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On Uzbek Converb Constructions Expressing Motion Events

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Abstract

Converbs, which are widely used in Turkic languages, constitute a number of converb constructions conveying aspectual and *Aktionsart* meanings. These constructions, often called "auxiliary verb constructions", have been well studied. In this article, however, which is restricted to Uzbek, we will study in detail a different kind of converb construction, that until today mainly went unnoticed by turcologists: the "converb construction of motion" (CCM). It is defined as a succession of verbs, linked with the converb suffix *-(i)b*, in which each verb expresses a separate semantic component of the same motion event. Our research based on a monolingual Uzbek corpus showed that three Main Types and one Extra Type can be distinguished. These are made up of verbs belonging to well-defined semantic verbal categories, combinations of which constitute specific subtypes. It can be concluded that Uzbek has an elaborate system of CCMs.

Keywords

construction, converb, corpus, motion, semantics, Uzbek

1 Introduction

The structure which we will be focusing on in this article is illustrated in (1). This sentence contains a typical example of an Uzbek converb construction, namely (2).

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(1) Kuyov chimildiqqa kirib, shundoq Parchaning yuzini ochibdi-yu, dod solib *qochib chiqib ketibdi*.
'The groom went behind the curtain, uncovered Parcha's face, let out a scream and fled out and away.' (ES1NO12.CAL)[1]

(2) *qoch-ib chiq-ib ket-* = flee + exit + go away

As the verbs participating in this specific converb construction (2) all retain their original lexical meaning, this construction can be considered a “Level 2” or "Level 3 construction" in Johanson's (1995) 4-level analysis of converb constructions and a "serial verb construction" in Anderson's (2012) approach. It is not a "Level 4" or "postverbal construction" (Johanson 2011), nor an "auxiliary verb construction" (Anderson (2012)), as in those cases, the last verb or verbs have to lose their lexical meaning.

Menges (1995: 145) already drew the attention to a parallelism between the Turkic converb constructions and the Indo European prefixed verbs. As it is well known, there are elaborate systems of prefixed verbs expressing motion events in Indo European languages (e.g. in Russian), hence the question of whether a comparable elaborate system of "converb constructions of motion" exists in Turkic languages, e.g. in Uzbek.

The Uzbek Converb Construction of Motion (CCM) was analysed in Vandewalle (2013) and defined as a construction consisting of a succession of verbs linked by the converb suffix *-(i)b*, in which all participating verbs lexically express semantic components of the Motion event as described by Talmy (2000). These components can be internal, such as Path, or external (then indicating a relation between a Co-event and the main Motion event), such as Manner, Cause, Enablement and Result[2]. The characterization as a CCM is restricted to cases in which all participating verbs together describe one and the same segment of the motion event (consequently, cases such as *kir-ib chiq-* "enter and exit" are not considered), all verbs retain their original lexical meaning and the construction is not used metaphorically.

2 Research Questions and Method

In our research we looked for answers to the following research questions regarding the Uzbek CCM:

- Which verbs participate in the construction?
- What are the semantic categories of these participating verbs?
- How are intransitive and transitive verbs distributed in the construction?
- What are the main types and subtypes, and what are their frequencies?
- How are the semantic components expressed across the types and subtypes?

Our research was based upon the Monolingual Uzbek CALC corpus (Central Asian Languages Corpora Project), developed by Vandamme and Braem (1997). Of this corpus, 669 212 tokens in 144 corpus texts pertaining to various domains and genres were analysed[3]. First, an iterative search for verbs forming Converb Constructions of Motion in the CALC' corpus was performed. Subsequently, all participating verbs were classified into semantic verb categories. Finally, different sequences of semantic categories were classified into Main Types and subtypes.

3 General Picture of the Uzbek CCM: three Main Types and one Extra Type

A total of 1767 CCM tokens, representing 228 CCM types, were found in the CALC' corpus. Based on the (in)transitivity of the verbs, three Main Types (I, II, III) and one minor Extra Type (IV) can be distinguished, as shown in Table 1, based on Vandewalle (2013: 342-344)[4]. Of these types, I coded autonomous motion, while II, III and IV coded caused motion events. The first type consisted of an intransitive verb, followed by one or more other intransitive verbs, the second type of a transitive verb, followed by one or more intransitive verbs, the third type of a transitive verb, followed by one or more transitive verbs, and the fourth type of two transitive verbs followed by one or more intransitive verbs.

Table 1: *Distribution of the CCMs over three Main Types and one Extra Type*

		tokens	types	tokens	types
I	V_{intr} - V_{intr} (- V_{intr})	875	122	49.5%	53.5%
II	V_{tr} - V_{intr} (- V_{intr})	754	59	42.7%	25.9%
III	V_{tr} - V_{tr} (- V_{tr})	126	36	7.1%	15.8%
IV	V_{tr} - V_{tr} - V_{intr} (- V_{intr})	12	11	0.7%	4.8%
	total of II, III, IV	892	106	50.5%	46.5%
overall total		1767	228	100%	100%

When looking at the tokens, we notice that type I makes up half of the total, the other half being made up by the three types used for caused motion. Within these three, type II clearly outweighs the others, while type IV is marginal.

In the following paragraphs, the four Main Types will be discussed one by one in greater detail.

4 Characteristics of Main Type I: V_{intr} - V_{intr} (- V_{intr})

4.1 Structure of Main Type I

Main Type I consists of CCMs in which an intransitive verb is followed by one or more other intransitive verbs.

4.2 Semantic Verb Categories Participating in Main Type I

The semantic verb categories attested in the CALC' corpus are: Manner-intr, Result-intr and Path-intr. Below and in the following subparagraphs, definitions from Talmy are given for the semantic relation which is typical of each new category. These are followed by a list of all verbs participating in CCMs of that specific Main Type and belonging to that category. The

verbs are arranged in decreasing order of token frequency[5]. In the Path category, we distinguish non-deictic Path (Path') from deictic Path (Path-Deixis).

