Contrastive study of Japanese *-te oku* and Uzbek *-(i)b qoʻy-*

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0. Introduction

In this paper, we examine Japanese *-te oku* and Uzbek *-(i)b qoʻy-* [-CVB put], using elicitations from native Uzbek speakers. We will then examine these expressions from the perspective of grammaticalization and compounding their relative degrees, and conclude that Japanese *-te oku* shows a higher degree of compounding than Uzbek *-(i)b qoʻy-*.

0.1. Verbal morphology in Uzbek

In Uzbek, V_1 (which can either be an *-(i)b* converb or an *-a/ -y* converb) forms a verbal compound when combined with a following V_2. Table 1 shows a morphological template for these verbal compounds.

Table 1: Verbal morphology in Uzbek

stem			inflectional suffix	
V_1-*(i)b* V_2- V_1-*a/ -y* V_2-	(voice)	(negation)	finite	person suffix
			verbal adjective	
			verbal noun	
			converb	

Table 2 and Table 3 show possible choices for V_2 (data from Ibrahim 1995).

Table 2: V_2 roots used with V_1-*a/ -y*

yot- [lie]	*tur-* [stand]	*ket-* [leave]
qol-[remain]	*ol-* [take]	*ber-* [take]
sol- [put]	*bashla-* [throw]	*yoz-* [write]

Table 3: *V₂* roots used with *V₁-(i)b*

yot- [lie]	*bo'r-* [go]	*qo'y-* [put]	*yet-* [reach]	*qara-* [look]
tur- [stand]	*ket-* [leave]	*o'l-* [take]	*so'l-* [put]	*bashla-* [start]
yur- [walk]	*yubo'r-* [run]	*ber-* [take]	*tush-* [fall]	*bo'l-* [become]
o'tir- [sit]	*tashla-*[throw]	*chiq-* [go.out]	*ko'r-* [see]	*bil-* [know]
kel- [come]	*qo'l-* [remain]	*o't-* [pass]	*baq-* [look]	

1. Literature review

   In §1.1, we will review the literature on compound verbs of Uzbek. In §1.2, we will discuss Pardeshi (2007), who analyzed the compound verb construction as "V1 (non-finite) + PUT, KEEP(finite)" in East/ South/ Central Asian languages.

1.1. Previous literature on *-(i)b qo'y-* — Ibrahim(1995)

   Ibrahim (1995: 184-8) describes *-(i)b qo'y-* as having four usages:

1. Similar to *-(i)b qol-*, *-(i)b qo'y-* frequently expresses that an action as being an achievement or a result. It is used when a speaker emphasizes the result of an action rather than the action itself. *-(i)b qo'y-* is used with causative or transitive verbs; while *-(i)b qol-* is used with reflexive or intransitive verbs.

2. It is also used to express the completion of an action:

(1) a. *To'rtta* *tuxum-ni* *samovar* *ich-i-da*   *sol-ib*   *qo'y-di-m.*
       forth   egg-ACC   samovar   interior-3SG.POSS-LOC   put-CVB put-PAST-1SG
       "I have put four eggs into samovar."

     b. *To'rtta* *tuxum-ni* *samovar* *ich-i-da*   *sol-di-m.*
       forth   egg-ACC   samovar   interior-3SG.POSS-LOC   put-PAST-1SG
       "I put four eggs into samovar."

Although the past-tense sentence 1b allows express the possibility that these actions did take place, it does not assert the completion of the actions. The use of past tense itself does not necessarily imply a completion of action, but only marks the performance of an action in the past.

3. Similar to *-(i)b qol-*, it implies that the action of the subject occurs unexpectedly, involuntarily, or suddenly when it is accompanied by adverbs such as *suddenly* or *unexpectedly*, or in a context that

suddenness or unexpectedness.

4. According to Abdurahmonov, it can also indicate that an action is performed only once when the main verb denotes an activity, such as *qara-* "to look at", *kul-* "to laugh", *kulimsira-* "to smile", or *ushla-* "to hold" (see Abdurahmonov, Vol. I, p. 400). However, this meaning usually surfaces when *bir* "one, once", as in the following example:

(2) *Kumush… yigit-ga   yana bir qara-b   qoʻy-di-ø.*
    NAME   young-DAT again one see-CVB put-PAST-3SG
    "Kumush… looked at the young man once again."

