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Meaning and Usage of Compound Verbs

in Modern Uighur and Uzbek

by

Ablahat Ibrahim

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington
1995

Approved by

(Chairperson of Supervisory Committee)

Michael K. Beard

Program Authorized to Offer Degree

Department of Asian Languages and Literature

Date

June 28, 1995
Doctoral Dissertation

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University of Washington

Abstract

Meaning and Usage of Compound Verbs
in Modern Uighur and Uzbek

by

Ablahat Ibrahim

Chairperson of the Supervisory Committee: Professor Ilse D. Cirtautas
Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization

Although compound verbs play a significant role in the verbal category of the Turkic languages with their wide use and various meanings, no study provides either a formal criterion to distinguish compound verbs from other types of verbs and from verbal phrases, or offers a criterion to distinguish between the various meanings of compound verbs. In this study for the first time the criterion for singling out descriptive verbs is established, and formal criteria are offered for distinguishing compound verbs from other types of verbal combinations as well as from verbal phrases. The meanings and usage of compound verbs in Uighur and Uzbek are elaborated for the first time by offering the necessary conditions -- morphological, syntactic and semantic environments -- for determining a single specific meaning among many meanings for each form of compound verbs. The similarities and differences in nuance and usage of compound verbs, and the interrelations among them in each language, are shown by presenting the necessary conditions for denoting these similarities and differences. A semantic characterization and comparison of each form of compound verbs in Uighur and Uzbek are provided, and compound verbs are categorized into groups. This study offers evidence for the conclusion that compound verbs in the Turkic languages, specifically in Uzbek and Uighur, do not belong to the category of aspect, like the category of aspect in Russian. Compound verbs are different from aspect in Russian in terms of both formation and meaning. Regarding formation, compound verbs are formed by syntactic means, whereas aspect in Russian is formed by morphological means. Regarding meaning, compound verbs contain a broader concept than aspect. Besides modality, compound verbs express how an action takes place in terms of duration and direction, as well as manner of action and intention of the subject.
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Signs and Abbreviations

- = verbal stem
+ = nominal stem
< = derived from
> = developed into
[] = in translated sentence: added words
▼ = primary stress
| = short pause
* = ungrammatical sentence
Ui. = Uighur
Uz. = Uzbek
Kaz. = Kazakh
Transcription and Transliteration

1. For transliterating the Uzbek alphabet, essentially the transliteration chart given in Ilse Laude-Cirtautas, *Chrestomathy of Modern Literary Uzbek*, Wiesbaden, 1980, p. XII, is used. The following chart shows the transliteration used in this study:

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2. The following chart is being used for transliterating the Uighur alphabet, it is based on the transliteration chart given in Reinhard F. Hahn, Spoken Uyghur, Seattle University of Washington, 1991, p. 97, with the exception of [g] which is replaced by [γ] in this study:

(35) The Arabic-Script-Based Alphabet (kona yeziq)

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Acknowledgments

I wish to express my gratitude to my academic advisor Professor Ilse Cirtautas, a well-known Turcologist. She accepted me as a graduate student and gave me constant support by offering a Teaching Assistantship in both Uzbek and Kazakh while at the University of Washington. Professor Ilse Cirtautas made important suggestions and corrections, not only to the contents of this dissertation, but also in regards to my English.

I am greatly indebted to my academic advisor Professor Jerry Norman, a brilliant scholar of Chinese and Altaic linguistics, for his strong support throughout my studies. As my academic advisor, he encouraged me to expand my knowledge of both Turkic studies and Altaic linguistics. Professor Jerry Norman also spent considerable time reading this dissertation, making many necessary corrections.

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My special thanks also go to Professor James Palais for his willingness to serve as the representative from the graduate school on my supervisory committee.
For my mother Zaynap, my wife Marhaba, my daughters Dilraba, Bama and Rana
Chapter I  Introduction

1.1  The Subject

As a subgroup of the Altaic language family, the Turkic languages possess a type of verbal composition formed by a convverb and a descriptive verb.¹ Modern Uighur and Uzbek which will be the focus of my dissertation, use in this type of verbal composition convverbs ending in the suffixes -p or -a.² In Turkic grammar books this type of verbal composition is called compound verb. With their wide use and colorful meanings compound verbs play a significant role in the verbal category of the Turkic languages. The complexity of the usage of compound verbs and their rich and varied meanings tend to confuse non-native speakers. They are particularly confused when confronted with verbal compositions such as those appearing in the following Uighur sentences:

(1)  Osman küldi.
     (lit.: Osman laughed.)

(2)  Osman külüp tašlidı.
     (lit.: Osman laughed and threw.)

(3)  Osman külüp kätii.
     (lit.: Osman laughed and went.)

(4)  Osman yügrap kätii.
     (lit.: Osman ran and went.)

Non-native speakers are surprised to learn that the literal translations given above do not correspond with the actual meanings, e.g., Osman külüp tašlidı means "Osman laughed suddenly"; Osman külüp kätii is rendered as "Osman laughed intensely", and in a certain context Osman yügrap kätii means "Osman ran away". This leads to a series of questions: What is the difference in meaning between küldi and külüp kätii? When does one use küldi, when külüp kätii? Why does the verb kät-
(to go) express different meanings in identical types of verbal constructions? Are there any criteria for distinguishing between the various meanings of the above compound verbs?

These questions not only involve the major grammatical categories of verbs in the Turkic languages, such as tense and modal categories, but also lead to further questions: What are the compound verbs? Are the compound verbs, as this term indicates, lexicalized items in the lexicon of the Turkic languages to be investigated, or are they different forms of verbs? For example, are the compound verbs in Uighur oqüp bol-, oqüp qoy-, oqüp ciq-, oqüp kät-, oqüp qal-, oqüp al-, oqüp bär-, oqüp baq-, oqüp kör- new lexicalized items formed from the verb oqü- (to read), or are they various grammatical forms of the verb oqü-? What are the distinctive grammatical properties of compound verbs? What are their functions and their usage and meanings in Uighur and Uzbek? What is the classification of compound verbs in the verbal system of these languages? Unfortunately, neither the current grammar books nor specific studies on this topic written by native or western Turkologists give a satisfactory answer to these questions.

Nevertheless, many scholars in the field contributed in one way or the other to our understanding of compound verbs. Some of them, specifically, Xämít Tömür provided a quite detailed description concerning the meaning of compound verbs in Uighur. Ilse Cirtautas has provided precise explanations for the meanings of each descriptive verb in Uzbek and in Kazakh. From many years of listening to Professor Ilse Cirtautas' lectures on this topic I have learned to look at compound verbs not only from the point of view of a native speaker, but also from the perspective of western Turkology. I wish to pay tribute to Ilse Cirtautas, Xämít Tömür and the many scholars in the field by employing their terms, ideas and explanations. On the basis of their work and my own research on this topic I will attempt to answer the above questions.

The aim of this dissertation is to describe the synchronic system of compound verbs
in Modern Uighur and Uzbek. This study will not investigate the historical development of compound verbs in the Turkic languages. Therefore, its focus is to provide a useful, practical knowledge of the usage and specific meanings of each form of compound verbs in present Uighur and Uzbek.

1.2 Organization of the Dissertation

The dissertation has five chapters. Chapter I will serve as an introduction. Chapter II will describe the general grammatical and semantic properties of compound verbs in Uighur and Uzbek. It will discuss basic concepts and questions concerning compound verbs. The questions discussed will include: a) what are compound verbs? b) What are descriptive verbs? Initially the components of compound verbs, namely converses and descriptive verbs will be examined, followed by an analysis of how to separate compound verbs from other types of verbal compositions. Chapter II thus has five sections: section one will outline forms and functions of converses. Section two will analyze the distinctive grammatical and semantic features of descriptive verbs in order to establish a criteria for singling out descriptive verbs from other verbs. Section three, four and five will separate compound verbs from other types of verbal combinations, from non-compound verbs and syntactic verbal phrases. In doing this I will explore, on a general level, the common grammatical and semantic properties of compound verbs in Uighur and Uzbek. The aim of this chapter is to provide a descriptive and comparative basis for the following discussion of the meaning and usage of compound verbs in Uighur and Uzbek presented in Chapters III and IV.

Chapter III will provide a detailed description of meanings and usage of compound verbs and their classification in Uighur. This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section will investigate the meanings of all forms of compound verbs in various contexts in Uighur. On the basis of this investigation, I will attempt to abstract a general
common meaning for each compound verb in Uighur. In the second section, starting from their common meanings, the compound verbs will be classified into categories and subcategories. Chapter IV deals with compound verbs in Uzbek. The discussion will proceed in the same way as in Chapter III. It will also seek to determine the similarities and differences of the usage and meaning of compound verbs in Uighur and Uzbek.

Chapter V will serve as a Conclusion. It will summarize the results of the investigations, analysis and classifications of compound verbs of the previous chapters.

1.3. Method and Data
This study is largely of a descriptive and comparative nature. It is primarily concerned with the description and analysis of the ways in which compound verbs are used in the selected languages, and with their classification. It will approach the subject from the point of view of the grammatical analysis of the existing language data. The actual material from Uighur and Uzbek sources will form the basis of the discussion. Because an understanding of compound verbs requires both recognizing the formal composition of compound verbs and understanding their meanings, the description and analysis have two aspects -- form and meaning. Drawing from a large number of examples, I will begin with an analysis of the form, followed by an investigation of the meanings associated with the formal composition of compound verbs.

Compound verbs will be considered and treated as being related to one another and so forming an interrelated system rather than as mere aggregates of individual elements. Therefore, using relational criteria in the analysis of compound verbs, both syntagmatically and paradigmatically related elements will be examined. It seems that the morphological, syntactic, lexical and stylistic environments affect the usage and meanings of compound verbs. Specifically, these environments consist of the following: the relationship between compound verbs and other morphological categories of verbs such as tense and negative;
the correlation between compound verbs and other parts of a sentence such as adverbs and direct and indirect objects; the lexical meaning of the first verb in compound verbs, and the stylistic and subjective choice in using a compound verb. Because, the effects of such environments differ from one compound verb to another, I will analyze and elaborate these environments when I describe the meaning and usage of compound verbs in Uighur and Uzbek.

With regard to the methods to be used in a comparative analysis, the following steps outlined by Krzeszowski have been recommended:

1) Description of one language
2) Description of another language
3) Demonstration of comparability, establishment of a basis for comparison
4) Description of one language on the basis of comparison
5) Description of the other language on the basis of comparison
6) Comparison and demonstration of similarities
7) Comparison and demonstration of differences.

Because Uighur and Uzbek are closely related languages, they can in many ways be compared directly. Therefore, to employ the above method would result in a repetitive description. Particularly in the case of compound verbs, it is not necessary to follow such a large number of steps. For this reason our method of comparison will proceed as follows:

1) Demonstration of comparability of Uzbek and Uighur compound verbs and establishment of a basis for comparison (This will be done in Chapter II).
2) Description of compound verbs in Uighur (Chapter III).
3) Description of compound verbs in Uzbek by comparing them with the
corresponding compound verb in Uighur and demonstrating similarities and differences (Chapter IV).

The comparative analysis in this study will be directional rather than parallel, i.e. it investigates what structures in Uighur correspond to what structures in Uzbek. In particular, it shows similarities and differences in the meaning and usage of each compound verb in these languages.

With regard to the data in this study, the examples presented have been excerpted mostly from novels of the most recognized Uighur and Uzbek writers as well as from Uighur and Uzbek folk tales. Furthermore, some examples will be drawn from text books and from other writers' works. From countless examples, I have selected the most typical, authentic and the most frequently used sentences. However, in some cases it was necessary to make up examples, namely in instances where exact relevant examples were not easily found in Uighur and Uzbek literature. In such cases by using my own native knowledge and intuitions about the correctness and acceptability, I have made typical and authentic sentences used every day by the people. Nevertheless, I have also confirmed the correctness and acceptability of those sentences by checking them with my colleagues and native speakers. Although the majority of examples are from written sources, the explanations and conclusion drawn from such data are equally valid for spoken Uighur and Uzbek.
Chapter II  General Analysis of Compound Verbs

in Modern Uighur and Uzbek

This chapter discusses the common grammatical and semantic properties of compound verbs in Uighur and Uzbek. Since a compound verb, as a verbal combination, is formed in both languages either with a converb in -п or in -а, followed by a descriptive verb, the grammatical and semantic properties of each component, especially descriptive verbs, must be considered first. Next, the grammatical and semantic properties of the verbal combination forming compound verbs have to be considered. Thus, in the first section I will sketch the forms and functions of converbs. In the second section, descriptive verbs are differentiated and singled out from other verbs according to their distinctive features. In the third section, I will attempt to separate compound verbs from other types of verbal combinations by comparing their grammatical and semantic properties. In the fourth section, compound verbs are distinguished from non-compound verbs. In the fifth section compound verbs are differentiated from syntactic verbal phrases. This discussion will provide analytical insights into the nature of compound verbs and it will be useful for understanding and describing their specific meanings and usages in the particular language.

Before going into an analysis of compound verbs, two points concerning the terminology used in this study should be made. First, the terms "lexical" and "grammatical" are fairly straightforward. By definition, new lexical words can be created by derivation or by compounding. Therefore, any new lexical word created either by derivation or by compounding pertains to lexicon rather than grammar. As long as this distinction is retained, it follows that analytically formed lexical verbs cannot be mixed with analytically formed grammatical categories, just as derivational morphology cannot be mixed with inflexional morphology.

Second, it is essential to differentiate lexical meaning from grammatical meaning
(grammatical relation). For instance, in Uzbek the verbal form išladi (išla-di he/she/it worked) has two elements of meaning. First, it has a lexical meaning, i.e. (to work) as a distinct lexical unit from other verbs such as Uz. oqî- (to read), ur- (to beat).

The second element of the meaning of išladi is the grammatical meaning of "recent-past tense plus person" marked by the combination of the suffixes -d+i. This meaning is the relationship between the action išla- and the time of the occurrence of the action. The notion of time here is expressed grammatically by suffixation. It can also be expressed lexically. For instance, past time can be expressed by words such as keča (yesterday).

Grammatical meaning can be expressed either morphologically or syntactically, therefore, grammatical relations (meanings) expressed either by suffixation (morphologically) or by auxiliaries (syntactically) pertains to grammar.

Although Latin-based grammatical terms do not exactly fit the structure of the Turkic languages, they will be used in this study as a matter of convention.

2.1 Forms and Functions of Converbs -- a Sketch

There are several terms in use in English which include "gerund" 8 or "converb". In Uighur and Uzbek grammar books conversbs are called rawišdaš or hal feš which may be translated as adverbial verbs. 9 Among these terms, "converb" is chosen for use in this dissertation. Ilse D. Cirtautas gives a precise definition and the basic function of conversbs:

"Converbs, by some scholars also called "gerunds", are infinite or incomplete verbal forms. Uzbek, like other Turkic languages, has two groups of verbal forms, finite and infinite:

a) finite or complete verbal forms are complete in the sense that they inform the listener about the person, mood, tense and number. Finite verbal forms function as the predicate of a sentence, in which they occupy the final position.

b) conversbs do not provide the information mentioned above, they are, therefore,
bincomplete or infinite and must be used in conjunction with a following finite verb. They do not function as the predicate of a sentence, but may serve as the logical predicate of phrases which correspond to subordinate clauses in English.\textsuperscript{10}

In Uighur and Uzbek there are several kinds of converbs which serve different functions in different types of structures.\textsuperscript{11} However, the following two types of converbs are relevant to this study. I will briefly review their functions and usage in different types of structures.

Type I: Converb in -\textit{п}. It is the most frequently used converbial form. It has the following functions:

1. It is used as a logical (not grammatical) predicate of a verbal phrase expressed in English as a coordinated clause and it indicates consecutive actions:

   (1) Ui. \textit{Yigit bilän qiz bir qarîyay tûwiga kelip, yanmu-yan olturuštî.}(Ötkür, p.10)
   The young man and the girl came under a pine tree and sat side by side.

   (2) Uz. \textit{Kumušbibi otabekning qûlidan ušlab, qûyida yozip qûyîlgan dasturxon yoniga bošladi.}(Qodiriy, p. 62)
   Kumushbibi took Otabek's hand, and led him to the dasturon which food had been spread out

2. When the verb in -\textit{п} is followed by other verbs, it renders a sequence of actions. For example:

   (3) Ui. \textit{Yûrt čoŋliri arqisiya burulup qaridi.}(Ötkür, p. 61)
   The elders of the people turned around and looked at [him].

   (4) Uz. \textit{Howlangizni suraylap tapiš mença qiyinraq kûrindi.}(Qodiriy, p.10)
It seemed difficult to find your courtyard by asking.

3. Combined with a descriptive verb (see pp. 11-22), it forms a compound verb construction. The function of this type of converb in a compound verbal structure will be discussed in 2.3.3.

**Type II: Converb in -a.** Its function are:

1. It is used in the present-future tense:

   (5) **Ui.** Tan atqanda kūnmu ciqidu (<ciq-a tur-ur >ciq-a dur > ciq-a-du >ciq-i du). (Ötkür, p. 59)

   When it is dawn, the sun also comes out.

   (6) **Uz.** - òvîlčani sizga topširaman (<topšir-a tur-ur-man > topši-r-a tur-man > topšira man-- dedi babam dömlaga. (Cirautas, p. 26)

   "I will hand over the little son to you," said my grandfather to the teacher.

2. When it is followed by a finite verb, it expresses an action which is being performed simultaneously with the main action:

   (7) **Ui.** Seni kütä-kütä zeriktug. (Sabir, p. 343)

   Waiting for you for a long time, we tired.

   (8) **Uz.** Ular yura-yura çarçapti.

   Walking and walking, they tired.

3. Combined with a descriptive verb, it forms a compound verb construction. The function of this type of converb will be discussed in 2.3.3.

   The converb in -a is much less used than the converb in -a, particularly in modern Uighur.

   The negative form for both the converb in -p and the converb in -a is formed by the same suffix, Uz. -mäy, Ui. -mäy/-mäy. An other negative form, Uz. -map, Ui.
-map/-māp, is only used when it combines with the personal endings -man, -san etc., and expresses the past tense of hear say:

(9) Uig. Bu otūkni birāylangā sākkiz koyya bārmāptu (< bārmāp tur-ur > bārmāp tur > bārmāptu).

(Masudi, p. 188)
[I was told that] he did not sell this boot for eighteen dollars.

(10) Uz. Qimmat hečnarsa demapti (< demap tur-ur > demap tur > demapti). (Uzbek ertaklari, p. 10)
(I was told that) Qimmat did not say anything.

2.2. Grammatical and Semantic Properties of Descriptive Verbs

The term "descriptive verb" is not used by all schoolars in the field. In Uighur and Uzbek grammars the term "yardamči fella" which means "auxiliary verbs" are employed for referring to "descriptive verbs". 12 Karl H. Menges also uses the term "auxiliary verbs", but others, e.g., A. von Gabain, and many others prefer the term "descriptive verbs". 13 I will also use this term, because the function of a descriptive verb in a compound verb is precisely to describe the action expressed in the converbial component of the compound. However, the discussion of a definition of a descriptive verb would be necessary, because it is hardly possible to refer to any single generally accepted definition. Although some questions concerning the definition and their grammatical features are unsolved, descriptive verbs are recognized in the Turkic grammars, and they are basically separated from autonomous (lexical) verbs. 14

According to X. Tömür, descriptive verbs in Uighur are: 15

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tur-} & \quad (\text{to stay, to stand, to get}) \\
\text{qoy-} & \quad (\text{to put, to put down}) \\
\text{up, to live)} \\
\text{yur-} & \quad (\text{to walk, to move}) \\
\text{al-} & \quad (\text{to get, to take})
\end{align*}
\]
yat-  (to lie, to lie down)  bär-  (to give)
oltur-  (to sit)  čiq-  (to go out, to go up)
kāl-  (to come )  őt-  (to pass, to pass through)
bar-  (to go, to reach)  yāt-  (to reach)
kāt-  (to leave)  sal-  (to put into)
āvāt→-  (to send, to send off)  kōr-  (to see )
vāt-
tašla-  (to throw)  baq-  (to look at , to look after)
qal-  (to remain)  bol-  (to become, to be)

tur-  (to stay, to stand, to get  üt-  (to pass, to pass through)
up, to live)
yür-  (to walk, to move)  yet-  (to reach)
yot-  (to lie, to lie down)  sol-  (to put into)
ütrir-  (to sit)  kūr-  (to see )
bör-  (to go, to reach)  baq-  (to look at , to look after)
kel-  (to come )  bul-  (to become, to be)
ket-  (to leave)  qara-  (to look at)
yuñbor-  (to send, to send off)  basla-  (to start; to begin)
tašla-  (to throw)  bit-  (to be finished)
qol-  (to remain)  bil-  (to know)
qūy-  (to put, to put down)  yoz-  (to lose)
ol-  (to get, to take)  tuš-  (to come down)
bər-  (to give)  ǚl-  (to die)
čiq-  (to go out, to go up)

A. Hojiev gives the following list of Uzbek descriptive verbs: 16

Why is it that these verbs alone and not others are considered descriptive verbs?
Are there other verbs which could be classified into this group? Are there verbs among those listed above should not be included in this group? What are the criteria for singling out these verbs in particular? These questions have not been answered in previous studies. 17

In order to provide an answer to these questions and to arrive at a precise definition of descriptive verbs, I will examine the grammatical and semantic properties of descriptive verbs in 2.2.1, 2.2.2 and 2.2.3. In doing this, I will first analyze the grammatical and semantic properties of descriptive verbs in Uighur and Uzbek. Based on the analysis, I shall establish criteria for an operationally useful definition of what may be labeled as a descriptive verb.

2.2.1. The Structural Features of Descriptive Verbs

The verbs listed above are considered descriptive verbs only in a compound verbal structure. Outside of a compound verbal structure they cannot be regarded as descriptive verbs. They are autonomous verbs like all other verbs such as Uz. išla- (to work) ëyla- (to think), ye- (to eat). When they are used outside of a compound verbal structure, they are structurally independent and require or govern the noun associated with them to be in a specific case. Second, they can be a part of a sentence. The following examples illustrate the use of such verbs as autonomous verbs:

(11) Uo. Man bir amal qilip Urümčidä galimän. (Sabir, p. 25)
Finding a way, I will remain in Urumchi.

(12) Uo. U mūrānpťa qolini qovdi. (Sabir, p. 149)
He put his hands on my shoulders.

(13) Uz. Cöyni ičip bolgandan keyin qutidor fotcha qilip urnidan turdi. (Qodiriy, p. 31)
After having finished drinking tea, Qutidor prayed and stood up.
(14) Uz.  Men bugun Toşkentdan qiziq bir xat qoldim. (Qodiriy, p. 146)

I received an interesting letter from Tashkent.

In example (13) the verb qal- requires the noun Urümçi to be in the locative case, in other words, the verb qal- selects its object Urümçi. In (12) qoy- selects its indirect object mürəmpə and direct object qolini. In (13) tur- takes urnidan. In (14) əl- takes as its indirect object Toşkentdan and as a direct object xat. Moreover, the verbs in the above examples function as predicate of the sentences.

However, when these descriptive verbs combine with a converb, they are not structurally independent. They no longer govern any word, only the verb they combine with (the main verb) requires or governs a noun in a larger phrase. A descriptive verb in a compound verb cannot be a part of a sentence independently, only the compound verb as a whole can be a part of a sentence, namely, the predicate (or logical predicate). This is apparent from the following examples:

(15) Uz.  Ular üç atliqning qoylap keliwatqanliyini körüp geliptu. (Ötkür, p. 22)

They suddenly saw that three horsemen were chasing them.

(16) Uz.  Mən sizni Ala bilan tonuşturup qoyiman. (Sabir, p.78)

I will introduce you to Ala.

(17) Uz.  otajan, boşim hamon ovrip turadır. (Qodiriy, p. 30)

Dear father, I always have a headache.

(18) Uz.  Hoji sūzini tugata olmadı. (Qodiriy, p. 107)

Hoji was not able to finish his words.

In example (15) qal- does not require or govern any word, but the main verb kör- requires the verbal noun keliwatqanliq to be in the accusative case; in (16) qoy- does not select the object, but tonuştur- selects the direct object sizni and the indirect
object Ala bilan; in (17) tur-, and in (18) ol- do not require or govern any noun.

Furthermore, qal-, qoy-, tur- and ol- do not independently function as predicates. The compound verb as a whole carries this function in the above examples.

This fact shows that a descriptive verb is bound to a fixed position, and is structurally dependent on the main verb. Therefore, structural dependency is the distinctive structural feature of descriptive verbs.

2.2.2 Semantic Features of Descriptive Verbs

Most of the above verbs (see pp-11-12), with a few exceptions such as bol- (to be, to become), kür- (to see) etc., are motion verbs. They express movements of the human body. All of them are most commonly used words in every day life. It seems that this semantic characteristic makes it possible for these verbs to express general meanings when they are used in a compound verbal structure.

Secondly, when these verbs are used in a compound verbal combination, they are no longer independent verbs, and therefore do not express an action but indicate duration, manner or ability of the performance of an action by losing their original lexical meanings partially or completely. These meanings of descriptive verbs arise only within the limits of their given compound verbal combinations, outside of a compound verb they cannot denote these meanings. That is to say, they are semantically dependent on the compound verbal combinations. This may be explained by examples like the following:

(19) Ui. Tursun kitabini izdäp tapalmidi (tapa almidi).

Tursun searched for his book, but he could not find [it].

(20) Ui. Bu materiallarni gezittin köçürүweldim
(<köçürüp aldım).(Tömür, p.412)

I copied these materials from the newspaper.

(21) Uz. Üzim hazir jurnalda işlab turibman. (Cirtautas, p.
104) 

I am working for the magazine now.

(22) Uz.  
Gülçimän qattiq hoduqqinidin wagirgan təşlidi.

( Abdulla, p. 184)  
Because Gülçimän was terribly scared, she cried out.

(23) Uz.  
Suyuqlik kūp ićiğanidan qowqlar sিপ ketadi.

( Cirtautas, p. 17)  
Because too much liquid had been drunk, the eyelids swelled up [very much].

(24) Uz.  
Ciy içip ütirişiğan edi, bir qız kelip goldi.

( Ümarbekov, p. 29)  

As they were drinking tea, a girl came [unexpectedly].

In these sentences al-, tur-, tašla-, ket- and qal- are no longer independent verbs and they do not express the action, which instead is expressed by the main verb in a convivial form. They partly lost their original lexical meanings: in (19) al- does not express its original lexical meaning "to take, to get", but the ability of the subject's performance of the action. This modal meaning emerges only within the verbal combination tапa al- (to be able to find). Although the original lexical meaning al- has the potential possibility to indicate modal meaning in a compound verb, it is still unable to express modal meaning outside of a compound verb. In (20) the same verb al- does not express the actions "to take' or "to get", but denotes how the action köçür- (to copy) took place, namely, an action performed on behalf of the subject. In (22) tašla- (to throw) implies that the action is performed suddenly. In (23) ket- (to leave) indicates that the action took place intensively. In (21) tur- expresses a durative meaning. These durative, modal and aspectual meanings21 emerge only within the limits of a given compound verbal combination.
Finally, these meanings (durational, aspectual and modal) are common for all logically possible situations in which the compound verbs are used. This is also evident from the data of both languages. Although the degree of commonality of a specific descriptive verb in a specific language is different, any descriptive verb can combine at least with a group of verbs of the lexicon in a given language and indicate one of these meanings (durative, aspectual or modal). In the following chapters we will see that some of the descriptive verbs such as tu-r- and ya-t- can combine with almost all verbs, some of them like ka-t- and qa-l- can combine with most of the verbs, some of them can combine at least with a distinctive group of verbs.

2.2.3 Functional Features of Descriptive Verbs

From a functional point of view, a descriptive verb has three distinctive features. First, it does not affect the lexical meaning of the main verb with which it combines. In this respect, it resembles a grammatical suffix like a tense suffix.

Second, in a compound verbal combination a descriptive verb does not carry the lexical meaning of the compound verb structure. In other words, a descriptive verb is not the carrier of the lexical meaning of the whole compound verb. The lexical meaning of a compound verb is expressed by the preceding main verb. In this respect, a descriptive verb differs from an autonomous verb. It is mentioned above that a descriptive verb does not express an action itself, but that it indicates duration, manner of performance of the action or the subject's ability of performing the action. That is to say, it presents a grammatical relation, namely durational, aspectual and modal relations. Therefore, the function of a descriptive verb is grammatical.

Finally, a descriptive verb expresses these grammatical relations (meanings) only within a compound verb. Therefore, it is functionally dependent on the main verb it combines with. This can be illustrated by the following examples:
(25) Uz.  Ünîp közliridâ išanç wâ umit çaqnap turyan idi.

(Uiğhur tili məsəlikləri, p. 456)
In her eyes hope and confidence were shining.

(26) Uz.  --Siz bûlursız deh küçûlûmga ham kekmagan edî,--
dedi-da tayi kulib yubordî. (Qodiriy, p. 62)
"I did not think that it would be you," she said and suddenly
laughed again.

(27) Uz.  Muz:
--Men zûr bûlsam, kun menî erîta ə1rəmîdî?--
[dephî]. (Cirotunus, p. 63)
The ice said: "If I am strong, could the sun melt me?"

In the compound verb çaqnap tur- and kulub yubor- the descriptive verbs tur-
and yubor- do not affect the lexical meaning of the main verbs çaqna- (to shine) and
kul- (to laugh). The lexical meaning of these verbs, here used in the converbial form in
-p, remain unchanged after the descriptive verbs have been added. The verbs in the
converbial form carry the lexical meaning of the compound verbs. The descriptive verb
tur- marks the continuity of the action çaqna- in (25), and yubor- implies a sudden
performance of the action kul- in (26), whereas ə1- expresses the subject's ability of
performing the action in (27). These descriptive verbs express such grammatical relations
only within compound verb structures.

On the basis of the above analysis a definition of descriptive verbs can be made as
follows:

(i)  A descriptive verb is structurally dependent on the preceding main verb
which stands either in the converbial form -p or -a. This means: (a) a
descriptive verb must have the same object structure as the main verb of the
compound verb, it cannot select (require or govern) any object word, (b) a
descriptive verb in a compound verb cannot be a part of a sentence independently.

(ii) A descriptive verb is semantically dependent on the compound verbal structure: (a) The meaning of a descriptive verb arises only within the limits of the given verbal combination, (b) these meanings are common to all logically possible situations where a compound verbs can be used.

(iii) The function of descriptive verbs is not lexical but grammatical, consequently they are functionally dependent on the main verb. This means: (a) a descriptive verb does not constitute a new lexical unit, nor affect the lexical meaning of the main verb it combines with, but it forms a grammatical marker, (b) being a grammatical marker a descriptive verb expresses a grammatical relation (durational, aspectual or modal relation) as a component of a compound verb. 22

Descriptive verbs which satisfy these criteria are, on the one hand, similar to grammatical suffixes, e.g., verbal suffixes. Like a descriptive verb, (a) a verbal suffix is structurally as well as semantically dependent on the verb stem to which it is added; (b) a verbal suffix is functionally dependent on the verb stem to which it is added, and the function of a verbal suffix is to express a grammatical relation, like tense relation. On the other hand, descriptive verbs are different from verbal suffixes. A verbal suffix, as a morphological form, expresses a grammatical relation by means of suffixation, it is typologically synthetic; while descriptive verbs express grammatical relations syntactically, they are typologically analytic. Thus, descriptive verbs can be considered analytical forms. These properties of descriptive verbs show that they are in the process of grammaticalization, though the degree of grammaticalization of each descriptive verb is different in each language.

Although these criteria should enable us to separate most of the above descriptive
verbs (see pp.11-12) from lexical autonomous verbs, the separation is not so straightforward. Whatever criteria are selected for singling out descriptive verbs in Uighur and Uzbek, we will encounter borderline cases, and we will have to deal with some "marginal" descriptive verbs, because some of the descriptive verbs satisfy some but not all of the above criteria. For instance, within compound verbs the original lexical meaning of some descriptive verbs such as tur-, yur-, otlr- have not been completely lost in certain cases. This will be specifically discussed in chapter III and chapter IV. According to our criteria, bašla- (to start, to begin) and bil- (to know) in Uighur do not belong to the class of descriptive verbs; bašla- is not used in a compound verb in Uighur, consequently it does not satisfy any of these criteria. Although bil- in Uighur can be immediately preceded by a converb in -p (not by a converb in -a), it is neither semantically nor functionally dependent on the verb which it precedes. As for put- (to finish, to be finished) in Uighur; ül- (to die), bit- (to finish, to be finished) in Uzbek do not meet these criteria, therefore, they can not be grouped into descriptive verbs. In Uzbek, bašla- (to start, to begin), bil- (to know), tuš- (to come down) and qara- (to look at) do not meet some of these criteria. Therefore, I call them "marginal descriptive verbs" and I will deal with them one by one in chapter III and chapter IV.

The existence of "marginal" descriptive verbs in each language and the application of the same criteria to two languages makes it difficult to have a clear cut separation of descriptive verbs. Nevertheless, for analysis and description of compound verbs in both languages to be consistent and reliable the criteria employed have to be the same. Therefore, I will employ these criteria throughout this study and here by applying them I singled out the following descriptive verbs:

Descriptive verbs in Uighur:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tur-} & \quad \text{(to stay, to stand, to get)} \\
\text{qoy-} & \quad \text{(to put, to put down)} \\
\text{up, to live)} \\
\end{align*}
\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yur-</th>
<th>(to walk, to move)</th>
<th>al-</th>
<th>(to get, to take)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yat-</td>
<td>(to lie, to lie down)</td>
<td>bär-</td>
<td>(to give)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>käl-</td>
<td>(to come )</td>
<td>čiq-</td>
<td>(to go out, to go up)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar-</td>
<td>(to go, to reach)</td>
<td>öt-</td>
<td>(to pass, to pass through)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kät-</td>
<td>(to leave)</td>
<td>yät-</td>
<td>(to reach)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avät-</td>
<td>(to send, to send off)</td>
<td>sal-</td>
<td>(to put into)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wät-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tašla-</td>
<td>(to throw)</td>
<td>baq-</td>
<td>(to look at , to look after)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qal-</td>
<td>(to remain)</td>
<td>bol-</td>
<td>(to become, to be)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Marginal descriptive verbs in Uighur:

oltur-   | (to sit)            |

Descriptive verbs in Uzbek:

tur-     | (to stay, to stand, to get up, to live) |
|         | qûy-    | (to put, to put down) |
| yur-     | (to walk, to move) | ol-    | (to get, to take) |
| yot-     | (to lie, to lie down) | ber-    | (to give)        |
| bor-     | (to go, to reach)  | čiq-    | (to go out, to go up) |
| kel-     | (to come )         | yet-    | (to reach)       |
| ket-     | (to leave)         | sol-    | (to put into)    |
| yubor-   | (to send, to send off) | kûr-    | (to see )        |
| tašla-   | (to throw)         | baq-    | (to look at , to look after) |
| qol-     | (to remain)        | bûl-    | (to become, to be) |

Marginal descriptive verbs in Uzbek:

qara-    | (to look at)        | bil-    | (to know)      |
| bašla-   | (to start)          | yoz-    | (to lose)      |
2.3 Compound Verbs and Other Types of Verbal Combinations

In this section, compound verbs will be separated from other types of verbal combinations by relying on the distinctive grammatical properties of compound verbs in Uighur and Uzbek. This section will be the descriptive basis for accounting for meanings and usage of compound verbs in chapter III and chapter IV.

First, some of the general problems regarding the compound verbs and their classification in Uighur and Uzbek will be discussed. Reading literature on Turkic linguistics, we get the impression that the definition of "compound verbs" or "verbal composition" is neither uniform nor consistent. Consequently, the classifications presented vary. For instance, "compound verbs" are called in Uighur murijkap peillalir* (complex verbs) and in Uzbek qarim fe'llar (compound verbs). In Uighur and Uzbek grammars, compound verbs include two types of verbal combinations. Type 1 is the combination of a noun and a verb, for instance, Uz. hurmat qil- (to respect), yordam ber- (to give help). Type 2 is the combination of a converb in -a or -p and a descriptive verb, for instance, Uz. kür-a ol- (to be able to see), aytip ber- (to tell to someone).

Karl H. Menges uses term "verbal composition" for verbal combinations in the Turkic languages which includes the above Type 2, but not Type 1. He, however, recognizes Uz. ol-ar edilar (they used to take) as a verbal composition consisting of a noun and followed by the past tense of e-/ar- (to be). Menges classifies the into two groups: "Type I is the composition of one of the nomina verbalia 'temporis' (of tense or tense like function) with a form of an auxiliary having the meaning of 'to be'". Type I includes the composition of the nomen aoristi+the perfectum of a-ol-ar ärдilar (they used to take). Type II "is composition of a nomen verbale that usually functions only
as a gerund -- those are almost exclusively the gerunds in -a and -p -- with an auxiliary such as tur- (to stand, dwell, be), jor- or jür (to run, work), ber- (to give), jat- (to lie), qal- (to remain) qoj- (to lay, place) sal- (to put), ket- (to go away) and many others, since a large number of verbs can be used auxiliaries without loosing their function as main verbs.  

Apparently all these classifications are based only on formational criteria. The position adopted in the above classifications is that verbal combinations including Type 1 and Type 2 are divided according to their syntactic formations. Of course every definition and classification is conventional and arbitrary. From the point of their structure, it is true that these verbal combinations are formed not morphologically by means of suffixation, but syntactically by means of descriptive verbs, consequently they are considered analytic forms. However, Type 1 and Type 2 do not have exactly the same syntactic properties. Furthermore, they show significant differences in terms of grammatical functions as well as semantic properties. Hojjiev also mentions that they have different structural features and functions. Therefore, we cannot group these two different types of verbal combinations into one category. In formulating definitions and classifications of a linguistic category "it is adequate to consider the three levels of linguistic structure" (form, function, semantics). 

If we do not consider these three criteria at the same time, we will run the risk of broadening too much our notion, and we will not be able to separate compound verbs from other types of verbal combinations. Therefore, I shall examine the syntactic, morphological and semantic properties of the above types of verbal combinations by comparing them. 

To illustrate the grammatical and semantic differences among the above types, I will group them as follows for the sake of convenience:

Type 1: Combination of noun plus verb: Uz. hurmat qil- (to respect), (Type 1 in Uzbek and Uighur grammars).
Type 2: Aorist verbal noun plus e- (to be) (Type I according to Menges).

Type 3: Converb plus descriptive verbs (Type II in Menges’ study and Type 2 in Uzbek as well as in Uighur grammars).

Type 1 includes two kinds of verbal combinations. The first kind consists of a noun with verbs like, Uz. qil- (to do), būl- (to be, to become), et- (to do), ayla- (to do); Ui. qil- (to do), bol- (to be, to become), at- (to do), aylā- (to do). I might call it Type 1(i). The second kind is a combination of a noun or an adjective with certain verbs. For instance, Uz. kūngil qūy- (lit: to put to heart, i.e. to concentrate one’s attention). These kind of verbal combinations are actually idiomatic verbal phrases. I might call them Type 1(ii).

2.3.1 Grammatical and Semantic Properties of Type 1

2.3.1.1 Structural Features

1. Type 1(i) is formed with two words. The first component is a noun which are composed largely of loan words from Arabic, Persian or other languages. The second component are verbs, such as Uz. qil- (to do), būl- (to be, to become), et- (to do) and ayla- (to do); Ui. qil- (to do), bol- (to be, to become), at- (to do) and aylā- (to do). These verbs added to most nouns, and change the noun into the verbal category, for example, Uz. hurmat (respect) > hurmat qil- (to respect).

Type 1(ii) is formed at least with two words, the first component is a noun or an adjective, the second component is a verb. Unlike Type 1(i), both components of Type 1(ii) are arbitrary, that is to say, we cannot predict which noun can function as the first component and which verbs could be used as the second component, e. g.

(28) Uz. Ziyadaxan unīq sūziga šunčali qiziqip qulaq soldi. (Ma’rufov, p. 616)

Ziyadaxan was so interested in his words and listened to it.
(29) Uy.  
Homay Nāzārbayninin gielin bir siğan ikān.
Nāzārbayninin jeni tumšuqqa kekip qaptu. (Uighur xalq čöçäldir, p. 159)
The old woman seized Nāzārbay by the throat. Nāzārbay was on
the verge of death.

In (28) qulaq sol- (to listen to, lit.: to place one's ear), and in (29) jan tumšuqqa
kāl- (to be on the verge of death; lit.: the soul comes to one's nose) are fixed idiomatic
verbal expressions.

2. Structurally, Type 1(i) is indivisible, that is to say, any linguistic unit, such
as a suffix, a word or a phrase cannot be inserted between the two components. For
example:

(30) Uz.  
Kičkinagina xizmatingni kattakan xalq nazorat
gilip baryapti. (Cirtautas, p. 53)
A great people is watching your tiny work.

(31) Uy.  
Mān kilassik ādabiyatimizdin birār tal tašni
kötirip čiqip, xalqimizga taqdim qilalisam
özamni bāxtlik his qilimān. (Sabir, p. 39)
If I can bring out one stone from our classical literature and if I can
present it to our people, I feel lucky.

No linguistic unit can be inserted between nazorat and qil- in (30), taqdim and
qil-, his and qil- in (31).

Structurally, some members of Type 1(ii) are indivisible, while others are not. For
example, in (28) qulaq sol- is indivisible; in (29) the third person possessive suffix +i
is inserted into the idiomatic phrase jan tumšuqqa kāl-.

3. In both Type 1(i) and Type 1(ii) only the second part takes all the verbal
inflexional suffixes, such as tense, personal ending and converbial suffixes. Of course, the
conversial form of Type 1 can combine with descriptive verbs, as in (29) and (30).

2.3.1.2 The Functional Features

Type 1(i) is used as one indivisible lexical unit in a larger construction. It functions as a single verb and it can only be one part of a speech in a sentence. For instance, in (28) qulaq soldi serves as the predicate of the sentence. The function of the second component (the verbs qil-, bul-, etc.) is to create new verbs from the first component. In this sense, its function is the same as that of derivational suffixes +la-, +lan-, and they can replace one another in some cases. For example, in Uz. hurmat qil- (to respect), the second component qil- creates a new verb from hurmat (respect), and qil- can be replaced by the verbal derivational suffixes +la-, as in hurmat+la- (to respect).

The verbal combinations of Type 1(ii) are idiomatic, fixed expressions in the lexicon and are regarded as one lexical unit. Regardless of its internal structure, it is also used as one word in a larger construction. It can only be one part of speech in a sentence. For example, in (29) jenī tumšuqiya kel- is used as one verb, and together with qaptu it serves as the predicate of the sentence.

2.3.1.3 Semantic Features

We have seen that although Type 1(i) consists of two words, it is semantically an indivisible lexical unit. That is to say, the lexical meaning of the combination comes from both components, if one of the components is deleted, the lexical meaning of the combination will be lost. The second component is not used to denote a grammatical meaning such as tense meaning, but, like verbal derivational suffixes, it changes the nominal class meaning of the first component (a noun) into a verb. For instance, in (30) nazorat qil- stands as one lexical unit in the sentence, the lexical meaning of
nazorat qil- (to supervise) comes from both nazorat and qil-. In order to keep this lexical meaning we cannot separate nazorat from qil-, and qil- changes the noun nazorat (supervision) into the verb nazorat qil- (to supervise). The meanings of nazorat and nazorat qil- are different. Type 1 (i), as a whole combination, semantically denotes one action, there is no other grammatical meaning attached to it. For example, Uz. nazorat qil- names the action (to supervise, to watch), as distinct from other actions like isla- (to work) and hurmatla- (to respect).