Manner-intr:

Definition: *"In the Manner relation [...] the Co-event co-occurs with the Motion event and is conceptualized as an additional activity that the Figure[6] of the Motion exhibits, an activity that directly pertains to the Motion event but that is distinct from it. In this conceptualization, the Co-event can "pertain" to the Motion event in several ways, such as by interacting with it, affecting it, or being able to manifest itself only in the course of it."* (Talmy 2000: 45)

Verbs: *uch-* (fly), *qoch-* (flee), *yugur-* (run), *ko'ch-* (move), *oq-* (flow), *chop-* (run), *yur-* (walk), *otil-* (spout), *o's-* (grow), *suz-* (swim), *yiqil-* (fall), *sakra-* (jump), *adash-* (get lost), *dumala-* (roll), *gandirakla-* (totter), *yumala-* (roll), *yel-* (run), *qayna-* (boil), *qula-* (fall), *sochil-* (scatter), *sudral-* (crawl), *quyil-* (flow), *to'kil-* (flow), *chirmash-* (climb, crawl), *o'rmala-* (crawl), *siz-* (seep)

Result-intr:

Definition: *"In the relation of Concurrent Result, the Co-event results from -that is, is caused by- the main Motion event, and would not otherwise occur. It takes place concurrently with, or during some portion of, the Motion event."* (Talmy 2000: 46)

Verbs: *gursilla-*, *shildira-*, *tizilla-*, *vishilla-*, *zuv-zuvla-* (produce a specific noise)

Path-intr:

Definition: *"[...] The course followed or site occupied by the Figure object with respect to the Ground[7] object."* (Talmy 1985: 61)

Path'-intr Verbs: *chiq-* (exit, rise), *kir-* (enter), *qayt-* (return), *yet-* (reach), *o't-* (pass), *tush-* (go down), *ajral-* (get separated), *jo'na-* (set off), *yaqinlash-* (approach), *tarqal-*

(disperse), *ko'taril-* (rise), *kech-* (pass), *uzoqlash-* (go away), *yoyil-* (spread), *teg-* (reach), *erish-* (reach), *osh-* (go over), *suqil-* (enter), *to'plan-* (gather), *yig'il-* (gather)

Path-Deixis-intr Verbs: *ket-* (go away), *kel-* (come), *bor-* (go)

4.3 Attested Subtypes of Main Type I and Summarizing Formula

Using the semantic categories defined in 4.2, specific combinations are found, which will be called "subtypes" (of the Main Type). In Table 2, based on Vandewalle (2013: 337), these subtypes are given in order of decreasing token frequency.

Table 2: *Subtypes of the CCMs of Main Type I*

	tokens	types	tokens	types
$V_{P'intr}$ - V_{PDintr}	**546**	**34**	**62.4%**	**27.9%**
V_{Mintr} - V_{PDintr}	**184**	**35**	**21.0%**	**28.7%**
V_{Mintr} - $V_{P'intr}$	**90**	**33**	**10.3%**	**27.0%**
$V_{P'intr}$ - $V_{P'intr}$	39	7	4.5%	5.7%
V_{Mintr} - V_{Mintr}	5	2	0.6%	1.6%
V_{Mintr} - $V_{P'intr}$ - V_{PDintr}	**4**	**4**	**0.5%**	**3.3%**
V_{Rintr} - V_{Mintr}	4	4	0.5%	3.3%
V_{Rintr} - V_{Mintr} - $V_{P'intr}$	1	1	0.1%	0.8%
$V_{P'intr}$ - V_{Mintr}	1	1	0.1%	0.8%
$V_{P'intr}$ - V_{Mintr} - V_{PDintr}	1	1	0.1%	0.8%
	875	122	100%	100%

For Main Type I, we can now draw up a summarizing formula (3). From this formula consisting of three categories, any succession of two or three categories can be chosen.

Consequently, it represents the 4 subtypes marked in bold in Table 2. This formula covers 94.1% (of the tokens) / 87.0% (of the types)[8] of the CCMs of Main Type I.

(3) V_{Mintr} - $V_{P'intr}$ - V_{PDintr} = 94.1 % / 87.0% of Main Type I

4.4 Examples of Main Type I from CALC'

The first three examples illustrate the most frequent (with respect to the tokens) subtype consisting of a non-deictic Path verb followed by a deictic Path verb. Uzbek appears to make use of a set of three deictic Path verbs. In (4), the verb *kel-* (come) expresses movement of the Figure towards the deictic centre. In (5) with *ket-* (go away), we have movement in the opposite direction, i.e. away from the deictic centre. In (6), however, with *bor-* (go), the Figure coincides with the moving deictic centre. Example (7) exemplifies the frequent combination of a Manner verb and a Path verb, in this case a non-deictic Path verb. The less frequent subtype consisting of two non-deictic Path verbs can be seen in (8). The CCM in the last example (9) starts with a Result verb which expresses the noise produced by the motion.

(4) [...] yosh o'qituvchimiz sinfimizga juda xomush bir qiyofada *kirib keldi*.
'[...] our young teacher came very silently into our classroom.' (ESS03.CAL)
kir-ib kel- = enter + come = $V_{P'intr}$ - V_{PDintr}

(5) Meni ko'chada qoldirib o'zi bir hovliga *kirib ketdi.*
'He left me on the street and he himself went away into a courtyard.' (EED52TA1.CAL)
kir-ib ket- = enter + go away = $V_{P'intr}$ - V_{PDintr}

(6) Tongotar payti Krasnogorsk degan qishloqqa *kirib bordik.*
'By dawn, we entered a village called Krasnogorsk.' (ES2NO12.CAL)
kir-ib bor- = enter + go = $V_{P'intr}$ - V_{PDintr}

(7) Afandi uyiga kelgach, qizi *yugurib chiqib* so'radi: - Dada, otni necha pulga oldingiz?
'When Afandi came home, his daughter ran out and asked: - Father, for how much did you buy the horse?' (GDA71AF1.CAL)
yugur-ib chiq- = run + exit = V_{Mintr} - $V_{P'intr}$

(8) Dadamlar ichkariga kirib ketdilar-u darhol *qaytib chiqdilar*.
'My father went in and immediately came back out.' (ESS03.CAL)
qayt-ib chiq- = return + exit = $V_{P'intr}$ - $V_{P'intr}$

(9) Bir mahal kimdir deraza oldidan *gursillab yugurib o'tdi*.
'Once, somebody ran past the window, producing a loud noise with his feet.'
(ES2NO12.CAL)
gursilla-b yugur-ib o't- = "noise" + run + pass = V_{Rintr} - V_{Mintr} - $V_{P'intr}$

5 Characteristics of Main Type II: V_{tr} - V_{intr} (- V_{intr})

5.1 Structure of Main Type II

Main Type II consists of CCMs in which a transitive verb is followed by one or more intransitive verbs.