(Ibrahim 1995: 184-8 summarized)

According to Ibrahim (1995: 184-8), *-(i)b qoʻy-* generally seems to express the completion of an action. He also notes that causative or transitive verbs appear as V_1, the main verb in *-(i)b qoʻy-*.

1.2. The compound verb construction "V1(non-finite) + PUT, KEEP(finite)" in East and South-Central Asian languages — Pardeshi(2007)

Pardeshi(2007) focuses on languages spoken in East and South–Central Asia, especially the compound verb construction "V1(non-finite) + PUT, KEEP(finite)." The goals of this study were to describe the structure in question and clarify the similarities and differences between the languages examined.

The method of investigation in this work was elicitation from native speakers of the following languages.

East Asia: Japanese, Korean, Mongolian
South Asia: Hindi, Marathi, Telugu, Tamil, Nepal, Newari, Sinhalese
Central Asia: Kirgiz, Uzbek, Tajik

Speakers of these languages translated 37 Japanese sentences. Pardeshi (2007) examined the results of this elicitation, in particular, the 32 in which *oku,* "put," in these sentences expresses the idea of "carrying out an action beforehand for oneself, expecting a event after an action." (Morita 1989: 234-5). Pardeshi (2007) selected five verb classes compatible with the preceding V1 to create sentences for his questionnaire.

① canonical transitive
② semi-transitive/ingestive

③ ref1exive

④ unergative

⑤ unaccusative

Pardeshi (2007: 300) gives the following explanation of class ② semi-transitive/ingestive verbs (for instance, *eat*, *drink*, *see*, *listen* etc.): "When South Asia languages make causative constructions, verbs meaning that one takes something into his/her body physically or psychologically (for example *eat*, *drink*, *see*, or *hear*) permits manipu1ative causatives as well as unaccusative verbs. On the other hand, canonical transitive verbs (such as *kill*, *break*, *hit*, etc.), in which the action reaches outside the range of the subject, permit directive causative as well as unergative verbs." (Masica 1976: chapter 3, Pardeshi 2000: chapter 3)

Pardeshi (2007) concludes the following.

> *oku* [put] as vector verb[1] can co-occur with canonical transitive, semi-transitive/ingestive, ref1exive, unergative, and unaccusative verbs. In addition to these verbs, *oku* can co-occur with a few unaccusative verbs. When *oku* co-occurs with these verbs, phonetic attrition also occurs. Whereas, in many South Asian languages, V2s compatible with PUT／KEEP can co-occur with only canonical transitive verbs, and phonetic attrition does not occur. PUT／KEEP in Central Asian languages is located between Japanese and South Asian languages.

> (Pardeshi 2007: 302)

Moreover, Pardeshi (2007) claimed the following: If V_1 is a ref1exive verb, *TAKE* as V_2 may be taken in Tajik/Kirgiz/Mongolian and many South Asian languages, as well as the following example in Uzbek.

19. Japanese

    gohan-wo   taberu   tameni,   te-wo   ara-tte   oi-ta.

    meal-ACC   eat.PTCP   because   hand-ACC   wash-CVB   put-PAST

    "I've washed my hands for meal."

    Uzbek

    Ovqat   yey-ish-dan   oldin   qoʻl-im-ni   yuv-ib   {*qoʻy-di-m

    food   eat-VN-ABL   before   hand-1SG.POSS-ACC   wash-CVB   put-PAST-1SG

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[1] "Vector verb" is used by Hook (1974). Hook (1974: 17) labeled the main verb as V_1 and vector verb as V_2 in Hindi compound verbs.

/ol-di-m}.   (Parudeshi's data)

   take-PAST-1SG

The following section will describe the elicitation project conducted with this background information in mind.

2. Method

Two Uzbek native speakers, doctoral students at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, translated 32 examples from Japanese to Uzbek.

In following section, I will describe additional elicitation as well as extracted data, from BCCWJ (Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese).

3. Discussion

In this section, I consider elicited examples from the perspective of the development of grammaticalization and the strength of compound.

Heine and Kuteva (2002: 2) defines grammaticalization as follows: "Grammaticalization is defined as the development from lexical to grammatical forms and from grammatical to even more grammatical forms." The process of grammaticalization involves four main interrelated mechanisms.

(a) desemanticization (or "semantic bleaching") ― loss of meaning

(b) extension (or context generalization) ― use in new contexts

(c) decategorialization ― loss of morphosyntactic properties characteristic of lexical and other less-grammaticalized forms

(d) erosion (or "phonetic reduction") ― loss of phonetic substance.

