Master's of Arts Thesis

A Description of Korean Converbs and their Northeast Asian context

August, 2014

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Abstract

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This paper is a study of Korean converbs in relation to the neighboring languages of Northeast Asia. It is based on the descriptive and theoretical advances made in modern linguistics and provides an extensive analysis of the key issues regarding converbs in Korean as well as ten other neighboring languages. The thesis consists of five sections including an introduction and conclusion.

The introduction consists of a background of the converb and its use in typological settings. Chapter 1 is subdivided into three parts, the first of which describes exactly what forms can be considered converbs in Korean and relates them to their traditional description in Korean grammar. This is followed by a description of Korean converbs categorized into those containing or lacking temporal values. Chapter 1 concludes with a short section regarding the origins and evolutionary paths of converbs. Chapter 2 is a comparison of the Korea data above with converbs in neighboring languages. These languages can be roughly grouped into two sets, the Transeurasian languages and the Protoasiatic languages, neither a language family in the traditional sense. Chapter 3 consists of a discussion on several

trends within the converbal systems on Northeast Asian languages. The paper ends with a short conclusion.

The Korean data is not atypical for the region. While it is true that Korean has a larger than average number of converbs, this is not unique to Korean for Nivkh contains nearly the same number. Korean's lack of different-subject converbs and the paucity of posterior converbs is the overall trend for the region. It is also common for a language to have one highly contextual converb with a wide variety of possible interpretations.

Student Number: 2012-22482

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Abbreviations

abl	ablative	mut	mutative case
abs	absolutive case	npast	non-past
acc	accusative	neg	negation
add	additive	ntr	intransitive
adv	adverbializer	nml	nominalizer
al	alienable poss.	O	Object marker
all	allative	of	O-focus
anr	action nom.izer	p	participle
ass	assertive	pap	past participle
caus	causative	part	particle
co	coordinate	past	past
comp	complementizer	pf	perfect
conf	confirmative	pfv	perfective
cont	continuative	pl	plural
cv	converb	poss	possessive
dat	dative	pp	present participle
des	desiderative	pred	predicative
dim	diminutive	priv	privative
dir	directional	prog	progressive
dur	durative	proh	prohibitive
emp	emphatic	prol	prolative
ex	exclusive	prop	propositive
fam	familiar	prp	present participle
foc	focus	quot	quotative
fut	future	refl	reflexive
gen	genitive	rep	repetitive
hab	habitual	res	resultative
imp	imperative	seq	sequential aspect
in	inclusive	sg	singular
inch	inchoative	src	source
ind	indicative	ss	same subject
ind	indef. pronoun	sup	supine
inst	instrumental	th	thematic suffix
int	interrogative	top	topic
inv	inverse	tr	transitiviser
ipfv	imperfective	uncm	uncompleted
iter	iterative	usit	usitative mood
loc	locative		
mod	modal		

Introduction

The term, converb, has gained currency amongst both linguistic typologists and descriptive linguists in recent years. One particular work, Haspelmath and König (1995), can be seen as a watershed in the term's wider usage. The above work treats the converb from a variety of perspectives, but most importantly argues for its cross-linguistic acceptance. As a direct consequence of this work, the term converb is now used to describe similar morphosyntactic structures found in any language. The work goes on to refer to Korean converbs several times, but fails to treat them systematically (Nedjalkov 1995:100; Haspelmath 1995:58). It is the primary goal of this work to fill this gap by describing the converbs of Korean along these lines.

The term converb has had a long history and was first coined by Ramstedt in his description of Khalkha Mongolian (Ramstedt 1903). It later gained wider currency amongst Altaicists, who used the term to describe similar phenomena in other Altaic[1] languages (Benzing 1955; von Gabain 1974). However, it was not until Nedjalkov & Nedjalkov (1988) that the term was first used in a general typological sense, describing both the Transeurasian (i.e. Altaic) and non-Transeurasian languages of the former USSR. Haspelmath (1995) then argued for a cross-linguistically valid

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[1] These languages have also been referred to as Transeurasian. In this paper, these languages will be referred to as Transeurasian when viewed from a typological perspective and Altaic from a genetic/historical perspective.

interpretation of the converb. Since then the term has been used in various descriptive and typological works from a wide range of languages, e.g. Mongsen Ao (Coupe 2007), Tarma Quechua (Adelaar 2011).

The following section is a short description of the Korean language. It details some of Korean's more salient typological features as well as some attempts at locating Korean within som larger language families.

The Korean language is one of several major languages spoken in East Asia. There are approximately 78 million speakers of worldwide (Yeon and Brown 2011). The majority of Korean speakers reside within the Korean Peninsula, with the number in South Korea totaling 48 million and North Korea 24 million. Besides these, a significant minority of Korean speakers live abroad primarily in China, the USA[2], Japan and central Asia. This makes Korean the 13th most spoken languages in the world. (Lewis, Simons, and (eds.). 2013)

Korean is widely considered to be a linguistic isolate, although there have been several attempts to establish genetic relationships with other languages via comparative linguistics. Beginning with Ramstedt in 1928, a number of historical linguists have attempted to place Korean within the controversial Altaic language family (Lee and Ramsey 2011). This research has not as yet led to wide acceptance. Scholars in the west have been more attracted to a

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[2] According to the recent US census data, the number of Korean speakers has reached 1.1 million. (Camille 2013)

connection between Korean and Japanese, and this has also found support among many Altaicists who often place both Korean and Japanese within a Macro-Altaic family, in a separate phylum from those languages traditionally considered Altaic, i.e. Turkic, Mongolic, and Manchu-Tungusic.

There is a level of cultural and linguistic homogeneity on the Korean peninsula found scarcely elsewhere on the globe. No indigenous minority languages are found within the two countries' borders. There is some minor geographically-based variation within Korean. Korean consists of seven dialectical regions which correspond for the great part with Korea's traditional provincial divisions. Besides this, a divergence has existed between the standard forms used by the citizens of each Korea since 1945. The primary differences between the dialects are phonological and lexical. Nevertheless there is mutual intelligibility among the speakers of other dialects (Sohn 1999).

Although convincing evidence of a genetic relationship is lacking, Korean does however share many typological similarities with other Northeast Asian languages. For example its word order is primarily AOV- and SV. Its morphology is highly agglutinative and suffixing. Korean utilizes postpositions in its nominal phrases and is strictly right-headed. Most importantly for this work, Korean contains a large number of converbs, i.e. specialized verb forms denoting adverbial subordination in complex sentences.

Among traditional Korean grammarians the forms described above as converbs have normally been referred to as "linking affixes" (*yenkyel emi*[3]) or "conjunctive affixes" (*cebsok emi*). Much of the work on this topic has involved the systematization by the affix's semantic value or role in combining the two sentences (Cwu 1910) (Choy 1971) (He 1983). These authors also divide the affixes into coordinating (*tungwi/taytung*) and subordinating (*congsok*) forms (Kwon 2012). Typological work on Korean in English has more or less followed this format of semantic subcategorization of converbal forms (Sohn 2013) (Jaehoon and Brown 2011) (Sohn 2009).

The work aims to thoroughly discuss Korean converbs from a theoretically neutral perspective, i.e. theoretically informed but not theory driven perspective. The main goal of this work is twofold. The first goal is a thorough examination and description of Korean's various converbs. Each converb will be examined with the goal of observing its semantic and syntactic characteristics. Secondly the Korean phenomenon will be set in the wider sphere of Northeast Asian languages. Korean converbs will be compared to those of Japanese, Ewen, Udihe, Manchu, Mongolian, Sakha, Nivkh, Yukaghir, and Chukchi. By comparing this Korean data with that of neighboring languages, one may determine how typical the Korean data are

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[3] All Korean will be transcribed via Yale Romanization excepting the names of authors who have established Romanized versions.

and whether it is useful to use this typological feature in determining a Northeast Asian *sprachbund*.

The remainder of this section is an outline of the paper. The introduction sketches several important topics treated at length in the following sections. Part I consists of three sections describing Korean's converbs. Section 1.1 will attempt to answer the questions of what exactly is a converb and how does this definition affect our description of phenomenon in Korean. Two differing concepts of the converb will be entertained and the concept which is more elucidating of the Korean data will then be adopted. Section 1.2 will deliver a categorization and description of various converbs in Korean including their categorization and morphosyntactic and semantic characteristics. Section 1.3 will briefly discuss some possible origins of Korean converbs as well as several common grammatical constructs derived from converbs.

Part 2 consists of ten sections each describing and comparing one neighboring language's converbal system with that of Korean. Section 2.1 will enumerate and describe the converbs of Korea's closest neighbor, Japanese. This comparison is of significant importance for these languages have historically been compared to one another with arguments for a genetic relationship. A comparison of their respective sets of converbs may be of use to linguists interested in any relationship these two languages might share with one another. Moreover these two languages are by far the most spoken of all the languages described in the paper. Section 2.2 will compare the

converbs of three Tungusic languages, namely Ewen, Udihe and Manchu. The comparison of Manchu is also especially significant because it shares a long history of contact with Korean (Lee and Ramsey 2011:97). Section 2.3 will compare Mongolian converbs with those of Korean. Section 2.4 will compare the converbs of Sakha, the sole Turkic language lying in the target area with Korean. The sections 2.5 – 2.8 will each compare the converbs of one of the highly endangered Proto-Siberian languages, namely Nivkh, Ainu, Yukaghir and Chukchi. By comparing Korean with these languages spoken in Northeast Asia but crucially excluded from the Altaic hypothesis, one may discover whether the converbal strategy is evidence in favor of more closely linking Korean to the Transeurasian languages or the preference for converbs is an areal phenomenon adding no support to the Altaic hypothesis.