5.2 Semantic Verb Categories Participating in Main Type II

The semantic verb categories attested in the CALC' corpus are: Manner-tr, Cause-tr, Enablement-tr, Manner-intr, Path'-intr, Path-Deixis-intr. Below, definitions are given for the new categories Cause and Enablement.

Manner-tr:

Verbs: *boshla-* (lead on foot), *yetakla-* (lead by the hand), *quv-* (chase), *hayda-* (drive), *sudra-* (drag), *quvla-* (chase), *sur-* (drive), *oqiz-* (make float), *tashi-* (carry)

Cause-tr:

Definition: *“In the Cause relation [...] the Co-event can precede the main Motion event in the case of onset causation, or it can co-occur with the main Motion event in the case of extended causation [...]. And it is construed as bringing about the occurrence of this Motion. That is, the Motion event would not take place if the Co-event did not occur."* (Talmy 2000: 45)

Verb: *tort-* (pull)

Enablement-tr:

Definition: *"In the Enablement relation, the Co-event directly precedes the main Motion event and enables the occurrence of an event that causes the Motion but does not itself cause this Motion."* (Talmy 2000: 43)

Verbs: *ol-* (take), *ko'tar-* (lift), *o'g'irla-* (steal)

Manner-intr:

Verbs: *qoch-* (flee), *yur-* (walk), *uch-* (fly)

Path‘-intr:

Verbs: *chiq-* (exit, rise), *kir-* (enter), *tush-* (go down), *o't-* (pass), *qayt-* (return), *jo'na-* (set off), *yet-* (reach)

Path-Deixis-intr:

Verbs: *kel-* (come), *ket-* (go away), *bor-* (go)

It should be noted that the Manner and Cause relations are sometimes difficult to distinguish from one another. About this, Talmy (2000: 29) writes: *"Here, the assessment of whether it is Manner or Cause that is conflated in the verb is based on whether the verb's basic reference*

is to what the Figure does or to what the Agent or Instrument does." A practical rule of thumb appears to be the following: When the action of the Co-event always entails motion of the Figure, it is a Manner relation (as in "to drag"). When it does not necessarily entail motion of the Figure, it is a Cause relation (as in "to pull").

5.3 Attested Subtypes of Main Type II and Summarizing Formula

All different subtypes of Main Type II that were found in the CALC' corpus are given in Table 3, based on Vandewalle (2013: 339-340).

Table 3: *Subtypes of the CCMs of Main Type II*

	tokens	types	tokens	types
V_{Etr} - V_{PDintr}	**479**	**8**	**63.5%**	**13.6%**
V_{Etr} - $V_{P'intr}$	**146**	**10**	**19.4%**	**16.9%**
V_{Mtr} - V_{PDintr}	**56**	**19**	**7.4%**	**32.2%**
V_{Etr} - V_{Mintr}	33	7	4.4%	11.9%
V_{Etr} - $V_{P'intr}$ - V_{PDintr}	**19**	**3**	**2.5%**	**5.1%**
V_{Mtr} - $V_{P'intr}$	**13**	**5**	**1.7%**	**8.5%**
V_{Etr} - V_{Mintr} - V_{PDintr}	4	3	0.5%	5.1%
V_{Mtr} - $V_{P'intr}$ - V_{PDintr}	**3**	**3**	**0.4%**	**5.1%**
V_{Ctr} - V_{PDintr}	**1**	**1**	**0.1%**	**1.7%**
	754	59	100%	100%

Most of these subtypes can be summarized in the formula (10). To ensure the transitive character of the result, the first category has always to be chosen. It can then be followed by the second and/or the third category. The formula covers 95.1% / 83.0% of the CCMs of Main Type II. The covered subtypes are marked in bold in Table 3.

(10) V_{Mtr} - $V_{P'intr}$ - V_{PDintr} = 95.1% / 83.0% of Main Type II
V_{Ctr}
V_{Etr}

The two subtypes which are not covered by this formula begin with an Enablement verb, followed by a Manner verb. In formula (10), Enablement verbs and Manner verbs are mutually exclusive. When we compare formula (10) with the formula for Main Type I (2) in 4.3, we notice that the verbs expressing the Manner component (V_{Mintr} in 4.3 and V_{Mtr} in 5.3) take exactly the same position with respect to the Path' and Path-Deixis verbs in both formulae. Furthermore, they share this position with the Cause and Enablement verbs, which, as they are always transitive, do not appear in the formula for Main Type I.

5.4 Origin of the Syntax and Semantics of Main Type II

Main Type II structures express caused motion, entailing at the same time co-movement of the Causer with the Figure (the object moved). The semantics and syntax of this structure can be explained as follows. A sentence, such as (11), is syntactically ambiguous. According to Hopper and Traugott (2000: 40-62), this kind of ambiguity is a condition for possible syntactic reanalysis.

(11) Karomatxon [...] ko'rlarni boshlab kirdi. (EED52TA1.CAL)

The original syntactic structure of (11) consists of a converb clause (12) followed by a main (or: base) clause (13). The converb clause expresses the action of an Agent on a Patient, including taking control of the patient referent. The main clause expresses the autonomous motion of a Figure.

(12) Clause 1: Karomatxon (*Agent*) ko’rlarni (*Patient*) boshlab...
'Karomatxon led the blind people...'

(13) Clause 2: Karomatxon (*Figure*) kirdi.
'Karomatxon entered.'

This originally biclausal structure (11, 12, 13) was then likened to a monoclausal caused motion structure, such as (14), possessing a Causer-Subject and a Figure-Object and ending with a single verb. This reanalysis yielded the monoclausal structure (15), in which both verbs together now form the predicate core of a single clause.

(14) Karomatxon (*Causer*) ko'rlarni (*Figure*) kiritdi.
'Karomatxon let the blind people enter.'

(15) Karomatxon (*Causer*) ko'rlarni (*Figure*) boshlab kirdi.
'Karomatkhon [...] led the blind people in.'

In analogy with (14), structure (15) then expresses the fact that a Causer causes a Figure to move along a certain Path. During this reanalysis, the entailment of movement of the Causer referent, originally expressed by the main clause (13), is preserved. As the Causer is in full control of the Figure, both undergo exactly the same type of motion with respect to the Path component, which leads to the entailment of co-movement of the Causer with the Figure in (15).

5.5 Examples of Main Type II from CALC'

In the first two examples (16) and (17), the converb construction starts with an Enablement verb, which is followed by a deictic Path verb in (16) and a non-deictic Path verb in (17). These examples illustrate the two most frequent subtypes of Main Type II. Example (18) exemplifies a subtype consisting of three verbs: a Manner verb followed by a non-deictic and a deictic Path verb. Finally, example (19) represents the subtype starting with a Cause verb.

