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In August 1999 the North Eurasia Group of SIL International and the Institute for Bible Translation held a workshop for translators from ten Turkic languages: Azerbaijani, Turkmen, Tatar, Karakalpak, Kyrgyz, Uzbek, Khakas, Tuvan, Altai, and Yakut. None of the translators were trained linguists. Non-native speakers of the languages who worked with the translators also participated.

The purpose was to help the translators consider discourse-related structures relevant to translation. These included anaphora, use of pronouns, participant reference, focus and topic, word order, sentence length, background/foreground distinctions, use of conjunctions, cohesion, and the use of tense/aspect.

After each interactive lecture, participants worked in groups according to language. During these sessions, the participants applied the material that had been presented to actual texts.

The papers that developed from the workshop were published in *Comments on Discourse Structures in Ten Turkic Languages*, edited by Clifton and Clifton. Two other papers in the volume, those by Gray and by Humnick, represent work by members of the North Eurasia Group who were not able to attend the workshop. All the papers are presented as work papers. Each paper includes at least one interlinear text upon which many of the observations are based.

As much as possible, we have left the analyses as they were developed by the authors. All the interlinear texts are presented in a 3-line format consisting of the text as written, a line with morpheme breaks, and a line with glosses. We have not, however, standardized the representation of morphemes. Some authors use abstract forms, while others use the surface allomorphs.

We have standardized grammatical terminology as much as possible. For example, in a number of the languages we have made a basic distinction in the participles between *perfect* and *imperfect* rather than between *past* and *present*, and have consistently referred to aorist forms as *present/future*. We also decided not to break off derivational morphemes.

We have used *gerund*, the traditional term from Turkic linguistics, for forms which have been referred to elsewhere as converbs or serial verbs, but differentiate between various types. For example, the most neutral form is referred to as a conjunctive gerund, while other forms are simultaneous gerunds, sequential gerunds, gerunds of manner, and so on.

We trust these papers, especially the interlinear texts, will be of use to others involved in the analysis of Turkic languages.

Comments on *Керакли Тук* ‘Necessary Strand of Hair’*

Jinko Hoshino, Elizabeth M Miller and James P Zvara

Uzbek is a member of the Western group of the Uyghur (or Eastern) branch of Turkic languages, and is spoken by over 18 million people (Johanson 1998, Grimes 2000). As such, it is the second largest Turkic language. The majority of Uzbek speakers live in the independent country of Uzbekistan. Uzbek as a literary language has developed from literary Chagatay of the 15th and 16th centuries (Boeschoten 1998).

The following text is the section *Керакли Тук* ‘Necessary Strand of Hair’ taken from the Uzbek novel *Ёлгончи фаришталар* ‘Lying Angels’ by Ne’mat Aminov (1997). Even though it is part of a larger text, it still serves as a useful unit for discourse analysis. The format of this paper is a sentence-by-sentence presentation of the text in interlinear form with a free translation into English and in most cases notes on the discourse features observed in each part of the text. Based on this text the following general conclusions can be noted about participant reference, foregrounding and backgrounding, and verb sequencing in Uzbek discourse.

1. New participants highlighted as the topic of a section of the text are introduced as grammatical subjects using a noun phrase. Later references to such participants typically consist of pronominal reference, usually not as subjects, and then null references. This pattern is repeated when there is a new paragraph, or when a new participant is introduced as topic. The first reference to a participant in the text tends to be made using a descriptive noun phrase. This is the most prominent type of reference. Less prominent references use proper nouns, titles (i.e. ‘his son’, ‘his father’), pronouns, null reference, in that order. It can be noted that pronouns are used sparingly and that the most typical form of reference is null reference.

2. The event line of the story uses verbs in the simple past tense. Background material is indicated by stative verb forms, especially structures using the auxiliary verbs *эмоқ* and, in some cases, *бўлмоқ*. The present tense may also be used to indicate setting information in a vivid way.

* While most of the comments made on this text represent the collective input of the Uzbek working group at the Turkic Discourse Workshop held in Tashkent in August 1999, Jim Zvara was responsible for the actual writing of this paper. Naturally, the conclusions listed here are tentative in nature since they are based on limited data and research. We acknowledge the significant input from the Uzbek members of the group whose names were removed at their request for security reasons.

3. Uzbek uses several forms to indicate various kinds of verb sequences. Those noted in this story are as follows.

- ар экан* (-*аркан*) can be used to indicate that the action of the affixed verb is simultaneous with the action of the following verb(s).
- гач* is used to indicate that the action of the affixed verb takes place before the action of the following verb(s), with the notion that some time intervenes between the two. (It is similar to *-гандан кейин*, although *-гач* is a more literary form).
- да* is used to indicate that the action of the affixed verb takes place just before the action of the following verb(s), with the notion that the time sequence is immediate. Orthographically, it is attached to a fully inflected verb with a hyphen.
- ган эд(и)* is generally used to put information in the background. When it occurs on the verb of a subordinate clause followed by a main clause it indicates that the action of the subordinate clause is a completed state which has effects that continue on during the action of the main clause. It thus serves as a kind of temporal clause which sets the scene for the action of the main verb.
- ган(и)да* is used to indicate that the action of the following main clause interrupts the ongoing action or state indicated by the affixed verb. It thus forms a temporal clause which indicates the circumstances preceding the action of the main verb.
- иб* has a variety of uses, one of which is to indicate a simple coordinated sequence of actions. Several verbs may be chained together using the *-иб* suffix. In such a chain only the final verb is fully inflected, but the tense of the final verb applies to all the verbs chained together. This seems to be the most basic way of indicating simple sequence of action. The *-иб* suffix can also be used to indicate other clausal relations such as reason-result, to indicate other grammatical relations such as manner, or to create compound verbs.

