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Volitional moods in Modern Uyghur

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The aim of this paper is to explore and analyze different forms based on mood and aspect markers which express volitional modality in Modern Uyghur. In Uyghur, various grammatical moods such as the hypothetic (i.e. conditional), the optative, the imperative and the voluntative, as well as the aorist form, can, in combination with different grammatical elements, participate in indicating volition.

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0. Introduction

Optative utterances express a wish, regret, hope or desire, with or without an overt lexical item that denotes wish, regret, hope or desire (Grosz 2011: 13). (Hereafter we will call it volitional mood.)[1] They serve as important means of social interaction. They may be used for positive or negative wishes. Wishing or hoping for a good and long life, for a happy new year or birthday, a smooth trip, success in one's profession, family happiness, health and success in almost every domain, hoping and desiring that something should happen, or cursing someone by wishing him to die, to go to hell, or to have something bad happen to him and the like are all expressed through volitional expressions.

There are various ways of expressing volition in Modern Uyghur with subtle semantic and pragmatic differences. Beside wishes, these might carry some other readings such as fear, sorrow or regret. The expressions sometimes possess several readings according to the context.

1. The hypothetic mood

The most productive means for expressing volition in Modern Uyghur is the hypothetic form in *-sA*. This is an imaginative mood, expressing a possible reality, presenting a situation as seen by the mind's eye in the sense of "Imagine it is the case!"; "What if it is the case?". As such, it can, secondarily, convey volitional meanings of desire, wish, and hope (Johanson 2014: 46–48).

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1 Grosz uses the term "optative" in the sense "volitional". As a number of Turkic languages (including Modern Uyghur) have a mood called "optative", we prefer to adopt the terminology of Johanson (2009, 2012, and 2014), calling such utterances "volitional".

The hypothetic form in *-sA,* inflected for person and number, is mostly accompanied by particles and different copulas (see more about stance particles in Johanson 2012).

There are at least seven types of volitional meanings expressed by hypothetic (conditional) forms in Modern Uyghur.

1.1. The hypothetic form *-sA,* inflected with personal suffixes

(1) *Taq-qa   čiq-ip   taɣ-niŋ   sap   hawa-si-din   bir   näpäs*
     mountain-DAT go.up-CNV mountain-GEN pure air-POSS3SG-ABL   a   breath
     al-sa-q!
     take-HYP-1PL
     'I wish we could go up some mountain and breathe some fresh air there!'

Note that *-sA*-clauses with conditional reading normally accompany main clauses.

(2) *Ätä   käl-si-ŋiz   billä   tamaq   yä-yli.*
     tomorrow come-HYP-2SG together food   eat-VOL.1PL
     'If you come tomorrow, let's eat together.'

The hypothetic mood can also be used in main clauses. In (4), the hypothetic expresses a condition.

(3) Context: A mother trying to convince her son to eat.
     Nimišqa   yi-mä-y-siz?   Yä-ŋ-ä.
     Why   eat-NEG-PRES-2SG   eat-IMPR2SG-PRT
     'Why don't you eat? Do eat.'

(4) The son responds.
     Ämisä   bayči-ɣa   apar-si-ŋiz.
     then   park-DAT   take.along-HYP-2SG
     'Only if you take me to a park.'

In most cases, however, hypothetic mood in a main clause expresses volition as in (5).

(5) *Meni   bayči-ɣa   apar-si-ŋiz!*
     I.ACC   park-DAT   take.along-HYP-2SG
     'I hope you take me to a park!'

With or without the conjunction or particle *ämisä* 'then', it is mainly the context and intonation that determine whether a sentence with a hypothetic form expresses a condition or a hope. The intonation of (4) and (5) differ significantly.

A strong desire, wish or hope can also be expressed with an overt exclamation intensified by *nimidigän yaxši* 'So good, how good!'.

(6) *Ätä   yamɣur   yaɣ-sa   nimidigän yaxši!*
     tomorrow   rain   rain- HYP3SG   so   good
     'It would be so wonderful if it rained tomorrow! / How good it would be if it rained tomorrow!'

Kazakh expresses such content in a similar way as (6) (Aibixi 2012: 41).[2]

1.2. Hypothetic mood with the particle *(i)kän*

After vowels, this particle has the shape *kän*; see (7).

(7) *U   bir   käl-si-kän!*
     (s)he one   come-HYP-PRT
     'I wish (s)he would come.'