(16) Qora qush qizni *o'g'irlab ketgan* ekan.
'The black bird had abducted the girl.' (EED52VO2.CAL)
o'g'irla-b ket- = steal + go away = V_{Etr} - V_{PDintr}

(17) [Salim] Karimni suvdan *olib chiqdi*.
'[Salim] took Karim out of the water.' (EED51UZB.CAL)
ol-ib chiq- = take + exit = V_{Etr} - $V_{P'intr}$

(18) [...] kanizak cholni *yetaklab kirib kelibdi*.
'[...] the slavegirl led (came leading) the old man in.' (ED52V01.CAL)
yetakla-b kir-ib kel- = lead by the hand + enter + come = V_{Mtr} - $V_{P'intr}$ - V_{PDintr}

(19) [...] yuki og'ir aravani *tortib borayotgan* otday [...]
'[...] as a horse pulling a cart with a heavy load [...]' (AS1ST12.CAL)
tort-ib bor- = pull + go = V_{Ctr} - V_{PDintr}

5.6 Distinguishing *olib* - V_{intr} (- V_{intr}) as Main Type II'

From Table 3, it can be deduced that V_{Etr} - V_{intr} - (V_{intr}) converb constructions make up 90.3% / 52.5% of all Main Type II CCMs. In 93.2% / 51.6% of these V_{Etr} - V_{intr} (- V_{intr}) converb constructions, the Enablement verb is *ol-* (take). Consequently, these *olib* - V_{intr} (- V_{intr}) converb constructions make up 84.2% / 27.1% of all Main Type II constructions and 35.9% / 5.6% of all CCMs. Comparing this with Table 1, it follows that the *olib* - V_{intr} (- V_{intr}) converb construction, with respect to the tokens, is about 5 times as frequent as Main Type III. Therefore, there is ample reason to distinguish the *olib* - V_{intr} (- V_{intr}) converb construction as a Main Type on its own, which we will call Main Type II'. In the following paragraph 6, we will describe this new Main Type in the same way as we did above for Main Type I and Main Type II.

6 Main Type II': *olib* - V_{intr} (- V_{intr})

6.1 Structure of Main Type II'

Main Type II' consists of CCMs in which the verb *ol-* (to take) is followed by one or more intransitive verbs.

6.2 Semantic Verb Categories Participating in Main Type II'

The semantic verb categories attested in the CALC' corpus are (besides Enablement with *ol-*): Manner-intr, Path'-intr, Path-Deixis-intr.

Manner-intr:

Verbs: *qoch-* (flee), *yur-* (walk), *uch-* (fly)

Path‘-intr:

Verbs: *chiq-* (exit, rise), *kir-* (enter), *tush-* (go down), *qayt-* (return), *o't-* (pass), *jo'na-* (set off)

Path-Deixis-intr:

Verbs: *kel-* (come), *bor-* (go), *ket-* (go away)

6.3 Attested Subtypes of Main Type II’ and Summarizing Formulae

All subtypes of Main Type II' that were found in the CALC' corpus are given in Table 4, based on Vandewalle (2013: 307-309 & 331-332)[9].

Table 4: *Subtypes of the CCMs of Main Type II'.*

	tokens	types	tokens	types
***olib* - $\mathbf{V_{PDintr}}$**	**457**	**3**	**72.0%**	**18.7%**
***olib* - $\mathbf{V_{P'intr}}$**	**134**	**6**	**21.1%**	**37.5%**
olib - V_{Mintr}	24	3	3.8%	18.7%
***olib* - $\mathbf{V_{P'intr}}$ - $\mathbf{V_{PDintr}}$**	**18**	**2**	**2.8%**	**12.5%**
olib - V_{Mintr} - V_{PDintr}	2	2	0.3%	12.5%
	635	16	100%	100%

Most of these subtypes can be summarized in formula (20). Of the categories following the *olib* part any one or all two can be chosen.

(20) *olib* - $V_{P'intr}$ - V_{PDintr} = 95.9% / 68.8% of the subtypes of Main Type II'

An alternative version of the formula, shown in (21), incorporates a V_{Mintr} immediately following the *olib* part. It then covers 100% / 100% of the subtypes of Main Type II'.

(21) *olib* - V_{Mintr} - $V_{P'intr}$ - V_{PDintr} = 100% /100% of the subtypes of Main Type II'

A reason to incorporate the subtypes containing a Manner verb in formula (21) is the apparent relationship between Main Type II' and Main Type I, explained in the following subparagraph.

6.4 Relationship between Main Type II' and Main Type I

When we compare the summarizing formula of Main Type II', especially (21), with the one of Main Type I, we notice the following relationship (22).

(22) Main Type II' = *olib* + Main Type I

Whereas Main Type I expresses autonomous motion, Main Type II' expresses caused motion combined with co-movement of the Causer. The *olib* part in the Main Type II' structure can then be considered as a morpheme causativizing the Main Type I structure which it precedes. Heine & Kuteva (2002: 286) already drew the attention to the fact that lexemes with the meaning "to take" can grammaticalize into causativizers: “take” > Causative.

By definition, CCMs must consist of at least two verbs. Although it is a fixed element of the structure, the *olib* part can still be considered as a verb in Main Type II'. In the case of a Main Type II' with exactly two verbs, which, according to Table 4, is attested more frequently than Main Type II' with more than two verbs, we can say that *olib* is used to causativize a single motion verb instead of a Main Type I structure.

6.5 Examples for Main Type II’ from CALC'

Examples (23) and (24) illustrate the Main Type II' structure with Path verbs following *olib*. In (23), *olib* is combined with one deictic Path verb, in (24) with a combination of a non-deictic and a deictic Path verb. The last example, (25), represents the subtype in which *olib* is followed by a Manner verb. In all of these examples, co-movement of the Causer with the Figure is expressed.