In addition to these four steps, I will also compare and contrast the strength of the compounds by examining whether a particle or word may intervene between V_1 and V_2.

Table 4 summarizes these findings:

Table 4: Grammarticalization of *-te oku* and *-(i)b qoʻy-*

			-te oku	*-(i)b qoʻy-*
(a)	Desemanticization		◯	◯
(b)	Extension (§ 3.1)	**Lexical meaning of V_1** canonical transitive	◯	◯
		semi-transitive/ ingestive	◯	◯／×
		ref1exive	◯	×
		unergative (volitional intransitive)	◯	◯／×
		unaccusative (non-volitional intransitive)	◯	◯／×
(c)	Decategorialization		◯	◯
(d)	Erosion (§ 3.2)		◯	×
Insertion of a particle or word (§ 3.3)			◯／×	◯

-te oku and *-(i)b qoʻy-* have different meanings and usages with their primary lexical meanings, and do not require their arguments to be marked with accusative case. Thus, it seemes that there is not significant difference between the two languages in this regard. Therefore, the following discussion, will leave aside discussion of desemanticization and decategorialization.

3.1. Extension

In this section, I will examine the lexical meanings of V_1 in *-te oku* and *-(i)b qoʻy-*. *Here*, I assume the five lexical meanings (canonical transitive, semi-transitive/ ingestive, ref1exive, unergative (volitional intransitive), unaccusative (non-volitional intransitive)) used by Pardeshi (2007).

3.1.1. Canonical transitive

Table 5 shows the elicitation results for canonical transitive verbs. After this, I use example number by Pardeshi (2007).

Table 5: Tokens in which V_1 is canonical transitive

		-(i)b qoʻy-	other compound verb	without compound verb
2.	*heya-wo soojisi-te oi-ta.* room-ACC clean-CVB put-PAST "(I've) cleaned my room (beforehand)."	B		*A*

3.	*denki-wo tuke-te oi-ta.* electricity-ACC turn.on put-PAST "(I've) switched the light on (beforehand)."	AB		
4.	*bangohan-wo tuku-tte oi-ta.* dinner-ACC cook-CVB put-PAST "(I've) cooked the dinner (beforehand)."	B	*A*	
5.	*bangou-wo kai-te oi-ta.* number-ACC write-CVB put-PAST "(I've) written the number (beforehand)."	AB		
6.	*huku-wo ara-tte oi-ta.* clothes-ACC wash-CVB put-PAST "(I've) washed my clothes (beforehand)."	AB		
7.	*tyokoreeto-wo kakusi-te oi-ta.* chocolate-ACC hide-CVB put-PAST "(Mother have) hid the chocolate (beforehand)."	AB		
8.	*tikketo-wo yoyakusi-te oi-ta.* ticket-ACC reserve-CVB put-PAST "(I've) reserved the ticket (already)."	AB		
9.	*anokoto-ni-tuite kangae-te oki-masu.* that.thing-DAT-about think-CVB put-HON.PRS "(I've) thought about that thing (beforehand)."		*AB*	
10.	*iku-to tutae-te oi-te kudasai.* go-QT tell-CVB put-CVB please "Please tell him that I will go (beforehand)."	AB		
11.	*sono hon-wo oi-te oi-te kudasai.* that book-ACC put-CVB put-CVB give.IMP.HON "Please put that book (beforehand)."	AB		
12.	*ano fairu-wo desukutoppu-ni oi-te oi-ta.* that file-ACC desktop-DAT put-CVB put-PAST "(I've) put that file in (PC's) desktop (beforehand)."	AB		

Examples 5 and 6 can be considered prototypical examples of canonical transitive verbs:

5. *wasure-nai-youni   denwabangou-wo   kami-ni   kai-te   oi-ta.*
   forget-NEG-PURP   telephone.number-ACC   paper-ACC   write-CVB   put-PAST
   "Not to forget, I've written down the telephone number to a paper."

   Es-im-dan   chiq-maslig-i   uchun   telifon   raqam-i-ni
   memory-1SG.POSS-ABL   go.out-VN.NEG-3SG   because   telephone   number-3SG.POSS-ACC

   qogoʻz-ga   yoʻz-ib   qoʻy-di-m.
   paper-DAT   write-CVB   put-PAST-1SG

6. *asita-kara   tabi-ni   iku-node,   huku-wo   ara-tte   oi-ta*
   tomorrow-from   trip-ACC go-CAL   clothes-ACC   wash-CVB   put-PAST
   "Because I will travel from tomorrow, I've washed my clothes."