The paper concludes by summarizing the main characteristics of Korean converbs. This section will also include those converbal features found among all or most of the languages in the target region. Finally the significance of Korean converbs is given.

1.   Korean Converbs

1.1.   Korean Converbs Delimited

According to Haspelmath (1995), a converb is "*a nonfinite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination.* [emphasis in original]" In other words, a converb is a derived verb form analogous to the *masdar*[4] and the participle. For Haspelmath, converbs complete the paradigm of deverbal forms as seen in (Table 1) below, modified from Haspelmath (1995:4). Converbs are therefore an inflectional form of the verb and not a separate word class or closely bound verb and complementizer as some in the Generative framework have clamed (Haspelmath 1995:4).

Word class:	Noun	Adjective	Adverb
Derived verb form:	*Masdar*	Participle	Converb
Syntactic function:	Argument	Adnominal modifier	Adverbial modifier
Examples in Korean	*-m, -ki*	*-nun, -n, -l*	*-ko, -nikka, -ca*

Table 1 Korean's derived verb forms

Haspelmath (ibid.) also lists several characteristics that describe the converb. These include being non-finite, subordinate and adverbial, i.e.

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[4] This is a term Haspelmath coined to describe the verbal noun, i.e. the English gerund. It is of Arabic origin and has been used to describe verbal nouns in that language.

adjunctive. The most important and widely agreed upon of these is non-finiteness. Converbal forms must contrast morphosyntactically with the finite verb forms. In other words, converbs may not form an independent clause (Haspelmath 1995) (Nedjalkov 1995) (Bisang 1995).

However, the traditional notion of finiteness is somewhat problematic. Traditionally verb forms have been considered binary either fully finite, i.e. containing specification for all verbal features or fully non-finite, having no specifications for any feature as was exhibited in classical languages of Europe. However since Lehmann (1988), finiteness has often been described according to an index or *scale of desententialization* and that verb forms may lie somewhere between the two traditional extremes. According to this scale, verb forms may vary in finiteness from fully-clausal finite forms at the one end to the fully-nominalized form, the *masdar* at the other.

For our discussion of Korean, all converbs differ from those finite forms by lacking any sentence-ender suffix (i.e. *congkyel emi*). This suffix is required on all finite forms and determines to which sentence type the predicate belongs (Sohn 2013:8). These sentence types have been described as declarative, interrogative, imperative and propositive (Sohn 2013). These same forms can also be described as modal affixes for they convey the speaker's illocutionary force. According to the *scale of desententialization*, the loss of mood excludes converbs away from the most finite end of the index (Lehmann 1988:222). A subset of Korean converbs are also unable to

combine with tense-marked predicates. This subset should be placed even further toward the nonfinite end of the scale. In other words, all converbs in Korean are to some degree nonfinite as they all lack independent illocutionary force, but those which also lack independent tense are less finite than the others.

Haspelmath's second criteria is that a converb's primary function is adverbial, i.e. adjunctive. This means that the forms should not be used as arguments of a predicate or to modify a nominal. This excludes the –*m* and -*ki* used to nominalize verbs as well as the participles; -*un*, -*nun*, and -*ul*, traditionally referred to as prenouns (*kwanhyengsa*) in Korean grammar.

The final criterion is that converbs are subordinate or incorporated into a superordinate clause. This seems to match the subordinate category (*congsok*) well as described in the Korean literature. For Haspelmath those forms which are not subordinate are referred to as cosubordinate (*tungwi/taytung*) and excluded from his definition of converb. Nedjalkov (1995) on the other hand accepts both types as converbs and labels the subordinate forms, *converbs proper* and the cosubordinate forms as *coordinative converbs.* Nedjalkov's distinction patterns well with the traditional categorization of *congsok* and *taytung* connective forms. This will be further described below in Section 1.2.

Several similar forms must now be excluded from our discussion of Korean converbs. Unlike Chinese and the majority of Southeast Asian languages, Korean makes little use of verb serialization. The definition of the term, verb serialization as used here, is identical to that defined by Bisang is given below (Bisang 1991:509).

> Verb serialization is the unmarked juxtaposition of two or more verbs or verb phrases (with or without subject and/or object), each of which would also be able to form a sentence on its own.

The most important distinction between a serial verb and a converb lies in their morphological marking. As Bisang makes clear, some languages are more suited to serial verb strategies in clause linking, i.e. Chinese, while others utilize converbal strategies. Highly analytic languages like those of Southeast Asia, are characterized by a high degree of ambiguity in their finite verbs and therefore do not contrast them with a set of nonfinite verb forms. Languages with more morphological marking on finite verbs are conversely capable of contrasting with nonfinite forms and may utilize converbal strategies.

Languages need not utilize one clause-linking strategy exclusively and indeed Korean has a limited number of serial verbs, i.e. those which Bisang refers to as 'verb serialization in the narrow sense' (Bisang 1995:145). Many of these serial verbs are related to movement, i.e. *kacye kata* 'to bring', *tule ota* 'to come in'. It is notable that this phenomenon is used to form a single predicate and serial verb constructions do not result in complex sentences.

Another related phenomenon is that of the auxiliary verb. Auxiliary verbs are formally quite similar to converbs[5]. In traditional descriptions of Korean grammar these forms are often equated to the two phenomena described above, i.e. subordinating and cosubordinating clauses. In their seminal work on Korean grammar for example, Nam and Ko (2010:158-160) distinguish three types of connecting suffix, coordinating, subordinating and auxiliary. These auxiliary forms do not function as clause linkers and therefore cannot be considered converbs.

Examples of serial verbs and auxiliary verbs can be seen in the following sentence extracted from Sohn (2013). This example consists of six verbs, only the last of which is finite, i.e. contains a sentence-final affix. The first three verbs (i.e. *ki-, tul-, & o-)* combine to form a lexical unit meaning crawl into (toward the speaker). The final three (*po-, siph- & ha-*) are auxiliary and mark aspect and modality. More specifically, the verb *po-* marks the attemptive aspect, while *siph-* marks the desiderative mood, and the final *ha-* indicates that the subject of the predicate is 3rd person (Sohn 2013).

1. *ki-e   tul-e   o-a   po-ko siph-e   ha-nta*
   crawl-SV enter-SV come-SV try-AV want-AV do-AV
   'wants to crawl in'

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[5] This is so, because most auxiliary verb forms are derived from converbal constructions diachronically, cf. section I.C.

1.2.　　　Korean Converbs Described

Contextual			Specialized		
			Temp		NonTemp
SIM	ANTE	POST	SIM	ANTE	
SS	*-kose* *-teni* *-ta(ka)*		*-mye* *-myense*	*-ko*	*-nula(ko)* *-le* *-lyeko* *-koca* *-ulako*
VS　*-myen*	*-a/e(se)* *-uni(kka)* *-ca(maca)*	*-tolok*			*-ketun* *-a/eto* *-umulo* *-(nu)ntey* *-(nu)nteyto* *-kiey* *-key* *-nuni* *-tusi* *-tasiphi*

Table 2 Korean Converbs (26)

This section serves as a description of Korean converbs. It begins by detailing the parameters by which converbs may differ from one another. It then describes each converb of Korean giving any syntactic and semantic restrictions. An attempt is also made to differentiate any converbs that have similar functions. Lastly some space if given to describe what role tense and negation play in the converbal system of Korean.

In previous research, Korean converbs have typically been categorized according to either their syntactic or semantic features, with the majority favoring the latter (Kwon 2012). The first distinction one should

make is categorizing converbs is the one between co(sub)ordinating[6] and subordinating forms. The former links two semantically (although not syntactically) independent clauses, and have been referred to as *taytung yengkyel emi* in the Korean literature. According to Haspelmath (1995), cosubordinating forms do not mark adverbial subordination and therefore are not considered converbs. He labels these forms medial verbs.

Another (perhaps simpler) solution is to use Nedjalkov's typology of converbs, which distinguishes converbs proper (ie. subordinating) from coordinate converbs, (i.e. cosubordinating). Nedjalkov (1995) defines the converb negatively as a nonargumental and nonadnominal dependent verb form. This definition is similar to Haspelmath's in that they both exclude *masdars* and participles, but Nedjalkov's is to some degree less restrictive as it lacks the functional requirement of adverbial subordination.

