

Functional Interpretation of the Suffix {-L³I²K²} in Complement Clauses in Kazakh in Comparative Perspectives with Uyghur

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ABSTRACT

In most Turkic languages, especially in the Kipchak and Karluk groups, there are two homogenous suffixes {-L³I²K²}. Firstly, there is a derivational suffix that can be added after adjectives to yield nouns, or vice versa. Secondly, there is an inflectional suffix {-L³I²K²} that is employed in non-finite predicates of complement clauses, both as a part of nominal predicates and as a part of verbal ones. In Kazakh, which belongs to the Kipchak branch of Turkic languages, the inflectional suffix {-L³I²K²} follows the action nominals {-G⁴A²n} and {-A²tI²n//-ytI²n} in dependent verbal predicate position. In such cases, the non-finite suffix {-L³I²K²} has various functions. First of all, verbal predicates of the complement clauses can be optionally inflected by {-L³I²K²} after the subordinators {-G⁴A²n} and {-A²tI²n//-ytI²n}. The usage of the suffix {-L³I²K²} in such constructions is usually optional. However, it influences the semantics of the respective complement clauses. In addition, the non-finite marker {-L³I²K²} can affect control relations in such complement clauses, and the choice of the subordinators. Moreover, nominal subordinate predicates of complement clauses can either be directly marked by the suffix {-L³I²K²} or be followed by the non-finite copular verbal form *ʷekendik*, which contains the copular *ʷe-* ‘to be’, the post-terminal marker {-G⁴A²n} and the action nominal {-L³I²K²}. The present paper intends to investigate the functions of the inflectional suffix {-L³I²K²} in non-finite complement clauses in Kazakh, and compare its properties with the equivalent marker {-liK²} in Uyghur.

Keywords: Suffix {-L³I²K²}, Complement clauses, Verbal and nominal subordinate predicates, Functions, Kazakh, Uyghur

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1. Introduction

In most Turkic languages, especially in the Kipchak and Karluk groups, there are two homonymous suffixes $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$. Firstly, there is a derivational suffix that can be added after adjective or noun stems to build abstract nouns or, after noun stems to build adjectives (see Gadzhieva & Serebrennikov, 1986, s. 121; 140–141). See nouns formed from adjective or noun stems: Kazakh *ǰaksı* ‘good’ > *ǰaksılıǰ* ‘goodness’, *suluw* ‘beautiful’ > *suluwlıǰ* ‘beauty’, *dos* ‘friend’ > *dostılıǰ* ‘friendship’, *bala* ‘child’ > *balalıǰ* ‘childhood’; see adjectives formed from noun stems: Kazakh *mezgil* ‘season’ > *mezgildik* ‘seasonal’, *qoyam* ‘society’ > *qoyamdıǰ* ‘social’, *waqit* ‘time’ > *waqittik* ‘temporary’. Secondly, there is an action nominal suffix $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ employed both in nominal and verbal non-finite predicates of complement clauses (CC). In dependent verbal predicates, the suffix $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ follows the action nominal suffixes $\{-G^4A^2n\}$ and $\{-A^2tI^2n//ytI^2n\}$ yielding $\{-G^4A^2ndI^2K^2\}$ and $\{-A^2tI^2ndI^2K^2//ytI^2ndI^2K^2\}$ forms. In them, $\{-G^4A^2n\}$ and $\{-A^2tI^2n//ytI^2n\}$ are the operators of post-terminal and intra-terminal viewpoint-aspects respectively, and $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ is employed as an additional action nominal marker. The appearance of $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ is often optional; see a Kazakh example (1).

- (1) *Seniñ daxue-ge wöt-e*
you.GEN university-DAT pass-CONV
al-atün-(diy)-iñ-a sen-e-miñ.
TAKE.POSTV-AN-(LIK)-POSS2SG-DAT trust-PRES-1SG
‘I believe that you (really) will be able to pass the entrance examination to a university.’

Regarding the origin of $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ used in complement clauses, there are controversial opinions among the scholars. We accept the opinion of Lars Johanson (Johanson, 1998, s. 60; 2021, s. 865) who states that the suffix $\{-LIK\}$ goes back to the form *är-* ‘to be’ plus $\{-DIK\}$, which appears in the form of *i-düG-ü* that goes back to *i-* ‘to be’ plus the action nominal suffix $\{-DIK\}$ in Old Ottoman and Middle Ottoman. That form could be attached to a nominal; e.g. *qanda-y-duy-u* <where-COP.PART-AN-POSS3>; apparently, from **qanda i-dig-i* <where be-AN-POSS3>. In modern Turkish, it is preserved in the fixed form of *ne idüğü belirsiz* ‘unclear what it is’. Johanson (2021, s. 748) further states that most Turkic languages use “an action nominal marker $\{-DIG\}$ or $\{-LIK\}$ for similar copular construction. Though some of its allomorphs may occasionally be homonymous with allomorphs of the Turkish $\{-DIG\}$, it is by no means identical to this marker, but includes a copular element, thus corresponding in function to Turkish <*olduğ-*>”. The Kazakh action nominal consisting of a post-terminal operator $\{-G^4A^2n\}$ or intra-terminal marker $\{-A^2tI^2n//ytI^2n\}$ plus the action nominal suffix $\{-LIK\}$ of a copular verb: $\{-G^4A^2n-dI^2K^2\}$ or $\{-A^2tI^2n-dI^2K^2//ytI^2n-dI^2K^2\}$, as well as the action nominal copular particle *ekendik*, belong to this type. Thus, the suffix $\{-LIK\}$ in several Turkic languages, in fact, is a rest of the nominal form $\{-DIG\}$ of the copular verb *e-/i-/är-* that got synthesized; compare the Turkish $\{-DIG\}$ that can be attached to the copular verb *ol-* ‘to be’ also synchronically. Notice that the suffix $\{-LIK\}$ should not be mixed with the modern Turkish action nominal $\{-DIK\}$ used in subordinate clauses.

There are also controversial arguments among Turkologists regarding the usage of this affix after viewpoint-aspect operators in dependent predicates, and their resulting semantics. Some Turkologists state that the usage of $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ truly affects the semantics of the complement clause, emphasizing the factiveness of the proposition expressed in it (Karakoç, 2017; Tohti, 2012; Abish & Jumabay, 2019); see (1). Others, however, claim that complement clauses with or without the suffix $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ on their dependent predicates have identical meanings and, thus, this suffix does not influence their semantics (De Jong, 2007; Tömür, 2003; Zhang, 2004).

Verbal complement predicates expressed by $\{-G^4A^2ndI^2K^2\}$ and $\{-A^2tI^2ndI^2K^2/-ytI^2ndI^2K^2\}$, must be followed by a possessive marker that signals the first argument of the CCs; moreover, the first argument is not co-referential with that of the superordinate clause. Such a phenomenon occurs if the CC serves as a core argument of the matrix predicate. Compare examples (2a-2c), where the usage of $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ affects the accuracy of the sentence in subject control and object control constructions.

- (2) a. *Men kītap †ođi-yan-di ĵaksī kör-e-mīn.*
I book read-AN-ACC like-PRES-1SG
'I like reading books.'
- b. **Men kītap †ođi-yan-diđ-ti ĵaksī kör-e-mīn.*
I book read-AN-LIK-ACC like-PRES-1SG
'Intended meaning: I like reading books.'
- c. *Men †onīđ kītap †ođi-yan-(diđ)-in ĵaksī kör-e-mīn.*
I X.GEN book read-AN-(LIK)-POSS3.ACC like-PRES-1SG
'I like [the fact] that he has read the book.'

In complement clauses with nominal predicates, $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ can be attached to various nominal stems, such as nouns, adjectives, pronouns, modal lexical items, as well as the adjectives *bar* 'existent' and *yok* 'non-existent'. The usage of dependent nominal predicates with $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ is different in Kazakh and Uyghur. Specifically, in the majority of environments, especially in colloquial language, the appearance of $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ after nouns or adjectives is not compulsory in Kazakh (3a). Contrary to this, in Uyghur, nominal predicates of complement clauses must be marked with the suffix $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$, otherwise the sentences containing them are ungrammatical (3b).

Kazakh:

- (3) a. *Üy-de kīm-niđ bar-in bīl-me-y-mīn.*
house-LOC who-GEN existent-POSS3.ACC know-NEG-PRES-1SG
'I do not know who is at home.'