   Erta-dan   sayohat   ket-a-man.   Shu-ning   uchun   kiyim-im-ni
   tomorrow   travel   leave-NPST-1SG   that-GEN   because   cloth-1SG.POSS-ACC

   yuv-ib   qoʻy-di-m.
   wash-CVB   put-PAST-1SG

A case not using *-(i)b qoʻy-* is shown below. In this case, speaker A did not use the compound verb.

2. *asu   okyakusan-ga kuru-node,   heya-wo   soujisi-te   oi-ta.*
   tomorrow   guest-DAT   come-CAL   room-ACC   clean-CVB   put-PAST
   "Because a guest is comeing tomorrow, I've cleaned my room."

   Ertaga   mehmon   kel-a-di.   Shu-ning   uchun   xona-m-ni
   tomorrow   guest   come-NPST-3SG   that-GEN   because   room-1SG.POSS-ACC

   tozala-di-m
   clean-PAST-1SG

Moreover, speaker A used *-ib kel-* [CVB come] in example 4.

4. *kyou-ha   kaeri-ga   osokunaru-node, bangohan-wo tuku-tte   oi-ta.*
   today-TOP   coming.home-NOM get.late-CAL   dinner-ACC   cook-CVB   put-PAST
   "Because I will come home late today, I've cooked the dinner (beforehand)."

    Bugun   kech   qayt-a-man.   Shu-ning   uchun   kechki   ovqat-ni   <u>pishir-ib</u>
    today   late   return-NPST-1SG   that-GEN   because   evening   dish-ACC   cook-ACC

    <u>*kel-di-m.*</u>
    come-PAST-1SG

If above *pishir-ib kel-di-m* is literally translated into Japanese, it will appear as *tuku-tte ki-ta* [cook-CVB come-PAST]

    Finally, an example in which neither speakers used *-ib qoʻy-* is shown below.

9. *ano-koto-nituite kanngae-te oki-masu.*
   that-thing-about think-CVB   put-HON.PRS
   "(I've) thought about that thing (beforehand)."

    U   narsa   haqida   <u>oʻyla-b</u>   <u>koʻr-a-man.</u>
    that thing   about   think-CVB   see-NPST-1SG

In this case, it seems that *-(i)b qoʻy-* is not used because the verb *oʻyla-* "think" shows a lower degree of transitivity than a typical transitive (*hit, kill*).

3.1.2. Semi-transitive/ingestive verbs
    The findings for sentences with semi-transitive/ingestive verbs are shown in Table. 6.

Table 6: Tokens in which V_1 is semi-transitive/ingestive

	-(i)b qo'y -	*-(i)b ol-* [CVB take]	without compound verb
13. *teepu-wo kii-te oku.* tape-ACC listen-CVB put "(I've) listened the tape (beforehand)."		B	A
14. *mi-te oku.* see-CVB put "(I've) seen (something beforehand)."	***AB***		
15. *kusuri-wo non-de oku.* medicine-ACC drink-CVB put "(I've) drunk medicine (beforehand)."		***AB***	
16. *koohii-wo non-de oku.* coffee-ACC drink-CVB put "(I've) drink a cup of coffee (beforehand)."		B	A
17. *tyoosyoku-wo tabe-te oku.* breakfast-ACC eat-CVB put "(I've) eaten breakfast (beforehand)."		B	A

As previously mentioned, Pardeshi (2007) notes that TAKE is used in V_2 if V_1 is reflexive. In Uzbek, if V_1 is also semi-transitive/ingestive, TAKE appears in V_2, reflecting the fact that semi-transitive/ingestive verbs show a lower degree of transitivity than canonical transitives. Moreover, Ibrahim (1995: 190) notes "*-(i)b ol-* in Uzbek expresses that an action is performed for the benefit of the subject or in the direction of the subject." Verbs such as *listen*, *drink*, and *eat* express actions from which the agent profits. Thus *-(i)b ol-* may be used. This description also applies to reflexives.

15. *byouki-ni naru-maeni kusuri-wo non-de oi-ta-hou-ga ii.*
    disease-DAT become-before medicine-ACC drink-CVB put-PAST-side-NOM good
    "Before (you) become sick, (I hope that you have) drunk medicine (beforehand)."