This distinction between Haspelmath and Nedjalkov's definitions results in a difference in terminology (see Figure 1 below). Nedjalkov considers Haspelmath's converbs and medial verbs both as converbs. Consequently, Nedjalkov's definition of the converb parallels the traditional Korean term, *yenkyel emi*. Haspelmath's definition includes only a subset of *yenkyel emi,* namely *congsok yenkyel emi*. For Nedjalkov, the suffix *-ko* is
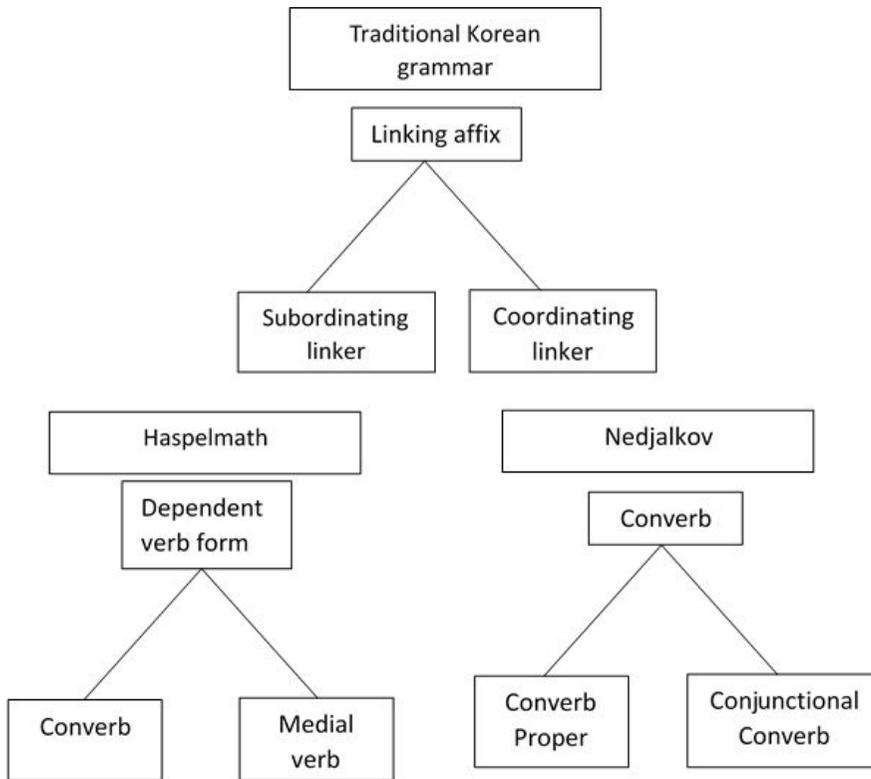
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[6] The term cosubordination is a term borrowed from Role and Reference Grammar and is used to label those clauses that share features of both subordinate and coordinate clauses. Cosubordinate clauses are like subordinate clauses in that they are morpho-syntactically dependent upon a superordinate clause, but like coordinate clauses they do not modify another clause.

indisputably a converb, yet it still is characterized by some ambiguity as to which of the above types, i.e. converb proper or coordinate converb it belongs. The context must then determine which category the –*ko*-affixed form belongs to on a case by case process.

However Nedjalkov's definition obscures the converb's role as the adverbial/adjunctive inflection of a verb. Nor does this definition provide any meaningful tool for disambiguating morphemes like –*ko.* In other words, both definitions of the converb result in spome ambiguity regarding forms like -*ko*, but with Nedjalkov's definition, we lose the important generalization that converbal clauses are overwhelmingly adverbial. Nedjalkov's wider definition of the converb cannot complete the paradigm of deverbal forms (see above). For these reasons, this paper will assume Haspelmaths definition of the converb.

It should also be noted that the ambiguity between the cosubordination and subordination of some forms is not exclusive to Korean. For instance, Kuno (1973) gives evidence that Japanese's –*te* converb also performs as a medial form when the two clauses subjects are different.

Traditional Korean grammar

Linking affix

Subordinating linker | Coordinating linker

Haspelmath | Nedjalkov

Dependent verb form | Converb

Converb | Medial verb | Converb Proper | Conjunctional Converb

As stated above, the affix *–ko* is found in both cosubordinating and a

Figure 1: Correspondence of dependent verb form terminology

subordinating clauses as exemplified below in (2). One possible explanation

for this is that two *–ko* affixes exist in Korean, one cosubordinate denoting

simple clausal conjunction and one subordinate with a range of possible

semantic values. If we are to assume Korean contains two phonologically

identical morphemes for *–ko*, then only the latter would be a converb. The

former would be be considered medial verb. However, it is more likely that

there is only one morpheme and context determines wheter it serves as a

converb or a medial verb.

2. a) *na-nun hankwuk salam-i-ko   ku-nun cwungkwuk*
     I-TOP   Korean   person-COP-CV he-TOP Chinese
     salam-i-ta.[7]
      person-COP-DEC
     I am Korean and he is Chinese.

   b) *na-nun os-ul   ip-ko   ca-ss-ta.*
      I-TOP   clothes-ACC wear-CV sleep-PAST-DEC
      I slept wearing clothes. (I slept with my clothes on)
     (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:34)

Converbs are often categorized as either contextual or specialized converbs. Contextual converbs are characterized by a wide range of possible interpretations depending upon their syntactic and semantic context. Specialized converbs have a sole specific semantic value independent of context.

Converbs may also differ regarding restrictions on the subject. Some converbs require a correferencing of the two clauses' subjects, while others forbid such a correferencing. A third group permits such correferencing, but does not require it. These converbs are referred to as same-subject, different-subject and varying-subject converbs respectively.

Converbs are also categorized according to their composition. The first group are composed of a single morpheme that is unable to be decomposed into smaller constituent morphemes. The other type is formed from a complex morpheme that is decomposable into smaller base morphemes.

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[7] All examples of Korean converbs are taken from *oykwukinul wihan hankwuke mwunpep 2*.

We may also categorize converbs according to their semantic function. Thompson et.al. (2007) lists twelve types of adverbial clauses, namely; anterior, simultaneous, posterior, locational, manner, purpose, reason, circumstantial, conditional, concessive, substitutive, & additive. The first three are temporal in nature and express taxis, i.e. relative tense. The remaining adverbial clause types modify the supordinate converb similarly to the adverb.

The description of Korean converbs which follows is categorized according to semantic function. The result is that contextual converbs will be described separately for each possible interpretation. Temporal converbs are described first, listing Korean's anterior, simultaneous and posterior converbs. This is then followed by a description of Korean's non-temporal converbs. Finally the system is treated as a whole with a discussion of any notable characteristics of the system overall.

1.2.1. Temporal converbs

This description begins with a list of converbs that have at least one one temporal function. There are at least 11 converbs in Modern Standard Korean which carry these values. Of these the majority can be described as anterior converbs, that is to say the majority describe an action that takes place prior to the action of the matrix clause. In constrast, Korean contains only one posterior converb, namely *-tolok*.

The most likely reason for this asymmetry in temporal converbs is the iconicity principle, i.e. the sequential order principle. Iconicity states that the order of events will be mirrored in the speech chain. According to Kortmann (1991:117) more than 80 percent of converbal constructions in English display an iconic ordering of constituents. Unlike English, Korean is a strict V-final language and permits no adjuncts to follow the predicate. This implies that any converbal clause is necessarily located before the matrix predicate. Therefore, any posterior converbs must by their nature violate this principle and are consequently rare.

Temporal Converbs						
	Anterior	RF [8]	Simultaneous	RF	Posterior	RF
Contextual	*-a/e(se)*[9]	1	*-a/e(se)*	1	*-tolok*	5
	-uni(kka)	7	*-mye*	3		
	-kose	9				
	-teni	8				
	-ta(ka)	10				
Specialized	*-ko*	2	*-myense*	4		
	-ca(maca)	6				

Table 3 Temporal Converbs by relative frequency

Anterior converbs

Anterior converbs are those which denote an action that takes place prior to the matrix clause predicate. There are a minimum of seven anterior

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[8] Relative Frequency according to the National Insitute for the Korean Langauge.
[9] The parenthesis denote phonologically-motivated allomorphs while the square brackets denote elements of the converb that are voluntarily eliminable.

converbs in Korean. Anteriority is sometimes referred to as succession, *kyeyki* in the literature (Sohn 2009). All but one anterior converb are contextual, namely *–ko*, *-a/e(se)*, *-uni(kka)*, *-kose*, *-teni,* & *-ta*(ka). The sole specialized converb signifying anteriority is *-camaca*. Moreover, anterior converbs consist of both variable-subject as well as same-subject converbs.

The converbs *–ko,* and *–a/e(se)* are both primary converbs. The remainder of Korean's temporal converbs are all secondary converbs and are composed as follows. The converb *–uni(kka)* is formed from the morphemes *–ni* and *–kka,* while *–kose* is derived from the converb *–ko* and the affix *–se*, and *–teni* is composed of the retrospective *–te* and the converb *–ni*. Finally, *–taka* contains the declarative ending *–ta* as well as the affix *–ka*. *–camaca* is derived from a complex predicative ending containing the contextual converb *–ca* and the prohibitive verb *mal-ta* also also marked by the same converb.

1.   -ko

This first anterior converb listed is formed by *–ko* and and attaches directly to a verb. Although the tense affixes, *-a/ess-* & *-keyss-*, may be attached before the converb, when *–ko* functions as a converb only the matrix verb is marked for tense and carries scope over both clauses. As noted above *-ko* is also commonly found in cosubordinating clauses, i.e. as medial verbs. When *–ko* functions as a medial verb it is more likely to have an independent tense affix.

Lee (1993:459) states that this converb has no inherent temporal meaning, but only "acquires" such a meaning through context. This argument is not so different from Haspelmath's concept of the contextual converb. Two predicates connected by –*ko* do not overlap temporally and there is no logical connection between the two, unlike both –*uni(kka) or - a/e(se)* .   According to the National Institute for the Korean Language[10] (2003), this converb is the second most frequently encountered converb. Moreover, -*ko* is used in several constructions derived from the converb (see below).

3. *swukcey-lul   ha-ko nola-la*
   homework-ACC do-CV play-IMP
   Do your homework and then play!
   (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:34)

2.   -a/e(se)

The converb, -*a/e(se)* signifies anteriority as its most fundamental value. Unlike –*ko*, this converb does require an intimate logical relationship between the two predicates (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:530). Lee (Lee 1993:454) states that the matrix predicate "takes place in the state produced by" the converbal[11] predicate. That is to say that, the

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[10] A frequency list of all affixes including *yenkyelemi* can be found at the website, http://www.korean.go.kr/09_new/data/etc_view.jsp .
[11] Lee (Lee 1993) refers to the converbs by their more common appellation, connectives.

action or state of the converbal clause directly affects the matrix predicate as seen in the sentences (4b-c).

This converb is often used as backgrounding for the matrix predicate, while the –*ko* converb merely states a preceding action. In (4b) the subject's going to school directly affects his studying for this is where (s)he performs the act of studying. (4c) is considered ungrammatical because the relationship between the two clauses is more than solely temporal.

