The complementizer {-Ʊ²w} in Kazakh as spoken in China

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Kazakh as spoken in China, like other Turkic languages, distinguishes between two types of complement clauses. In Kazakh, one is based on the action nominal {-Ʊ²w} and the other on other action nominals as, for instance, {-G⁴A²n}. The present paper deals with the complement-taking matrix predicates that select the complementizer {-Ʊ²w}. These matrix predicates fall into four semantic types expressing: (i) modality; (ii) manner; (iii) evaluation; (iv) purpose.
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1. Introduction

A Kazakh complement clause, *tolĭktawĭš baɣĭnĭŋҟĭ söylem* (Baytursinuli 2009: 166)*,* can function as a subject, a direct object, an indirect object, a nominal predicate, or a complement of a postposition. The complementizer can be the infinitive-like action nominal in {-w//-(Ø)Ʊ²w} (in the following cited as {-Ʊ²w}), or the action nominals {-G⁴A²n}, {-A²tɪ²n//-ytɪ²n}, and {-(A²)r}. The action nominals in {-(I²)s} and {-M³A²K²} are less productive as complementizers. The complementizers usually bear a possessive suffix marking the person and number of the subject, which can be in the genitive or the nominative. The complement clauses can be translated into English with *that* or *how* clauses.

It is well known that the use of Kazakh {-G⁴A²n} and {-Ʊ²w} roughly corresponds to the use of the Turkish complementizers {-D²ɪ⁴K²} and {-mA²} respectively. According to Csató (2010: 117), the distinction between the two Turkish action nominal suffixes is that {-D²ɪ⁴K²} builds embedded propositions, whereas {-mA²} builds embedded predications as described in the theory of Functional Grammar (Dik 1997). Thus, only the complement clauses based on {-D²ɪ⁴K²} have illocutionary force and express a proposition with a possible truth value. Johanson (2013: 85) states that the complementizer {-D²ɪ⁴K²} in Turkish and corresponding action nominals in other Turkic languages convey the concept "knowledge of a

possible fact". We will discuss below whether this analysis also applies to the Ka-
zakh complementizers.

This paper will focus on the semantics of the complement-taking matrix predi-
cates that select the Kazakh complementizer {-Ụ²w}. The marker has several vari-
ants. After stems ending in a low back vowel, the variant is {-w}, e.g., *ķara-w* 'look-
ing', derived from the verbal stem *ķara-* 'to look'. Consonant stems and stems in
next-to-high or lax vowels take the variant {-(Ø)Ụ²w}, e.g., *žaz-ụw* 'writing' ←
žaz- 'to write', *ʷoķ-ụw* 'reading' ← *ʷoķ̆ĭ-*'to read'. A bracketed initial zero sign (Ø)
indicates that the final vowel of the stem is dropped when the marker is added. If it
is impossible to indicate alternants in one formula of this kind, double slashes can be
used to separate them, i.e. {-w//-(Ø)Ụ²w} (Abish 2016: 141).

2. The syntactic functions of the complement clauses

Complement clauses based on the complementizer {-Ụ²w} have various syntactic
functions in their matrix clause. They often function as a core argument of a matrix
clause, i.e. as a subject, a direct object, an indirect object, an oblique object or a
complement of a postposition. According to Dixon (2005, 2006, 2010), the basic
property of the non-finite complement clauses is that they contain basic internal
constituent structure like main clauses do.

The following examples show that Kazakh complement clauses based on {-Ụ²w}
function as arguments of a matrix predicate.

(1)   a. Subject
        ʷOnïŋ   kel-ụ̈w-ĭ   *menĭ   ķattĭ   taŋ ķal-dïr-dï.*
        X.GEN   come-AN-POSS3   I.ACC   very   surprise-CAUS-DI.PST3SG
        'His arrival surprised me very much.'

        b. Direct object
        ʸerteŋ   bĭz-dĭŋ   üy-ge   kel-ĭp   kĭtáp   ǰumĭs-ĭ-n
        tomorrow   we-GEN   house-DAT come-CONV   book   affair-POSS3-ACC
        ĭste-w-ĭ-n   *ümĭt   ʸet-etĭn-ĭm-dĭ*   *ayt-tï-m.*
        do-AN-POSS3-ACC   hope   DO.LIGHTV-ATIN.AN-POSS1SG-ACC   tell-DI.PST-1SG
        'I told him that I hope that he will come to our house tomorrow and design the cover of
        the book.' (Pamuk 2012: 160)

3. Choice of the complementizer {-Ụ²w}

Several linguists have classified Turkish complement-taking predicates according to
what complementizers they select; see Lees (1965), Kiparsky & Kiparsky (1970),
Kornfilt (2007), Csató (1990) and (2010), Johanson (2013), Karakoç (2013), Kara-
koç & Herkenrath (2016). It will be discussed here whether the semantic properties
characterizing Turkish predicates selecting the infinitival type of complementizer
also apply for Kazakh complement-taking predicates selecting {-Ụ²w}.

