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History vs. Theory:

The Grammaticalization of the Uzbek *say*-Complementizers[1]

I. Introduction

Among the controversial aspects of grammaticalization, the notion of unilinear change is one which is rarely critically examined. On the one hand it is worth noting certain cross-linguistic trends that characterize grammaticalization phenomena: verbs meaning "go" or "want" becoming markers of future tense, or spatial nouns becoming pre- and postpositions. On the other hand, strong claims are often made regarding the exact details of how these forms grammaticalize. Saxena, for one, proposes the following cline for the grammaticalization of "say" verbs into complementizers, supporting her claim with Givón's hierarchy of complement binding, as well as a good deal of cross-linguistic evidence:

(1) quote → say → know → believe → want → purpose/reason → conditional → comparison

For actual complementizers, she goes on to propose the following cline:

(2) say → know → decide → hope → want
    tell   think   agree
            believe
  'Utterance' *'Cognition'* *'Modality'*

Uzbek, however, followed a radically different path.

Goals for this presentation:

a. To describe the current use of the Uzbek *say*-complementizer, as well as other complementation strategies
b. To describe the historical development of the complementizer from content word to function word
c. To place this synchronic and diachronic data in a typological perspective

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[1] Many thanks to Salikoko Mufwene and Victor Friedman for their assistance and comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

Things to keep in mind:

a. 'Complementation' will be used loosely here. In many cases it will cover phenomena better described as converbs, subordinators, coordinators, etc.
b. Grammaticalization is best described as a result, not a process. Moreover, it can be (and here, will be) used to describe the development of new functional forms, regardless or origin.
c. Most data is taken from Internet sources. URLs will be provided with examples. Unattributed examples are from informants.

II. On Uzbek

- Spoken by about 21 million in Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, China, and surrounding areas.
- Official dialect of Uzbekistan is employed here.
- Eastern/Turki/Chagatay branch of Turkic, descended from Chagatay
- Typologically:
  - SOV / Head-final
  - Modifier-Modified
  - Nominative-Accusative w/ differential object marking
  - "Agglutinative"
- Official Latin orthography is employed here. Graphemes represent their IPA equivalents, except:
  - *a* /a, æ/, *ch* /ʧ/, *g'* /ɣ/, *j* /dʒ ,ʒ/, *ng* /ŋ/, *o* /ɒ/, *o'* /o, œ/, *sh* /ʃ/, *y* /j/, *'* /ʔ/

III. Complementation in Uzbek

Persian complementizer ki:

(3) Bil-a-di-ki,   shunday qil-sa   u-ni   otish-a-di
     Know-PRES-3SG-COMP thus   do-COND.3SG he-ACC shoot-PRES-3SG
     He knew that if he did that, they would shoot him.

- Violates SOV word order - clausal object is post-verbal
- Allows for full range of TAM marking in complement
- Used with all complement-taking verbs

Nominalized Clause

(4) Yaralan-ib,   yiqil-**gan**-i-ni   aniq   bil-a-di[2]
      be.injured-CVB fall-*NOM*-3SG -ACC for.sure know-PRES-3SG
      She knows for sure that he had fallen and gotten injured.

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[2] www.ziyouz.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=811&Itemid=228

- Conforms to SOV word order - clausal object is pre-verbal
- Allows for almost no TAM marking in complement
- Used with all complement-taking verbs

Bare Clause

(5) Alloh isyonkor Shayton-da so'ra-di: -Nega amr-im-ga   bo'ysun-ma-di-ng?[3]
     God   rebel   Satan-LOC ask-PST.3SG Why order-1SG-DAT obey-NEG-PST.2SG
     God asked the rebel Satan, "Why did you not obey my order?"

- Variable word order; often SOV, but affected by heavy NP shift, scrambling
- Allows for full range of TAM marking in complement clause
- Used only for verbs of speech (and related concepts such as writing, reading, thought)

Say-Complementizers

(6) Er-dan bahra ol-ib   balki o's-ib   ket-ar   *deb* o'yla-di.[4]
     man-ABL profit take-CVB maybe grow-CVB CONT-AOR.3SG COMP think-PST.3SG
     He thought that he would take a profit from the man and maybe it would continue to grow.

- Two forms: *deb* and *deya*. Both are derived from the verb *de-*, meaning "say"
- The two forms are unevenly distributed. *Deb* is more common.
- Conforms to SOV word order - clausal object is pre-verbal
- Allows full TAM marking in complement
- Used only with certain complement-taking verbs

Uses of *deb* and *deya*

Converbial

(7) Avtobus-dan chiq-ib, "Salom" *de-ya*, uy-ge   kir-di.
     Bus-ABL   exit-CVB "Hello" *say-CVB* house-DAT enter-PST.3SG
     He exited the bus, and saying "Hello", entered the house.