In addition to these three areas of discourse other discourse features are highlighted in the notes that accompany the following interlinearized text. It is hoped that the preliminary observations indicated in this paper and the textual data presented here will be useful in advancing our understanding of Uzbek discourse.

Ёлгончи Фаришталар ‘Lying Angels’¹

- 1) Ишдан бўшатиЛган Баширжон ўн кунча уйида
 иш-дан бўшатиЛ-ган Баширжон ўн кунча уй-и-да
 work-ABL be.dismissed-PRFPTC Bashirjon ten day home-3Ps-LOC
- қамалиб ётди.
 қамал-иб ёт-ди
 enclosed-GCNI lie.down-PST

Bashirjon, having been dismissed from work, stayed locked up at home for ten days.

Notes: The participant Bashirjon is introduced using a full descriptive noun phrase in the subject position. The verb form is simple past, probably used here as part of the setting information, but perhaps since this is part of a novel it signals the next event in the story, and is thus event line material. This would be more consistent with the use of the simple past tense to mark the event line throughout the story.

- 2) Бу орада ҳеч ким ундан хабар олмади, бирор киши,
 бу ора-да ҳеч ким у-дан хабар ол-ма-ди бирор киши
 NDEM interval-LOC EXNG who 3SP-ABL news take-NEG-PST any person
- ҳолинг не кечди, деб сўрамади.
 хол-инг не кеч-ди де-иб сўра-ма-ди
 condition-2sPs what happen-PST say-GCNI ask-NEG-PST

During that time nobody asked him for news, and no one asked him what happened to him.

Notes: Bashirjon is referred to in the first clause using a pronoun and is no longer the subject. In the second clause he is referred to by the possessive suffix *-инг*. The time phrase more clearly suggests that this and following material in this paragraph is setting information. The phrase *ҳолинг не кечди* is given in the direct speech form ‘what happened to your situation’ and is followed by the verb *деб* which is commonly used to indicate direct thought or speech. The use here, common in Turkic languages, is to communicate information that is

¹ ABL=Ablative; ACC=Accusative; CMP=Comparative; COND=Conditional; DAT=Dative; EMPH=Emphatic; EXNG=Negative Existence; EXS=Existence; GCNJ=Gerund; Conjunction; GEN=Genitive; GINFSM=Gerund: Inferential Simultaneous; GMNR=Gerund: Manner; GNEG=Gerund: Negative; GSIM=Gerund: Simultaneous; GSQ=Gerund: Sequential; HONOR=Honorific; INFCOP=Inferential Copula; INTNT=Intentive; LOC=Locative; MNR=Manner; NDEM=Near Demonstrative; NEG=Negative; PCOP=Past Copula; PERF=Perfect; PIMPF=Past Imperfective; PL=Plural; PPERF=Past Perfect; PRFPTC=Perfect Participle; PRFUT=Present/Future; PST=Past; Q=Question; REL=Relativizer; RFLX=Reflexive; xnP=Pronoun; xnPS=Possessor

normally communicated by indirect speech in English. In Uzbek this direct quotation method is favored as a natural way of communicating content, wishes, or reasons.

- 3) Ранги синиқиб, семиз лунжлари халтадек осилиб
 ранг-и синиқ-иб семиз лунж-лар-и халтадек осил-иб
 color-3Ps become.pale-GCNI fat cheek-PL-3Ps sacklike be.hung-GCNI

қолди.
 қол-ди
 remain-PST

He became pale and his fat cheeks hung like a sack.

Notes: Bashirjon is still the topic, and continues to be indicated only by subject agreement marking on the verb and by possessive suffixes. The *-иб* suffix on the first verb indicates simple coordination with the next verb, while the *-иб* suffix on the second verb links it to the third verb producing a compound verb. In this case the second verb in the combination is aspectual (here something like a continuing state seems to be in view), part of a limited set of verbs that are used in this way.

- 4) Хайриятки, яккаю ягона ўғилчаси Ашур бор экан.
 хайрият-ки якка-у ягона ўғилча-и Ашур бор экан
 good-REL alone-and only small.boy-3Ps Ashur EXS INFCOP

It was good that he had his one and only boy Ashur.

Notes: Now the topic switches to Bashirjon's son Ashur. This new participant is introduced with a full descriptive noun phrase. Bashirjon is still referred to by means of the possessive suffix. The presence of a stative construction indicates that this is background material, here being used to indicate the author's comment.