    Kasal bol-ish-dan oldin dori <u>ich-ib</u> <u>ol-gan-ing</u> yaxshi.
    illness become-VN-ABL front medicine drink-CVB take-PTCP.PAST-2SG.POSS good

However, *-(i)b ol-* is not always used. Two observations can be made here: First as seen in Table 6, speaker A originally did not use the compound verb. Secondly, in example 14 (*miru,* "see"), both

speakers use *-(i)b qo'y -*:

14. *nihon-ni   itta-toki-ni   hujisan-wo   mi-te   oku-beki-datta.*
    Japan-DAT   go-time-ACC   Mt. Fuji-ACC   see-CVB   put-should-COP.PAST
    "When I went to Japan, I should have seen Mt. Fuji."

    Yaponiya-ga   bor-gan   vaqt-im-da   Fuji   tog'-ni   ko'r-ib
    Japan-DAT   go-PTCP.PAST   time-1SG.POSS-LOC   NAME   mountain-ACC   see-CVB

    qo'y-ish-im   kerak   edi-ø.
    put-VN-1SG.POSS   need   COP.PAST-3SG

Example 14, unlike the other examples in the data, express a counterfactual situation in which the described action was not carried out.

Ibrahim (1995: 188) noted "it can indicate that the action is performed once when the main verb is a verb, like *qara-* (to look at), *kul-* (to laugh), *kulimsira-* (to smile), *ushla-* (to hold), etc." He also stated, however, that this meaning usually arises when it is accompanied with *bir,* "one," as seen below:

(3) *Kumush… yigit-ga   yana   bir   qara-b   qo'y-di-ø.*   (Ibrahim1995: 188)
    NAME   young-DAT   again   one   see-CVB   put-PAST-3SG
    "Kumush... looked at the young man once again."

The above data suggest that a semi-transitive/ingestive V_1 (except *ko'r-,* "see") cannot appear with *-(i)b qo'y-*.

3.1.3. Reflexive

Table 7 summarizes the findings for sentences with reflexive verbs.

Table 7: Tokens in which *V₁* is ref1exive

	-(i)b qoʻy-	*-(i)b ol-*	without compound verb
18. *syawaa-o abi-te oi-ta.* shower-ACC pour-CVB put-PAST "(I've) taken a shower (beforehand)."		B	A
19. *te-o ara-tte oi-ta.* hand-ACC wash-CVB put-PAST "(I've) washed my hand (beforehand)."		(B)	AB
20. *kao-o ara-tte oi-ta.* face-ACC wash-CVB put-PAST "(I've) wash my face (beforehand)."		(B)	AB

In example 18, speaker A uses *-(i)b ol-*, while speaker B does not uses any compound verb.

18. *dekakeru-tameni   syawaa-wo   abi-te   oi-ta.*
   go.out-CAL   shower-ACC   pour-CVB   put-PAST
   "(I've) taken a shower (beforehand) to go out."

   A. *Koʻch-ga   chiq-ish(-im)-dan   oldin <u>dush   qabul   qil-di-m</u>.*
      street-DAT   go.out-VN-(1SG.POSS)-ABL   before shower   acceptance   do-PAST-1SG

   B. *Koʻch-ga   chiksh-im   uchun   <u>dush-ga   qil-ib   ol-di-m</u>.*
      street-DAT   go.out-VN-1SG.POSS   because   shower-DAT   do-CVB   take-PAST-1SG

However, in examples 19 and 20, speaker B felt that 19b was better than 19a.

19. *gohan-wo   taberu-tameni te-wo   ara-tte   oi-ta.*
   meal-ACC   eat-CAL   hand-ACC   wash-CVB   put-PAST
   "(I've) washed my hand (beforehand) for meal."

   a. *Ovqat   yey-ish   uchun   qoʻl-im-ni   <u>yuv-ib   ol-di-m.</u>*
      meal   eat-VN-ABL because   hand-1SG.POSS-ACC   wash-CVB   take-PAST-1SG

   b. *Ovqat   yey-ish   uchun   qoʻl-im-ni   <u>yuv-di-m.</u>*
      meal   eat-VN-ABL because   hand-1SG.POSS-ACC   wash-PAST-1SG

These data shows that *-(i)b qo'y-* also cannot be used with reflexives.