Uyghur:

- b. *Ĵungo-niđ yuđum üst-i-din tez yālibā kīl-iř*
China-GEN epidemic above-POSS3-ABL quick succeed-VN

ıktıdar-i-niñ *bar-liñ-i-ya*
ability-POSS3-GEN existent-LIK-POSS3-DAT

işin-i-du. (CNR Uyghur: 04.03.2020)

trust-PRES-3

‘X believes China has the ability to quickly overcome the pandemic.’

Furthermore, both in Kazakh and Uyghur, dependent nominal predicates in CCs can take non-finite existential copular verbs *ye-/i-* (in the form *yekendik/ikänlik*) or *bol-* ‘to be, to become’ instead of $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$. The non-final copular marker *yekendik* also carries possessive and case morphology. The copular marker *yekendik* <E.COP-AN-LIK> *per se* does not have any semantic content; its function is to ensure that a nominal clause could act as a core argument of the predicate in the main clause. Again, the use of the suffix $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ in the copular element *yekendik* is optional in Kazakh, but it is compulsory in the Uyghur *ikänlik*. Some scholars argue that the suffix $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ used after nominal predicates is, in fact, a contracted form of *yekendik/ikänlik*. Hence, all the nominal complement predicates based on $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ can be replaced by nominal predicates with the copular *yekendik* or *ikänlik* without affecting the semantics of the referred propositions (Tömür, 2003; Tohti, 2012); see (4). The copulas *yekendik/ikänlik*, in their turn, are combinations of the $\{-G^4A^2n\}$ action nominal *eken* or *ikän* of the copular verb *ye-/i-* with its unattested in Kazakh and Uyghur $\{-DIK\}$ action nominal: *eken* or *ikän* + **yedik/*idik* giving *yekendik/ikänlik*.

Uyghur:

(4) a. *Yol-nuñ* *bunčilik* *uzun-liñ-i-ni* *bil-mä-pti-män.*
road-GEN this much long-LIK-POSS3-ACC know-NEG-INDIR-1SG
‘I apparently did not know that the road was so long.’

b. *Yol-nuñ* *bunčilik* *uzun* *ikän-liñ-i-ni*
road-GEN this much long NF.COP-LIK-POSS3-ACC
bil-mä-pti-män.
know-NEG-INDIR-1SG
‘I apparently did not know that the road was so long.’

In this paper, the functions of $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ in both nominal and verbal complement predicates, and the interpretations of the complement clauses with or without it will be investigated in comparative perspectives. Moreover, the influence of the suffix $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ on control relation in complement clauses, as well as the structurally equivalent complement clauses built by $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ are taken into consideration.

Data for written Kazakh are taken from written sources such as novels, local newspapers published in China while spoken Kazakh data are provided by the authors. Uyghur examples are mainly taken from official websites of the broadcasts, and some of spoken data are provided by the authors. All Kazakh examples are given in a Turkological transcription based on Johanson & Csato’s volume (Johanson, 1998; 2021). Uyghur examples are given in the standard Turkological transliteration, based on the Uyghur Arabic script *kona yezik* ‘old script’. The following abbreviations are used in notations of the morphophonemic suffix alternations in Kazakh and Uyghur.

{A ² }	=	<i>a, e</i>
{A ² //-y}	=	<i>a, e, y</i>
{G ⁴ }	=	<i>g, γ, k, k̄</i>
{I ² }	=	<i>i, ī</i>
{K ² }	=	<i>k, k̄</i>
{L ³ }	=	<i>l, d, t</i>
{U ² }	=	<i>u, ü</i>

In addition, the following abbreviations are also used in the paper:

CC	complement clause
CTP	complement taking predicate
CNR	China National Radio

2. {-L³I²K²} in verbal predicates

The copular action nominal marker in {-L³I²K²}¹ can be used in verbal and nominal predicates of complement clauses of some Turkic languages, especially of the Kipchak and Karluk groups. In verbal predicates, it can be used in the form of {-G⁴A²ndI²K²} and {-A²tI²ndI²K²//-ytI²ndI²K²} in Kazakh, in which the {-G⁴A²n} and {-A²tI²n//-ytI²n} are the operators of post-terminal and intra-terminal viewpoint, respectively. In such combination, the usage of {-L³I²K²} is optional. However, the usage of it can affect the semantics of the propositions they refer to. The dependent predicate based on {-G⁴A²ndI²K²} and {-A²tI²ndI²K²//-ytI²ndI²K²} must be followed by a possessive suffix that refers to the first argument of the complement clause; the complement clause and the main clause do not have co-referential first argument in such constructions. In nominal predicates, the noun stems either can be directly marked by {-L³I²K²}, or by the copular verbal form *ʷekendik* that contains the copular verb *e-* ‘to be’, the action nominal marker {-G⁴A²n}, and the suffix {-L³I²K²}. After nominal stems, the usage of {-L³I²K²} is obligatory in Kazakh in most cases. On the contrary, when the nominal stem is marked by the copular *ʷekendik*, the suffix {-L³I²K²} is optional, its usage does not affect the semantics of the propositions. In this section, the usage of the suffix {-L³I²K²} in verbal predicates will be discussed first.

2.1. Semantics of complement clauses expressed by {-L³I²K²}

Zhang (Zhang, 2004, s. 324) determines the suffix {-L³I²K²} in Kazakh as a “tense-aspect verbal noun (时体动名词)”. He claims that the marker {-L³I²K²} follows after the “experience-state aspect (经历—状态体)” marker {-G⁴A²n} to indicate experience-state aspect and past tense”, i.e. {-G⁴A²n} is an aspect marker and {-L³I²K²} is a tense marker. Likewise, the form {-L³I²K²} comes after “incomplete aspect (未结束体)” marker {-A²tI²n//-ytI²n} to refer to incomplete aspect and future tense, respectively. Zhang also argues that the suffix {-L³I²K²} is always dropped in the spoken register, but it tends to occur in the written register; see (5).

1 In Kazakh capital letter L³ has three alternations *l, d, t*. After vowels and *w, y, r* it is *l*; after voiced consonants *z, j, l, m, n, ŋ* it is *d*; after voiceless consonants *s, š, t, p, k, k̄* it is *t*. Whereas in Uyghur this suffix appears only in the form of {-liK²}. In this paper, the form {-L³I²K²} represents its variants in Kazakh, while {-liK²} refers to its usage in Uyghur. When the language is not-specified, the form {-LIK} is employed.

(5) a. ^yErlan-niñ *qayda* *ket-ken-(dïk)-in* *bil-e-siñ* *be?*
Erlan-GEN where go-AN-(LIK)-POSS3.ACC know-PRES-2SG Q
'Do you know where Erlan went?' (Zhang, 2004, s. 325)

b. ^wOniñ *qaşan* *kel-e* *al-atin-(diγ)-in* ^yeşkim
X.GEN when come-CONV take-AN-(LIK)-POSS3.ACC nobody
de *bil-me-y-dï.* (Zhang, 2004, s. 325)
also know-NEG-PRES-3
'Nobody knows when X can come.'

We have observed that the suffix {-L³I²K²} is employed very rarely even in the written language nowadays. In our data, the literature published after 1950² contains only a few complex sentences whose dependent predicates are built with the suffix {-L³I²K²}. Considering the publication time of the texts, this tendency is a recent development in the language. The following rare examples with non-finite predicates built with {-L³I²K²} are cited from a Ĵanbolatov's novel; see (6).

(6) a. *Guzada* *qatti* ^wobaldi *bol-γan-diγ-in*
Gulzada hard unjust BOL.COP-AN-LIK-POSS3.ACC
moyinda-t-iγ, *tübegeyli* *aqta-l-iγ,* *jumis-qa*
admit-CAUS-CONV complete defend-PASS-CONV job-DAT
^wornalas-kan. (Ĵanbolatov, 2008, s. 217)
arrange-POSTT3
'Gulzada convinced (lit.: made people admit) people that she had suffered a lot without fault, and was completely freed of blame and got a job.'

b. *Kedeylik-tiñ* *ambi-ge* *birdey* *kel-me-ytiñ-dik-in*
poverty-GEN all-DAT same come-NEG-AN-LIK-POSS3.ACC
alyaş *iret* *aykin* *kör-di-m* *de,* ^woylan-di-m
first time clear see-PAST-1SG and, think-PAST-1SG
da. (Ĵanbolatov, 2008, s. 242)
and
'For the first time, I clearly realized (lit.: saw and thought) that poverty was not the same for everyone.'