- 5) Зерикканида чалқанча ётиб, уни
 зерик-ган-и-да чалқанча ёт-иб у-ни
 be.bored-PRFPtc-3Ps-LOC on.one's.back lie.down-GCNI 3sP-ACC

қорнига ўтқазади-да, ёшлигида отасидан
 корин-и-га ўтказ-а-ди-да ёшлик-и-да ота-и-дан
 stomach-3Ps-DAT seat-PRFUT-3s-and youth-3Ps-LOC father-3Ps-AVL

эшитган она эчки ва унинг Алўл-Булўл болалари
 эшит-ган она эчки ва у-нинг Алўл_Булўл бола-лар-и
 hear-PRFPtc mother goat and 3sP-GEN Alol.and.Bulol child-PL-3Ps

хакидаги эртакни қайта-қайта айтиб беради,
 хакидаги эртак-ни қайта_қайта айт-иб бер-а-ди
 concerning fairytale-ACC again.and.again say-GCNI give-PRFUT-3s

ўғлининг ҳисобсиз саволларига жавоб излаш билан
 ўғил-и-нинг ҳисобсиз савол-лар-и-га жавоб изла-иш билан
 boy-3Ps-GEN numberless question-PL-3Ps-DAT answer seek-GSIM with

овунади.
 овун-а-ди
 be.comforted-PRFUT-3s

When he was bored he would lie on his back, put him on his stomach, and tell him again and again the folk story which he heard from his father about the mother goat and her children, Alol and Bulol, and find comfort by trying to answer his son’s endless questions.

Notes: The topic continues to be Ashur, who is now referred to in the second clause with a pronoun in the object position. Ashur is referred to in the last clause with the noun phrase *ўғлининг* ‘his son’. Null reference continues to be used for Bashirjon. The use of the coordinating suffix *-да* on the verb in the second clause indicates a stronger, more immediate connection between the actions of the first two clauses and that of the following clause. In this sentence the present tense is used to refer to setting information that was characteristic of the time period introduced at the beginning of sentence 2. Perhaps the present tense more vividly draws the reader into the setting of the story. The *-иб* suffix is used in the verb *айтиб беради* to form a compound verb which is a kind of fixed lexical form meaning ‘tell’.

6) Бугун ҳам Ашурни тиззасига ўтқазиб, паҳмоқ
 бугун ҳам Ашур-ни тизза-и-га ўтқаз-иб паҳмоқ
 today and/also Ashur-ACC knee-3Ps-DAT seat-GCNI shaggy

сочларини силаб ўтирган эди, ўғли пилдираб
 соч-лар-и-ни сила-иб ўтир-ган_эди ўғил-и пилдира-иб
 hair-PL-3Ps-ACC caress-GCNI sit-PPERF boy-3Ps spin-GCNI

ўрнидан турди-да, ўз навбатида отасининг
 ўрин-и-дан тур-ди-да ўз навбат-и-да ота-и-нинг
 seat-3Ps-AVL stand.up-3s-and own turn-3Ps-LOC father-3Ps-GEN

бошини силамоқчи бўлди.
 бош-и-ни сила-моқчи бўл-ди
 head-3Ps-ACC caress-INTNT be-PST

Today he again put Ashur on his knee and sat caressing his shaggy hair. Then his son wriggled around, stood up and wanted to take his turn caressing his father’s head.

Notes: At the start of a new paragraph Ashur is marked as the topic of the sentence by using a proper noun in the object position. There are no further overt references, with the exception of the noun phrase *ўғли* ‘his son’ in the third clause. The only overt reference to Bashirjon is the noun phrase *отасининг* ‘his father’s’ in the last clause. These two possessive noun phrases seem necessary to clearly indicate who is doing the action to whom. The time phrase *бугун ҳам* ‘today also’ is a cohesive device. Along with the time phrase *бу орада* ‘during that time’ at the beginning of sentence 2, it indicates that the setting information is complete and the story will now begin to move along. The event line of the story begins with (or takes up from *қамалиб ётди* ‘stayed locked up’ in sentence 1) the verbs in the simple past tense *пилдираб ўрнидан* ‘he wriggled around’ and *турди* ‘he stood up’. The other verbs in the sentence are not event line verbs. The stative form with *-ган эди* in the first clause indicates that the verbs in the first clause are background information, happening previous to the event line verbs. The first clause indicates the background circumstances leading up to the event line. The final clause is also a stative form, *-моқчи бўлди*. It indicates the reason why Ashur wriggled around and stood up. It may be possible to interpret stative verbs with *бўлмоқ* as more event-line in nature than stative verbs with *емоқ*. Their placement on or off the event line seems a little more ambiguous.

- 7) Лекин отасининг тақир, яйдоқ боши ҳафсаласини
 лекин ота-и-нинг тақир яйдоқ бош-и ҳафсала-и-ни
 but father-3Ps-GEN smooth naked head-3Ps wish-3Ps-ACC

пир қилди.
 пир_қил-ди
 make.depart-PST

But his father’s smooth, bald head disappointed him.

Notes: Ashur continues as the topic and is indicated with null references. The simple past tense verb is on the event line. Bashirjon is referred to by the noun phrase *отасининг* ‘his father’s’.

- 8) – Сочийиз қани?
 соч-ийиз қани
 hair-2pPs where

“Where’s your hair?”

- 9) – Тўкилган.
 тўкил-ган
 spilled-PERF

“It spilled (i.e., fell out).”

- 10) Ашур кийкириб қулди: – Сочийиз сувми, тўкилади?
 Ашур кийкир-иб қул-ди соч-ийиз сув-ми тўкил-а-ди
 Ashur shout-GCNI laugh-PST hair-2pPs water-Q spilled-PERFUT-3S

Ashur burst out laughing, “Is your hair water, does it spill?”

Notes: Ashur is reestablished as topic, referred to with a proper noun in the subject position. The use of the proper noun is probably due to the previous intervening dialog.