Type 1(ii) also consists of at least two words, like Type 1(i), all components contribute to the lexical meaning of the combination. The meaning of this new lexical unit is different from the meaning of any component. The last component does not denote a grammatical meaning. For instance, in (28) qulaq sol- belongs to Type 1(ii), qulaq is a noun with the meaning "ear", sol- is a verb with the meaning "to put into, to place". The meaning of the combination qulaq sol- is "to listen to", and, as a new lexical unit, it acquired a meaning which differs from either qulaq or sol-. Although qulaq sol- (to listen to) is related to qulaq (ear), the phrase is semantically and lexically different from either qulaq or sol-. The last component sol- does not denote a grammatical meaning. Semantically, Type 1(ii) is an idiomatic verbal phrase, and it denotes one action regardless of its structure. As we see in the example, qulaq sol- only states the action (to listen to) as being distinct from other actions.

From the examination of the grammatical and semantic properties of Type 1, we can draw the following conclusion:

Type 1(i) is formed with two words, but it is a structurally and semantically indivisible new lexical unit. The second component, consisting of specific verbs, mostly qil- and bol-, contributes to the lexical meaning of the combination and it does not carry a grammatical meaning. We can see that Type 1(i) has all the grammatical and semantic properties of so-called compound words (including compound verbs) in general
linguistics, therefore, we could have considered them as compound verbs. However, in Turkic linguistics, the term "compound verb" mainly refers to the combination of Type 3, therefore in this study this traditional term will be used. To differentiate Type 1(i) from Type 3, we will call Type 1(i) complex verbs.

Type 1(ii) is formed with at least two words. Like Type 1(i), it represents a semantically indivisible unit, and functions as one word in a sentence. All the components contribute to the lexical meaning of the combination, and the last component does not carry any grammatical meaning, except expressing a class (verbal) meaning. However, unlike Type 1(i) which consists of predictable components, Type 1(ii) has no predictable components. It is a fixed idiomatic verbal composition. Hence, it cannot be classified into the compound verbal category, but it belongs to the idiomatic verbal phrase category.

This conclusion raises two questions relevant to our discussion. First, what are the verbal stems in Uighur and Uzbek? What kind of structures are used as verbs -- as single lexical units-- in a larger syntactic structure, specifically what is the formation of verbal stems Uzbek and Uigur? Second, what is the relationships between Type 1, Type 2 and Type 3? Below I shall review the formation of verbal stems to give an answer to the first question, and then analyze the grammatical and semantic properties of Type 2 and Type 3 where we can find an answer to the second question.

From the point of view of their formation, verbal stems can be divided into simple and complex verbal stems.

Simple verbal stems:

(a) Root stem, identical with the root of the verb: Uz. kūl- (to laugh), ič- (to drink); Ui. tol- (to fill, to be filled), bas- (to press).

(b) Primary derivative stems formed by adding derivational suffixes to a nominal stem (noun or an adjective). For instance, Uz. sūz+la- (to speak), yaxší+la- (to improve); Ui. igsaw+la- (to work),
aq+ar- (to become white).

(c) Secondary derivative stems formed by adding causative, reflexive passive, communative verbal suffixes to a root or to a primary derivative stem. For example, Uz. kul-dir- (to cause someone to laugh), ič-kiz- (to make someone drink) sūz-la-t- (to cause to speak), yaxši+la-n- (to be improved); Ui. tol-yuz- (to fill, to cause to fill), bas-tur- (to suppress) iš+lat- (to cause to work, to use), aq+ar-t- (to cause to become white).

Since the verbal combinations of Type 1(i) and Type 1(ii) can be used as one lexical unit, just like simple verbal stems, and can take all inflectional suffixes, we can include them into the verbal stem system. However, in order to differentiate them from simple verbal stems, we will call them "complex verbal stems".

Thus, complex verbal stems include Type 1(i) and Type 1(ii).

2.3.2 Grammatical and Semantic Properties of Type 2

2.3.2.1 Structural Features

Type 2 includes: (a) combinations of the aorist form in-ar\(^{31}\) and the auxiliary verb e- (to be)\(^{32}\); (b) combinations of the past adjectival participle in -gan\(^{33}\) and the auxiliary verb e-; (c) combinations of the habitual adjectival participle in -digan\(^{34}\) and the auxiliary verb e-. It is obvious that this type structurally also consists of two words. The first component is as an unchangeable frozen verbal form (non-finite form). Simple verbal stems and complex verbal stems (Type 1) can function as the first component. This means that Type 2 can contain Type 1. For instance:

(32) Uz. Bizniň yigitni ham, katta maçoafani piyoda bosgani učummi, kun xiyla betogat qilgan edi.

(Šobdurahmonov, p. 355)
The weather also made our young man quit uncomfortable, maybe because he had made a long journey by foot.

In this sentence Type 1 betqat qil- is the first component of Type 2 betqat qilgan e-. The second component is the auxiliary verb e- (to be) which conjugates with inflexional suffixes. In the example given it takes the recent-past tense suffix -di.

2.3.2.2 Functional and Semantic Features

Type 2, produced by an unchangeable form of a verb (aorist or participle) and the auxiliary verb e-, carries the same lexical meaning as the first verb. Unlike in Type 1, the two words do not create a new lexical unit with a meaning different from either the first or second word. On the contrary, Type 2 and the first verb in Type 2 express an identical lexical meaning (one and the same action). The first verb carries the lexical meaning of the combination, and serves as the lexical part of the combination; the second component, e-, functions as the grammatical marker, and it expresses the following grammatical meanings:

1. In Uzbek and Uighur, the aorist form -ar together with the recent-past tense suffixes of the auxiliary verb e- (edi, etc.) expresses the habitual-past tense, e.g.

   (33) Uz.  Uni men bar kuni kürardim (<kür-ar e-dim).

   (Cirtautas, p. 87)

   I used to see him every day.

The aorist form in -ar together with ekan expresses in Uzbek habitual past, an action of which the speaker had only heard later:

   (34) Uz.  Zumrad bar kun bulaq bašiga barar ekan. (Uzbek ertaklari, 6)

   [I learned later that] Zumrad used to go to the spring every day.

2. In Uzbek and Uighur the past participle form -gan together with the recent-past tense suffixes of the auxiliary verb e- expresses a distant-past tense. 35
The grammatical and semantic properties of the verbal combinations of Type 2 show that they are analytical tense form of verbs.

2.3.3 Grammatical and Semantic Properties of Type 3 (Compound verbs)

2.3.3.1 Structural Features

1. Type 3 is also formed with two words, but the first component is a verb which takes the converbial suffixes in –a or –b, the second component is a descriptive verb. Unlike Type 1, any verb or verbal phrase (including Type 1) with the converbial suffix of –a or –b can function as the first component of Type 3. The relationship between Type 1 and Type 3 is that Type 1 can only be the first component of Type 3. This means that Type 3 can contain Type 1. The example (29) and the following example illustrate this:

(35) Uz. Yor, seni üylap tursam, kūngil buzilip ketti.

(Abdurahmonov, p. 416)

My dear, when I was thinking about you, my heart broke suddenly.

In (29) Type 1(ii) jan tumšuqqa kāl– together with the converbial suffix in –ip is the first component of Type 3 jan tumšuqqa kelip qal–. In (35) Type 1(ii) kūngil buzil–, as a complex verbal stem which combined with the converbial suffix in –ip, serves as the first component of Type 3 kūngil buzilip ket–. In both examples, Type 3 embodies Type 1. The whole combination of Type 3 can be the first component of Type 2, as exemplified by the following sentences:


Sometimes my grandmother çyimqiz xola used to tell stories for us.

(37) Ui. Turpan, Pičan tāraplārdimu dixanlarınş qozylayliri bašlinip kātkān idi. (Ötkür, p. 324)

Peasants’ uprisings started immediately also in Turpan and Pičan.
The combination aytīp ber- in (36) and başlinip kāt- in (37) can also serve as the first component of Type 2: aytīp berardī (ber-ar edi) and başlinip kātkān idi.

The choice for the second component of Type 3 is, however, very restricted. Only the above stated limited number of descriptive verbs can function as the second component (see pp. 20-22).

2. Type 3 is structurally not indivisible. It is possible to insert an emphatic particle or the comparative adverbial suffix rəq between the two components, for example:

(38) Uz. Gap bilan awara būlip, kečikip ham galiqmān. (Abduraxmonov, p. 372)
Because I was busy talking, I was also late.

(39) Uz. Çiraqning piligini kūtarib rəq qūrdi. (Abduraxmonov, p. 372)
He lifted the thread of the candle a little bit.

The negative verbal suffix can be inserted between the first and the second components, e.g.

(40) Uz. Mūlla Burhon ham Sitarning kelišini kutib, biron yerga čiqmay turibdi. (Abduraxmonov, p. 380)
Waiting for Sitar to come, Mūlla Burhon was staying without going out anywhere.

(41) Uz. Adām bāzidā tasadipī bir bāxtkā erišsa, isānymaymu galiqdu. (Turdi, p. 110)
If a person sometimes gets happiness unexpectedly, he/she does not even believe it.

3. The first component does not take any suffix except the negative suffix,
while the second component can take all inflexional suffixes of the verbal category, including the negative suffix.

Compound verbs have three types of negation. Normally, the negation is formed by adding the verbal negative suffix -ma- to a compound verb, i.e., the verbal negative suffix is added to the descriptive verb. This negation might be called the first type of the negative. Almost all compound verbs permit this type of negation which simply negates the meanings expressed in the positive form of a compound verb. Therefore, when I describe the meanings of compound verbs in chapter III and chapter IV, I will not specify the meaning of the first type of negation. In the second type of negation the negative suffix is added to the converb. In the third type of negation the negative suffix is added to the converb as well as to the descriptive verb (double negation). Not all compound verbs allow the application of the second or the third type of negation. These types of negation express specific meanings which differ from one compound verb to another. They will be explained in connection with specific compound verbs in chapter III and chapter IV.

2.3.3.2 Functional Features

In Type 3, as a resultant form produced by a converb (the main verb) and a descriptive verb (the second verb), has the same lexical meaning as the main verb. Unlike in Type 1, the two words in Type 3 do not create a new lexical unit with a meaning different from the first or the second word. On the contrary, the compound verb and the first verb express an identical lexical meaning (one and the same action). In other words, the first component expresses the action, and carries the lexical meaning of the combination. It functions as the lexical part of the combination. The second component, as mentioned above (see p. 17), functions as the grammatical marker, and expresses grammatical meanings. Thus, we have Type 3, a verbal combination which is, on the one hand, lexically identical to the main verb, but is grammatically different from the main verb on the other hand. This can be
illustrated by taking the following examples:

(42) Uz. Qizini bunçalik falakatka solgan xatni uqib ciqti. (Qodiry, p. 174)

He read through the letter that made his daughter so miserable.

The verbal combination in (42) ūqib ċiq- (to read through), produced by ūqib (having read) and ċiq- (to go out), is lexically the same verb as ūqi- (to read); the two verbs do not create a new lexical unit with a meaning different from ūqi- or ċiq-. On the contrary, ūqib ċiq- and oqi- express one and the same action (to read). In the compound verb ūqib ċiq-, ūqib expresses the action, carries the lexical meaning of the combination, and serves as the lexical part of the combination. The second component ċiq- functions as the grammatical marker. It expresses that the action is performed thoroughly. ċiq- denotes the relationship between the action itself and the speaker’s observation of how the action is performed. In other words it carries the grammatical meaning. Hence, ūqib ċiq- has the same lexical meaning as ūqi-, but it is grammatically different from ūqi-.

Moreover, the first component can combine with a number of other descriptive verbs. Thus, we get a set of varieties of the “same verb”. For example, in Uzbek the possible set of varieties of the verb ūqi- are the following:

ūqib tur-
ūqib otir-
ūqib bor-
ūqib ket-
ūqib ċiq-
ūqib ol-
ūqib ber-
ūqib qūy-
ūqib yoṛ-
ūqib yur-
ūqib kel-
ūqib būl-
ūqib ět--
ūqiy ol-
ūqiy ber-
ūqib qöl-
The question is whether these compound verbs should be considered different lexical verbs derived from ʊqī-, and whether they should consequently be classified into the lexical category or whether they are varieties of the same verb. The answer is clear. They are not considered separate lexical verbs, but grammatically different forms (analytical forms) of the verb ʊqī-. For this reason even the most extensive Uzbek and Uighur dictionaries do not list compound verbs as separate verbs. 36

2.3.3.3 Semantic Properties:

Compound verbs are semantically complex. Their complexity is represented in the following four semantic characteristics:

The first semantic characteristic of a compound verb (Type 3) is that, unlike Type 1, it not only denotes an action, but it also expresses a grammatical meaning. Thus, Type 3 has two elements of meaning. The first is lexical, and the second is grammatical. The above forms of the verb ʊqī- denote these two elements of meaning.

The second semantic characteristic is that in contrast to Type 2 which only expresses one grammatical meaning, namely tense, the different members of Type 3 denote various grammatical meanings. While the lexical meaning of the above forms of the verb ʊqī- is the same, they denote also various grammatical meanings, such as duration, manner or ability of performing an action. The differences in meaning are not expressed lexically by an independent word, but grammatically by descriptive verbs. The semantic characteristic of Type 3 can be illustrated by the following examples:

(43) Uz. Hasan Ali ʊzini tuta olmay kulib yubordi. (Qodiriy,
Hasan Ali could not help himself from laughing suddenly.

You should have better known that interesting character of your son-in-law.

In (43) the sudden performance of the action (to laugh) is not expressed lexically by an independent word, but grammatically by the analytical form -b yubor-. Here yubor- is not used as an independent verb. When it is used as an independent verb, it does not have the meaning "to do something suddenly", its meaning "to send, to send off". It is hard to associate this meaning with the meaning "to do something suddenly". This meaning appears only within the verbal combinations such as kul-ip yubor-. In (43) the ability to perform the action is expressed by -a o'l-. It seems that an ability here is expressed lexically, but actually it is not. Because, when o'l- is used independently as an autonomous verb, it does not have the lexical meaning "to be able to", although its lexical meaning "to take, to get, to take some thing by force" somehow can be associated abstractly to the meaning "to be able to", however, "to take, to get, to take something by force" is lexically and semantically different from "to be able to". This meaning only arises in the verbal combination -a o'l- where o'l- is dependent on the combination structurally, lexically and semantically. The same verb o'l- expresses a different meaning when it combined with the converbial from -b: "to do something for the benefit of the subject" as, e.g., in the compound verb bilip o'l- in (44), and this meaning only arises within the verbal combination bilip o'l- where o'l- is not a lexically independent verb, but part of the analytical form -p o'l-. This fact demonstrates that the grammatical meaning of the combination is not expressed lexically, but grammatically. Furthermore, variants of the compound verbs express different grammatical meanings, as seen in the above examples.
The third semantic characteristic of Type 3 (compound verbs) is that while some forms of compound verbs denote only one definite grammatical meaning, others indicate various meanings depending on the context and the lexical meaning of the main verb. For instance, üqib bül- has only one meaning, namely, completion of the action, while üqib ket- denotes several meanings. One would like to be able to detect a definite, concrete meaning for each form of compound verbs, but this seems to be impossible. However, after analyzing separately the various meanings attached to each form of compound verb in Uighur and Uzbek, I will attempt to derive a general characterization for each form chapter in III and chapter IV.

Finally, another semantic characteristic of Type 3 is that different forms of a compound, for instance, üqib tur-, üqib yet-, üqib yur- express basically the same meaning, although they are not completely identical in nuance. Therefore, one can classify the above listed twenty forms of the verb üqı- into a few groups according to a general common meanings. This can be done with other variant form of compound verb, too (see pp.129-134 and pp. 209-217).

While the semantic complexity of compound verbs provides the possibility to describe an action in a very nuanced way, it also causes a difficulty in determining and describing the meanings of compound verbs. For instance, when a native speaker wants to refer to an action, for example üqı-, he/she chooses one of the above forms of compound verbs (see pp. 34-35) or the simple verb üqı-. Thus, he/she has about twenty forms of the same verb (lexically the same but grammmatically different in nuance) from which to choose. Despite their complexity, compound verbs are frequently used in both the spoken and the written language. It shows that there is a basis or reason underlining a choice of a native speaker to use one or another form of compound verbs or a simple form of a verb. There are several factors involved. First of all, it is the relationship between compound
verbs and non-compound verbs in terms of form and meaning. This relationship will be
discussed in the next section (see pp. 39-41). The second is the meaning and the
grammatical function of each variant of compound verbs. In addition to these two main
factors, there are other factors which can affect the specific meaning and uses of a
compound verb in the actual language. Probably they include: a) the fundamental meaning
of a descriptive verb in a compound verb, b) the lexical meaning of the first verb, c)
adverbs which are used together with a compound verb, d) a larger linguistic environment,
e) non-linguistic background information, f) stylistic consideration, g) subjective choice of
the speaker (writer). How these factors affect the meaning and usage of each variant of a
compound verb will be explored in the next chapters where meanings and usage of each
variant of compound verbs are presented.

To conclude, Type 3 is formed with two verbs, the first component is the
converbial suffix in -a or -p, the second component consists of a limited number of
descriptive verbs which I listed above (see pp. 20-22). In this study only this type of
verbal combination (Type 3) is called compound verbs. A compound verb does not create
a new lexical unit. The lexical meaning of a compound verb is the same as the meaning of
its first component. Therefore, compound verbs do not belong to the lexical category. The
first verb expresses the action, and carries the lexical meaning of the whole combination.
The second component together with the converbial suffix in -a or -p functions as the
grammatical marker, and expresses grammatical relations (durational, aspectual or modal
relation). Compound verbs are variants of analytical forms of a verb, they pertain to the
grammatical category. Compound verbs are semantically complex. The complexity
manifests itself as follows: (a) compound verbs denote various grammatical meanings; (b)
some compound verbs denote one definite grammatical meaning; (c) some compound verbs
indicate several meanings; (d) many compound verbs indicate basically identical meanings.
The complexity and differences in meaning are intuitively clear to a native speaker,
however, it requires more than intuition to understand the precise definition of meaning of each form, and to explain the interrelations among them. It needs an extensive research and a detailed discussion.

2.4 Compound Verbs versus Non-compound Verbs

In establishing the relationship between compound verbs and other types of verbs, it is useful to apply the concept of privative opposition. According to I. Robert Binnick, "in privative opposition, one of the members, the one positively defined, is explicitly marked, either by a morphological marker or a syntactic one. Hence it is called the 'marked' member of the opposition; the member not so marked is called 'unmarked'. The assumption is that explicit markers generally reflect opposition in meaning, and that opposition in meaning are generally reflected in explicit markers. ....'Marked' is used for the member of an opposition which is semantically more specific, and 'unmarked' for the one which is non-specific." 37 The application of the logical concept of privative opposition to the category of compound verbs of Uzbek and Uighur can be outlined in this way: Compound verbs and non-compound verbs: Non-compound verbs are not marked, they include simple and complex stems of verbs (see pp. 28-29). The basic function of a non-compound verb is simply to name the action such as the simple verb stem Uz. kul- names the action (to laugh), as distinct from Uz. yilya- (to cry) etc.; a complex verb stem Uz. nazorat qil-, names the action (to supervise, to watch), as distinct from hurmat qil- (to respect) etc.; the idiomatic verbal phrase Uz. qulaq sol- names the action (to listen to), as distinct from kungiil qurb- (to pay attention). Therefore, when a speaker of Uighur or Uzbek chooses a non-compound verb, he/she simply wants to state the fact that such an event or an action occurs (occurred). As a result, a non-compound verb lacks specific meaning.

Compound verbs are marked by a syntactic marker, namely, by the converbial
suffix -p or -a and the descriptive verbs. The general function of compound verbs is to express duration, manner or ability of performing an action, consequently, the meaning of a compound verb is more specific. Therefore, a speaker uses a compound verb to specify how or in what manner, in what duration an action takes place (took place). Compare the following examples:

(45) Uz (Урта Осиёдаги) Араблар үз тилин камдан-кам билиди ва асқан үз атрофидаги қалқлар тилида сүзласди. (Cirtautas, p. 3)

In Central Asia Arabs rarely know their own language, and they basically speak the language of the people in their surrounding area.

(46) Uz Сабунлар ва құлылар Урта Осиёдаги асқасы қалқларын тиларда (мәсілан, Узбек тилида) ән бәмалол сүзласвадылар. (Cirtautas, p.3)

Local Jews and Gypsies [despite their nationality] speak the language of the majority people of Central Asia (for instance, Uzbek) fluently.

In (45) the writer uses the non-compound verb сүзлас- (to speak with each other, to converse) simply to state the fact that "in Central Asia Arabs basically speak the language of the people in their surrounding area". In (46) the same writer uses the compound verb сүзласавер- < сүзлас-а бер- to specify how or in what manner the action performs, namely, the action takes place despite a certain factor, "despite being local Jews and Gypsies, they speak fluently".

Compound verbs are more frequently used than non-compound verbs, especially in the spoken language of Uighur and Uzbek. One of the reason of it, the Turkic languages originally lacked adverbs of manner and degree such as English "fast, frequently, suddenly", 38 adverbs of duration or repetition, such as English "continuously, repeatedly,"
often". Modal verbs, like English "can, may" are non-existent in the Turkic languages. At a later stage in the history of the Turkic languages, adverbs of manner and degree were borrowed from Arabic or Persian. Instead of adverbs of manner, duration and modal verbs the Turkic languages use compound verbs expressing those meanings.

2.5 Compound Verbs versus Syntactic Verbal Phrases

There is a close connection between compound verbs and syntactic verbal phrases, and they are not easily to be distinguished due to their structural similarity. In present Uighur and Uzbek they have different syntactic, phonetic structures, and syntactic functions as well as semantic meanings, and they can be basically recognized according to these features.

2.5.1 Differences in Syntactic Structures

The first component of both a syntactic verbal phrase and a compound verb is a verb with a convivial suffix -b or -a. However, whereas any autonomous verb can be the second component of a syntactic verbal phrase, only a limited number of descriptive verbs (see pp. 20-22) functions the second component of a compound verb. Compare the examples:

(47) a) Uz. Íkkü şi tramway kelip tür tädi.
The second trolleybus came and stopped. (Cirtautas, p. 92)

(48) b) Uz. Birdan türiböy oldidan bir eski tandır cigib
gölibdi. (Uzbek ertakları, p. 109)
Suddenly an old tandur appeared in front of Türibay.

(49) a) Ui. Sarä tötinçi sinip yéniklik qiptu, san bāşinçi
sinipqa cigip oquvín. (Sabir, p.169)
[It was learned that] Fourth grade is easy for you, you go up to fifth grade and study.
(50) b) Uz.  U xaltini aldi-da, kāynigimu qarimay ketip qaldi.

(Dugayli, p. 8)

As soon as she took the bag, she left without looking back.

In group (a) of the above sentences the second component of the syntactic verbal phrases kelip tüxta- and čiqip oqu- are the autonomous verbs tüxta- and oqu-, while the second component of the compound verbs in group (b) is the descriptive verbs qol- / qal-.

Words and phrases can be inserted between the components of syntactic verbal phrases, in other words, they can be expanded freely; with the exception of the verbal negative suffix, emphatic particles or the comparative adverbial suffix raq, no words or phrases can be inserted between the components of compound verbs. The words which can be inserted between the syntactic verbal phrases given above (48-50) are exemplified in the following examples:

(51) Uz.  Ikkinči tramway kelip šu verda tüxtadi.

The second trolleybus came and stopped at that place.

(52) Uz.  Sana tōtinči sinip yeniklik qiptu, san bāsinči sinipqa čiqip šu sinipta oquyn.

[It was learned that] fourth grade is easy for you, you go up to fifth grade and study in that class.

2.5.2 Differences in Phonetic Structures

In a syntactic verbal phrase both components receive a primary stress. In a compound verb only the first component has a primary stress. Furthermore, in a syntactic verbal phrase, it is obligatory to have a short pause after the first component. In a compound verb it is not acceptable to insert a pause after the first component. It can be illustrated by taking the above examples:
(47) a) Uz. İkkinči tramway kelip tŭxtadi.

The second trolleybus came and stopped.

(48) b) Uz. Birdan Tūryiboy oldidan bir eksi tandır ciqib qolibdi. (Uzbek ertaklari, p.109)

Suddenly an old tandur appeared in front of Tūryibay

(49) a)Ui. Sana tōtincī sinip yenilik qiptu, san bāsinčī sinipga ciqip oquyn. (Sabir, p.169)

[It was learned that] fourth grade is easy for you, you go up to fifth grade and study.

(50) b)Ui. U xaltañi aldi-da, kāynigimu qarimay ketip qaldi. (Dugayli, p.8)

As soon as she took the bag, she left without looking back.

2.5.3 Differences in Syntactic Function

The second component of a syntactic verbal phrase functions independently as one part of a sentence. For instance, in group (a), both tŭxtadi and oquyn are independently the predicate of the sentences. In contrast, the second component of a compound verb cannot function independently as part of a sentence.

2.5.4 Differences in Semantic Meanings

Both components of a syntactic verbal phrase keep their original lexical meanings, consequently, it expresses two actions. It is obvious that two actions occurred (or will occur) in all examples of in group (a). A compound verb expresses that only one action occurs, see examples of group (b). Other distinctive semantic features of compound verbs which syntactic verbal phrases do not possess have been explained on pp. 35-38.
In conclusion, syntactic verbal phrases and compound verbs can be recognized. One clue of differentiation is the structural difference. If there is an autonomous verb, not a descriptive verb in the second component, it is definitely a syntactic verbal phrase. It receives a primary stress on both components. It is also necessary to have a short pause after the first component. A syntactic verbal phrase expresses two actions. If, however, the second component is not an autonomous verb, but a descriptive verb, it is most likely a compound verb. It only expresses one action. It receives only one primary stress on the first opponent, and it is not acceptable to insert a pause after the first component. Thus, a compound verb functions only as one part of a sentence and expresses one action.

2.6 Summary

In the preceding chapter I discussed the general grammatical and semantic properties of compound verbs and the components of compound verbs in Uighur and Uzbek.

In the first section I briefly reviewed the forms and functions of converbs. In the second section I defined descriptive verbs, and based on this definition, I singled out descriptive verbs in the specific language. In the third section, I analyzed the different structural, functional and semantic features of three types of verbal combinations. Based on the analysis, it is evident that: although the syntactic formation of these three types of verbal combinations is the same, they belong to different categories. Type 1 belongs to the lexical category, specifically, Type 1 consists of complex verb stems. Type 2 is an analytical form of tense category. Type 3 neither belongs to lexical category nor to the tense category. Type 3 consists of compound verbs, as variant analytical forms of a verb. The members of Type 3 are different grammatical forms of a verb, and compound verbs pertain to the grammatical category. In the discussion on the semantic properties of the compound verbs, several problems, such as the semantic complexity of the compound verbs, the specific meaning of each compound verb and the usage of them in the specific
language will be discussed in chapter III and chapter IV. Compound verbs, as variant analytical forms of a verb, require a sub-classification. The classification of compound verbs in Uighur and Uzbek into proper grammatical categories (such as modal, durative, tense or aspect) has been left open for a later discussion in chapter III and chapter IV. In the third section, in addition to separating those three types of verbal combination, I also reviewed the verbal stems in these languages to clarify the interrelation between the verbal combinations of Type 1, Type 2 and Type 3 (compound verbs). The syntactic relation between them is follows:

Type 1 (complex verbal stems) can be the first component of Type 2 (analytical tense form) and of Type 3 (compound verbs).

Type 1 and Type 3 can function as the first component of Type 2.

In the fourth section, I established the relationship between compound verbs and other types of verbs. Compound verbs, as the marked member of the privative opposition, are distinguished from non-compound verbs, i.e., unmarked member of the privative opposition. In the fifth section, I have shown that compound verbs differ from syntactic verbal phrases due to their different syntactic and phonetic structures, as well as their syntactic functions and semantic meanings.
Chapter III  Compound Verbs in Modern Uighur

The compound verb is one of the most disputed topics in Uighur linguistics. The arguments are focused on the definition of "compound verbs" and "auxiliary verbs", as well as on the classification and categorization of compound verbs. There is not so much disagreement about the basic meaning of each form (variant) of compound verbs. Many scholars such as Hāmit Tömür and others have discussed the meaning of compound verbs in Uighur. However, the meaning and usage of each variant of compound verbs, the differences and similarities among some of them have not been described in detail in Uighur grammar books. Therefore, in the first section of the following chapter will provide a detailed description of the meanings and usage of each form of compound verbs in present Uighur. The differences and similarities among some compound verbs will also be demonstrated. In the second section a general common meaning of compound verbs will discussed. Then according to their general common meaning, compound verbs will be classified into categories and subcategories.

3.1 Meaning and Usage of Compound Verbs in Uighur

In explaining the meaning of compound verbs, I start with interpreting the basic original lexical meaning of a descriptive verb when they are used independently as autonomous verbs. Because the original lexical meaning of descriptive verbs are the basis for their meanings in a compound verbal structure, I will then bring out what a descriptive verb actually expresses in a compound verb.

3.1.1 Meaning and Usage of -wat- (<p yat-) 40

The lexical meaning of yat- is "to lie, to lie down" when it is used as independent word, it requires a noun associated with it to be in the locative or dative case, e.g.
(1) U yärđä hoşsiz yatatti. (Ōtkür, p. 95)
He was lying on the ground.

(2) U karwatqa yat. 
He lay down on the bed.

When yat- combines with a converb ending in -p, it loses its original lexical meaning. It does not govern any word in a larger syntactic structure. Moreover, it undergoes a phonological change. The initial phoneme [y] of yat- drops and the intervocalic [p] in a compound verb changes into [v] as illustrated in the following: oqu- p yat- > oquwat-, yaz-ip yat- > yeziwat-, kûy-üp yat- > kûyûwat-, kör-üp yat- > körûwat-. The combination of a converb in -p/-ip -up/-üp- and the descriptive verb yat- was contracted > -wat/-iwat/-ûwat/-ûwat-. At this stage, the contracted form became grammaticalized as a suffix which is reflected in the spelling rules. This suffix has the following functions:

1. When followed by the present-future tense suffix -imän < -a mân)/-isän < -a sän/-idu < -a du etc., it expresses a present continuous-progressive action:

(3) U Uyyur kilassik ädäbiatini tatqiq qiliş ornida iślatawidu. (Sabir, p. 39)
He is working in the research institute of Uighur classical literature.

(4) Silä r mAktäptâ oquwatîsilä. (Uighur tili mäsîlîsî, p. 463)
You are studying at school.

2. In Uighur grammar books -wat- is considered the grammatical form of the present continuous tense. But it is neither the grammatical form of the present continuous tense, nor its grammatical marker. Only when it combines with the present-future tense suffix, it expresses a present progressive, continuous action. Depending on the tense suffix of the finite verb (which takes a tense suffix and a personal ending), it
expresses a continuous action in any given time including past, present and future depending on the tense suffix of the finite verb:

(5) Guzālay riyal bilān keliwatatti(kāl-ip yat-ar idi).
(Sabir, p. 39)
Guzalay was coming with a thought.

(Sabir, p. 227)
Maryam graduated from the department of chemistry of the pedagogical institute, and went to the school where I was working.

(7) Tömūr Hālpā Dōq körükκä qaytip keliwatqanda, yoŋ tamdiki elanlarṇi oquwatqan kišilärni körüp qaldi.
(Ötkür, p. 42)
When Tömür Hālpā was returning to the Dong bridge, he suddenly saw the people who were reading an announcement on the big wall.

(8) Hār bir kiši öz išini puhta išlisä, öziniŋ kāsipini qizyn söysä, öz kāsipi toyrisida söz bolypanda, yūwatqan tamiyini untup qalidiyan bolsa, andin xalqni bay, dōlāni kūčlūk qilyili bolidu.
If everybody does his work well, loves his own profession, and if everybody forgets his food which he (she) will be eating when one talks about his own profession, then the people can be rich, the country can be strong. (Sabir, p. 233)

In (5), (6) and (7) -wat- does not denote a present continuous tense, but it expresses a continuous action. In these examples the past time (tense) is not expressed by -wat- but by the habitual-past tense form -ar idi in (5), by the distant-past tense form -yan in
(6), and by the recent-past tense suffix -di in (6). In (8) -wat- in yä-watqan represents continuity of the action. The present-future tense suffix -idu in bolidu renders the future. Therefore, -wat- denotes continuity of an action, but not a tense.

3. When -wat- is used in negative structures, it has different meanings:

a. Used in the first type of negative structure (see page 33), the negative suffix immediately comes after -wat-. It denotes non-performance of an action over a period of time, e.g.

(9)(a)  Ular oynawatmaydu, išlawatidu. (Tömür, p. 396)

They are not playing [they are not doing the action of playing]; they are working.

This type of negation is normally used to negate a statement or an interrogative sentence. For example, sentence (9) (a) is used as a reply to the following:

(9)(b) -- Ular oynawatidu.

-- They are playing.

-- Yaq, ular oynawatmaydu, išlawatidu.

-- No, they are not playing; they are working.

(9)(c) -- Ular oynawatamdu?

-- Are they playing?

-- Yaq, ular oynawatmaydu, išlawatidu.

-- No, they are not playing; they are working.

b. When used in the second type of negative form (see page 33), the negative form of the converb immediately precedes by -wat-. It expresses a continuous state of non-performance of an action, e.g.

(10)  Üni čaqirip rat yazdim, kälmaywatidu. (Tömür, p. 395)

i wrote a letter to him to come, [but] he is still not coming [the state of not coming continues].
(11) U nasihatimi anlimumeyatidu, keyin jazman puşyman qilidu. (Tömür, p. 395)

He/she is not listening [the state of not listening continues] to my advice, later he will definitely regret.

This type of negation is used to indicate an expected action which is still in a continuous state of non-performance. For example, in (10) the speaker expresses that he/she expected that the action kâl- (to come) will occur, but the action is still in the state of non-performance.

The slight difference in nuances between "a continuous state of non-performance of an action" and "non-performance of an action over a period of time" may overlap and merge into one another.

3.1.2 Meaning and Usage of -p tur-

The basic lexical meaning of tur- is "to stand, to stay, to stand up, to get up". When used as an autonomous word, it requires a noun to be in the locative or ablative case:

(12) U ahvâlinin jiddi ikânligini čüsândi-da bir čatta un-tünsiz turdi. (Ötkür, p. 124)

As soon as he understood that the situation was serious, he stood on one side in silence.

(13) San bu dukininđa qačandin beri turisän? (Uighur Cučaklari, p.16)

Since when are you staying in your store?

(14) Heliqi adâm şahzadiniŋ awazini anlap ornidin turuptu. (Uighur Cučakliri, p.32)

Having heard the prince's voice, that man stood up from his place.

When it combines with a converb in -p, forming a compound verb, -tur- does
not govern any noun to be in the locative or ablative case any more, and the basic lexical meaning of tur- weakens or is lost as, e.g.:

(15) İkkimiz sini pat-patla aslāp turduq.
    Both of us often recalled you.

(16) Jānup tārāptili taydīn salqin šamal urup turattī.
    (Sabir, p. 20)
    From the mountain in the southern side cool wind was blowing continuously.

(17) Unīq qulqīridiki yaqut közlük sökilār čagmāp turattī, sāhla közlirī külūmsirap turattī. (Ötkür, p. 98)
    Diamond rings on her ears were shining, her deer like (beautiful) eyes were smiling.

In these examples tur- does not govern any noun, and it does not refer to the specific action "to stand" nor "to stay", but it is shifted to denote a kind of continuity or repetition of the action which is expressed by the main verb. The descriptive verb tur- combines only with a converb in -p in Uighur, and expresses a duration or continuity of an action in general. The duration or continuity varies depending on the context. Generally it gives a standing and a lasting picture of a continuous action. All meanings of -p tur- in a compound verbal constructions can be summarized as the follows:

1. It particularly denotes a continuous action in a standing position. Depending on the context it can also render continuous action in any position. For example:

(18) Adāmlār māktāp qorasiniŋ dārwazisi tārāpkā köz üzmēstīn qarap turīdu. (Sabir, p.158)
    The people were looking at the direction of the gate of the campus without moving their eyes.

In this example qarap turīdu is a continuous action, but we could not figure out if the
action is performed in a standing position merely according to the compound verb itself.

The question often arises: How can one define whether or not the action occurred in a standing position. In searching for an answer to this question, it is noticed that a native writer or speaker tends to use -p tur- with an expression of a location of an action when he or she wants to specify the continuous action in a standing position. For example, in the novels of Z. Sabir and A. Ötkür expressions of locations of actions are mentioned or are given in broader contexts almost in all sentences which denote continuous actions in standing positions, e.g.

(19) Samahsut bilan Haşir orda raviyinin üstidä bu ahwallarni durbun bilän küzitip turatti (<tur-ar idi).

(Ötkür, p. 128)

Shamahsut and Hashir were watching [in a standing position] this situation with a telescope on the roof of the palace.

In this sentence the use of the -p tur- together with the location of the action orda raviyinin üstidä (on the roof of the palace) implies that the action occurred continuously in a standing position. In this sentence, it seems that tur- takes the locative case suffix +dä of the orda raviyinin üstidä. Actually it is not the case. Because orda raviyinin üstidä renders the location of the action expressed by the main verb küzät-. Therefore, küzät- takes the dative case. If the expression orda raviyinin üstidä is deleted, it is impossible to know whether or not the action occurred in a standing position, although the action is clearly a continuous one. In order to express simply a continuous action only -p tur- is used in numerous sentences such as in the examples (17) and (18). These examples give vivid descriptions of continuous actions (not in a standing position, but any position) urup turatti, čaqnap turatti and külumsirap turatti.

2. -p tur- is also used to denote that the result of an action rather than the
action itself continues. In this case -p tur- indicates the continuation of the state which has resulted from the action:

(20) -- siz kimni aldimaqçi bolisiz?-- dâp waqiridi u, --

Ta'yıdak pakitlar döwilinip turuptu. (Ähmidi, p. 46)

"Whom do you intend to cheat?" He shouted: "Evidence has been piled up like a mountain."

(21) Bugün deñiz üstini manan qapláp turatti. (Dugayli, p. 249)

The fog covered the surface of the sea today.

In (20) döwilinip turuptu (has been piled up) and in (21) qapláp turatti do not imply that the actions dövlän- (to be piled, to be stacked) and qaplâ- (to cover) continue, but that the state resulted from these actions continues to exist. If the speaker wants to express that the action itself continues, instead of ip tur, -wat- will be used:

(22) Ta'yıdak pakitlar döwiliniwайдu

Evidence is piling up like a mountain.

(23) Bugün deñiz üstini manan qaplavatidu.

The fog is covering the surface of the sea today.

3. It implies a repeated action when it is usually accompanied by some adverbial expressions such as dâim (often), haman (always), tez-tez, pat-pat (frequently), qaya-qayta (repeatedly). Once the repetition is indicated by such adverbial expressions, it is necessary to use -p tur- in a sentence:

(24) Ularnın öyigä dâim berip turduq.

We often went to their house.

(25)(a) Hân hä disîla Nâryâmdin xât-xalta elip turdim. (Sabir, p. 228)

I often [lit: if one say "yes"] received letters and parcels from Mariyam.

However, one could not determine whether it is a repeated action by merely depending on
-p tur-. Although this sometimes creates ambiguity, it can be resolved in a broader context or with background information.

4. It also denotes a temporary (during a limited time only) action when it is used along with a temporal expression or a temporal expression consisting of the verbal noun form -gûn+/ -gûn+/ -kûn+/ -qûn+/ and the nominal suffix că, as shown in the following examples:

(26) Jumatayniŋ yili toşqică (<toş-qun+că) bólâk-bólâk
turup tursaq. (Ötkür, p. 9)
Before Zhumatay's completion of one year [of his death], if we live separately [for the time being] I would be all right.

(27)(a) Mân sâpârdin qaytip kâlgûcâ oylîmdin yahûraq hâwâr
elip tursînjiz. (Uighur Cočâldînî, p. 100)
Before I come back from the journey, please take care of my son.

(28) Uruş tâyyarliyini qiliwelîş učum hazirêålî či âwätip
gâplisişîn turayli. (Ötkür, p. 156)
In order to prepare for a battle we will send [for the time being] an envoy to talk.

The form -p tur- is one of the most frequently used form both in spoken and written language in Modern Uighur, and it combines with almost every verb.

5. When -p tur- is used in different types of negation, it has different meanings:

a. When it is used in the first type of negation (~p turma-), it denotes non-performance of an action over a period of time. That is to say, it negates the above meanings 1, 2, 3 and 4. For example, the positive sentences (25)(a) and (27) (a) are negated as the following:

(25)(b) Mân Mâryâmdin xât-xalta elip turmidim.
I did not often receive letters and parcels from Mariyam.

(27)(b) Mən săpärzin qaytip kəlqūčə oylinən yahşiraq həwər elip turmidiniz.

Before I came back from the journey, you did not take care of my son.

(25)(b) negates the meaning 3 (repeated action), and (27)(b) negates the meaning 4 (a temporary action).

b. When it is used in the second type of negation (–may tur–), similar to –wat–, it expresses a continuous state of non-performance of an action, e.g.

(29) Nimişqa gap gilmay turisan?

Why are you not speaking [keeping the state of not speaking].

(30) çatəl tilini bilə ray turup bilin sahasidə izdiniştin gəp ağəlili bolməydi. (Sabir, p. 97)

It is impossible to talk about doing research in an academic field without [a continuous state of not] knowing a foreign language.

3.1.3 Meaning and Usage of -p yʊr–

The basic lexical meaning of -p yʊr– is "to walk", when it is used as an autonomous word:

(31) Bu ıkkı ağa–uka çöl kezip, tay eşiyp yol yʊr üptü. (Uigur Cočəkliri, p. 130)

Passing through a desert, crossing a mountain, these two brothers walked on their way.

When it combines with a verb in -p, (it combines only with a verb in -p in Uigur), it does not govern any noun. The meaning of it becomes generalized, and it expresses the following meanings:

1. A continuous action in a walking situation in particular as well as a
continuous action in any position in general, depending entirely on the context, e.g.

(32) Tömür Hälpa qozylaŋ pâyını kütüp yûrätti. (Ötkür, p. 135)

Tömür Hälpa was waiting for the right time for a rebellion.

(33) AYEQQiz bolsa, tehiçila sir bärmaq yâm gekip yûrätti. (Ötkür, p. 19)

As for Aqqiz, she was still suffering from not telling her secret.

In sentence (32) -ûp yûr- indicates that the action küt- (to wait) is being performed continuously in a moving position. In (33) -ip yûr- denotes that the action yâm çäk- (to suffer) continues not necessarily in a moving position, but in any situation.

2. It denotes a number of repetitions of an action.

(35)(i) Kûndä miŋ olûp yûrgändin, düûmän bilên jân qilip bir ölgän yaxši. (Ötkür, p. 19)

It is better to die once by fighting with an enemy rather than to die [to suffer] a thousand times every day.

It is used most typically in situations where the same action is performed several times on many different occasions or places:

(35)(ii) Hän seni qizlar içidä maxtaq yûrîman. (Sabîr, p. 107)

I praise you often among the girls.

In this sentence the action maxta- (to praise) is performed several times on many different occasions or places.