Karakoç (Karakoç, 2017, s. 219) analyzed the usage of the suffix {-LIK} in existential and possessive subordinate clauses in Kipchak and Oghuz Turkic languages in a comparative and typological point of view. She has observed that the suffix {-LIK} in Central Asian Turkic languages, such as Kazakh, Kirghiz, Turkmen, Uzbek and Uyghur is used relatively more frequently than in the North and West Kipchak languages including Noghay. She has also stated that in some Kipchak languages, the forms without the suffix {-LIK} are a feature of "spoken registers and traditional genres". According to her observations, the distinction

2 The novel "*Qazaq soldate* [Kazakh soldier]" by Gabit Müsirepov was published in 1950 in Kazakhstan, it was republished in China in 2005. This paper uses the reprint version reflecting the language of the 1950s.

between subordinate existential and possessive constructions with and without {-LIK} is that the {-LIK} based forms “seem to appear to highlight events in given speech situations and thus are more appropriate for certain discourse types” (Karakoç, 2017, s.219).

As far as the usage of the suffix {-liK²} in Uyghur is concerned, there are several controversial opinions. On the one hand, some linguists state that the occurrence or absence of {-liK²} does not influence the meaning expressed in CCs at all. For instance, Tömür (Tömür, 2003, s. 279) and Friedrich (Friedrich, 2002, s. 143) claim that dependent verbs in the CCs can be optionally inflected by the suffix {-liK} in Uyghur. The appearance or absence of the suffix {-liK} does not affect the interpretation. See (7).

- (7) *Meniñ käl-gän-(lik)-im-ni kim-din*
I.GEN come-AN-(LIK)-POSS1SG-ACC who-ABL
añli-di-η? (Tömür, 2003, s. 279)
hear-PAST-2SG
‘From whom did you hear that I had come?’

On the other hand, some linguists argue that the usage of {-liK²} indicates special semantics. Tohti (Tohti, 2012, s. 358) states that the suffix {-liK} in Uyghur attaches to {-G⁴A²n}, emphasizing that the action expressed with it is a fact; e.g.: *keçik-ip käl-gän-lik* <be late-CONV come-AN-LIK> ‘the fact of coming late’; *kaydi-gä xilaplik qil-yan-lik* <rule-DAT violation make-AN-LIK> ‘the fact of breaking the rule’.

According to our data, the suffix {-liK} in Uyghur often appears in the written register and its usage has higher frequency than of the corresponding Kazakh suffix. The following examples are from Uyghur broadcasts; see (8).

- (8) a. *Män mu nuryun šähär ahali-si-niñ tor-da*
I too many city resident-POSS3-GEN internet-LOC
yimäklik wä miwä-çiwilär-ni setiwal-yan-lik-i-ya
food and fruit-and.alike-PL-ACC buy-AN-LIK-POSS3-DAT
diqqät qil-di-m. (CNR Uyghur: 11.02.2020)
notice-PAST-SG
‘I have also noticed that many citizens buy food and fruits and so on (lit.: the like) online.’
- b. *Doxturxani-da yat-қан ikkinçi kün-i yeni*
hospital-LOC lie-PN second day-POSS3 namely
çayan-niñ harpa kün-i-dä yüräk
Chinese New Year-GEN New.Year-day-POSS3-LOC heart
sok-uş-um-niñ ajizla-p
beat-AN-POSS1SG-GEN weaken-CONV
ket-iwat-қан-lik-i-ni hes qil-di-m. (CNR Uyghur: 11.02.2020)
go away-INTRAT-AN-LIK-POSS3-ACC feel-PAST-1SG
‘I noticed that my heart’s beating had become weaker on the second day after my getting to the hospital, namely, on the Chinese New Year’s Eve.’

- c. *Şu kün-lär-dä sawağdaş-lir-im, dost-lir-im*
that day-PL-LOC classmate-PL-POSS1SG friend-PL-POSS1SG
bilän pikir almaştır-up, köpçilik-niñ intayın
with suggestion exchange-CONV majority-GEN very
korq-uwat-kan-liq-i-ni bayqa-di-m. (CNR Uyghur: 11.02.2020)
afraid-INTRAT-AN-LIK-POSS3-ACC discover-PAST-1SG
'In those days I conversed with my classmates and friends and I found out that everybody was very scared.'

According to Johanson (Johanson, 2013, s. 85), the concept “knowledge of a possible fact” is grammaticalized in Turkic languages. The concept “knowledge of a possible fact” is expressed by complement clauses with the subordinators $\{-G^4A^2n\}$ and $\{-A^2tI^2n//ytI^2n\}$ in Kazakh. The matrix predicates selecting $\{-G^4A^2n\}$ and $\{-A^2tI^2n//ytI^2n\}$ -based complement clauses tend to be those of utterance, knowledge, propositional attitude, comments; e.g. *ayt-* ‘to tell’, *bil-* ‘to know’, *sen-* ‘to believe’, *kör-* ‘to see’, *est-* ‘to hear’, *unat-* ‘to like’, etc. Such CCs denote factiveness. Consequently, the complement clauses based on $\{-G^4A^2ndI^2K^2\}$ and $\{-A^2tI^2ndI^2K^2//ytI^2ndI^2K^2\}$ are often controlled by these matrix predicates. According to our observations, the crucial difference between the verb forms with and without $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ is that the forms $\{-G^4A^2ndI^2K^2\}$ and $\{-A^2tI^2ndI^2K^2//ytI^2ndI^2K^2\}$ highlight the existence of the proposition expressed in the complement clause, they affirm the truth value of the proposition; thus, they are grammaticalized means of the category of affirmativeness i.e. they express the “knowledge of a possible fact”. See a Kazakh example (9a), which expresses a prospective aspect and the concept “knowledge of a possible fact”. The same construction without the suffix $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ would just express the prospective aspect, i.e. that “something will happen” (9b).

- (9) a. *Akiri, aş-tan wöl-ip bar-a jat-kan*
finally hungry-ABL die-CONV GO.POSTV-CONV LIE.POSTV-AN
soñ čida-may, bay bİR üzüm nan-ya barliq
after endure-NEG.CONV rich one piece bread-DAT all
altin-in ayirbasta-ytin-di-ğ-in ayt-a-di.
gold-POSS3.ACC exchange-AN-LIK-POSS3.ACC tell-PRES-3
'Finally, the rich man who was starving to death and could not endure it (anymore), said that he would (really) exchange all his gold for one piece of bread.'

- b. *Akiri, aş-tan wöl-ip bar-a jat-kan*
finally hungry-ABL die-CONV GO.POSTV-CONV LIE.POSTV-AN
soñ čida-may, bay bİR üzüm nan-ya barliq
after endure-NEG.CONV rich one piece bread-DAT all
altin-in ayirbasta-ytin-in ayt-a-di.
gold-POSS3.ACC exchange-AN-POSS3.ACC tell-PRES-3
'Finally, the rich man who was starving to death and could not endure it said that he would exchange all his gold for one piece of bread.'

Compare the interpretations of the following structurally different Kazakh complement clauses in (10a) and (10b).

- (10) a. *ʷOniŋ kel-ıp ket-ken-dik-iŋ ayt-ti-m.*
X.GEN come-CONV LEAVE.POSTV-AN-LIK-POSS3.ACC tell-PAST-1SG
'I said that X came (indeed).'
- b. *ʷOniŋ kel-ıp ket-ken-iŋ ayt-ti-m.*
X.GEN come-CONV LEAVE.POSTV-AN-POSS3.ACC tell-PAST-1SG
'I said that X came.'

Interestingly, the complements taking predicates (henceforth CTPs) expressing probability and likelihood, such as *bolar* 'it is probable' ← *bol-* 'to be, to become, be possible', *çıyar* 'can turn out to be' ← *çik-* 'to turn out, result', *körin-e-di* 'it seems' <be visible-PRES-3> ← *kör-* 'to see', *uksa-y-di* 'it looks like' <resemble-PRES-3> ← *uksa-* 'to resemble', *siyakti* 'like, similar' ← *siyak* 'appearance, image', *tariydi* 'like, similar' ← *tariž* 'shape, form', *sekiydi* 'like, similar' ← *sekił* 'form' etc., cannot govern the CCs with the suffix {-L³I²K²}. However, the CTPs rendering certainty, such as *sözsiš*, *sözjok* 'surely', *čübäsiz* 'undoubtedly', are able to have CCs with {-L³I²K²}. This phenomenon approves our assumption that the CCs with {-L³I²K²} render the "knowledge of a possible fact", i.e. affirmativeness; compare (11a) and (11b).