Such an expression of a wish can also be used as a polite request.

(8) *Ätä   män   bilän bazar-ɣa   billä   bar-si-ŋiz (kän)!*
     tomorrow   I   with   market-DAT   together   go-HYP-2SG (PRT)
     'I wish you would go to the market tomorrow with me! / Could you please go to the market with me tomorrow?'

1.3. Hypothetical mood with the copula in the past

In this subtype, the conditional suffix together with the past copula *(i)di<är-di* is attached to the verb. After the vowel of the third person hypothetic form, the stem vowel of the copula is dropped, giving *-si-ti/ -si-di*. This form expresses desires and wishes.

(9) *Yamɣur   yaɣ-si-ti!* [3]
     rain   rain-HYP-COP.PAST3SG
     'If only it would rain!'

This construction seems to be common with negative wishing; see (10).

(10) *U   imtihan-din   öt-mi-si-ti!*
      (s)he exam-ABL   pass-NEG-HYP- COP.PAST3SG
      'I hope that X does not pass the exam.'

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2   See also Abish 2016.
3   *-ti /-di* here can be traced back to the copula *är-* with the past tense marker *-Di*, and elision of the verb's stem.

This type of construction refers to the future. It is can be followed up by an expression of the putative result as in (11).

(11) *Yamɣur yaɣ-si-ti!* *Ziraät-lär-mu* *yašir-ip*
rain rain-HYP-COP crop-PL-PRT become.fresh-CNV
qal-at-ti.[4]
AUX.stay-AOR-COP.PAST3SG
'If only it would rain! The crops would freshen.'

1.4. Hypothetic mood with *bol-* with *bol-* 'to be' in converb form with *-t* (< *turur*) and *(i)kän*

The next examples, expressing regret and sorrow, are constructed analytically by combining *bol-* 'to become, be' with a hypothetic form, either positive (13) or negative (12).

(12) *Bügün bundaq jiq yi-mi-sä-m bop-ti-kän!*
today such much eat-NEG-HYP-1SG be.CNV-COP.PRT
'If only I had not eaten so much today!'

(13) *Bügün jiq-raq yi-sä-m bop-ti-kän!*
today a.lot-COMP eat-HYP-1SG be.CNV-COP-PRT
'If only I had eaten more today!'

This type can express both the speaker's wish or his regret about something which has happened.

(14) *Uni bir kör-üp baq-sa-m bo-p-tikän.*
X.ACC once see-CNV look-HYP-1SG be.CNV-COP-PRT
'Could I look at X once please? / If only I had looked at it! (I regret that I did not look at it before.)'

Example (14) is ambiguous. The first reading is a polite request to look at something, the second expresses the regret of the speaker that (s)he missed the chance to look at what is being talked about.

1.5. Hypothetic mood with *ču*

The particle *ču* has several functions, among which are asking a question, stressing some point or making an exclamation. Another function of this particle is to express sorrow about a past event.

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4 *-at-ti* can go back to *-A tur-ur är-Di* [-CNV stand-AOR COP-PST], where the aorist marker and the stem of the copula were omitted.

(15) *Män-mu   billä   bar-sa-m-ču!*
      I-also   together   go-HYP-1SG-PRT
      'If only I had also come along!'

Kazakh spoken in China uses similar wording as in (15) but has *šI* where Uyghur uses *čU* (Aibixi 2012: 41).

(16) *U-mu   käl-si-ču!*
      (s)he-also   come-HYP-PRT
      'If only (s)he had also come!'

(17) *U-mu   käl-si-ču?*
      (s)he-also   come-HYP-PRT
      'How about if (s)he also comes?'

The intonation in (17) differs from that of (16). Unlike (16), (17) has interrogative intonation and interrogative content, whereas (16) expresses sorrow that the speaker's wish has not been realized

1.6. Past participle of the lexical verb with *bol*-HYP and *ču*

V-*GAn bolsa* + *ču* expresses sorrow for something which did not happen.

(18) *U-mu   käl-gän   bol-si-ču!*
      (s)he-also   come-PAST.PART   be-HYP-PRT
      'If only (s)he had also come!'

This construction differs from the one in (15) in that it refers to a desired event which was not realized. The wish is clearly expressed as against what actually happened and asserts that the chance has already passed. In (15), one might still have a chance to make it up.