Unergative (volitional intransitive) and unaccusative (non-volitional intransitive) verbs

Table 8 shows the tokens with unergative/volitional intransitive verbs (ex. 21-31) and unaccusative/non-volitional intransitive verbs (ex. 32):

Table 8: Tokens in which V_1 is unergative/volitional intransitive and unaccusative/non-volitional intransitive

		-(i)b qo'y-	*-(i)b ol-*	other compound verb	without compound verb
21.	*oyoi-de oku.* swim-CVB put "(I've) swum (beforehand)"	***B***			A
22.			B	A	
23.	*ha-wo migai-te oko-u.* teeth-ACC wash-CVB put-1PL.IMP "(I'll) washed my tooth (beforehand)"		B		A
24.	*ne-te oki-masi-ta.* sleep-CVB put-HON-PAST "(I've) slept (beforehand)."		***AB***		
25.	*kakure-te ok-e.* hide-CVB put-IMP "(I've) hidden (beforehand)."		***AB***		
26.	*nige-te oku-koto-ni si-ta.* run.away-CVB put-thing-DAT do-PAST "I decided to run away (beforehand)."			***AB***	
27.	*hasi-tte oki-masu* run-CVB put-HON.NPST "(I've) run (beforehand)."	***B***		A	
28.	*hasi-tte oku-hou-ga ii.* run-CVB put-NMLZ-NOM good "I think it is better to run (beforehand)."	***B***			A
29.	*tat-te oi-te kudasai.* stand-CVB put-CVB give.IMP.HON "Please stand up (beforehand)."		B		A

30.	*suwa-tte oko-u* sit-CVB put-1SG.IMP "(I'll) sit (beforehand)."		***AB***		
31.	*suwa-tte oku-no-ha taisetu-desu-yo.* sit-CVB put-NMLZ-TOP important-COP.HON-EMPH It is important to sit (beforehand).		***AB***		
32.	*sin-de oku-no-ga itiban ii.* die-CVB put-NMLZ-NOM most good It is best to die (beforehand).	***B***			A

Because this class of verbs is intransitive, it is expected that they will not be able to appear with *-(i)b qo'y-*. However, this prediction is not borne out, and *-(i)b qo'y-* does indeed appear in these contexts.

First, the example that both speakers answered similarly is shown examples 24, 25, 30, 31 (see Table 8):

30. *nagatabi-na-node,   suwa-tte oko-u.*
    long.trip-COP-CAL   sit-CVB   put-1PL.IMP
    "(I'll) sit down because of long trip."

   Uzoq sayohat chiq-a-miz.   Shu-ning   uchun   <u>o'tir-ib</u>   <u>ol-aylik</u>.
   long   travel   go.out-NPST-1PL that-GEN   because sit-CVB   take-1PL.IMP

Example 26 shows the verb *nige-te oku* [run.away-CVB put]. This example is not used with either *-(i)b qo'y-* or *-(i)b ol-*. Speaker A does not use any compound verb, while speaker B uses the compound verb *-(i)b ket-* [CVB leave].

26. *abunai-to   omotta-node, toriaezu   nige-te oku-koto-ni   si-ta.*
    dangerous-QT think-CAL   for.the.time.being run.away put-NMLZ-DAT   do-PAST
    "Because I think it is dangerous, I ran away for the time being."

A. *Havfli   deb   oyla-gan-im   uchun   qochiq-qa   <u>qaror</u>   <u>qil-di-m.</u>*

    dangerous   QT   think-PTCP.PAST-1SG.POSS   because   escape-DAT decision do-PAST-1SG

B. *Havfli   deb   oyla-ganlig-im   uchun   <u>qoch-ib</u>   <u>ket-di-m.</u>*

    dangerous   QT   think-PTCP.PAST-1SG.POSS   because   run.away-CVB leave-PAST-1SG

In examples 21 and 27, speaker B judges that he can use both *-(i)b qoʻy-* and *-(i)b ol-* are allowable:

21. *asita   oyoge-nai-kara,   kyou oyoi-de   oku.*

    tomorrow   swim.POT-NEG-CAL   today swim-CVB put

    "Because I can't swim tomorrow, I will swim today beforehand."

    Ertaga   choʻmla-ol-ma-y-man   shu-ning uchun   bugun   choʻmla-b

    tomorrow   swim-POT-NEG-NPST-1SG   that-GEN because today   swim-CVB

    {ol-/ qoʻy-}a-man.

    take-/ put-NPST-1SG

27. *amemoyou-na-node,   gozentyu-ni   toriaezu   hasi-tte oki-masu.*

    a.threatening.sky-COP-CAL the.morning-DAT for.the.time.being   run-CVB put-HON.NPST

    "Because of a threatening sky, in the morning I will run for the time being."