- (11) a. *Bul biž-diŋ üy-diŋ ʷesig-iŋ-e uksa-ma-ytiŋ*
this our-GEN house-GEN door-POSS3-DAT resemble-NEG-AN
tariydi/siyahti/körinedi/çıy-ar.
seemingly/seemingly/probably/turn out-AOR3
'It seems/it is probable/may turn out that this (door) does not look like our house's door.'
- b. *Bul biž-diŋ üy-diŋ ʷesig-iŋ-e*
this our-GEN house-GEN door-POSS3-DAT
uksa-ma-ytiŋ-diŋ-i anik.
resemble-NEG-AN-LIK-POSS3 certain
'It is certain that this (door) does not look like our house's door.'

The CTPs in example (11a) cannot govern the CC with the suffix {-L³I²K²}, being modal lexical items expressing likelihood, while in (11b), the CTP *anik* 'certain' can have a CC with {-L³I²K²}.

Although the concept 'knowledge of a possible fact' is expressed by the forms with the suffixes {-G⁴A²ndI²K²} and {-A²tI²ndI²K²//-ytI²ndI²K²}, the usage of suffix {-L³I²K²} in such a combination is declining. As mentioned earlier, in most cases in the spoken register, it is omitted; it only rarely appears in the written register. In spoken register, the appearance of {-L³I²K²} often depends on the preferences of the users, it does not have any norm. Thus, the usage of {-L³I²K²} may be quite random. This can be proved by example (12) from CNR (China National Radio) news.

- (12) *Bul keskin-de bız bul awruw-diñ qalay tuwıl-ıp,*
 this video-LOC we this illness-GEN how be born-CONV
qalay taral-atın-diğ-in jäne qalay
 how be spread-AN-LIK-POSS3.ACC and how
juymıdal-atın-in tüsındır-e-miz. (CNR KZ: 12.02.2020)
 be infected-AN-POSS3.ACC explain-PRES-1PL
 ‘In this video we explain how the epidemic is generated, how it spreads and how
 (people) can get infected.’

The three non-finite predicates of CCs are addressed differently by the writer. The first dependent verb *tuwıl-* ‘be born, to originate’ does not have any action nominal marker but an adverbial converb marker being coordinated with the next dependent predicate *taral-* ‘be spread’ whose possessive and case markers are expressing the respective values also of the first predicate due to the rules of group inflection of coordinated sentence members. The third verbal predicate *juymıdal-* ‘be infected’ is not inflected with $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$. Presumably, it proves that the facts of the origin and the spreading of the infection is a fact. However, not all people get infected, thus, here we can translate as how (some people) can get infected.

2.2. $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ in control relation

Verbal predicates of complement clauses expressed by $\{-G^4A^2ndI^2K^2\}$ and $\{-A^2tI^2ndI^2K^2// -ytI^2ndI^2K^2\}$ must be followed by a possessive marker that signals the first argument of the complement clauses, and this first argument is not co-referential with that of the superordinate clause. As a result, the suffixes $\{-G^4A^2ndI^2K^2\}$ and $\{-A^2tI^2ndI^2K^2// -ytI^2ndI^2K^2\}$ cannot be used in obligatory subject control relation, only in different subject constructions. In (13), the CCs and matrix clauses share the same subject *men* ‘I’, consequently, the suffix $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ in (13b) renders the sentence ungrammatical.

- (13) a. *Men kıtap wokı-γan-dı jaksı kör-e-mın.*
 I book read-AN-ACC like-PRES-1SG
 ‘I like reading book.’
- b. **Men kıtap wokı-γan-dık-tı jaksı kör-e-mın.*
 I book read-AN-LIK-ACC like-PRES-1SG
 Intended meaning: ‘I like reading book.’

Interestingly, if a construction has a reference switch, i.e. it has different subjects in the main and dependent clauses, the usage of the suffix $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ is grammatical although optional. The following examples (14a) and (14b), where the complement and main clauses have different subjects, are grammatical. However, the constructions express different semantics, (14b) additionally rendering the affirmativeness of the expressed proposition.

- (14) a. *Men wonıñ kıtap wokı-γan-in jaksı kör-e-mın.*
 I X.GEN book read-AN-POSS3.ACC like-PRES-1SG
 ‘I like that X reads books.’

- b. *Men* ^w*onüj* *kitap* ^w*oği-yan-diğ-in* *şaksî kör-e-mün.*
I X.GEN book read-AN-LIK-POSS3.ACC like-PRES-1SG
'I (really) like that X reads books.'

2.3. Structurally equivalent complement clauses expressed by {-L³I²K²}

CCs based on the suffix {-G⁴A²ndI²K²} or {-A²tI²ndI²K²//-ytI²ndI²K²} can function as nominal predicates of other CCs. Such constructions express equivalence of two propositions, one expressed by the dependent subject clause while the other by the dependent predicate clause. In them, the use of the suffix {-L³I²K²} is obligatory in the predicate dependent clause while possessive and case markers are absent in it; see (15).

- (15) *Seniñ bulay söyle-üw-iñ ülken-der-diğ*
you.GEN like.this speak-AN-POSS2SG big-PL-ACC
şurmette-me-gen-diğ.
respect-NEG-AN-LIK
'Your speaking like this is (means) being disrespectful to the elderly.'

The copular verbs *bol-*, *e-* and the non-finite copular *eken*, can be a part of the dependent predicate in such constructions, conveying various grammatical meanings. In (16), the usage of *bolmasın* after *şubat-şan-diğ* denotes the addresser's anxiety or doubt that the proposition takes place. The sentence is also acceptable without the copular *bol-*.

- (16) *Buniñiz biş-diğ mına tür-işiz-ge şara-p*
this.POSS2G we-GEN this appearance-POSS1PL-DAT look-CONV
şubat-şan-diğ bol-ma-sın. (CNR KZ: 27.02.2020)
comfort-AN-LIK BOL.COP-NEG-IMP3
'I hope it's not that you are comforting us, seeing us look like this.'

Interestingly, if {-G⁴A²ndI²K²} or {-A²tI²ndI²K²//-ytI²ndI²K²} are inflected with possessive markers, the appearance of {-L³I²K²} is optional. To be more precise, the usage of possessive suffixes determines the appearance of the suffix {-L³I²K²}. The absence of a possessive suffix requires {-L³I²K²}, otherwise it can be optionally null. In (17), where *şurmettemegen-diğ* is used, it can be replaced with the possessively marked *şurmettemegen(diğ)iñ* with or without {-L³I²K²}.

- (17) *Seniñ bulay söyle-üw-iñ ülken-der-diğ*
you.GEN like this speak-AN-POSS2SG big-PL-ACC
şurmette-me-gen-(diğ)-iñ.
respect-NEG-AN-(LIK)-POSS2SG
'Speaking like this means that you are disrespecting adults.'

The CCs headed by {-G⁴A²n} or {-A²tI²n//-ytI²n} plus possessive suffixes can serve as first arguments of another non-finite clause based on {-G⁴A²ndI²K²} or {-A²tI²ndI²K²//-ytI²ndI²K²}. In such structurally equivalent constructions, the marker {-L³I²K²} cannot be used in the first argument complement clauses based on {-G⁴A²n} or {-A²tI²n//-ytI²n} plus possessive.

On the contrary, it is optional in $\{-G^4A^2ndI^2K^2\}$ or $\{-A^2tI^2ndI^2K^2//\text{-ytI}^2ndI^2K^2\}$ complement clauses that serve as predicates. In (18a), the complement clause *meni tañ kaldırğanı* is the first argument of another non-finite clause *ʷoniñ kelmegeñ(dig)i*, where the use of $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ is optional. If it attached to the first argument *meni tañ kaldırğanı* the construction would turn to be ungrammatical, as (18b) shows.