- Converbs are non-finite forms of verbs and function much like serial verb constructions
- Bear a range of possible meanings:
   o sequence
   o cause-and-effect
   o manner
- Have grammaticalized into a variety of forms, including:

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[3] www.bolajon.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=77&Itemid=94
[4] bananas.moy.su/news/2007-04-25-351

- compound verbs
- aspect markers
- light verbs with meanings of ability, attempt, frustrativity
- complementizers

Quotative markers

(8)   "Yo Jabroil, jahannam-ni sifatla-b   ber?" ***deb/deya***   ayt-di-lar.[5]
       Hey Jabroil hell-ACC   describe-CVB BEN.IMP QUOT   say-PST-3PL
       "Hey Jabroil, describe hell for us," they said.

- Both *deb* and *deya* are employed. Functions similarly to regular complementation

Purpose markers

(9)   Odam-lar yaxshi yasha-sin   ***deb***, tinchlikka   izmo.chek-di-k
       People-PL well   live-OPT.3SG COMP peace.treaty-DAT sign-PST.1PL
       We signed the peace treaty so that the people might live a good life.

(10)   Sen-i   ovqat qil-sin   ***deya***, terlar to'k-ib   yur-a-man.[6]
       You-ACC food   make-OPT.3SG COMP sweat pour-CVB run-PRES-1SG
       I'm running around sweating in order to make you food.

- Both *deb* and *deya* are employed
- [X *deb/deya*] Y means something like: "In order to X, Y"

Full Complementation

(11) Vashington O'zbekiston hozirgi yo'li-dan qayt-a-di,   ***deb*** umid.qil-moq-da.[7]
       Washington Uzbekistan present path-ABL leave-PRES-3SG COMP hope-INF-LOC
       Washington is hoping that Uzbekistan is leaving its present path.

- Only *deb* is used here
- Given Givón & Saxena's hierarchies, complementation with *deb* occurs for the following verb types:

Utterance	Cognition			Modality			
"say"	"know"	"think"	"believe"	"decide"	"agree"	"hope"	"want"
YES	RARELY	YES	YES	RARELY	NO	YES	NO

- Other verbs *deb* can appear with (not covered by Saxena or Givón, but covered by Dixon):

[5] http://sita.nm.ru/Jahannam%20va%20qabr%20azobi.html
[6] forum.arbuz.com/showthread.php?t=4843&page=21
[7] 128.11.143.113/uzbek/archive/2005-11/2005-11-09-voa3.cfm

- o Sensory: *ko'r-* 'see', *eshit-* 'hear'
- o Emotion: *ajablan-* 'be surprised'

Raising Complementation

(12) Ular she'r-ni   ilohiy ***deb*** bil-a-di…[8]
They poem-ACC sacred ***COMP*** know-PRES-3SG
They know the poem to be sacred.

- Only *deb* is used here
- The subject of the complement clause is assigned accusative case and behaves like the object of the matrix clause
- Occurs with only a few verbs:
    - o *bil-* 'know' –raising→ 'consider' (raising only)
    - o *o'yla-* 'think' –raising→ 'consider'
    - o *top-* 'find' (raising only)
    - o *ko'r-* 'to see as, consider'

(13)

	Converbial	Quotative	Purposive	Complementizer	Raising
deb	+	+	+	+	+
deya	+	+	+	-	-

IV.   The Grammaticalization & Development of the Uzbek *say*-Complementizers

- History can be reconstructed using:
    - o Modern data
    - o Data from Chagatay, the ancestor of Uzbek

V + V Structures: "Converbs"

- Common to all Turkic languages
- Consist of two verbs
    - o V1 takes either the *-ib* or *-a* endings
    - o V2 is marked for TAM, person/number, etc.
    - o Verbs share a subject, may or may not share an object
    - o V1 is interpreted as having the same TAM & φ-features

(14) Murodjon gugurt chaq-ib   vklyuchatel-ni top-di. (Bodrogligeti 2003: 582)
Murodjon match strike-CVB switch-ACC find-PST.3SG
      S   O1   V1   O2   V2
Murodjon lit a match and found the switch.

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[8] gzt.uz/uzbl/madaniyat_va_sport/chinhayda_yangragan_navolar.mgr

Verb → Converb → Quotative Marker

- *De-* "say"
  - o Can take a bare quote as its complement
  - o Likely used converbially to indicate direct speech
  - o Syntactic reanalysis:
    - ▪ "Quote" *deb/deya* V → ["Quote" *deb/deya*]_{COMP} V
  - o Occurred at least as early as the 8th Century (Abdurahmonov 1974: 77):

(15) "Toruq buqulï' semiz buqulï   ïraqda bölser   semiz buqa toruq buqa,"
      tiyin...[9]
       Thin bull.COM fat   bull.COM far.LOC split.COND.3PL fat   bull thin bull
      COMP
      ...saying "If a thin bull with a fat bull are separated to far away places, the fat
      bull is the thin bull."