- 11) Баширжон ўғлининг топқирлигидан қувониб, нима
 Баширжон ўғил-и-нинг топқирлик-и-дан қувон-иб нима
 Bashirjon boy-3Ps-GEN cleverness-3Ps-ABL have.fun-GCNI what

дейишга ҳайрон бўлиб турганида, телефон
 де-иш-га ҳайрон бўлиб тур-ган-и-да телефон
 say-GSIM-DAT surprised as stand-PRFPTC-3Ps-LOC telephone

жиринглаб қолди.
 жирингла-иб қол-ди
 ring-GCNI remain-PST

While Bashirjon was amused by his son’s cleverness and wondering what to say, the telephone rang.

Notes: Bashirjon becomes the topic again, referred to by a proper noun in the subject position. Ashur is again referred to as *ўғлининг* ‘his son’. The first two clauses of the sentence form a temporal clause indicated by the verbal suffix combination *-ган-и-да*. This suffix combination indicates that the action of the main clause (the event line verb *жиринглаб* ‘ring’) interrupts the previous ongoing action or state indicated by the verbs in the preceding temporal clause. The temporal clause is background material indicating the circumstances which preceded the action of the main verb.

- 12) У шоша-пиша Ашурни бир чеккага ўтқазаркан: “Илоҳим,
 у шоша_пиша Ашур-ни бир чекка-га ўтқаз-ар_экан илоҳ-им
 3sP hurriedly Ashur-ACC one side-DAT seat-GINF5M god-1sPs

терговчи бўлмасин-да”, дея қўллари титраб
 терговчи бўлма-син-да де-а қўл-лар-и титра-иб
 investigator room IMP3S-EMPH say-GMNR arm-PL-3Ps tremble-GCNI

трубкини кўтарди.
 трубка-ни кўтар-ди
 phone.receiver-ACC raise-PST

As he hurriedly moved Ashur aside, with trembling hands he picked up the receiver saying, “My God, please don’t let it be an investigator.”

Notes: Bashirjon, still topic, is now referred to with a pronoun in the subject position. Here Ashur is referred to by a proper noun. This is a little bit surprising as it violates what we would normally expect (i.e., the possessive phrase *ўзелининг* ‘his son’), but it is less prominent in that it is in the object position. Here it may be used to heighten the tension and make things more vivid, keeping things very clear for the reader. This is clearly a tense moment in the story. The use of the verbal suffix *-аркан* (a contraction of *-ар эжан*) indicates that the action of the first clause is going on and continues while the action of the main clause takes place, that is, the two actions overlap. The first clause is thus a temporal clause giving the circumstances in which the event line verb (*қўтарди* ‘pick up’) is carried out. The use of *-иб* in the final clause indicates the manner in which the action of the main verb is carried out.

13) – Алё!...

алё
hello

“Hello!...”

14) Э, ассалому алайкум, акажон!...

э ассалому_алайкум ака-жон
hey! peace.greeting elder.brother-HONOR²

“Hey, greetings, friend!...”

15) Раҳмат...

рахмат
thank.you

“Thanks...”

16) Нима? Йўқ, тухум босиб ётганим йўқ.

нима йўқ тухум бос-иб ёт-ган-им йўқ
what ExNG egg cover-GCNI lie.down-PRFPTC-1sPs ExNG

“What? No, I’m not sitting around waiting for the eggs to hatch.”

17) Ҳа, энди...

ҳа энди
yes now

“Yes, now...”

² *Ака* is used here as an honorific. The form *акажон*, then, is essentially a double honorific indicating the speaker is abasing himself.

18) Лаббай?

лаббай
yeah

“Yeah?”

19) Хўп, бугун бораман.

хўп бугун бор-а-ман
very.well today go-PRFUT-1s

“Okay, I’ll go today.”

20) Нима гап эди, акажон?

нима гап эди ака-жон
what speech PCOP elder.brother-HONOR

“What happened, elder brother (or friend)?”

21) “Кейин хурсанд бўламан?”.

кейин хурсанд бўл-а-ман
then happy be-PRFUT-1s

“ ‘Then I’ll be happy?’ ”

22) Хўп, майли, ўзим ҳам ётавериб, юракларим

хўп майли ўз-им ҳам ёт-авер-иб юрак-лар-им
very.well okay RFLX-1s and/also lie.down-CNT-GCNI heart-PL-1sPs

зардобга тўлиб кетди.

зардоб-га тўл-иб кет-ди

anxiety-DAT be.filled-GCNI leave-PST

“Okay fine, I was just lying here feeling overwhelmed with worries.”

Notes: The Uzbek particle *хам* is often used as a cohesive device to relate two actions in the discourse. The relation is often one of emphasis – one action was done and another also was done. It can also be used in pairs to relate nouns – similar to the ‘both...and’ construction in English. Again this has an emphatic nuance. In sentence 22 the use of *хам* is hard to pin down. One possible interpretation is that Bashirjon’s response in sentence 22 is connected with something that his elder brother (or friend) has said. That is, if his elder brother (or friend) said to him that he ‘was lying around feeling worried,’ this could cause Bashirjon to say that ‘I too have been lying around feeling worried.’ A native speaker of Uzbek familiar with the text, however, indicated that this is not the meaning implied by *хам* here. Thus, I have the sense that the function of *хам* in sentence 22 is to add emphasis to the statement. It could be the emphasis is that two related actions are going on, or that the actions described are occurring just now (an emphatic, vivid kind of statement). This seems to be the use in sentence 27.