(23) Rossiya savdogarlari G'arbiy Evropa mollarini ham O'rta Osiyoga *olib kelar* edilar.
'Russian traders used to bring also Western goods to Central Asia.' (EED53SS2.CAL)
olib kel- = take + come = *olib* - V_{PDintr}

(24) Gulparizod kelib, Odilbekni osmonga *olib chiqib ketibdi*.
'Gulparizod came and rose with Odilbek away to the sky.' (EED52HA4.CAL)
olib chiq-ib ket- = take + exit + go away = *olib* - $V_{P'intr}$ - V_{PDintr}

(25) Afandining xotini kir yuvib o'tirar edi, birdan sovunni qarg'a *olib qochdi*.
'Afandi's wife was doing the washing, suddenly a crow flew away with the soap.' (GDA71AF2.CAL)
olib qoch- = take + flee = *olib* - V_{Mintr}

7 Characteristics of Main Type III: V_{tr} - V_{tr} (- V_{tr})

7.1 Structure of Main Type III

Main Type III consists of CCMs in which a transitive verb is followed by one or more other transitive verbs.

7.2 Semantic Verb Categories Participating in Main Type III

The semantic verb categories attested in the CALC' corpus are: Manner-tr, Cause-tr, Enablement-tr, Path'-tr, Path-Deixis-tr.

Manner-tr:

Verbs: *hayda-* (drive), *ko'chir-* (move), *ot-* (throw), *quv-* (chase), *soch-* (scatter), *to'k-* (pour), *quvla-* (chase), *sur-* (drive), *tashi-* (carry), *oqiz-* (make float), *quy-* (pour), *sudra-* (drag), *tirqirat-* (drive apart)

Cause-tr:

Verbs: *itar-* (push), *siq-* (squeeze), *qazi-* (dig), *silkit-* (shake), *silta-* (shake), *tort-* (pull)

Enablement-tr:

Verbs: *ol-* (take), *ko'tar-* (lift)

Path'-tr:

Verbs: *chiqar-* (make exit), *o'tkaz-* (make pass), *tushir-* (make go down), *jo'nat-* (make set off), *ajrat-* (separate), *tarqat-* (disperse), *kirit-* (make enter), *qaytar-* (make return), *kirgiz-* (make enter),

Path-Deixis-tr:

Verbs: *yubor-* (send), *keltir-* (bring), *ketkiz-* (make go away)

7.3 Attested Subtypes of Main Type III and Summarizing Formula

All subtypes of Main Type III that were found in the CALC' corpus are given in Table 5, based on Vandewalle (2013: 341).

Table 5: *Subtypes of the CCMs of Main Type III.*

	tokens	types	tokens	types
$V_{P'tr}$ - V_{PDtr}	**45**	**8**	**35.7%**	**22.2%**
V_{Mtr} - V_{PDtr}	**36**	**11**	**28.6%**	**30.6%**
V_{Mtr} - $V_{P'tr}$	**18**	**6**	**14.3%**	**16.7%**
V_{Ctr} - $V_{P'tr}$	**12**	**6**	**9.5%**	**16.7%**
V_{Ctr} - V_{PDtr}	**7**	**1**	**5.6%**	**2.8%**
V_{Etr} - V_{PDtr}	**5**	**2**	**4.0%**	**5.6%**
$V_{P'tr}$ - $V_{P'tr}$	2	1	1.6%	2.8%
V_{PDtr} - V_{PDtr}	1	1	0.8%	2.8%
	126	36	100%	100%

For Main Type III, a summarizing formula (26) can be drawn up. Any succession of two or three categories can be chosen. In this way, it represents the 6 subtypes marked in bold in Table 5 and covers 97.6% / 94.4 % of the subtypes of Main Type III.

(26) V_{Mtr} - $V_{P'tr}$ - V_{PDtr} = 97.6% / 94.4 % of the subtypes of Main Type III

V_{Ctr}

V_{Etr}

New in this formula for Main Type III are the transitive Path' and Path-Deixis verbs. However, they take the same position with respect to the Manner, Cause and Enablement verbs as in the preceding formulae for Main Type I (3) and Main Type II (10).

7.4 Semantic Difference between Main Type II and Main Type III

Both Main Type II and Main Type III are used to express caused motion. With regard to the Path of the Figure, there is no semantic difference between these two structures. However, there is an important difference in terms of the motion of the Causer. In Main Type II, the Causer moves along with the Figure and during that motion, the entire body of the Causer changes its location, whereas in Main Type III, generally, no co-movement of the Causer with the Figure is entailed, and this allows for the expression of manipulations (when only a part of the body, such as a limb, moves). It is, however, important to note that this does not mean that co-movement cannot be expressed by a Main Type III structure. Some specific instances, such as those formed with the deictic Path verb *keltir*- (bring), do express co-movement.

7.5 Examples of Main Type III from CALC'

The CCMs in examples (27) and (28) start with a Manner verb, followed in (27) by a deictic Path verb and in (28) by a non-deictic Path verb. Example (29) illustrates the combination of a Cause verb and a deictic Path verb. Finally, example (30) has a CCM consisting of only Path verbs: a non-deictic Path verb followed by a deictic Path verb. Whereas in the first example (27), co-movement of the Causers with the Figure is present and in the second example (28), co-movement may be present or absent, it is definitely absent in the last two examples (29) and (30).

(27) Mirshablaringiz ko'z yoshimga qaramasdan meni *sudrab keltirdilar*.
'Without looking at my tears, your night watchmen dragged me to this place.'
(BO2DR12.CAL)
sudra-b keltir- = drag + make come = V_{Mtr} - V_{PDtr}

(28) Podsho [...] uni saroydan *quvib chiqarishni* buyuripti.
'The sultan [...] had instructed to chase him out of the palace.' (EED52VO2.CAL)
quv-ib chiqar- = chase + make exit = V_{Mtr} - $V_{P'tr}$

(29) Nega qizimni so'ridan *itarib yubordingiz*?
'Why did you push my daughter away out of the bed?' (GDA71AF1.CAL)
itar-ib yubor- = push + send away = V_{Ctr} - V_{PDtr}

(30) [...] uchrashuv bosh hakami Volniy Yoralievni maydondan *chiqarib yubordi*.
'[...] the head referee of the match sent Volniy Yoraliev off the field.' (ASP11NP2.CAL)
chiqar-ib yubor- = make exit + send away = $V_{P'tr}$ - V_{PDtr}

7.6 Reason to Distinguish *olib* - V_{tr} (- V_{tr}) as Main Type III'?

As in Main Type II, a Main Type III CCM can begin with an Enablement verb, one of which is the verb *ol-* (take). As shown above in 5.6, Main Type II combinations starting with *ol-* were so frequent, that they could be considered a Main Type on their own, which we called Main Type II'. Hence the question whether there is a reason to adopt a similar approach for Main Type III CCMs starting with *ol-*. The answer is no, as there are only 3 tokens / 1 type attested of such constructions. *Olib* - V_{tr} (- V_{tr}) converb constructions make up only 2.4% / 2.8% of Main Type III and only 0.2% / 0.4% of all CCMs.