Like –*ko,* this converb is characterized by a very high frequency and tendency toward grammaticalization. It is also used in many grammatical constructions derived from the converb, including serial verbs and postpositions. This is the most common converb when considering the total frequency of all its allomorphs, namely –*a, -e, -ase,* & *-ese*. Unlike –*ko,* this converb may not be attached to verbs marked for tense and never performs as a medial verb.

4. a) *hyeng-un   tosekwan-ey ka-se kongpuha-ni*
      elder.brother-TOP library-LOC   go-CV study-INT
      Did (your) elder brother go to the library and study?
   b) *hakkyo-ey ka-se kongbuha-yss-eyo*
       school-LOC go-CV study-PAST-POL
       (She/he) went to school and studied.
   c) **hakkyo-ey ka-ko kongbuha-yss-eyo*
       school-LOC go-CV study-PAST-POL
       (She/he) went to school and studied.
      (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:528, 530)

3.   -uni(kka)

This contextual converb shares several characteristics in common with *-a/e(se)* above. Like *-a/e(se), -uni(kka)* signifies a intimate relationship between the two predicates. However, *-uni(kka)* may be affixed to verbs marked for tense. Also unlike the latter, the matrix clause that contains this converbal clause denotes a realization that is the result of the converbal predicate. Lukoff & Nam (1982) argues that this converb[12] denotes an interpretation, the means by which the matrix predicate was discovered. This element of discovery is lacking in *-a/e(se)* and contributes to the distinction between these two converbs' causal interpretations.

> 5.   *ecey   hakkyo-ey ka-nikka yecenhi hakkyo-nun kongsa*
>   yesterday school-LOC go-CV   still   school-TOP construction
>   *cung-i-ess-eyo*
>   middle.of-COP-PAST-POL
>   Yesterday (he) went to the school, but it was still under construction.
>   (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:619)

4.   -kose

The secondary converb, *–kose* cannot attach to verbs marked for tense. When *-kose* signifies anteriority, it may be replaced a similar complex predicate, ie. *–ko nase*. In the example (6) below, *pat-kose* can be replaced with *pat-ko nase* without any change in meaning or nuance. Moreover in sentences consisting of several *-kose* clauses, only the final converbal clause

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[12] They do not use the term converb, but a translation of the generally accepted Korean term 'connector'. This follows from the traditional Korean *yenkyel emi*.

is –*kose.* All others are simply –*ko* (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:45)*.*

6. *ku-nun   cenhwa-lul   pat-kose   naka-ss-ta*
(s)he-TOP phone.call-ACC receive-CV go.out-PAST-DEC
(S)he got a phone call and left (the room).
(The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:45)

5.   -teni

The secondary converb, *-teni* is formed with the retrospective modal affix, –*te* and therefore the converbal clause must refer to an state or event occurring in the past. Moreover, like all clauses containing –*te* this converbal clause is restricted from having the speaker as subjuct (Sohn 2009:301). The relationship between the two predicates is usually in contrast to one another or in immediate anteriority (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:352).

7. *akka   ttalai-ka   cip-ey   o-teni*
short.time.ago young.daughter-NOM home-LOC come-CV
insa-to   an ha-ko pang-ey tuleka-ss-eyo
greet-FOC not do-CV room-LOC enter-PAST-POL
 (My/His/Her) young daughter came home a short time ago and went to her room without saying hello.
(The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:352)

6.   -ta(ka)

This converb signifies that some state or event changes before its completion, i.e. the converbal action or state is interrupted and followed by the matrix predicate. This converb is also one of Korean's few same-subject converbs, meaning that the subjects of both clauses must be identical.

Lee (1993:529) states that when –*ta(ka)* is formed from a telic verb, it denotes that the action was interrupted before the verb was achieved, while atelic verbs denote a simple interruption. When combined with a verb marked with the past tense suffix, this converb is frequently used to signify that the resulting states of some predicate are reversed as seen (9) below.

8. *syawe-lul   ha-taka chinku cenhwa-lul pat-ass-ta*
   shower-ACC do-CV   friend phone-ACC receive-PAST-DEC
   While I was taking a shower, I received a call from a friend.
   (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:279)

9. *a) mwun-ul tat-ass-taka yel-ess-ta.*
      door-acc close-past-cv open-past-dec
      He closed the door and then opened it.
   b) sin-ul sin-ess-taka pes-ess-ta.
      shoe(s)-acc put.on-past-cv take.off-past-dec
      He put on the shoes and then took them off.
   c) ku-nun cwuk-ess-taka salana-ss-ta
      he-top die-past-cv be.revived-past-cv
      He died and then revived.
      (Lee 1993:532)

7.   -camaca

This converb denotes the instantaneous succession of states or events. Converbs of this type are sometimes referred to as immediate anterior converbs. The seeming reduplication of the converb with the prohibitive has been described as denoting a state between the event and not-the-event, i.e. the very last moment of the event. Converbal clauses of this type are restricted from being negative. This converb is replaceable with the primary contextual converb –ca, from which it is derived, but only -*camaca* permits the matrix clause to be in the imperative or propositive

mood. This converb may not be affixed to a verb marked for tense. In (10) below the action of the matrix clause, i.e. Yengi's arrival is immediately preceded by the converbal clause of Chelsu's departure.

10. *chelsu-ka   ka-camaca yengi-ka   wa-ss-ta*
    Chelsu-NOM go-CV   Yengi-NOM come-PAST-DEC
    As soon as Chelsu left, Yengi came.
    (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:869)

Simultaneous converbs

There are at least three converbs in Korean that are used to express simultaneity. These converbs denote an action that takes place at the same time as the matrix clause.

1. -a/e(se)

The most common value for *–a/e(se)* is not simultaneity as described here, but anteriority. However in some cases the converbal clause gives background information stating when the matrix predicate does, should or may take place. In these cases simultaneity more accurately describe the relationship between the two clauses.

Lee (1993:566-567) gives several examples in which the temporal relation is not that of anteriority or sequence, but where "the time span of (the converbal predicate) endures or continues over that of the (matrix clause)." These examples are given below in (11). Many of these sentences may also be interpreted as causal. In the following example (12), the sentence could be the reply to both the question "when did you wake up?"

and "why did you wake up?" This interpretation of the converb has the same

morphological restrictions as the anterior interpretation above.

11. a) *celm-ese   no-se*
     be.young-cv play-prop.fam
     'Let's have fun while we are young.'
   b) *hae-ka   iss-ese il-ul   machy-ela*
     sun-nom exist-cv work-acc finish-imp
     'Finish the work while the sun is up.'
   c) *ku ai-ka   ely-ese   acu chongmyeng ha-yss-ta*
     that child-nom be.young-cv very bright   be-past-dec
     'He was very bright as a child.'
     (Lukoff and Nam 1982:567)

12. *nal-i   palk-ase ilena-ss-eyo*
    day-NOM bright-CV get.up-PAST-POL
    When the day broke, (I) got up.
    (Sohn 2009:315)

2. -mye

This converb expresses simultaneity and in such a role, and when it

performs so it may be regarded as a same subject converb. In this

interpretation, the converb has a very similar value as the converb,

–*myense* below. This converb, however, is more likely to be used in writing,

speeches, and presentations, while –*myense* is more likely to be used in

everyday conversation. Moreover like –*ko* above, this converb is often used

in cosubordinate clauses semantically coordinating two independent clauses.

13. *kanguy-lul tul-umye cungyohan nayyong-un memo-lul*
    lecture-ACC listen-CV important content-TOP memo-ACC
    ha-yss-ta
    do-PAST-DEC

I took notes as I listened to the lecture.
(The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:702)

3. -myense

This is Korean's sole specialized converb that signifies simultaneity. It is a same subject converb like the primary converb *–mye* above. It is composed of the converb *–mye* and the topicalizer *–n-* followed by the suffix *–se*. In (14) below the speaker is perfoming both actions simultaneously.

14. *na-nun nyusu-lul po-myense achimpap-ul   mek-nun-ta*
    I-TOP   news-ACC watch-CV   breakfast-ACC eat-PRES-DEC
    I am watching the news as I eat breakfast.
    (2005:708)

Posterior converbs

Posterior converbs denote an action that takes place after the matrix event. These are relatively rare in Korean. In fact there is only one converb used to express this temporal relationship, *-tolok*.

1. -tolok

Korean's sole posterior converb, *-tolok* is commonly found in predicates denoting a period of time. The interpretation is that the matrix predicate takes place until the converbal clause action takes place. In other words this converb temporally delimits the matrix clause. Another term for such converbs is terminative converb as they denote the termination of the matrix predicate. This converb's lexical restrictiveness may also be due to iconicity restrictions on Korean.

15. *han tal-i   nem-tolok cenhwa han tong eps-ta*

one month-NOM exceed-CV phone   one call   not.BE-PRES.DEC
There was no calls for over a month.
(The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:375)

Overview of temporal converbs

Korean contains at least 11 converbs expressing a temporal relationship between clauses. The majority of these converbs express anteriority while only one expresses posteriority. This asymmetry may be explained by the iconicity principle, which prefers the order of events to be mirrored in the speech act. Korean also contains many contextual converbs expressing temporal relationships with seven of the 11 converbs explored having more than one interpretation.

1.2.2.   Non-temporal converbs

The following section describes all Korean converbs that do not express taxis but some other adverbial relationship, such as those described in Thompson et. al. (Adverbial clauses 2007), e.g. condition, cause, purpose, manner, concession etc. As above, we will categorize by semantic role and contextual converbs are bound to appear in more than one category.