- 23) Бормоқчи эдим, ҳам...
 бор-моқчи эди-м ҳам
 go-INTNT PCOP-1s and/also
 “I wanted to go, also...”
- 24) Айтаман, албатта айтаман...
 айт-а-ман албатта айт-а-ман
 say-PRFUT-1s certainly say-PRFUT-1s
 “I’ll say it, I’ll definitely say it...”
- 25) Хў, онаси, қанисан? –
 хў она-и қани-сан
 hey! mother-3Ps where-2s
 “Hey, his (i.e. Ashur’s) mother³, where are you?”
- 26) Пойгакда ийманибгина Зевархон кўринди.
 пойгак-да ийман-иб-гина Зевархон кўрин-ди
 doorway-LOC be.shy-GCNI-just/only Zevarhon appear-PST
 Being a little ill at ease, Zevarhon appeared near the door.
- Notes:** Zevarhon is a new participant and is introduced with a proper noun in subject position.
- 27) – Ана, ўзиям келди.
 ана ўз-и-хам кел-ди
 there own-3Ps-and/also come-PST
 “There, she just now came.”
- 28) Сенга Шамси Тўраевич салом айтяптилар.
 сен-га Шамси Тўраевич салом айт-яп-тилар
 2sP-DAT Shamsi Torayevich greetings say-PRCNT-3p
 “Shamsi Torayevich sends greetings to you.”
- 29) Ана, у ҳам сўраб қўйинг, деди.
 ана у ҳам сўра-иб қўй-инг де-ди
 there 3sP and/also request-GCNI put-IMP2p say-PST
 “There, she also asks how you're doing.”

³ Husbands generally address their wives with the form *онаси*.

- 30) Хўп, албатта бораман...
 хўп албатта бор-а-ман
 very.well certainly go-PRFUT-1s

“Okay, I’ll definitely go...”

- 31) Баширжон трубкани кўяркан, ҳали ҳам эшик
 Баширжон трубка-ни кўй-ар_экан ҳали_ҳам эшик
 Bashirjon phone.receiver-ACC put-GINF5M still door
- олдида ҳадиксираб турган Зевархонга қараб
 олд-и-да ҳадиксира-иб тур-ган Зевархон-га қара-иб
 front-3Ps-LOC be.uneasy-GCNI stand-PERFPCT Zevarhon-DAT look-GCNI
- жилмайди.
 жилмай-ди
 smile-PST

As he was putting down the receiver, Bashirjon looked at Zevarhon, who was still standing uneasily in front of the door, and smiled.

Notes: Here at the beginning of a new paragraph once again Bashirjon, the topic, is referred to by a proper noun in subject position. (I am interpreting the proper noun as the subject of the main clause, with the subject of the subordinate clause being a null reference). Zevarhon is also referred to by a proper noun, but in the dative case. The use of *ҳали ҳам* in the relative clause is a cohesive device that ties it to the previous reference to Zevarhon in sentence 25. The intervening dialog in sentences 27-30 probably necessitates this cohesion so that the event line is held together, as the main clauses of both sentences 27 and 31 are on the event line. Regarding the use of the verbal suffix combination *-аркан*, see the notes on sentence 12 above.

- 32) Бу унинг шу ўн кун ичида биринчи бор
 бу у-нинг шу ўн кун ич-и-да биринчи бор
 NDEM 3sP-GEN NDEM ten day inside-3Ps-LOC first instance
- жилмайиши эди.
 жилмай-иш-и эди
 smile-GSIM-3Ps PCOP

This was the first time he smiled in this ten-day period.

Notes: Bashirjon continues as the topic and is referred to with a pronoun in the genitive case. The use of *шу* in the time phrase *шу ўн кун ичида* ‘in this ten-day period’ gives cohesion to the time period mentioned at the beginning of the story in sentence 1. Thus *шу* functions not only as a demonstrative pronoun to refer to real world objects, but also on a discourse level to refer to previous events. The material in this sentence is explanatory in nature, so it is not surprising that the author indicates this by use of the stative construction with

эди, leaving it off the event line. The comment serves to indicate a major change in Bashirjon’s disposition and outlook. The previous phone conversation changed things dramatically.

- 33) – Ойна билан устарами келтир! – деб буюрди у.
 ойна билан устара-им-ни келтир де-иб буюр-ди у
 glass with razor-1sPs-ACC bring say-GCNI command-PST 3sP

“Bring a mirror and my razor!” he ordered.

Notes: Bashirjon is referred to with a pronoun in subject position. This sentence picks up the event line of the story from sentence 31 where he was referred to with a proper noun, so it is not surprising to see Bashirjon referred to here with a pronoun. There is a change in normal word order (SOV) that is typical of the quotation formula in Uzbek. The verb *деб* must come right after the quotation. This is then followed by a speech verb and then the subject. The author could also have put the subject before the quotation, but the resulting statement probably would not have been so vivid. Due to the positive phone call, Bashirjon’s attitude has changed and the author probably wants to bring us into that new reality.