7.7 Two Ways of Deriving a Causative CCM from a Non-Causative CCM

Both Main Type II and Main Type III are used to express caused motion. When we examine their relationship to Main Type I, which is used for autonomous motion, we notice that there are two ways to derive a caused motion CCM from an autonomous motion CCM. Taking the Main Type I structure (31) as a starting point, this cannot only be causativized by preposing *olib* as in (32), but also by replacing the individual non-causative verbs by their causative counterparts as in (33). Both strategies are just as effective for single verbs belonging to the individual categories of (31).

(31) V_{Mintr} - $V_{P'intr}$ - V_{PDintr}

(32) *olib* - V_{Mintr} - $V_{P'intr}$ - V_{PDintr}

(33) V_{Mintr}-CAUS - $V_{P'intr}$-CAUS - V_{PDintr}-CAUS

In (33), there are three ways, two morphological and one lexical, to derive a causative verb: firstly by adding a causative suffix such as *-tir-*, *-(i)t-*, *-ar-*, *-ir-*, *-gaz-*, *-giz-*, *-iz-*... to the root of the non-causative verb as in (34), secondly by deleting a passive suffix *-(i)l-* or a reflexive suffix *-(i)n-* attached to the root of the non-causative as in (35) and thirdly by replacing the non-causative verb by a morphologically unrelated causative counterpart as in (36).

(34) *oq-* (float) → *oq-iz-* (make float)

(35) *sudra-l-* (drag oneself) → *sudra-* (to drag)

(36) *ket-* (go away) → *yubor-* (make go away, send away)

Consequently, an expression such as *chiq-ib ket-* (go out and away) can be causativized in two different ways: by preposing *olib* as in (37), or by morphologically/lexically causativizing the individual verbs, as in (38). For the semantic difference between these constructions, we would refer to 7.4.

(37) *chiq-ib ket-* → *olib chiq-ib ket-* = take + exit + go away

(38) *chiq-ib ket-* → *chiq-ar-ib yubor-* = make exit + make go away

8 Characteristics of Extra Type IV: V_{tr} - V_{tr} - V_{intr} (- V_{intr})

8.1 Structure of Extra Type IV

Extra Type IV consists of CCMs in which two transitive verbs are followed by one or more intransitive verbs. As Table 1 shows, only 0.7% / 4.8% of the entire group of CCMs attested in the CALC' corpus belong to Extra Type IV, which is the reason why we do not consider this type a Main Type. However, as some interesting observations can be made about this marginal type, we found it convenient to include it in the description.

8.2 Semantic Verb Categories Participating in Main Type IV (and IV')

The semantic verb categories attested in the CALC' corpus are: Manner-tr, Cause-tr, Enablement-tr, Path'-tr, Manner-intr, Path'-intr, Path-Deixis-intr. The verbs which are underlined should be included in the list corresponding to Table 6, but excluded when Table 6 is adjusted to Table 7 in 8.3.

Manner-tr:

Verbs: *sudra-* (drag), *ko'chir-* (move), *boshla-* (lead on foot), *choptir-* (make run)

Cause-tr:

Verb: *tort-* (pull)

Enablement-tr:

Verbs: *ol-* (take), *o'g'irla-* (steal), *ko'tar-* (lift up)

Path'-tr:

Verb: *qaytar-* (return)

Manner-intr:

Verb: *qoch-* (flee)

Path‘-intr:

verbs: *chiq-* (exit, rise), *kir-* (enter)

Path-Deixis-intr:

Verbs: *ket-* (go away), *bor-* (go), *kel-* (come)

8.3 Attested Subtypes of Extra Type IV (and IV')

All subtypes of Extra Type IV that were found in the CALC' corpus are given in Table 6, based on Vandewalle (2013: 342).

Table 6: *Subtypes of the CCMs of Extra Type IV.*

	tokens	types	tokens	types
V_{Etr} - V_{Etr} - V_{PDintr}	4	4	33.3%	36.4%
V_{Mtr} - V_{Etr} - V_{PDintr}	3	2	25.0%	18.2%
V_{Mtr} - V_{Etr} - $V_{P'intr}$	1	1	8.3%	9.1%
V_{Ctr} - V_{Etr} - $V_{P'intr}$	1	1	8.3%	9.1%
V_{Etr} - V_{Etr} - V_{Mintr} - V_{PDintr}	1	1	8.3%	9.1%
$V_{P'tr}$ - V_{Etr} - V_{PDintr}	1	1	8.3%	9.1%
V_{Mtr} - V_{Mtr} - V_{PDintr}	1	1	8.3%	9.1%
	12	11	100%	100%

From Table 6, it is clear that all but the last subtype have V_{Etr} as a second category. Moreover, in all examples found in the CALC' corpus, this Enablement verb appears to be *ol-* (take). This is a reason to distinguish an Extra Type IV' with *olib* as a fixed second element, namely V_{tr} - *olib* - V_{intr} (-V_{intr}), which then makes up 91.7% / 90.9% of the former Extra Type IV.

Extra Type IV' then consists of CCMs in which a transitive verb is followed by *ol-* and one or more intransitive verbs. The semantic verb categories and concrete verbs attested in the CALC' corpus are those mentioned under 8.2 with the deletion of the underlined verbs pertaining only to the now disregarded subtype V_{Mtr} - V_{Mtr} - V_{PDintr}.

Leaving out the last subtype from Table 6 and recalculating the frequencies yields the new Table 7.

Table 7: *Subtypes of the CCMs of Extra Type IV'.*

	tokens	types	tokens	types
V_{Etr} - *olib* - V_{PDintr}	**4**	**4**	**36.4%**	**40%**
V_{Mtr} - *olib* - V_{PDintr}	**3**	**2**	**27.3%**	**20%**
V_{Mtr} - *olib* - $V_{P'intr}$	**1**	**1**	**9.1%**	**10%**
V_{Ctr} - *olib* - $V_{P'intr}$	**1**	**1**	**9.1%**	**10%**
V_{Etr} - *olib* - V_{Mintr} - V_{PDintr}	1	1	9.1%	10%
$V_{P'tr}$ - *olib* - V_{PDintr}	**1**	**1**	**9.1%**	**10%**
	11	10	100%	100%

For Extra Type IV', summarizing formula (39) can be drawn up. From this formula, the first two elements must always be selected, followed by one, or both, of the remaining categories. In this way, formula (39) represents 5 of the 6 subtypes, marked in bold in Table 7 and covers 90.9% / 90% of the subtypes of Main Type IV'.