3. When it is used in different types of negative structures, it has different meanings:

a. When it is used in the first type of negation (see page 33), it denotes non-performance of an action over a period of time, that is to say, it negates meanings 1 and 2.

b. When it is used in the second type of negation (see page 33), similar to
-wat- and tur-, it expresses a continuous state of non-performance of an action. It is typically used to denote a long continuous state of non-performance of an action, for example:

(36) Unimay yūrup, ahiri unidi. (Tömür, p. 421)

He had not agreed [for a long time], but finally he agreed. (Polat, p. 175)

(37) Qizni qulqa čūçūrmey yūrgan rāqipların biri qizniň čirayliqyini eytip qoyuptu. (Çökür, p.19)

One of the rivals in love who was chasing [for a long time] and was not able to reach the girl told [him] that she is beautiful.

3.1.4 A Comparison of Meanings and Usage of -wat-, -p tur- and -p yūr-

Although they express continuity, duration or recurrence of an action, there are the following differences in nuance and the usage among them:

1. All of them imply a continuous action. However, only -p yūr- denotes a continuous action in a moving (not standing) position, indicating extension of an action through space and time (not in a single occasion and not in a single period of time); while -p tur- and -p yat- -> -wat- do not express this meaning, unless specified by adverbials of time and location. This can be illustrated by comparing the following examples:

(32)(i) Tömür Hälpa qozyilaŋ pəytini kūţup yūrätti.

(32)(ii) Tömür Hälpa qozyilaŋ pəytini kūţup turatti.

(32)(iii) Tömür Hälpa qozyilaŋ pəytini kūţuwatatti.

In the sentence (32)(i) the subject Tömär Hälpa was waiting for the right time for a rebellion by moving around (not in a single occasion) and the action continued not in a single period of time. In other words, the action occurring in the position is motional, indicating an extension of the action through space and time. Therefore, a word or an expression of a specific location of the action, or an expression of a specific short period of time cannot be
added to this sentence. The sentence (32)(ii) indicates that Tömür Hälpa was waiting for the right time for a rebellion by not moving around. It means that the action occurred in a single space. For this reason, an expression of a specific location can be inserted into this sentence like the following:

(32)(iv) Tömür Hälpa qozyılan pəytini oydă kütüb turatti.

Tömür Hälpa was waiting for the right time for a rebellion at home.

However, from the sentence (32)(ii) we can not figure out if the action continued in a single period of time or the action was distributed in time. Both possibilities exist depending on the time adverbial specified. For example, if an expression of a single period of time is added to it, it may denote that the action occurred in a single period of time:

(32)(v) Seät bəstä Tömür Hälpa qozyılan pəytini kütüb turatti.

Tömür Hälpa was waiting for the right time for a rebellion at five a clock.

If a time adverbial expressing distribution of the action through time is added, it can express that the action occurred in many different times (not in a single period of time):

(32)(vi) Har küni Tömür Hälpa qozyılan pəytini kütüb turatti.

Tömür Hälpa was waiting for the right time for uprising every day.

In the sentence (32)(iii), without having a specific expression of time and location -wat- indicates that Tömür Hälpa was waiting for the right time for a rebellion right in that specific time (in a single period of time), and by not moving around (in a single occasion). Therefore, we can say that in general -wat- expresses a continuous action in a single period of time and in a single occasion which is an uninterrupted action.

2. As -wat- emphasizes that an action is being performed in a specific time, it refers to the middle part of a situation or an action and disregards its beginning and possible ending. It represents a situation or an action as progressive, and it does not express the result of an action. In contrast -p tur- does not emphasizes that an action is progressive, in most cases it indicates that the result of an actions continues. This difference can be
observed from examples like these:

(38)(i) Tasma bälbay bilan piçaqni eliwatqanda, Amanqulniŋ qolliri titiräp kätti. (Ötkür, p. 26)

When Amanqul was taking the leather belt and the knife, his hands were trembling extremely.

Here, eliwat- represents that the action al- (to take) was just being performed, and it only indicates the middle part of the action, not the result of the action. If -iwat- is replaced by -p tur-, the meaning of the sentence will be a little bit different:

(38)(ii) Tasma bälbay bilan piçaqni elip turyandada(al-ip turyanda), Amanqulniŋ qolliri titiräp kätti.

The translation might be:

When Amanqul took and was holding the leather belt and the knife, his hands were trembling extremely.

In this sentence -ip tur- indicates that the action al- is not in progress, but that the result of the action (here is "to hold") continues. More examples:

(39)(i) Bu xättin Alanurniŋ nuryum kitap oqūyanlığı bilinip turatti. (Sabir, p. 68)

From this letter, it could be known [constantly] that Alanur had read a lot of books.

In this sentence -ip tur- also expresses that the result of the action bilin- (to be known) continues. However, unlike -ip tur-, -wat- cannot express the result of the action as exemplified by the following sentence in which -ip tur- is replaced by -wat-:

(39)(ii) Bu xättin Alanurniŋ nuryum kitap oqūyanlığı biliniwatatttti.

From this letter, it was being known [progressively] that Alanur had read a lot of books.
Like -wat-, -p yûr- disregards the beginning and possible ending of an action, but unlike -wat-, it does not represent a progressive action. Unlike -ip tur, -p yûr- indicates that the action itself continues, but not that the result of the action continues:

3. -p tur- suggests the extension of an action to a longer period of time, and it tends to be used when the continuity of an action or the result of an action may extend into the future. In comparison, -wat- suggests a shorter period of time, and it is used when the continuity of the action may not be extended into the future. This can be noticed from examples as (16) and (17).

In (16) šamal urup turatti not only expresses "wind was blowing", but it also implies that the action lasted for a longer period of time while it indicates the action would extend into the future. In (17) qulaqliridiki yaqut közlök sôkilär çaqmap turatti not only denotes "Diamond rings on her ears were shining", but it also implies that the action lasted for a longer period of time while it indicates that the action may extend into the future. If we replace -p tur for -wat-, we will get the following:

(16)(i) Jânup târáptiki taydin salqin šamal uruwatatti.
In this sentence šamal uruwatatti only expresses "wind was blowing" at a specific time (in the past), but it neither implies that the action lasted for a longer period of time, nor indicates that the action may extend into the future.

Like -p tur, -p yûr- indicates the extension of an action to a longer period of time, and it can be used when the continuity of the action may extend into the future. However, when we compare the usage of -p tur and -p yûr-, we might observe that -p yûr- is used to express an action lasted or repeated much longer period of time:

(40)(i) Ayqiz bolsa, tehiçla sir bârmây xâm gekip yûratti.
As for Ayqiz, still not telling her secret, she has been worrying and she was still worrying.

(41)(i) Toluq otturini âlla pûttûrûp özâmini bilm âhli dép
Having graduated from high school, I had been considering becoming as a scholar.

The sentence (40)(i) expresses that Ayqiz had been worrying for a long time. Without a specific duration adverb, ṭam čekip yur- itself implies that the action continued for a long period of time. Consequently, this sentence allows the addition of long duration phrases like uzəqtin beri, (since a long time ago, for a long time). The sentence (41)(i) also denotes that the action lasted for a quite long time without any adverbs of duration. In contrast -p tur- does not imply a long duration. This can be observed if -p yur- is replaced by -p tur- in (40)(i) and (41)(i):

(40)(ii) Ayqiz bolsa, tehičila sir bärəmy yəm qəkəp turatti.

As for Ayqiz, still not telling her secret, she was worrying.

(41)(ii) Toluq otturini ḥala pütürüp, özəmi bilməli dəp

hisəpləp turən idim.

Having graduated from high school, I was considering becoming as a scholar.

In (40)(ii), -p tur- implies that the action was being performed at that moment (here, in the past), but it doesn’t indicate that the action continued for a long period of time. For this reason, it is not suitable to add adverbs of long duration like uzəqtin beri to (40)(ii). In (41)(ii), hisəpləp tur- does not indicate that the action lasted for a long time. Therefore, it does not allow the addition of any long duration phrases. Probably, this distinction between -p tur- and -p yur- is one of the reasons why writers choose to use -ip yur- when they describe an action that lasts or is repeated for a much longer period of time in numerous sentences in the literature such as in the following examples:

(42)(i) Bəxtiyar başlanuç məktəptə oqur yurğan, amma oquşınış

taza məşlihəti yoq çaylar idi. Sundaq bolişiya qarımay

...
köılm qoyup ogup yürütti. (Shipa, p. 167)

It was the time when Bähtiyar was studying at an elementary school [several years], but there was not a very good condition for studying. In spite of this he was studying attentively.

(43) Sili menin heli uzaq bir mazgil terapwuşliq gilip yüminim in xawarlii baryu? (Pola, p. 88)

You know that I had been a leather smith for quite a long period of time.

The sentence (42)(i) expresses that Bähtiyar had been studying at an elementary school at least for several years. Without a specific duration mentioned, ogup yur- itself implies that the action was being performed for a long period of time. This can be elaborated by replacing -p yur- with -p tur-:

(42)(ii) Bähtiyar başlanyuç maktaptä ogup turyan, emma ogušni taza mäslihätı yoq çaýlar idi Sundaq bolişiya qarimay .könil qoyup ogup turatti.

Even though this sentence can be translated:

It was the time when Bähtiyar was studying at an elementary school, but there was not a very good condition for studying. In spite of this he was studying attentively.

Unlike oguq yur-, oguq tur- in (42)(ii) indicates that the action is performed not for a long period of time.

4. Both -p tur- and -p yur- can be used with the definite-recent past tense suffixes -dim/-diŋ, etc., and with imperative form, while -wat- can not. If the definite-recent past tense suffixes -dim/-diŋ etc., or imperative suffixes are added to -wat-, it would be ungrammatical. This restriction can be observed in the following sentences:

(44)(i) U menin geprim kütup turdi. (Sabir, p. 125)
He waited for [a while] my words.

(44)(ii) *U meniŋ gəpimni kūtiwatū.

(45)(i) Ular qazaq halq čočakliriddiki "Qozi Körpäš Bayan Sulu" ya orṣaš iṣiq-muhābbāt otida küvū yūrdū. (Ötkür, p. 21)

They had been burned in love like Qozi Körpäš and Bayan Sulu in Kazakh folk tales.

(45)(ii) *Ular qazaq halq čočakliriddiki "Qozi Körpäš Bayan Sulu" ya orṣaš iṣiq-muhābbāt otida küvūwatū.

(46)(i) Uyan- buyan ötkândā sān nan elip tur. (Uighur Cočakliri, p. 75)

When you pass from this side to that side, please buy bread.

(46)(ii) *Uyan- buyan ötkândā sān nan eliwat.

Therefore, -p tur, -p yūr- and -wat- take different time expressions in sentences:

On one hand, -wat- can take a durational phrase such as ikki saāttin beri (for two hours, since two hours), while -p tur-and -p yūr- cannot take (except -p yūr- allows the addition of adverbs of long duration e.g., uzaqtin beri). On the other hand, a specific duration of time e.g., bir saāt (one hour), ikki kūm (two days), ikki yīl (two years) cannot be used with -wat-, while they can be used with both -p tur- and -p yūr-:

(47)(i) Ikki saāttin beri šaxmat oynawatimān. (Sabir, p. 99)

I have been playing chess for two hours.

(47)(ii)* Ikki saāttin beri šaxmat oynap turdim.

(47)(iii)* Ikki saāttin beri šaxmat oynap yūrdim.

(47)(iv) *Ikki saāt šaxmat oynawatimān.

(47)(v) Ikki saāt šaxmat oynap turdim.

I played chess for two hours.
Although the expressions keyin (after), +din keyin (after that), -ğän/-kän/-yan/-qan+din keyin (after having done) can be used in sentences which include -p tur- and -p yür-, they cannot be used with -wat-:

(48)(i) **Sundin kein Güzalay bilan sözlişip turdim.** (Sabir, p. 147)
   After that I often talked with Güzalay.

(48)(ii) **Sundin kein Güzalay bilan sözlişip yürdim.**
   After that I talked with Güzalay (here and there).

(48)(iii) **Sundin kein Güzalay bilan sözlişiwatdim.**

3.1.5 Meaning and Usage of -p oltur-

When it is used as an autonomous word, the basic lexical meaning of oltur- is "to sit, to sit down" and it requires a noun to be in the dative or locative case. When it is used together with a converb in -p, unlike tur- or yür-, it keeps its lexical meaning in most cases, therefore, -p oltur- indicates that an action is being performed while the subject is sitting, for example:

(49) **Seniniz sözliginiğiniz mân xatirilüp olturdu.** (Tömür, p. 418)
   I was sitting and taking notes while you were speaking.

(50) **Mamutov qizinin viylap olturyinini körüp yürüği ánserap kätti.** (Másudi, p. 4)
   Mamutov's heart felt very anxious after he saw a girl who was sitting and crying.

However, oltur- loses its original lexical meaning only in cases in which it combines with certain verbs (mostly verbs expressing speech activity) in the converbal suffix -p, and in which it is used in the first type of negation (-p olturma-) or in a negative sentence. Only in these cases, it expresses that the action continues for a long time. Therefore, it is typically used when the speaker or the subject does not want to bother to do
the action or does not want to bother to spend so much time to do the action, as exemplified by the following sentences:

(51) U săhnigă čiqip, tizimya qarap olturmayla, aşziya kimniň isimi kälşä şumň isimini atidi. (Uighur tili mäsiliiri, p. 465)

She came up to the stage, without looking at [did not bother to look at] the list [of the names], she called the names [of the people] which came to her mouth.

(52) Bu mäsiliilärni sözlap olturmisammu silar bilisilär. (Tömür, p. 418)

Even if I do not talk about these problems, you know them.

(53) Hazir mäsuliyätni sürüstürüp olturidiyan vaqit ämäs. (Uighur tili mäsiliiri, p. 465)

It is not the time to investigate [to spend time to investigate] responsibility [who's responsibility it is].

In (51) qarap olturmay indicates that the subject did not bother to do the action. In (52), sözlap olturmi- denotes that the speaker does not want to spend so much time to do the action. In the negative sentence (53), -p oltur- implies that the action (to investigate) takes too much time.

3.1.6 Meaning and Usage of -p käl-

When it is used as an autonomous word, the basic lexical meaning of käl- is "to come". and it requires a noun to be in the dative or ablative case, e.g.

(54) Bugün siz bilan körüşkili bu yärgä käldim. (Sabir, p. 2)

In order to see you, I came to this place today.

When it combines with a converb in -p, it expresses the following:
1. If the main verb is a motion verb, like -yügi- (to run), üç- (to fly), kir- (to enter), çıq- (to go out), etc., -p käl- together with a motion verb requires a noun to be in the dative or ablative case, and it denotes that an action occurs toward the direction of the speaker:

(55) Oyniniği işigidin qayta-qayta salamlar-ikramlar berip Mutilla bagmu kirip kaldi. (Abdulla, p. 70)

From the door of the house giving regards again and again, Mutilla bag also entered.

2. When the main verb is other than a motion verb, käl- does not govern a noun, and it indicates that an action or situation started in the past and is continuing until the specific time indicated:

(56) Bu dün (Qutadżubilik) öziniği ilmiy va badii qimmiti bilan maşur aşarlär qatarida uzundin buvan paxri orun tutup kalmaktå. (Ötkür, p. 1)

This book has been holding an honorable position in the line of famous books with it's scholarly and artistic value.

(57) Sair Abdurahim Nizari va uniniği ijiyiti haqqida 1950—yillarnınıň başlirida anca- munca işlar qilinyan bolsimu, lekin xilmu—xil savaplär tapşylidin ilgirilip izdinişkä imkan bolmaw kalgan idi. (Iliyev, p. 1)

About poet Abdurahim Nizari, although some works had been done in the beginning of 1950's, due to the various reasons there had not been a possibility to do further research.

(58)(i) Hän ozinizniţmi niş naçça yuz yilliq yazma ədəbiyat bayliyimizni öz bayliyim, hayatimdiki roşelliq dəp garap kaldim. (Sabir, p. 38)
[For many years] I had been considering that a thousand and several hundred years literary sources of our nation are also my own property and my happiness.

In (56) the situation of orun tut- (holding a position) started a long time ago, and it is continuing until the present. In (57) the situation of imkan bolmay (not to be possible) continued until "recent years". In (58) the situation lasted until the moment of speaking. From examples such as those above, we can see that -p kāl- refers to an action or a situation that continues over a comparatively longer period of time. In sentence (58), although the writer did not give the specific duration of time of the situation, still -p kāl- itself gives us the information that the situation lasted for a long time. Therefore, we can add the time expression "for many years" to the English translation of this sentence.

Through examining the time expressions which agree with -p kāl- in a sentence, the above observation can be confirmed. Only time expressions which render a long period like ikki yıldız beri (for two years), bu əsirdin başlap (starting from this century) can be used along with -p kāl-. If time expressions which render a short period like ikki saat beri (for two hours), tunğundin başlap (starting from yesterday) is used, it would be ungrammatical:

(58)(ii)*Tunğundin beri mən özimizin miğ načča yüz yilliq yazma adabiyat bəlayiymizni öz bəlayim, hayatimdiki xoşəlliq dəp qarap kəldim.

Starting from yesterday I had been considering that a thousand and several hundred years literary sources of our nation are also my own property and my happiness.

This is an ungrammatical sentence. Because tunğundin beri (from yesterday) does not agree with qarap kəldim ([for many years] I had been considering). If the speaker wants to use tunğundin beri, the predicate should be changed into qaraşqa
bašlidim (I started to consider).

-

p kāl- can be used together with -wat-. In this case, it denotes that an action or a situation started in the past and is still continuing at present. For instance, we can change the sentence (58)(i) to this:

(58)(iii) Mān özimizniŋ miŋ naččā yūz yilliq yazma ādābiyat
bayliyimizni öz bayliyim, hayatimdiki xošalliq dāp
garap kēlivatimān.

[For many years] I have been considering that a thousand and several hundred years literary sources of our nation are also my own property and property and my happiness.

However, -p kāl- cannot be used to express that an action or a situation started in the past and will continue in the future, even if it may logically continue in the future. For example, we can not change sentence (58)(i) to this:

(58)(iv) *Mān özimizniŋ miŋ naččā yūz yilliq yazma ādābiyat
bayliyimizni öz bayliyim, hayatimdiki xošalliq dāp
garap kēlimān.

This is also an ungrammatical sentence. If the speaker wants to express this idea, she or he cannot use -p kāl-, but can use the non-compound verb qara- (to consider) together with the future tense suffix:

(58)(v) Mān özimizniŋ miŋ naččā yūz yilliq yazma ādābiyat
bayliyimizni öz bayliyim, hayatimdiki xošalliq dāp
garap kēldim wā bundin keyinmu šundaq dāp garaymān.

[For many years] I have been considering and will continue to consider in the future that a thousand and several hundred years literary sources of our nation are also my own property and my happiness.

-p kāl- is only used in the second type of negation, and it expresses that a
continuous state of non-performance of an action (the state of not doing the action) started in the past and continuous till the specific time indicated. See example (57) and the following:

(59) Hamnu öz qolum bilän tumaq setip baqsam ekän, däp arzulap yürgän edim, lekin dadam "sän kičik" däp unimay kälqän edi. (Polat, p. 175)

For many years I wanted and had been expecting to sell hats with my own hands, but my father had not been agreeing to it.

Practically, -p käl- is not frequently used. For instance, there are only several sentences in which -p käl- is used in Z. Sabir’s novel.

3.1.7 Meaning and Usage of -p bar-

The lexical meaning of bar- is "to go, to reach", and it requires a noun to be in the dative case when it is used as an autonomous word. However, when it combines with a verb ending in the conversational suffix -p, it denotes the following meanings:

1. If the main verb is a motion verb, bar- together with a motion verb requires a noun to be in the dative case and it denotes that an action occurs toward the opposite direction of the speaker (the direction "[to]there"):

(60) Maktâpka yûrêp bardimu?

Did you go to school by running?

2. If the main verb is other than a motion verb, it does not govern a noun and it indicates a continuously progressive action or situation:

(60)(i) Urumçi Tömûrniñ qalbidâ qonqur iz qaldurup barmaqta idi. (Ötkür, p. 46)

Urumchi had been leaving a deep trace (impression) in Tömür Halpâ’s heart.

(61) Unin qaytip keliş kûnîriniñ yeqinîlişişi, Gûlçimânniñ qayyusini yânä bir hâssâ aṣurup baratti. (Abdulla, p. 129)
The days of his coming back is approaching, this[situation] was increasing Gϋlχimän’s grief even more.

-ʃ p ʃ abar- is one of the less frequently used compound verbs either in spoken or in written Uighur. It is used mostly with a verb which presents the action as a continuously developing process, like the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aʃ-</th>
<th>to be increased</th>
<th>yaxʃilan-</th>
<th>to be improved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aʃur-</td>
<td>to increase</td>
<td>yaxʃilat-</td>
<td>to improve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kœpəy-</td>
<td>to be multiplied</td>
<td>ilgirilä-</td>
<td>to make progress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kœpəyt-</td>
<td>to multiply</td>
<td>taraqqi qil-</td>
<td>to develop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>azay-</td>
<td>to be decreased</td>
<td>ös-</td>
<td>to grow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>azayt-</td>
<td>to decrease</td>
<td>aʃ-</td>
<td>to increase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čoŋəy-</td>
<td>to be enlarged</td>
<td>yoqirila-</td>
<td>to go up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čoŋəyt-</td>
<td>to enlarge</td>
<td>kötiril-</td>
<td>to raise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qəray-</td>
<td>to became dark</td>
<td>rawajlan-</td>
<td>to develop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʊչəy-</td>
<td>to strengthen</td>
<td></td>
<td>to improve</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a few verbs like the ones above, there is no absolute or concrete measure of which the final culminating point of the action or state can be defined. Therefore, these verbs and bar- are usually incorporated to refer a gradually developing process. Time adverbials and adverbials of manner of an action which agree with -ʃ p ʃ bar- give a clear indication of this meaning. -ʃ p bar- correlates with adverbials such as kündin-kʊŋgä (day by day), asta-asta (slowly), tädriji (gradually), etc. For instance, we can add kündin-kʊŋgä to the sentence (60)(i):

(60)(ii) Urumçi Tömürniŋ qalbigidä kündin- kʊŋgä qoŋqur iz galdurup barmaqta idi.

Urumchi had been leaving deeper traces (impressions) in Tömür Hälpa's heart day by day.
In expressing a continuous action, there is a difference in nuance and usage between -p käl- and -p bar-. While -p käl- emphasizes that an action or a situation started in the past and is continuing at present, -p bar- emphasizes that an action or a situation will continue in the future. Therefore, -p käl- cannot be used to express an action or a situation which started in the past and is continuing at the present, and will continue in the future; while -p bar- expresses that an action or a situation may extend into the future. Usage of the present-future tense confirms this observation: -p käl- is not used with the present-future tense, but -p bar- can be used in the present-future tense, e.g.

(61) "Sân xaliqqâ paydiliq nimilari qildiŋ? Hayatıŋ qandaŋ ötivatidu?" dinan soallar boyiça hâr kûnlûk išimizni xatirilêp barmyli. (Sabir, p. 10)

According to the questions: "What did you do for the interest of the people? How is your life going?", we will write down every day's work.

(62) Mana mušu yol bilän išlâmiz, ballilarnıŋ ösüŋ yetiliş jaryanıni küzîtip barmız. (Sabir, p. 10)

Here, we will work in this way, we will be continuously observing the growing process of the children.

Both (61) and (62) in which the present-future tense is used with -p bar-, and -p bar- cannot be replaced by -p käl- in these sentences.

-p bar- can be used together with -wat- to express a continuously developing process at present:

(63) Xaliqmıniŋ turmuş sawiyisi yildin-yiłyä yoqiri kötirîlip beriwatidu (bar-îwat-îdu).

The living standards of the people is rising year by year.

Theoretically, it can be used in the first type of negation, practically, however, it is rarely
used in a negative sentence.

3.1.8 Usage and meaning of -p kät-

When it is independently used as an autonomous verb, the basic lexical meaning of kät- is "to go away, to leave", and it requires a noun to be in the dative or ablative cases:

(64) U arqisiya yandi wä adäm topini kesip ötüp, zawudi täräpka kätти.(Sabir, p. 26)

He turned back, crossed through the crowd of people, and went toward the direction of his factory.

In Modern Uighur, kät- only combines with a converb ending in -p, forms a compound verb, and expresses the following:

1. When the main verb is a motion verb, -p kät- shows that an action goes to the opposite direction of the speaker

(65) Bundaq häydisän, maśina därıaya çüş-üp ketip (çüş-üp kät-ip) häməmiz tugişimiz.(İmin, p. 40)

If you drive like this, the truck will go down [opposite side of us] to the river and we all will die.

From the English translation, we could not see the necessity of using kät- because çüş- itself means "to go down". However, a native speaker of Uighur usually indicates the direction of a motion verb from the point of the speaker by using kät-, as in sentence (65), and käl- (see page 65). Therefore, kät- does not seem redundant in Uighur. To the contrary, it is necessary in this sentence as well as in many examples like the following:

(66) (a) Taşway asta-asta şamalbaqqa yenip kaldi, keyin Tümənni boylap, Tösük därwazisi täräpkä yürüp kätти.(Abdulla, p. 10)

Tashway slowly came back to Shamalbaq, and then going along the Tuman
river, went away towards the Toshuk gate.

In this sentence -ip kāl- denotes that the action takes place towards the direction of the speaker and -üp kāt- indicates that the action occurs away from the speaker. Therefore, we know that the speaker's physical position is in Shamalbaq. We could not figure out either the directions of these two actions or the physical position of the speaker if -ip kāl- and -üp kāt- are deleted like the following:

(66) (b) Tašway asta-asta šamalbaqqa yandi, keyin Tömanni boylap Tūşük dārwazisi tārāpkā qarap yūrdi.

Tashway slowly turned to Shamalbaq, and then going along the Tuman river, walked towards the Toshuk gate.

In expressing the opposite direction of the speaker, there is a difference in nuance between -p kāt- and -p bar-. Whereas -p bar- emphasizes the final point of the direction, -p kāt- stresses the starting point of the direction. Consider the following sentences:

(67) Mātniyaz Izzātxanniŋ toplisini apirip beriš uçūn ornidin turdi...Kačqurun Izzātxanniŋ pūtūn ailisi hoylida aš ičiwatqanda Mātniyaz toplini kötirip kirip bardi. (Qadir, p. 38)

In order to bring Izzatxan's shoes, Matniyaz stood up from his place....In the evening, when Izzatxan's family was having dinner in the courtyard, holding the shoes, Matniyaz entered.

(68) Izzātxan toplisini balisidin tartiwelip öyya kirip kätti. (Qadir, p. 38)

Izzatxan took back her shoes from her child and went into the room.

In (67), -ip bar- is used for indicating the final point of the direction of Matniyaz's action kir- (to enter); while in (68), -ip kāt- refers to the starting point of Izzatxan's action kir- (to enter).
2. -p kät- indicates that an action occurs from one point towards every direction when it combines with a verb which has potential possibility to express a multi-directional action. These verbs are the following:

- tarqal- to be scattered
- čečil- to be spread out
- bölün- to be divided
- tökül- to be sprinkled, to spill
- sün- to be broken
- tara- to scatter

(69) U adamlıriŋ öymu-øy tarap kätkän bolsa, bayiqi gäplär ätigičä pütkül Qumulıya bir kelidu. (Ötkür, p. 124)

If those guys scattered to every house, those words will be spread out to whole Qumul by tomorrow.

(70) Sewättiki almılar tökülüp kätti. (Uighur tili mışili, p. 438)

The apples in the basket were spilled out.

It can be easily noticed that all of these verbs are inflexional verbs, and they have an inherent lexical meaning to imply a multi-directional action. This shows that the use of the descriptive verb kät- to indicate multi-directional actions are limited to only the verbs that have suitable lexical meaning. From this case, we can see that the meaning of compound verbs sometimes depend on the specific lexical meaning of the main verb.

3. It is used to render that an action occurs in the entire scope of a certain area, typically, when it combines with a verb like qapla- (to cover), bas- (to occupy, to press):

(71) (a) Silär mušu eriqni yaqılıp maşanlar...ot besip kätkän saptulluq bayni körísilär. (Qadir, p. 28)

If you walk along this brook, you will see a peach orchard which was
covered entirely by grass.

(72) (a) Torusniñ bär täripigä wä išliśip kükän tamlarda eşiqliq turyan qol härä, ... uşkä oşşaş närsilärä tor baylap kükän. (Qadir, p. 29)

Cobwebs were spun on very side of the ceiling (of the room) and on things like an awl, a hand saw which were hanging on the walls which were extremely smoked.

In (71)(a) ot besip kükän itself implies that the entire area of the peach orchard was covered by grass, even if the modifier bär täripi (every side) is deleted in the sentence. In (72)(a) baylap kük- also indicates that cobwebs were spun on all of the things (mentioned in the previous section of the sentence). If -ip kük- is omitted in (71) (a) and (72) (a) like the following:

(71)(b) Silär muşu eriqni yaqilap maşşaplar...ot basgan aştulluq bayni körisilär.

If you walk along this street, you will see a peach orchard that is covered by grass.

(71)(b) Torusniñ bär täripigä wä išlašgan tamlarğa eşiqliq turyan qol härä, ... uşkä oşşaş närslärä tor bayliyän.

Cobwebs were spun on every side of the ceiling (of the room) and on all the things like an awl, a hand saw which were hanging on the walls which were smoked.

The phrase ot basgan aştulluq bay itself cannot express that the entire area of the peach orchard was covered by grass in (71)(b). As for (72)(b), it is grammatically correct, and the modifier bär täripi (every side of it) and the expression oşşaş närslär (the things like...) conveys the meaning that the action (to spin) occurred on all of these things, however, it is not a stylistically appropriate sentence. Since the action (to spin)
involved in torusñiñ hær tēripi (every side of the ceiling) and oxšaš märšilär (things like...), it is more suitable if these expressions are used with the compound verb -p kāt- which can express that an action occurs in the entire scope of the area. This is the reason why the author uses -p kāt- in the sentence (71)(a). This example clearly shows that descriptive verbs have a stylistic function in the language.

4. It denotes performance of an action to an intensive or an exhaustive degree.

Among many examples for this are the following sentences:

(73)(a) Töt äskär bir nāččä dibanni hâm tilalp, hâm urup hāydâp keliwtaganliyini kūrūp, Abduwayit qattiq čočüp kâtti.

(Axmidiy, p. 36)

Having seen that four soldiers were cursing and beating several peasants while driving them towards him, Abduwayit was strongly [terribly ] frightened.

(74) Yigit özimu qara târrga čomüp kâtkän idi. (Ötkür, p. 9)

The young man himself also was streaming with sweat.

(75) Al-yurt icidä gæp-söz tehimu küçiyip kêtârmikin.

(Ötkür, p. 9)

I am afraid that gossip will be intensified even more among the people.

5. Related to meaning 4, it is used to express over performance of an action, or it indicates that an action extends beyond an average limit:

(76) Artuqčâ hayajaniñip kâtkänliktin blosa keräk, uiniñ awazi titirâtti. (Axmidiy, p. 41)

Probably because he must have been overexcited, his voice was quivering.

(77) Qezibäg yọja huddi saranñıldı birdinla qattiq qaqaqlap külüp kâtti. (Ötkür, p. 94)

Qezibag Ghuja suddenly laughed, roaring strongly like a mad man.
The average limit of an action is quite a subjective one. It depends entirely on the view of a speaker about a specific action or event. When a speaker feels that somebody is over reacting to some event, he would use -p kät-, like in examples (76) and (77). Thus, in order to express the notion "very much", extremely" etc., an Uighur speaker usually simply adds -p kät- right after the verb he wants to use. For instance:

(78) Tülkinin tåqsimati yolvasqa yeqip ketiptu.

(Uighur tili mäsilliri, p. 436)

The Tiger liked the fox's distribution [very much].

(79)(a) Apändi m qursïyi eçip ketiptu. (Uighur tili mäsilliri, p. 436)

Äpändi was [very] hungry.

6. It indicates that an action takes place suddenly, quickly, and that an action extends deeply:

(80) Amanqulniq qolliri belidki tasma bälwaqa esiqliq piçaqqa yugürdi. Hoşur İmmeniñ közliri cäkçiyip kätı... İkkinçi saptin başlap hamma kisi örə-töpä bolup kätı. (Ötkür, p. 63)

Amanquil's hands ran to the knife which was hanging on the leather belt in his waist. Hoshur Imam's eyes [immediately] became very big.

All the people from the second row [immediately] became upside-down.

(81) Siz bizni tezla untup ketisiz. (Sabirr, p. 419)

You will [very] quickly forget us.

(82) Xalq eyiz ädäbiyati toýrisidiki maqalämmi püttrüp professrya bärdirim. Sundin keyin öz ışlırimyä şünçilik berilip kättimki, dostlırimyä xät yezişqa waqit ajiritalmaydıyan bolup qaldım.... Keyin män yenį izdenişkä kirişip kättim. (Sabirr, p. 150)
Having finished my article about people's oral literature, I gave it to the professor. Then I gave myself so deeply to my work (I was so deeply engrossed in my work), that I became who could not take a part of my time to write letters to my friends... Later, I went deeply into new research.

In (80), the author expressed how quick the reaction of Hoshur Imam and of "all people" to Amanqul's action were, by only using -p kät-, but not by any specific adverb such as quickly or suddenly. Therefore, these adverbs must be added to the English translation. In (81), -p kät denotes that the action untu- (to forget) will occur soon and tezla (soon, quick, quickly) agrees with -p kät- while it emphasizes the meaning "quickly". In (82), berilip kättim (I gave myself deeply) and kirišip kättim (I went deeply into) indicate that these actions performed and developed in depth.

7. It indicates a completely finished action. This can be seen from many examples like the following:

(83)(a) 54 ming yuwanlik quyun setilmay, baharya käl gündé

hëmmisi sesip kätti. (Sabir, p. 22)

Not have been sold, all the honey melons worth 54 thousand yuan (dollar) completely rotted when spring came.

(84)(a) Bäzi bir toylarınç árzimigan sëwëplär bilän

buzulup ketidiyanlıyınım bu bilimə. (Hashim, p. 72)

I also know that some weddings would be [completely] broken up by some worthless reason.

(85)(a) Uniñ silar körüp ötkän turmuşi pütünlay özgiğip

kätti. (Qadir, p. 65)

His life that you had seen before has [completely] changed.

This can be illustrated more clearly by only deleting -p kät- in above examples and comparing these two group of sentences:
(83)(b) 54 ming yuwanlik quyun setilmay, baharya kalqandä
hemisi sesidi.
Not having been sold, all the honey melons worth 54 thousand
dollar rotted when spring came.

(84)(b) Bäzi bir toylarnin érzimigan séwéplä bilän
buzuludiyänliyinimu bilimän.
I know that some weddings would be broken by some worthless
reasons

(85)(b) Unin silar korup ötkän turmuši putaýläy özgärdi.
His life that you had seen before has completely changed.

Although the sentences in group (b) are grammatically correct and carry basically the same
information with group (a), they are different in nuance. (83)(b) simply states the fact that
"all the honey melons worth 54 thousand dollar rotted" without giving the indication
whether the process of "rotting" was completed or not, while (83)(a) described the process
of "rotting" as having completely finished. (84)(b) only expresses that the process of
"braking" occurs. However, it does not indicate the completion of the process. On the
contrary (84)(a) denotes the completion of the process. Although (85)(b) is a
grammatically correct sentence, it is not stylistically preferable. A native writer or speaker
random say this kind of sentences. Since the adverb putaýläy (completely) modifies the
özgärði (changed), it is better to be incorporated with özgirip kätti like in the
original sentence (85)(a). Because özgirip kätti implies that the action had been
completed, it should be agreed with putaýläy (completely).

Since -p kät- expresses several meanings, how can one know what meaning it
expresses in a specific sentence? Indeed, sometimes it is not so obvious to figure out what
meaning it really expresses without a context or an adverb. For instance, from the
example:
(86) Siz bizni tezla untup ketisiz. (Sabirr, p. 419)

You will [very] quickly forget us.

if we leave out tezla (quickly, soon) or if we do not have a border context, we could not determine whether untup ketisiz indicates "you will very quickly forget" or "You will forget completely". Nevertheless, in actual language, we can always determine the meaning of -p kät- in a sentence according to the wider context, an adverb or the lexical meaning of the main verb. This may be illustrated by the following examples:

(87) "Sidiq šianjangniq sizgä közi ċušüp qaptu, toyiŋizni qilsaq däp oylawatimiz." däydu, bu qäpni äqlap jan-imanim čiqip kätti, ornimdin čačrap turup kättim.

(Sabir, p. 229)

"Governor Sidiq had settled his eyes on you. We were thinking to arrange you to marry [him]" he said. Hearing these words, I was extremely angry, and I [immediately] jumped up from my seat.

(88) Beijing Xan alla alliqachen mollaq stiq kätti. (Ötkür, p. 161)

The Beijing Khan had already fallen down.

The meaning of -p kät- in (87) is not obvious. If there is no wider context, jan-imanim čiqip kätti could be translated as "I was extremely angry", it also could be understood as "I was immediately angry". However, the wider context tells us that the speaker (a woman) does want to marry Governor Sidiq (see Sabir, pp. 229-230). According to this context and the lexical meaning of jan-iman čiq- (to be angry) which is usually modified by adverbs like "very much", "extremely", we can judge that "jan-imanim čiqip kät" means "I was extremely angry". In the sentence, "ornimdin čačrap turup kättim", as the previous verb čačra- means "to spur, to spout" which inherently expresses a quick action, we easily know that -p kät- indicates the
action was performed quickly or immediately. In most cases it is not difficult to figure out the actual meaning of -p käť- in a specific sentence like (88). In this sentence the adverb alliqāčan (already) gives the clue to determine that -ip käť- indicates a completed action.

-ip käť- can be used in the present-continuous tense, for instance:

(89) Meniğmu ičim puşup kätti. Bu biçarigā qarap yurāk-
başTIM ezilIP kETIватİDУ. (Ötkür, p. 20)
My heart was very depressed, too. Looking at this poor [girl], my heart
[and liver] is bleeding [is being depressed] [very much].

The frequency of the usage of -p käť- is very high in modern Uighur. It combines almost all of verbs except käť- itself.

8. When it is used in different types of negation, it has different meanings:

a. When it is used in the first type of negation (-p kätmā-) (see page 33), it should negate the corresponding meanings in the positive sentences. Actually, it is not the case. The most characteristic usage of this type of negation of -p käť- is to express a non-total performance of an action. Therefore, it is used to negate the above meanings of 4, 5, and 7. It will be illustrated by adding the negative suffix to (73)(a), (79)(a) and (83)(a) as the following:

(73)(b) Töt äskär bir nāččā dihanni hām tilalp, hām urup häydāp
keliwatqanlıyINİ kürÜp, Abduwayit ančā cöçÜP kāmidiTI.
Having seen that four soldiers were cursing and beating several peasants while they driving them towards him, Abduwayit was not very frightened.

(79)(b) ApändiMM qursiyI ančā ečİp kätmaŋtu.
Äpändi was not [very] hungry.

(83)(c) 54 mİng yuwanliŋ quyn setilmay, baharya kālgândā
hāmmIșI sesİp kätmiDI. (Sabir, p. 22)
Not have been sold, all the honey melons worth $4 thousand yuan
(dollar) were not completely rotten when spring came.

(73)(b) and (79)(b) express that the actions occurred, but performed not to an intensive or
an exhaustive degree. Sentence (83)(c) denotes that the action occurred, but was not
completely finished (a non-total performance).

b. When it is used in the second type of negation (-may kät-), it expresses
that the expected or desired result of the action was not produced. It is typically used when
the speaker wants to have the result of the action, but the action still has not been
completed, even though the action was performed intensively:

U qandaq kesäl, segaymay kättiyu? (Tömür, p. 408)

What kind of illness did he get? He has still not recovered.

This sentence expresses that the speaker hopes to have the result of the situation (to be
recovered), but the result has not yet been produced.

Seniŋ bu iśirmu törimay kätti. (Uigur tili mäsilîliri, p. 439)

Your work also has still not finished.

This sentence also denotes the speakers' desire to get the work done. But the work has not
been done yet, even though the subject worked on it intensively.

3.1.9 Meaning and Usage of -wät—(<-p āwät-)

There was an argument about the origin of -wät— among Uighurologists. "Hazirqi
Zaman Uighur Tili" by the Kazakhstan Academy of Science stated that -wät— came from
-p āt-. 43 The author of this dissertation also held the same opinion in his thesis,
"Uighur Tili Mäsilîliri". 44 Hämit Tömür and Ämir Nâjip consider that the origin of
-wät— is not -p āt-, but -p āwät— (to send, to send off). 45 Their opinions more
accurately reflect the facts of the Uighur language. Because, first, just like q1.1— (to do),
āt— (to do, to make) had never been used as a descriptive verb in a compound verbal
combination in Modern or Old Uighur as well as Kazakh and Uzbek. Secondly, when we compare -wät- in Uighur with -p jiber- (to send, to send off) in Kazakh and -p yubor (to send, to send off) in Uzbek, we can easily notice that they are almost the same in terms of the usage and meaning. Nevertheless, in Modern Uighur the form -p äwät- is not used in a compound verbal structure, instead -wät- is used. It might be that the following phonological changes occurred: The converbial suffix -p changed into -w-, and -p äwät- became -wäwät-, then wä dropped, and it finally became -wät-. As a grammaticalized morphological form, -wät- can not be used as an autonomous verb in any case, and it does not have a lexical meaning, but it has grammatical meanings which I will investigate in the following pages.

1. It denotes performance of an action to an intensive or an exhaustive degree, typically when it is modified by adverbs like bëk (very), intajin (extremely), qattiq (strongly). In this case, the meaning of -wät- is very similar to the meaning of -p kät-: the only difference is that -wät- is used with causative or transitive verbs, but -p kät- is used with reflexive or intransitive verbs. Compare the following examples:

(90) Qasim qiziq : "Käm yerini sän toşquiz, hây Ansari qara qoýyz" däp bämminä kûldûrûwätti. (Ötkür, p. 339)
    Funny Qasim made everybody laugh [very much] by saying: "You fill up the gap, hey, Ansari black worm"

(91) Coñlar arisida qarap turyän Tömür Xälpämu qaqaqlap külûp kâtti. (A. Ötkür, p. 339)
    Tömür Xälpä who was watching (them) among the elders also laughed [very] loudly.

In (91) -p kät- is used with the reflexive verb kûl- (to laugh) to express the intensive action, while -wät- is added to the causative verb kûl-dür- (to make somebody laugh) to render the same intensive action in (90). We can find many similar examples:
(92(a) Bu unīn käppini yaxšilaś orniya tätürisiča
yamanlašturtvätī. (Sabir, p. 124)
On the contrary, it made his mood [very much] worse instead of making it better.

(92(b) Unīn salamätliğī kündin-küngä yamanlišip ketivatattī.
His health was getting [very much] worse day by day.

(93(a) Hazir bošanliq bilän otküzuvätkän hær bir kün aylap qilinən išlərni zavə qilivetidu. (Qadir, p. 22)
A day which passes [completely] sluggishly now will waste [very much or completely] the work done within many months.

(93(b) Pişip kätkän qiciya oyaq salyanda unīn altundək yaltiraq danlira hær tərəfkə ceclip zavə bolup ketidu.
(Qadir, p. 25)
When one takes a sickle to rape flower(s) which are ripe, the shining golden rape seeds will spill up to every direction, and they will be wasted [very much or completely].

The difference between the sentences of group (a) and group (b) is that -wät- is used with the causative verbal forms to render an intensive action, whereas -p kät- is used with the reflexive forms of the verbs to render the same intensive action.