1.7. Hypothetic in complement clauses of *dä*- 'to say'

(19) *Uni   bir   kör-sä-m   dä-y-män!*
      (s)he.ACC   once   see-HYP-1SG   say-PRES-1SG
      'I wish I could see X once!'

The reading in this type of construction can differ slightly from (19a) and (19b).

(19a) *Uni   bir   kör-sä-m   kä(n).*
      (s)he.ACC   once   see-HYP-1SG   PRT
      'I wish I could see him/her once!'

(19b) *Uni   bir   kör-sä-m.*
     (s)he.ACC   once   see-HYP-1SG
     'I wish I could see him/her once!'

It seems that in (19a), the wish to see the target person is very strong, but it is considered unlikely that this will happen. In (19b), on the other hand, fulfilling the wish might not be as difficult as in (19a). Uttering (19), the speaker's hope and wish seems to him/her more likely to be realized than if (s)he uttered (19a) or (19b). Furthermore, (s)he might already have planned or prepared something towards the realization of her/his wish. In (19), the motivation or the intention to see the target is positive; i.e. it will mainly be used when referring to positive things and entities. (19b), on the other hand, could be directed to both positively and negatively evaluated entities.

2. The optative mood

The optative in *-Gay* express the future in Old Uyghur (Erdal 2004: 242–244; section 3.234).[5] The optative in *-GAy* is either used by itself or together with the past form of the copula *i-*.

Using the construction with *-GAy*, the speaker can expresses a wish that he or she hopes will be fulfilled with the help of praying to supernatural powers. The optative is used for expressing both blessings and curses.

2.1. Blessing

(20) *Yat-qan   yer-i   jännät-tä   bol-γay.*
    lie.down-PAST.PART   place-POSS3SG   paradise-LOC   be-OPT3SG
    'May his place in the next world be in paradise!'

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5   See Erdal 2004: 242–243. Erdal 1991: 301 quotes a passage from a South Siberian runiform inscription where the crasis *närgäy < nä ärgäy* expresses a worry, 'What will become of ...?'. Erdal (personal communication) points out that a sentence such as *käntü barγay tamuqa, udu eltgäy bergüčig* (M III 29,5), said about the *tärs azaγ nomluγlar* 'those who have heretical faiths', can be translated either as a prophesy, 'They will themselves go to hell and take the donators along', or as expressing a wish 'May they themselves go to hell and take the donators along'. He further adds that the *-gAy* form may be absent from the Orkhon inscriptions, as this form may have had modal content also in Orkhon Turkic. However, the modal content expressed by *-GAy* in modern Turkic languages happens not to have been necessary in what the texts of those inscriptions have to say; one therefore cannot know whether and how their authors would have used this suffix.

(21) *Heyt-iŋiz-γa*   *mubarek*   *bol-γay.*
      festival-POSS2SG-DAT   blessing   be-OPT3SG
      'May there be blessing on your festival! / Happy Eid!'

(22) *Tümän miŋ   yil   yaši-γay.*
      10000   1000   year1   ive-OPT3SG
      'May (s)he live many years!'

2.2. Cursing

(23) *Dozaq-qa   kir-gäy-sän,   ilah-im.*
      hell-DAT   enter-OPT-2SG   God-POSS1SG
      'May you go to hell, oh my God!'

2.3. In omen (dream teller) books

Optatives also occur in omen books used by dream tellers.

(24) *Taγ-da   yür-üp   taγ-ni   kör-üp   čüš   kör-sä,*
      mountain-LOC   walk-CNV   mountain-ACC   see-CNV   dream see-HYP3SG
      izzät   wä hörmätlik   bol-γay.
      honor   and respect   be-OPT3SG
      'If, in a dream, (s)he sees a mountain and that (s)he is walking on a mountain, may
      (s)he be honored and respected!'

A pure prediction would not be expressed by using the optative.

(25) *Taγ-da   yür-üp   taγ-ni   kör-üp   čüš   kör-sä,*
      mountain-LOC   walk-CNV   mountain-ACC   see-CNV   dream see-HYP3SG
      izzät   wä hörmätlik   bol-ur.
      honor   and respect   be-AOR3SG
      'If, in a dream, (s)he sees a mountain, and (s)he is walking on a mountain, (s)he can
      expect to be honored and respected.'

In traditional local medical texts one can find expressions such as the following one.