(39) V_{Mtr} - *olib* - $V_{P'intr}$ - V_{PDintr} = 90.9% / 90% of subtypes of Extra Type IV'
V_{Ctr}
V_{Etr}
$V_{P'tr}$

As in 6.3, an alternative formula (40) can be drawn up incorporating a V_{Mintr} following the *olib* part. It then covers 100% / 100% of the attested subtypes of Extra Type IV'.

(40) V_{Mtr} - *olib* - V_{Mintr} - $V_{P'intr}$ - V_{PDintr} = 100% / 100% of subtypes of Extra Type IV'
V_{Ctr}
V_{Etr}
$V_{P'tr}$

In this way, a clear relationship between Extra Type IV' and Main Type II' becomes apparent.

(41) Extra Type IV' = V_{Mtr} + Main Type II'
V_{Ctr}
V_{Etr}
$V_{P'tr}$

8.4 Relationship between Extra Type IV' and Main Types II and III

From what precedes, it appears that all types used to express caused motion, i.e. II (including II'), III and IV (including IV'), contain at least one transitive verb. Moreover, all of these types start with a transitive verb and in the CALC' corpus no examples of CCM structures were found in which a transitive verb was preceded by an intransitive verb. Consequently, in caused motion CCMs, all intransitive verbs (if any were present) followed a transitive verb. Looking at the part of the construction following the initial transitive verb, several possibilities appear to present themselves: we notice that this part may be, on its own, an intransitive CCM or verb, as in II (and II') (42). It may also be a transitive CCM or verb, as in III and IV (and IV'). That transitive CCM (see 7.7) may then be formed by replacing individual intransitive verbs by their morphological or lexical causative counterparts, in which case the combination with the initial transitive verb corresponds to Main Type III (43), or by

preposing *olib* to the (combination of) intransitive verbs, which yields the structure of Extra Type IV' (44).

(42) Main Type II = V_{tr} + intransitive expression

(43) Main Type III = V_{tr} + morphological/lexical causative expression

(44) Extra Type IV' = V_{tr} + *olib* causative expression

This may be clarified with the following example: from the transitive Manner verb *tort-* (pull) and the intransitive Path verbs *chiq-* (exit) and *ket-* (go away), CCMs of three different types can be derived: Main Type II, as in (45), Main Type III, as in (46), and Extra Type IV', as in (47).

(45) Main Type II: *tort-ib chiq-ib ket-* = pull + exit + go away

(46) Main Type III: *tort-ib chiq-ar-ib yubor-* = pull + make exit + make go away

(47) Extra Type IV': *tort-ib olib chiq-ib ket-* = pull + take + exit + go away

8.5 Examples of Extra Type IV' from CALC'

The following examples illustrate CCMs of Extra Type IV', starting with different transitive verbs: a Manner verb in (48), a Cause verb in (49), an Enablement verb in (50) and a non-deictic Path verb in (51). The CCM of example (50) is the longest one that was found in the CALC' corpus.

(48) [...] va shahar aholisining bir qismini [...] Vazir shahriga *ko'chirib olib ketgan*.
'[...] and he moved a part of the population of the town to the town of Vazir.'
(EED53TS1.CAL)
ko'chir-ib olib ket- = make move + take + go away = V_{Mtr} - *olib* - V_{PDintr}

(49) [...] to'pni traktor bilan *tortib olib chiqish* kerak.
'[...] it will be necessary to pull the ball out [of the goal] with a tractor.' (ASP11MAY.CAL)
tort-ib olib chiq- = pull + take + exit = V_{Ctr} - *olib* - $V_{P'intr}$

(50) [...] o'n besh yoshimda manga bir dev xushtor bo'lib, bir kechada *o'g'irlab olib qochib ketgan*.
'[...] when I was fifteen years old, a giant fell in love with me and one night he abducted me.' (EED52TA1.CAL)
o'g'irla-b olib qoch-ib ket- = steal + take + flee + go away = V_{Etr} - *olib* - V_{Mintr} - V_{PDintr}

(51) Bu hadyangizni podshohingiz Bilqisga *qaytarib olib boringlar* [...]
'Take this present of yours back with you to your queen Bilqis [...]' (DRE41KI4.CAL)
qaytar-ib olib bor- = make return + take + go = $V_{P'tr}$ - *olib* - V_{PDintr}

9 The Benefit of Using a CCM in Uzbek

In Talmy (1985) and Slobin's (2004) typology, Uzbek is a so-called Verb-framed language, which means that the Path component of the semantics of the motion event in Uzbek is most frequently lexicalized in a verb root (a Path verb), instead of an adverb, an adposition, an affix, etc. as it happens in so-called Satellite-framed languages. Talmy and Slobin showed that Verb-framed languages predominantly use Path verbs in clauses expressing motion events, much more than, for example, Manner verbs. In table 8, based on Vandewalle (2013: 338-345) and derived from the preceding Tables 2, 3, 5 and 6, the expression of semantic components by the Main Types and Extra Type is examined. While doing this, these components are not further divided into intransitive and transitive, nor into deictic and non-deictic (for Path). As several of these components may be combined within the same CCM, the sum of the percentages exceeds 100% in each column of Table 8.

Table 8: *Percentage of CCMs Belonging to a Specific Main Type or Extra Type, that Express a Certain Semantic Component (tokens / types)*

	I	II	III	IV	all CCMs
Manner	33.1% / 66.4%	14.5% / 62.7%	42.9% / 47.2%	50.0% / 45.5%	26.0% / 61.4%
Cause	0% / 0%	0.1% / 1.7%	15.1% / 19.4%	8.3% / 9.1%	1.2% / 3.9%
Result	0.6% / 4.1%	0% / 0%	0% / 0%	0% / 0%	0.3% / 2.2%
Enablement	0% / 0%	90.3% / 52.5%	4.0% / 5.6%	91.7% / 90.9%	39.4% / 18.9%
Path	99.0% / 95.1%	95.6% / 88.1%	100% / 100%	100% / 100%	97.6% / 94.3%

From Table 8, it becomes clear that 97,6% / 94,3 % of all CCMs found in the CALC' corpus contain at least one verb expressing Path, which is in line with Slobin and Talmy's observation on the frequent use of Path verbs in clauses expressing motion in Verb-framed languages, such as Uzbek.