2. Like -p kät-, -wät- indicates that an action takes place suddenly or quickly, especially when is used with adverbs such as bidamdila (in a very short time).
However, unlike -p kät-, it does not express that an action extends deeply:

(94) Aptowuzniṣ silkinisi birdamdila unin xatirjamiligini buzuvätti. (Sabir, p. 227)
Bumping of the bus suddenly broke [disturbed] his calm.

(95) Bu avaz Muhāmmətni goya bidinla tok soquvətkändək
andiktürvätti.

This voice scared Muhämmät as if electricity suddenly struck him.

3. It denotes thorough and decisive action:

(96) Meni balaya tiqqili tas qalgan và bëxttin máhrum qilyan tamakunmu üzül-kesil tašlivättim. (Imin, p. 98)

I completely quit tobacco which almost got me into trouble and deprived me of my happiness.

(97) Yigit çaqaqanlıq bilqn kaldi-da eyiyqinin kökrigia bir-ikki pičaq uruwätti. (Ötkür, p. 9)

The young man quickly came and struck the bear with a knife.

In these examples -wäät- indicates that the actions are performed thoroughly or decisively.

4. While -wäät- expresses the above meanings (1, 2 and 3), it implies a completely finished action at the same time. It indicates that an action has no extension in time and marks the end of an action. From all the examples above (as well as the following sentences in which -wäät- is used) we can note that these actions have no extension outside the moment at which they occurred and the terminal point of the actions is reached:

(98) Ajayip-yarayip gäplär Ablaniğ bu adämğa bolsan köz qarişini biraqla ozgärtiwätıkän idi. (Sabir, p. 6)

Strange words (gossip) at once changed Abla's opinion [completely] of this man.

(99) Öz quşınıq qanitini üzüp čuşürüwetiptu. (Uighur Cočakli, p. 150)

The arrow broke the bird's wing and made it fall down.

(100) Muşu dorini ičsiniz kesiliñizni pütünlay saşaytiwitidu. (Tömür, p. 410)

If you drink this medicine, it will completely cure your illness.
The actions özgärivät-, čūsrūwet- and saqaytiwet- have no extension outside the moment at which they occurred and the terminal point of the actions is reached. Even if -wät- is used in a verbal noun or in the future tense, it still marks the end of an action. Consider the following sentence:

(101) Män bügün azapliniwatqan ekämän, dimak, turmušta özäm sazmıgân balda xata qädäm basqanım. Bu hata qädämniň izini turmuşumdin očürüvetişkä, ötkän išlarni tamamman untup ketişkä holmasmikin?. (Sabir, p. 424)

Since I am suffering today, it means that I unconsciously took wrong steps in life. Is it possible to wipe [obliterate] the trace of these steps [completely], to forget entirely the past events?

In this sentence, the action očür- (to wipe, to obliterate) itself has no definite end. After -üvet- <-üwat- is added, očürüwat- implies that the action has a definite end. The meaning of -wät- in a complex sentence with subordinate clause also scores the validity of the claim that it marks the end of the action:

(102) -- Män čıšım ayırganda tatquzuwetip qutulyan, -- dëptu Äápändi. (Uighur tili müsıliliri, p. 440)

"When I had a toothache, I god rid of it by having them pull it out," said Äápändi.

(103) Homey aididiki gös qiymisini bir tärępka eliwetip (< al-ivätip < al-ip äwätip), ornidin turdi (Sabir, p. 74)

The old woman took the ground lamb in front of her over to the other side, then stood up.

(104) Maysihan közini uvulavetip(<uwula-wät-ip) sinčlap qaridi. (İmin, p. 63)

Maysihan rubbed her eyes, and looked[him] attentively.
In these complex sentences, the use of -wät- in the subordinate clauses makes clear that the actions are in sequence, not simultaneous. That is to say, after the first action is completed, the second action occurs. Thus, in the above sentences -wät- can not be replaced by -tur-, which indicates the actions are simultaneous, not in sequence.

We also might test validity of the claim that -wät- marks the end of the action from the temporal and durational point of view. First of all, as we have seen that -wät- implies momentaneous actions (actions have no extension outside the moment at which they occurred), it means that the occurrence of the action is related to a point in time, not to a period of time. Although a point in time does not have to be specified like in all examples above, it can be added:

(105) Bu tapta yigit čaqqanlıq bilqan kaldi-da eyiyqiniğ kökriğigä bir-ikki piçaq uruvätti. (Ötkür, p. 9)

At that moment the young man quickly came and struck the bear with a knife.

Secondly, because -wät- emphasizes the end of an action at a given time, the occurrence of the action does not go beyond certain point in time. Consequently, -wät- usually does not allow the addition of durational adverbs such as üç saät (for three hours), ikki küm (for two days), on bãs minút (for fifteen minutes). For instance, these kind of durational adverbs are incompatible with -wät- in all sentences above. There is, however, one special case to be dealt with in connection with a durational adverb. Even though a sentences in which -wät- is used normally does not take a durational adverb, it allows the addition of unique and definite time periods:

(106) Boran bir aš pišim waqit içidä samanlarni yigirmä bir künlik yiraqılıqqa aspiretıptu (alip barip awätiptu).

(Uighur Çöçäklirin, p. 37)

The storm carried the dry grasses to twenty one days distance away within
the time in which one meal is cooked.

In this sentence, the action is completed within the unique and definite period (within the
time in which one meal is cooked).

5. 兩t- is only used in the first type of negation (the negative suffix comes
immediately after 兩t-), and negates the above meanings in positive sentences (1, 2, 3
and 4).

3.1.10 Meaning and Usage of 兩p tašla-

When it is independently used as an autonomous verb, the lexical meaning of tašla- is
"to throw", and it requires a noun or pronoun to be in the accusative case:

(107) Ümi maña tašlap berip, yol uçlara meniglär? (Haşim, p. 53)

Throw it to me and go on your way.

However, when tašla- combines with a converb in 兩p, its lexical meaning "to throw"
is to some extent lost and becomes general and abstract. It no longer governs a noun, but
the verb it combines with (a converb) does. In a compound verb the meanings of 兩p
tašla- are quite similar to the meanings 2, 3 and 4 of 兩t- . However, they have
slight differences in nuance. Below I attempt to show the similarities and differences by
comparing them:

1. Similar to 兩t-, it indicates that an action takes place suddenly or
quickly; they can replace each other. However, it seems that 兩p tašla- implies more
quick or sudden action than 兩t-. Compare:

(108)(a) Apropuzniği silkinişi bidamdila unijn xatirjamligini
buzuwätti. (Sabir, p. 227)

Bumping of the bus suddenly broke [disturbed] his calm.

(108)(b) Apropuzniği silkinişi bidamdila unijn xatirjamligini
buzup tašlidi.
Bumping of the bus suddenly broke [disturbed] his calm.

(109)(a) Gëlčimân qattiq hoduqiniin waqiravâtti.

Gëlčimân [suddenly] screamed, because she was greatly terrified.

(109)(b) Gëlčimân qattiq hoduqinidin waqirap tašlidi. (Abdulla, 184)

Gëlčimân [suddenly] screamed, because she was greatly terrified.

Even though the sentences of group (a) and group (b) express that the actions buz- and waqira- took place suddenly and quickly, the degree of the suddenness and quickness sounds stronger in group (b) and group than group (a).

2. Like -wät-, it denotes a thorough and a decisive action. Although they can replace each other, it seems that this meaning of -p tašla- is stronger than -wät-, it denotes more decisive action. Therefore, it expresses "to do something forcefully, with a great intention" (see Cirtautas, 1980, p. 192):

(110) Amanquł pičiyini elip kozni yumup açıca ikki čerikniŋ qarnini yerip tašlidi. (Ötkür, p. 391)

Amanquł took his knife, and before one can open and close his eyes [in a very short time] split the bellies of both soldiers.

In this sentence, -p tašla- can be replaced with -wät-. However, -p tašla- renders more powerful action. Therefore the use of -p tašla- is stylistically more suitable here.

3. While -p tašla- expresses the above meanings (1, 2 and 3), like -wät- it marks the end of an action:

(111) Düşmaannığ pillenini bit-čit gilip tašliduq. (Tomür, p. 411)

We [completely] crushed the plan of enemies.

(112) Qämärqul dærhal čujiangiŋ boynini uzüp tašlaptu. (Uighur Cočakli, p. 177)
Qämärül cut off the neck of the chicken.

These actions have no existence outside the moment at which they occurred.

We also might examine whether -p tašla- expresses the end of the action from the temporal and durational point of view. It expresses an action that occurred at a certain point in time, not a period of time. Therefore, it is not compatible with the present-continuous tense and it rejects the addition of durational adverbs such as üç saat (for three hours), ikki gün (for two days), on baş minut (for fifteen minutes). In all examples above -p tašla- can not be used in the present-continuous tense (-watimän/-watimän/-watiduetc.), and durational adverbs can not be added to these sentences.

-p tašla- and -wät- are synonyms, but not as total synonyms. They have some differences in nuance. This can be seen from the following two facts. First of all, although in some cases, but not in many -p tašla- and -wät- can be interchangeably used, in many case they cannot replace each other. For example, -wät- in examples (98), (99), (101) and (102) can be replaced by -p tašla-, and they carry almost the same information. However, -wät- in (103) and (104) can not be replaced by -p tašla-. This is probably because -p tašla- expresses forceful and more powerful actions, and in these cases, for instance, in (103) and (104) it is not adequate to use it. Secondly, -p tašla- is typically used when the subject does the action with a strong emotion or when the subject dislikes the object, as in (110), (111) and (112). By contrast, -wät- is neutral in regard of emotion. Another fact which can be easily noticed is that the frequency of the usage of -p tašla- is much less than of that -wät-. For instance, in Ötkür's novel, while -wät- is used in countless sentences, -p tašla- is used only in several sentences.

Unlike -wät-, -p tašla- keeps its original lexical meaning to some extend.

4. Grammatically, -p tašla- can be only used in the first type of negation
(p tašlama—). However, I could not find a single example in which it is used in a negative structure from Uighur publications. Nevertheless, it can be used in a negative structure only in an imperative sentence in the spoken language, for example:

(113) Unin čirayi bæk külkilik, uni körgäđä külüp tašlama!

His face is very funny, do not burst to laugh when you see him.

Even though -p tašla— usually is not used in a negative form, it is used frequently in negative statements as exemplified in the following negative sentence:

(114) Tömür Häl présente dide:

"Bir tal tašni qomuriyetiš bilän Bugda teşini yulutuwakti bolmiya oxşas, meni öltütrüvetiš bilän iš tugimaydu, pütüm bir xalqi qirip tašlaš qoluylardin kälmätdu. (Ötkür, p. 395)

Tömüt Hälprésent said this:

"Just as it is impossible to make the Bugda Mountain fall down by moving away one of its rocks, it is not possible to finish this issue [uprising] by killing me. You are not able to kill off [completely] all the people [whole nation]."

3.1.11 Meaning and Usage of -p qal-

The basic lexical meaning of qal— is "to remain, to stay", and it requires a noun to be in locative case suffix or in dative case, when it is used as an autonomous word:

(115) Sän kätting, män qaldim išik aldida.

Xoş digän şu sözün qaldi yadima. (Uighur folklore song)

You went away, I remained in front of the door,

The word that you said "good-by" remained in my mind.

However, when it combines with a converb in -p, the basic lexical meaning "to
remain, to stay* of qal- becomes general and abstract or loses, and it no longer governs a noun. -p qal- combines with most of the intransitive or reflexive verbs and with some of the transitive verbs in the lexicon, therefore the frequency of its usage is very high and it expresses many meanings as follows:

1. It frequently expresses that an action has an achievement or result. It is used when emphasis is placed on the result or consequence of the action, not the action itself:

(116) U pulni tartmiya saldi. Han yeniklēp qaldīm.

He put the money into the drawer, I was relieved.

(117) Boway bassisini üč nōvāt ayländeryanikān, čaşgan yūyān bir ala muşūkkā aylinip qaptu. (<aylinip qaliptu).

(Uighur Coćakli, p. 50)

The old man turned around his walking stick three times, the rat had been changed into a multi-colored cat.

(118) Padiša yalyuz qizi Ayjamalniñ Baxtīyārya mayil bolup galvaniqini sezip qaptu (qaliptu). (Uighur Coćakli, p. 113)

The Padisha had discovered that his only daughter Ayjamal became infatuated with Baxtiyar.

(119) U šu tapta jazmān Urūmchīda qelip qelişiň (<qailp qelişiň) başqa emallirini oylavatidu. (Sabir, p. 35)

At this moment he is definitely thinking about other ways of having remained in Ürümchi.

In (117), the old man attained the achievement (changed the rat into a cat) by turning around his walking stick three times. The speaker emphasizes this achievement, not the action itself. If -p qal- is deleted in (117), even though ayliniptu (changed) denotes
that the action took place, it does not emphasize the achievement of the action, but the occurrence of the action. In (118), the speaker also wants to present the resultant state produced by the action rather than the action itself. In (119), qal– is used both as the main verb and as a descriptive verb. As the main verb qal– expresses the action itself, -p qal– indicates the result of the action. In (119), although -p qal– is in the verbal noun form (which does not denote that the action took place), it still renders the resultative meaning. The result may be desirable or undesirable, but it seems that Uighur speakers tend to use -p qal– to express an undesirable result in most cases. For example:

(120) U qolidik huquqtin ayrilib qaldi. (Uighur tili mäsiliiliiri, p. 432)
He was deprived (separated) of his power.

(121) Akam ayirip qalyn (Ötkür, p. 138)
My older brother was sick.

(122) Hoş, āpu qilsila, mán bu gāpni untup qaptiman. (Ötkür, p. 115)
Well, forgive me, I have forgotten this word.

(123) Yazma bayliqlarниң taşlinip qalyni rastqu. (Sabir, p. 79)
It is true that the written resources had been thrown away.

2. Related to the meaning 1, it often indicates that the result of the action "continues to be evident" (see Cirtautas, 1980, p. 238). In this case, the result remains up till to the moment of speaking or up to the moment when another action changes that result:

(124) Āpāndim, közüm ayirip qaldi, nimā dora qilsam bolar?
(Uighur tili mäsiliiliiri, p. 433)
My Āpāndi, my eyes have been hurting, what kind of drug can I take?

(125) Köşlidā kāćkān heliqi şerin xiyal köləngisi āmdı büğüm rast iš bolup geliwatamdu (qal-ip yətəmandu)? (Ötkür, p. 56)
Is that sweet dream which had past through his mind really becoming true today?

(126) --Kitaplar tioysiida gap bolsa damam bümmini untup qalidu, --didi Raziya külümşirap, -- dada, bazirmu untup qalidigiz! Mumu mahanlarni gap bilan kutüşkä bolmaydu, qeni sa rayya yıqayli, yıza suvup qalaisun. (Sabir, p. 26)

"If there is talk about books, my father forgets everything," said Raziya and smiled: "Daddy, now you have forgotten again! It is not possible to receive these guests only with talk. Let us go up to the dining room, and may the (hot) dishes not have become cool"

In (124), even though qalip qalidi is being used in the definite-past tense, the result of the action qal- (to hurt, to pain) remains up till to the moment of speaking. Therefore, the speaker can continue saying "what kind of drug can I take?". If we delete -p qal-, the sentence would be közüm ayirdi (My eyes hurt). This sentence simply states that the action occurred, it does not give any indication if the result of the action remains until the moment of speaking. In (125) -p qal- also implies that the result of the action (state) remains unaltered up to the moment of speaking, thus in this sentence the present-continuous tense suffix could be added. Because -p qal- expresses that the result remains up to the moment of speaking, or up to the moment when another action alters that result, an Uighur speaker uses -p qal- in the recent-past tense to express the present state (the result of the action). This can be clearly seen if we compare the differences between the tense usage in Uighur and English in some very common expressions:

English sentences:

I am sick (today).

I am laie (now).

It is almost one o'clock.
I am upset (now).

In these English sentences the present tense is used to express the state of the object at present. But when an Uighur speaker wants to express the same idea, he (she) would use the recent-past tense:

(127) Ayirim qaldim. (I am sick) [now].
(128) Kečikip qaldim. (I am late) [now].
(129) Seät bir bolup galdi. (It is almost one o’clock) [now].
(130) Xapa bolup galdi. (I am upset) [now].

3. Since -p qal- denotes the result or achievement of an action, consequently, it expresses completion of an action.

(131) Tümür yigitlik quramiya yatkandä heli usta yavgcci bolup galdi. (Ötkür, p. 33)

By the time Tümür reached his young adult age, he had become a quite skillful carpenter.

(132) Sundaq hic qamlašmiyan bir oy kalamya kirip galdi.
(Qadir, p. 54)

That sort of bad idea came into my head.

"Completion of an action" is not necessarily its actual completion. It means that the speaker wants to present an action as a total event which has an end. It may be occur in the future or at present, as in example (124) and the following sentence:

(133) Ulup išqa bäl bayliyan bir yaś qati bolmisa bärqanča aqilliq bolyini bilän yerim yolda toxtap galdi. (Sabir, p. 113)

If a young person who decided to do great work is not persistent, he stops halfway, even if he is so smart.

4. It implies that the action of the subject occurs unexpectedly, unconsciously
or suddenly. In this case it is usually accompanied by some adverb of manner like suddenly, unexpectedly etc., or an appropriate context which gives such background:

(134) *Nimištqa yarê unîn bu išni birdîla qîlyusi kelîp qaldî ikân?* (Uighurt tili mäsiliri, p. 433)

Why did he suddenly want to do this work again, I wonder.

(135) Gûlcimândî kütûlmînî bu jasarašt aldîda Tashway *hodugup qaldî.* (Abdulla, p. 145)

In the face of the unexpected courage of Gûlcimân, Tashway was flustered.

(136) Yârdîn umûn çiqqandâk heliqi pakar boyluq adâm pâyda *bolup qaldî.* (Polat, p. 175)

That short man appeared, as if he had come up from the ground [suddenly or unexpectedly].

(137) Män unîn yalan ayaq ikânîgînî anâsiz raviştâ bayqap *qaldîm.* (Hashim, p. 56)

I unconsciously noticed that he was barefoot.

In (134) -ip qal- is accompanied by birdinla (suddenly); in (135) it agrees with an unexpected situation. In (136) -ip qal- is also used to express the sudden and unexpected action with the background information (as if he had come up form the ground). In (137) it agrees with the adverbial expression anâsiz raviştâ (unconsciously) to emphasize the action is performed unconsciously.

5. When it is combined mostly with intransitive or reflexive verbs, it denotes that "the subject is forced to do the action, or is only passively involved in the action." (Cirtautas, 1980, p. 238).

(138) Oqi tügiändin keyin, u miltiyinî paynîgi bilân bir qanča čerikniŋ beșini yarîdî, axiri köpkä tân kelâlmay golya *cušüp qaldî.* (Ötkür, p. 180)
After his bullets ran out, he broke the heads of several soldiers with his rifle butt; finally, he was not able to beat many of them, and fell into [their] hands.

(139) Oyli ketidiyan boldi, ana yëmkin bolup galdi, kožirini yumup bir hazayiča alturup galdi (Rozi, p. 133)

As her son was going to leave, mother became [could not help becoming] sad, she closed her eyes and sat there for a long time.

(140) U axirip gelip, içi turtimay sürüp, olup qaptu (qalıptu).

(Uighur Cočakliri, p. 48)

He got sick, suffered constantly from diarrhea, and he died.

(141) Bu mavsumu axirlisip galdi, bir haptidin keyin imtihan başliniði. (Tömür, p. 402)

This quarter is almost over. After a week, the examinations will start.

(142) Mëtniyaznic qicişi pişip galdi. (Qadir, p. 25)
Mätiniyaz's rape flower was almost ripe.

(143) **Maqalam pütüp qalādi, hulasa qisimini yezip bolsam tamaman tüğāydu.**

My article is almost finished. If I finish writing the conclusion, it will be completely finished.

7. -p qal- is used in all three types of negation, and in these different types of negation it denotes different meanings, which I will examine below:

a. When the negative suffix immediately follows qal- (the first type of negation), it is used for denying the meanings of the corresponding affirmative sentences. Normally, it is used to reply to a question in which -p qal- is used, like in the following example:

   (144) -- Būğūn möjlis barliyini untup qaldīnz mu?

   -- Yaq, untup qalmidim.

   "Have you forgotten [unconsciously] there is a meeting today?"

   "No, I have not forgotten."

However, this type of negation is rarely used in the past tense. In publications, I could not find a single sentence in which -p qal- is used in this type of negation with the past tense. Nevertheless, this type of negation is mostly used to express an undesirable situation in the future. It is used especially in the voluntative-optative form when the speaker does not want the action or the result of the action to occur, as in (126) and the following examples:

(145) **Dadisi, bu iş bolmaids. mundaq ötüwerip bu ayla qizim ayirip qalmiyay.** (Ötkür, p. 19)

His father (term for addressing husband), the situation is not good. If the situation keeps going in this way, I am afraid that this lady, my daughter, will get sick[I do not want it to happen].

(146) **Gülbahar, qizim, çayni quyup turıyina, suuwup qalmisun.**
(Ötkür, p. 19)

Gülbahar, my daughter, pour the tea constantly [into the cup], do not let the tea get cold.

Here -p qalma- is used in the first type of negation, because the speaker does not want the result (to get sick, to get cold), or speaker wants to avoid the result.

b. Usually, when it is used in the second type of negation (-may qal-), it negates the above meanings in the corresponding affirmative sentences; for example, sentence (134) can be negated like this:

(147) Nimišqa yänä unū bu iśni birdila qilyusi kâlmâv galdi ikân?

Why did he suddenly not want to do this work any more, I wonder.

This negation in the past tense signifies sudden non-performance of the action. This type of negation whether in the past tense or in the future tense, may indicate that the expected or desired result of the action was not, or will not be produced:

(148) Aččiyim kâlgâanligidin sizni pâqât körmâv qaptimân.

(<gelîptimân <gelîptimân). (Hoshur, p. 40)

Because I was angry, I did not see you.

(149) Su čayda Qaragirqa zuwan kirip: "Uč kûn'capsam tuyaqlitirîm qizîp, özûmî tæxîtišqa qudritim vætmây galdiu," dedi. (Uihghur Cočäkliri, p. 168)

At that time Qaragir [the horse] said: "If I run three days, my feet will be hot, and I will not have the strength to stop myself."

c. When it is used in the third type of negation (both main verb and descriptive verb take negative suffix), it expresses a positive meaning. In this case, affirmation is stronger than in a positive sentence. Compare:

(149) Bu xawârni ular âqlîmay qalmaydu. (Tömür, p. 403)
Lit.: They will not remain without hearing this news.

They definitely will hear this news.

(150) Bu xawrîni ular anlaydu.

They will hear this news.

This type of the negation is frequently used in the spoken language. As was mentioned earlier, the Turkic languages including Uighur lack adverbs like "definitely", "certainly". These meanings, therefore, are expressed by means of "the negation of negation" of some compound verbs.

3.1.12 Meaning and Usage of -p qoy-

The basic lexical meaning of qoy- is "to put", and it takes the accusative or dative case suffixes when it is used as an autonomous word:

(151) Qasim sâmîsinî tîziya qoydi. (Dugayli, p. 248)

Qasim put his bag on his knees.

(152) Mân iki qâca gül setivelîp derizîgâ qoyup qoydum. (Sabîr, p. 96)

I bought two vases of flowers, and have put [them] on the window.

It combines only with a converb in -p, and forms compound verbs in Uighur. The frequency of its usage is very high. It combines with almost all causative or transitive verbs and with some intransitive or reflexive verbs. However, when qoy- is used in a compound verb, the basic lexical meaning "to put" is lost to some extent, it becomes general and abstract and it no longer requires the accusative or dative case. In this case -p qoy- expresses the following meanings:

1. Similar to -p qal-, -p qoy- frequently expresses that an action has an achievement or a result. It is used when a speaker emphasizes the result or the consequence of an action, not an action itself. However, in this case -p qoy- is used
with causative or transitive verb; while -p qal- is used with reflexive or intransitive verbs. Compare the following sentences:

(153) --Sán bék kičik ikánsán,... mán seni čonraq bir haywanya aylanurup qoyay,-- däptu boway wä hassisini üç nöwät aylanduryanikän, čašqan yuqan bir ałä muşükä aylinip qaptu. (Uighur Cóčäklir, p. 50)

"You are too small,... I will change you into a bigger animal," said the old man and when he had turned around his walking stick three times, the rat had been changed into a big multi colored cat.

(154) Yerim yil ičidä, Qumul wä Urümčidä bolup ötkän bu wäqälär, bu tökuluvatqan qanlar Tömür Hälpinì bašqä bir adäm qilip goydi. (Ötkür, p. 43)

The events that had happened in Urumchi and Qumul during the half year, and the blood which had been shed had made Tömür Hälpä a different man.

(155) Tömür yigitlik quramiya yätkändä heli usta yayačci bolup qaldì. (Ötkür, p. 33)

When Tömür reached his adulthood, he had become a skillful carpenter.

In (153), both aylanurup qoyay and aylinip qaptu express the same achievement, but -p qoy- is used with the causative form aylanur- (to cause to change), whereas -p qal- is used with the reflexive verb aylan- (to be changed). In (154) -p qoy- is chosen to agree with the transitive verb qil- (to do); in contrast, -p qal- is used with the intransitive verb bol- in (155).

2. Related to the meaning 1, it is also capable of conveying the completion of an action.

(156)(a) Qomuşni orup goyqan, yayačni kesip goyqan eduq. (Uighur tili màsilirì, p.428)
We had mowed the grass and cut the wood.

(157)(a) Mānsāp berip öyümni tarlaşturup goydiñiz. (Nәsәrdәn āpәndi әтәпиләрә, p. 40)
You gave me the official position and made my house narrow.

(158)(a) Momay özinin qız toyida kiyyân doppisini uimyä
kiyyuzup goydi. (Õtkür, p. 17)
The old woman put the doppa (hat) which she had worn at her wedding on
the girl.

(159)(a) Yәrimiyan bolsәm qәldurup goyңәләр. (Sabir, p. 86)
If I have not pleased you, leave me off.

(160)(a) Bilip goyүң, bәraq sizni axirida kerәksiz адәm qилип
gөүдү. (Sabir, p. 218)
You should know [well] that alcohol eventually will make you
a [completely] useless person.

In all these examples -p qoy- emphasizes the completion of the actions. The completion
of the actions are not indicated if -p qoy- is deleted in these examples like the following:

(156)(b) Qoмыәni oгың, ыяәчән кәскәn edәq.
We mowed the grass and cut the wood.

(157)(b) Mәnsәp berip öyümni tarlaštәrdиңиz.
You gave me the official position and made my house narrow.

(158)(b) Momay özinin qız toyida kiyyân doppisini uimyә
kiyyuzdi.
The old woman put the doppa (hat) which she had worn at her wedding on
the girl.

(159)(b) Yәrimиyan bolsәm qәldүүәләр.
If I have not pleased you, leave me off.
(160)(b) Biliğ, haraq sizni axirida keraksiz adam qilidu.

You should know that alcohol eventually will make you a useless person.

It is obvious that the sentences (159)(b) and (160)(b) in the present-future tense do not express the completion of the actions, but only denote the performance of the action in the future or at present, even though they leave open the possibility that the result or the completion of the action may be attained. Although the sentences (156)(b), (157)(b) and (158)(b) in the past tense do express that these actions did take place and these actions might be finished or completed in actual situations, they fail to assert or even to imply the completion of the actions. This is because the past tense itself does not necessarily imply a notion of completion of an action, it only marks the performance of an action in the past. In contrast, in the sentences of the group (a) -p qoy- is used to assert the completion of the action or to present the action as a whole event regardless of the past or present tense.

The usage of -p qoy- in subordinate clauses of a complex sentence also confirms that -p qoy- signals the completed action:

(161) Sahzadə padişanını uzitip qoyup, çar beyida qonup qaptu. (Uighur Çöçäklirii, p. 100)

Shahzada (the prince) had seen off the padishah, and then he settled down (to pass the night) in the garden of the palace.

In (161) -ip qoyup implies that the action uzat- (to see off) reached the final point, and it gives the indication or condition for the second action qon- (to settle down) to take place. If qoyup is not used in this sentence, uzitip itself alone can not express that the action is finished. The conversational suffix -p is capable of expressing both simultaneous actions and sequences of actions. This is obvious in the sentences:

(162) Adilə ikimiz uni uzitip baryan iduq. (Sabir, p. 148)

Both Adilə and I went to see her off.

(163) Bir nacça yuz kisi Tömür Hälpinı uzitip Törükkiçä
käldi. (Ötkür, p. 371)

Several hundred people came to Törük to see Tömlü Xälpa off.

In both sentences uzitip does not express the completion of the action, because the conversational suffix -p can express both simultaneous actions, as in example (162) and (163), and the sequence of actions depend on the situational context. When the conversational suffix -p expresses that the actions are in sequence, it only presents the order of the actions in which they take place with no clear indication of completeness. Therefore, -ip qoy- (uzitip qoyup) is chosen in (161) to assure the completion of the action uzat- (to see off).

For the same reason, in the subordinate clauses of the following complex sentences, -ip qoy- is used because the speaker wants to emphasize that after the first action finished, the second action occurred and then the third action occurred.

(164) Bir kişi uni tutuvelip, bayalap qoyup rasa savidi. (Imin, p. 62)

A man caught him, and then tied [him] up, and beat (him) severely.

(165) U kitap wä lüyätlärni heliqi xadimya qaldirup qoyup ketip qaptu. (Sabir, p. 82)

He had left the books and dictionaries to that official and then gone.

In (164) after the first action tut- is finished (indicated by -wä1-), the second action bayalap qoyup in the subordinate clauses makes clear that the action bayala- (to tie) is completed, then the third action took place. In (165) -up qoy- also marks that the first action qaldur- (to leave) is finished, then the second action is completed (indicated by -p qäl-).

3. Similar to -p qäl-, it implies that the action of the subject occurs unexpectedly, unconsciously or suddenly when it is accompanied by some adverbs of manner like suddenly, unexpectedly etc., or in a context which gives such background. In
this sense, the difference between -p qøy- and -p qal- is that -p qøy- is used with causative or transitive verbs; whereas -p qal- is used with reflexive or intransitive verbs, e.g.

(166)(a) Gülčimändiki kütülmişän bu jasarät aldida Taşway

*hodugup qaldi.* (Abdulla, p. 145)

In the face of the unexpected courage of Gülčimän, Tashway was flustered.

(166)(b) Gülčimändiki kütülmişän bu jasarät Taşwayni hodugturup qoydi.

The unexpected courage of Gülčimän made Tashway flustered.

(167)(a) Soý su ičmän, ayirim galisiz. (Tömür, p. 405)

Do not drink cold water, [otherwise] you will get sick.

(167)(b) Soý su ičmän, ayritip qoydu. (Tömür, p. 405)

Do not drink cold water, it makes you get sick.

In (166)(a) -up qal- is used with the intransitive verb hodug- (to be flustered) and accompanied by kütülmişän (unexpected) to express that the action occurred unexpectedly and suddenly; while in (166)(b) -up qøy- is used with the causative verb hodugtur- (to fluster) to express the same meaning. Both (167)(a) and (167)(b) imply the same unconscious action (to get sick), but -ip qal- is used with the intransitive verb ayir-, whereas -ip qøy- is used with the causative verb ayrit-.

4. It indicates a slight occurrence of an action, typically when it is accompanied by some adverbs such as bir az (a little), āsta (lightly) or with a suitable context. In this case, it implies that the subject performs the action with not much effort or with ease, with caution or with restrain, as exemplified in the following sentences:

(166)(a) Zulhumar meni naz bilän āsta urup qoydi. (Sabir, p. 58)

With a charm Zulhumar patted me lightly.

(167)(b) Mašinin işi mundaq onay bāl bolup gelişi(qal-işi)meni
adattin taşqiri xoşal qiliwätti. (Haşim, p. 212)

Solving the car problem so easily made me extremely happy.

(168)(a) Dadam tumaqniñ üstini ottura barmiyi bilan besip sāl oričkläštürüp qoydi-dā, andin uni heridarniñ beşiya pām bilan asta gondurup qoydi. (Polat, p. 185)

As soon as my father had made the hat a little bit concave by pressing it with his middle finger, then he skillfully and gently put it on the customer’s head.

In all these examples -p qoy- is used to describe the performance of the actions to a limited extent. One can test whether -p qoy- indicates slight occurrence of an action by the adverbs which agree with it. It would be unacceptable to substitute for the adverbs in group (a) their antonyms, such as qattiq (strongly) instead of asta, tās (difficult) instead of qoray (easily), bāk (very much) instead of sāl (a little bit) etc., as in the following:

(166)(b) *Zulxumar meni naz bilān qattiq urup qoydi.

With a charm Zulhumar patted me severely.

(167)(b) *Naşininiñ mundaq tās bāl bolup gelişi(qal-işi)meni adattin taşqiri xoşal qiliwätti.

Solving the car problem with such difficulty made me extremely happy.

(168)(a) *Dadam tumaqniñ üstini ottura barmiyi bilan besip bāk oričkläštürüp qoydi-dā, andin uni heridarniñ beşiya pām bilān qattiq gondurup qoydi.

As soon as my father had made the hat very much concave by pressing it with his middle finger, then skillfully he put it on the customer’s head strongly.

These sentences in (b) are probably grammatically correct, but they are unacceptable. The reason is that the adverbs which describe a strong or intensive performance of an action
such as qattiq (strongly), tās (difficult, with difficulty) and bāk (very much) are incompatible with -p qoy- which indicates a slight degree of occurrence of an action. On the contrary, these adverbs are compatible with -p kāt-, -väät- and -p tašla-, which indicate performance of an action to an exhaustive or intensive degree. In this sense -p qoy- forms a sharp contrast with -p kāt-, -väät- and -p tašla-.

Because -p qoy- expresses slight occurrence of the action, it is frequently used with the verbs which inherently express a slight development of the action like külüsira- (to smile gently), sila- (to caress) to be in coherence with them:

(168) Lewini aranla miiritiŋ kümüsiräŋ qoyatti. (Sabir, p. 69)
She smiled gently by hardly moving her lips.

4. -p qoy- is also used in all three types of negation, and it denotes different meaning in these different types of negation:

a. When the negative suffix immediately follows qoy-, generally, the meaning of the negative sentence may be opposed to the above corresponding meanings of affirmative sentences. However, this type of negation of -p qoy- is typically or mostly used for emphasizing the meaning "not even" or "not at all":

(169) Qarapmu qoymaydu, halawwur qiz ikān. (Sabir, p. 67)
She does not even look at [me]; she is indeed an arrogant girl.

(170) Qiz bir qetimmu maŋa qarap qoymidí. (Sabir, p. 82)
The girl did not look at me [at all] even once.

(171) Arupakam qanča zorlisimü, burun bu yärğă čicip
qoymiyinimyä puşayman qildim (Șipă, p. 69)
I regretted that I had not come here even [once] before, although Arup aka insisted so many times that I come so many times.

b. When it is used in the second type of negation (-may qoy-), it usually indicates omission of an action, or implies that the subject firmly refuses to do the action.
(172) 
Waqtin berin, homiyandin keyin barmay qoy. (Tomur, p. 406)

Since you do not have time, do not go.

(173) 
-Qerişqandak ular menin pikirimi tinnimay qoydi. (Çipä, p. 93)

As if they opposed me, they did not listen to my opinion [refused to listen to my opinion].

(174) 
Unu öygä kirişka kör zurlidim, kirmay qoydi. (Tomur, p. 406)

I insisted that he came home, [but] he [firmly] refused to come in.

In (172) the speaker might know that the subject (you) had planned to go. Since the subject does not have time, the speaker suggests omitting the action. In (173) and (174) the negation -may qoy- signifies that the subject firmly refuses to do the action.

c. When it is used in the third type of negation (both the main verb and the descriptive verb take negative suffix), it expresses affirmative meaning. Specifically, it denotes the subject's firm determination to do the action:

(175) 
Nima disilä, disilä, u Qazaq qizini oyümga apkalimay qoymaymän. (Ötkür, p. 53)

What do you say, you say, I will [definitely] bring that Kazakh girl to my home. (lit.: I will not put down [stop] without bringing that Kazakh girl to my home.)

(176) 
Yigit beşim aman borsa, oč almay qoymaymän. (Ötkür, p. 168)

As long as I am alive, I will [certainly] take revenge.

(177) 
Har qetim kälginidä qadirlik oqutqučisi Sadir akini yoglimay qoymaytti (Arislan, p. 148)

Every time he came, he [surely] visited his respectable teacher, Sadir aka.
3.1.13 Meaning and Usage of -wal- (< -p al-)

The basic lexical meaning of al- is "to take, to get," and it takes the accusative case suffix, when it is used as an autonomous word;

(178) Meniň kitäbümni alma.

Do not take my book.

It combines both with a verb in -p and with a verb in -a, and forms different compound verbs in Uighur. First, I will examine the meaning and usage of -p al-, and then I will explain the meaning and usage of -a al-.

-p al- has a phonetic change in a compound verb; the verbal suffix -p changed into -w, and -p al- became -wal-(iwal-/-uwal-/-uwal-). Thus, -p al- became like the suffix -wal-, and it, as a morphological form, is added directly to the stem of a verb, expressing the following meanings:

1. It expresses that an action is performed for the benefit of the subject or in the direction of the subject, for example:

(179) Maña xat qilip barsiqiz, bir at-harwa eliwalay (al-ip alay). (Uighur tili mäşilleri, p. 448)

Please write a letter [receipt] for me, I will buy a horse and a cart.

(180) Sän u balitni qoy, siqlim, hec bolmisa siyasi qanun yaki til- ädibiyat fakultitiya alimišiwal. (Sabir, p. 10)

Stop [studying] [at the department of] Ballet, my younger sister; at least, switch to the Department of Political law or Language and Literature.

2. While it expresses the above meaning, it implies that the action has a result or an achievement. Therefore, when the main interest of a speaker is to get the result of the action, he/she may prefer to use -wal-. This use of -wal- can be seen from the above examples as well as from the following examples:

(181) Ximiänän muräkkäp formulaliri qanča qiyin bolsimu, u
uni biliwelinça (bilip alişa) tirişatti. (Hoshur, p. 17)
He tried to know [well] the complicated formulas of chemistry, even if they are so difficult.

(182) Tömüraxun hálpa boluwilip, muradiya yätti. (Ötkür, p. 333)
Tömüraxun became xälpa, and he reached his goal.

(183) Millâtlär aş-sâviyâlik bolup ittipagilişiysıvalsa,
ularni başqurmaçaq täs bolidu. (Ötkür, p. 333)
If the nationalities have consciousness and if they are united, it will be difficult to control them.

3. Frequently, -wal- expresses that the achievement of the result is desirable for the subject as in all the above examples. Therefore, it may denote that the action is performed purposefully, consciously, successfully, quickly or skillfully. This meaning of -wal- usually arises when it is accompanied with such adverbs (e.g., successfully, quickly, skillfully) or at least in a such context which gives this background information, as exemplified by the following sentences:

(184) Yolwas özügä etilyanda, u ğabdâslîk bilân bir čätkâ otûwaldi. (Uighur tilî mäsilîri, p. 450)
While the tiger attacked him, he quickly past [dodged] to one side.

(185) Kitaplirinizni köydyrğän čayda, bu xatirini tuydurmay qoynuysa tğiwalya edim. (Uighur tilî mäsilîri, p. 450)
When they [Red guards during the cultural revolution] burned your books, I had hidden this [your] diary into my bosom, without letting them notice [when they did not notice].

(186) Yigit qızya bir-ikki qetim cariwaldi. (Ötkür, p. 10)
The young man looked [purposefully] at the girl one or twice.

Although most of the time -wal- denotes achievement of a desirable result, it may express
that the result is undesirable, e. g.

(187) — Apla, qu'lpiizni kesiwapsiz (kisip alipsiz)— ha! — didi. (Turdi, p. 75)

"My God, you have cut you fingers, oh!" said she.

(188) Bilmäy qaldim, ...özüm koliyan oriya özüm dässävelip putumnii sunduruwaldim.

I did not know.... I realized that I [unconsciously] stepped in the hole which I had dug myself, and I had broken my leg.

However, this meaning arises only in the case in which it is logically clear that the result is undesirable for the subject. Only in such a situation, —wal— implies that the action is performed unconsciously, as in (187) and (188).

4. While it implies that the action has a result or an achievement, it consequently conveys the completion of performance of an action. This is due to the fact that a result or achievement of an action simultaneously indicates that the action is completed or will be completed, e.g.

(189) — Balam Xujaxmät, ouqušnimu heli oguwaldiriņ, ämdä seni oyläp quyuşqimu waqit yätäti.

— Apla, texi meniņ oyumda öyliniš yoq, hönär uqinwalay däymän. (Mäside, p. 18)

"My child [son], Xojaxmät, as for study, you have studied quite well [you have completed your study]; it is time to get you married."

"Mother, now I do not want to get married yet, I want to learn art well.

(190) Gülbaharni haryinliqпутünlärй āsir gilwalyanliyi üçün tamaqqa iştiiyi soqmay halsizlinip yitip qaldı.

(Turdi, p. 77)

Because tiredness completely controlled Gülbahar, she did not have any
appetite for food, she was exhausted, and she went to bed.

There are several ways of testing whether \(\text{wal}^-\) denotes the completion of performance of an action. One of them is that \(\text{wal}^-\) cannot be used in the present-continuous tense (marked by \(\text{matimn}/\text{matisn}/\text{batidu}\), etc.), nor in the past-continuous tense (marked by \(\text{matqan idim}/\text{matiqan idiq}/\text{matqan idi}\), etc.). The second way of testing is that \(\text{wal}^-\) is incompatible with adverbs of duration, such as \(\text{ikki sa\text{"a}t}\) (two hours, for two hours), \(\text{b\text{"a}\text{"u}n}\) (five days, for five days), \(\text{ikki sa\text{"a}ttin beri}\) (for two hours) and \(\text{bir y"ildin beri}\) (for one year).

The use of \(\text{wal}^-\) in a subordinate clauses of a complex sentence also confirms the validity of the point that it implies a completed action, this can be explained by comparing the following complex sentence with a simple sentence:

(191) \(\text{Angli\c{c}ini b\'as y\'il "ug"\'andim}.\)

I studied English for five years.

(192) \(\text{Angli\c{c}ini b\'as y\'il u\'g\'inip, u\'g\'inivaldim}.\)

I studied English for five years, and I mastered it.

In (191) the speaker just states the fact "I studied English for five years". Although it is used in the past tense, it does not give any indication whether the action is completed or not. However, in (192) \(\text{u\'g\'inival}^-\) marks that the action has the end and the result.

Here are more examples:

(193) \(\text{Ap\'andi e\'si\'kini\'n quy\'ru\'nini kesi\'velip (<k\'as-ip alip), horjuni\'ya seli\'waptu (<sal-ip ali\'ptu). (T\'om\'ur, p. 412)}\)

\(\text{Ap\'andi had cut off the tail of his donkey, then had put it into his bag.}\)

(194) \(\text{Al\'was\'t\'i ma\'na bu kari\'wati asti\'ya kiri\'waptu (<kir-ip ali\'ptu), \'ce\'cini yulu\'velip (<yul-up alip), koydursak ikkin\'ci k\'al\'maydi\'yan bolifu. (Uighur \'co\'cakliri, p. 19)}\)

\(\text{Here, the evil went under the bed. If we pull off its hair and burn it, it will}\)
not come here next time.