- (18) a. *Meni tañ kal-dir-ğan-ı ʷoniñ kel-me-geñ-(dig)-i.*
I.ACC surprise-CAUS-AN-POSS3 X.GEN come-NEG-AN-(LIK)-POSS3
'What surprised me is that X did not show up.'
- b. **Men-i tañ kal-dir-ğan-dik-i ʷoniñ kel-me-geñ-(dig)-i.*
I-ACC surprise-CAUS-AN-LIK-POSS3 X.GEN come-NEG-AN-(LIK)-POSS3
'What surprised me is that X did not show up.'

It is noteworthy that the suffix $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ has a special function of distinguishing complement clauses from structurally similar relative clauses (especially headless relative clauses), since in Kazakh and Uyghur, both complement and relative clauses can be expressed by the action nominal marker $\{-G^4A^2n\}$. Within headless relative clauses, the dependent predicates carry possessive markers referring to participant nominals as well as plural and case markers, and, thus, such constructions share the same clausal surface with complement clauses. This sometimes causes difficulties in distinguishing headless relative clauses from complement clauses. In this case, adding the suffix $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ after non-finite markers can dissolve such ambiguities. If by adding the suffix $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ the sentence still remains grammatical, the given construction can be interpreted as a complement clause, otherwise it should be dealt with as a headless relative clause. Compare the relative clause in (19a) with the complement clause in (19b).

- (19) a. Relative clause:
Üy-ge kel-gen-der-di bil-e-miñ.
house-DAT come-PN-PL-ACC know-PRES-1SG
'I know the people who have come/came to the house.'
- b. Complement clause
Üy-ge kel-gen-iñ-di bil-e-miñ.
house-DAT come-AN-POSS2SG-ACC know-PRES-1SG
'I know that you have come/came to the house.'

If the suffix $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ is attached to the non-finite predicates of the relative clause in (19a) and the complement clause in (19b), it turns the relative clause in (20a) unacceptable, whereas the complement clause is still grammatical, as (20b) show.

- (20) a. **Üy-ge kel-gen-dik-der-di bil-e-miñ.*
house-DAT come-PN-LIK-PL-ACC know-PRES-1SG
Intended meaning: 'I know the people who came'.

b. <i>Üy-ge</i>	<i>kel-gen-dik-iñ-di</i>	<i>bil-e-miñ.</i>
house-DAT	come-AN-LIK-POSS2SG-ACC	know-PRES-1SG
‘I know that you have come/came to the house.’		

The strategy is observed also in Uyghur. According to Csató and Muzappar (2010: 73), the suffix {-liK²} cannot be attached to the participant nominal markers in relative clauses in Uyghur. Therefore, this possibility, i.e. the combination of the suffix {-liK²} with the participant nominal marker {-G⁴A²n} in complement clauses can be a diagnostic test to distinguish complement clauses from relative clauses having the same surface structure.

We would like to stress again that the grammatical suffix {-L³I²K²} should not be confused with the derivational suffix {-L³I²K²} that is added after nouns or adjectives to yield adjectives or abstract nouns, e.g. *mawsim* ‘season’ > *mawsimdik* ‘seasonal’, *jer* ‘place’ > *jerlik* ‘local’, *bala* ‘child’ > *balalik* ‘childhood’, *dos* ‘friend’ > *dostik* ‘friendship’, *jaqsı* ‘good’ > *jaqsilik* ‘goodness, kindness’, *jaman* ‘bad’ > *jamandik* ‘badness’, *semiz* ‘fat’ > *semizdik* ‘obesity’, *jas* ‘young’ > *jastik* ‘youth’, etc. The crucial functional difference between the action nominal suffix {-L³I²K²} and the derivational {-L³I²K²} is that the latter is usually employed in nominal phrases in order to modify head nouns; e.g. *mawsimdik jornal* ‘seasonal journal’, *jildik jospar* ‘annual plan’, *jerlik ukimet* ‘local government’. The grammatical suffix {-L³I²K²}, on the other hand, is often used to mark non-verbal predicates of complement clauses or occurs after action nominals in CCs in Kazakh. This can be illustrated by the word form *jil-dik-tiy-in* (21), in which the first {-L³I²K²} is a derivational suffix forming the adjective *jildik* ‘annual, yearly’, while the second one functions as a non-finite copular verb.

(21) <i>Toqtam-niñ</i>	<i>köp</i>	<i>jildik-tiy-in</i>	<i>ayt-ti.</i>
contract-GEN	many	annual-LIK-POSS3.ACC	say-PAST3
‘X said that the contract would last for many years.’			

3. {-L³I²K²} in nominal predicates

In complement clauses based on nominal predicates, nominal stems either carry the suffix {-L³I²K²} or this affix is attached on the non-finite copular verb *ekendik* in Kazakh and *ikänlik* in Uyghur that contains the copular verb *ye-* or *i-* ‘to be’, the action nominal {-G⁴A²n} and the affix {-L³I²K²}. In Kazakh, the appearance of {-L³I²K²} after nominal stems is compulsory in most cases. However, if the stem is postposed by the copular *ekendik* the usage of {-L³I²K²} in it is optional. Unlike Kazakh, the usage of {-L³I²K²} is obligatory in Uyghur, no matter whether the nominal predicate of complement clauses is inflected with {-L³I²K²}, or just followed by the copular *ikänlik*. In this section, nominal predicates based on {-L³I²K²} or *ekendik* are investigated in comparative perspectives.

3.1. Coding nominal predicates with {-L³I²K²} and *ekendik* in Kazakh

When the predicate of a CC is a noun, an adjective, a numeral or an adverb, the predicates can be built by two different ways. On the one hand, the suffix {-L³I²K²} can be added to the nominal predicates before possessive and case suffixes. On the other hand, the predicative nominal can receive non-finite copular verbs *ekendik-* or *bol-* in the respective action nominal,

possession and case form. Without the copular, the use of $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ on the predicative nominal is compulsory, except after adjectives and *bar* ‘existent’ and *joğ* ‘non-existent’, which can be used as nominal predicates in CCs on their own. With copular verbs, $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ on the predicative nominal is optional.

The suffix $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ is used after the following predicative nominals: adjectives, including the adjectives *bar* ‘existent’, ‘present’, *joğ* ‘non-existent’, interrogative pronominals, nouns, after the negation word *emes* ‘not’, and after modal nominal predicates.

3.1.1. The suffix $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ after adjectives; see (22)

- (22) a. *Olara maydan-i-niğ berik-tiğ-in, pozetsia-si-niğ*
they standing-POSS3-GEN firm-LIK-POSS3.ACC attitude-POSS3-GEN
aşik-tiy-in körset-iğ kal-uw-di
open-LIK-POSS3.ACC show-CONV STAY.POSTV-AN-ACC
oyla-di. (Janbolatov, 2008, s. 231)
think-PAST3
‘They want to show their firm standing and correct attitude.’

- b. *Buyan iğirçay-i çik-kan kedey Kazak-tar-diğ*
this.DAT saddle-POSS3come out -PN poor Kazakh-PL-GEN
kalta takir-liğ-in kos-iğiz. (Janbolatov, 2008, s. 236)
pocket bare-LIK-POSS3.ACC add-IMP2SG
‘Additionally, consider that the Kazakh people are extremely poor and have no money in their pockets.’

- c. *Hanzu-lar miy-i-niğ kürdeli-liğ-in*
Chinese-PL brain-POSS3-GEN complex-LIK-POSS3.ACC
kör-di-m. (Janbolatov, 2008, s. 390)
see-PAST-1SG
‘I realized that the Chinese way of thinking (lit.: brain) is a complex one.’

In certain cases the suffix $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ on adjectival predicates can be omitted in Kazakh; see (23).

- (23) *Kil-iğ jür-gen iş-iğiz-diğ bayansiz-in,*
make-CONV MOVE.POSTV-PN affair-POSS1PL-GEN unstable-POSS3.ACC
baylawsiz-in kör-di-k. (Kunanbayulı, 2016, s. 89)
untied-POSS3.ACC see-PAST-1PL
‘We realized that the things we are doing are capricious and unreliable.’

3.1.2. $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ after *bar* and *joğ*

The suffix $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ can be added after the adjectives *bar* ‘existent’, ‘present’ and *joğ* ‘non-existent’ in order to express subordinate clauses of existence and possession. In all these constructions, the occurrence of the suffix $\{-L^3I^2K^2\}$ is optional; see (24). See also Karakoç (Karakoç, 2017, s. 219).