As regards the length of the Converb Constructions of Motion, Table 9, derived from Tables 2, 3, 5 and 6, shows that the overwhelming majority of CCMs consists of two verbs, except the marginal type IV, which mostly has three verbs.

Table 9: *Length of the CCMs Belonging to the Main Type/Extra Type (tokens / types)*

	I	II	III	(IV)	all
2 verbs	**99.3% / 95.1%**	**96.6% / 84.8%**	**100% / 100%**	0% / 0%	**97.5% / 88.6%**
3 verbs	0.7% / 4.9%	3.4% / 15.2%	0% / 0%	**91.7% / 90.9%**	2.4% / 11.0%
4 verbs	0% / 0%	0% / 0%	0% / 0%	8.3% / 9.1%	0.1% / 0.4%
	100% / 100%	100% / 100%	100% / 100%	100% / 100%	100% / 100%

From Table 9, we learn that 97.5% / 88.6% of all CCMs found in the CALC' corpus consist of two verbs. Consequently, we can conclude that the typical Uzbek CCM is a combination of two verbs, of which at least one expresses the Path component.

The question remains what is the benefit of using a CCM containing a Path verb above using a single Path verb in an Uzbek clause. In what follows, we will restrict our research to the typical Uzbek CCM as defined above. It is obvious that this benefit then must be the expression of an additional semantic component besides the Path verb. Disregarding the infrequent Result component (not attested in combination with a Path verb in a two-verb CCM in the CALC' corpus) and fusing the Manner and Cause components, which are - as has already been mentioned - often difficult to distinguish from one another, into one single Manner/Cause component, we find the three possible structures for the typical Uzbek CCM: Manner/Cause + Path; Enablement + Path; Path + Path. Table 10 indicates the proportions of each structure within the 3 Main Types, now restricted to the typical CCMs, i.e. two-verb CCMs containing at least one Path verb. As no Extra Type IV CCMs consisting of only two verbs exist, these do not appear in the Table.

Table 10: *Distribution of the three Possible Structures for the Typical CCM over the Main Types (tokens / types).*

	I typical CCMs	II typical CCMs	III typical CCMs	all typical CCMs
Manner/Cause + Path	32.0% / 62.7%	10.1% / 58.1%	57.9% / 66.7%	24.9% / 62.4%
Enablement + Path	0% / 0%	89.9% / 41.9%	4.0% / 5.6%	37.5% / 10.6%
Path + Path	68.0% / 37.3%	0% / 0%	38.1% / 27.8%	37.7% / 27.0%

With respect to the tokens, Main Type I appears to be mainly used to convey a second Path component, Main Type II to convey the Enablement component and Main Type III the Manner/Cause component. When all Main Types are taken together, it appears that the three structures form three groups of comparable size. However, a different picture is obtained when we look at the type frequencies. Here the Manner/Cause component predominates in all Main Types.

10 Conclusions

We conclude that Uzbek has an elaborate system of Converb Constructions of Motion with three Main Types, one for autonomous motion, I, two for caused motion, II and III, and one minor Extra Type, IV, also for caused motion. In two of these types, II and IV, the frequent use of *olib* gives rise to the emergence of a further type: II' and IV'. The caused motion types II and III express different entailments as to co-movement of the Causer with the Figure.

Each Main Type and the Extra Type can be further subdivided into subtypes corresponding to a specific succession of semantic verbal categories. For each Main Type and the Extra Type, a summarizing formula covering the majority of the attested subtypes can be drawn up. A comparison of the formulae shows that the relative order of the verbal categories tends to be similar throughout the system, irrespective of (in)transitivity.

Finally, the benefit of using a Converb Construction of Motion over a single Path verb appears to be the expression of an additional semantic component besides Path: Manner/Cause, Enablement or a second Path component.

Notes

1. The expression between brackets is the name of the CALC corpus file in which the example was found.
2. The four external components mentioned are the ones that were attested in the CALC' corpus. All components will be defined below.
3. The part of the CALC corpus that has been analysed for our research will hereinafter be referred to as the CALC' corpus.
4. In the Tables, only maximal CCM expressions appearing in the corpus text are taken into account: e.g. in the case of *qoch-ib chiq-ib ket-*, only the maximal expression, consisting of three verbs is considered, and not the shorter structures *qoch-ib chiq-* and *chiq-ib ket-*, which form part of this expression. These last two structures are only considered when they appear themselves as maximal expressions elsewhere in the corpus text.

5. This will also be the case in the corresponding paragraphs on the other Main Types and the Extra Type.
6. Talmy (1985: 61) defines the Figure as the object "moving or located with respect to another object (the reference object or 'Ground')".
7. Talmy (1985: 129) defines the Ground as the "reference object in a Motion event, with respect to which the Figure's path/site is reckoned."
8. Whenever hereinafter two percentages are given separated by a slash, the first percentage will refer to the tokens and the second to the types.
9. The data from Vandewalle (2013) have been adjusted in such a way that they only represent maximal CCM expressions in the corpus text (cf. note 4).

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Öz

Türk dillerinde yaygın bir şekilde kullanılan ulaçlar, görünüş ve kılınış anlamlarını ifade eden çeşitli ulaçlı yapılar oluşturmaktadır. "Yardımcı fiil yapısı" olarak da adlandırılan bu yapılar üzerine çok araştırma yapılmıştır. Özbekçe ile sınırlı olan bu makalemizde ise bugüne kadar Türkologlar tarafından genellikle üzerinde çok durulmayan farklı bir ulaçlı yapıyı ayrıntılı olarak inceleyeceğiz: "Devinim Anlatan Ulaçlı Yapı" (DAUY). Bu yapı, birbirini izleyen, *-(i)b* ulaç ekiyle birbirine bağlanan ve her biri aynı devinimin ayrı bir anlamsal bileşenini ifade eden bir fiil dizisi olarak tanımlanabilmektedir. Tek dilli bir Özbekçe derleme dayanan araştırmamız, üç Ana Tip ve bir Ek Tip'in ayırt edilebildiğini göstermiştir. Sözkonusu tiplerde kullanılan fiiller belirli anlamsal fiil kategorilerine girmekte ve bu kategorilerin birleştirilme şekilleri belirli alt tipler oluşturmaktadır. Sonuç olarak Özbekçenin zengin bir DAUY sistemine sahip olduğu söylenebilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Anlambilim, derlem, devinim, Özbekçe, ulaç, yapı

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