(26) *Kona   yötäl-gä uda   yättä kün našti-da   samsaq*
      old   cough-DAT consistently   seven day breakfast-LOC   garlic
      pišur-up   ye-sä   šipa   bol-γay.
      cook-CNV   eat-HYP3SG   cure   be-OPT3SG
      'Concerning a persistent cough, it may be healed if one cooks garlic and eats it at
      breakfast on seven consecutive days.'

Nowadays, prescriptions use the form in -*idu*, which expresses certainty, instead of the humility of the optative.

2.4. In naming

Uyghurs also use the -*GAy* form when naming seven-day-old babies.

(27) *Asman-din   čüš-kän   et-iŋiz   Nadirä   bol-ɣay*!
sky-ABL   come.down-PAST.PART   name-POSS2SG   Nadirä   be-OPT3SG
'May your name, which came from the sky, be Nadirä!'

2.5. The negated optative and the copula idi

The negated optative and the copula *idi*, contracted in the third person singular to -*miGit(t)i*/ -*miGidi*/ -*miGiyDi*, expresses the hope that an undesired event will not come true and conveys the speaker's worry about the matter.

(28) *Kečik-ip   qal-mi-ɣi-du-q.*[6]
be.late-CNV   AUX.stay-NEG-OPT-COP.PAST-1PL
'I do hope we won't be late!/ I wish that we were not late!'

(29) *U   bu gäp-ni   dä-p   sal-mi-ɣi-tti.*
(s)he this word-ACC   say-CNV AUX.put-NEG-OPT- COP.PAST3SG
'I wish (s)he would not say this word accidentally.'

(30) *Seni   kör-gü-m   käl-di.*
you.ACC   see-VN- POSS1SG   come-PAST3SG
'I would like to see you.' lit. 'My intent of seeing you has come.'

A similar form as example (30) was described by Aibixi (2012: 41) for Kazakh spoken in China.

3. The voluntative mood

The voluntative of the third person can render compliance with other person's wishes.

(31) *Bo-p-tu,   bar-sun.*
be-CNV-EVD   go-VOL3SG
'It turns out to be O.K. Let him go.'

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6   -*ɣi-duq* diachronically developed from -*GAy är-du-q* [-*Gay* COP-PST-1PL]

One can also use the voluntative for expressing personal wishes towards the addressee, though the subject is different, as in (32) where the subject is God.

(32) *Xuda-yim*   *murat-mäqsit-iŋ-gä*   *yät-küz-sun!*
      God-POSS1SG   dreams-POSS2SG-DAT   reach-CAUS-VOL3SG
      'May God let you fulfill your dreams!'

There is an interesting alternation between -*sun* and -*GAy* forms in wishes. The previously given example (21) is repeated here as (34).

(33) *Heyt-iŋiz-ya*   *mubaräk*   *bol-sun.*
      festival-POSS2SG-DAT blessing   be-VOL3SG
      'May there be blessing on your festival! / Happy Eid!'

(34) *Heyt-iŋiz-ya*   *mubarek*   *bol-γay.*
      festival-POSS2SG-DAT   blessing   be-OPT3SG
      'May there be blessing on your festival! / Happy Eid!'

(35) *Yat-qan*   *yer-i*   *jännät-tä*   *bol-sun.*
      lie.down-PAST.PART   place-POSS3SG paradise-LOC be-VOL3SG
      'May his/her place in the next world be in paradise!'

(36) *Yat-qan*   *yer-i*   *jännät-tä*   *bol-γay.*
      lie.down-PAST.PART   place-POSS3SG paradise-LOC be-OPT3SG
      'May his/her place in the next world be in paradise!'

In (34) the statement may be indirect, the relation between the hearer and speaker could be remote, or the wish hoped to be realized may rely upon some third, supernatural, holy power; when uttering (33) there is less of a "mystical atmosphere". In (35) the speaker's relation might be closer to the person who passed away or to the hearer than in (36); (36) is "holier". As Wierzbicka writes: "The essential difference between blessing and cursing on the one hand, and wishing on the other hand seems to consist in the assumption of the power of one's words in the first case, and their powerlessness in the second" (quoted by Dobrushina 1972: 143). In this sense, (34) and (36) belong to the "blessing / cursing" category while utterances such as (33) and (35) serve to express pure powerless wishes.
In non-metaphysical, matter-of-fact utterances, there is another pragmatic difference between using the voluntative and the optative.