    Yongir   koʻp yogʻ-ish mumkin. Shu-ning   uchun   peshin-gacha yugur-ib

    rain   many rain-VN possible that-GEN   because noon-until   run-CVB

    {ol-/ qoʻy-}a-man.

     take/ put-NPST-1SG

Moreover, speaker B uses *-(i)b qoʻy-* in ex. 28, *sin-de oku* [die-CVB put] and *hasi-tte oku* [run-CVB put] in ex. 32.

28. *reesu-de   hasiru-ijoo-no kyori-wo   rensyu-de   hasi-tte oku-hou-ga   ii.*

    race-LOC   run-over-GEN   distance-ACC practice-LOC run-CVB put-NMLZ-NOM good

    "It is better that you run longer distances in practice than in the race."

Musobaqa-da   *yugur-adigan*   *masofa-dan*   *ko'p-roq*   *masofa-ni*   *mashqlot-da*
contest-LOC   run-PTCP.NPST   distance-ABL many-COMP   distance-ACC practice-LOC

<u>*yugur-ib*   *qo'y-gan*</u>   *yaxshi-roq.*
run-CVB put-PTCP.PAST good-COMP

32. *nagaiki-nante*   *sitaku-nai.*   *osima-reru-utini*   *sin-de*   *oku-no-ga*   *itiban ii.*
    long.life-such.as want-NEG.NPST regret-PASS-while die-CVB put-NMLZ-NOM   most   good
    "I don't want a long life. I think it is best that I die being regretted."

Uzoq *yasha-gi-m*   *kel-ma-yap-ti.*   *Odam-lar-ga*   *keraklig-im-da*
long   live-VN-1SG.POSS come-NEG-PROP-3SG person-PL-DAT   need-1SG.POSS-LOC

<u>*o'l-ib*</u>   <u>*ko'y-gan-im*</u>   *eng*   *yaxshi*
die-CVB put-PTCP.PAST-1SG.POSS   SUPER good

In the preceding discussion, I hypothesized that *-(i)b qo'y-* could not be used with low-transitivity verbs. But example 32 shows this prediction is not borne out.

3.2. Phonetic erosion

No pause occurs between V_1 and V_2 in the case of *-te oku,* and phonetic reduction (*-te oku-* > *-toku-*) occurs in spoken language.

(4) *kai<u>-toki-</u>masita.*
   kai<u>-te</u>   <u>*oki-*</u>*masita.*
   write-CVB   put-HON.PAST
   "(I've) written (beforehand)."

In the case of *-(i)b qo'y-*, however, a pause always appears between V_1 and V_2, and phonetic reduction does not occur.

3.3. Insertion of a particle or word

In *-te oku*, there is the case in which a particle or word can enter between V_1 and V_2. A Google search for *kai-te mo oku* [write-CVB also put] resulted in four hits.

(5) *kore-made   omo-tta-ri,   i-tta-ri   si-te   ki-ta-koto-wo   kai-te*
    this-until   think-PAST-CVB say-PAST-CVB do-CVB   come-PAST-NMLZ-ACC   write-CVB

    mo oku-ga,   essei-de-mo   nai².
    also put-but   essay-LOC-also   no
    "I will also write things that I thought and said in my life; but these won't also be essays."

The contracted form of *-te oku, toku,* however, does not permit insertion of a particle.

-(i)b qoʻy-, like *-te oku*, permits insertion of particles. The following is a re-elicitation of ex. 6 from speaker A.

6a. *asita-kara   tabi-ni   iku-node,   huku-wo   ka-tte   mo oi-ta-si,   ara-tte*
    tomorrow-from   trip-ACC go-CAL   clothes-ACC   buy-CVB   also put-PAST-CVB   wash-CVB

    mo   oi-ta
    also   put-PAST
    "Because I will travel tomorrow, I've also bought clothes and washed them."