The semantic classification of predicates in this study is essentially inspired by the framework described in Dixon (2005, 2006) and Dixon & Aikhenvald (2006: 10–13). Dixon groups the lexical words of a language into a number of semantic types, each of which has a common meaning component and a typical set of grammatical properties. In our classification we have chosen the following parameters: (1) the meaning of the predicate, (2) the choice of complementizer, and (3) the case assigned to the complement.

We have defined types and subtypes of predicates sharing properties with respect to these parameters. All the types discussed here can take {-U²w} as complementizer.

1. DECIDING verbs. DECIDING verb types are divided into three subtypes:

(i) The RESOLVE subtype includes verbs meaning 'to decide', 'to determine', and assign the dative to the complement.

Kazakh	English translation
beḳị-	'to decide'
češịm ǰasa-	'to determine', 'to decide'

(ii) The CHOOSE subtype includes verbs meaning 'to choose', 'to vote', etc. The Kazakh verb *taŋda-* 'to vote', assigns the accusative.

Kazakh	English translation
taŋda-	'to choose'

(iii) The VOTE subtype includes verbs such as *sayła-* and *dawụs ber-* 'to vote', which assign the dative.

Kazakh	English translation
sayła-	'to vote'
dawụs ber-	'to vote'

2. LIKING verbs. LIKING verb types include the following subtypes:

(i) The LIKE type includes verbs meaning 'to like', 'to love', 'to hate', 'to prefer', etc., which assign the accusative to their complement.

Kazakh	English translation
ǰaḳsị kör-	'to like'
ụnat-	'to prefer', 'to like'
süy-	'to love'
ǰek kör-	'to hate', 'to abhor', 'to dislike'

ḳaḏïrle-   'to treasure'
maḳuḻda-   'to approve of'

(ii) The ADMIRE type includes verbs meaning 'to admire', 'to value', 'to regret', 'to approve of', etc. They assign the dative to their complement. See example (16) for the use of the verb *süyün-* 'to admire'.

Kazakh	English translation
taŋdan-	'to be astonished at'
süyün-	'to admire'
ḳayran ḳaḻ-	'to admire'
tabïn-	'to worship'
ḳïzïḳ-	'to be interested in'
ḳosïḻ-	'to approve of'
maḳuḻ boḻ-	'to approve of'

3. ANNOYING verbs such as 'to fear', 'to be scared', 'to be terrified', etc. take ablative complements.

Kazakh	English translation
ḳorïḳ-	'to fear'
čošï-	'to be scared'
üreylen-	'to be terrified'
aḻaŋda-	'to be worried'
zerïk-	'to be bored'
ǰiren-	'to be disgusted'
čàršà-	'to be tired'

4. MODAL predicates including modal words such as 'probable', 'possible', 'uncertain' tend to take complements in the nominative. The complements function as the subject, and the sentence is often impersonal. See example (15), where *mïndettï-* 'obligatory' occurs.

Kazakh	English translation
ïḳtimaḻ	'probable'
mümkïn	'possible'
naγaybïḻ	'uncertain'
sözsïz	'necessary', 'undoubted'
belgïsïz	'uncertain'
ʸekïtaḻay	'uncertain', 'doubtful'

mịndettị	'obligatory'

5. BEGINNING verb types can have three subtypes:

(i) Verbs meaning 'to start', 'to begin', 'to approach', etc. assign dative to their complements. One exception is the verb *basta-* 'to start', which can take both accusative- and dative-marked complements.

Kazakh	English translation
basta-	'to begin'
bet aḷ-	'to start'
kịrịs-	'to start to work'
az ḳaḷ-	'to be near to'
ịŋɣayḷan-	'to be about to', 'to prepare'
taya-	'to approach'

(ii) Verbs meaning 'to continue', 'to go on', 'to prolong', etc. require comple-ments in the accusative.

Kazakh	English translation
ǰaḷɣastịr-	'to continue'
soz-	'to prolong'
kịịt-	'to wait', 'to expect'

(iii) Verbs meaning 'to stop', 'to finish', 'to end', etc. assign the accusative.