(37) *U   ätä   käl-sun.*
      (s)he   tomorrow come-VOL3SG
      'Let her/him come tomorrow.'

(38) *U   ätä   käl-gäy.*
      (s)he   tomorrow come-OPT3SG
      'Let her/him come tomorrow.'

The voluntative form expresses a strong wish to be communicated to the subject, the optative a more polite, flexible wish. Strong volition, as it is called by Dobrushina (2011), implies an attempt to change the world by an appeal to superficial power. Using the voluntative, the speaker expresses that (s)he is convinced that her/his speech has power, while the optative form is more a case of wishing than ordering, implying reliance on some third party power.

4. The imperative mood

The imperative mood can express polite requests and not just commands.

(39) *Qop-uŋ!*
      stand.up-IMP2SG[7]
      'Please stand up!'

It is also used in wishing and cursing.

(40) *Yaxši čüš   kör-üŋ!*
      good   dream see-IMP2SG
      'I wish you have good dreams!'

(41) *Har-ma-ŋlar!*
      be.tired-NEG-IMP2PL
      'May you (pl.) not grow tired! / Hello!'

When does the imperative indicate volitional reading? It primarily and strongly depends on the context. Semantically, it seems to be the case that the choice of verb through which the speaker expresses her/his intention, wish or order is the essential point. If the action cannot be controlled by the interlocutors and whether it takes place is exclusively decided by natural or other outside factors, an imperative reading is less likely. If it can, an optative reading is possible. One can order someone to

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7 This form of the imperative is the one generally used in Uyghur nowadays for single addressees, but it was originally the form used for addressing a number of people (as well as serving as polite address for a singular); the original single addressee form, identical to the verb stem, is still used in Uyghur today, but only under highly familiar circumstances.

get up by uttering (39), making him get up, as the matter can be within the scope of one's power; however, uttering (40) or (41), does not make one able to manipulate the addressee's dream or tiredness. Hence (40) and (41) are volitional, whereas (39) is an imperative.

5. Volitional meaning of the aorist

The aorist form in *-Ar* (negation with *-mAs*) is not very productive in Modern Uyghur. It is mainly used attributively in fixed phrases such as *tügi-mäs bayliq* 'inexhaustible riches' and fossilized expressions such as proverbs. It is also used to express volition in blessings and curses.

(42) *Til-iŋ*   *tutul-up*   *qal-ar,*   *Ilah-im!*
      tongue-POSS2SG be.caught-CNV AUX.stay-AOR3SG   god-POSS1SG
      'May you get tongue-tied, oh my God!'

6. Conclusions

Different grammatical moods such as the hypothetic (the conditional), the optative, the imperative and the voluntative, as well as the aorist form, together with combination of different grammatical elements, indicate volition in Modern Uyghur.

It has been illustrated that volition is mostly expressed by hypothetic mood. Previous literature has already pointed out that moods used in conditional clauses have the same underlying logical form as volitionals (Grosz 2012:193). Particles such as *kän* and *ču* are necessary in forming specific volitional constructions, modifying their semantics towards regret or desire.

The most prominent means for expressing volition in Modern Uyghur is the hypothetic form in *-sA*. The optative in *-GAy*, which expresses the future in Old Uyghur, expresses volition in Modern Uyghur combined with the past copula *idi*.

Volitional constructions based on the optative or the voluntative seem to alternate, but this does not mean that they have exactly the same readings. The use of the optative seems to include the speaker's wish, hoping his wish would be realized through a super-power, some religious power. The voluntative mood, on the other hand, rather hints at a direct connection between the speaker's wish and the real world. The voluntative of the third person in *-sun* also expresses volition. The voluntative and the optative, *-sun* and *-GAy*, can alternate. However, they differ in that *-GAy* often seems to express supernatural conditioning, with the realization of the desire depending on the power of holy intervention, whereas the voluntative seems to address processes happening independently of such power.

List of abbreviations

ABL   ablative
ACC   accusative
AOR   aorist

AUX	auxiliary
COMP	comparative
CNV	converb
DAT	dative
EVD	evidential
GEN	genitive
HYP	hypothetic
IMP	imperative
LOC	locative
NEG	negation
OPT	optative
PAST.PART	past participle
POSS	possessive
PRS	present
PRT	particle
VOL	voluntative

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