Quotative Marker → Marker of Purpose

- Per Saxena, the next step should be the development of complement constructions
- However, these do not appear in early texts; purpose constructions do
- From 8th Century

(16) Budunïǧ igidäyin   ***täyin***, ...uluǧ sü   äki yägirmi... süŋüšdim...[10]
      People raise.spirits.OPT COMP   many times twelve   fight.PST.1SG
      "In order to raise the spirits of the people, I fought twelve (troops) many times."

Still found in Uzbek, with some changes:

(17) Xalq-ni   ko'ngl-i ovla-sin   **deya**, ko'p vaqt...
      People-ACC spirits-3SG lift-OPT.3SG comp many time...
      "In order to lift the people's spirits, many times..."

- Parallels between 8th Century and Modern Uzbek purpose constructions:
  - o Use of both *deb* and *deya*
  - o Use of the optative mood in the verb of the subordinate clause

Marker of Purpose → Chagatay Complementizer

- No longer found in Uzbek
- Appeared as early as the 11th Century
- Both *deya* and *deb* are used
- Use of the optative mood in the verb of the complement clause

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[9] http://www.tonyukuk.net/ton/ton1_1.htm Translation is mine. From the Kül Tegin inscriptions.
[10] Abdurahmonov 1974: 77.

- Used only with verbs of wishing, hoping, praying, i.e. verbs whose complements have future/irrealis readings

(18) Kishi   yïbar-ïb   köb   māl   bäräyin ***teb***   tiländi… (Abdurahmonov 1974: 78)
      Person send-CVB many cattle give-OPT COMP wish-PASS-PST.3SG
      Sending a man, it was wished that he would give them many cattle…
      (Abdurahmonov 1974: 78 - from Abulg'ozi Bahodirxon's *Shajarai Tarokima*)

- Some ambiguity between purpose and complement readings:

(19)   Duā   qil-di,   …arïġ sālih-lar   qob-sun-lar   ***däb***.[11]
       Prayer   LV-PST.3SG poor virtuous-PL arise-OPT-3PL COMP
       He prayed that the poor virtuous ones might arise.
       or
       He prayed in order that the poor virtuous ones might arise.

- This construction began to die between the 14th & 16th Centuries; it was gone by the early modern period, when it was replaced by the new complement construction in the 17th Century (Abdurahmonov 1974:78-9).

Quotative Marker → Modern Uzbek Complementizer

- Likely developed as *deb* came to be used as a marker of indirect speech; *deya* is reserved for direct speech

(20) Bosh-i-da   qiziqchilik-dan boshla-gan-miz deb/*deya ayt-dim-ku.[12]
      Beginning-3SG-LOC fun-ABL   start-IPFV-1PL COMP   say-PST.1SG-P
      I said that in the beginning we started to do it for fun.

- The *deb* complementizer then spread to other verbs, but competed with other strategies of complementation

Modern Complementizer → Raising Complementizer

(21) Karimov aslida Umida-ni   aybli deb   top-di…[13]
      Karimov actually Umida-ACC guilty COMP find-PST.3SG
      Karimov actually found Umida guilty.

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[11] Abdurahmonov 1974: 78 -- Bear in mind that many Chagatay examples are poetry, and that the order of the major constituents may be altered to fit poetic meter.
[12] www.mashhur.uz/index.php?go=News&in=view&id=677
[13] www.jahongir.org/KITOBLAR/kashfiyot_lotinda.html

- Possibly derived via a reanalysis of the passive of a complement construction:
  - Passive: [Subject$_i$ Predicate *deb*] V-PASS
  - Reanalyzed as: Subject$_i$ [Predicate *deb*] V-PASS
  - Active: Subject Object$_i$ [Predicate *deb*]

V. Theoretical Implications

- Grammaticalization is best seen as a process that acts on constructions, rather than individual morphemes
  - This allows us to account for the competition between complementation strategies as the product of construction frequency and semantic considerations

- Typological generalizations do not always provide historical insight
  - Modern Uzbek generally obeys Givón's hierarchy of complement taking verbs:

(22)

Say	Know/Think/Decide	Like/Fear	Hope/Want	Plan/Try	Start/Finish	Cause
Complement Clause				Converb		Morpheme

←Free clause, few restrictions-------------------------------------Bound clause, more restrictions→

  - But typological generalizations are just that: general
  - Predictions cannot be made about individual verbs, only about the verb system as a whole
  - And when multiple ways of expressing a certain relation are available, historical development will be affected by competition between forms

- Directions for future research:
  - A statistical examination of the frequency of use of various types of complementation by various verbs
  - An examination of Turkic as a whole: Turkish and Sakha (at least) have *say*-complementizers derived from the same verb *dē-*

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Appendix: Chart of the Development of *deb* and *deya*

Converb *deb, deya*	Quotative *deb, deya*	Purpose *deb, deya*	Old Turkic
		Chagatay Complementizer *deb, deya*	Chagatay
	Complementizer *deb*		Early Modern Uzbek
	Raising *deb*		
			Modern Uzbek