(24) a. The construction without the suffix {-L³I²K²}

Üy-de kım-niñ bar-İN bİL-me-y-mİN.
house-LOC who-GEN existent-POSS3.ACC know-NEG-PRES-1SG
'I do not know who is at home.'

b. The construction with the suffix {-L³I²K²}

Üy-de kım-niñ bar-liy-in bİL-me-y-mİN.
house-LOC who-GEN existent-LIK-POSS3.ACC know-NEG-PRES-1SG
'I do not know who is at home indeed.'

3.1.3 {-L³I²K²} after interrogative pronominals; see (25).

(25) a. ^wOniñ axuwal-İN tus-tar-İ-niñ kayda-liy-İ
X.GEN condition-POSS3.ACC relative-PL-POSS3-GEN where-LIK-POSS3
men kaday-liy-İ belgile-me-y-dİ. (Janbolatov, 2008, s. 399)
and how-LIK-POSS3 mark-NEG-PRES-3
'X's condition does not depend on where her/his relatives are and how they are.'

b. Men ^wosİ tus-ta yaşıktİK-tiñ ne-liğ-İN bİL-İp,
I this time-LOC love-GEN what-LIK-POSS3.ACC know-CONV
^wömİrlİK te armanda-ğİ-m-day serİK-İM-dİ taw-İp,
whole.life and wish-GI-POSS1SG-EQU partner-POSS1SG-ACC find-CONV
İylen-İp, bala süy-dİ-m. (Janbolatov, 2008, s. 318)
marry-CONV child have-PAST-1SG
'At that time, I realized what love was, found my whole life's partner according to my wishes, married her and had a child.'

3.1.4. {-L³I²K²} after nouns; see (26)

(26) a. Bu-lar-dİñ Sari Uyyur-liy-İN bİL-dİ. (Janbolatov, 2008, s. 27)
this-PL-GEN Yellow Uyghur-LIK-POSS3.ACC know-PAST3
'X knew that those (people) were Yellow Uyghurs.'

b. Ake-sİ-niñ ğaksİ adam-dİy-İN ayt-tİ.
father-POSS3-GEN good person-LIK-POSS3.ACC tell-PAST3
'X said that his father was a good person.'

3.1.5. {-L³I²K²} after the negation word

The suffix can be attached to the nominal negation word ^yemes 'not' going back to an action nominal form of the copular verb 'to be'; it negates propositions expressed by nominal constructions; see (27).

- (27) *Tıyan aya-si ʷemes-tiġ-i čiy-ıp*
born elder brother-POSS3 not -LIK-POSS3 t u r n o u t -CONV

tur:

STAND.POSTV3

‘It is clear that it is not X’s own elder brother.’

3.1.6. {-L³I²K²} after modal words; see (28)

- (28) *ǰawınger-ler-di ǰumus-ka ǰiber-erde ber-etın*
soldier-PL-ACC affair -DAT send-CONV give-PN
buyrıy-iñ-di soyıs-tiñ ʷöz tił-i-men ǰatal
command-POSS2SG-ACCwar-GEN self language-POSS3-POSTP serious
ber-üw kerek-tiġ-i ʷöz-ım-niñ ʷes-ım-e
give-AN necessary-LIK-POSS3 self-POSS1SG-GEN memory-POSS1SG-DAT
de tūs-e ǰal-di. (Müsirepov, 2005, s. 217)
too fall-CONV STAY.POSTV-PAST3

‘I have also suddenly remembered that the commands which you give to the soldiers when you send them to handle some affair, should be formulated seriously using the war’s own language.’

In Kazakh, unlike adjectival predicates, predicates expressed with noun stems, pronominals, negations and modal words must be followed by the suffix {-L³I²K²}.

Turkologists’ opinions differ regarding the usage of the copular *ʷekendik* in Kazakh dependent nominal predicates. Zhang (Zhang, 2004, s. 690) defines the copular *ʷekendik* in Kazakh as a “structural auxiliary (结构助词)” and claims that it does not have any lexical meaning, and it cannot denote any grammatical meanings such as tense, aspect or mood. It is only used “to change the nominal predicate into a nominal phrase” in order to make it an argument of the main clause. After adding *ʷekendik-* to the nominal predicate *adam* in (29a), the whole finite clause *sen ǰaksı adamsiñ* becomes an argument of a superordinate clause, as (29b) shows.

- (29) a. *Sen ǰaksı adam-siñ.* (Zhang, 2004, s. 690)
you good human-2SG
‘You are a good person.’

- b. *Seniñ ǰaksı adam ʷeken-dik-iñ ǰurt-ka*
you.GEN good human NF.COP-LIK-POSS2SG people-DAT
ayan. (Zhang, 2004, s. 691)
obvious
‘Everyone knows you are a good person.’

In nominal predicates expressed by nouns, adjectives, pronouns, negations and modal items and inflected with {-L³I²K²}, the copular *ʷekendik* can be used in Kazakh instead of {-L³I²K²}. The copular marker *ʷekendik-* <E.COP-GAN.AN-LIK> per se does not have any semantic content here; its function is to ensure that the independent nominal clause could act as a core

argument of the predicate in the main clause. In sentences (25a) and (26b) above, where the pronouns *qayda*, *qanday* and the noun *adam* bear the suffix {-L³I²K²}, it can be supported by the copular *ʔekendik* as (29b) shows; see also (30). The nominal predicates where nominals bear {-L³I²K²} or are followed by the copular *ʔekendik* have identical semantics and refer to the same propositions. Due to such characteristics of nominal predicates of complement clauses, some scholars argue that the usage of the suffix {-L³I²K²} after nominal predicates, in fact, is the deletion of the copular *ʔeken/ikän* from the form *ʔekendik/ikänlik* (Tömür, 2003; Tohti, 2012). We totally agree with this argument; compare (30).

- (30) a. *ʔOniñ axuwal-ïñ tus-tar-ï-niñ qayda-liy-ï / qayda*
 X.GEN condition-POSS3.ACC relative-PL-POSS3-GEN where e-LIK-POSS3/where e
ʔeken-dik-i men qanday-liy-ï /qanday ʔeken-dik-i
 NF.COP-LIK-POSS3 and how-LIK-POSS3/how NF.COP-LIK-POSS3
belgile-me-y-di.
 mark-NEG-PRES-3
 ‘X’s condition does not depend on where her/his relatives are and how they are.’

- b. *Áke-si-niñ jaqsı adam-di-y-ïñ / adam*
 father-POSS3-GEN good person-LIK-POSS3.ACC person
ʔeken-dik-ïñ ayt-ti.
 NF.COP-LIK-POSS3-ACC tell-PAST3
 ‘X said that his father was a good person.’

Thus, in Kazakh nominal predicates expressed by nouns, adjectives, pronouns, negations and modal items, the usage of the suffix {-L³I²K²} in *ʔekendik* is optional in both written and spoken register; see also (31).

- (31) a. *Qala köşe-ler-i-niñ tas qarañyi ʔeken-ïñ*
 city street-PL-POSS3-GEN very dark NF.COP-POSS3.ACC
ayt-ti-m aw de-y-miñ (Janbolatov, 2011, s. 215).
 tell-PAST-1SG PART say-PRES-1SG
 ‘I may have told you that the city streets are very dark.’

- b. *Muniñ Ala köl ʔeken-ïñ men bertinde*
 this-GEN Ala lake NF.COP-POSS3.ACC I lately
bil-di-m. (Janbolatov, 2008, s. 76)
 know-PAST-1SG
 ‘I have recently learnt that it is Ala Lake.’

- c. *Bir-ew bol-sa da tiñda-ytiñ adam bar*
 one-COLL BOL.COP-COND3 PART listen-PN person existent
ʔeken-dig-ïñ-e kuwan-ba-y-siz ba? (Ramazan: *ʔertekşi kiz*)
 NF.COP-LIK-POSS3-DAT happy-NEG-PRES-2SG Q
 ‘Aren’t you glad that someone is listening (Lit: that you have a listener although it is only one person)?’

Nominal predicates of complement clauses introduced by the non-finite copular verb *ʷekendik* should be negated by *ʷemes* ‘not’ that stands after the nominal stem; see (32).