The reason why -wal- is used here is that the speaker wants to emphasize that after the first action finished, the second action occurred (or occurs).

5. -wal- is only used in the first type of negation (-walma-). In general, the meaning of the negative sentence may be opposed to the corresponding meanings of affirmative sentences. However, the negative form -walma- is usually used for a negative reply (or denial) to a question or a command in which -wal- is used in dialogue:

(195) Gülsüm hâdâ, -- buni eliwal(alip al), qizim, ussiyanda icârsân, -- dép qolidiki çaydanni uzatti.(Turdi, p. 115)

--Yaq, çaydanni eliwalmay, apa, kitap somkamni eliwalay!

"Take this, my daughter, when you are thirsty, you may drink it." said Gülsüm hâdâ, and she passed her the thermos.

"No, mother, I will not take the thermos, I will take my book case."

3.1.14 Meaning and Usage of -a al-

When al- combines with a verb in -a, there are the following phonological changes:

a. If the stem of a verb ends with a consonant (and the verb is in the converbial suffix -a), -a al- changes into -ala-/-âla-; that it to say, one of the /a/ or /â/ followed by /l/ moved after /l/, i.e., yaz-a al > yaz- ala-, kör-â al- > kör-âla-46, as shown in the following examples:

Yazalidim < yaz- ala-dim < yaz- a al-dim. (I was able to write.)

köralidim < kör-âladim- < kör-â al-dim. (I was able to seen.)

b. If the stem of the verb ends with a vowel (and the verb is in the converbial suffix -y), -a al- change into -yala-/-yâla- i.e., oyna- y al- > oyna-
yala-, iʃlä-y al- > ıʃlä-yalə-, as in the following examples:

Oyniyaalidim- < oyne-yala-dim- < oyne-y- al-dim. (I was able to play.)

Iʃliyälidim > ıʃlä-yalə-dim < ıʃlä-y al-dim. (I was able to work.)

1. As a grammaticalized morphological form, -ala- (-alə-/yala-/yalə-) expresses an ability (of the subject) to perform an action:

(196) Bala yaxści oqışqa başlıdı, kitapmu oquyalaydiyan (oqyu al-adiyan) bolup qalci. (Ötkür, p. 32)

The child began to study well, and he was able to read a book, too.

(197) Huça anarınıq tenini salamát qilsə, bunçılık iśni özü türitələydi. (A. Sabir, p. 11)

If God makes your mother healthy, she herself can finish a work like this.

An ability to do an action is often related to the possibility of occurrence of an action. However, on many occasions it is difficult to distinguish the modal meaning, i.e., "ability" and "possibility", as in the examples (198), (199) and (200):

(198) Bögün umını keləlişi (< kál-a al-işi) nataýın. (Tömür, p. 396)

It is uncertain that he can come today.

2. -a al- is also only used in the first type of negation (-al-ma-). The meaning of the negation is "not to be able to do something" or "can not do something":

(199) -- Nomişqa ülüşkün käləmidiniz?

-- Män u küni Qarayızga kömür elip keliş üçün kätkän edim, šunınıq bilën keləmidim (< kál-a al-ma-dim).

(Mäsudi, p. 19)

"Why did not you come the day before yesterday?"
"I had gone to Qarayüz to bring coal, therefore, I could not come [It was
impossible for me to come]."

(200) Qenỉ ultīruq̱lar qizlar, bir mašinida kalduq, lekin
tonušalmiduq (< tonuš-a al-ma-duq), mumu tašliqta
tonušuwalayli. (Szabir, p. 14)
Well, come on, sit down, girls, we have come in the same bus, but we
were not able to get acquainted with each other; let us get acquainted at this
stony place.

It is one of the most frequently used descriptive verb. It also can be used together
with other descriptive verbs. In this case each descriptive verb expresses its meaning, as
exemplified in the following sentences:

(201) Ikki itni talas̱turmiz, meni̇j itimni siz äkáltan it
talīwallalaq̱lis (<tala-p al-a al-se) andin ikkinci
şartimni orundyqan bolisiz. (Uighur çöçädilir, p. 38)
We will let the two dogs fight. If the dog that you brought is able to
bite my dog, then you will fulfill my second condition.

(202) Ularni bari̇bir gacuruvetłāmäsär (<gacur-up æwat-a
al-maysan ), töt qađam maŋmay qulqa çušidu. (Hašm, p. 78)
You will not be able to make them escape, anyway, they will be captured
before they move four steps.

3.1.15 Meaning and Usage of -p bär-
The basic lexical meaning of bär- is "to give", and it requires a noun to be in the
accusative and dative cases, when it is used as an autonomous verb:

(203) Bu topluni apanya beriwät(<bär-ivät)oylum, mën saña
dunīdîn čiɾayliq topli berimän. (Qadir, p. 39)
Give the shoes to your mother, my son. I will give you [a pair of] more beautiful shoes.

Here bär- is used as an autonomous verb expressing the meaning "to give", and the direct object (a noun) topli is in accusative case, and the indirect object (a noun) apan in the dative case. bär-combines both with a convert in -p and with a convert in -a forming different compound verbs in Uighur. First, I will examine the meaning and usage of -p bär-.

1. When bär- combines with a convert in -p, it denotes that an action takes place for the benefit of somebody else or for something, e.g.

(204) Sizgä xat yezip bārsām ayiniŋizya özām ogup bārsām bolidu. (Āpānī latipili, p. 418)
If I write a letter for you, I have to read it myself to your friend.

(205) Silār zulum čākkān dixanların qutuluš yolini kərsitip bārdinler (Ōtkür, p. 210)
You showed the way to save the peasants who were oppressed.

(206) Bügün hawa salqin bolup bārdi, şuña iš yaxši boldi.
(Törėr, p. 418)
Today the weather was cool [for the work], therefore, the work went well.

In addition to the above meaning, it is not obvious whether -p bär- implies that the action has a result or not.

This is because, on the one hand, -p bär- can be used (but is not frequently used) with the present-continuous tense to express that the action performed for somebody else is in progress; and it is compatible with adverbs of duration, such as ikki saaṭ (two hour, for two hours), bāš kün (five days, for five days), ikki saaṭtiŋ beri (for two hours) and bir yildin beri (for one year) etc., for example:

(207) Mān kičik qizimya kitap ogup beriwa timän.
I am reading a book for my little daughter.

(208) U maça ikki yildin beri material toplap beriwatidu.

He has been collecting materials for me for two years.

These sentence that I myself made sound correct and acceptable. I have heard similar sentences in which -p bär- is used with the present-continuous tense on many occasions. Nevertheless, I could not find any similar examples in the literature. Apparently, -p bär- is seldom used with the present-continuous tense and with adverbs of duration, such as ikki saät (two hours, for two hours), ikki saättin beri (for two hours).

On the other hand, it seems that when a speaker wants to emphasize the result of an action (which is done for somebody else), not an action itself, he/she tends to use -p bär-:

(208) "Bu yargā qiça čeqiş, mān yārni hāydāp, uruqnimu čeqip berimān....Siz qiça tapşirizla iś pütiši...." Hāmra unıq etizini hāydāp, qiça čeqip bārdi. Buniq bādīlgā Mātniyaz bir parā topli tikip bārmāk bolup váđā bārdi....Mātniyaz bir dihānya barwa yəsāp berip, unuqdim kömadı qonadı alidi. Buni yānda bir dihāniq ötögini yəsāp berip yargā čeqışyan idi. (Qadir, p. 34)

"Please sow (scatter) rape seed on this land, I will plough the land, and sow the seeds for you... If you find rape seeds, the work will be done...." Hāmra ploughed the land, and sowed the seeds for him. For the price of this [work], Mātniyaz gave a promise to sew [make] a pair of shoes.... Mātniyaz had made a cart for a peasant, and had gotten corn from him. He got another peasant to sow this [corn], by mending [repairing] his boots.

In these sentences, apparently, čeqip ber, tikip bär, -yəsāp ber- and yəsāp ber- are used to indicate the result of the actions. However, this meaning probably
comes from the context.

These facts on the usage of -p bär- show that it does not give a clear indication that the action has a result.

2. -p bär - is only used in the first type of negation (bär-mā-). The meanings of the negative sentences may be opposed to the meanings of the corresponding affirmative sentences above:

(209) Meni ašu Jümä digän wāhsī haywanniŋ čangiliya tāslap
bärmaysiz-ha! (Abdulla, p. 147)

You will not throw me into the hands of Jümä, that wild animal, will you!

3.1.16 Meaning and Usage of -a bär- (> -iwār- /-wār- )

When bär- combines with a verb in -a verb, /b/ in -a bär- changed into /w/, then the following phonological changes occur in a compound verb.

a. If the stem of a verb ends with a consonant (and the verb is in the conversial suffix -e), then -a bär- > a wār- > -iwār- e.g., yaz-a bär- > yaz- a wār- > yaz-iwār-, kūl-a bär- > kūl- a wār- > kūl-iwār-

b. If the stem of the verb ends with a vowel (and the verb is in the conversial suffix -e), then /y/ in -y bār- is deleted (and /b/ changed into /w/), as shown in the following:

išlā- y bär- > išlā- y wār- > išlā- wār-,
uxla- y bär- > uxla- y wār- > uxla- wār-

Thus, -a bär- became the suffix -iwār- /-wār- .

As a grammaticalized morphological form, it (-iwār- /-wār- ) expresses that an action is performed continuously despite some obstacle or objection, as exemplified by the following sentences:

(210) Köŋül aŋiriyimu bir parča qara bulutqa oxsaydu, šar-šur
qilip tökidu-dä, ötüp ketidu, biz täydiqi qara taštäk yênä čimänlar arisida turiwerimiz. (Sabir, p. 513)

Suffering of the heart also passes by, it is just like a black cloud. As soon as it pours like rain, it moves on. We, like a black stone on a mountain, continually stand among flowers.

(211) Biraq aylar, yillar kečivärđi, zaman öz pâylini özgätmay ötiwärđi, Säparqulmu öz tirikčiligini giliwärđi. (Ötkür, p. 14)

However [regardless of the events mentioned], months and years [continuously] passed; the time [continuously] passed without changing its character. Säopäqul also kept his livelihood.

(212) Āpändim yol bärmaq hariwisini kočiniŋ otturisi biän häydäp menüveriptu. (Uighur tili mäsiliiri, p. 458)

Without giving the way Āpändi kept driving his cart in the middle of the street.

-wär - is only used in the first type of negation (-wär-mä-). The meaning of the negative sentence is opposed to the meaning of corresponding affirmative sentences above:

(213) Atdin käčkičä Maysixanni tillawärmaq, au yitim ballilarni oylisia. (Mäxsut, p. 109)

Please do not keep cursing Mysihan [your wife] from morning till evening; think of those orphan children.

(214) Siliniŋ yüräkliri ajiz, viylawärmisilä, bolmisa teximu ajizlişp ketila. (Mäxsut, p. 106)

Your heart is weak. Do not keep crying. otherwise you will get even more weak.
3.1.17 Meaning and Usage of -p čiq-

The basic lexical meaning of čiq- is "to go out, to go up", and it requires a noun to be in the dative or ablative case suffixes, when it is used as an autonomous word. It combines only with a converb in -p, and forms compound verbs. In a compound verb -p čiq- expresses the following meanings:

1. When it is used with a motion verb, the lexical meaning of čiq- is preserved and it requires a noun associated with it to be in the dative or ablative case. In this situation -p čiq- renders that an action takes place in an outward or upward direction:

(215) Ü öydin vəqrap čiqti. (Uighur tili məsələliri, p. 414)

He ran out from the house.

(216) Ü săhnika asta menip čiqti. (Uighur tili məsələliri, p. 414)

He slowly walked up to the stage.

2. When it is used with a verb other than a motion verb, the lexical meaning of čiq- is partially or completely lost, and it no longer governs any noun. In this case, -p čiq- expresses the following:

a. If the object is singular, it indicates that an action is performed thoroughly from the beginning to the end, and consequently that an action has a result (outcome) or is completed. It is used to sum up the total degree of the performance:

(217) -- Kimki şahzadini bilimlik qilip tərbiyiləp čiqsa, mal inam qilənan,-- dəptu padişa. (Uighur tili məsələliri, p. 446)

"If someone can bring up the prince as a knowledgeable [person], I will award him cattle," said the Shah.

(218) -- Xəlqin ihtiyaği menin rahişim ikanlıgını ispatləp čiqqan adənmən. (Sabir, p. 32)
I am the man who has proved that the needs of the people are my wish.

b. If the object is plural, it implies that the action of the subject involves every member of the plural object and that an action has a result or is completed. That is to say, it denotes the extension of the action to several objects or several performers.

(219) U atraninîñ bulun- puşqaqlirîşîçä garap çiqti, atlarni bir mu bir sanap çiqti. (Uighut tili mäsîlîlîrî, p. 446)
He look around every corner of the stable, and counted horses one by one.

(220) Bu maktab pütüridiyan oqyuçilarnîñ maqalîlîrî, bulanî olar nacça yil izdinîp yûrup, ikki yil âmgak qîlip vezip çiqtiyân, olarnîñ bar birsîgä öz pikirîmîni vezip çiqîmän. (Sabir, p. 503)

These are the essays of the graduate students. They had been doing research for several years, and they have worked [on writing] for two years, and have written them. I will write down my comments on each of them.

In (219) -p çiq- indicates that the action qara- (to look at) involves "every corner of the stable", and the action sanâ- (to count) involves every horse (the actions are extended to several objects), and that both actions are performed till the end. In (220) -p çiq- of vezip çiqîmän, first, implies that the action yaz- (to write) is extended to several objects (articles) and several performers (they); second, -p çiq- signals that the action has a result. In (220) although -p çiq- is used with the future tense in vezip çiqîmän, it indicates that the action will have a result or will be completed; at the same time, it expresses that the action is extended to several objects.

The meaning of -p çiq- can be described as distributive-totalising, since it is used to express the extension of an action to several performers or objects. However, a question may arise whether it expresses the result or completion of the action. The following two usages of -p çiq- can give a positive answer to the question:
First, it does not allow the addition of durational adverbs such as üç saat (three hours, for three hours), ikki kün (two days, for two days), on minut (ten minutes, for ten minutes), because -p čiq- emphasizes the end of an action at a given time. The occurrence of an action does not go beyond a certain point in time. For instance, this kind of durational adverb can not be added to all sentences above. However, it allows the addition of unique and definite time periods, as üç saat ičidē (within three hours), ikki kūdē (in two days), because it is logical that a result or completion of an action can be achieved within a definite time period.

4. -p čiq - is only used in the first type of negation (-p čiq-ma-). The meaning of the negative sentence is opposed to the meaning of affirmative sentences above:

(221) Män teri birär ilmiy maqalinimu kötirip čiqmīdim, amdi bir išniğ bešini tutsam, tuyuqsiiz turmīgā čūšimān.... buzir "Qatatqublik"kā izahat yeziwatimān. (Sabir, p. 38)

I have not brought out a scholarly article yet... [every time] as soon as I started to work, suddenly I landed in jail.....Now, I am writing comments to "Qutatqubilik".

3.1.18 Meaning and Usage of -p öt-

The basic lexical meaning of öt- is "to pass, to pass through", and it requires a noun to be in ablative case suffix, when it is used as an autonomous verb. It combines only with a converb in -p, and forms compound verbs in Uighur. However, -p öt- is not frequently used, because in actual language it is only attached to certain motion verbs, and to the verbs of speech activity. Below the meaning -p öt- expressed on these occasions will be described separately:

1. When it is used with certain motion verbs, like maŋ- (to walk), üç- (to fly) yūgūr- (to run) etc., it requires a noun to be in ablative case suffix, and it keeps its lexical
meaning:

(222) Qulan ötmäs çöllärdin,

yäßäk čepip ötársän (Uighur Çöçäkliri, p. 161)

Like wind, you (the horse) will run through the desert where a deer can not go through.

2. When it is used with the verbs of speech activity, such as sözlä- (to speak), dä- (to say), eyit- (to tell), čučändür- (to explain) etc., it does not governs any noun. In this case it indicates an action accomplished in a short period. It is usually used in connection with another action (see Cirtautas, 1980, p. 228). It is used to sum up the total but brief degree of a performance, for the purpose of performing the next action (which may be implied but not specifically stated):

(223) Oqutquči oquyučilar qoyyan soallaryga javap berip ötti.

(Tömür, p. 416)

The teacher answered [briefly] questions which the students raised.

(224) U özining maqalisdiki bāzi mäsiliilärni izahlap ötti.

(Tömür, p. 416)

He explained [briefly] some problems in his article.

(225) U bu išni järýanini bayan qilip ötti. (Uighur tili mäsiliiliri, p. 444)

He stated [briefly] the process of the event.

3. -p öt- might be used in the first type of negation. The meaning of the negative sentence might be opposed to the meaning of affirmative sentences above. Apparently, -p öt- is rarely used in a negative structure. There is not a single example to be found in the literature.

3.1.19 Meaning and Usage of -p yäť-
The basic lexical meaning of ŋat- is "to reach", and it requires a noun to be in dative case suffix, when it is used as an autonomous verb. ŋat- combines only with a converb in -p, and forms compound verbs. -p ŋat- is less frequently used form. In addition to motion verbs, it is only attached to a few verbs which express a process of cognition, like oyla- (to think), čušän- (to understand), tonu- (to know, recognize), bil- (to know). In this case it loses its original lexical meaning, and does not govern any noun in a sentence, and it indicates that an action has reached the terminal point:

(226) U bu künlärđä anisiniŋ därđini haqiqi türdä čušiniŋ vätít. (Imin, p. 36)

These days he truly understood his mother's pain.

(227) Bu mäsiliŋiŋ mahiyitinı tonup vätí¥m. (Uighur tili mäsiliiri, p. 444)

I [completely] recognized the essence of the problem.

-p ŋat- is rarely used in the negative structure. However, it is usually used together with the negative form of -a al- (-a al-ma-) to express "not to be able to reach the terminal point of an action" or "not to be able to complete an action", for instance:

(228) U bu išiniŋ sëwiviŋi oylap yetäl¬mendi (oylap vät-a al- ma-di). (Uighur tili mäsiliiri, p. 444)

He could not think out the reason for the event

3.1.20 Meaning and Usage of -p sal-

The basic lexical meaning of sal- is "to put in, to put into", and it requires a noun to be in the accusative or dative case suffix, when it is used as an autonomous verb. However, when it combines with a converb in -p (it combines only with a converb in -p), it does not govern any noun, and it loses its original lexical meaning, and forms compound verbs -p
sal-. It is one of the less frequently used forms, it is attached only to certain transitive verbs which express the actions of the human body. They are basically the following:

ur- (to beat), dăssă- (to step), say- (to say, to tell), tilla- (to curse) etc.

When -p sal- is used with the above verbs, it forms compound verbs, and denotes unconscious, blundering, maladroit and sudden performance, and it marks the end of an action.

(229) Aččiyəm kəlgənligidin tillap septimān (tillap sal-
iptimān. (Uighur tili məsililirii, p. 448)

Because I was angry, I [unconsciously] cursed him.

(230) Oylimay bu sözlərni sytip saldi.

Without thinking, he [suddenly] said these words. (Without thinking, he blurted out these words.)

-p sal- is used in the spoken language. In the written language it is hardly used. The negative form of -p sal- is not used even in the spoken language.

3.1.21 Meaning and Usage of -p kör-

Then it is used as an autonomous word, the basic lexical meaning of kör is "to see", and it takes the accusative case suffix. When kör- is used in a compound verb, it does not govern any noun, and its lexical meaning becomes general or abstract. It combines only with a converb in -p, and renders "to try to do something" or "to do something as a test or for an experiment":

(231) Mərkiziy millatlər institutidin seni qobul qilish xeti kəlməyətidi. Biz telefon bilan sözlisip körəyli. (Sabir, p. 136)

An acceptance letter from the Central Nationalities Institute is not coming. We will try to speak by telephone [to ask].
(232) Yoquridiki pikirim tiyrimu-yoq, ástayidil ovlinip köršínişiz ni unit qilmän. (Imin, p. 23)

Please think over whether my opinion above is correct or not.

(233) -- Aldirimañ-- dâptu padişa.-- awal şartni rast orundidiñizmi- yalqanmu, tâkşurup köraylı. (Uighur Côčâklirir, p. 37)

"Do not hurry," said Padishahi: "first we will try to investigate whether you fulfill the condition."

3.1.22 Meaning and Usage of -p baq-

When it is used as an autonomous word, the basic lexical meaning of baq- is "to look, to look after", and it takes the dative case suffix. It combines only with a converb in -p, froming a compound verb. When baq-is used in a compound verb, it does not govern any noun, and its lexical meaning becomes general or abstract. Like -p kör-, in this case, -p baq- renders "to try to do something" or "to do something as a test or for an experiment".

(232)Ázâñni bir sinap baq, azaplanšanamu unî hiyaliñdîn čiqiriwitštä tirsip baq (Sabir, p. 136)

Try to test youself; even if you suffer, try to forget her.

(233) Qeni, şeiriñizni ogup beqin, biz bir anlap baqayli.

(Tömrüt, p. 389)

Please [try to] read your poem, and we will [try to] listen to it.

Even in nuance, there is not any difference between -p kör- and of -p baq-, they are practically interexchangeable. However, -p baq- is used more frequently than -p kör-.

Both -p kör- and of -p baq- can only be used in the first type of negation. The most common meaning of the negation of -p kör- and -p baq- is to emphasize that the
action denoted by the main verb has never taken place at any time:

(234) Ha'va! Sân ömürüdä bir qetim körüp bagmiyan namālum kişiğä tegāmsän? (Māsūdi, p. 14)
Hawa! Will you marry a person whom you have not seen even once in your life?

(235) Bazir şu imkaniyätigini ninişqa sinaq qilip bagmaydu.? (Jilil, p. 200)
Now, why doesn't he [try to] test these possibilities?

3.1.23 Meaning and Usage of -p bol-

The meaning of bol- is "to be, to become". When it combines with a compound verb in -p, it expresses a completely finished action:

(236) Jūmā va peşin namazlıri ogulup boluš bilānla Hoşur imam alrdirap ornidin turdi. (Ötkür, p. 58)
As soon as the Friday and the Noon prayers were finished, Hoshur imam hurriedly got up from his seat.

(237) Hār bir kişi usul oynap bolyandin keiyn, ikki koplit şeir eytup bārsun. (A. Sabir, p. 9)
After every person finish dancing, everyone may tell [recite] two poems.

-p bol- is only used in the first type of negation and denotes an incompleted action (an action is performed, but is not finished):

(238) Biz şopur bilān bir tal tamaka tutaşturup texi cēkip bolmiyan iduq. (Hashim, p. 214)
I and the driver lighted a cigarette, but we had not finished smoking yet.
3.2. Classification of Compound Verbs in Uighur

In the preceding section, I have examined in detail various meanings of each form of compound verbs in Uighur under each of those headings. Although this description is necessary for understanding compound verbs, it is merely a collection of meanings and uses which the forms of compound verbs may express at various contexts. I seek a generalization which can capture the essential meaning of each form of compound verbs as well as show the essential differences among the compound verbs. Therefore, in the following section, I attempt to have a certain level of abstraction or classification of compound verbs.

Many meanings of some compound verbs, the delicate differences among them in terms of meaning, and the complexity of their usage resist any attempt at pervasive generalization. Probably this is one of the reason why Uighur grammarians do not come to grips with the problem of classification of compound verbs. However, this should not be the reason to give up pursuing a certain level of abstraction or classification of compound verbs. In order to classify compound verbs, first, I will summarize the meanings of each compound verbs. It can serve as a summary of the previous section, and it may lead to some level of abstraction of meanings of compound verbs. Then, based on the general features of meanings which certain compound verbs share, I will classify them into groups and subgroups.

I have shown that many forms of compound verbs have many meanings. Obviously, in classifying meanings of compound verbs, the most difficult problem is that it is impossible to define one meaning for each form of compound verbs. That is to say, it is not possible to work out "one-to-one correspondence" between the form and meaning. Nevertheless, it seems that each form of compound verbs has a consistent basic meaning, or one of the meanings may be more basic or central than others. It has been argued that "a form must have a consistent value or else communication is impossible; we cannot have
linguistic forms which derive all meanings only from context"; that "it seems difficult to believe that a native speaker could extend the restrictions applying to a given category of words [without] some common core of meaning" (Binnick, p. 104).

Characterizing meanings of compound verbs in general "can be provided only in terms of a basic or common meanings" (Binnick, p. 156). When I characterize the "basic" meaning of each form of compound verbs, I select the most frequently used meaning (at least I consider so) as the basic meaning. Whichever "basic" meaning is adopted, there always remain special cases which have to be explained through secondary meanings or third meanings. However, all of these secondary meanings derive from or are logically compatible with the basic summarized meaning. Therefore, I attempt to extract a basic or core meaning of each form of compound verbs from all its meanings or uses and to assign secondary meanings. In order to extract a basic or core meaning of each forms of compound verb, I will summarize them as the follows:

1. **-wat <-p yat-** expresses a continuous progressive action in a single occasion and in a single period of time. It suggests a shorter period of time (see pp. 46-64). It can be seen that "progressive" is the basic core meaning of **-wat-**. In applying the term "progressive" to the Turkic languages, specifically to Uighur and Uzbek, I assign the definition that an action is in the process of taking place now (present progressive), or at or during some time in the past or in the future. Progressive implies a shorter duration as opposed to a longer duration.

Progressive and non-progressive can be explained in terms of dynamic or stative. Progressive refers to a dynamic situation, while non-progressive refers to a state. *With a state, unless something happens to change that state, then state will continue...* With a dynamic situation, on the other hand, the situation will only continue if it is continually subject to a new input of energy.... To remain in a state requires no effort, whereas to remain in a dynamic situation does require effort" (Comrie, 1976, p. 49). Thus, in Uighur
and Uzbek progressive meaning includes non-stative (dynamic) and continuous meanings.

2. -p tur- denotes (a) a continuous action in a standing position and any position, or in a single occasion but not necessarily in a single period of time; (b) the continuation of a state resulting from an action; (c) a repeated action. It does not emphasize that an action is in progress. It suggests the extension of the actions to a longer period of time (see pp. 50-63). From all of these meanings and uses, we may extract that the general meaning of the form -p tur- as continuous-stative. The secondary meaning is repetition. Stative is non-progressive. Non-progressive need not be in progress at the moment of speech or at the specific time referred to.

3. -p yur- denotes a continuous action in a moving position, indicating the extension of an action through space and time (an action occurs here and there not in a single period of time). Consequently it expresses longer duration and repetitions (see pp. 55-63). These meanings may be characterized as continuous in a moving position and repetitive.

4. -p oltur- expresses that an action is being performed while the subject is sitting. It expresses that the action continues for a long time (see pp. 64-65). Its meaning can be characterized as progressive in a sitting position.

5. -p kal- denotes (a) the action takes place towards the direction of the speaker; (b) an action started in the past and continues till the present; (c) the situation lasted for a long time (see pp. 65-69). Therefore, it can be characterized as persistent continuous. The secondary meaning is directional with the direction of the action being from the past to the present or to the speaker.

6. -p bar- denotes that an action occurs toward the opposite direction of the speaker, and emphasizes the final point of direction; it indicates a gradually developing process toward a final culminating point, and it emphasizes that an action or a situation will continue in the future (see pp. 69-71). Therefore, the basic meaning can be characterized as persistent continuous. The secondary meaning is directional with the direction of the
action being from the present to the future, or to the final point.

7.  -p kāt- indicates (a) the direction of an action goes toward opposite side of the speaker; (b) an action occurs from one point towards every direction; (c) an action occurs in the entire scope of a certain area; (d) the performance of an action to an intensive or an exhaustive degree; (e) an action that extends beyond an average limit, (f) an action that takes place suddenly, quickly and extends deeply (see pp. 72-82). These meanings can be generalized as intensive and multi-directional.

8.  -wāt- <-p āwāt- denotes (a) performance of an action to an intensive or an exhaustive degree; (b) an action that takes place suddenly or quickly, and it marks the end of an action (see pp. 83-88). The meaning of -wāt- may be established as intensive and sudden terminative.

9.  -p taṣla- indicates that an action takes place intensively, suddenly, quickly, decisively or forcefully with a great intention. At the same time it marks the end of an action (see pp. 88-91). Its meaning may be generalized as intensive and intentional terminative.

10. -p qaš- expresses (a) an action that has a result; (b) that the result of an action continues; (c) the result or completion of an action is achieved unexpectedly, unconsciously, suddenly; the subject is forced to do the action or is only passively involved in the action (see pp. 91-100). These semantic features can be modified as unintentional sudden-resultative, and resultative-continuous.

11. -p qoy- expresses (a) an action that has a result at the same time it implies that the action occurs unexpectedly, unconsciously or suddenly; (b) the subject intentionally does the action; (c) a slight occurrence of an action (see pp. 100-109). These meanings may be characterized as sudden intentional resultative and attenuative (non-intensive).

12. -wāl- <-p aš- expresses (a) an action that is performed for the benefit of the subject, (b) an action has a result and is performed purposefully, consciously,
successfully, quickly or skillfully (see pp. 109-113). These meanings may be generalized as self-contained (the action performed for its own sake) and intentional resultative.

13. -a al- expresses an ability (of the subject) to perform an action (see pp. 113-115). It can be defined as modal.

14. -p bār- denotes that an action takes place for the benefit of somebody else or for something else (see pp. 115-118)). It may be named as directed.

15. -a bār- > -wār- expresses that an action is performed continuously despite some obstacle or objection (see pp. 118-120). It is insistent-continuous.

16. The meaning -p čiq- expressed can be described as distributive-totalising. Since it is used to sum up the total degree of the performance, it also denote that the action has an end (see pp. 120-122). It can be defined as distributive-totalising-terminative.

17. Since -p ot- indicates an accomplished action in a short duration, it is used in order to sum up total but brief degree of performance. (see p. 122). It can be grouped into the totalising-terminative category.

18. -p yāt- indicates that an action reached the terminal point (see p. 123). Since -p yāt- is only used with cognitive verbs, it may be called cognitive- terminative.

19. -p sa1- denotes maladroit (blundering) sudden performance and the end of the action (see p. 124). It may be characterized as maladroit terminative.

20. -p kōr- renders "to try to do something" or "to do something for testing or for experiment" (see p. 125). This meaning can be termed as experimental.

21. -p baq- is also experimental (see pp. 126).

22. -p bol- expresses a finished action without any indication how the action is completed (see pp. 127). It may be named as simple terminative.

This semantic characterization shows that some forms of compound verbs share a
common semantic feature. Based on certain common semantic characteristics, compound verbs can be categorized into groups. Nevertheless, the basic common meaning cannot always reveal differences among compound verbs. In order to show the common meaning of each form of compound verbs as well as the essential semantic differences among the compound verbs, the common semantic features are listed first below. The common semantic feature is the feature which can be replaced with other forms of compound verbs in a specific category. The secondary semantic feature is listed in the second place. The secondary semantic feature is distinctive, and cannot be replaced with others. If the secondary feature is not distinctive, I added a third distinctive semantic feature. The distinctive semantic feature is marked in italics. Thus the classification of compound verbs in Uighur is as follows:

1) Continutive:

progressive proper: -wat <-p yat-
progressive in a sitting position: -p oltur-
progressive in a standing position: -p tur-
progressive in a moving position: -p yur-
continuous-stative: -p tur-,
continuous-resultative: -p qal
continuous-persistent, directed to the present and to the speaker: -p kāl-
continuous-persistent, directed to the final point or away from the speaker: -p bār-
continuous-insistent: -a bār- > -wār-

2) Repetitive: -p yūr-, -p tur-

3) Directional:

self-contained: -p al
directed to somebody else or for something else: \(-\text{p bár-}\)
directed to the present and to the speaker: \(-\text{p kāl-}\)
directed to the final point or away from the speaker: \(-\text{p bār-}\)
multi-directional: \(\text{p kāt-}\)

4) Experimental: \(-\text{p kōr, p baq-}\)

5) Intensive:

   *unintentional* intensive: \(-\text{p kāt-}\)

   *intentional* intensive: \(-\text{wāt-}, \text{p tāsλa-}\)

6) Attenuative (non-intensive): \(-\text{p qoy-}\)

7) Resultative:

   *unintentional sudden* resultative: \(-\text{p qāl}\)

   *intentional* resultative: \(-\text{p qoy-}\)

   *self-contained* intentional resultative: \(-\text{p al}\)

8) Terminative:

   *simple* terminative: \(-\text{p bol-}\)

   *sudden* terminative: \(-\text{wāt-} \leftarrow \text{p āwāt-}\)

   *intentional sudden* terminative: \(-\text{p tāsλa}\)

   *cognitive* terminative: \(-\text{p yāt-}\)

   *maladroit* terminative: \(-\text{p sāl-}\)

   *totalising* terminative: \(-\text{p ēt-}\)

   *distributive-totalising* terminative: \(-\text{p čiːq-}\)

9) Modal: \(-\text{a al-}\)

In this classification some forms of compound verbs are grouped into different categories. For instance, \(-\text{p kāt-}\) is classified into both intensive and resultative, \(-\text{p qāl-}\) is grouped to both resultative and stative, \(-\text{wāt-}\) is categorized into both
terminative and resultative. The reason lies in the fact that some forms of compound verbs have the potential to express meanings of both categories, and these meanings cannot be determined alone. They can only be distinguished together with adverbs or in context.

Nevertheless, the above semantic characteristics, including common and distinctive semantic features of each form of compound verbs, have consistent value from which specific uses in a specific context are derived. Therefore, these common and distinctive semantic features of each form of compound verbs are the basis or reason underlying a choice of uses in various contexts. This classification not only displays the common and distinctive semantic features of compound verbs, but also demonstrates relationship among compound verbs in Uighur.

Finally, I want to briefly discuss an inescapable question in classifying compound verbs in the Turkic languages. Whether compound verbs can be classified into the category of aspect. The term "aspect" is originated from Slavic languages (see Bache, p. 5), and there is very little agreement about the concept or the grammatical category of aspect among linguists (see Markkanen, p. 45). It seems that Comrie's definition of aspect in general linguistics and the Russian Academy Grammar's definition of aspect in Russian are the most popular ones. Comrie defines aspect as the following:

"Aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (Comrie, 1976, p. 3).

The Russian Academy Grammar's definition:

"The category of aspect indicates that the action expressed by the verb is presented: (a) in its course, in process of performance, consequently in its duration or repetition, e.g. žit', pet', rabotat', xodit', čitat' (imperfective); (b) as something restricted, concentrated at some limit of its performance, be in the moment of origin or beginning of the action or the moment of its completion or
result, e.g. zapet', cončit', pobežat', propet', prijiti, uznat', uiti (perfective)" (Bache, p. 59).

Most scholars agree that there are only two aspects -- perfective and imperfective. "The perfective/imperfective opposition is often explained in terms of completion of the action or situation referred to, the perfective denoting completion and the imperfective denoting incompletion" (Bache, p. 6). Comrie gives a more general definition for perfective and imperfective: "Perfective looks at the situation from outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation" (Comrie, 1976, p. 4). He states that the perfective presents the situation "without reference to its internal temporal constituency" (Comrie, 1976, p. 3). He offers a general characterization of imperfectivity as "...explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation, viewing a situation from within" (Comrie, 1976, p. 24).

Although these definitions of aspect and some terminology which aspectologists provide are highly valuable for examining compound verbs in the Turkic languages, (I have applied some of the terminology such as terminative, resultative and stative), these definitions of aspect do not fit Uighur or Uzbek. Because, even the notional definition of aspect by Comrie which presents "semantic aspectual distinction such as that between perfective and imperfective meaning, irrespective of whether they are as grammaticalised or lexicalised in individual languages" (Comrie, 1976, p. 7), can not overreach or capture meanings of compound verbs in Uighur and Uzbek.

As we have seen, compound verbs not only express completion/incompletion or continuity/discontinuity of an action, they also indicate how (in what manner) an action (regardless of whether it is a completed/incompleted or continuous/discontinuous action) takes place, for example, a sudden or quick occurrence of an action, an intended/unintended action, a direction and intensity of an action which are expressed by some adverbs in European languages. These meanings are not contained within the above
definitions of aspect. In general, a native speaker of Uighur and Uzbek views an action as
being specific rather than general. Compound verbs are one of the means to express an
specific action. For instance, a progressive action is specified as progressive in a sitting
position, progressive in a standing position, progressive in a moving position. Resultative
actions are viewed not from "outside", but from "inside", and distinguished and specified
as self-contained, intentional/unintentional and sudden resultative (see p. 134). An Uighur
or Uzbek speaker views a terminative (completed) action not only from "outside", but also
from "inside", depending on her/his choice. For example, if one wants to say "I have
finished reading the book", he/she may say "Kitapni okup boldum" when he/she
views the action from "outside". He/she may say "Kitapni okup čıqtim." (I have
read the book [from the beginning to the end] or "Kitapni oquwättim." (I have read
[or finished reading] the book [quickly]. Here, it is hard to say that he/she views the action
from "outside".

Compound verbs contain a broader concept than aspect, consequently they cannot
be classified as aspect category. Compound verbs are a special verbal category in the
verbal system of Uighur and Uzbek. They are formed by syntactic means, namely by the
combination of a converb in \(-p\) or in \(-a\) and a descriptive verb, as the opposition of non-
compound verbs (see 39-41). Besides modality, they express how an action takes place in
terms of duration and direction, as well as manner and intention of the subject.
Chapter IV  Compound Verbs in Modern Uzbek

In this chapter I attempt to provide a detailed description of the meaning and usage of each form of compound verbs in present-day Uzbek. I will not specifically analyze the similarities and the differences in the meaning and usage of compound verbs in Uzbek and Uighur, unless necessary. Since, first, Uighur and Uzbek are closely related, the forms of compound verbs are almost the same, so one can directly compare them and figure out the similarities and the differences. Second, in this study the description of the meaning and usage of compound verbs in Uzbek is not motivated by comparative consideration alone, it is mainly intended to provide a comprehensive description of compound verbs in Uzbek. Finally, specific comparative analysis of compound verbs in these languages causes too much unnecessary repetition.

Even though I focus on describing the meaning and usage of compound verbs in Uzbek, it is impossible to avoid some repetition, since Uighur and Uzbek have so many similarities. Nevertheless, as long as detailed descriptions of compound verbs in Uzbek and Uighur are provided, there is a practical advantage for language learning and teaching. They can help a non-native learner to transfer the knowledge of compound verbs of Uighur into Uzbek and vice versa. Therefore, I will concentrate on explaining the meaning and usage of each form of compound verbs in Uzbek in the first section of this chapter. I will also demonstrate the differences and similarities among some compound verbs in Uzbek. In the second section, I will summarize and provide a semantic characterization of compound verbs. Then, based on the general semantic character which certain compound verbs share, I will classify them into groups and subgroups.

4.1 Meaning and Usage of Compound Verbs in Uzbek

Several Uzbek scholars, for instance, Hojiev, Abdurahmonov and Šoabdurahmonov, have
a sound description of compound verbs in Uzbek. 48 In particular, Hojiev presents a convincing and original description of the basic meaning of what he calls auxiliary verbs in compound verbal combinations, though his description is sometimes controversial. These three works are important in examining compound verbs in Uzbek. However, these descriptions are not detailed enough to provide the necessary conditions (such as the lexical meaning of the main verb, adverbs of duration and of manner) for the different uses of each form of compound verbs. They do not present similarities and differences among the different forms of compound verbs in terms of meaning and usage. Probably, this is because they are aimed at native students. As a result, from these works a non-native student hardly can grasp these similarities and differences and learn the usage of compound verbs. Cirtautas is one of the very few scholars of the Western world who provides a concise and accurate description of compound verbs. 49 Over the years, Cirtautas has explained the meaning and usage of compound verbs in Uzbek precisely while giving lectures to students including myself. When I examine the meaning and usage of compound verbs in Uzbek, I will refer to these works.

In explaining the meaning and usage of compound verbs again I start by interpreting the basic original lexical meaning of a descriptive verb, then bring out what the descriptive verb actually expresses in a compound verb.

4.1.1 Meaning and Usage of -ə γųt-

The lexical meaning of γųt- is "to lie, to lie down" and it requires a noun associated with it to be in the locative or dative case when it is used as an independent word. However, when it combines with a verb, it loses its original lexical meaning, or the original lexical meaning becomes more general and abstract, and it does not govern any word in a larger syntactic structure. Unlike in Uighur (see 3.1.1), in Uzbek γųt- combines both with a verb ending in -b, and with a verb ending in -ə, and constitutes different forms of
compound verbs, namely, -a yot- and -b yot-, which express a similar meaning. But they have differences in nuance and usage. I will, first, examine -a yot-, then I will explain the similarities and differences between -a yot- and -b yot-.

1. -a yot- presents an action in process at the moment of speaking or at any moment referred to. In Uzbek grammars -a yot- is considered one of the present tense markers. However it is not the simple present tense marker, but it is the marker of a progressive action at any moment. Compare the following examples:

   (1) Men dars bülayotganxonaga tezroq kirişga toqatsizlik bilan intilardim. (Cirtautas, p. 26)

   I impatiently intended to go into the room where the class was teaching.

   (2) Keyin o'şona tomonga kelayotgan Jamila o'aning oldiga yuzurib bordi. (Cirtautas p. 111)

   After [that] he run front of Jamila opa who was going toward the kitchen.

   (3) Hozir u uz qilmişidan anča puşayman bülayotibdi.


   Now he is regretting his misbehavior very much.

In (1) and (2) -a yot- expresses that the action or situation was in process in the past, while in (3) it indicates that situation is in process at present. -a yot- itself does not express tense, it only denotes an progressive action, and in terms of tense it is neutral. If the main clause is in the past tense, it indicates that an action or situation was in process in the past, as in (1) and (2). Therefore, -a yot- is used together with the participle -gan and with the past tense form of the copula e- (edim/edi, etc.) expresses the progressive past tense: 51

Everybody who came out for the break of the night shift was congratulating each other with the New Year.

Strictly speaking, tense is expressed by -gan edi, and the progressive is expressed by -a yot-. This once again shows that -a yot- is not a tense marker.

In Modern literary Uzbek the suffix of the present continuous tense -yap- (-yapman/-yapsan/-yapti) came from -a yot-ib- (-a yot-ibman/-a yot-ibsan/-a yot-ibdi. 52

4.1.2 Meaning and Usage of -b yot-

It denotes continuity of action. According to Hojiev and Abdurahmonov, unlike -a yot-, it is mostly used together with the suffix -ibdi etc., to express an action in process at present. 53


They are intending to bring water from the river.

However, when it is used together with the recent-past tense, it can also denote a continuous state in the past:

(6) Müysafidning bu gapi menga balalarning tan'asidan ham qattiqroq tegdi, uzq yillar dilimda cükip yotdi.

(Cirutaas, p. 30)

This word of the old man touched [hurt] me stronger that the words of the children, and sank [and kept] in my heart for many years.

Although -a yot-, -b yot- and -yap- express continuity of action, it seems that they have the following slight differences in nuance and usage:

-yap- is only used with the suffix -man/-san/-ti, etc., to express the present-continuous tense.
-a yot- is used together with -gan edim/-gan eding/-gan edi etc., to express the continuous-past tense, as in example (4). -a yot- emphasizes that the action is in process, exemplified by a sentence like the following:

(7) Tughribay ketayotib uylabdi. (Uzbek xalq ertaklari, p. 109)

Tughribay was thinking while he was going.

-b yot- is mostly used to indicate that a state (not an action) continues, as in the example (6). Therefore, it is not suitable to replace -b yot- in (6) with -a yot, and also it is not suitable to replace -a yot- in (7) with -b yot.