    Ertaga   sayohat-ga   ket-ish-im   uchun,   kiyim-lar-ni   sotib ol-ib   ham
    tomorrow   travel-DAT   leave-VN-1SG.POSS   because cloth-PL-ACC   buy-CVB   also

    qoʻy-di-m,   va   yuv-ib   ham   qoʻy-di-m.
    put-PAST-1SG and wash-CVB   also   put-PAST-1SG

I also conducted a Google search for examples of *ham qoʻy-di-m* [also put-PAST-1SG]. I also searched for examples in which *V₁* is a *-(i)b* converb, and *qoʻy-* is a vector verb. Below is one such example:

(6) *Ha, un-ga   kelin   top-ib   ber-a-man,   deb va'da   ber-ib   ham qoʻy-di-m.*
    yes 3SG-DAT bride   find-CVB give-NPST-1SG QT promise give-CVB also put-PAST-1SG
    "Yes, I've also promised that I find a wife for him."

                                (Muloqot ― Sevgilimni tinch qoʻy! Yoʻqsa...³)

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² http://zatsunen4989.web.fc2.com/tabi/maegaki.html（2013/07/29）
³ http://m.muloqot.uz/index.php/blogs/5557/16430/sevgilimni-tinch-qo-y-yo-qsa?cpage=6 （2013/07/29）

4. Conclusion

In §3, I examined *-te oku* and *-(i)b qoʻy-* from two perspectives: the interrelated traits of grammaticalization (apart from desemanticization and decategorialization), and the possibility separating of V_1 and V_2 with additional words or particles.

The summarized results are shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Grammarticalization of *-te oku* and *-(i)b qoʻy-*

			-te oku	*-(i)b qoʻy-*
(a) Desemanticization			○	○
(b) Extension (§ 3.1)	Lexical meaning of V_1	canonical transitive	○	○
		semi-transitive/ ingestive	○	○／×
		reflexive	○	×
		unergative (volitional intransitive)	○	○／×
		unaccusative (non-volitional intransitive)	○	○／×
(c) Decategorialization			○	○
(d) Erosion (§ 3.2)			○	×
Insertion of a particle or word (§ 3.3)			○／×	○

For extension, I referred to Pardeshi (2007) and considered the limitations on the lexical properties of V_1. As a result, V_1 in *-te oku* permits any verb, whereas V_1 in *-(i)b qoʻy-* restricts to semi-transitive/ingestive and reflexive (3.1).

I also cite an example of phonetic erosion *-te oku*, which becomes *-toku* in speech. No such erosion occurs with *-(i)b qoʻy-* (3.2).

Finally, both *-te oku* and *-(i)b qoʻy-* allow insertion of particles (*mo* and *ham,* "also"). However, the reduced form, *-toku* (from *-te oku*), does not permit insertion of any particle or word.

Therefore, I can conclude the following: *-(i)b qoʻy-* shows a lower degree of grammaticalization than *-te oku*, and *-(i)b qoʻy-* has some limitations on its choice of V_1.

List of abbreviations

-	suffix border	GEN	genitive	POSS	possessive
1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person	IMP	imperative	POT	potential
ABL	ablative	LOC	locative	PURP	purpose
ACC	accusative	NAME	proper name	PRS	present
CAL	causal	NEG	negative	PTCP	participle
COMP	comparative	NMLZ	nominalization	PURP	purposive
COP	copula	NOM	nominative	QT	quotative
CVB	converb	NPST	non-past	SUPER	superlative
DAT	dative	PASS	passive	SG	singular
EMPH	emphatic	PAST	past	TOP	topic
HON	honorative	PL	plural	VN	verbal noun

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日本語「テオク」とウズベク語 *-(i)b qoʻy-*の対照

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　本稿では、日本語「テオク」とウズベク語 *-(i)b qoʻy-* [-CVB put-]について、ウズベク語母語話者からの elicitation の結果を用いて、それらの用例を文法化と複合の度合いという観点から考察する。

　文法化に関しては、Heine & Kuteva(2002: 2)による 4 つの相互的メカニズム（脱意味化、拡大、脱範疇化、浸食）が「テオク」と*-(i)b qoʻy-*にどのように働いているのかについて考察した。そして、複合の度合いがどのくらい強いのか、つまり V_1 と V_2 の間に小詞・語の挿入を許すかどうか、という観点からの比較対照も行った。

　その結果、以上の二つの観点から次のことが明らかとなった。文法化に関しては Heine and Kuteva(2002: 2)による 4 つの相互メカニズムが「テオク」の方が*-(i)b qoʻy-*よりも強く働いているということ、複合の度合いに関しては両方とも小詞の挿入を許すということがそれぞれ明らかとなった。

　以上の考察の結果、ウズベク語 *-(i)b qoʻy-*のほうが、日本語「テオク」よりも文法化の度合いが低いということを結論付ける。