Conditional converbs

The first set of non-temporal converbs treated are conditional. A conditional converb is one that is used to mark a conditional clause. According to Thompson (ibid.) conditionals can be broadly divided into two types, reality conditionals and unreality conditionals. Korean contains two primary converbs expressing the conditional. Of these two the conditional

converb, *-myen*, is the more common by a large margin (The National Institute for the Korean Language 2003). The primary distinction between these converbs and others, like the causal and concessive converbs, is that the converbal clause of the former is hypothetical while that of the latter is factual (König 1995:68).

1. -myen

This converb is the standard method of marking conditional clauses in Korean. It may express either reality or unreality converbs. In (16) below, the converb expresses the reality conditional. Here the matrix clause is in the present tense stating what should happen if the conditions of the converb clause are met. Unreality converbs are usually marked with the past tense, –*a/ess*, as seen in (17) below. In this example the converbal clause is counterfactual and the matrix clauses states what would have taken place were the converbal clause's contion(s) met.

16. *onul   sikan-i   eps-umyen taum-ey manna-yo*
today time-NOM not.exist-CV next-LOC meet-POL
If (you) have no (free) time today, let's meet next time.
(The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:703)

17. *cokum-man   ilccik tochakha-yss-umyen pihayngki-lul nohchi-c*i
little.bit-only early arrive-PAST-CV   airplane-ACC miss-CMP
anh-ass-ul   ke-yey-yo
not-PAST-FUT thing-COP-POL
Had we arrived only a little earlier, we wouldn't have missed the plane.
(The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:704)

2. -ketun

Like *-myen* above, *-ketun* may express both reality and unreality conditionals by means of the past tense marker. The primary distinction between the two converbs is that the matrix verb containing this converb, *-ketun* must be propositive or imperative and cannot be declarative.

18. *cwungyohan yaksok-i-ketun   ese   ka pwa-yo*
    important   appointment-COP-CV quickly go try-POL
    Hurry up and go, if it is an important meeting.
    (2005:9)

Concessive-conditional

1. -a/e(se)to

The converb, *–a/e(se)to, is* also used in concessive-conditional clauses. This vaule can be glossed with the English 'even if'. This is an example of a secondary converb, constructed from the converb, *-a/e(se)* and *–to.* This converb patterns after the example of Hindi given in König (1995:60-61). When *–to* is used in its scalar interpretation, the converbal clause receives the concessive-conditional interpretation if the context is hypothetical and a concessive interpretation (see below) if the context is factual.

19. *amwuli pappa-to achimpap-un kkok   mek-nun*
    however be.busy-CV breakfast-TOP certainly eat-PRES.PART
    kes-i   coh-ayo
    thing-NOM be.good-POL
    However busy (you) may be, it is good to eat breakfast.
    (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:520)

Causal converbs

Korean most prolific group of converbs are the causal converbs. This group consists of nine converbs ranging from the contextual -a/e(se) to the specialized –(u)mulo.

These converbs share in common with the concessive clause the characteristic of factuality. The primary distinction between the two types of clauses is that causal clauses assert a relation of regularity or tendency, i.e. [a & b, if a then b], while concessive clauses imply a conflict of regularity between the two predicates, [*a & b, if a then –b] (König 1995:69).

1. -a/e(se)

Korean's most common contextual converb, *-a/e(se)* is also used to express causal clauses. The relationship between the two clauses is vital in determining the interpretation of the *-a/e(se)* clause. As noted in other interpretations above, *-a/e(se)* may not combine with predicates marked for tense and its matrix clause must be declarative. In cases where the cause is an event, this converb requires the converbal event to be completed before the matrix predicate begins (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:530). In (20) below, there can be no temporal relation between the two clauses, but the narrowness is clearly the reason why the matrix clause is true.

20. *kil-i   cob-ase   cha han tay-man cinaka-l   su*
    road-NOM narrow-CV car one clas-only pass-FUT.PART way

iss-eyo
exist-POL
The road is narrow and so only one car is able to pass (at a time).
(The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:529)

2. -ni(kka]

This converb shares the same semantic interpretation as *-a/e(se)* above. However, *-ni[kka]* is not so morphosyntactically restricted in its usage. It may combine with predicates marked for tense and the matrix clause may also be propositive or imperative as seen in (21) below. Lukoff and Nam (1982) describe some differences between the two converbs. They describe *–ni(kka)* as expressing logical justification for the matrix clause, while *-a/e(se)* simply expresses the cause.

21. *onul –un   pikonha-nikka nayil   iyakiha-psita*
    today-TOP be.tired-CV   tomorrow talk-PROP.POL
    (I) am tired today, so let's talk tomorrow.
    (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:619)

3. -nula(ko)

This converb is closely related to the converb *-a/e(se)* described above. Like that converb, it may not be subordinate to matrix clauses in either the propositive or imperative mood. Also it may not be combined with predicates marked for tense. The main distinction between *–a/e(se)* and *–nula(ko)* is the temporality. The results of *-nula(ko)* occur while the converbal predicate is taking place, while the results of the *-a/e(se)* clause must take place after the converbal clause is completed as described above (Lukoff and Nam 1982). In (22) below the subject didn't realize the time while watching the video. The converbal clause takes place simultaneous to the matrix clause but the relationship is causal.

22. *pitio-lul   po-nulako sikan ka-nun   cu-l*
    video-ACC watch-CV   time   go-PRES.PART give.FUT.PART
    molla-ss-eyo
    not.know-PAST-POL
    (I) was watching a video and I didn't realize that the time went.
    (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:153)

4. -mulo

Like *-a/e(se)* and *-nula(ko)* above, *-umulo* may not be embedded in

an imperative or propositive clause. However unlike them, *-mulo* may be

combined with predicates marked for tense.

23. *ku-nun   pusan chulsin-i-mulo   kyengnam   satwuli-lul*
    (s)he-TOP Busan background-COP-CV Gyeongnam accent-ACC
    ssu-pnita
    use- PRES.DEC
    (S)he uses the Gyeongnam accent, because (s)he is from Busan.
    (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:711)

5. -ta(ka)

Like its temporal interpretation, the causal interpretation of

–ta(ka) is a same-subject converb (The National Institute of the Korean

Language 2005:280). The matrix clause containing this converb is required to

be negative. This is an example of Korean's negative converbs. These

converbs require the matrix clause to be syntactically or semantically

negative.

24. *kwasok-ul ha-taka kyelkwuk sako-lul   nay-ko*
    speed-acc do-cv   finally   accident-acc have-xx
    mal-ass-ta
    prevent-past-dec
    (She/he) was speeding and so finally had an accident.
    (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:279)

6. -teni

As with the aboveThis converb contains the retrospective *–te*, which restricts its subject from being the 1st person. Moreover the cause marked with this converb must be something the speaker has experienced or realized and therefore must be factual and have occurred in the past. The 1st person restriction is not enforced when the converbal predicate is marked by the past, i.e. *-(a)ss/(e)ss-teni*.

25. *kulehkey manhi mek-teni tongsayng-i baytal-i*
    so   much eat-CV   sibling-NOM stomach.ache-NOM
    na-ss-ta
    occur-PAST-DEC
    (S)he ate so much that (his/her) sibling got a stomach ache.
    (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:353)

7. -ca

The converb *–ca* cannot be combined with predicates that are marked for tense. It also cannot be subordinate to matrix clauses of any mood but declarative.

26. *nal-i   chuweci-ca   nanpang kikyey-ka   cal*
    day-NOM become.colder-CV heating   appliance-NOM well
    palli-n-ta
    be.sold-PRES-DEC
    The days are getting colder so the heaters are selling well.
    (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:847)

8. -(nu)ntey

This converb is used primarily for preliminary remarks, but can be used to express cause when the matrix clause is marked for the imperative or propositive moods.

27. *pi-ka   o-nuntey usan   hana sa-psita*
   rain-NOM come-CV umbrella one   buy-PROP.POL
   It's raining, so let's buy an umbrella.
   (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:239)

9. -kiey

This converb may be combined with predicates marked for tense, but cannot be subordinate to imperative or propositive matrix clauses. The subject of the matrix clause containing this converb must be 1st person (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:80).

28. *nalssi-ka tep-kiey changmwun-ul yel-ess-ta*
   weather-NOM hot-CV window-ACC open-PAST-DEC
   Because it was hot, (I) opened the window.
   (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:80)

Overview

Five of the causal converbs are also used to express anteriority, namely *-a/e(se), -ni(kka), -teni, -ta(ka),* & *-ca*. This correlation between anteriority and cause is not only found in Korean, for Comrie et al. (2012) states that the causal interpretations of some Tsezic converbs is the byproduct of anterior converbs.

Purposive converbs

Thomspon et al. (2007) note that many langauges share the same morphology for marking both purpose clause and reason clauses. As the Korean data below shows, Korean contains two converbs that can express both of these relationships, i.e. *-a/e(se)* and *–nula(ko)*. Purposive converbs

can be roughly divided into SS(same-subject) converbs and VS(varying-subject) converbs.

1. -a/e(se)

Like all the interpretations described above, the purposive interpretation cannot combine with predicates marked for tense. The context between the two predicates must determine whether the converb should have this interpretation.

29. *emma-nun kachwulha-n tongsayng-ul chac-ase*
    mother-TOP left-PAST.PART sibling-ACC   search-CV
    cenkwuk-ul   tolatany-ess-e
    entire.country-ACC go.around-PAST-DEC
    Mother went around the whole country looking for her sibling.
    (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:529)

2. -le

This purpose converb is restricted to matrix clauses of movement. The converb may not combine with predicates that are marked for tense. In the example below the matrix verb is *ka-ta* 'to go' while the purpose is to study.