Kazakh	English translation
toḳtat-	'to stop'
doɣar-	'to cease'
ayaḳtastịr-	'to finish', 'to end'
aḳịrḷastịr-	'to complete', 'to finish'
tịịget-	'to finish', 'to complete'
tasta-	'to discontinue', 'to quit'
ḳoy-	'to stop', 'to leave'

6. TRYING verb types can have four subtypes:
(i) Verbs meaning 'to try', 'to strive', etc. take dative complements.

Kazakh	English translation
tịrịs-	'to try', 'to attempt'
ụmtụḷ-	'to strive for'

boy ųr-   'to strive for', 'to be interested in'

(ii) Verbs meaning 'to succeed', 'to finish', 'to manage', etc. One group of these verbs, such as *tįndįr-, bįtįr-*, etc. assign the accusative. The other type, such as *ǰeŋske ǰet-, nàtiǰelį bol-*, take locative complements.

Kazakh	English translation
ǰeŋske ǰet-	'to succeed in'
nàtiǰelį bol-	'to succeed in'
tįndįr-	'to manage', 'to finish'
bįtįr-	'to finish', 'to manage'

(iii) Verbs meaning 'to miss doing', 'to fail to do', etc. take ablative complements.

Kazakh	English translation
ķųr ķal-	'to miss doing'
ķaɣïs ķal-	'to miss doing'
ǰeŋil-	'to fail to do'

(iv) Verbs meaning 'to practice', 'to repeat', 'to be familiar with', etc. assign the dative. An exception is *ķaytala-*, which assigns the accusative.

Kazakh	English translation
ǰattïķ-	'to practice'
mašïķ-	'to practice', 'to be familiar with'
ķaytala-	'to repeat'
ųyųrles-	'to be familiar with'
ųyųrlen-	'to get used'

7. WANTING verbs contain following four subtypes:
(i) Verbs meaning 'to wish', 'to desire', 'to want', 'to hope', etc. take accusative complements. See example (9) and (6), where *dàrïpte-* and *tįle-* occur.

Kazakh	English translation
kökse-	'to desire', 'to crave'
tįle-	'to wish', 'to desire'
ķala-	'to want', 'to wish'
armanda-	'to hope', 'to aim at'
ųmųt^y et-	'to hope'
aŋsa-	'to hope', 'to wish'
dàrïpte-	'to advocate', 'to maintain', 'to emphasize'

(ii) Verbs meaning 'to order', 'to demand', etc. also assign the accusative. See example (13).

Kazakh	English translation
bụyụr-	'to order'
tapsịr-	'to order', 'to demand'

(iii) Verbs meaning 'to need', 'to ask', 'to require', etc., and those meaning 'to expect', 'to request', 'to ask', etc., assign the accusative to their complements.

Kazakh	English translation
ḳajet ʸet-	'to need'
ʷötịn-	'to ask', 'to require', 'to beg'
sụra-	'to ask', 'to require'
kụ̈t-	'to await'
közde-	'to anticipate'
tos-	'to await'
taɫap ʸet-	'to request', 'to ask'
ụsụnụs ʸet-	'to suggest'

(iv) Verbs meaning 'to aim', 'to plan', etc. Such Kazakh verbs take accusative-marked complements. Two exceptions are the verbs *maḳsattan-* 'to aim' and *dayịndaɫ-* 'to prepare', which take dative complements.

Kazakh	English translation
maḳsattan-	'to aim'
dayịndaɫ-	'to prepare'
josparɫa-	'to plan'

8. POSTPONING verbs include verbs meaning 'to delay', 'to postpone', 'to avoid', etc. One group of the Kazakh verbs such as *soz-, ụzart-* assign the accusative, and another group of verbs such as *keš ḳaɫ-, saḳtan-, taysaḳta-, ḳaš-,* the ablative.

Kazakh	English translation
keš ḳaɫ-	'to delay'
soz-	'to postpone'
ụzart-	'to defer'
saḳtan-	'to avoid'
taysaḳta-	'to avoid'
ḳaš-	'to run', 'to avoid'
ḳašḳaɫaḳta-	'to keep away', 'to avoid'

9. MAKING verb types can have four subtypes:
(i) Verbs meaning 'to force', 'to cause', etc. require dative-marked complements. One exception is the verb *keltịrịp čĭɣar-*, which takes accusative-marked complements.

Kazakh	English translation
ịytermele-	'to force'
zorła-	'to force'
màjbŭrle-	'to force', 'to constrain'
kịsta-	'to force'
ayda-	'to drive'
keltịrịp čĭɣar-	'to cause'
sebep boł-	'to cause'

(ii) Verbs meaning 'to agree', 'to allow', etc. also take dative-marked complements.