- (32) *Bul kün-der-ı kelte ʷoyli-lar-din talay-i ʷöz-der-ı-nin*
 this day-PL-POSS3 short-sighted-PL-GEN many-POSS3 self-PL-POSS3-GEN
jumusši ne diğan yaki asker ʷemes ʷeken-in-e
 worker or farmer or soldier not NF.COP-POSS3-DAT
ʷökün-ıp jür-etin.
 regret-CONV MOVE.POSTV-INTRAT3
 ‘In these days, most short-sighted people regret that they themselves are not workers or farmers or soldiers.’

Beside nominal predicates, if a CC is marked with the action nominal suffix {-U²w} whose original function in the nominal sentence was that of a nominal predicate, gets embedded into another matrix clause as its direct object, the CC must be subordinated with the non-finite copular *ʷekendik*. In (33), the original sentence *ʷOnin maqsatı bizdi kıynaw* ‘His goal is to torture us’, in which the CC *bizdi kıynaw* is the nominal predicate, becomes a direct object of another matrix predicate *bil-* ‘to know’. Hence, the CC *bizdi kıynaw* needs a non-finite copular *ʷekendik*; see (33).

- (33) *ʷOnin maqsat-ı biz-di kıyna-w ʷeken-dik-in*
 X.GEN goal-POSS3 we-ACC torture-VN NF.COP-LIK-POSS3.ACC
bäri-miz bil-e-miz.
 all-POSSPL1 know-PRES-1PL
 ‘We all know that X’s goal is to torture us.’

3.2. Nominal predicates with {-liK²} and *ikänlik* in Uyghur CCs

Analogous to Kazakh, in Uyghur complement clauses based on nominal predicates, the copular suffix {-liK²} can be either directly attached after the nominal stems, or the nominal stems can be followed by the non-finite copular verb *ikänlik*. In this section we will briefly introduce the function of {-liK²} used in nominal predicates of CCs in Uyghur.

The suffix {-liK²} can be attached to nominal stems, such as nouns, adjectives, pronouns, modal lexical items, as well as *bar* ‘existent’ and *yoq* ‘non-existent’. In this case, like in Kazakh, it will be followed by possessive and case markers. However, unlike in Kazakh, the use of it after nominal predicates is obligatory. The following examples in (34) illustrate the functions of the copular suffix {-liK²} attached to various word classes in Uyghur.

- (34) a. {-liK²} after nouns
Mu ʷällim-nin yaxši adam-lik-i-ni bil-i-män.
 teacher-GEN good person-LIK-POSS3-ACC know-PRES-1SG
 ‘I know that the teacher is a good person.’

b1. {-liK²} after adjectives: (b1)-(b2)

Ĵazala-ř-niĴ *sāwāb-i* *bol-sa* *Alma* *parčā* *setiř*
punish-AN-GEN reason-POSS3 BOL.COP-COND3 Apple retail
tor-i-da *riķabāt-kā* *ķarři tur-uř* *ķilmiř-i*
network-POSS3-LOC competition-DAT oppose-PN crime-POSS3
māwĴut bol-up, *riķabāt-niĴ* *barawārsiz-lik-i-ni*
existent be-CONV competition-GEN unfair-LIK-POSS3-ACC
ilgiri sūr-gān. (CNR Uyghur: 17.03.2020)
promote-POSTT3

‘The reason for the sanctions is that there has been anti-competitive behavior on the Apple retail network, which has promoted unequal competition.’

b2. *Musibāt* *xāwir-i-niĴ* *az-kōp-lik-i* *bir* *bāt-tin*
tragic news-POSS3-GEN few many-LIK-POSS3 one page-ABL
on *nāččā* *bāt-kā* *ōzgār-gān.* (CNR Uyghur: 17.03.2020)
ten how page-DAT change-POSTT3

‘The amount of tragic news has changed from one page to more than a dozen pages.’

c1. {-liK²} after pronouns (c1)-(c2)

UniĴ-din *ayropilan-Ĵa* *čik-iř* *eyiz-i-niĴ*
X.GEN-ABL place-DAT go out-PN mouth-POSS3-GEN
nādi-lik-i-ni, *āĴ* *ārzan* *ķāhwāxani-Ĵa* *bar-idiĴan*
where-LIK-POSS3-ACC most cheap café-DAT go-PN
yol-ni *sori-ma-Ĵ.* (CNR Uyghur: 10.03.2020)
road-ACC ask-NEG-IMP2SG

‘Don’t ask him where the boarding pass is, and the way to the cheapest café.’

c2. *Ĵiři-lār* *uniĴ* *muhābbāt* *iř-i-niĴ* *ķandaķ-lik-i-ni*
person-PL he.GEN love affair-POSS3-GEN how-LIK-POSS3-ACC
bil-mā-y-du. (CNR Uyghur: 19.03.2020)
know-NEG-PRES-3

‘People don’t know what his love life is like.’

d1. {-liK²} after modal lexical items (d1)-(d3)

Öz-i-ni *ķoydař-ķa* *āhmiyāt ber-iř-niĴ* *intayin*
self-POSS3-ACC protection-DAT pay attention-VN-GEN very
zōrūr-lük-i-ni *čonķur* *hes ķil-dur-di.* (CNR Uyghur: 10.03.2020)
necessary-LIK-POSS3-ACC deep feel-CAUS-PAST3

‘It makes us deeply understand that it is very necessary to pay attention on self-defense.’

d2. *Iran-niñ iç-ki kısm-i-diki nişan-lar-ğa hawa-din*
Iran-GEN inside-GI part-POSS3-DIKI target-PL-DAT air-ABL
hujum kil-iş ehtimal-liq-i-ni yokka çıkar-yili
attack-VN probability-LIK-POSS3-ACC eliminate-CONV
bol-ma-y-du. (CNR Uyghur: 09.01.2020)
BOL.COP-NEG-PRES-3
'The probability of an air strike on targets inside Iran cannot be ruled out.'

d3. *Muwäppäkiyät kazanyučı-lar-niñ çoqum yalıuzluq-ni*
successful person-PL-GEN certainly loneliness-ACC
baştin kəcür-üş-i zörür-lük-i-ni
experience-AN-POSS3 necessary-LIK-POSS3-ACC
tonup yet-i-siz. (CNR Uyghur: 09.03.2020)
recognize-PRES-2PL
'You would realize that successful people must experience the loneliness.'

e. {-lik²} after the negation word *ämäs* 'not'
Sakçi-lar uniñ hamilidar ämäs-lik-i-ni дәlilli-ğan.
police-PL she.GEN pregnant not-LIK-POSS3-ACC prove-POSTT3
'The police proved whether she was not pregnant.' (CNR Uyghur: 09.03.2020)

Furthermore, the suffix {-lik²} can be used after *bar* 'existent' and *yok* 'non-existent' to express existence while receiving the meaning of 'there is/are', 'to exist' or possession while meaning 'to have', 'to possess'. In examples (35a) and (35b), *yok* 'non-existent' and *bar* 'existent' refer to existence and possession, respectively. In such expressions, the occurrence of {-lik²} is obligatory in Uyghur. Recall, {-L³I²K²} is optional after adjectival predicates in Kazakh.

(35) a. *Bu riyasätçi-niñ şunçilik ilmiy sawad-i-niñ mu*
this host-GEN such scientific literacy-POSS3-GEN PART
yok-liq-i kişi-lär-ni
non-existent-LIK-POSS3 person-PL-ACC
häyran kal-dur-di. (CNR Uyghur: 10.03.2020)
surprise-CAUS-PAST3
'It surprised people that the host did not even have (at least) such scientific literacy.'

b. *Şungonıñ yuqum üst-i-din tez yälibä kil-iş*
China-GEN epidemic above-POSS3-ABL quick succeed-PN
ıktidar-i-niñ bar-liq-i-ğa
ability-POSS3-GEN existent-LIK-POSS3-DAT
işin-i-du. (CNR Uyghur: 04.03.2020)
trust-PRES-3
'(Egypt) believes China has the ability to quickly overcome the epidemic.'

Concerning the identity and usage of the non-finite copular verb *ikänlik* in Uyghur, Tömür (2002: 458) argues that *ikänlik* is a gerund (verbal noun) form of the judgement copula *ikän* in Uyghur, and uses the term “gerund copula” (Tömür, 2002, s. 247) *ikänlik* attaching to a substantive word to introduce “the judgement noun form of the substantive words”. Such “judgement noun form of substantive words indicates the existence of a fact which is expressed by a substantive word”; see (36).