30. *taum cu-ka   sihem-i-lase kongpuha-le tosekwan-ey ka-yo*
    next week-NOM test-COP-CV   study-CV   library-LOC go-POL
    The test is next week so I'm going to the library to study.

       (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:665)

3. –lye(ko)

This is an example of same-subject converb. It may not combine with predicates marked for tense (Kwon 2012:183).

31. *na-nun uysa-ka   toy-lyeko kongpuha-n-ta*
    I-TOP   doctor-NOM become-CV study-PRES-DEC
    I am studying to become a doctor.
    (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:668)

4. -koca

This is another example of same-subject converb. Like -(u)lye[ko]

above it may not combine with predicates marked for tense (Kwon

2012:183).

32. *tangsin-ul manna-koja yeki-kkaci wa-ss-supnita*
    you-ACC   meet-CV   here-until come-PAST-DEC.POL
    (I) came here to meet you.
    (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:56)

5. -key[13]

The converb, *-key* may not combine with predicates marked for

tense. The matrix clause containing this converbal subordinate cannot be

propositive. Unlike *–le, -lyeko* and *–koca*, this converb is a VS converb with

differing subjects being exemplified in (33) below.

33. *salam-tul-i   cinaka-key wuli-tul-un*
    person-PL-NOM pass-CV   we-PL-TOP
    pikyese-ss-ta
    stand.out.of.the.way-PAST-DEC
    We stood out of the way to let people pass.
    (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:20)

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[13] This and the following two converbs are also referred to as resultative converbs in
some literature (Kwon 2012:184-185).

6. -tolok

Like –key above, this converb may not combine with predicates marked for tense. It is also a VS converb and can replace –*key* as in (34).

34. salam-tul-i   cinaka-tolok wuli-tul-un
person-PL-NOM pass-CV   we-PL-TOP
pikyese-ss-ta
stand.out.of.the.way-PAST-DEC
We stood out of the way to let people pass.
(The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:375)

7. -ulako

As with –key and –tolok above, this converb does not combine with predicates marked for tense (Kwon 2012:185).

35. *cam-ul   cal   ca-ulako ttattushan uyu-lul   masi-nun*
sleep-acc well sleep-cv warm   milk-acc drink-pres.part
ke-ya
thing-cop
(I) am drinking warm milk to sleep well.
(The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:627)

8. -nula(ko)

This converb is much like those described above, except that it is used to describe negative consequences, i.e. the matrix predicate is often negative. Like the converbs above this converb may not combine with tense marked predicates. The matrix clause must also be in the declarative mood. This is another example of a same-subject converb (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:154).

36. *adul hakpi-lul   tay-nulako   apeci-nun sikol   ttang-ul ta*
son   tuition-ACC provide.for-CV father-TOP country land-ACC all
phal-ass-ta
sell-PAST-DEC
Father sold all the land in the country to provide for (his) son's tuition.
(The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:154)

Overview

The purpose converbs of Korean can be divided into same subject-converbs, i.e. *-a/e(se)*, *-le*, *-(u)lye[ko]*, *-koca*, *-nula(ko)* and varying-subject converbs, *-key*, *-tolok*, & *-ulako*. Korean also contains a negative purpose converb, whose matrix clause must express some negative action.

Manner

The following converbs each signify a relationship in which the converbal subordinate clause describes the manner in which the matrix predicate occurs.

1. -key

This converb combines with adjectives as well as a portion of verbs describing the manner or degree in which the matrix predicate occurs. This converb may not combine with predicates marked for tense (Kwon 2012:184).

37. *na-nun meli-lul ccalp-key call-ass-ta*
I-TOP   hair-ACC short-CV   cut-PAST-DEC
I cut my hair short.
(The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:20)

Comparative

1. -tasiphi

This converb signifies an action, to which the matrix verb is compared. The converbal action does not literally take place, but the matrix verb occurs in nearly the same fashion of the converbal clause. In the example below the woman does not literally fly, but runs so fast that she nearly flies. This converbal construction is often used for exaggeration. This converb may not combine with predicates marked for tense and the matrix clause may not be marked for imperative or propositive mood.

38. *kunye-nun ttwi-nun   kes-i   anila nal-tasiphi*
    she-TOP   run-PRES.PART thing-NOM not.but fly-CV
    cenglyucang-ulo rush-PAST-DEC
    bus.stop-TO   tallyeka-ss-ta
    She rushed to the bus stop not running but flying.
    (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:330)

2. -tusi

This converb signifies a similarity between the two predicates. This converb may combine with predicates marked with the past tense affix, -a/ess- (Kwon 2012:185).

39. *ai-nun   chimtay wi-ey ssuleci-tusi nuwe-ss-ta*
    child-TOP bed   on-LOC collapse-CV lie.down-PAST-DEC
    The child lay down collapsing.
    (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:386)

Instrumental

Instrumental converbs describe the methods in which the matrix verb occurs. Only main clauses describing actions combine with instrumental

adverbials (König 1995:66). Moreover the action of the matrix clause must be neutral as to how it is accomplished. König (idem.) gives the example "earning money" which can be accomplished in many ways, as opposed to "singing", which must be done with the voice. Only the former verb may combine with an instrumental converb.

1. -a/e(se)

Again like all other interpretations of this converb, it may not be combined with predicates marked for tense or be subordinate to a matrix clause marked for the imperative or propositive mood. This interpretation is dependent on the semantic relationship between the two clauses. In the example below, the striking with the stone is the method in which the centipede was killed.

40. *tol-lo   ttayly-ese ku ciney-lul   cwuki-ess-eyo*
    stone-INS strike-CV   that centipede-ACC kill-PAST-POL
    (He) killed the centipede by striking it with a stone.
    (Sohn 2009:314)

2. -kose

Like its manner interpretation, *-kose* here may not combine with tense-marked predicates. Unlike example (41) above in which the converbal clause described the manner in which the subject was standing as he spoke, the converbal clause of 42 describes the method in which the subject performed the matrix clause, i.e. drove the car.

41. *catongcha-lul   mol-kose sinay-lo   naka-ss-eyo*
    automobile-ACC drive-CV   downtown-ALL leave-PAST-POL
    (He) left for downtown driving (his) car.
    (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:45)

Concessive

Kortmann (1991:160-164) notes that in many languages concessive

relations receive additional coding. The Korean data seems to follow this

pattern, for both Korean concessive converbs below are secondary,

constructed from other converbs plus the scalar –*to*. These converbs may be

glossed by the English, "although".

1. –e/ato

42. *chelsu-nun khi-nun   cak-ato him-un sey-ta*
    Chelsu-TOP   height-TOP small-CV strength strong-DEC
    Although Chelsu is short, he is strong.
    (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:520)

2. -(nu)nteyto

43. *yelsimhi   kongpuha-yess-nunteyto sengcek-i oru-ci   anh-nun-ta*
    diligently study-PAST-CV   score   rise-CMP not-PRES-DEC
    Even though I studied hard, my score doesn't rise.
    (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:242)

Substitutive

1. -nuni

According to Thompson et al (2007), substitutive clauses signal a

replacement of an anticipated event with an unanticipated one. In the

example given below the converb –nuni expresses the anticipated event of

living a difficult life, while the matrix predicate marks the unanticipated event of dying.

44. *ileh-key   himtul-key   sa-nuni chalali cuk-nun   key*
    be.so-ADV be.difficult-ADV live-CV   instead die-PRES.PART nom
    nas-ta.
    be.better-PRES.IND
    It is better to die, rather than live so difficultly.
    (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:149)

1.2.3.   Tense and Converbs

Kwon (2012) explains that connective affixes that contain a temporal semantic element do not attach to verbs marked for tense in order to avoid repetition. For Haspelmath (1995), however, converbs are restricted to non-finite constructions only. He defines finiteness according to Lehmann's "scale of desententialization". Therefore those verb forms that are most finite are always located sentence-final. These forms contain a modal affix that is always lacking in any non-final verb form. With this criteria we can begin delineate converbs negatively as being sentence non-final.

Converbs which also lack tense marking in Korean would be considered less finite than those marked for tense, but both are less finite than those marked for both tense and mood according to Lehmann's scale.

1.2.4.   Negation in Korean Converbs

There are two ways to negate a predicate in Korean, via the negative particle *an* placed before the verb or by suffixing –*ci* to the verb followed by the negating verb *anh-ta*. In converbal clauses either strategy is possible.

With negation via *anh-ta*, the converb is attached to the negating verb, while

the auxiliary affix *–ci* is attached to the notional verb. This is exemplified in

(45) below. This same affix is found in the prohibitive construction with mal-

ta.

45. a. *ku-nun   ecey   an ca-ss-ta*
       3rd.sg-TOP yesterday not sleep-past-dec
       He did not sleep yesterday.
    b. *ku-nun   ecey   ca-ci   anh-ass-ta*
       3rd.sg-top yesterday sleep-aux neg-past-dec

1.3.   Korean converbs Evolved

Haspemath (1995:37-45) gives several common evolutionary pathways along which converbs may develop. The first is the development of converbs into adpositions. In Korean, these materialize as postpositions. Korean exhibits a number of examples of this sort of grammaticalization. Below are three such examples.

46. A) *nala-lul   wiha-ye   mokswum-wul pachi-n-ta*
    country-ACC for.the.sake.of life-ACC   offer-PRES-DEC
    (S)he offers his/her life for his/her country.

    B) *mangwenkyeng-ul tongha-y pakk-ul naytapo-n-ta*
    telescope-ACC   through out-ACC look.out-PRES-DEC
    (S)he looks out thorough the telescope.