- 34) Ашур ҳам отасининг оёғи тагида ўралашаркан,
 Ашур ҳам ота-и-нинг оёқ-и таг-и-да ўралаш-ар_экан
 Ashur and/also father-3Ps-GEN leg-3Ps bottom-3Ps-LOC lounge.about-GINFSM

тинмай: “Сокол оламиз, сокол оламиз”, дея
 тин-май сокол ол-а-миз сокол ол-а-миз де-а
 cease-GNEG beard take-PRFUT-1p beard take-PRFUT-1p say-GMNR

кийқирарди.
 кийқир-ар_эди
 shout-PIMPF

And so Ashur, laying around his father’s feet, kept shouting, “We’re gonna take off the beard, we’re gonna take off the beard.”

Notes: Again, the precise contribution of *ҳам* in this sentence is difficult to pin down (see the notes on sentence 22). By the context it seems to indicate a reason-result relation between what Ashur’s father said in sentence 33 and the situation described in this sentence. That situation is presented not as the next event on the event line, but as the setting or circumstance information for the next event in sentence 36 below. In Uzbek one use of the stative construction -*арди* (from -*ар эди*) is to indicate actions that were going on repeatedly or habitually in the past. The combination of the use of *ҳам* and the use of -*арди* are expressed in the free translation as ‘and so Ashur...kept shouting’.

- 35) Баширжон дераза ёнига бориб, ойнага қаради:
 Баширжон дераза ён-и-га бор-иб ойна-га қара-ди
 Bashirjon window side-3Ps-DAT go-GCNI glass-DAT glance-PST
- соқоллари ўсиб, кўзлари киртайиб қолган,
 соқол-лар-и ўс-иб кўз-лар-и киртай-иб қол-ган
 beard-PL-3Ps grow-GCNI eye-PL-3Ps appear.sleepless-GCNI remain-PERF
- тўмток бурнининг учи ҳам негадир майин
 тўмток бурун-и-нинг уч-и ҳам негадир майин
 blunt nose-3Ps-GEN tip-3Ps and/also for.some.reason thin
- пўст ташлаган эди.
 пўст ташла-ган_эди
 thin.skin leave-PPERF

Bashirjon went beside the window and looked in the mirror: his beard had grown and he had circles under his eyes, and for some reason the tip of his broad nose had also shed some skin.

Notes: Bashirjon is referred to by a proper noun in subject position in this new paragraph. Later in the sentence he is referred to by null references. The clause following the colon is descriptive in nature, and again the use of a stative construction with *эди* sets it off as background material. In the main clause before the colon the two verbs *бориб*, ... *қаради* are in a sequential relation. The *-иб* suffix followed by a comma is here used to show the close sequence of the two actions being described. There is a similar use of *-иб* in the first clause after the colon. Here *-иб* followed by the comma indicates simple coordination between the two states described: that of Bashirjon’s beard and that of his eyes. The *-ган* suffix at the end of the clause relates to the two previous verbs, and the *эди* form at the end of the sentence relates to the whole descriptive clause from the colon on. This is typical in Uzbek, where the full verb marking occurs on the final verb and previous verbs are grammatically linked to it (in this case by *-иб*).

- 36) – Ол шунингни бирпас! – деди у ўзига тирмашган
 ол шу-инг-ни бирпас де-ди у ўз-и-га тирмаш-ган
 take NDEM-2sPs-ACC a.while say-PST 3sP RFLX-3s-DAT climb-PRFPST
- ўғлини хотинига узатиб.
 ўғил-и-ни хотин-и-га узат-иб
 boy-3Ps-ACC woman-3Ps-DAT pass-GCNI

“Take this son of yours for a while!” he said, and passed his son, who was climbing all over him, to his wife.

Notes: Here Bashirjon continues as topic and is now referred to with a pronoun in subject position. In the first part of the quotation we see an interesting use of *шу*. The referent is Ashur, but the use of *шу* with the second

person possessive suffix conveys Bashirjon’s feelings of aggravation and his desire to be distanced from his son at this moment. Bashirjon uses the most direct imperative form of the verb *ол* ‘take’ possible (the verb root alone). The reference to Ashur as *ўғлини* his son and to Zevvarhon as *хотини* his wife reinforce this slightly stern or distanced mood. Ashur, who had been his only comfort before the phone conversation, is now a bother after the phone conversation. Again we see the contrast between the two periods of the story which hinge on the phone conversation. The sentence begins with Bashirjon’s direct speech which is continued in sentence 37. The author uses a slightly different quotation formula which splits Bashirjon’s speech into two parts with an intervening narrative description. This is most likely done to highlight the first part of the quotation and to maintain the chronology of the events: he said the first part of the quotation, then passed Ashur to Zevvarhon, then said the last part of the quotation. Note that the verb in the quotation formula is the fully marked *деди* ‘said’, while the final verb in the narrative description is the minimally marked *узатиб* ‘pass’. If the normal pattern had been followed (*деб ... узатди*) there would have been a feeling of completion to the events. In this case Bashirjon’s statement in sentence 37 would seem to be separate from his statement in sentence 36, and the quotation formula *деди* would be required again at the end of sentence 37. Thus, the reversal of normal verb suffix placement seems to function as a cohesive device to bind the quotations in sentences 36 and 37 together as a unit.

37) – Нариги уйга олиб чик, мушшайт қилади.
 нариги уй-га ол-иб чик мушшайт_қил-а-ди
 far home-DAT take-GCJ go.out obstruct-PERFUT-3S

“Take him out to the other room, he’s bothering me.”

Notes: Here the *-иб* suffix links two verbal ideas into one. There is not really a sequence of actions (first take him then go out), but the two are merged into one action expressed as ‘take out’ in the free translation. A similar construction occurs in sentence 38.

