

## Overview

- Many languages introduce embedded clauses with an element related to the verb ‘say’: Sakha, Uyghur, Mandarin, and Kipsigis.

(1) *Aidyn Murat-ty qula-d-y de-p ait-t-y.*  
 Aidyn Murat-ACC fall-PST-3 **say-CVB** tell-PST-3  
 ‘Aidyn said that Murat fell.’

- Existing approaches:
  - C head: Kinande (Baker 2008), Lubukusu (Diercks 2013), Ibibio (Duncan & Torrence 2017)
  - Lexical verb: Uyghur (Major 2024), Kipsigis (Driemel & Kouneli 2025)
  - Binary analysis depending on the preceding predicate: Kipsigis (Bossi 2023), Sakha (Yue 2023), Mandarin (Ye 2025)
- This project:** Kazakh *dep* is also category ambiguous
  - a complementizer following non-communicatives (e.g., *bilý* ‘to know’, *oilay* ‘to think’, *sený* ‘to believe’; Anand et al. 2019)
  - a verb following communicatives (e.g., *shaǵymdaný* ‘to complain’, *aiqailay* ‘to scream’, *aitý* ‘to say’)

## Kazakh SAY

**Kazakh SAY:** *de-ý* (say-INF)

(2) *Murat birnárse de-di.*  
 Murat something **say-PST**  
 ‘Murat said something.’

**Kazakh -(I)p Converbs:**

- used with AUX (3) and for adjuncts (4)
- adjuncts interpreted as simultaneous action

(3) *Áli onna-p jatyr-syń ba?*  
 still **play-CVB** AUX-2SG Q  
 ‘Are you still playing?’ (Mukhamedova 2015: 130)

(4) *[Mýzyka tyńda-p] úi jumys-y-n zhasa-dy-m.*  
 music **listen-CVB** home work-3POSS-ACC do-PST-1SG.  
 ‘I did my homework while listening to music.’

## *dep* ≠ a pure verb

**Restrictions on Subjecthood:**

(5) *Mysyq [o-ny tamaqtan-dyr-ma-dy dep] bil-e-di.*  
 cat 3SG-ACC eat-CAUS-NPST-3 **DEP** know-NPST-3  
 ‘The cat knows that you didn’t feed it.’

**“Redundant” Temporal Modification:**

(6) *Murat [Aidyn ket-ti dep (#jatqanda)] oila-ı-dy.*  
 Murat Aidyn leave-PST **DEP while** think-NPST-3  
 ✓ ‘Murat thinks that Aidyn left.’  
 ✗ ‘Murat thinks something, while saying that Aidyn left.’

**Interpretation of Matrix Negation:**

(7) *Murat [Aidyn ket-ti dep] oila-ma-ı-dy.*  
 Murat Aidyn leave-PST **DEP** think-NEG-PRES-3SG.  
 ✓ ‘Murat doesn’t think that Aidyn left.’  
 ✗ ‘Murat doesn’t think something, saying Aidyn left.’

Also: Passives, Fragment Answers, Ótött-Kovács (2023) – Event Modification, Agent-oriented Modifiers, Causee Case Marking

## *dep* ≠ a pure complementizer

**DP Complements:**

(8) *Murat birnárse dep aiqaila/\*oil-dy.*  
 Murat something **DEP scream/think-PST**  
 ‘Murat screamed/\*thought something.’