Kazakh	English translation
^{u}*rŭxsat*^{y}*et-*	'to permit'
joł ber-	'to allow'
ḳosịl-	'to allow', 'to agree'

(iii) Verbs meaning 'to prevent', 'to stop', 'to save', etc. require the ablative.

Kazakh	English translation
tos-	'to prevent'
böge-	'to stop'
toḳtat-	'to let stop', 'to let prevent'
ḳutḳar-	'to save'
bosat-	'to release'
azat^y*et-*	'to rescue'
aman ḳał-	'to be safe'

(iv) Verbs 'to spare', 'to ensure', etc. assign the dative.

Kazakh	English translation
ḳoya ber-	'to spare'
kepịldịk ber-	'to ensure'
wàde ber-	'to guarantee', 'to promise'
söz ber-	'to promise'

10. HELPING verbs such as 'to help', 'to assist', etc. take dative complements.

Kazakh	English translation
kömektes-	'to help'
ǰardemdes-	'to help'
ʸes ḵat-	'to assist'
ḵolḵabïs ʸet-	'to aid', 'to help'

4. Semantic differences between the complementizers

Some of these complement-taking predicates can also select the complementizers {-G⁴A²n} and {-A²tĮ²n//-ytĮ²n}. Complements constructed with these express viewpoint-aspect values. {-G⁴A²n} renders a postterminal [+POST] and {-A²tĮ²n//-ytĮ²n} an intraterminal [+INTRA] meaning (Johanson 2000: 76–135). The complementizer {-Ų²w} is not capable of expressing viewpoint-aspect values. See examples (2), (3) and (4).

(2) *Men Aray-dïŋ   kel-üw-ï-n*   *unat-pa-dï-m.*
     I   Aray-GEN   come-UW.AN-POSS3-ACC   like-NEG-DI.PST-1SG
     'I don't like Aray's coming.'

(3) *Men Aray-dïŋ   kel-gen-ï-n*   *unat-pa-dï-m.*
     I   Aray-GEN   come-GAN.AN-POSS3-ACC   like-NEG-DI.PST-1SG
     'I don't like [the fact] that Aray has come.'

(4) *Men Aray-dïŋ   kel-etïn-ï-n*   *unat-pa-dï-m.*
     I   Aray-GEN   come-ATIN.AN-POSS3-ACC like-NEG-DI.PST-1SG
     'I don't like [the fact] that Aray will come.'

These examples illustrate that the complementizers {-G⁴A²n} and {-A²tĮ²n//-ytĮ²n} render the meaning "knowledge of a possible fact". According to Zhang, the element {-D²Į²K²} can be omitted in spoken registers (2004: 325). Example (5) expresses a proposition with a possible truth value.

(5) *Men Aray-dïŋ   kel-etïn-dïg-ï-n*   *unat-pa-dï-m.*
     I   Aray-GEN   come-ATIN.AN-DIK-POSS3-ACC like-NEG-DI.PST-1SG
     'I don't like [the fact] that Aray will come.'

In the following example (6), the complement clause in {-Ų²w} in combination with a WANTING verb does not express a proposition with a possible truth value, and thus it corresponds to Turkish {-mA²}.

(6) *ʷOł   u̜rapaɣ-ï̇-nïŋ*   *bołašaɣ-ï̇-nïŋ*   *ǰarïk̦*
     X   descendent-POSS3-GEN   future-POSS3-GEN   bright
     boł-u̜w-ï̇-n.   *ti̜le-y-t.*
     BOL.COP-UW.AN-POSS3-ACC   wish-PRES-3SG
     'X wishes that the future of his/her children should be bright.'   (Abish 2016: 232)

5. The semantic interpretations of {-U̜²w}-clauses

Complement clauses based on the complementizer {-U̜²w} may convey different semantic interpretations depending on the meaning of the complement-taking predicate: (i) modality, which is either epistemic (concerned with possibility and necessity) or deontic (concerned with permission and obligation); (ii) manner or way, in which case the complement clause is translatable into English as a *how* clause; (iii) evaluation; (iv) purpose.