    C) *kenkang-ey tayha-ye mwut-nun-ta*
    health-LOC about   ask-PRES-DEC
    (S)he asks about (someone's) health.
    (The National Institute of Korean Language 1999)

It is of no small interest that all three of these postpositions, although immediately derived from the Korean predicates *wihata*, *tayhata* and *tonghata*, all originally derive from Chinese. In modern Mandarin, the verbs 依 yī, and 對/对 duì, can likewise be used as either a predicate or a preposition. *Tongha-ta* is unique in that though it is derived from the Chinese 通 tōng, it has never been used alone as an adverb in Chinese. It only ever appears in the form 通過/通过 tōng guò. These data illustrate the differences between verb-serializing languages like Chinese and converbal

languages like Korean. Chinese is able to repurpose its verbs as prepositions without morphological markers, while Korean must first mark the verb as a converb, and only then may it grammaticalize into a preposition over time.

The other pathway that Korean has utilized to a high degree is periphrastic auxiliary constructions. Some of Korean's most common periphrastic constructions are derived from converbs. As seen in the following example, Korean exhibits a similar development with the converb –ko plus the existential verb iss-ta to English's progressive. In English one verb is marked with the converb '-ing', while the existential 'be' is marked as a finite verb.

47. *tongsayng-un chayk-ul ilk-ko iss-e.*
    sibling-top   book-acc read-prog be-pres
    The sibling is reading the book.
    (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:55)

Several other converbal constructions have been grammaticalized and now are better described as periphrastic constructions[14]. The first of which contains the verb for giving, '*cwuta*'. The construction contains the converb -*a/e(se)* and denotes the benefactive as exemplified in (48) below. Another example of a periphrastic expression derived from a converb is -*a/e(se)* plus the verb, *pelita* 'discard'. This construction denotes that the

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[14] According to the table of contents of the Dictionary of Grammatical forms (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005), there are no less than 13 different grammaticalized forms derived from the converb -*a/e(se)*, by far the most common converb to grammaticalize. The other common converb –*ko* is the origin of no less than six different expressions.

action is done until completion. The final example is the paraphrastic causative. Although a subset of Korean verbs have an inflectional form signifying the causative, by far the most productive means of construing this relationship is by means of a paraphrastic expression derived from the resultative/purposive converb –*key* plus a desematicized *hata*.

48. *wuli-nun nam-un   umsik-ul ta mek-e pely-ess-ta*
   we-TOP   remain-PRES.PART food-ACC all eat-INF discard-PAST-DEC
   We ate all the remaining food.
   (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2005:526)

49. *yuncengi-nun kohyang-eyse o-n   chingu-lul caki*
   Yuncengi-TOP hometown-ABL come-PAST.PART friend-ACC REFL
   cib-ey   memul-key ha-yss-ta
   house-LOC stay-caus   do-PAST-DEC

Haspelmath does not only consider how converbs evolve into other constructions, but also their origins, positing several possible sources of converbs. The origin that most concerns us here is the adpositional or case forms of *masdars* (Haspelmath 1995:17). At least two of the converbs described above are clearly derived in this way, i.e. –*kiey* and –*mulo*. Both forms contain a nominalizer and case particle. Other forms beginning with –*m* suggest that they might also have been formed similarly, although -*myen* already existed in this form in Middle Korean, the earliest period from which we have reliable Korean texts (Kwon 1998:205).

2. The broader Northeast Asian context

This section consists of brief comparisons of Korean's converbal system with the converbs of languages located in the greater Northeast Asian region. Many of the languages in this region belong to the Transeurasiatic grouping and share many typological features with Korean, e.g. suffixal agglutination and verb-final word order. The converbs of each language are listed with a few details to aid in comparison.

2.1. Transeurasian Languages

2.1.1. Japanese

Contextual		Specialized		
		Temp		NonTemp
	SIM	SIM	ANTE	
SS		*-inagara*	*-ishidai*	*-ini*
		-itsutsu		
VS	*-te*	*-tara*		*-ba*
	-i			*-tatte*
	-zu			*-temo*

Table 4 Japanese Converbs (11)

The relationship between Korean and Japanese has interested linguists for centuries and it is no surprise that comparative research between these languages is the most advanced among the languages in this study. A few of their more salient typological similarities between the Korean and Japanese are what Sohn (2009:285) described for Korean, i.e. its word order, morphology, and honorific system. There has been much work

comparing of the two converbal systems of Korean and Japan, see (Jeng 2004).

This section will give a brief overview of converbs in Japanese and a brief comparison with Korean converbs. Alpotov and Podlesskaya (1995) list the converbse, found in table 4 above for Japanese. They further state that Japanese's two contextual converbs –*i* and -*te* are prototypically neither subordinative nor coordinative but vary depending upon the context and cotext (Alpatov and I. 1995:472). This is reminiscent of Korean's –*ko* and –*mye*, which also vary similarly depending upon context.

Like Korean, those converbs which may also combine with adjectives or the copula are a subset of converbs. All converbs may combine with verbs. Moreover, both languages exhibit word-class conditioned allomorphy. The Japanese converbs –*tara, -tari, and –ba* become –*kattara, -kattari* and -*kereba* respectively when combined with predicative adjectives.

2.1.1.1 Temporal Converbs

1. -te and -i

Japanese's two contextual converbs –*te* and –*i* and share much in common with Korean's -*a/e(se)* and –*ko* respectively. Tamori (1976) described the –*te* forms as subordinating and –*i* forms as coordinative. Many works on Korean have also described the two converbs, -*a/e(se)* and –*ko* in a similar fashion (Kwon 2012) (Nam and Ko 2010). Much literature in English refer to the –*te* form as gerundive and the –*i* form as infinitive (Kuno 1973)

(Oshima 2012). Sohn (2013) also refers to the two forms, *–a/e* and *–ko* as gerundive and infinitive. However, the names are reversed, i.e. *–ko* is referred to as the gerundive and *–a/e* as the infinitive.

Although the *–i* form has been described as coordinative in some sources, much has also been written about its subordinating qualities (Oshima 2012). For example, *-i* clauses are capable of being 'dislocated' out of the second clause. This would result in ill-formed constructions if *–i* converbs were coordinate. The following examples are taken from Oshima (2012:294-295).

50. [$_s$ *Ensoku-ga   chuushi-ni   {nari/natte}*   GAP$_i$
    excursion-NOM cancellation-DAT become.INF/become.GER
    ichiban zannengatta]   *gakusei$_i$-wa Hiroshi$_i$-da.*
    most   be.dissapointed.PAST student-TOP H.-COP.PRS
    'The student who was most disappointed when the excursion was canceled is Hiroshi.'
    *The student$_i$ who [[the excursion was canceled] and [GAP$_i$ was most disappointed]] is Hiroshi$_i$.
51. [$_s$ *sensoo-ga {owari/owatte}* GAP$_i$ *kakki-o   torimodoshita*]
     war-nom   end.inf/end.ger   liveliness-acc regain.past
    machi$_i$
    city
    'a city that regained its liveliness after the war ended'
    * a city$_i$ that [[the war ended] and [GAP$_1$ regained its liveliness]]

It is notable that each of the examples above can be translated directly into Korean with the corresponding converbs. The Korean exhibits the same behavior, i.e. both forms are 'dislocatable' and consequently cannot be completely coordinative. This provides further evidence that *–ko* is

not completely coordinative, but rather lies somewhere between the two extremes.

52. [ₛ sopwung-i   choyso {toy-ko/toyese}   GAPᵢ ceil
    excursion-NOM   cancel become-CV/become-CV   most
    aswiwun]   haksayngᵢ-un chelswu-ita.
    disappointed student-TOP   Chelswu-COP.PRES
    'The student who was most disappointed when the excursion was canceled is Chelswu.'
    *The studentᵢ who [[the excursion was canceled] and [GAPᵢ was most disappointed]] is Chelswuᵢ.

53. [ₛ cencayng-i {kkuthna-ko/kkutna-se} GAPᵢ hwalki-lul   toychacun]
    war-NOM   end-CV/end-CV   liveliness-ACC regain.PAST
    tosi
    city
    'a city that regained its liveliness after the war ended'
    * a cityᵢ that [[the war ended] and [GAP₁ regained its liveliness]]

Both -*te* and –*i* are contextual converbs and exhibit a high degree of semantic similarity. The Nihongoo Kijutsu Bunpoo Kenkyuukai (2008) lists the following eight semantic functions for these converbs; (i) simultaneity, (ii) contrast, (iii) preliminary remark, (iv) anteriority, (v) causation, (vi) concessive, (vii) condition, (viii) accompanying circumstance. No one Korean converb patterns all these functions. The preliminary remark value for instance is only available with the Korean converb –*(n)untey*, which does not signify any other of the functions listed.

Simultaneity

54. *otoko-tati-ha kari-o*   *{si-te / si}*   *onna-tati-ha*   *kinomi-o*
    man-PL-TOP   hunting-ACC {do-CV / do-CV} woman-PL-TOP nut(s)-ACC
    atume-ta
    collect-PAST
    'The men are hunting, while the women are collecting nuts.'

(Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpoo Kenkyuukai 2008:282)

Contrast

55. *ponti-no   kikou-wa,   huyu-wa   {samu-kute / samu-ku},*
basin-GEN climate-TOP winter-TOP cold-CV   *natu-*
wa   atui.
summer-TOP hot
'The climate of the basin is cold in the winter and hot in the summer.'

Preliminary remark

56. *mondai-ga   hitotu at-te,   titi-wa   eigo-ga*
problem-NOM one   exist-CV   father-TOP English.language-
hanase-nai-no   dearu
speak-NEG-NML be-NONPAST
'There is one problem and that is my father cannot speak English.'