(36) a. *Ular siniñ tärjiman ikän-lik-iñ-ni*
they you.GEN translator NF.COP-LIK-POSS2SG-ACC
bil-mä-y-di-kän.
know-NEG-PRES-3-INDIR
‘They apparently don’t know that you are a translator.’

b. *U yär-gä bar-yan kişi-niñ kim ikän-lik-i*
that place-DAT go-PN person-GEN who NF.COP-LIK-POSS3
hiçkim-gä mälum ämäs.
nobody-DAT know not
‘No one knows the identity of the person who has gone there.’

Like in Kazakh, the non-finite copular verb *ikänlik* can be used in the nominal predicates of CCs in Uyghur receiving any lexical meaning. All the above-mentioned nominal predicates that take the suffix {-liK²} can be optionally supported by the copular *ikänlik*. The examples (35b) above, where the predicate of the CC is *barliқиya* can alternately have *bar ikänliқиgä* as in (37).

(37) *Ўңgo-niñ yuқum üst-i-din tez yälibä қil-iş*
China-GEN epidemic above-POSS3-ABL quick succeed-PN
iқtidar-i-niñ bar ikän-liқ-i-gä işin-i-du.
ability-POSS3-GEN existent NF.COP-LIK-POSS3-DAT trust-PRES-3
‘(Egypt) believes China has the ability to quickly overcome the epidemic.’

Similarly, the CCs whose predicates are nominal forms inflected by {-liK²} can have *ikänlik* after the adjectives *güzel* ‘beautiful’ and *saxta* ‘fake’, as in (38a) and (38b).

(38) a. *Bu söz Hilari-niñ iқtidar-i-ni körsit-ip la*
this word Hillary-GEN ability-POSS3-ACC show-CONV PRCL
қal-may, yänä uniñ güzäl-lik-i-ni / güzäl
STAY.POSTV-NEG.CONV also X.GEN beauty-LIK-POSS3-ACC/beauty
ikän-lik-i-ni mädhiiyli-gän.
NF.COP-LIK-POSS3-ACC praise-POSTT3
‘This word does not only show Hillary’s ability, but also praises her beauty (Lit: that she is beautiful).’

- b. *Öz-i-ni* *ülgä* *qil-ip* *körsit-idiyan* *atalmiş*
self-POSS3-ACC role model make-CONV show-PN so-called
axbarat ärkinlik-i-niñ *saxti-liq-i-ni/* *saxta*
press freedom-POSS3-GEN fake-LIK-POSS3-ACC/ fake
ikän-lik-i-ni *aşkarili-di.*
NF.COP-LIK-POSS3-ACC expose-PAST3
‘They expose that they show themselves as a model of so-called “freedom of the press”, which is fake.’

Interestingly, unlike Kazakh, the use of the suffix {-lik²} in *ikän* is obligatory; it cannot be dropped.

In both Kazakh and Uyghur, the CCs expressed by the copular *ʷekendik* or *ikänlik* are not able to indicate any viewpoint-aspect meanings. The tense and viewpoint-aspectual references are always inferred from the matrix predicates. For instance, the Kazakh example (39a) and Uyghur examples (39b) and (39c) show that the copulas *ʷekendik* and *ikänlik* only serve as non-finite copular verbal forms, implying any viewpoint-aspect items.

- (39) a. *ʷOl* *köregen* *basşı* *ʷeken-in* *körset-e* *bil-di.*
X far-seeing leader NF.COP-POSS3.ACC show-CONV know-PAST3
‘X showed that X was a far-seeing leader.’

- b. *Däsläp-ki* *qädäm-dä* *ölgüçi-niñ* *on bäš* *ayliq*
initial-GI step-LOC decease-GEN fifteen monthly
bol-yan *bu* *kiçik* *qiz* *ikän-lik-i-ni*
BOL.COP-PN this little girl NF.COP-LIK-POSS3-ACC
bekit-ti. (CNR Uyghur: 09.03.2020)
confirm-PAST3
‘It was initially confirmed that the deceased was this 15-month-old little girl.’

- c. *Texi* *hayat* *ikän-lik-im-gä* *işän-gü-m*
still alive NF.COP-LIK-POSS1SG-DAT trust-NESS-POSS1SG
käl-mä-ywat-i-du
come-NEG-INTRAT-PRES-3
‘I don’t want to believe I’m still alive.’ (CNR Uyghur: 09.03.2020)

Conclusions

In this paper, the functions of the suffix {-L³I²K²} in complement clauses are discussed in a comparative perspective. In complement clauses, {-L³I²K²} can be employed in verbal and nominal predicates. In verbal predicates, it occurs in the forms of {-G⁴A²ndI²K²} and {-A²tI²ndI²K²//-ytI²ndI²K²} in Kazakh. In them, {-G⁴A²n} and {-A²tI²n//-ytI²n} are indicators of post-terminal and intra-terminal viewpoints respectively.

The suffix {-L³I²K²} serves as an action nominal; however, its usage is optional. We assume that complement clauses expressed with {-L³I²K²} stress the existence of the proposition they refer to and prove this assumption in many examples.

The usage frequency of the suffix {-L³I²K²} in Kazakh, in both written and spoken register, is relatively low. Compared with Kazakh, the suffix {-L³I²K²} is more active in Uyghur, especially in written language. Dependent complement predicates based on {-G⁴A²ndI²K²} and {-A²tI²ndI²K²//-ytI²ndI²K²} must be followed by possessive markers that refer to the first actant of the action. The suffix {-L³I²K²} cannot occur in subject control relation, where the first arguments of the complement and matrix predicates are co-referential. Besides, the suffix {-L³I²K²} can be used in constructions expressing equality of two propositions with structurally identical dependent clauses – a subject one and a predicative one, where both dependent predicates are non-finite. In such complex constructions, the second complement clause that functions as a predicate can be expressed with {-L³I²K²}.

Nominal predicates of complement clauses can either be built with the suffix {-L³I²K²}, possessive and case markers, or be followed by the copular verbal forms *ʷekendik* in Kazakh and *ikänlik* in Uyghur, expressing identical semantics.

In the first case, nominal predicates expressed by nouns, adjectives, pronouns, modal items, etc. can be directly marked by the suffix {-L³I²K²} and corresponding possessive affixes and case forms in both Kazakh and Uyghur. However, there is a nuance in the occurrence of {-L³I²K²} in Kazakh and Uyghur. In Kazakh, it can be dropped after adjectival stems, but it must be used after all nominal stems in Uyghur.

In the second case, nominal stems can be supported by the copular *ʷekendik* and *ikänlik* that neither contain lexical meanings nor express viewpoint-aspect notions. Again, in Kazakh, in both written and spoken language, the use of {-L³I²K²} within *ʷekendik* is optional while it is obligatory in Uyghur.

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Abbreviations

1	first person	LIE.POSTV	<i>ĵat-</i> ‘to lie’ used as a postverb
2	second person	LIK	the suffix {-L ³ I ² K ² }
3	third person	NESS	necessitative
ABL	ablative	NIKI	suffix in {-N ³ iki}
ACC	accusative	LEAVE.POSTV	<i>ket-</i> ‘to leave’ used as a postverb
AN	action nominal	LOC	locative
AOR	aorist	NEG	negation
BE.COP	defective copula ‘to be’	NF.COP	non-finite copular
BOL.COP	copula <i>bol-</i> ‘to become, be’	PART	participle
CAUS	causative	PASS	passive
COLL	collective	PL	plural
CONV	converb	PN	participant nominal
COP	copula	POSS	possessive
DAT	dative	POSTP	postposition
EQU	equative	POSTT	post-terminal viewpoint
GEN	genitive	PRES	present tense
GI	adjectival derivational suffix {-G ⁴ I ² }	PRTCL	particle
GO.POSTV	<i>bar-</i> ‘to go’ used as a postverb	Q	interrogative
IMP	imperative mood	REF	reflexive
INDIR	indirective	SG	singular
INTRAT	intraterminal viewpoint	STAND.POSTV	<i>tur-</i> ‘to stand’ used as a postverb
MOVE.POSTV	<i>ĵür-</i> ‘to move’ used as a postverb	STAY.POSTV	<i>kal-</i> ‘to stay’ used as a postverb
		VN	verbal noun

