from the SO's position in the sentence.

The different forms of *démek* have not been discussed in detail. At least one may state that their versatile functions are of peculiar interest in studying Uyghur syntax. Constructions with *démek* can be used to modify nouns and to express reason, intention, purpose etc. (see Appendix). Employing some form of *démek* seems to be almost always obligatory in both written and oral speech. Whether and under which conditions *dep* can be dropped remains to be examined.

Another aspect of research would be the comparison of the above findings with Uyghur literature from Kazakhstan.

Clearly, one story by one author can not be the sole basis for an exhaustive treatment of speech and speech orienters. But since one may assume that this text represents good style, one may at least use its examples as a point of reference for comparisons.

Appendix: Overview over the Functions of the Various Forms of *démek*⁵

Form of <i>démek</i>	1. - parsing 2ff. - part of speech	Translation: 1. - literal gloss 2ff. - non-literal meanings
démek	1. infinitive 2. as conjunction	to say, tell, call; think in short, in other words, that is (to say)
démekki	infinitive + emphatic <i>ki</i> conjunction	in short, in other words, that is (to say)
démeklik	infinitive + nominalizer <i>liK</i>	saying (like <i>déyish</i>), talk [noun]; (e.g. <i>démeklikke asan, emeliyette qilish tes</i> - easy to say, difficult to realize)
démekchi	1. infinitive + intention marker <i>chi</i> 2. as conjunction	(he) want(s) to say (underlining:) I'm saying, what I'm saying is, what I want to say is
dégen	1. past participle (stem <i>de</i> + <i>KAn</i>) 2. as adjective 3. as conjunction (also as <i>dégen chaghda, déginimiz</i> etc.)	said; in nominalized form also with personal and case markers; called, named, entitled, so-called special use: ... <i>dégen gep</i> (expressing equivalence:) is just like ... (emphasizing; when defining / characterizing a word:) (that) is, means
dégenlik	past participle + nominalizer <i>liK</i>	1. expression, term, saying, phrase 2. that is (to say), means
dégende	1. past participle + locative marker <i>TA</i> 2. as adverb 3. as conjunction	when one says after like <i>dégen</i> when used as conjunction

⁵ See:

Uyghur tilining izahliq lughiti (qisqartilmisi) 1999:506; 536ff.; 1118;
Uighur-English Dictionary 1997:296;
Friederich 2002:211ff., 149, 151;
Stroy Uygurskogo Yazyka 1989:333;
Tömür / Lee 2003:245, 278, 521ff.

dégendek	1. past participle + similitude marker <i>Tek</i> 2. as adverb	as (is) said; as if to say 1. as / according / similar to what was said; 'and the like' 2. as wished, good, perfect, well, completely 3. very 4. as thought of, as expected 5. sure enough
dégendikidek	1. partic.+locative+relative+similit. marker 2. as adverb	lit.: like the one that was said very, quite
dégini dégen	past participle+3. p. <i>i</i> + past participle	lit.: his-said is the-said; what he says (wants) he does (is done), take his word for it, take him at his word
dégenbilen	1. past participle + postposition <i>bilen</i> 2. as conjunction	lit.: inspite of the-said 1. in any case, at any rate, anyway, anyhow 2. nevertheless, but, after all 3. although, inspite
dégüdek	1. stem + mood marker <i>KU</i> + simil. m. <i>Tek</i> 2. as adverb	lit.: say-able; so-to-speak about, approximately, nearly, practically, virtually, more or less
déyerlik	1. stem + imperf. marker <i>Ar</i> + adj.m. <i>liK</i> 2. as adjective 3. in the combination <i>yoq déyerlik</i>	lit.: saying full, sufficient, satisfying virtually nothing; zero, you can say
deymen	1. 1 st pers. sg. present-future 2. after imperative 3. following a predicate which ends in <i>KU</i>	I say; I will say (emphasizing command or warning:) "..., I'm telling you!" (marking "subjective assessment" mood:) I would say, I think
désem - démisem	1 st p.sg. hypothesis mood + the same in neg.	apparently, maybe
deysiz, deysiler	2 nd p. sg./pl. present-future	(ending a rhetoric question:) I ask you; you just tell me
demsiz	2 nd p. sg. present-future + question marker <i>m</i>	(after each noun when listing several nouns:) you name it
de / denga / désile	2 nd p. sg. imperative (ordinary / respectful)	(ending a sentence acknowledging a new insight:) I see; so; that means; thus; you don't say!
denga / dégine / denglar	2 nd p. sg./pl. imperative (+ endearm. m. <i>A</i>)	(ending a statement and attracting attention:) you see; you know; can you imagine; I tell you!

deyli dep	1 st p. pl. imperative stem + converb ending <i>p</i> 1. after accusative object 2. following 1 st p. imperative 3. following 3 rd p. imperative	let's say; suppose, ... (for instance:) because of (e.g. <i>sizni dep</i> - because of you) 1. (expressing intent:) wishing to (e.g. <i>köreý dep</i> - saying 'let me see') 2. (expressing moment before inception of action:) about to, almost (expressing purpose:) in order that; so that (e.g. <i>chang qonmisun dep</i> - so dust would not settle)
némidep	1. pronoun <i>néme</i> + <i>dep</i> 2. as pronoun	lit.: what for? saying what, with what words (e.g. ~ <i>naxsha</i> - a song with what text?)
némidégen	<i>néme</i> + <i>dégen</i> as adjective / adverb	(stressing:) What a ...! / How ...!
némisini deysen	<i>néme</i> + 3.p. <i>si</i> + acc. <i>ni</i> + <i>de</i> 2 nd p. pres.-fut.	1. (Sorry,) what are you talking about? 2. (Nonsense!) Whatever are you thinking of?!

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