4.1.3 Meaning and Usage of -a tur-
As in Uighur, the basic lexical meaning of tur- in Uzbek is "to stand, to stay, to stand up, to get up", and requires a noun associated with it to be in the locative or dative case, when it is used as an autonomous word. However, when it combines with a conjugation in -a or in -b (unlike in Uighur, tur- in Uzbek combines with a conjugation both in -a and -b), it forms a compound verb, and it does not govern any noun any more, and the basic lexical meaning is weakened or lost, and becomes general and abstract. Below I will first explain the meaning and usage of -a tur-, then I will discuss the meaning and usage of -b tur-.

-a tur- denotes a temporary continuous action, i.e., one action is performed until another action takes place (see Abdurahmonov, Vol. I, p. 379), as shown in the following examples:

(8) Hečimni şafe keltermay tura turing. (Chûlpon, p. 105)

Please wait[a minute] without mentioning any body's name.

(9) Bûlmaydigan wa'dangizni til učiga keltirmang, içkirida ture tursin. (Chûlpon. p. 105)

Please do not speak [bring to the tip of your tongue] a promise which will
not be kept, keep it to yourself [inside of your tongue].

-а тур- is less frequently used and not many examples of it can be found in Uzbek literature. Usually it is used in an imperative sentences, like in (8) and (9).

4.1.4 Meaning and Usage of -б тур-

1. It denotes a continuous action in a standing position in particular, as well as a continuous action in any position in general, depending entirely on the context, e.g.

(10) Xon тикилб турб тила сараянинг бир устуни кам ekanini кўрипти. (Uzbek xalq ertaklari, p. 1)

[It is told that] When the khan was staring, he saw that one of the pillars of the golden palace was lacking [missing].

(11) Тўғрибой қла аъырни миниб, суъмақда паялаб турбди.

(Uzbek xalq ertaklari, p. 112)

Riding on his black and white horse, Tughribay was watching at the corner.

In (10) тикилб тур- is likely a continuous action in a standing position; in (11), obviously, паялаб тур- is also a continuous action, but not in a standing position. However, one can not define whether the action occurred in a standing position merely depending on -б тур-. It seems that a native writer tends to use -б тур- with an expression of a location of an action when he or she wants to specify that the continuous action is in a standing position, as in the following example:

(12) Ипакларга ўралган келинчак остина ўнิดа та'зим qilib bos egib turardi. (Muhammad Ali, Vol. I, p. 51)

The bride, dressed in silk, was bowing her head, making a deep bow at the threshold.

In this sentence the use of -б тур- with the location of the action остина ўнida (at the
threshold) implies that the action occurred continuously in a standing position. If one wants to express simply a continuous action, he/she only uses -b tur- without adding any expression of location, as in the examples (13) and (14):

(13) Yultuzlar porlap turgan tunda,... qanča olis yursang, šunča xarši. (Umarbekov, p. 1)

At night, when the stars are shining, the more you travel, the better.

(14) -- Tuzukmisan qizim?
    -- yūq, otjan, bošim hama axirib turadi. (Qodiriy, p. 30)
    -- Are you well, my daughter?
    -- No, dear father, I constantly fell a pain in my head.

2. It implies the result of an action continues, rather than the action itself continues. In this case -b tur- indicates the continuation of the state which has resulted from the action. It could be illustrated by the following examples:

(15) Uylarning derazasidan kūlning mowī tülgənları kūrinib turibdi. (Cirtautas, p. 20)

From their window, the blue waves of the lake could be seen.


I feel that my acquaintance with Amir put a suspicion in your heard.

3. It also can express a repeated action, when it is accompanied by adverbial expressions such as har kun (every day ), tez-tez, pat-pat (frequently), qay- qayta (repeatedly), as in (17). If it is not used with such adverbial expressions, merely depending on -p tur- one could not determined whether it is a repeated action. Although this sometimes creates ambiguity, it can be resolved in a broader context or with background information, as in (18):

(17) Qūqondan har kun deyarli xabarlar kelib turar edi.
Almost every day news came from Khûkhon.

(18) Birinçī še'rim čiqqandan bošlab, še'rilarim Fargona oblast gazitasi bûlgan "Kommuna" va Andijon gazetasida bošilib turdi. (Cirtautas, p. 54)

After my first poem was published, my poems [frequently] were printed in "The Commune", which is the newspaper of Farghona Oblast, and in Andijon's newspaper.

4. It also denotes a temporary action. In this sense, the usage of -b tur- and -a tur- are similar. According to Abdurahmonov, however, they have the following differences in nuance: The first, -a tur- expresses shorter continuation of a temporary action than -b tur-. The second, -a tur- clearly expresses a temporary action in a sentence without any context, while -b tur- needs a suitable context. 54

-b tur- is one of the most frequently used forms both in spoken and written language in Uzbek, it combines with almost every verb.

5. When -b tur- is used in different types of negation (see p. 33), it has different meanings:

a. When it is used in the first type of negation (tur-ma-), it negates the above meanings 1, 2, 3 and 4. For example:

(19)(i) Piyalaga uzaq qarab turmay ičib ham yubordi.

(Qodiriy, p. 193)

Not looking at the cup for a long time, he drank [it] immediately.

(20) Qūqondan har kun xabarlar kelib turmas edi.

News did not come from Khûkhon every day.

In (19)(i) -b turma- negates meaning 1 (continuous action), and in (20) negates meaning 4 (repeated action).
b. When it is used in the second type of negation (¬may tur¬), it expresses a continuous state of non-performance of an action, e.g.

(21) Otabekning Maryilanga uzac bormay turiši mumkin emas.
(Qodiriy, p. 134)
It is impossible that Otabek will continue not to go Marghilan.

(22) Hol bahasi tūyrisida bitišaolmay turamiz. (Qodiriy, p. 26)
We are [in the state of being] unable to get an agreement about the price of the goods.

The different meaning of ¬b tur¬ in these two types of negative structures can be seen clearly if we replace them with each other. For instance, if qarab turmay in (19)(i) is replaced with qaramay turib, the meaning will be changed:

(19)(ii) Piyalaga qaramay turib ičib ham yubordi.

Without looking [at all] at the cup, he drank [it] immediately.

In (19)(ii) the subject did not look at the cup at all, whereas in (19)(i) the subject did look at the cup, but he did not look at it for a long time. Even though uzacq (long time) is deleted in (19)(ii) qaramay tur¬ itself expresses that he did not look at all (a continuous state of non-performance of an action).

4.1.5 Meaning and Usage of ¬b yur¬

The basic lexical meaning of yur¬ is "to walk", when it is used as an autonomous word. However, when it combines with a converb in ¬b (as in Uighur, it combines only with a converb in -b in Uzbek), it forms a compound verb, and it expresses the following meanings:

1. Similar to Uighur (cf. 3.1.3), ¬b yur¬ in Uzbek expresses a continuous action in a walking situation in particular, as well as a continuous action in any position in general, depending on the context, e.g.
(23) Üčaq boşida qiriq beş yollar camali yana bir xotin çoy qaynatib yuradi (Qodiriy, p. 29)

Beside the stove a woman about forty five years old was boiling water for tea.

(24) Qiz bu uydan uzaq-uzaqlarga ketiš yulini uylab yurar ekan. (Uzbek xalq ertaklari, p. 19)

[It is told that] The girl was thinking of a way to go far away from this house.

In sentence (23) -ib yur- indicates that the action qaynat- (to boil ) is performed continuously in a moving position, while -ib yur- in (24) denotes that the action continues in any situation.

2. It denotes a number of repetitions of an action. It is used most typically in situations where the same action is performed several times on many different occasions or in different places:

(25) Otam hemiša "nima bülseng ham bül, temirči bülma" deb yurar edi (Cirtautas, p. 31)

My father always used to say: "Be whatever you want, but do not be a blacksmith."

In this sentence, the action de- (to say) repeated several times on many different occasions.

3. When it is used in different types of negative structures, it has different meanings:

a. When it is used in the first type of negation (¬b yur-ma-), it negates meanings 1 and 2. However, this type of negation is typically used in an imperative sentence to imply apprehension and warning, for example:

(26) Sen borasan qarindašing ičiga,
You will go among your relatives,
Do not cry my child by saying "I am alone" [I am afraid you cry].

(27) Tūy qiziganda yana bir balonı boşlab yurma...
(Šoabdurahmonov, p. 384)
When the wedding party becomes hot [interesting], do not start trouble again.

b. When it is used in the second type of negative form (-may yur-), it expresses a longer continuous state of non-performance of an action, for example:

(28) Çarlarnı uç-türt kun kutib qolişimni bir neça waqt ayta olmay yurdim. (Qodiriy, p. 181)
I was not able to tell for some time that I would wait for the party invitation for three or four days.

(29) Karvan boşi undan qutuliş ilojini topolmay yurgan ekan.
(Uzbek xalq ertaklari, p. 1)
[It is told that] The head of the caravan was not able to find a way to be free from him [for a long time].

A longer or shorter duration is a relative notion, because is depends on the speaker's view of the duration. For instance, if one speaker considers two hours a long duration for doing something, another speaker may consider it a short duration.

4.1.6 A Comparison of Meanings and Usage of -a yoıt-, -b tur- and -b yur-
Although they express continuity, duration or repetition of an action, there are the following differences in nuance and usage among them:

1. All of them express a continuous action. However, only -b yur- denotes a continuous action in a moving (not standing) position, indicating extension of an action
through space and time (not in a single occasion and not in a single period of time); while
the others do not express this meaning. This can be illustrated by comparing the following
eamples:

(30)(i) Uştazını  yolğa qlib şe’rlarini el ərasıda ayətib

yuribman. (Cirtautas, p. 76)

Remembering my master, I am singing his songs among the people [here
and there].

(30)(ii) Uştazımı  yolğa qlib şe’rlarini el ərasıda ayətib

turibman.

Remembering my master, I am singing his songs among the people [here].

(30)(iii) Uştazımı  yolğa qlib şe’rlarini ayta yotgan edim.

Remembering my master, I was singing his songs among the people.

In the sentence (30)(i) the subject is singing the songs by moving around (not on a single
occasion) and the action continues not in a single period of time. Therefore, a word or an
expression of a specific location of the action or an expression of a specific short period of
time can not be added to this sentence. The sentence (30)(ii) indicates that the subject is
singing the songs not by moving around, but most probably in a standing position (in a
single space) and that the action occurs in a single period of time. For this reason, an
expression of a specific location and time can be inserted in this sentence, as the following:

(30)(iv) Uştazımı  yolğa qlib şe’rlarini hazır mana uşu verda

ayətib turibman.

Remembering my master, I am singing his songs among the people, here in
this place now.

-b tur- can express that the action occurs in many different times, if it is used with the
definite present-future tense suffix -aman/-asən/-ədi. Thus, we can have a sentence
like this:
(30)(v) Ustazimni yodga olub se'rlarini aytib turaman.

Remembering my master, I often sing his songs among the people.

In (30)(iii) -a yot- indicates that the subject was singing the songs in a single space and in a single period of time. -a yot- is only used together with the participle -gan and with the past tense form of copula e- (edim/edi, etc.) to express the progressive past tense: 55

2. Both -b tur- and -b yur- can be used with the definite-recent past tense suffixes -dim, diŋ, etc., and with the imperative form; while -a yot cannot be used with the definite-recent past tense suffixes -dim, diŋ, etc., or with the imperative form. This restriction can be observed if we rewrite sentence (30)(i) as the following:

(30)(vi) Ustazimni yodga olub se'rlarini el orasida aytib yuridim.

Remembering my master, I sang his songs among the people [here and there].

(30)(vii) Ustazimni yodga olub se'rlarini el orasida aytib turidim.

Remembering my master, I often sang his songs among the people.

(30)(viii) Ustazngizni yodga olub se'rlarini el orasida aytib yuring.

Remembering your master, please sing his songs among the people [here and there].

(30)(ix) Ustazngizni yodga olub se'rlarini el orasida aytib turin.

Remembering your master, please often sing his songs among the people.

(30)(x)* Ustazngizni yodga olub se'rlarini el orasida ayta yotdi. (ungrammatical)
(30)(xii) Ustazingizni yodga olib se'rlarini el orasida ayte yotiring (ungrammatical)

3. As -a -yot- emphasizes that an action is being performed at a given time, it refers to the middle of a situation or an action, and disregards its beginning and possible ending. -a -yot- presents a situation or an action as progressive and it does not express the result of the action; while -b tur- does not emphasize that an action is progressive, most of the time it indicates that the result of the action continues. This difference can be seen from examples like these:

(31) Tuyriboy ketayotib yulabdi. (Uzbek xalq ertaklari, p. 109)
While Tughribay was going, he thought.
In this sentence ketayot- denotes that the action ket- (to go) was just being performed, and it only indicates the middle of the action, not the result of the action. -a yot- cannot be replaced by -b tur- in this sentence.

-b yur-, like -a yot-, disregards the beginning and possible ending of an action, but unlike -a yot-, it does not present the action as progressive. Unlike -b tur-, -b yur- indicates that the action itself continues, not the result of the action.

4. -b tur- suggests the extension of an action to a longer period of time, and it tends to be used when the continuity of an action or the result of an action may be extend to the future (therefore, it can be used with the present-future tense), for example:

(32) oyimning ..... lablari titiraydi, kuzlari olazarak bulib turadi. Ilgari bunaqa emas edilar. Doim kulib turardilar. (Umarbekov, p. 35)
My mother’s lips tremble, her eyes look scared. Before, she was not like that. She always used to simile.

In (32) olazarak bulib tur- not only expresses the state (her eyes look scared) at present, but it also implies that the state lasted for a longer period of time and indicates the
state will extend into the future.

Unlike -b tur-, -a yot- suggests a shorter period of time, and it is used when the continuity of an action may not be extended to the future.

Like -b tur-, -b yur- indicates the extension of an action to a longer period of time, and it can be used when the continuity of the action may extend into the future. However, when we compare the usage of -p tur- and -p yur-, we might observe that it seems that -b yur- is used in order to express an action lasting or repeated over a much longer period of time:

(33)(i) Hasanali Otabekda šu kungaça kūrilmagan qiziq bir holatga beš-alti kundan beri ajabsinib yurär edi.

(Qodiriy, p. 22)

For five or six days Hasanali had been wandering in an interesting state (mood), it which had not occurred to Otabek before.

(34)(i) Kum büyi ýça yerda. Tūgarak tuzib, nimalarnidir uryatib yuribdi yašlarga. (Umarbekov, p. 24)

He is there a whole day. Organizing a circle, he is teaching something to young people.

In (33)(i) beš-alti kundan beri ajabsinib yur- expresses that Hasanali had been wandering for five or six days. Even without beš-alti kundan beri (for five or six days), ajabsinib yur- itself implies that the action continued for a long period of time. Consequently, this sentence allows the addition of even longer durational a phrases like uzaqtin beri (for a long time). If -b yur- is replaced by -b tur-, the sentence is not correct:

(33)(ii)* Hasanali Otabekda šu kungaça kūrilmagan qiziq bir holatga beš-alti kundan beri ajabsinib turar edi.

beš-alti kundan beri does not agree with -ib tur-, which cannot express such a
long period of time.

In (34) örgatib yur- implies that the action continues for a long period of time without any adverb of duration. For this reason, it is also suitable to add long durational phrases like uzaqtin beri to the sentence (34)(i). If -b yur- is replaced by -b tur-, then the following:

(34)(ii) Tügarak tuzib, nimalarnidir örgatib turibdi yaşlarga.

Organizing a circle, he is teaching something to young people [at present or at that time].

örgatib turibdi in (34)(ii) only expresses that the action is being performed, it does not indicate that action lasts for a long time. Therefore, it also does not allow the addition of any long durational phrases.

4.1.7 Meaning and Usage of -b ütir-

When it is used as an autonomous word, the lexical meaning of ütir- is "to sit, to sit down" and it requires a noun to be in the dative or locative case. When it is used together with a verb in -b (it only combines with a verb in -b), it keeps its lexical meaning in most cases, therefore, similar to -p oltur- in Uighur (cf. 3.1.5), -b ütir- in Uzbek expresses that an action is being performed while the subject is sitting, for example:

(35) Qiya stollardan ikkitasida ikki yigit boş kütarmay išlab ütiribdi. (Abdurahmonov, p. 379)

Without raising their heads, two young men are sitting and working both on inclined desks.

(36) Ančadan keyin uyya kirsam, ikkowlari Ahad bilan uy nab ütiribdi. (Umarbekov, p. 37)

After a while, when I entered the house, two of them were playing with Ahad.
When -b ütir- is used with -bman/-bšan/-bdi, it expresses both present tense and past tense depending on context. For instance, in (35) it expresses continuous action in the present and in (36) it denotes continuous action in the past.

In some cases it may indicate a continuous situation in general (not necessarily in a sitting position):

(37) Dünýada kürib ütirgan borçça orzumiz, havasımız faqat sengagina qarab qolgan. (Qodiriy, p. 139)

All our hopes and wishes that we have seen in the world entirely depend on you.

(38) Men soddə şuning gapığa išanib ütiribman. (Hojev, p. 21)

I am [so] simple [sincere] that I believed his words.

When -b ütir- combines with certain verbs (mostly verbs expressing speech activity) and is used in the first type of negative form (-b ütir-ma-), ütir- loses its original lexical meaning. In these cases, it expresses that an action continues for a long time. Consequently, it is typically used when the speaker or the subject does not want to bother to take an action or does not want to bother to spend so much time to take the action, for example:

(39) -- Üylim, arablar sowuq aşni nima deydi?

-- Arablar sowuq ašni kürsalar, "sowuq aš ikan" deb ütirmaydilar, indamay eya beradilar, şuning učun sowuq aşga ot qūymagan, -- deb javob berdi Afandi. (Cirtautas, p. 73)

"My son, what do Arabs call a 'cold dish'?

"If Arabs see a cold dish, they do not bother to say 'it is a cold dish', without saying[anything], they just go on to eat [it], therefore they do not have a name for cold dish," answered Afandi.
(40) Bu kişi bilan ikkinči marta tanişib ütirmaymiz (Qodiriyy, p. 29)

We will not bother [to spend time] getting acquainted with this person again. In (39) deb ütirmaydilar indicates that the subject does not bother to take the action. In (40) tanişib ütirmaymiz denotes that the speaker does not want to spend more time to take the action.

4.1.8 Meaning and Usage of -b kel-

When it is used as an autonomous word, the basic lexical meaning of kel- is "to come". As in Uighur (cf. 3.1.6), kel- in Uzbek only combines with a converb in -b, and forms compound verbs -b kel- which express the following:

1. If the main verb is a motion verb, like uç- (to fly), kir- (to enter), çıq- (to go out), etc., -b kel- denotes that an action occurs in the direction of the speaker:

(41) Tughribay paylab turibdi, xurçnizi kütarib tulki kirib kelipti. (Uzbek xalq ertaklari, p. 112)

[It is told that] Tughribay was watching, and the fox entered [the house] holding a cock.

(42) Maktabni tamonlab quyrib keldim. (Cirtautas, p. 91)

I graduated from the school and came back.

2. When the main verb is other than a motion verb, it indicates that an action or situation started in the past and is continuing up to the specific time referred to:

(43)(i) Otabek nasiga qaradi:

--Bu kungaça kelinsiz ham yaşab keldiniz, bundan keiyan ham şusiz turib bular-ku! -- dedi. (Qodiriyy, p. 138)

Otabek looked at her mother: "Until today you have been living without a daughter-in-law, from now on it you can also live without one," he
said.

(44) Mana şuningdek masalalarini tekşirib, bilib ham üylab kelgan edi (Qodiriy, p. 39)

He had been thinking, observing problems like these [for a long time].

In (43) the situation yaša- (to live) started a long time ago and continues until the present. In (44) üyla- (to think) continued until the specific time referred (past), although the writer did not give the specific duration of time of the situation. -b kel- itself gives us the information that the situation lasted for a long time; therefore, we can add the time expression "for a long time" to the English translation of this sentence.

When we examine the time expressions which agree with -b kel- in a sentence, we notice that only time expressions which denote a very long period, like beš yıldan beri (for five years), asılar oña (more than a century), can be used with -b kel-:

(44) Su ajoyib dostonlarni asılar oña qaliblar da asrab, dümbira yordamida xalq ıçida kuylab kelgan baxışlar haqida kam eştigansiz. (Cirtautas, p. 75)

You must have heard less about Bachshies (singers of epic songs) who have been preserving these wonderful epic songs in their hearts and singing them with the help of a dymbira among the people for many centuries. If time expressions which denote a comparatively short period, like üç sotin beri (for three hours) or kečadan başlap (starting yesterday), were used with -b kel-, they would be ungrammatical:

(43)(ii)* Otabek onasiga qaradi:

-- Ikki kundan beri kelinsiz ham yašab keldiniaz, bundan keiyin ham şusiz turib bular-ku! -- dedi.

This is an ungrammatical sentence, because ikki kundan beri (since two days ago, for
two days) does not agree with yaşab keldiniz (you have been living [for many years]). If the speaker wants to use ikki kundan beri, the predicate should be changed to yaşyapsiz (you are living) or yaşab turibiz (you are living).

However, -b kel- cannot be used to express that an action or a situation started in the past and will be continued in the future. For example, we cannot change sentence (43)(i) like this:

(43)(iii)* otbek onasiga qaradi:

--Bu kungaça kelinsiz ham yaşab keldiniz, bundan keiyin ham şusiz yaşab kelasiz! - dedi.

This is also an ungrammatical sentence. If the speaker wants to express this idea, he can not use -b kel-, but he can use the non-compound verb yaşa- (to live) together with the future tense suffix:

(43)(iv) otbek onasiga qaradi:

--Bu kungaça kelinsiz ham yaşab keldiniz, bundan keiyin ham şusiz yaşaysiz! - dedi.

Otabek looked at her mother:

"Until today you have been living without a daughter-in-law, from now you will also live without one," he said.

3. According to Hojiev -b kel- indicates development of an action from a starting point to a normal degree. However, -b kel- itself does not express a degree of development of an action. There are two necessary conditions or restrictions for -b kel- to express this meaning: -b kel- is used together with -yap- or -a yot- and it combines with a verb which inherently expresses a developing process, such as the following verbs:

aş- to be increased yaxşilan- to be improved
aşir- to increase ilgirila- to make progress
kūpay- to be multiplied taraqqi qil- to develop
oč- to open ūs- to grow
očil to be opened yūqarila- to go up
zuray- to enlarge kūtaril- to raise
rawajlan- to develop, sabza ur- to germinate,
to improve
piš- to ripen kučay- to strength

For example:

(44)(i) Samol kučayib keylapti. (Hojiev, p. 26)
The wind is becoming stronger.

(45) Endi sabza urib keylotgan kūkatlarning, bali očilmagan ūrik gullarining muattar hidlarini taratib engil šamol eșmoqda. (Abduraḥmonov, p. 383)
The wind is blowing, spreading the fragrance of apricot flowers that have not blossomed yet and of vegetables that are newly germinating.

(44) Samol kučayib keylapti not only expresses that the situation is in process (the wind is becoming stronger), but also indicates that the situation is newly started (the wind just started). Sentence (44) has a slight difference in nuance from the sentence Samol kučaayapti, which only expresses that the situation is in process (the wind is becoming stronger). In (45) sabza urib keylotgan kūkatlar (the vegetables that are newly germinating) not only expresses that the situation is in process, but also indicates that the situation is newly started.

4.1.9 Meaning and Usage of -b bor-
The lexical meaning of bor- is "to go, to reach". Unlike bar- in Uighur (cf. 3.1.7), bor- in Uzbek combines with both a verb in -b and a verb in -a, forming
compound verbs. However, compound verbs -a bər- are rarely used. In contrast, compound verbs -b bər- are very frequently used. Therefore, I will first examine the meaning and usage of -b bər-, then I will compare the nuances and usage of -b bər- and -a bər-.

1. If the main verb is a motion verb, -b bər- denotes that an action occurs away from the speaker (the direction "[to]there") and it emphasizes the final point of the direction:

(46) Tūgribay ola ayyırni had'yağa qilib, şaharga kirib bəripti. (Uzbek xalq ertaklari, p. 112)

Riding his black and white stallion that he had gotten as a present, Tūghribay entered the city.

(47) Bir yarım saat ta Cimkentga yetib bərdilar. (Cirtautas, p. 17)

In an hour and a half they arrived in Chimkent.

2. If the main verb is other than a motion verb, it indicates a continuous action or situation:

(48) Bətib bərayotgan quyəşning ḥu'lası daryoni qip-qizartib yubordi. (Hojev, p. 22)

Lights of the sun that was setting made the river glowing red.

(49) Üng tomonda esa çamon bilan būylaşgan taylar ularni gūyq kuzatib bərdi. (Cirtautas, p. 17)

On the right side, it was as if the mountains which stretched to the sky were watching them.

3. It indicates a degree of development of an action toward the final culminating point if the main verb is one which presents an action as a continuously developing process, such as the verbs on page 157:
Su sabablar bilan ikki oradagi yaqinliq təbərə üşib bordi. (Qodirov, p. 391)

For these reasons, the close [relationship] between them is growing even more.

Üzlaringga ma'lum saroyning xirajati kundan-kunga əşib bormoqda. (Hojev, p. 22)

It is known to you that the expense of the palace is increasing day by day.

In verbs which inherently express a developing process, as above (see page 157), there is no absolute or concrete final culminating point of the action or state that can be defined. Therefore, these verbs and -b bor- are usually used together to refer to a gradually developing process toward a final point. The time adverbials and adverbials of manner which agree with -b bar- give a clear indication of this meaning. -b bor- correlates with adverbials such as kundan-kunga (day by day), təbarə (even more), as in examples (50) and (51).

Like -b bor-, -a bor- also indicates the continuous development of an action. However, -a bor- is only used in the past tense, while -b bor- can be used in both the present and the past tense (see Abdurahmonov, Vol. I, p. 381). Compare the following example with example (51)(a):

U kun sayin aqa-uka, yor-şayingga aylanib borayotgan kisiqar orasida uzining begonaligini unta bordi.


Among people who were becoming brothers and friends day by day, he was forgetting his loneliness.

Nevertheless, -a bor- is rarely used. In Uzbek literature, sentences in which -a bor- is used hardly can be found.

In expressing a continuous action, there are differences in nuance and usage between
-b kel- and -b bor-. Whereas -b kel- emphasizes that an action or a situation started in the past and continues at present. -b bor- emphasizes that an action or a situation will continue in the future. Therefore, -b kel- cannot be used to express an action or a situation which started in the past, and continues in the present and will continue in the future, while -b bor- expresses that an action or a situation may extend in the future, consequently -b bor- can be used in the present-future tense, e.g.

(53) Bu yil ham neça kun hawo bulit būlib, yomgir yaqqanini yazib boraman. (Hojev, p. 220)

I will write [continuously] how many days weather will be cloudy, how many days it will rain.

In this sentence the present-future tense is used with -b bor-, and -b bor- cannot be replaced by -b kel-.

4.1.10 Usage and meaning of -a ket- and -b ket-

The basic lexical meaning of ket- is "to go away, to leave" when it is independently used as an autonomous verb, and it requires a noun to be in the dative or ablativ case. Unlike Uighur (cf. 3.1.8), in Modern Uzbek ket- can combine both with a converb ending in -a, and with a converb ending in -b, and forms different compound verbs. However, -a ket- is rarely used in both the spoken and literary language, mostly -b ket- is used. I will briefly explain the meaning and usage of -a ket-, then I will examine -b ket-.

-a ket- denotes that an action quickly starts and intensively continues (Ma’rufov, I, p. 383), for example:

(54) Arslanbek janablari təkçaden bir taxta qayaz olib üqiyl ketdi. (Hojev, p. 42)

Mister Arslanbek took a piece of paper from the shelf and started reading it.

(55) Samandarov ... qūlīdagi qayazni Boltaboyga berib, unga
allnimilarni tušindira ketti. (Ma'rufov, Vol. I, p. 383)

As soon as Samandarov gave the paper in his hands to Boltaboy, he started to explain something to him.

Few examples in which -a ket- is used can be found in Uzbek literature. In contrast, -b ket- is one of the most frequently used compound verbs in Uzbek. It expresses the following various meanings largely depending on the main verb and the context:

1. As in Uighur, when the main verb is a motion verb, -b ket- in Uzbek shows that the direction of an action goes to the opposite side of the speaker or away from the speaker (see Cirtautas, 1980, p. 155). In this case ket- keeps its original lexical meaning:

(56) Yūlbars şerdan bu gapni eštisi bilan arqasiga qaramay gačib ketibdi. (Cirtautas, p. 73)

As soon as the tiger heard this word from the lion, it escaped without looking back.

(57) Çüri hotin vuqurib kelişi bilan Tursun malikaning aldidan öqib ketibdi. (Uzbek xalq ertaklari, p. 248)

As soon as the maidservant came running in, Tursun moved from in front of the princess

In expressing an action towards a direction opposite the speaker, there is a difference in nuance between -b ket- and -b bor-. Whereas -b bor- emphasizes the final point of the motion, as in sentences (46) and (47), -b ket- stresses the starting point of the motion, as in sentences (57) and (58).

2. As in Uighur, in Uzbek -b ket- also indicates that an action occurs from one point outward in every direction when the main verb has a potential possibility to express a multi-directional action. These verbs are as the following:

tarqal- to be scattered
sačil-           to be spread out
bülün-           to be divided
tükil-           to be sprinkled, to spill
sin-             to be broken
tara-            to be dispersed; to be scattered

(58) Kül şumčalik baland bülse suvi tükilib ketmaydimi,
dada? (Cirtautas, p. 19)

If the lake is so large, doesn't the water in it spill out, daddy?

(59) Gayrat çapsan üründan turib, rizmatkarning qulidan
laganni olıpti wa...... şošib, gilamga qoqilibti wa
laganni erga tuširib yuboripti, polaw sačilib ketıpti.
(Uzbek xalq ertaklari, p. 253)

Gayrat quickly got up, took the plate from the servant's hands, and being in
a hurry, he stumbled on the rug and dumped the plate on the floor, the pilaf
spilled [in every direction].

It can easily be seen that all of these main verbs are reflexive or intransitive verbs and have
an inherent lexical meaning that implies a multi-directional action. This shows that the use
of the descriptive verb ket- to indicate multi-directional actions is limited only to verbs
that have a suitable lexical meaning.

Because -b ket- indicates a multi-directional action, it is also used to render that
an action occurs in entire scope of a certain area, typically, when the main verb is a verb
like qapla- (to cover) or bas- (to occupy, to press):

(60) Ayiq bolani əlib üzi turgan ərğa əlib ketıpti.

Bolaning qiyofasi ham ayiqqa üxšab, badanini tuk basib
ketıpti. (Uzbek xalq ertaklari, p. 171)

A bear took the child and brought him to the cave where it lived..... The
child's face became like the bear's, and hair covered his whole body.

3. It denotes the performance of an action to an intensive or an exhaustive degree (see Hojiev, p. 42). Among many examples we can take the following:

(61) Kamiljanning qarni juda o'chib ketdi. (Cirtautas, p. 113)

Kamiljan was very hungry.

(62) Amir Temur vaziri bilan birga Afandini ham olib, ovga chiqipti. Yulda Temur bilan vazir iswiglab ketib, kiyimlarini ye'chib, Afandining ustiga yuklab quyibdi. (Cirtautas, p. 70)

Amir Temur and his vizier took Afandi hunting. On the way Temur and his vizier felt very hot, they took off their coats, and loaded them on Afandi.

(62) Boy dükandan mallarni olaweripti, olaweripti, taxta usti molga tulp ketipti. (Uzbek xalq ertaklari, p. 119)

The rich man took and took goods from the store, and the counters were full of goods.

4. Related to meaning 3, it is used in order to express over performance of an action or it indicates that an action extends beyond an average limit:

(63) Qizlar suxliq va uyinga berilib ketib hamma narsani esidan qiqargan eamusidilar? (Chulpon, p. 33)

The girls indulged themselves in pleasure and play, and forgot everything, didn't they?

(64) Xabarni uqib suqadar uvalib kettimki, uzimni sharmanda bulganday his qildim. (Shoabdurahmonov, p. 392)

Having read the news, I was so ashamed that I felt as if I had been insulted.

The average limit of an action is subjective. It depends on the view of the speaker about a specific action or event. When a speaker feels that somebody or himself/herself is over
acting, he/she chooses -b ket-, as in examples (63) and (64).

5. It indicates that an action takes place suddenly, quickly (see Ciratautas, 1980, p. 154), and that an action extends deeply:

(65) U kuylagan "Orzigul", "Erali va Serali" kabi dostonlar tezda mašhur būlib ketdi. (Ciratautas, p. 75)

The epic songs like "Orzigul" and "Erali and Šerali" which he had sung quickly became famous.

(66) Gulomqodir ota şunday dedi-yu, içini allanarsa timdalab ketganday büldi. Samowarning yönoda turib, uylab ketti. (Umarbekov, p. 99)

As soon as father Gulomqodir said that, he felt as if something was scratching his heart. Standing beside the samovar, he was pondering.

In (65) -b ket- denotes that the event mašhur būl- (to become famous) occurred quickly, and tezda (soon, quick, quickly) agrees with -b ket-, meanwhile it emphasizes the meaning "quickly". In (66) the first -b ket- expresses how quickly the feeling of father Gulomqodir followed his action de- (to say). And the particle yu, which implies the meaning "as soon as", agrees with -b ket-. The second -b ket- indicates that the action ûyla- (to think) extends deeply.

6. Because -b ket- denotes an intensive action, it is used to express the full degree of performance of an action, or completed action. This meaning appears in many examples like the following:

(67)(i) Tūyribob bargini ezib qizga içiripti. Qiz oyday būlib tuzalib ketipti. (Uzbek xalq ertaklari, p. 112)

Tūghribay smashed the leaves [of a flower] and let the girl drink it. The girl [completely] recovered and became like the moon [beautiful].

(68)(i) Toškent issiqlari esimizdan čiqib ketdi. (Ciratautas, p. 22)
We have [completely] forgotten the heat of Tashkent.

(69)(i) Agar qizing men aytganday uzgarib ketsa, menga nima berar eding? (Qodiriy, p. 54)

If your daughter were changed [completely] as I said, what would you give me?

Whether -b ket- expresses a full degree or a completed action in these sentences can be tested in the following ways:

a. By only deleting -b ket- in the above examples and comparing these two groups of sentences:

(67)(ii) Tuyriboy bargini ezib qizga iciripti. Qiz cyday bulib tuzalibdi.

Tughribay smashed the leaves [of a flower], and let the girl drink it. The girl recovered and became like the moon [beautiful].

(68)(ii) Toshkent issiqlar esimizdan ciqdi.

We forgot the heat of Tashkent.

(69)(ii) Agar qizing men aytganday uzgarsa, menga nima berar eding?

If your daughter were changed as I said, what would you give me?

The sentences in group (i) carry basically the same information as group (ii), but they are different in nuance. The sentences in group (ii) simply state the facts, and do not imply that the actions are finished; while the sentences in group (i) express that the processes have finished.

b. By adding adverbs, such as tamoman (completely) or tuliq (fully), to the above sentences in both groups and comparing them:

(67)(iii) Tuyriboy bargini ezib qizga iciripti. Qiz cyday bulib
tamoman tuzalib ketipti.

Tüghribay smashed the leaves [of a flower] and let the girl drink it. The girl completely recovered and became like the moon [beautiful].

(68)(iii) Taşkent issiqlari esimizdan tamoman cizib ketdi.

We have completely forgotten the heat of Tashkent.

(69)(iii) Agar qizing men aytganday tamoman uzgarib ketsa, menga nima berar eding?

If your daughter were changed completely as I said, what would you give me.

When we add tamoman (completely) to the original sentences in group (i), we get group (iii). Thus in group (iii) tamoman agrees with -b ket and emphasizes that the actions are finished. If we add tamoman to group (ii) like the following:

(67)(iv) Türgiboy argini ezib qizga iciripti. Qiz quyday bulib tamoman tuzalibdi.

Tüghribay smashed the leaves [of a flower] and let the girl drink it. The girl completely recovered and became like the moon [beautiful].

(68)(iv) Taşkent issiqlari tamoman esimizdan cizdi.

We completely forgot the heat of Tashkent.

(69)(iv) Agar qizing men aytganday tamoman uzgarsa, menga nima berar eding?

If your daughter were changed completely as I said, what would you give me?

Although the sentences in group (iv) grammatically may be correct, stylistically they are not preferable. A native writer or speaker may randomly produce this kind of sentence. Since the adverb tamoman (completely) is used, it is better to incorporate it with -b ket- as in group (iii). This examination confirms that -b ket- may carry the full performance
of an action.

The frequency of usage of -b ket- is very high in Uzbek. It combines with almost all verbs except ket- itself.

7. -b ket is mostly used in the first type of negation (-b ketma-), and negates the above corresponding meanings of positive sentences, as in (58). However, the most characteristic usage of this type of negation is to express a non-full (non-intensive) performance of an action. That is to say, it is used to negate the above meanings 3, 4 and 5. It can be illustrated by adding the negative suffix to (61), (63) and (67) as follows:

(61)(i) Kamiljanning qarni ʊnça ʒiib əketmedĩ.
Kamiljan was not very hungry.

(63)(i) Qizlar şuxliq va üyinga ʊnça berilib əketmedĩ.
The girls did not indulged themselves very much in pleasure and play.

(67)(i) Tūyribboy bargini ezib qizga ičiripti. Qiz túliq tuzaʃib əketmeʃti.
Tūgribbay smashed the leaves [of a flower], and let the girl drink it. The girl had not completely recovered.

-b ket- is rarely used in the second type of negation (-may ket-). There are very few examples of this in Uzbek literature. Nevertheless, in a few cases, this type of negation (-may ket-) is used to express that an expected action is not performed for a long time, for example:

(70) E, muxbir uka, bormisiz? Biz tomanlarga sira kelmay kettingiz. (Hojiev, p. 42)
Oh, brother reporter, are you still alive? You did not come to our place at all [for a long time].

In this example kelmay kettingiz implies that the speaker expected the reporter to come, but the reporter did not come for a long time.
4.1.11 Meaning and Usage of \(-b\ yubor-\)

The basic lexical meaning of \(yubor-\) is to "to send, to send off", and it requires a noun to be in the dative case, when it is independently used as an autonomous verb. However, \(yubor-\) combines only with a converb ending in \(-b\), to form compound verbs; in a compound verb, it does not govern a noun any more, and the basic lexical meaning is lost in various degrees. Apparently, the meaning and usage of \(-b\ yubor-\) in Uzbek are almost the same as \(-w\at-\) (\(-p\aw\at-\)) in Uighur (cf. 3.1.9). Below I will investigate the meaning and usage of \(-b\ yubor-\).

1. When the main verb is a motion verb, \(-b\ yubor-\) keeps its original lexical meaning to some extent and denotes that the direction of an action goes to the opposite side of the speaker or away from the speaker. In this case, although the meaning of \(-b\ yubor-\) is similar to the meaning of \(-b\ ket-\), there is a difference in usage: whereas \(-b\ yubor-\) is used with causative or transitive verbs, \(-b\ ket-\) is used mostly with reflexive or intransitive verbs, as in following the examples:

   (71)(i) Hokim učta mahbusni şahar turmasiga jünatayotganda ušularni Qudrat o'kam qočirib yubordi. (Ma'rufov, II, p. 461)
   When the governor was sending three prisoners to the city prison, my older brother Qudrat let them escape.

   (72)(i) Surhonni buyib, uning suwini omborga burib yuborish kerak. (Hojiev, p. 43)
   It is necessary to embank the Surhon [river], to make its water turn to the reservoir.

In (71)(i) the causative verb \(qočir-\) (to cause somebody to escape) and in (72)(i) the transitive verb \(b\ur-\) (to turn) are used with \(-ib\ yubor-\) to express that the direction of the actions go to the opposite side of the speaker or away from the speaker. If the main verb is the intransitive verb \(qoč-\) (to escape) in (71)(i) or the reflexive verb \(b\ural-\) (to
be turned) in (72)(i), -b ket- should be used instead of -b yudor-, as in the following:

(71)(ii) Hokim učta mahbusni şahar turmasiga jünatayotganda uşular goşib ketdi.

When the governor was sending three prisoners to the city prison, they escaped.

(72)(ii) Surhon buryalsa, uning suwi omborga buralib ketadi.

If the Surhon [river] is embanked, its water turns to the reservoir.

2. When the main verb is other than a motion verb, yubor- loses its lexical meaning. In a compound verb -b yubor- denotes performance of an action to an intensive or an exhaustive degree, just like -wät- (<-p āwät-) in Uighur (cf. 3.1.9). In this case, the meaning of -b yubor- is similar to the meaning of -b ket-, the only difference is that -b yubor- is used with causative or transitive verbs, whereas -b ket- is used mostly with reflexive or intransitive verbs. Compare the following examples:

(73)(i) Şəhlīq hokimiyyati čindan ham şta aytganda bir ajdahə ekanu. Akbarga qalqon bülgan eng yaxşı odamlar birinketin uning qurbaniga çylanmoqdamı? Balki endi nawbat Akbarning özga yoki onasi Hamida begimga kelgandir? Bu təxmin Akbari seskantirib yubordi. (Qodirov, p. 376)

The power of Shah, as father said, is truly a dragon. Are the best people who were shelter for Akbar becoming its victims? Perhaps, is it Akbar's or his mother Hamida beg's turn [to be a victim] now? This suspicion made Akbar tremble [terribly].

(74)(i) ...onasining yurakni ezip yuboradigan nidalaridan uzqa, kečaga kačma-kuča yuradigan būlib qoldi.

(Umarbekov, p. 10)
Away from mother’s cry that made his heart [extremely] broken, he
became the one who wanders the streets until midnight.

If in (73) the causative verb seskantır- (to cause somebody to tremble) is replaced by
reflexive verb seskan- (to tremble), and the transitive verb ez- (to break) is replaced by
the intransitive verb ezil- (to be broken) in (74). -b yubor- should be replaced by
-b ket-, too, like the following:

(73)(ii) Bu taxminidan Akbar seskanib ketdi.

From this suspicion Akbar trembled [terribly].

(73)(iii) Gulumqodir ota seskanib ketdi. (Umarbekov, p. 100)

Father Gulumqodir trembled [terribly].

(74)(ii) ...onasining nidalaridan yuragi ezilip ketdi.

Because his mother cried, his heart was broken.

The difference between the sentences of group (i) and group (ii) including (73)(iii) is that
-b yubor- is used with the causative verbal forms to render an intensive action, whereas
-b ket- is used with the reflexive forms of the verbs to render the same intensive action.

3. Similar to -wät- (<-pawät-) in Uighur (cf. 3.1.9) -b yubor- in
Uzbek also indicates that an action takes place suddenly or quickly (see Cirtautas, 1980, p.
222):

(75) Bir waqit jarçining šangi cwozi ikki üýrini uyvatib
yuboripti. (Uzbek xalq ertzakleri, p. 124)

At once the loud voice of the announcer made both thieves wake up.

When -b yubor- expresses a sudden or quick action, the main verb may be an
intransitive or reflexive verb, as in the following example:

(76) Bola hūhrab viylab yubordi. (Umarbekov, p. 31)

The child [suddenly] cried out loudly.

4. Like -wät- (<-p āwät-) in Uighur (cf. 3.1.9), it denotes thorough and
decisive action:

(77) Ular bel ušlašipti. Jekawoy uning belboyardan ušlab ošmanga aytib yuboripti. (Uzbek xalq ertaklari, p. 176)

They grabbed each other's waist. Grabbing his waist, Jekawoy threw him up to the sky.