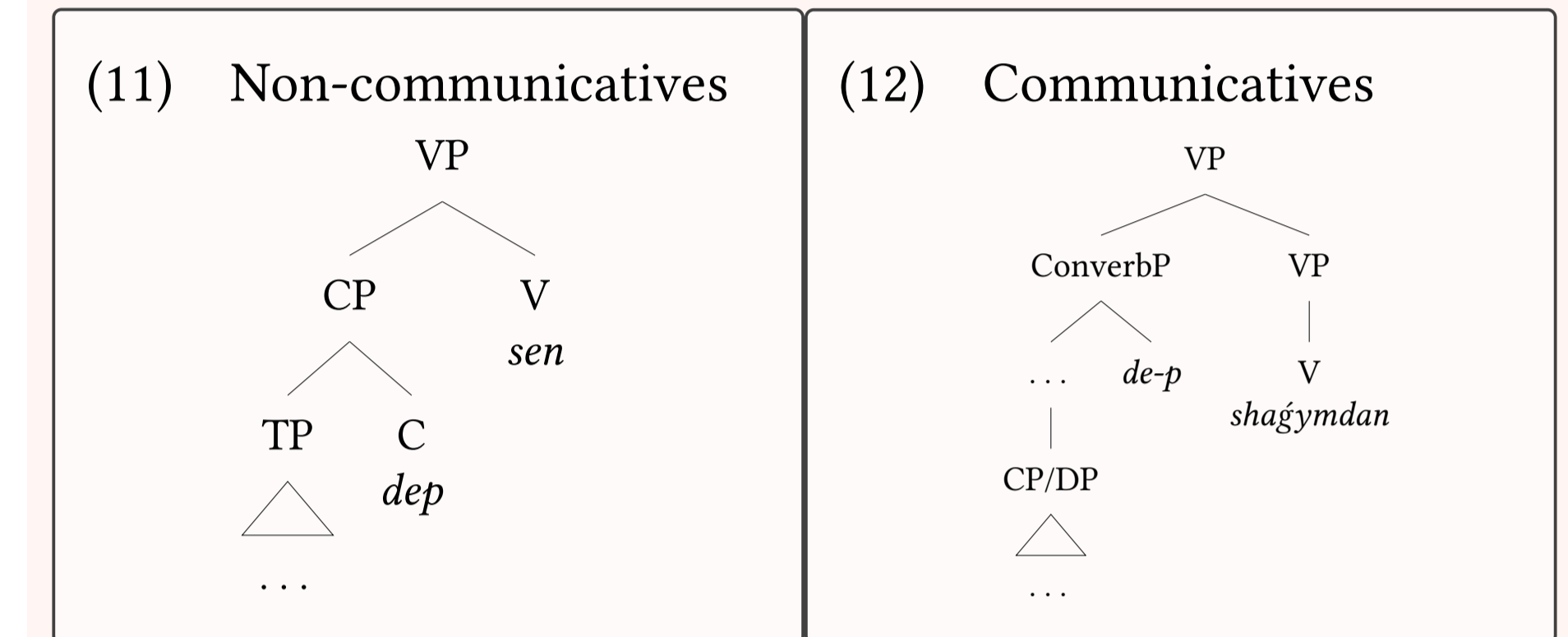
**Fronting:**

(9) *([... dep],) Murat ([... dep]) shaǵymdan/sen-di.*  
 ... DEP Murat ... DEP **complain/believe-PST**