5.1 Modal interpretation of complement clauses in {-U̜²w}

Complement clauses based on {-U̜²w} can express both epistemic and deontic modality. According to Abish (2016: 122–125), dative-marked complement clauses in {-U̜²w} are used together with the verb *bu̜yu̜r-* 'to order'. Lexical verbs such as *ʷötịn-* 'to ask', *su̜ra-* 'to ask', 'to request', and the phrasal verb *u̜su̜nu̜s ʸet-* 'to suggest' are complement-taking predicates for expressing request and suggestion. In order to express someone's wish, the accusative-marked complement clause in {-U̜²w} is used in the argument position associated with the matrix verbs *ti̜le-* 'to wish', 'to desire', *ümu̜t ʸet-* 'to hope', *k̦ala-* 'to want', 'to wish', etc. To express necessity, possibility, obligation and permission, other predicates are used. Abish states (2016: 126–133) that necessity is expressed by the combination of a complement in {-U̜²w} and an adjectival operator such as *k̦aǰet, tiyi̜s, kerek* 'needed', 'necessary'. Possibility is expressed by the verb *boł-* 'to be' together with a dative-marked complement clause with {-U̜²w}. The passive of the phrasal verbs *joł ber-* 'to allow', *ʷruk̦sat ʸet-* 'to permit' take complements with {-U̜²w} in the dative. The complement of the lexical verb *mi̜ndetti̜-* 'to obligate' is based on {-U̜²w} and stands in the dative.

Possibility

(7) *Tawar-łar-dï̇   ʸerteŋ   kel-i̜p   kör-u̜w-ge,   baɣa-sï̇n-a*
     product-PL-ACC tomorrow   come-IP.CONV   see-UW.AN-DAT   price-POSS3-DAT
     keli̜s-u̜w-ge   boł-a-dï̇.
     agree-UW.AN-DAT   BOL.COP-PRES-3
     'It is possible for you to come and see the product, and agree on its price tomorrow.'

Necessity

(8)   *Tïl-iŋ-di*   *ḳadïrle-se-ŋ*   *ʷon-da*   *ʷöz*
     language-POSS2SG-ACC   respect-COND-POSS2SG   X-LOC   self
     ụlt-ụŋ-nïŋ   *ʷöz-ị*   *naḳ*   *tụnụḳ* *tïl-ị-men*
     nation-POSS2SG-GEN self-POSS3 exactly purely language-POSS3-WITH.POSTP
     söyle-w-ge   *daɣdïlan-ụw*   *kerek*   *ḳoy*   *adam-dar.*
     speak-UW.AN-DAT   get.used to-UW.AN   necessary PART   man-PL
     'If you respect your language, then your nation itself must get used to speaking it precisely and purely, mustn't they?' (Abish 2016: 225)

When the complement-taking predicates are *ḳaǰet, tiyịs, kerek* 'needed', 'necessary', the complement clause is used impersonally in spoken registers, and thus no possessive suffix is attached.

(9)   *Sonïŋ*   *ụšụn*   *ibalï*   *boł-ụw*   *kerek-tị*
     that.GEN for.POSTP courteous BOL.COP-UW.AN   necessary-ACC
     dàripte-y-mịz.
     advocate-PRES-1PL
     'Therefore we maintain that it is necessary to be courteous.' (Abish 2016: 238)

In written registers, *kerek-tịg-ị-n* [necessary-DIK-POSS3-ACC] or *kerek ʸe-ken-dịg-ị-n* [necessary EKEN-DIK-POSS3-ACC] is used; see (10). The use of *ʸeken* with the suffix {-D²Ị²K²} and the third-person possessive suffix *-ị* is optional. The suffix {-D²Ị²K²} has developed from combinations with the copula verb *er-* 'to be'. Kazakh written registers have preserved *ʸekendik*, which contains this {-D²Ị²K²} (Johanson 1998: 60).

(10) *Sonïŋ*   *ụšụn*   *ibalï*   *boł-ụw*   *kerek-tịg-ị-n* /
     that.GEN for.POSTP courteous BOL.COP-UW.AN   necessary-DIK-POSS3-ACC/
     kerek   *ʸe-ken-dịk-ị-n*   *dàripte-y-mịz.*
     necessary EKEN-DIK-POSS3-ACC   advocate-PRES-1PL
     'Therefore we maintain that it is necessary to be courteous.'

Necessity expressed with modal adjectives such as *ḳažet, kerek, tiyịs* 'needed', 'necessary' is often used impersonally in Kazakh (Abish 2016: 126). These predicates select the complementizer {-Ư²w} to describe an expected or recommended behavior or expected circumstance. If the complement clause has an overt subject, it is optionally assigned either the nominative or the genitive. However, due to the contact influence of Russian, the dative-marked subject is preferred in Kazakh spoken in Kazakhstan. See the differences between (11) and (12).