(78) -- Tawušni sekinroq čiqarsang-či!

--  Halı şundan ham qürqasanmi, balki halı ašula aytib yuboraman. (Qodiry, p. 251)

"Please utter a sound gently."

"You are still afraid of that, but I will sing a song [loudly]."

In (77) -b yubor- renders that the action is performed thoroughly or decisively. In (78) the speaker expresses his decisiveness and boldness by using -b yubor-.

5. When -b yubor- expresses the above meanings (2, 3, 4 and 5), it implies that an action has no extension in time and marks the end of the action. From all the examples above as well as from the following sentences in which -b yubor- is used, we can note that these actions have no extension outside the moment at which they occur and the terminal point of the actions is reached:

(79) U Margyilaında hotini borliyini untib yuborqan deb üylayman. (Qodiry, p. 251)

I think he had [entirely] forgotten that he had a wife in Marhilon.

(80) ... Ular arqanni kesib yuborışipti. (Uzbek xalq ertaklari, p. 181) They cut off the rope.

(81) Ahangroba "çulp" etip suga tušip ketipti. Allaqanday bir katta baliq uni yutip yuboripti. (Uzbek xalq ertaklari, p. 16)

The Ahangroba [precious stone] [making the sound "chulp"] fell into the
water suddenly. A big fish swallowed it up.

The actions untib yubor- and kesib yubor- and yutip yubor- have no extension outside the moment at which they occurred and the terminal point of the actions is reached.

4.1.12 Meaning and Usage of -p tašla-

As in Uighur, the lexical meaning of tašla- is "to throw" in Uzbek, and it requires a noun or pronoun to be in the accusative case when it is independently used as an autonomous verb. However, when it combines with a converb in -b (it only combines with a converb in -b), in some cases it keeps its lexical meaning to a certain degree; in other cases its lexical meaning is lost in varying degree and becomes general or abstract, and it no longer governs a noun, but the verb it combines with (a converb) does. In a compound verb the meanings of -b tašla- are quite similar to meanings 2, 3 and 4 of -b yubor- (see 4.1.11). Nevertheless, they have slight differences in nuance. Below I will examine the similarities and differences by comparing them:

1. Similar to -b yubor-, -b tašla- indicates that an action takes place suddenly or quickly (Abdurahmonov, Vol. I, p. 405). They can replace each other:

(82)(i) Muhammad Jamol pok, samimi ışqini taswer etuči yangi-yangi şe'rlarni şu zamaon tūqib taślar edi.

(Abdurahmonov, Vol. I, p. 405)

Muhammad Jamol used to immediately improvise poems which describe sincere and pure love.

(82)(ii) Muhammad Jamol pok, samimi ışqini taswer etuči yangi-yangi şe'rlarni şu zamaon tūqib yuborar edi.

Muhammad Jamol used to immediately improvise poems which describe sincere and pure love.
In these sentence both -b tašla- and -b yubor- express that the action tüqi- (to improvise) is performed quickly. However, the degree of quickness sounds stronger in (82)(i) than (82)(ii).

2. Like -b yubor-, it denotes a thorough and a decisive action. Although they can replace each other, it seems that this meaning of -b tašla- is also stronger than -b yubor-; it denotes a more decisive action. Therefore, it expresses "to do something forcefully, with a great intention" (see Čirtautas, 1980, p. 192), for example:

(83) Amma arslan yurakli Otabek ham badbaxtni şunday Yančib tašlabdiki, bu juda ez kišilar qūlidan keladigan išdir.

(Qodiri, p. 264)

However, lion-hearted Otabek had smashed the evil man so [much], very few people can do that.

(84) Boyčibor tüqsan tuya zanjirni čirik yipday uzib tašladı. Türkta tegirmen tošinini bir-biriga urib sindirib tašladı. (Čirtautas, p. 83)

Boychibor [name of a horse] had broken the chain of ninety rings like a rotten rope. It had smashed the four mill stones by striking one against the other.

In these sentence -b tašla- can be replaced with -b yubor-. However, b tašla- renders more powerful action. Therefore the use of -b tašla- is stylistically more suitable in these contexts.

3. When -b tašla- expresses the above meanings (1 and 2), like -b yubor-, it marks the end of an action, as exemplified by (83) and (84), as well as by the following sentences:

(85) Bora-bora bu mulahizalarini kūnglidan tamoman čigarib tašladı. (Qodiri, p. 249)
Gradually, he had completely dismissed these ideas from his mind.

(86) Otingning boşini tugasan tuyu zanjir bilan ura b tašlagan, çoyiga turtta tegirman tosinini goqib tašlagan. (Cirautas, p. 83)

One had bound the head of your horse with a chain of ninety rings and had nailed four mill stones onto its feet.

We can also examine whether -b tašla- expresses the end of the action from the temporal and durational point of view. It expresses an action that occurs at a certain point in time, not over a period of time. Therefore, -b tašla- is not compatible with the present-continuous tense and it does not allow the addition of durational adverbs, such as bir saat (for one hour), ikki kun (for two days), on beş minut (for fifteen minutes). In all the examples above -b tašla- cannot be used in the present-continuous tense (-yapman/ -yapsa/ -yapti etc.) and durational adverbs cannot be added to these sentences.

-b tašla- and -b yubor- are synonyms, but not total synonyms. They have some differences in nuance. This can be seen from the following two facts. First, although in some cases -b tašla- and -b yubor- can be used interchangeably, in many cases they can not replace each other. For instance, in examples (74)(i), (77), (78) and (80) -b yubor- can be replaced with -b tašla-, and they carry almost the same information. However, in (73)(i), (79) and (81) -b yubor- cannot be replaced with -b tašla-. Obviously, because -b tašla- expresses forceful and more powerful actions, and in these cases, namely, in examples (73)(i), (79) and (81) it is not adequate to use it. Secondly, -b tašla- is typically used when the subject does an action with a strong emotion or when the subject dislikes the object, as in examples (83), (84) and (86). Another difference in usage between them is that the frequency of usage of -b yubor- is much more than -b tašla-. As a matter of fact, in A. Qodiriy's novel "Utgan kunlar"
-b tašla- is used a few times, whereas -b yubor- is used frequently.

4.1.13 Meaning and Usage of -a qol-

As in Uighur, the basic lexical meaning of qol- in Uzbek is "to remain, to stay", and it requires a noun to be in the locative or in the dative case, when it is used as an autonomous word. However, unlike Uighur, it combines both with a verb in -a and in -b, and forms different compound verbs. In a compound verb the basic lexical meaning of qol- is lost or becomes general and abstract, and it no longer governs a noun, but the verb it combines with (a verb) does. In a compound verb qol- expresses various meanings.

When qol-combines with a verb in -a, it expresses various meanings depending on its use:

1. When -a qol- is used with imperative or optative-voluntative forms, it "expresses the speaker's insistence, friendly urging, assurance or permission" (see Cirtautas, 1980, p. 238), for example:

   (87) Endi men keta qolay, bolaginam yūldan cē kelib, bir qošiq issiqqa zoriqib ütingandir. (Qodiriy, p. 172)

   Now I will go, my dear child must have come back hungry from the trip, and he must be longing for a spoon of hot [food].

   (88) Juda soz, minib bora goling. Saharda sizga ham bir is bər. (Abdurahmonov, Vol. I, p. 397)

   It is wonderful, riding [a horse or taking a bus], please go ahead. In the city there is a job for you, too.

   In (87) by using keta qolay, the speaker expresses politely and in a friendly manner her insistence on going. In (88) the speaker in a friendly manner urges the subject (you) to do the action.

2. It "expresses an action done quickly, with ease or at once" (see Cirtautas,
1980, p. 238), as exemplified by the following sentences:

(89) Nega u qül urgan is ḏita goladi-ku, Saidyozining engil iši ham o'yr kūčadi? (Abdurahmonov, Vol. I, p. 398)

Why the work which he does is done [quickly], but even an easy task of Saidghazi's moves with difficulty.

(90) Carloaring ham bula golmadi, qayin otangni borib kūrsang, yoki carlarsiz ham kūra golasanmi? (Qodiri, p. 162)

Your invitation party has not been held soon, I wish you would go to see your father-in-law, or do you see [him] without the invitation party?

3. When it is used in the conditional form, it "expresses a strong desire to have an action accomplished quickly" (see Cirtautas, 1980, p. 238):

(91) Carčagan tarozbonlar mašina yūliga kūz tikkanlar,
tezroq kela golsa-yu, pahtani punkitga tašiy golsa.

(Hojiev, p. 39)

The tired people who weigh [cotton] were looking at the highway were longing for trucks to come [soon] and to carry the cotton to the station [quickly].

4.1.14 Meaning and Usage of -b qol-

As in Uighur (cf. 3.1.11), -b qol- in Uzbek combines with most intransitive or reflexive verbs and with some of the transitive verbs in the lexicon. Therefore, the frequency of its usage is very high and it expresses many meanings which I will examine in the following pages.

1. It expresses that an action has a result (see Cirtautas, 1980, p. 238). It is used when emphasis is placed on the result or consequence of an action:
... Ičkari holasiga burilib keta berdi. Bu buriliš
ma'nosiga Otabek allaqa on tušinib qolgan. (Qodiriy, p.
143)
... She turned and went into her inner courtyard. Otabek had already
understood the meaning of this turning.

(93) Tuš yorilipti. Qiz uzun sočlarini yiğib ulgurolmapti-
yi toš oradida qisilib qolipti. (Uzbek xalq ertaklari, p. 20)
The stone split. There was not enough time for the girl to take up her long
hair - her hair was squeezed between the stones.

(94) Oymama su izlab şu külđan čançoyni qondirgan ikan--
kiyik bülib qolibti. (Uzbek xalq ertaklari, p. 20)
[It was told that] Oymama looked for water, she [drank water] quenched her
thirst from that lake, and she turned into a deer.

In (92) -b qol- is used to emphasize the result of the action. If -b qol- were deleted in
(92), even though tušangan (understood) denotes that the action took place, it does not
emphasize the result of the action. In (93) the speaker, by using -b qol-, wants to present
the resultant state produced by the action rather than the action itself. In (94) -b qol-is
used to stress the result. The result may be desirable or it may be undesirable, but -b
qol- is used to express an undesirable result in most cases.

2. Related to meaning 1, similar to -p qol- in Uighur (cf. 3.1.11), -b qol-
in Uzbek often indicates that the result of an action "continues to be evident" (see Cirtautas,
1980, p. 238). In this case, the result remains up to the moment of speaking or up the
moment when another action changes that result:

(95) Tramwaylar, avtobuslar parkka kirib ketişi di. Sabar
jiirim qoldi. (Cirtautas, p. 94)
The trolleybuses and buses have gone into the parking lot. The city has
become quiet.

(96) Найбўрият қўтдига, ўқ вақт ғотиб ғолди. (Qodiriy, p. 61)
Reluctantly, she looked slowly at her enemy with a strange look. With this
look she was starting blankly for a while.

In these examples -b қол- implies that the result of the action (state) continues to be
evident and remains unaltered up to the moment of speaking, even though -b қол- is
being used in the recent-past tense. In these sentences if we delete -b қол-, these
sentences will simply state that the actions occurred, they will not give any indication
whether the result of the action remains until the moment of speaking. Because -b қол-
expresses that the result continues to be evident and remains up to the moment of speaking
or up to the moment when another action alters that result. Like an Uighur speaker (cf.
3.1.11), an Uzbek speaker also uses -b қол- in the recent-past tense to express the
present state (the result of an action). This can be clearly seen if we compare the differences
between the tense usage in Uzbek and English in some very common expressions:

English sentences:

I am sick (today).
I am late (now).
I am upset (now).

In these English sentences the present tense is used to express the state of the subject at
present. But when an Uzbek speaker wants to express the same idea, he/she would use the
recent-past tense:

(97) Айирлип ғолдим. (I am sick) [now].
(98) Қечиқин ғолдим. (I am late) [now].
(99) Ҳапа бўлип ғолдим. (It am upset) [now].
3. Because -b qol- denotes the result or achievement of an action, it expresses the completion of an action (see Cirtautas, 1980, p. 238):

(100) Ota yetip kelipti. Qarasa qizi Yük emiş. Birdan bir tutam soğa küzi tušib golipti. (Uzbek xalq ertaklari, p. 22)

The father arrived. When he looked, his daughter was not there. Suddenly he saw a bundle of hair.

(101) Sah Gulnarani xarši kūrip golipti. (Uzbek xalq ertaklari, p. 24)

The shah fell in love with Gulnara.

"Completion of an action" is not necessarily its actual completion. It means that the speaker wants to present an action as a total event which has an end.

4. Similar to -p qal- in Uighur (cf. 3.1.11), -b qol- in Uzbek implies that the action of the subject occurs unexpectedly, unconsciously or suddenly (see Cirtautas, 1980, p. 238). In this case it is usually accompanied by some adverbs of manner like suddenly, unexpectedly etc., or an appropriate context which gives such background:

(103) Birdan Tūghriboy oldidan bir eski tandir ēqīb golibdi. (Uzbek xalq ertaklari, p. 109)

Suddenly an old tandir came out in front of Tūghriboy.

(104) Keč kirayatganda Qimmat birdan bolta əsilgan daraxt tagiga bōrip golipti. (Uzbek xalq ertaklari, p. 7)

When it was getting dark, Qimmat suddenly came under a tree in which an axe was hanging.

(105) Kumuš ham ariq yəqasiga kelia tuxtangan yigitga beixtiyor qarab goldt. (Qodiy, p. 63)

Kumuš also could not help looking at the young man who came and stopped beside the brook.

In both (103) and (104) -ib qol- is being used to express an unexpected sudden action,
and agrees with the adverb birdan (at once, suddenly). In (105) -b qol- agrees with
the adverbial expression beixtiyor (involuntarily, cannot help) to emphasize the action
is performed unconsciously.

5. Related to meaning 4, when it is combined mostly with intransitive or
reflexive verbs, it denotes that "the subject is forced to do the action, or is only passively
involved in the action " (see Cirtautas, 1980, p. 238):

(106) Qiwičiliq kürmay üsgan yigit bu ayir musbatdan
tahilkaga tuśib goldi. (Umarbekov, p. 11)

Because of this deadly grievance, this grown young man who had not
experienced hardship fell into a fear.

(107) Miryoqub butun umrida kürilmagan bu hol qarşısida
şüşib goldi. (Chülpon, p. 105)

Faced with such situation, which Miryoqub had not seen in his entire life, he
was flustered.

Both in (106) and (107) -b qol- implies that the subject is forced to fall into the situation.

6. Similar to -p qol- in Uighur (cf. 3.1.11), -b qol- in Uzbek expresses
that an action is almost finished, when it is used with a group of verbs which have the
meaning "to finish" (see Hojiev, p. 37), such as:

ayaqlaš- to be ended; to end
axirla- to be ended; to end
tamomlan- to be completed
bit- to be finished
tuga- to be finished
piš- to ripen
yet- to reach

(108) Bu hotinning joni bitta emas, ming bitta... Hozir tugah
The soul of this woman is not one, but a thousand and one... Even if her soul and life are burning feebly now like a candle which is almost going out, she will burn the remaining thousand souls, and then she will go.

7. As in Uighur (see pp. 98-100), -b qol- in Uzbek is used in all three types of negation, and in these different negations it denotes different meanings which I will examine below:

a. When the negative suffix immediately follows qol- (-b qolma-), it is used to deny the meanings of the corresponding affirmative sentence. Normally, it is used to reply to a question in which -b qol- is used, as in the following example:

(109) -- Bugin darsga keçikib qoldin mi, qizim?
-- Yoq, keçikib qolmadim, dadajan.
"Were you late to class today, my daughter?"
"No, I was not late, dear father."

However, this type of negation is rarely used. As a matter of fact, I could not find a single sentence in which -b qolma- is used in Uzbek literature.

b. Usually, when the negative suffix is preceded immediately by the main verb (-may qol-), it negates the above meanings in the corresponding affirmative sentences; for example, sentence (92) can be negated like this:

(110) ... Ičkari holasiga burilib keta berdi. Bu buriliş ma'nosiga Otabek tuşinmay qoldi.
...She turned and went into her inner courtyard. Otabek did not understand the meaning of this turning.

Here -may qol- negates the meaning in sentence (92) and indicates that the result of the
action was not produced. We can take more examples from the literature:

(111) Jamila daraxtlarga qarab boraytib kützlari uyquga ketganini sezmay qoldi. (Cirtautas, p. 17)
While Jamila was riding [in the car] and looking at trees, she did not realize that she fell a sleep [her eyes went to sleep].

(112) Bizning idoramiz bukunki tartibszligi bilan keta bersa, hölimizning nima bülišga aqlim etmey qoldi.
(Qodiriy, p. 18)
If our administration were to carry on with today's disorderliness, I could not imagine [my reason could not reach] what our situation would be.

It also can indicate that the expected or desired result of the action was not produced, as exemplified by the following:

(113) Afandi üquvçi edi. Bir kuni maktabga kelmay qoldi.
(Cirtautas, p. 72)
Afandi was a student. One day he [unexpectedly] did not come to school.

c. When it is used in the third type of negation (-may qolma-), it expresses a positive meaning. In this case, affirmation is stronger than in an average positive sentence.

(114) Yalıyan aytganingizni dadangiz bilmey qolmeydi.
Your father will absolutely know that you have told a lie.

(115) Siz topşirган işni Qodir işlamay qolmeydi.
Qodir definitely does the work that you assigned.

Although, I could not find an example of this type of negation (-may qolma-) in the literature, it is frequently used in the spoken language. As was mentioned, Uighur and Uzbek lack adverbials like "definitely" and "certainly". These meanings, therefore, are expressed by means of "the negation of the negation" of some compound verbs.
Meaning and Usage of -b qūy-

The basic lexical meaning of qūy- is "to put" and it takes the accusative or dative case when it is used as an autonomous word. Similar to Uighur (cf., 3.1.12), qūy- in Uzbek combines only with a converb in -b, and forms compound verbs. However, when it is used in a compound verb, the basic lexical meaning of qūy- "to put" is lost to some extend, becomes general and abstract and no longer requires the accusative or dative case. The frequency of its usage is very high, and it combines with almost all causative or transitive verbs and with some intransitive or reflexive verbs. As a form of compound verbs, -b qūy- expresses the following meanings:

1. Similar to -b qol-, -b qūy- frequently expresses that an action has an achievement or a result (see Hojiyev, p. 40). It is used when a speaker emphasizes the result of an action, not the action itself. However, in this case just as in Uighur (cf. 3.1.12), -b qūy- in Uzbek is used with causative or transitive verb; while -b qol- is used with reflexive or intransitive verbs (see 4.1.14). Compare the following sentences:

(116) Bilmadim, ilgari qalay ekanman, lekin nazarimda meni şu gap indimas qilib qūydi. (Cirtautas, p. 30)

I do not know how I was, but in my opinion, that word had made me taciturn.

(117) Başqa qišlaqqa kūcib, yana "kūčmançining bolsi, kelginda bolsi" būlib qolardir. (Cirtautas, p. 30)

Moving to another village, I again had become "a child of a vagrant, and a child of a stranger".

(118)(i)Bu kungi gap juda ham meni cūčitib qūydi-da, Sodiqboy!.

(Qodiriy, p. 241)

Today's word [event] has made me scared very much indeed, Sodiqboy!

In (116) -b qūy- and in (117) -b qol- denotes the same resultative situation.
However, in (116) -b qūy- is chosen to be in agreement with the transitive verb qīl- (to do); in contrast, in (117) -b qol- is used with the intransitive verb būl- (to become). In (118) -b qūy- is used with the causative verb čūčit-. If instead of čūčit- (to scare) the reflexive čūči- (to be scared) is used, -b qūy- should be replaced with -b qol-, as in the following examples:

(118)(ii) Bu kungi gapdan juda ham čūčib qoldim-da, Sodiqboy!

I was scared very much by day's word [event] indeed, Sodiqboy!

2. Related to meaning 1, it is also capable of conveying the completion of an action (see Cirnaušas, 1980, p. 242), as exemplified by the following sentences:

(119)(i) Tūrtta tuxumni samowar ičiga solib qūydim. (Umarbekov, p. 37)

I have put four eggs into the samovar.

(120)(i) Matalboy! Men sizga hali aytib qūydim: mening čūnaligim ošnadan jonmi ham cyamaslik bilan būladir.

(Qodiry, p. 241)

Matalboy! I have already told you: my friendship is the friendship of one who will even scarifice his life for a friend.

(121)(i) --. Mana ikkinči uy. Uyningizning arqa tarafida turibsiz.

Milicioner kuldii:

Utkazib qūyaymi, yo uzingiz ütib olasizmi? (Cirnaušas, p. 99)

"...Here, it is the second house. You are standing in back of your house."

The police smiled:

"Should I help you to pass through, or you will pass through yourself?"

(122)(i) Akam menga qaraganda kattaroq rozyar. Kel, üz
uluşından bir oznı akamnıkiga qūşib qūvay. (Cirtautas, p.60)

My older brother has greater expenses than me. Come, I will add some part of my share to my older brother's share.

In these examples -b qūy- emphasizes the completion of the actions. If -b qūy- is deleted in these examples as in the following:

(119)(ii) Tūrtta turumni samowar ičiga soldim.

I put four eggs into the samovar.

(120)(ii) Mutalboy! Men sizga hali aytdim: mening oşnaligim oşnadan jonni ham oyamaslik bilan būladır.

Mutalboy! I told you: my friendship is the friendship of one who will even sacrifice his life for a friend.

(121)(ii) --... Mana ikkinč uy. Uyingizning arqa tarafida turibsiz.

Milicioner kuldi:

Utkezyaymi, yo üzüngz ütib olasizmi?

"... Here, it is the second house. You are standing in back of your house."

The police smiled:

"Should I help you to pass through, or you will pass through yourself?"

(122)(ii) Akam menga qaraganda kattarcq rozyar. Kel, üž uluşından bir oznı akamnıkiga qūvay.

My older brother has greater expenses than me. Come, I will add some part of my share to my older brother's share.

Although sentences (119)(ii) and (120)(ii) in the past tense do express that these actions did take place and the actions might be finished or completed in actual situations, they fail to
assert the completion of the actions. Because the past tense itself does not necessarily imply a notion of a completion of an action, it only marks the performance of an action in the past. It is obvious that sentences (121)(ii) and (122)(ii), which are used in the voluntative form, do not express the completion the actions, but only denote the performance of the actions in the future, even though they leave open the possibility that the result or the completion of the action may be attained. In contrast, the sentences of group (i) use -b qiy- to denote the completion of the actions or present the actions as whole events regardless of whether the actions are in the past or the present.

3. Similar to -b qol- (see 4. 1. 14), it implies that the action of the subject occurs unexpectedly, involuntarily or suddenly (see Hojiev, p. 40) when it is accompanied by some adverbs, like suddenly, unexpectedly etc., or in a context which gives this kind of background. In this sense, as in Uighur (cf. 3.1.12), the difference between -b qiy- and -b qol- in Uzbek is that -b qiy- is used with causative or transitive verbs; whereas -b qol- is used with reflexive or intransitive verbs:

(123) Keč kiripti... Uylun qoštib qyipti. (Uzbek xalq ertaklari, p.109)

The night came... He had lost his way [unconsciously or involuntarily].

(124) Kitabim yuqolib goldi.

My book was lost [unexpectedly].


Guzal [unexpectedly] gave the bundle of flowers in her hands to the language teacher, she was probably mistaken.

In (123) -ib qiy- is used with the transitive verb -yuqot (to lose) to express that the action occurred unexpectedly; while in (124) -ib qol- is used with the intransitive verb yuqol- (to be lost) to express the same meaning. In (125) the intransitive verb adaš- (to be mistaken) is used
with -ib qol- to denote the unconscious action, whereas -ib qūy- is also used with the transitive verb ber- (to give) to imply the unconscious action.

4. According to Abdurahmonov, it can indicate that an action is performed once when the main verb is a verb, like qara- (to look at), kul- (to laugh), kulimsira- (to smile), ušla- (to hold), etc., (see Abdurahmonov, Vol. 1, p. 400). However, this meaning usually comes out when it is accompanied by bir (one, once), as in the following examples:

(126) Kasali utztin-üztin bir küriniş berib quvaldi.

(Abdurahmonov, Vol. 1, p. 400)

His illness sometimes makes an appearance.

(127) ...Oftob oyimga bir iljavib qūydi. (Qodiriy, p. 45)

He smiled once at Oftob oyim.

(128) Kumuş... yigitga yana bir garap qūydi. (Qodiriy, p. 63)

Kumuş... looked at the young man once again.

4. Like -p qoy- in Uighur (cf. 3.1.12), -b qūy- in Uzbek is also used in all three types of negative forms, and it denotes a different meaning in these different types of negations:

a. When it is used in the first negation (qūy-ma-), the meaning of the negative sentence may be opposed to the above corresponding meanings of the affirmative sentences. Therefore, all the sentences above in which -b qūy- is used can be negated by this negative form, for example:

(129) --Hey yigit, -- deyišipti semruy balalari,-- onamiz učib kelayopti, bilmadasdan u seni yeb qüymasa idi. Sen bizni ajdahodin qutqazding. Kel, bekina qol. (Uzbek xalq ertaklari, p. 182)

"Hey, young man," said the children of the semrugh (a legendary
bird): "Our mother is flying here. If only she would not eat you up! She does not know that you saved us from the dragon. Come, hide yourself [quickly].

However, it seems that this negation is not used frequently. As a matter of fact, there are few examples in the literature.

b. When it is used in the second type of negation (−may qūy−), it seems to indicate that the expected result of an action is not produced:

(130) ... Hummon... juda kūp tahilkali janglarni kūrdi.... Lekin Serhonga kelganda uning şijcati ham, janglarda orttirgan tajribasi ham is bermay qūyapti. (Qodirov, p. 53)

Hummon had seen many terrible battles... But after he came to Sherxon, neither his courage nor the experience which he had obtained was working. In this sentence is bermay qūy− implies the expected result is not produced. Obviously, in written Uzbek, this negation is not used often; I could found only a few examples. Nevertheless, in the spoken language, this negation is used quite often to indicate omission of an action, or implies that the subject firmly refuses to do the action, as in the following examples:

(131) Uni mehmonga caqirsam ham kelmay qūydi

Even though I invited him to be my guest, he did not come.

(132) Usha uquči Uzbekčani bir yil ürganib, ürganmay qūydi

That student studied Uzbek one year, [then] he stopped studying.

In (131) −may qūy− implies that the subject firmly refused to do the action, and in (132) it indicates omission of an action or to stop doing the action.

c. When it is used in the third type of negation (−may qūy−ma−), it expresses a strong affirmative meaning.
(133) ... Bu čečak qirlari öz bayrida suzib borgan bizning Otabekni ham üziga qaratmey qūymadilar. (Qodiriy, p. 140) These flower fields also surely attracted our Otabek, who was going on its bosom [the fields]

(134) --Men bu qizni topmey qūymayman,-- depti yigit.
"I will definitely find that girl," said the young man.

4.1.16 Meaning and Usage of -b ol-

The basic lexical meaning of ol- is "to take, to get," and it takes the accusative case, when it is used as an autonomous word. Like al- in Uighur, ol- in Uzbek combines both with a convert in -b and with a convert in -a, and forms different compound verbs. However, unlike Uighur, when ol- combines with a convert, it does not have a phonetic change in a compound verb in Uzbek (cf. 3.1.13). Below I will examine the meaning and usage of -b ol- first.

1. Like -p al- (< - wel-) in Uighur, -b ol- in Uzbek expresses that an action is performed for the benefit of the subject or in the direction of the subject (see Cirtautas, 1980, p. 173), for example:

(135) Kəmpir sirni bilib olip, yigitka yarim kečada behuş qiladigan dorani hidlatipti. (Uzbek xalq ertaklari, p. 15)
The old woman had known the secret, and then at midnight she let the young man smell the drug which makes one unconscious.

(136) Suning učun ham qurilişdagi... Kişilarni ćagirib oldim- u, yuza parwişiga yubordim. (Hojevi, p. 33)
Therefore, as soon as I called [back] the people in the construction [field], I sent them to care for the cotton.

2. When it expresses the above meaning, it implies that an action has a result
or an achievement. Therefore, when the main interest of a speaker is to get the result of an action, he/she may prefer to use -b ol-. This use of -b ol- can be seen from the above examples as well as from the following examples:

(137) Humman otini qistab haydab Turdibecca yetib oldi. (Qodirov, p. 15)

Riding his horse urgently, Humman caught up with Turdibeck.

(138) Bu daftarni men tuqimchilarning madaniyat saroiyi oldidagi riyobondan topib oldim. (Umarbekov, p. 30)

I found this notebook in the street in front of the culture hall of textile workers.

3. Like -p al- (< - waw-) in Uighur, -b ol- in Uzbek frequently expresses that the achievement or the result of action is desirable for the subject (cf. 3.1.13), as in the above examples. Therefore, it may denote that the action is performed purposefully, consciously, successfully or quickly (see Cirtautas, 1980, p. 173). This meaning of -b ol- usually arises when it is accompanied by adverbs which have the meaning "successfully", "purposefully" or at least with a context which gives this background information, as exemplified by the following sentences:

(139) Toskentdan uylanishda sizning bos qo'siishingizni faqat qisingizni undan cigariib oli's u'yun qurilgan bir hiyla ekan deb yylab, qaytib esgingizga qo'y bosmagan. (Qodiriy, p. 265)

He thought that you had agreed for him to marry in Tashkent [again] was a trick to get your daughter divorce. Therefore, he did not step on you door again.

(140) Otabek onasiga bir qiz suz demay, ma'noli qilib otasiga garab oldi. (Qodiriy, p. 137)
Otabek did not say a word to his mother, he meaningfully looked at his father.

4. When it implies that an action has a result or an achievement, it consequently conveys the completion of the performance of the action. Since the result or achievement of an action simultaneously indicates that the action is completed or will be completed. Like -wəl- in Uighur (see pp. 112-113), the following usage of -b əl- in Uzbek can confirm that it denotes the completion of the performance of an action. First, -b əl- cannot be used in the present-continuous tense (marked by -yapman/-yapsiz/ -yapti, etc.), nor in the past-continuous tense (marked by -yotgan idim/-yotgan idingiz/-yotgan idi etc.). Second, the use of -b əl- in a complex sentence also confirms the validity of the point that it implies a completed action, which can be explained by comparing the complex sentence (142) with the simple sentence (141):

(141) Englizcəni beş yil urgandim.

I studied English for five years.

(142) Englizcəni beş yil ürganib, ürganib oldim.

I studied English for five years, and I mastered it.

In (141) the speaker just states the fact "I studied English for five years". Although it is used in the past tense, it does not give any indication whether the action is completed or not. However, in (142) ürganib əl- marks that the action has an end and a result.

In the above complex sentences (135) and (136) by using -b əl- the speaker also wants to emphasize that after the first action is completed, the second action is performed.

5. Like -wəl- in Uighur, -b əl- in Uzbek is used only with the first type of negation (-b əltə-). In general, the meaning of the negative sentence may be opposed to the above corresponding meanings of the affirmative sentences.
4.1.17 Meaning and Usage of -а өл-

When өл- in Uzbek combines with a verb in -а, unlike а- in Uighur, it usually does not have a phonetic change as in example (143) (cf. 3.1.14). However, sometimes in Uzbek literature the converbial suffix -а is deleted, as in example (144). In a compound verb -а өл- implies an ability to do something (see Cirtautas, 1980, p. 173):

(143) Муз:-- Мен зур бўлсам кун мен ирита қламиди? (Cirtautas, p. 64)

Ice said: "If I am strong, could the sun melt me?"

(144) -- Domla, мен узоқ joyga borolmeyman (< бора ҳлмейман).
-- Nega borolmaysiz? -- сўради раис.
-- Cunki узингиз имтиён вақтида: "Bu imiling bian узоқ joyga borolmaysan" degansiz, dedi Afandi. (Cirtautas, p. 73)

"Sir, I cannot go far."

"Why you cannot?" asked the chairman.

"Because during the examination you said: "With your knowledge, you cannot go far,"" said Afandi.

The ability to do an action is often related to the possibility of the occurrence of an action. Therefore, -а өл- can also express the possibility of occurrence of an action.

-а өл- and б өл- are frequently used forms of compound verbs.

4.1.18 Meaning and Usage of -б бер-

The basic lexical meaning of бер- is "to give", and it requires a noun to be in the accusative or dative case when it is used as an autonomous verb. Like бар- in Uighur, бер- in Uzbek combines both with a verb in -б and with a verb in -а, and forms different compound verbs (cf. 3.1.14). First, I will examine the meaning and usage of -б бер-. 
1. It denotes that an action takes place for the benefit of somebody else or for something (see Cirtautas, 1980, p. 128), for example:

(145) Bizga ertakı ba'zan buwm -- Oyımqiz xola aytıb berardi. (Cirtautas, p. 36)

Sometimes my grandmother, Oyımqiz xola, told us stories.

(146) Gulnaraxon ašula aytıb bera, čalib beraman. (Hojievi, p. 34)

If Gulnaraxon sings a song [for us], I will play the music [for you or for her].

I have tested that -p bār- in Uighur does not give a clear indication that an action has a result (see pp.116-118). Similarly, -b ber- in Uzbek does not imply that an action has a result either.

4.1.19 Meaning and Usage of -a ber-

When ber- in standard Uzbek combines with a verb in -a, a phonetic change does not occur as in examples (147) and (148); whereas -a bār- in Uighur is changed into -wār- (cf. 3.1.16). Nevertheless, in spoken Uzbek -a ber- is changed into -a wer-, and the written language some times reflects this phonetic change, as in example (149).

Similar to -wār- in Uighur (cf. 3.1.16), -a ber in Uzbek expresses that an action is performed continuously despite some obstacle or objection (see Cirtautas, 1980, p. 192), as exemplified by the following sentences:

(147) Serning: "Jon odamžod meni urmang, endi odamzoddga yūliqmayman", deb yalinganiga qaramay, ura beribdi.

(Cirtautas, p. 67)

He continued to beat the lion, despite the lion's begging: "Dear human being do not beat me, I will never touch a human being."
(148) Dadam menga qarab: -- bər ičkarığa kir! -- dedi. Amma men indimay erga qarab utira berdim. (Cirtautas, p. 35)

My father looked at me and said: "Go, go inside!". But I did not say anything, looking at the ground, I continued to sit.

(149) Bas endi, hadeb viylayvermang, onajon, bulaar iš bûldi.
(Hojiev, p. 35)

Please stop, my dear mother, do not cry [continuously] any more, the thing that was supposed to happen has happened.

4.1.20 Meaning and Usage of -b čiq-

Just as čiq- in Uighur, the basic lexical meaning of čiq- in Uzbek is "to go out, to go up" and it requires a noun to be in the dative or ablative case when it is used as an autonomous word. It combines only with a verb in -b, and forms compound verbs (cf. 3.1.17). In a compound verb -b čiq- expresses the following meanings:

1. When it is used with a motion verb, the lexical meaning of čiq- is kept and it requires a noun associated with it to be in the dative or ablative case. In this situation -b čiq- renders that an action takes place toward "out" or "up":

(150) Mušuk qurqib üzini čumqurqa tašlagan ekan, u erdan bûri way-waylab gočib čiqibdi. (Uzbek xalq ertaklari, p. 370)

As soon as the cat was scared and threw itself the hollow, a wolf escaped out from there.

2. When it is used with a verb other than a motion verb, the lexical meaning of čiq- is lost to some extent or completely, becomes general and abstract and no longer governs any noun. In this case, just as -p čiq- in Uighur (cf. 3.1.17), -b čiq- in Uzbek expresses the following meanings:

a. If the object is singular, it indicates that an action is performed thoroughly
from beginning to end, consequently, it denotes that an action has a result (outcome). It is used in order to sum up the total degree of the performance:

(150) Bu arada Hasan ali boşdan-oq qilik hikayani süzlaq çıgdi. (Qodiriy, p. 41)

During this time, Hasan ali told the story from beginning to end.

(151) (Mašinada ketaelqgan) Nazirpolwón atrafga olazarak bülip qarab çıgdi. (Umarbekov, p. 8)

Nazirpolwan (who was riding in the truck) was flustered and looked in every direction thoroughly.

b. If the object is plural, it implies that an action of the subject involves every member of the plural object and that an action has a result or is completed. That is to say, it denotes the extension of the action to several objects.

(152) Olimov üz odatiça, kĆuzynagı çetidan har bir bolaga çınčiklab qarab çıgdi. (Hojiev, p. 30)

According to his habit, Olimove carefully looked at every child (student) over the top of his eyeglasses.


Sheerbek had given an injection to the sick cattle first, then to the rest of the cattle.

In (152) -b čiq- indicates that the action qara- (to look at) involves "every student", and the action extends to several objects, and the action is performed to the end. In (153) -b čiq- implies that the action ukol qil- (to give an injection) is extended to several objects and it signals that the action has a result.

3. According to Abdurahmonov, it also can express that an action is performed during a whole period of time. However, this meaning of -b čiq- arises only when it is
used with a few time adverbs, specifically, tum buýi (whole night), kečalari bilan (through whole nights) or qış buýi (whole winter) (see Abdurahmanov, p. Vol. I, p. 389). For instance:

(154) Qış buýi allaqaýysi gün ostilarida junjib čiqqan quš zatlari... üz tūplari bilan wijir-wijir, čuyur-čuyur sayrab kuladilar. (Abdurahmanov, Vol. I, p. 389)

The birds which were depressed under some hollows the whole winter, are chirping and singing by making the sound "wijir-wijir" and "chugir-chugir".

(155) Kečasi... isitması aralaš allanačuk süşlarnı ayitib čiqdi. (Qodiriy, p. 389)

The whole night, having a fever, she said something [in her dreams].

Similar to Uighur (see p. 121), the meaning of -b čiq- in Uzbek can be described as totalising, since it is used in order to sum up the total degree of the performance.

4.1.21 Meaning and Usage of -b üt-

The basic lexical meaning of üt- in Uzbek is "to pass, to pass through", and it requires a noun to be in the ablative case when it is used as an autonomous verb. It combines only with a convert in -b, and forms compound verbs. However, just as -p öt- in Uighur, (cf. 31.18), -b üt- in Uzbek is not frequently used. It is used only when attached the verbs of speech activity such as sůzla- (to speak), de- (to say), ayit- (to tell), čůčandur- (to explain) etc. It does not govern any noun and loses its lexical meaning. In this case it indicates an accomplished action in a short duration. It is usually used in connection with another action (see Cirtautas, 1980, p. 228). Therefore, it expresses that the subject performs an action in a short time, in order to perform the next action (which
may be implied but not specifically stated):

(156) Men sizning qiličingiz oldida qūrqib yoki sizga xušamat učun sūzlama, hukumat kišilarimiz orasida tušinadigan bir odam būlgingiz wajidan otamning wa ūzimning qandeay fikir wa maślak kišisi ekanligimizni aytib utməqči būlaman. (Qodiriy, p. 75)

I am speaking not because I am afraid of your sword or I want to please you, but because you are one of the people among government administrators who understand [the situation]. Therefore, I intend to tell [briefly] what opinions and ideas my father and I stand for.


Marhamat explained [shortly] once more the task and schedule of the journey.

-b üt- grammatically can be only used in the first type of negation, and the meaning of the negative sentence may be opposed to the above meaning of affirmative sentences. However, it seems that -b üt- is rarely used in the negation in fact, not a single example can be found in the literature.

4.1.22 Meaning and Usage of -b yet-

The basic lexical meaning of yet- is "to reach", and it requires a noun to be in the dative case, when it is used as an autonomous verb. It combines only with a converb in -b, and forms compound verbs. Like -p yät- in Uighur (cf. 3.1.19), -b yet- in Uzbek is a less frequently used form. In addition to motion verbs, it is mostly attached to the verbs which express the process of cognition, like ūyla- (to think), tušin- (to understand), mulohazaga kel- (to come to an idea) or to some verbs which inherently express the
termination of an action, for instance piš- (to ripen) and tül- (to be full).

1. When it is attached to motion verbs such as -bor (to go) and -kel- (to come), it keeps its lexical meaning and indicates that an action reaches a terminal point:

(158) Musulmanqul Cirçi q buyığa kelib yetganda, Quşbegi boşliq Toshkent yigitlari suwning berigi yuzida yow kutib turgan edilar. (Qodiri, p. 278)

When Musulmanqul arrived at the Chirchiq river, the young men [soldiers] of Tashkent under the leadership of Quşbegi were waiting for the enemy on this side of the river.

(159)(i) Bu xatim borib yetmesdan ta'yı xat keldi. (Hojiev, p. 32)

Before this letter of mine arrived [there], the another letter came.

2. When it is attached to verbs which express the process of cognition and to some verbs which inherently express the termination of an action, it loses its lexical meaning and does not govern any noun in the sentence, and it indicates that an action reached a terminal point or that the action has ended:

(159)(ii) ...kišilar yollaš, hukumatga bildirib, Qutidarni xabar dor qilib qyiš mulohazalarigaça kelib yetgan bulsa ham, ammo izzati nafsi bu qurqoqlikka tamoman zid turar edi. (Qodiri, p. 248)

...Although he had come to the ideas of hiring people, informing the government and giving the information to Quşidor, his dignity completely contradicted this cowardliness.

(160) Zaynab Kumushbibining tulišib yetmagan gawdasiga wa un alti yošar čamasi yubor tegmagan husniga hayran bulib, mulohazasini aytişga qurqdi. (Hojiev, p. 32)

Zaynab was surprised by Kumushbibi's breast, which was not yet full and
her sixteen-year-old face which was yet untouched by speckle. She was afraid of saying this to her.

4.1.23 Meaning and Usage of -b sol- and -a sol-

The basic lexical meaning of sol- (to put in, to put into) in Uzbek is the same as sal- in Uighur, and it requires a noun to be in the accusative or dative case when it is used as an autonomous verb. However, the meaning and usage of sol- in Uzbek is different than sal- in Uighur. Therefore, I will state differences and similarities by comparing them. sol- in Uzbek, unlike sal- in Uighur, can combine both with a verb in -b and with a verb in -a, and forms compound verbs -b sol- and -a sol.

1. Like -p sal- in Uighur, -b sol- in Uzbek is one of the less frequently used forms. In Uzbek literature there are few examples in which -b sol- is used; furthermore, it is attached only to certain verbs such as ayt- (to say, to tell),ocio- (to open, to tell openly). Nevertheless when -b sol- is used with these verbs, the meaning is different than the meaning of -p sal- in Uighur: Whereas -p sal- in Uighur denotes unconscious (blundering, maladroit) sudden performance (see page 124), -b sol- in Uzbek expresses a strong intention to perform or to accomplish an action to an intensive degree (see Hojiev, p. 45), as in the following examples:

(161) Uzbek oyim bamiše yuragini şopirtirib, miyasini maşyul qiliyan muddaoni aytib solis fursatini qočirmaydir.
(Qodiriy, p. 135)

Uzbek oyim never missed [let escape] an opportunity to speak her purpose, which always occupied her mind and made her heart terrible.

(162) Yuragida tūplinib qolyan tuyyularini şib soldi. (Hojiev, p. 45)

He opened up [spoke out] his feelings which had piled up in his heart.
(163) Sen mendan har qanča hafa bülsang ham, künülgimga tugip qūyganimi aytib solmasam ilaji yūq. (Hojiev, p. 45)

No matter how angry you are, there is no other way unless I speak out what I have kept in my heart.