38) Зеввархон ўғлини чиркиратганча нариги уйга
 Зеввархон ўғил-и-ни чиркират-ган-ча нариги уй-га
 Zevvarhon boy-3PS-ACC make.cry-PRFPFC-MNR far home-DAT
 олиб кетди.
 ол-иб кет-ди
 take-GCJ leave-PST

Zevvarhon took her son away to the other room, causing him to cry.

Notes: As the topic shifts to Zevvarhon she is referred to by a proper noun in subject position. Ashur is referred to as *her son*.

- 39) “Қизик, шу Шамси Тўраевич ҳам жуда шўхлар-да, –
қизик шу Шамси Тўраевич ҳам жуда шўх-лар-да
interesting NDEM Shamsi Torayevich and/also very playful-PL-EMPH

деб ўйлади Баширжон.
де-иб ўйла-ди Баширжон
say-GCNI think-PRST Bashirjon

Bashirjon thought, “It’s interesting, this Shamsi Torayevich is also very clever.”

Notes: Bashirjon is again the topic and so is referred to with a proper noun in subject position. The sentence could have begun with the subject, followed by the quotation, and then the closing formula with the verb. However, the subject occurs with the quotation formula at the end of the sentence so the paragraph can begin with Bashirjon’s thoughts. In the quotation Bashirjon refers to his elder brother (or friend) as *шу* ‘this’ Shamsi Torayevich. Here *шу* without the possessive suffix seems to create a psychological closeness or feeling of respect for Shamsi Torayevich. It is also a cohesive device which connects his thoughts now with the previous phone conversation. The use of *ҳам* here is also cohesive in that it indicates a comparison between Ashur’s behavior with that of Shamsi Torayevich. (Since this is part of a novel it is likely that there is more about Shamsi Torayevich earlier in the story; at any rate his comments on the other side of the phone conversation are definitely in view).

- 40) – Тавба!
тавба
it.can’t.be

“I don’t believe it!

- 41) “Тухум босиб ётаверасанми”, дейдилар...
тухум бос-иб ёт-авер-а-сан-ми де-а-дилар
egg cover-GCNI lie.down-CNT-PRFUT-2S-Q say-PRFUT-3p

“ ‘Are you sitting around waiting for the eggs to hatch?’ he said...

- 42) мен ҳам: “Тухумнинг донаси ўн тўрт тийин, босиб
мен ҳам тухум-нинг дона-и ўн тўрт тийин бос-иб
1sP and/also egg-GEN item-3Ps ten four *tiyin* cover-GCNI
ётамиз-да”, десам бўларди-ю, кўнгилларига
ёт-а-миз-да де-са-м бўл-ар_эди-ю кўнгил-лар-и-га
lie.down-PRFUT-1p-EMPH say-CND-1s be-P1MPF-EMPH heart-PL-3Ps-DAT

олмасинлар, дедим-да.
 ол-ма-син-лар де-ди-м-да
 take-NEG-IMP3s-3p say-PST-1s-EMPH

“and I could have said ‘An egg is fourteen *tiyin* (a coin unit of money), we’ll certainly sit around and wait for them to hatch,’ but I thought ‘let him not take it to his heart’ (i.e., but I didn’t want to offend him).

Notes: Here *хам* seems to be marking a reason-result relation. The statement of Bashirjon’s elder brother (or friend) at the beginning of the sentence gave reason for what Bashirjon was thinking of saying in response. Notice that the expression *кўнгилларига олмасинлар, дедим-да* ‘I didn’t want to let him not take it to his heart’ contrasts with the previous context, as reflected in the use of ‘but’ in the free translation. In Uzbek no overt contrasting conjunction is used; the negative imperative form communicates this meaning.

43) Ҳар қалай, бугун кайфиятлари тузукка ўхшайди.
 ҳар_қалай бугун кайфият-лар-и тузук-га ўхша-а-ди
 somehow today mood-PL-3Ps good-DAT similar-PRFUT-3s

“Somehow, today he’s in a good mood.

44) Ох, ўзинга шукр, парвардигори эгам!...”
 ох ўз-инг-га шукр парвардигор-и эга-им
 oh own-2sPs-DAT thanks provider-3Ps master-1sPs

“Oh, thanks to you my Lord provider.”

45) Баширжон кейинги кунлар нуқул: “Э, худо-жон, ўзинг обрў
 Баширжон кейинги кун-лар нуқул э худо-жон ўз-инг обрў
 Bashirjon next day-PL constantly hey god-HONOR RFLX-2s esteem
 бер!”, деб илтижо қиларди.
 бер де-иб илтижо_қил-ар_эди
 give say-GCNP plead-1IMPF

In the days after (his troubles began), Bashirjon had been earnestly praying non-stop: “Oh, dear God, show me your favor!”

Notes: Bashirjon is referred to by a proper noun in subject position at the beginning of this new paragraph. As in sentence 34 *-арди* is used to give some setting information (non-event line) for the next sentence. This background information helps highlight the change in Bashirjon’s fortunes and overall disposition since talking to his elder brother (or friend) on the phone. The time phrase at the beginning of the sentence highlights the first time period of the story – the period **before** the phone conversation.