(11)   Kazakh as spoken in Kazakhstan
       Maɣan   üy-ge   soɣ-a ket-üw   kerek.
       I.DAT   house-DAT drop.in-UW.AN   necessary
       'It is necessary for me to drop in at home.'   (KG: 679)

(12)   Kazakh as spoken in China
       Meniŋ   üy-ge   soɣ-a ket-üw-im   kerek.
       I.GEN   house-DAT drop.in-UW.AN-POSS1SG   necessary
       'I have to drop in at home.'

According to Johanson (2013: 83), the complementizer {-mA^2} in Turkish does not render any modal meanings. It is the context that conveys the modal meaning that the action expressed in the complement clause "shall or should be carried out". In this respect, Kazakh complement clauses based on {-Ʊ^{2}w} correspond to Turkish ones based on {-mA^2}. See (13).

(13)   *Aman-ɣa   meni   küt-üw-i-n   tapsïr-dï-m.*
       Aman-DAT   I.ACC   wait-UW.AN-POSS3-ACC   order-DI.PST-1SG
       'I asked Aman to wait for me. / I told Aman that he should wait for me.'

Permission

In (14), the predicate expressing permission, *boł-a-dï,* takes a dative-marked complement clause.

(14)   *Kir-üw-iŋ-e   boł-a-dï.*
       enter-UW.AN-POSS2SG-DAT   BOL.COP-PRES-3SG
       'It is possible for you to come in. / You can come in.'

Obligation

In (15), the predicate expressing obligation also requires dative marking of the complement clause.

(15)   *Tapsïrma-nï   ᵂorïnda-uw-ɣa   mïndetti-miz.*
       homework-ACC   execute-UW.AN-DAT obligate-POSS1PL
       'It is obligatory for us to do the homework. / We have to do the homework.'

5.2 Manner interpretation

Complement clauses can be employed to express in what manner the action is to be carried out, and can be translated with English *how* clauses. See (16).

(16)   *ᵂOnïŋ   kitap   ᵂok-uw-ï   biz-di   süyün-dir-di.*
       X.GEN   book   read-UW.AN-POSS3 we-ACC   be.happy-CAUS-DI.PST3
       'It made us happy [to see] how X read books.'

The meaning of this construction indicates that the manner or way of carrying out an action is evaluated by someone. When the noun *màner* 'manner' is inserted between the complement clause and the direct object, the construction conveys the same meaning. See (17).

(17) *ʷOnïŋ   ḳïtap   ʷoḳ-ųw   màner-ï   bïz-dï*
      X.GEN   book   read-UW.AN   manner-POSS3 we-ACC
      sɥyɥn-dïr-dï.
      be.happy-CAUS-DI.PST3
      'It made us happy [to see] how X read books.'

In following example, the complement clauses express manner. See (18).

(18) *ʸEndï   ḳazïr   małčarʷwašïlïḳ   ḳʲstaḳ-tar-ï-nïŋ*
      now   present   cattle-breeding   village-PL-POSS3-GEN
      bųrųn-ɣa   ḳara-ɣan-da   ʷoḳï-t-ųw   bała
      formerly-DAT   look.at-GAN.AN-LOC study-CAUS-UW.AN   child
      ʷoḳï-t-ųw   bołašaḳ-tï   ʷoyla-w-ɣa   közžïber-ɥw
      study-CAUS-UW.AN   future-ACC   think-UW.AN-DAT   look-UW.AN
      bųrųn-ɣï-day   ʸemes   ǰaxsar-dï.
      formerly-GI-EQUA   not   improve-DI.PST3
      'And now the present cattle-breeding villages…compared to the past, the education, the education of children, and how they think about the future, (these things) are not like before, they have improved.' (Abish 2016: 196)

5.3 Evaluation

According to Csató (2010: 115), when the Turkish adjective *doğru* 'true', 'good', 'appropriate' appears with the Turkish complementizer {-D²Ï⁴K²}, the adjective reads as 'true'. With the complementizer {-mA²}, the construction gets an evaluative interpretation like 'good', 'appropriate'. This phenomenon is also observed in Kazakh. The adjective *dųrųs* 'correct', 'right', 'appropriate' can select both complementizers. In (19) it has an evaluative meaning.

(19) *Sïylïḳ-tï   bųl   ʷoḳuwšï-ɣa   ber-ɥw   dųrųs   ʸemes.*
      award-ACC   this   student-DAT   give-UW.AN   right   not
      'It is not appropriate to give the award to this student.'

The complement clause in {-Ų²w} in example (19) can be replaced by {-G⁴A²n}. In this case, the meaning is changed such that the correctness of the proposition is denied by *dųrųs ʸemes* 'is not correct'. See (20).