In all these sentence, -b sol- expresses a strong intention to perform or to accomplish an action to an intensive degree or completely.

2. -a sol- is more frequently used than -b sol- because it can be attached to many verbs. However, -a sol- is only used with the conversbial suffix -ib (-a solib) in a complex sentence. In this case it denotes that as soon as the action expressed by the main verb is finished, the second action occurs (see Hojiev, p. 46). I will illustrate this by taking the following examples:

(164) Tura solib yugrib ketti. (Hojiev, p. 45)

As soon as he had stood up, he ran away.


As soon as Yulchi had taken the knife, he threw it away.

In (164) -a sol- is used with the conversbial suffix -ib (-a solib) in a complex sentence; and -a solib indicates as soon as the action tur- had taken place, the second action yugir- (to run) occurred.

4.1.24 Meaning and Usage of -b tuš-

tuš- (to come down) in Uzbek can be used as a descriptive verb in a compound verb. It only combines with a convorb in -b, and it denotes different meanings depending on the main verb.

1. When the main verb is a motion verb, it keeps its lexical meaning and expresses that an action occurs downward, for example:

The director attempted with all his soul and power to raise his heavy body, but he fell down again on the soft sand.

(167) Tomda qizil va cq sandiq bor, cq sandiqni qoldirib, qizil sandiqni olib tus. (Uzbek xalq ertakli, p. 7)

On the roof there is one red trunk and one white trunk. Leave the white trunk, bring down the red one.

2. When the main verb is not a motion verb, it loses its lexical meaning and expresses an intensive action that occurs immediately or quickly (see Abdurahmonov, Vol. I, p. 407), for example:


It seems that the melody pleased Oyqiz very much, she accompanied it with the melody in her heart.

(169) -- Menimca, Qutidorning oldidan bir yuli utilsin.-- dedi Hasan ali. -- Agar kunib xub desa-ku xayir, kummagan taqirda bu xabarni Otabekka yetkizak, zora shuning bilan kungli sowib tusua.

Hasan alining bu sizi Ziyo akaga hem ma'qul bulib tusdi. (Qodiriy, p. 42)

"In my opinion, one should go to Qutidor once." said Hasan ali. "If he agrees and says 'yes', that would be all right. Even if he does not agree, if we give this information to Otabek, if only his heart would cool down immediately [it would be good].
Ziyo aka immediately agreed with Hasan ali's words very much.

Apparently, the frequency of the usage of -b tuš- is not very high, because except for motion verbs, not many verbs can be used as the main verb. Consequently, there are not many sentences in which -b tuš- is used in Uzbek literature.

Unlike Uzbek, čuš- (to come down) in Uighur is only used with a motion verb, (it is never used with other verbs), and it keeps its original lexical meaning to express an action that occurs downward.

3.1.25 Meaning and Usage of -b kür- and -a kür-

The basic lexical meaning of kür- is "to see", and it requires an noun to be in the accusative case when it is used as an autonomous verb. When kür- is used in a compound verb, it does not govern any noun and its lexical meaning becomes general or abstract. Unlike kör- in Uighur (cf. 3.1.19), kür- in Uzbek combines with a verb both in -b and in -a, and forms compound verbs -b kür- and -a kür-.

1. Similar to -b kör- in Uighur, -b kür- in Uzbek expresses "to try to do something" or "to do something for testing or for experiment":


OK, if not today, then tomorrow I will think about defending your unlucky friend.

(171)Kumushbibi.... şom yonida ikki xatni bir-biriga solistišib kürdi. (Qodiriy, p. 269)

Kumushbibi compared the two letters to each other beside the candle.

(172) Onasining bu talabini xüp mulọhaza qilib küringiz.

(Qodiriy, p. 147)
Please consider well his mother's request.

2. -a kūr- is only used together with the negation of the imperative form (-a kūrma) or with the negation of the optative form (-a kūrmasin). In this case, it expresses that the speaker emphasizes or warns someone not to try the action expressed by the main verb (see Abdurahmonov, Vol. I, p. 408), as in the following examples:

(173) Birodari aziz, siz menim bu sütürmadan xafa büla kūrmanqiz. (Qodiriy, p. 147)

My dear friend, please do not be upset by these words of mine.


You are so noisy, do not let your father hear [your noise]


Never tell this secret to anybody.

4.1.26 Meaning and Usage of -b boq-

Just like boq- in Uighur (cf., 3.1.20), the basic lexical meaning of boq- in Uzbek is "to look, to look after", and it requires an noun to be in the dative case when it is used as an autonomous verb. It combines only with a converb in -b and forms a compound verb. When boq- is used in a compound verb, it does not govern any noun and its lexical meaning becomes general or abstract. Like -b kūr-, in this case, -b boq- renders "to try to do something" or "to do something for testing or for experiment" (see Abdurahmonov, Vol. I, p. 409), for instance:

(176) Ularning kengası büyiça uč-tūrt kun qimiz wa mawiz iste'mol qilib boqqan edim, woqian birmunqan foydasi ham ma'lum bülidi. (Qodiriy, p. 19)

According to their suggestion, I tried to consume [to drink] kumus and wine
for three or four days, in fact it was known that it was quite beneficial.

(177) Har hunarning uz waqti bor, deydilar, qani biz ham

They says that every skill has its time. Now we try to go out to the field.

4.1.27 Meaning and Usage of -b qara-

Just as with boq- the basic lexical meaning of qara- is "to look, to look after", and it
requires an noun to be in the dative case when it is used as an autonomous verb. It
combines only with a convert in -b and forms the compound verb -b qara-. Exactly
like -b kür- and -b boq-, -b qara- renders "to try to do something" or "to do
something for testing or to figure something out" (see Abdurahmonov, Vol. I, p. 408):

(178) Malohat surištirgali korxonaga bordi. Surištirib
qara, Jonfiyan un etti kun illasdi, xolos.

(Abdurahmonov, Vol. I, p. 409)

In order to investigate, Malohat went to the factory. After she investigated,
she figured out that Jonfīghan had worked for only seventeen days.

(176) UyLAB küring, bu ular ucum juda ham katta mehnat,
maşaqqat emasni?.... Endi uyLAB qarasam, u baxtini emas,
baxtisizligini yugatgan ekan. (Hojiyev, p. 48)

Think of it, isn't it a great effort and isn't it difficult for them, too? Now
when I thought of it, [I learned that] he had lost his unhappiness, not his
happiness.

According to Abdurahmonov, there is no any difference among -b kür-, -b boq- and
-b qara- in nuance. They are practically interchangeable, however -b kür- is more
frequently used than the others in Uzbek (see Abdurahmonov, Vol. I, p. 409). In contrast,
-b baq- is more frequently used in Uighur (see 3.1.20).
4.1.28 Meaning and Usage of -a bošla-

The lexical meaning of bošla- is "to start, to begin with", and it requires a noun to be in the accusative or ablative case when it is used as an autonomous verb. Unlike bəšla- in Uighur, which cannot combine with a converb (see page 20), bošla- in Uzbek can combine only with a converb in -a and forms a compound verb. When it is used in a compound verb, it usually does not govern any noun, and it keeps its lexical meaning. It simply expresses the beginning of an action (see Abdurahmonov, Vol. I, p. 377), for instance:

(177) Yigit şerni mahkam boylabdi. Toldan yaxsi bir tayaq qilib olib kelib gursildatib şerni ura bošlabdi.  
(Cirtautas, p. 67)

[It was told that] The young man tied up the lion. Then he made a stick from a willow tree, brought it, and started to beat the lion making the sound "gurus".

(178) Majlis tamom bulib, kisilar torgala bošladi. (Hojiev, p. 18)

The meeting was ended, and the people started to scatter.

3.1.29 Meaning and Usage of -b būl-

Just like bol- in Uighur (cf. 3.1.20), the meaning of būl- in Uzbek is "to be, to become". It only combines with a converb in -b. In a compound verb, -b būl- expresses a completely finished action:

(179) Kitobni ərib būldi. (Hojiev, p. 27)

He had read the book (He finished reading the book).

(180) Yerni ertaga haydal būlamiz. (Hojiev, p. 27)
We will finish plowing the land tomorrow.

-b bül- can also express the possibility of doing an action (see Hoijev, p. 28), as exemplified by the following sentences:

(181) Hamma ilimi faqat savod argaligina ürganib büladi.

(Hojiev, p. 28)
One can learn all the sciences only by being a literate person.

(182) Buning boşaçroq bir epini topib bülmasmikin? (Qodiriy, p. 92)
Isn’t it possible to find another way of [doing] this?

4.1.30 Meaning and Usage of -a yoz-
Unlike Uighur in which yoz- does not exist, when yoz- in Uzbek is used as an independent verb, it means "to lose". However, in modern Uzbek it also can be used as an auxiliary (descriptive) verb, when it only combines with a converb in -a. In a compound verb -a yoz- expresses "to almost do something" (see Ma’rufov, Vol. I, p. 254), for instance:

(183) Qarangyu tuśa yozgan edi. (Qodiriy, p. 34)
It was almost getting dark.

(184) Keltingan xabaringiz ta’sirida sizni unuta yozibman.

(Qodiriy, p. 34)
Because of the impact of the news which you brought, I have almost forgotten you.

If the main verb is a verb which expresses "to finish", -a yoz- denotes that the action is almost finished or completed (see Abdurahmonov, Vol. I, p. 410):

(185) Mehanik-haydowci yarim saottan beri čiqaza olmay, motorni guwillatawerib yonilyini tugata yozgan ekan.
The mechanic-driver was not able to drive [the truck] out for half an hour, and running the engine continuously, he had almost finished the gasoline.

(186) — Quldashway ruxsat nima buldi?

"Yuldashwoy, what happened to the registration form."

"The registration form is almost finished."

4.1.31 Meaning and Usage of -a bil-

When bil- is used as an autonomous verb, the lexical meaning of it is "to know" and it requires a noun to be in the accusative case. Unlike bil-in Uighur, which is never used in a compound verb, bil- in Uzbek only combines with a converb in -a and forms a compound verb. When it is used in a compound verb, it usually does not govern any noun, and it sometimes keeps or sometimes loses its lexical meaning to some extent, and expresses an ability to do something (see Abdurahmonov, Vol. I, p. 409), for instance:

(187) Buning ustiga Šernazarboy Somurat baxší bilan Wakil urtasidagi aowat va kelişmovčiliklardin yaxší foydalana bili.
(Abdurahmonov, Vol. I, p. 409)

In addition to this, Šernazarboy was able to use the enmity and disagreement between Somurat and Wakil very well.

(188) Lekin masala tüyri yulni, haqiqatni kūrsata bilişda.
(Hojiev, p. 48)

However, the problem is to show the right direction and the truth.

(189) Har bir mehnatkaş qom qoradan dūstni duşmandan ajrata bilişi kerak.
(Hojiev, p. 48)

Every worker should differentiate black and white as well as a friend and an
enemy.

In expressing an ability to do something, -a bił- and -a ol- are synonyms (see 4.1.17). However, they have slight differences in usage, -a bił- is mostly used to express an ability to do an intellectual activity in the literary language (see Abdurahmonov, Vol. I, p. 409), as in examples (188) and (189); while -a ol- is used to denote both an ability to do something in general and the possibility of doing something.

4. 2. Classification of Compound Verbs in Uzbek

In the first section of this chapter, I have investigated in detail the meanings of each form of compound verbs in Uzbek together with the necessary conditions for expressing these meanings. However, this is merely a collection of meanings and uses which the forms of compound verbs may express in various contexts. In this section, I will summarize the meanings of each form of compound verbs in Uzbek by briefly comparing them with compound verbs in Uighur. It may also lead to a characterization of the essential meaning of each form and a certain level of abstraction or classification of compound verbs in Uzbek.

As I characterized the meanings of compound verbs in Uighur in section 2 of chapter III (see pp. 129-132), I will attempt to extract a basic and a secondary meaning of each form of compound verbs in Uzbek from all its meanings or uses by summarizing them as follows:

1. -a yot- in Uzbek presents an action in process at any moment referred to, it implies shorter duration, and it does not express the result of an action. Therefore, similar to -wat- in Uighur (see page 129), its core meaning is progressive.

2. -b yot- denotes continuity of an action or state at present when it is used together with the recent-past tense; it can also denote a continuous state in the past. However, since it is mostly used to indicate a continuous state (not the action) (see pp.141-
3. *-a tur-* in Uzbek denotes a temporary continuous action (see page 142), whereas Uighur does not have this form, and a temporary continuous action is expressed by *-p tur-*(see page 50).

4. *-b tur-* in Uzbek, just as *-p tur-* in Uighur (cf. 3.1.2), expresses: (a) a continuous action in a standing position and any position or on a single occasion but not necessarily in a single period of time; (b) a continuation of the state resulting from an action, it does not emphasizes that an action is in progress; (c) a repeated action. It suggests the extension of the action to a longer period of time (see 4.1.4). Thus, the basic meaning of the form *-b tur-* is continuous-stative. The secondary meaning is repetition.

5. *-b yur-* in Uzbek, similar to *-p yur-* in Uighur (cf. 3.1.3), expresses: (a) a continuous action in a walking position; (b) the same action is performed several times on many different occasions or places; (c) repetitions of an action. It also implies a longer duration than *-b tur-*(see 4.1.5 and 4.1.6). It can be characterized as continuous in a moving position and repetitive.

6. *-b ütir-* in Uzbek, exactly like *-p olitur-* in Uighur (cf. 3.1.5), expresses that an action is being performed while the subject is sitting, and that an action continues for a long time (see 4.1.7). Its meaning can be characterized as progressive in a sitting position.

7. *-b kel-* denotes: (a) the action takes place toward the speaker; (b) an action started in the past and continues until the present or a specific time referred to; (c) an action persistently lasts for a long time (see 4.1.8). Its meaning is exactly the same with *-p kal-* in Uighur (cf. 3.1.6). Therefore, *-b kel-* in Uzbek can also be characterized as persistent continuous, the secondary meaning is directional. The direction of the action is from the past to the present or toward the speaker.

8. *-b bor-* in Uzbek, like *-p bar-* in Uighur (cf. 3.1.7), denotes that an
action occurs away from the speaker, emphasizes the final point of direction; it indicates a gradually developing process toward a final culminating point, and emphasizes that an action or a situation will continue in the future (see 4.1.9). Therefore, the basic meaning of -b bɔɾ- can be characterized as persistent continuous, the secondary meaning is directional. The direction of the action is from the present to the future, or to a final point.

9. -a bɔɾ- in Uzbek indicates the continuous development of an action and is only used in the past tense (see page 160). In contrast, in Uighur -a bɔɾ- is never used.

10. -a kət- in Uzbek denotes that an action quickly starts and intensively continues (page 161). Therefore, -a kət- can be characterized as intensive. In comparison, in Uighur, -a kət- does not exist.

11. -b kət- in Uzbek, exactly like in -p kət- in Uighur (cf. 3.1.8), indicates: (a) the direction of an action goes away from the speaker; (b) an action occurs from one point away in every direction; (c) an action occurs in the entire scope of a certain area; (d) performance of an action to an intensive or an exhaustive degree; (e) an action extends beyond an average limit; (f) an action takes place suddenly, quickly and extends deeply (see 4.1.10). These meanings can be generalized as intensive and multi-directional.

12. Although the form -b yubɔɾ- in Uzbek is different with the form -wət- (-p awət-) in Uighur, they denote the same meanings: (a) performance of an action to an intensive or an exhaustive degree; (b) an action takes place suddenly or quickly; (c) thorough and decisive action; (d) it marks the end of an action (compare 3.1.9 with 4.1.11). The meaning of -b yubɔɾ- may be established as intensive and sudden terminative.

13. -b taʃla- in Uzbek, the same as -p taʃla- in Uighur, indicates that an action takes place intensively, suddenly, quickly, decisively or forcefully with a great intention, at the same time it marks the end of an action (compare 3.1.10 with 4.1.12). Its meaning may be generalized as intensive and intentional terminative.
14. -a qəl- in Uzbek expresses: (a) the speaker's insistence, friendly urging, assurance or permission; (b) an action done quickly, with ease or at once; (c) a strong desire to have an action accomplished quickly (see 4.1.13). It can be characterized as intentional-resultative. In contrast, in Uighur -a qəl- is never used. If one uses -a qəl- in a sentence, it sounds typically Uzbek to an Uighur speaker.

15. -b qəl- in Uzbek, similar to -p qəl- in Uighur, expresses: (a) an action has a result; (b) the result of an action continues; (c) the result or completion of an action achieved unexpectedly, unconsciously, suddenly; the subject is forced to do the action, or is only passively involved in the action (compare 3.1.11 with 4.1.14). These semantic features can be characterized as unintentional sudden-resultative, and resultative-continuous.

16. -b qūy- in Uzbek, similar to -p qoy- in Uighur (cf. 3.1.12), expresses: (a) an action has a result at the same time it implies that the action occurs unexpectedly or suddenly; (b) the subject intentionally does the action (see 4.1.15). However, -b qūy- in Uzbek does not express a slight occurrence of an action, whereas -p qoy- in Uighur does express a slight occurrence of an action (see pp. 105-107). Therefore, although the meanings of -b qūy- in Uzbek, like -p qoy- in Uighur, can be characterized as sudden intentional resultative; unlike like -p qoy- in Uighur (see page 132), it cannot be categorized as attenuative (non-intensive).

17. -b a1- in Uzbek, just as -wəl- < -p a1- in Uighur, expresses: (a) an action is performed for the benefit of the subject; (b) an action has a result and is performed purposefully, consciously, successfully or skillfully (compare 3.1.13 with 4.1.16). These meanings may be generalized as self-contained (an action performed for its own sake) and intentional resultative.

18. -a a1- in Uzbek, exactly like -a a1- in Uighur. expresses an ability (of the subject) or possibility to perform an action (compare 3.1.14 with 4.1.17). It can be
defined as modal.

19. Both -b ber- in Uzbek and -p bär- in Uighur denote that an action
takes place for the benefit of somebody else or for something else (compare 3.1.15 with
4.1.18). Hence, they may be named directed.

20. -a ber- in Uzbek, just as -a bär- > -wär- in Uighur, expresses that
an action is performed continuously despite some obstacle or objection (compare 3.1.16
with 4.1.19). It is may be named insistent-continuous.

21. -b čiq- in Uzbek, the same as -p čiq- in Uighur, is used to sum up the
total degree of the performance, and it denotes that the action has an end (compare 3.1.17
with 4.1.20). It can also be defined as distributive-totalising-terminative.

22. Both -b üt- in Uzbek and -pöt- in Uighur indicate an accomplished
action in a short duration, and they are used in order to sum up a total but brief degree of
performance (compare 3.1.18 with 4.1.21). Therefore, they can be grouped into
totalising-terminative.

23. -b yet- in Uzbek, like -p yāt- in Uighur, indicate that an action
reached the terminal point. In addition to motion verbs, -b yet- is mostly used with
cognitive verbs (compare 3.1.19 with 4.1.22). Thus, it also may be called cognitive-
terminative.

24. -b sol- in Uzbek expresses a strong intention to perform or to
accomplish an action to an intensive degree (see 4.1.23). In comparison, -p sal- in
Uighur denotes unconscious (blundering, maladroitness) sudden performance (cf. 3.1.20).
Therefore, unlike -p sal-in Uighur, -b sol- in Uzbek can be characterized as
intentional intensive.

25. Since -a sol- in Uzbek denotes that action is immediately finished (see pp.
200-201), it may be named as sudden (immediate) terminative. In contrast, in Uighur -a
sal- is never used.
26. -b tuš- expresses that an action occurs downward, and that an intensive action occurs immediately or quickly (see 4.1.24). It might be characterized as immediate-intensive. By contrast, -b čuš- in Uighur, except for motion verbs, never combines with other verbs, consequently it does not express an immediate-intensive action.

27. -b kür- in Uzbek, similar to -b kör- in Uighur, expresses "to try to do something" or "to do something for testing or for experiment" (compare 3.1.20 with 4.1.25). I have termed it experimental.

28. Although -a kür- is only used together with the negation of the imperative form (-a kürma/-a kürman), or with the negation of the optative form (-a kürmasin), it expresses that the speaker emphasizes or warns someone not to try to do the action (see page 204). Therefore, it can also be considered experimental. To different from Uzbek, -a kör- in Uighur is never used.

29. Both -b boq- in Uzbek and -p baq- in Uighur render "to try to do something" or "to do something for testing or for experiment" (compare 3.1.21 with 4.1.26). They can also be termed experimental.

30. -b qara- in Uzbek can also be termed experimental (see 4.1.27). Different from Uzbek, in Uighur -p qara- is rarely used.

31. -a bošla- in Uzbek expresses the beginning of an action (see 4.1.28). Thus, it may be named as inceptive. In contrast, in Uighur -a bošla- does not exist.

32. -b bul- in Uzbek, just as -p bol- in Uighur, expresses a completely finished action (compare 3.1.22 with 4.1.29). They are simple terminative.

33. -a yoz- in Uzbek expresses "to almost do something" or it denotes that an action is about to be finished or to be completed (see 4.1.30). In contrast, in modern Uighur -a yoz- is not used at all.

34. -a bil- in Uzbek expresses an ability to do something (see 4.1.31). Therefore, it can be grouped into the modal category. In comparison, -a bil- in Uighur
is never used.

This semantic characterization and comparison of compound verbs in Uzbek and Uighur shows: although there are so many similarities in the meaning and usage of compound verbs between Uzbek and Uighur, there are some differences which only belong to a specific language. These differences together with other distinctive features, including phonetic, lexical and grammatical features, make Modern Uzbek and Uighur different languages, even though they are so closely related.

This semantic characterization of Uzbek also shows that some forms of compound verbs within Uzbek share a common semantic feature. As I have classified compound verbs in Uighur (see pp. 133-134), based on a certain common semantic character, I will also categorize compound verbs in Uzbek into groups. In order to show the common meaning of each form of compound verbs as well as the essential semantic differences among the compound verbs, the common semantic feature is listed in first place. The secondary semantic feature is listed in second place. The secondary semantic feature is distinctive. If the secondary feature is not distinctive, I have added a third semantic feature which is distinctive and is marked in italics. Thus, the classification of compound verbs in Uzbek is follows:

1) Continuous:

  progressive proper: -a yöt-
  progressive in a sitting position: -b ütir-
  progressive in a standing position: -b tur-
  progressive in a moving position: -b yur-
  continuous-stative: -b tur-, -b yöt-
  continuous-resultative: -b qol

  continuous-persistent, directed to the present and to the speaker.
-b kel-
continuous-persistent, directed to a final point or away from
the speaker. -b bor-, -a bor-
continuous-insistent: -a ber-
continuous-temporary: -a tur-

2) Repetitive: -b yur-, -b tur-

3) Directional:
self-contained: -b ol

directed to somebody else or for something else: -b ber-
directed to the present and to the speaker: -b ke\-l-
directed to a final point or away from the speaker: -b bor-
multi-directional: -b ket-

4) Experimental: -b kûr, -b bôq-, -b qara-

5) Intensive:
unintentional intensive: -b ket-, -a ket-
intentional intensive: -b yubor-, -b tašla-, -b sol-
immediate-intensive: -b tuš-

7) Resultative:
unintentional sudden resultative: -b qol
intentional resultative: b qûy-, -a qol
self-contained intentional resultative: -b ol

8) Terminative:
simple terminative: -b bûl-
sudden terminative: -b yubor-, -a sol-
intentional sudden terminative: -b tašla
cognitive terminative: -b yet-
*totalising* terminative: -b үт-

distributive-totalising terminative: -b өиқ-

9) Modal: -а сәл-, -а бил-

10) -ә ыз- denotes that an action is about to occur or be completed.

This classification is more or less the same as the classification of Hojiev and Abdurahmonov. Nevertheless, this classification not only displays the common and distinctive semantic features of compound verbs in Uzbek, but it also demonstrates the relationship among compound verbs in Uzbek. Moreover, this classification and the classification of compound verbs in Uighur (see pp. 133-134) can be used as a brief summary for a comparison of compound verbs in these languages.

As we have seen, just as in Uighur, in Uzbek compound verbs contain a broader concept than aspect, consequently they cannot be classified as an aspect category (see pp.135-137). This is because, as Uighur, compound verbs in Uzbek, besides modality, also express how an action takes place in terms of duration and direction as well as manner and intention of the subject.
Chapter V Conclusion

In conclusion I would like to summarize what I have done in this study, and to point out what I have accomplished that is different from other studies on this topic.

In the foregoing chapters I have presented a description and comparison of compound verbs in Uighur and Uzbek. In describing compound verbs, I have employed some terms and explanations which Professor Ilse Cirtautas has proposed on this topic and which have proven useful in examining the category of compound verbs. I would like to pay tribute to Professor Ilse Cirtautas. In this study, first, I have answered some basic questions. They are: (a) what are compound verbs and descriptive verbs? (b) What are the distinctive semantic and grammatical properties of compound verbs and descriptive verbs? Then I have examined the usage and meanings of compound verbs in Uighur and Uzbek, which has practical importance in the Turkic languages. Finally I have classified compound verbs both in Uighur and Uzbek in order to compare them.

In answering the question of what descriptive verbs are, in section 2 of chapter II, I have defined and established the following criteria, which are not stated in any Turkic literature, for singling out descriptive verbs from other verbs:

(i) A descriptive verb is structurally dependent on the main verb it combines with. This means: (a) a descriptive verb must have just the same object as the main verb of the compound verb, consequently, it no longer selects (requires or governs) any word, (b) a descriptive verb in a compound verb cannot be a part of a sentence independently.

(ii) A descriptive verb is semantically dependent on the compound verbal combination: (a) the meanings of a descriptive verb arise only within the limits of the given compound verbal combination, (b) these meanings are common for all logically possible situations of use of the compound verbs.
(iii) The function of descriptive verbs is not lexical but grammatical, consequently they are functionally dependent on the main verb. This means a descriptive verb does not constitute a new lexical unit, nor affect the lexical meaning of the main verb it combines with, but it forms a grammatical marker (see pp. 18-19).

Based on this definition, I have singled out descriptive verbs in Uighur and Uzbek (see pp. 20-22).

In section 3 of chapter II, in answering the question of what compound verbs are, I have separated compound verbs from other types of verbal combinations which are not clearly distinguished in Turkic literature (see pp. 22-24). I have shown that although the syntactic formation of these three types of verbal combinations is the same, they belong to different categories. Type 1 belongs to a lexical category, specifically, the category of complex verbs (see page 29). Type 2 is an analytical form of tense category (see page 31). Type 3 does not belong to either a lexical category or a tense category (see page 22). Type 3 is formed with two verbs, the first component is the main verb in the converbial suffix -a or -b and the second component is a limited number of descriptive verbs which I have singled out (see pp. 20-22). I have defined this type of verbal combination (Type 3) as compound verbs. I have pointed out that a compound verb does not create a new lexical unit. The lexical meaning of a compound verb is the same as its first component. Therefore, it does not belong to the lexical category. The first verb expresses the action, carries the lexical meaning of the combination, and functions as the lexical part of the combination. The second component together with the converbial suffix functions as the grammatical marker, and expresses how the action takes place in terms of duration, direction as well as manner and intention of the subject and modality (see pp. 38-39).
I have distinguished compound verbs from other types of verbs by establishing the relationship between compound verbs and non-compound verbs in section 4 of chapter II. In establishing the relationship between them, I have applied the concept of privative opposition. Non-compound verbs, as the unmarked member of the privative opposition, include the simple and complex stems of verbs (Type 1) (see pp. 28-29). The basic function of a non-compound verb is simply to name the action. Compound verbs are the marked member of the privative opposition (marked by the syntactic marker, i.e., by the conversational suffix -p or -a and descriptive verbs). The meaning of a compound verb is more specific, a speaker uses a compound verb not only to name an action but also to describe how the action takes place.

Since no study on the Turkic languages provides criteria to distinguish syntactic verbal phrases and compound verbs, I have offered the following criteria:

The structural difference is one of the clues to differentiate them. If there is an autonomous verb, not a descriptive verb in the second component, it is definitely a syntactic verbal phrase. It receives a primary stress on both components, and it is necessary to have a short pause after the first component. It expresses two actions. In contrast, if there is a descriptive verb, not an autonomous verb in the second component, it is most likely a compound verb. It receives only one primary stress on the first component, and it is not acceptable to insert pause after the first component. A compound verb functions only as one part of a sentence and expresses one action.

After I singled out descriptive verbs and differentiated compound verbs from other verbs as well as from verbal phrases, I have presented a detailed description of the meaning and usage of compound verbs in Uighur and Uzbek separately in chapter III and chapter
IV.

As I have pointed out, compound verbs are semantically complex. The complexity is: (a) compound verbs denote various meanings; (b) some compound verbs denote one definite meaning; (c) some compound verbs indicate many meanings; (d) several compound verbs indicate basically identical meaning (see 2.3.3.3). This semantic complexity creates difficulties in explaining them. The most difficult problems here are: First, since some forms of compound verbs express many meanings, how can one determine their specific meaning in a context, is there any condition or environment that can give a clue to it. Second, since several compound verbs indicate basically an identical meaning, what are the similarities and differences, and the interrelations among them?

To solve these problems, I have applied the relational approach. Consequently, my description of compound verbs differs from other studies on this topic in the following ways:

Compound verbs have been considered and treated as being related to one another and so forming an interrelated system. Therefore, I have used relational criteria in the analysis of compound verbs, and both syntagmatically and paradigmatically related elements have been examined. The elements and environments affecting the usage and meanings of compound verbs are the following:

(a) Morphological elements and environments including tense, negative form, causative or reflexive form of the main verb, and transitivity-intransivity of the main verb.

(b) Syntactic environments including correlation between compound verbs and other parts of a sentence, especially adverbials, i.e., durational adverbs, adverbs of manner and location.

(c) Semantic environments including the fundamental meaning of the descriptive verb and the lexical meaning of the main verb.
(I sometimes called these environments either conditions or restrictions.)

Since the affect of these environments is different from one compound verb to another, I have specifically stated these environments when I explained the meaning and usage of each compound verb in each language.

Thus, applying this relational approach in this study has brought three results which other studies on this topic have not, at least fully, presented:

(a) The meanings and usage of each form of compound verbs in Uighur and Uzbek are elaborated by offering the necessary conditions (environments) for expressing their meanings.

(b) Consequently, and most importantly, the conditions or means for determining a single specific meaning among many meanings of some forms of compound verbs are presented.

(c) The similarities and differences in nuance and usage of some compound verbs, and the interrelations among them, are shown by presenting the necessary conditions for denoting these similarities and differences.

In section 2 of chapter III and chapter IV, I have provided a semantic characterization of each form of compound verbs in Uighur and Uzbek, and categorized them into groups. There are four results:

(a) The common meaning which some compound verbs share and the essential semantic differences among the compound verbs in Uighur and Uzbek have been shown.

(b) The distinctive semantic feature of each form of compound verbs in each language has been presented.

(c) The relationship among compound verbs in each language has been displayed.
(d) The similarities and differences of compound verbs in Uighur and Uzbek have been demonstrated.

Another result of this study is that, as Nicholas Poppe and Ilse Ciriautas have pointed out, compound verbs in the Turkic languages, specifically in Uzbek and Uighur, do not belong to the category of aspect, like the category of aspect in Russian (see pp.135-137 and p. 217). Compound verbs in Uzbek and Uighur are different from aspect in Russian in terms of both formation and meaning. Regarding formation, compound verbs are formed by syntactic means, namely, by the combination of a converb in -p or in -a and a descriptive verb; whereas aspect in Russian is formed by morphological means. Regarding meaning, compound verbs contain a broader concept than aspect. Besides modality, compound verbs express how an action takes place in terms of duration, direction and location, as well as manner of action and intention of the subject.
Endnotes

1. Other subgroups of the Altaic languages family, for instance, the Mongolian languages, also possess verbal combinations formed by a converb and a descriptive verb. In both the Turkic and the Mongolian languages this type of verbal combination has similar structural, functional and semantic properties. In both language groups, the first component of the verbal combination is either an imperfective or perfective converb. For instance, in Burjat which belongs to the Mongolian languages, the imperfective converb has the suffix -ja(-ja/-je); in Khalkha which also belongs to the Mongolian languages the imperfect converb is formed with the suffix -ja/-je. In Burjat the perfective converb has the suffix -(oo)/-eed/-gaad/-g"od/-(g)eed), in Khalkha its form is -aad (-(oo)/-eed/-aad/-aad/-eed/-ioxid/-g"od/-(g)eed/-(g)eed). Like in Turkic, in Mongolian too the second component of the verbal combination is limited to a number of descriptive verbs which express a movement of the human body. In Burjat they are:

yer-e "to come", yah- "to go away", ooo "to go", sgar "to go" out",

huu "to sit" etc.

As in Turkic, these descriptive verbs basically render in Mongolian how the action (expressed by the converb) proceeds. For a description of the function and meaning of the verbal combination consisting of converb plus descriptive verb (compound verbs) in the Mongolian languages see:


The Korean language possesses the same type of verbal combination consisting of a converb and a descriptive verb. For a detailed description of the similarity and differences between the Korean and the Turkic compound verb see:

Dong Lyong Yi, 1982.

A similar type of verbal combination exists in Hindi, too, and it is called Pure Verbal Compounds (PVCs). According to R. Chatterjee (p. 75), "PVCs are defined as combinations of two verbal roots, the first is non-finite and the second is either finite or non-finite, both roots together referring to one action. The basic meaning in a PVC is carried by the first (non-finite) root, while the second impects an additional semantic nuance of which aspect is one component. The combinations produced by different choices from the possible second elements which create shades of aspectual and other meanings. Practically any verb in the ordinary spoken language can appear as the first element of a PVC." The set of possible second elements (which is called vectors) is however very restricted. Eighteen vectors can be used to form PVCs. Like in Turkic languages, in Hindi most of these vectors are motion verbs which express movement of the human body, such as "to come", "to move", "to stay", "to fall", "to sit". For a detailed description of Pure Verbal Compounds in Hindi see R. Chatterjee, 1988, pp. 75-79.

2. In Uighur alternate phonetic forms (allomorphs) of the converbial suffix -p are -ip/-up/-üp and allomorphs of the converbial suffix -e are -á/-á. For a phonological rule for adding the converbial suffixes see A. Musa,
In Uzbek allomorphs of the converbial suffix -p are -b/-i$b$ and of the converbial suffix -a are -γ . For a phonological rule for adding the converbial suffixes see A. Hojiev, 1973, p. 180.


4. For an explanation of meanings of converses plus descriptive verbs in Uzbek see I. Cirtautas, 1980, pp. 121-249.

5. For an explanation of meanings of converses plus descriptive verbs in Kazakh see I. Cirtautas, 1993, pp. 64-66.

6. Compound verbs existed in Old Turkic (Orkhon Turkic) is the oldest Turkic dialect whose written records have come down to us. According to T. Tekin (1968, pp. 119-120), there were only nine descriptive verbs in Orkhon Turkic, namely:
   - bir- (to give), bar- (to go), ḫid- (to send, to release), ɝlt-/-iɬt- (to send), qal- (to remain), kör- (to see), u- (to to be able), yori- (to walk) and kəl- (to come).

   Chagatai, the classical literary language which was in use from the beginning of the fifteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century, also possessed compound verbs. Among the modern Turkic languages Uighur and Uzbek are most closely related to it. According to Eckmann (1966, pp. 150-151), in the Chagatai phases of the Turkic languages the descriptive verbs increased. Although the descriptive verbs in Orkhon Turkic ḫid- (to send, to release) and ɝlt- (to send) u- (to be able) were no longer used in Chagatai, other verbs are added to the list of descriptive verbs, such as tur- (to stay, to get up), či$q$- (to go out), ta$š$la- (to throw) and bol-(to be, to become).


9. See:


11. For functions of other types of converses in Uzbek see: Š. Šoabdūrhanov, 1980, pp. 377-380. In Uighur see:


14. For example, according to M. Balaqaev (1967, pp. 155-157) in Kazakh the class of descriptive verbs consists of the following verbs:

- tur- (to stay, to stand, to get up, to live)
- jir- (to walk, to move)
- jat- (to lie, to lie down)
- oti- (to sit)
- kel- (to come)
- ba- (to go, to reach)
- ket- (to leave)
- jiber- (to send, to send off)
- tasta- (to throw)
- qal- (to remain)
- qoy- (to put, to put down)
- al- (to get, to take)
- ber- (to give)

- siq- (to go out, to go up)
- oti- (to pass, to pass through)
- jet- (to reach)
- sal- (to put into)
- kor- (to see)
- baq- (to look at, to look after)
- basa- (to start)
- bit- (to finish, to be finished)
- bil- (to know)
- tus- (to come down)
- kir- (to go into)
- jazda- (to lose)


18. For an explanation about the type of syntactic control over word form, government or rection, see R. H. Robnis, 1989, pp. 233-234.


21. In this study "aspeсtual meaning the "refers to "manner of performing an action or how an action proceeds", it does not equal to the aspect category in Russian. As N. Poppe has pointed out: "As a matter of fact, the Turkic languages possess means to render the Russian aspects by using certain syntactic constructions. However, the Russian verb aspect is a morphological category, whereas their semantic equivalents in Turkic are syntactic constructions." For an explanation on the differences between compound verbs in Altaic (including Turkic) and Russian aspect see N. Poppe, 1963, Altaic. pp. 306-310.

22. Niels Davidsen-Nielsen provides similar criteria for singling out the auxiliaries in English and Danish. He separated the auxiliaries from lexical verbs by a combination of morphological, syntactic and semantic criteria. For the description, see Niels Davidsen-Nielsen, 1990, pp. 15-41.

P. Ramat also proposed four similar criteria for an operational definition of what may be labeled as prototypical instance of the auxiliary category in the general theory of language. For the detailed description, see M. Harris and P. Ramat, 1978, pp. 1-17.
23. If we apply these criteria to Kazakh, the class of descriptive verbs in Kazakh would be the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kazakh Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Kazakh Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tur-</td>
<td>(to stay, to stand, to get up, to live)</td>
<td>qoy-</td>
<td>(to put, to put down)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jur-</td>
<td>(to walk, to move)</td>
<td>al-</td>
<td>(to get, to take)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jat-</td>
<td>(to lie, to lie down)</td>
<td>ber-</td>
<td>(to give)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kel-</td>
<td>(to come)</td>
<td>siq-</td>
<td>(to go out, to go up)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar-</td>
<td>(to go, to reach)</td>
<td>ot-</td>
<td>(to pass, to pass through)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ket-</td>
<td>(to leave)</td>
<td>jet-</td>
<td>(to reach)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiber-</td>
<td>(to send, to send off)</td>
<td>sal-</td>
<td>(to put into)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tasta-</td>
<td>(to throw)</td>
<td>kur-</td>
<td>(to see)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qal-</td>
<td>(to remain)</td>
<td>bal-</td>
<td>(to be; to become)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Marginal descriptive verbs in Kazakh:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kazakh Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>basta-</td>
<td>(to start)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bil-</td>
<td>(to know)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otir-</td>
<td>(to sit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tus-</td>
<td>(to come down)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kir-</td>
<td>((to go into)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jazda-</td>
<td>to almost do something</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


27. Ibid., p. 146.


31. For the forms and function of the aorist form -ar in Uighur see:

32. For a detailed description of the forms and function of the auxiliary verb ı- in Uighur see X. Tömrür, 1987, p. 224 and pp. 443-449.
For a detailed description of the forms and function of the auxiliary verb e- in Uzbek see:
I. Cirtautas, 1989, pp. 63-64, pp. 94-98 and pp. 100-104.

33. For a detailed description of the forms and function of the past participle -gän in Uighur see X. Tömrür, 1987, pp. 245-251.

For a detailed description of the forms and function of -digan in Uighur see:

35. X. Tömmür, 1989, p. 33.
36. See Z. M. Ma'rufov, 1981.
40. About the origin of -wat- in Uighur, X. Tömmür states that it came from -p yat-
For an explanation see X. Tömmür, 1987, p. 39.
42. See A. Musa, 1982, pp. 276-279 and 260.
43. Ibid., p. 277.
44. Ibid., p. 390.
45. Ibid., p. 401.
46. Ibid., p. 396.
47. Ibid., p. 397.
49. See I. Cirtautas, 1980, pp. 121-249.
Cirtautas's explanation of meanings of converses plus descriptive verbs in Kazakh is also very intensive and useful for explaining compound verbs in Uzbek. See:
51. Ibid., pp. 145-147.
52. See A. Hojiev, 1973, p. 156.


### Abbreviations of the Sources of Examples

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden.</td>
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<td>Nomidagi Nasiriyot-matbaa Birlashmasi.</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hojiev</td>
<td>Hojiev, A. 1973 <em>Fel</em>. Uzbekiston SSR «Fan» Nasiriyoti,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tashkent.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iliyev</td>
<td>Edited by Iliyev, T. 1985. <em>Nizari Dastanliri</em>. Millatlar Nasiriyati,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Beijing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ghulom Nomidagi Nasiriyot-matbaa Birlashmasi, Tashkent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beijing.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adabiyot wa Sanat Nasiriyoti, Tashkent.</td>
</tr>
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<td>«Quttuvci», Tashkent.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Reference


CURRICULUM VITAE

Name:
Abalahat Ibrahim

Education:
1963-1965  Dept. of Chinese Language, Beijing Central Nationalities Institute
1965-1970  Dept. of Mathematics, Beijing Normal University, China.
1979-1981  Graduate student in the field of Turkic Languages and Literature, Xinjiang University, Urumqi, China
September 10, 1981 Master's Degree in Turkic Languages and Literature, Xinjiang University, China.
1986-1995  Graduate student in Comparative Turkic Studies, University of Washington.
June 28, 1995 The degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Washington.

Professional Positions and Experiences:
1981-1982  Editor, Xinjiang University Journal.
1981-1986  Lecturer, Xinjiang University.
1989-1991  Teaching Assistant for Uzbek, Central Asian Languages and Culture Summer Programs, University of Washington.
1991      Teaching Assistant for both Elementary Kazakh and Elementary Uzbek, Central Asian Languages and Culture Summer Program, University of Washington.
Professional Organizations:


1984-1988    Member of the Board, Turkic Studies Society of the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region, China.

1988-1990    President of the Uzbek Circle, University of Washington.

1989-1995    Elected Officer of the Student Association for Inner Asian Studies, University of Washington.

1992-1995    Vice President of the Kazakh and Kirghiz Studies Group, University of Washington.

Academic Activities:

(A) Publications:

(1) "On Uighur Verb Compounds " (in Uighur), *Uighur Tili Masilitiri* (Problems of Uighur Language), Urumqi, Xinjiang, China, 1984, pp. 418-486.


(3) *Uyghur Conversation*, Xinjiang University Press, Urumqi, Xinjiang, China, 1986.

(B) Published Translations (from Chinese into Uighur):

(1) The classical Chinese novel *Shui hu chuan* [the title of English translation is *Water Margin* (the title of another version of English translation is *Outlaws of the marsh*)]. Translated into Uighur by Ahamat Passar in collaboration with Ablahat Ibrahim and Baba Hann, Xinjiang People's Publishing House, Urumqi, China, 1978.


(C) Papers Presented at Conferences and Symposia:

Conference: "Central Asia at Berkeley":


"Differences Between Two Types of Verbal Combinations in Uighur", May 19, 1989.

Nicholas Poppe Student Symposium on Inner Asian Studies, University of Washington:


"Usage and Meanings of the Verb de-/dä-. "to say" in Kazakh and in Uighur" April 29, 1993.