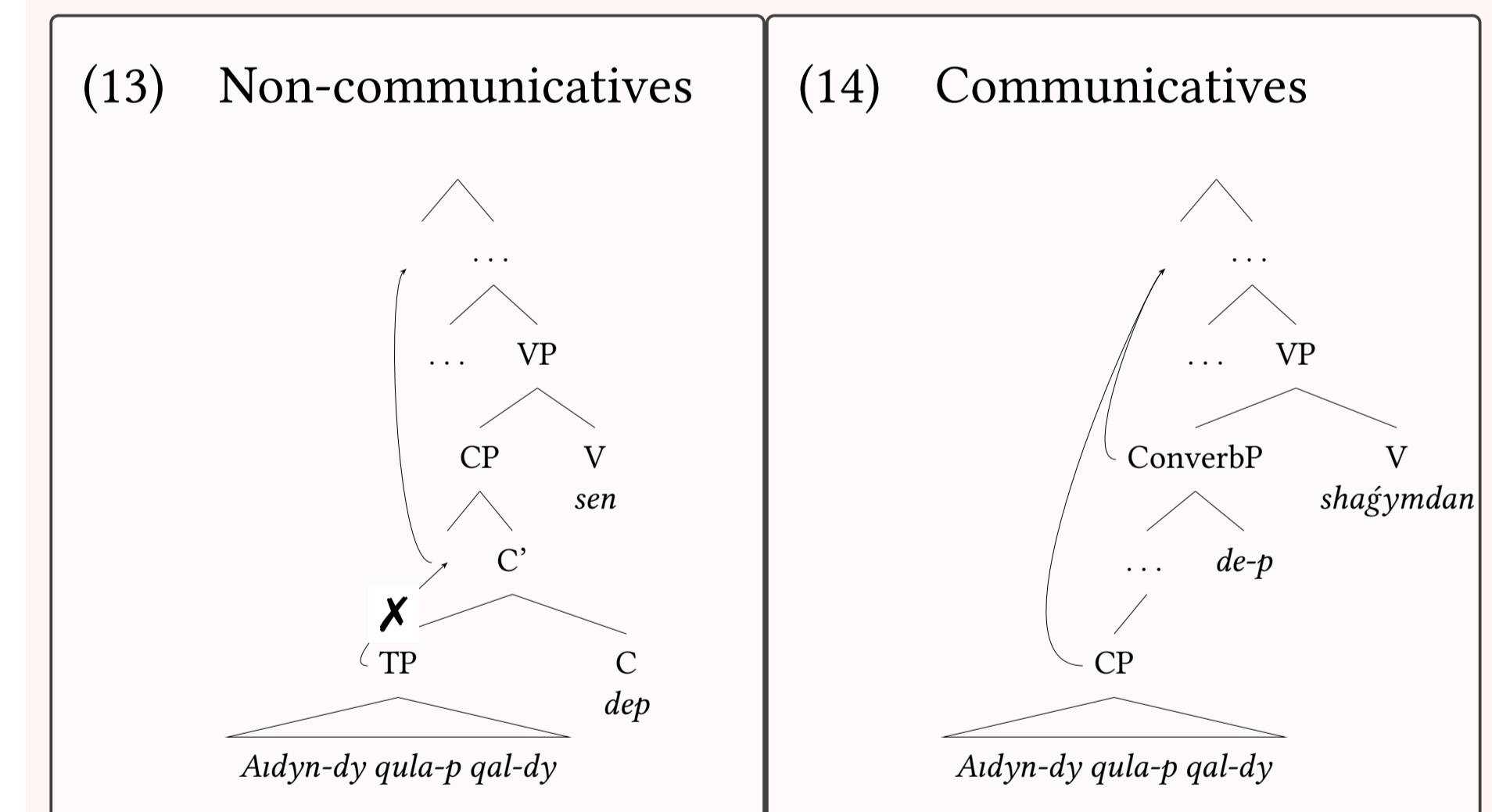
(10) *[... Murat dep shaǵymdan/\*sen-di.*  
 ... Murat DEP **complain/believe-PST**

## Analysis

▷ **A binary analysis of Kazakh *dep*:** a complementizer following non-communicatives and a verb following communicatives



- DP complements: ✓ communicatives; ✗ non-communicatives  
 → complementizers don’t introduce a DP argument
- Stranding *dep*: ✓ communicatives; ✗ non-communicatives  
 → Abels (2003): No C stranding constraint



## Conclusion

- dep* can function as both a complementizer and a converb
- Verbal behavior is preserved with communicative verbs.
- The specific configuration of V+SAY<sub>V</sub> is language-dependent:
  - V-V compounding: e.g., Mandarin Ye (2025)
  - Converbial constructions: e.g., Kazakh (this paper), Sakha Yue (2023)
  - Potentially SVCs in some African languages: e.g., Ye (in prep)