(20) *Sïylïḳ-tï   bųl   ʷoḳuwšï-ɣa   ber-gen   dųrųs   ʸemes.*
      award-ACC   this   student-DAT   give-GAN.AN   right   not
      'It is not correct that the award was/has been given to this student..'

A similar semantic difference obtains between (21) and (22), in which the complementizer $\{-G^4A^2n\}$ has been replaced by $\{-U^2w\}$.

(21) *Seniŋ*   *bṵlay*   *ayt-ḳan-ïŋ*   *dṵrṵs*   *ʸemes.*
      you.GEN   this   say-GAN.AN-POSS.2SG   right   not
      'What you have said is not true.'

(22) *Seniŋ*   *bṵlay*   *ayt-ṵw-ïŋ*   *dṵrṵs*   *ʸemes.*
      you.GEN this   say-UW.AN-POSS.2SG   right   not
      'The way you say this is not right.'

5.4 Purpose

Dik (1997: 150) states that one of the semantic functions of infinitival embedded constructions is to express purpose. Kazakh complement clauses in $\{-U^2w\}$ also have such a function. See (23) and (24).

(23) *Germaniya-ɣa*   *ʷoḳ-ṵw-ɣa*   *kel-dị-m.*
      Germany-DAT   study-UW.AN-DAT   come-DI.PST-1SG
      'I have come/came to Germany to study.'

(24) *ʷOsï-łar-dïŋ bàrị*   *ḳïy-mas*   *sṵłṵwłịḳ*   *ʸeken-ị-n*
      this-PL-GEN   all   cut-NEG.AOR   beauty   EKEN-POSS3-ACC
      ʸes-ịŋịz-ge   *sał-ṵw-dï*   *közde-gen.*
      memory-POSS2SG-DAT   place-UW.AN-ACC   target-POSTT3
      'It aimed to remind you that all of these are [instances of] precious beauty.' (Pamuk 2012: 29)

The complement clause in (23) has the same interpretation as the clause based on the converb in $\{-G^4A^2L^2I^2\}$ in (25). Both clauses are used to indicate purpose.

(25) *Germaniya-ɣa*   *ʷoḳï-ɣałï*   *kel-dị-m.*
      Germany-DAT   study-GALI.CONV   come-DI.PST-1SG
      'I have come/came to Germany to study.'

The complementizer $\{-U^2w\}$ with the postposition *üšün* 'for', 'for the sake of', 'in order to' is used in purposive or causal non-finite clauses. The complementizer $\{-U^2w\}$ in the dative also has a purposive interpretation. Compare (23) with (26).

(26) *Germaniya-ɣa*   *ʷoḳ-ṵw*   *üšün*   *kel-dị-m.*
      Germany-DAT   study-UW.AN   for   come-DI.PST-1SG
      'I have come/came to Germany to study.'

It is worth mentioning that, according to Abish (2016: 148–149), the verbal noun {-M³A²K²}, which is restricted to older literary texts and petrified expressions, can be used to express intention in complement clauses. See (27).

(27) *Germaniya-ɣa*   *bar-maḳ*   ᵂ*oy-ị̈-n*   *ụnat-pa-dï-m.*
      Germany-DAT   go-MAK.AN   idea-POSS3-ACC   like-NEG-DI.PST-1SG
      'I don't not like his intention to go to Germany.'

The corresponding clause in {-Ụ²w} does not express the meaning 'to intend'; see (28).

(28) *Germaniya-ɣa*   *bar-ụw*   ᵂ*oy-ị̈-n*   *ụnat-pa-dï-m.*
      Germany-DAT   go-UW.AN   idea-POSS3-ACC   like-NEG-DI.PST-1SG
      'I don't like his idea of going to Germany.'

6. The function of the quotative particle *degen*

The combination of the emphatic particle *degen* with an action nominal in {-Ụ²w} in the dative and certain types of abstract nouns can function as a compound complementizer. The quotative particle *degen* does not have any lexical meaning in such constructions. It is only used to highlight the dative-marked complementizer {-Ụ²w} (Zhang 2003: 367, Muhamedowa 2011: 266). The particle *degen* is followed by an abstract noun denoting emotion or feeling, such as *senim* 'trust', *ịntị̣ḳtị̣ḳ* 'passion', *ḳụštarlị̣ḳ* 'interest'. The whole construction expresses the meaning 'to have the passion or interest to do something'. In certain cases, *degen* can be omitted without a change of meaning. In some constructions, the use of *degen* is obligatory.