- 46) Шамси Тўраевич билан телефонда гаплашгач,
 Шамси Тўраевич билан телефон-да гаплаш-гач
 Shamsi Torayevich with telephone-LOC converse-GSQ

акахонининг хуш кайфияти унга ҳам
 ака-хон-и-нинг хуш кайфият-и у-га ҳам
 elder.brother-HONOR-3PS-GEN good mood-3Ps 3sP-DAT and/also

кўчиб, “яратган эга”сига қайта-қайта
 кўч-иб ярат-ган эга-и-га қайта_қайта
 move-GCNI create-PRFPIC master-3Ps-DAT again.and.again

шукроналар айта бошлади.
 шукроналар айт-а бошла-ди
 thanks say-GMNR begin-PST

After talking with Shamsi Torayevich on the telephone, his elder brother’s (or friend’s) good mood infected him and he started saying thanks again and again to his Lord creator.

Notes: Bashirjon continues to be the topic and is referred to by a pronoun in the dative case, and then by null references. Shamsi Torayevich is first referred to by a proper noun in the instrumental case and then by *акахонин* ‘his elder brother (or friend)’ in the genitive case. The use of *-гач* in the sentence-initial temporal clause serves to highlight the second time period of the story – the time **after** talking to Shamsi Torayevich on the phone. The *-гач* suffix indicates a sequence relation where there is a larger time gap in view between the verb which takes *-гач* and the main verb of the sentence. Shorter time sequences would be shown by *-иб* or a fully inflected verb with the emphatic *-да* suffix.

- 47) Баширжон қили сийраклашиб қолган чўтка билан
 Баширжон қил-и сийраклаш-иб қол-ган чўтка билан
 Bashirjon hair-3Ps sparse-GCNI remain-PRFPIC brush with

бетига кўпик суркаб, соқол олишга тушди.
 бет-и-га кўпик сурка-иб соқол ол-иш-га туш-ди
 face-3Ps-DAT foam rub-GCNI beard take-GSIM-DAT start-PST

Bashirjon smeared lather on the side of his face with a sparsely bristled brush and started to remove his beard.

Notes: At the beginning of a new paragraph Bashirjon is referred to with a proper noun in subject position, then by null references. Here the use of the *-иб* suffix on the verb at the end of the first clause, followed by a comma, signifies a sequential relation with the sentence-final verb.

- 48) Икки бети, бир оз чиқиқрок энгаги, майин ажин
 икки бет-и бир_оз чиқиқ-рок энгак-и майин ажин
 two face-3Ps a.little sticking.out-CMP chin-3Ps thin wrinkle

тушган бўйинини қиргач, навбат
 туш-ган бўйин-и-ни қир-гач навбат
 be.characterized.by-PRFPTC neck-3Ps-ACC scrape-GSQ turn

мўйловига келди.
 мўйлов-и-га кел-ди
 moustache-3Ps-DAT come-PST

After shaving the sides of his face, his slightly protruding chin, and his soft wrinkly neck, he came to his mustache.

Notes: In this sentence Bashirjon continues to be referred to by null references. The use of the *-gach* suffix at the end of the first clause is consistent with what was previously noted about this suffix in sentence 46.

- 49) У икки бармоғи билан тўмтоқ бурнини бир ўкка
 у икки бармоқ-и билан тўмтоқ бурун-и-ни бир ўк-га
 3sP two finger/toe-3Ps with blunt nose-3Ps-ACC one side-DAT

кийшайтириб, юқори лабини қуйига қараб
 кийшайтир-иб юқори лаб-и-ни қуйи-га қараб
 bend.ST-GCNI upper lip-3Ps-ACC down.below-DAT directed.to

керди.
 кер-ди
 stretch-PST

With his two fingers he bent his broad nose to one side and pulled down his upper lip.

Notes: After a sequence of null references over several clauses, Bashirjon is now referred to by a pronoun in subject position. The use of *-иб* at the end of the first clause followed by the comma again signifies that this verb is part of a sequence of actions, as noted the comments on sentence 47.

- 50) Эҳтиёткорлик билан устара юритаркан, бурнидан
 эҳтиёткорлик билан устара юрит-ар_экан бурун-и-дан
 care with razor set.in.motion-GINFSM nose-3Ps-AVL

чиқиб турган тукларга қўзи тушди.
 чиқ-иб тур-ган тук-лар-га қўз-и туш-ди
 go.out-GCNI stand-PRFPTC hair.strand-PL-DAT eye-3Ps go.down-PST

While carefully sliding the razor along, he glanced at the hairs coming out of his nose.

Notes: Bashirjon is referred to by null references. The use of *-аркан* is consistent with what was noted previously in sentences 12 and 31 (and also found in 34).

51) “Ё, тавба! – деб юборди беихтиёр.
ё тавба де-иб юбор-ди беихтиёр
no it.can't.be say-GCNI send-PST unwillingly

“No, it can't be!” he exclaimed unwillingly.

Notes: Bashirjon continues to be referred to by null references.

52) – Бурун ичидаги тук хам оқараркан-да!...”
бурун ичидаги тук хам оқар-ар_экан-да
nose inside hair.strand and/also be.pale-INFIMPF-EMPH

“The hair in my nose has also become gray!”

Notes: Here the use of *-аркан* obviously does not signify a temporal clause relation. The use is more a matter of pragmatics; in combination with the emphatic suffix *-да* it indicates an element of surprise or concern. The suffix *-аркан* is often used to indicate the speaker's attitude or personal experience of the events being referred to.

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