(29) ᵂ*Onị̣ŋ*   *ị̣š-ị̣n-de,*   *àrine,*   *bị̣lay-ɣị̈*   *zaman-ɣa,*
      X.GEN   inside-POSS3-LOC   of course   such-GI   epoch-DAT
      ᵂ*onda-ɣị̈*   *geroy-łar-ɣa*   *bołašaḳ*   *ụrpaɣ-ị̣mị̣z-ɣa,*
      that-GI   hero-PL-DAT   future   generation-POSS1PL-DAT
      ᵂ*ołar-dị̣ŋ*   *bị̣l-ị̣p*   *ḳał-ụw-ị̈-na*   *degen*
      they-GEN   know-IP.CONV   STAY.AUX-UW.AN-POSS3-DAT   DEGEN
      ị̣zgị̣   *ị̣ntị̣ḳ*   *ta bar.*
      kind   passion   too existing
      'Among them, of course, there is also a kind of passion about such a time, about its heroes, about our next generation, about the memory of them.' (Žanbolatov 2011: 5)

In the following example (30), the use of *degen* is optional. Although constructions without *degen* are in certain cases grammatical, it is more usual and acceptable to use it.

(30) *Üyren-üw-ge*   *degen* *senim-im*   *art-a*   *tüs-ti.*
       study-UW.AN-DAT   DEGEN trust-POSS1SG increase-A.CONV fall-DI.PST3SG
       'My trust in studying has increased.'

In some cases, a corresponding construction is possible with the copula *bołγan*. For example, instead of *üyrenüwge degen senimim,* the expression *üyrenüwge bołγan senimim* 'my trust in studying' can be used. Example (30) can be paraphrased as (31).

(31) *Üyren-üw-ge*   *boł-γan*   *senim-im*   *art-a*
       study-UW.AN-DAT   BOL.COP-GAN.AN   trust-POSS1SG increase-A.CONV
       tüs-ti.
       fall-DI.PST3SG
       'My trust in studying has increased.'

7. Conclusion

This paper presents the complementizer $\{-U^2w\}$ in Kazakh as spoken in China and illustrates the syntactic functions of complement clauses based on it. The semantic classification of the complement taking predicates is in several respects inspired by the framework establised by R. M. W. Dixon. The predicates are classified along three parameters: (1) the meaning of the predicate, (2) the choice of the complementizer, and (3) the case assigned to the complement. While Kazakh predicates can also select the complementizers $\{-G^3A^2n\}$ and $\{-A^2t\ I^2n//-ytI^2n\}$, which are used in propositions capable of expressing a truth value, the complementizer $\{-U^2w\}$ builds embedded predications lacking this illocutional force. It is investigated how four types of semantic notions are expressed together with the complementizer $\{-U^2w\}$: (1) epistemic and deontic modality, (2) manner, (3) evaluation, and (4) purpose. It is also studied how combinations of the emphatic particle *degen* with the complementizer $\{-U^2w\}$ are used.

Abbreviations

1	first person	GAN.AN	action noun in $\{-G^4A^2n\}$
2	second person	GAN.POSTT	post-terminal in $\{-G^4A^2n\}$
3	third person	GEN	genitive
A.CONV	converb in $\{-A^2//-y\}$	GI	adjectival derivational suffix $\{-G^4I^2\}$
ABL	ablative	INTRAT	intraterminal viewpoint
ACC	accusative	IP.CONV	converb in $\{-(I^4)p\}$
AN	action nominal	LIE.AUX	*jat-* 'to lie' used as an auxiliary
AOR	aorist	LOC	locative

ATIN.AN	action nominal in {-A²t‌Į²n//-ytĮ²n}	MAK.AN	action nominal in {-M³A²K²}
AUX	auxiliary	NEG	negation
BE.COP	defective copula 'to be'	NOW.FILL	^{y}endi 'now' used as a filler
BOL.COP	copula boł- 'to become, be'	PART	participle
CAUS	causative	PASS	passive
CONV	converb	PL	plural
COP	copula	POSS	possessive
DAT	dative	POSTT	postterminal viewpoint
DI.PST	past tense in {-D²Į²}	PRES	intraterminal present tense
DIK	the suffix {-D²Į²K²}	REF	reflexive
DO.LIGHT	^{y}et- 'to do' used as a light verb	SG	singular
EKEN	copula ^{y}eken	STAY.AUX	qał- 'to stay' used as an auxiliary
EQUA	equative	UW.AN	action nominal in {-W//-(∅)Ʉ²w}
FILL	filler	WITH.POSTP	postposition M^3en/M^3enen 'with'
GALI.CONV	converb in {-G⁴A²L²Į²}		

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