Anteriority

57. *depaato-ni   it-te, kutu-o   kai-ta*
department.store-LOC go-CV shoes-ACC buy-PAST
'I went to the department store and bought shoes.'

Causation

58. *kaze-o   hii-te   sigoto-o yasun-da*
cold-ACC catch-CV work-ACC take.a.break.from-PAST
'(He) cought a cold and so took off from work.'

Concession

59. *akuji-o   mi-te mi-nu huri   su-ru no   ha, hikyou-na koto-da*
crime-ACC see-CV see-NEG pretense do-NP nom TOP coward-ADJ thing-
COP
'Seeing a crime and pretending not to see is cowardly.'

Condition

60. *arui-te 20 pun   ka-ru*
walk-CV 20 minute(s) take.(time)-NPAST
'If you walk, it'll take 20 minutes.'

Accompanying circumstance

61. *titi-ni   osowa-tte   eigo-o   benkyou si-ta*
father-ABL be.taught-CV English-ACC study   do-PAST
'I studied English while being taught by my father.'

The remaining converbs of Japanese show more divergence from Korean converbs. Japanese has fewer converbs overall with just eleven converbs total in comparison to Korean's more than 30 different forms. Also unlike Korean only two converbs are contextual with the majority of Japanese converbs being specialized.

2.   -tara

This converb indicates that the two predicates are in a sequential temporal relationship. The converbal clause often represents the conditions by which the matrix takes place. The matrix verb may be imperative, propositive, or declarative. The converbal clause may be factual or counterfactual. When the matrix verb is in the past tense it may not be intentionally done. This converb shares some functions with the converb *–ba* as well as the conjunctions *to* and *nara*. Unlike *–ba*, this converb can be used to describe past events.

62. *sensei-ni   kii-tara sugu   waka-tta*
teacher-dat ask-cv   immediately understand-past
'When I asked my teacher, I understood it right away.'
63. *eigo   da-ttara wakaru-to   omo-imasu*
English.language cop-cv   understand-comp think-npast
'I think I'll understand if it's English.'
(Makino and Tsutsui 1989:452)

55

3. -inagara

This converb is formed with by the combination of the converb –*i* with nagara and indicates simultaneity. The converbal clause is secondary to the matrix predicate in importance and focus. Like the corresponding converb in Korean –*myense*, this is an example of a same subject converb.

> 64. *aruk-inagara hon-o   yomu-no-wa abunai   desu-yo*
>   walk-cv   book-acc read-nom-top dangerous cop-
>   'It's dangerous to read while walking.'
>   (Makino and Tsutsui 1989:269)

4. -itsutsu

Like the converb above, this indicates simultaneity and is another example of a same subject converb. Unlike –*inagara, -itsutsu* only combines with verbs. This converb has developed into an aspectual progressive marker when combined with the auxiliary verb aru.

> 65. *warui koto-to   shir-itsutsu tomodati-ni uso-o tsui-te   shima-tta*
>   bad   thing-comp know-cv   friend-dat   lie-acc tell-prog be-past
>   'Knowing it was a bad thing, I told my friend a lie.'
>   (Makino and Tsutsui 1995:544)

5. -ini

This converb bears much resemblance with the Korean converb   –*le*. They both indicate purpose and are both only used when the matrix clause expresses movement from one place to another.

66. *gakusei-ga   shitumon-o shi-ni ki-ta*
    student-nom question-acc ask-cv come-past
    'The student came to ask a question.'
    (Makino and Tsutsui 1989:297)

6.   -ishidai

This converb is used to express that the matrix predicate occurs directly after the converbal predicate is completed, i.e. immediate anteriority. The actions of both predicates must be planned for this construction.

67. *otto-wa   sigoto-ga owar-isidai mainichi massugu*
    husband-top work-nom finish-cv   every.day straight
    kitaku   si-masu
    return.home do-npast
    '(My) husband comes straight home as soon as he finishes work.'
    (Makino and Tsutsui 1995:387)

2.1.1.2 Non-temporal Converbs

1.   -ba

This converb indicates a condition, under which the matrix clause will commence. In cases where the matrix verb is marked for the imperative mood, the converbal clause must not be an action. Like *–tara* above, this converb can express factual and counterfactual conditions. This converb is also used in the periphrastic expression *nakere-ba naranai*, which indicates necessity.

68. *sono machi-wa kuruma-de ike-ba sanjuppun-de   ike-ru*
    that town-top car-inst   go-cv 30.minutes-dur go-npast
    'You can get to that town in thirty minutes if you go by car.'
    (Makino and Tsutsui 1989:81)

2.   -tatte

This converb indicates the concessive conditional. It may only be used in counterfactual situations. Its function is similar to the concessive –*temo* below. The primary factor distinguishing them is counterfactuality, -*temo* may be used in either factual or counterfactual clauses.

69. *hon-o kat-tatte isogashi-kute yome-nai*
    book-acc buy-cv busy-cv read-neg
    'Even if I were to buy books, I am too busy to read them.'
    (Makino and Tsutsui 1989:463)

3.   -temo

As stated above, this converb indicates the concessive conditional. It differs with –*tatte* above in that it is less colloquial and is also used in writing and that it may be used in both factual situations and counterfactual situations. In example (66) below, it is likely that Mr. Nakayama occasionally purchases books and if so the converbal clause is factual.

70. *nakayama-san-wa hon-o katte-mo yomi-masen*
    Nakayama-Mr-top book-acc buy-cv read-neg
    'Mr. Nakayama doesn't read books even if he buys them.'
    (Makino and Tsutsui 1989:469)

2.1.1.3.   Comparison

Japanese has fewer converbs overall in comparison with Korean. It also has no posterior converb. The contextual converbs –*i* and –*te* are similar to Korean's –*a/e(se)* in that they all have many possible interpretations

dependent upon context. Moreover Japanese contains a converb *–ini*, which

has very restricted semantics, yet greatly resembles Korean's *–le.*

2.1.2. Tungusic

The Tungusic[15] family of languages consist of some ten[16] languages, commonly divided into two branches, Northern and Southern. The justification for this classification is primarily phonological. Two languages, Udihe and Oroch, have been particularly difficult to categorize and have been placed in both branches. Georg (2004) placed them in the northern branch according to shared phonological changes. Vovin (1993), however, categorized these languages in his East-Tungusic along with the Nanaic languages. The confusion is no doubt due to the long term cohabitation of the Udihe and Oroch tribes in the Southern Tungusic speaker's range along the Amur River. The result is three distinct types of Tungusic, Northern Tungusic consisting of the Ewenic languages, Southern Tungusic consisting of the Nanaic languages and a Central Tungusic consisting of Udihe and Oroch.

Like Korean and Japanese, the Tungusic languages are agglutinative and suffixing. Their unmarked word order is AOV, although they do not all follow this as strictly as either Korean or Japanese. The Tungusic languages also exhibit strong RTR vowel harmony, which affects the shape of some converbs.

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[15] This language family is traditionally referred to as Manchu-Tungusic, but for the sake of brevity, it will be here referred by the term Tungusic. This choice is by no means motivated by any historical-genetic theory.

[16] The actual number of languages is somewhat controversial and is related to the controversy over what constitutes a language vs. a dialect. Most Tungusic languages exhibit a great degree of dialectical variation.

This work compares the converbal systems of three Tungusic languages, one from each type expressed above namely Ewenki, Udihe and Manchu. Ewenki, a member of the northern branch, exhibits the most complex system of converbs in Tungusic with a total of 15 converbs. Udihe's converbal system resembles the southern languages like Manchu, with fewer converbs and little converbal polysemy.

2.1.2.1. Ewenki

Ewenki is a Northern Tungusic language spoken by some 17000 speakers throughout a large part of eastern Siberia. Like other Transeurasian languages, Ewenki shares many typological features with Korean. These include vowel harmony, suffixal-agglutination and AOV word order. However one notable difference between Ewenki and Korean is subject-marking. Modern Korean lacks any form of subject-marking. Ewenki on the other hand marks all finite verbs as well as a number of non-finitive verb forms with a subject-agreement suffix. Ewenki negates predicates with a negating verb much like the Korean *anh-ta*.

Contextual			Specialized			Non-Temp
			Temp			
	SIM	ANTE	POST	SIM	ANTE	POST	
SS	-dʲAnA	-mi -nA		-mnAk	-ksA -kA(n)im	-mnen	
VS			-dAlA		-cAlA[17]		-dA -vunA -knAn
DS		-rAki		-dʲAnmA	-ktAvA		

Table 5 Ewenki Converbs (15)

2.1.2.1.1. Temporal Converbs

Anteriority

-ksA & -kA(n)im

These two converbs are dialectical variants of one another. While –*ksA* is primarily used among the eastern dialects, *-kA[n]im* is found in the dialects further west. Both are SS converbs and take no possessive suffix, only the plural marker –*l*. Nedjalkov (1997:45) refers to them as perfective converbs.

71. *bi,   pektypevun-mi tesi-kse,   ŋinakin-nun-mi*
    I-NOM gun-REFL   clean-CV   dog-COM-REFL
    ulumecini-m
    hunt.for.squirrels-PRES.I
    'I cleaned my gun and then hunted for squirrels with my dog.'
    (Lebedeva, Konstantivnova, and Monakhova 1979:180)

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[17] The examples of Ewenki have been modified to regularize their Romanization. The [c] here represents the alveolar affricate /tʃ/. Capital [A] represents an underlying vowel, which alternates according to vowl harmony.s

72. *asi-va   ga-kaim oron-mo   tege-keim tar   beje suru-re-n*
    wife-ACC take-CV   reindeer-ACC sit.on-CV   that man go.away-NFUT-3SG
    'Having taken a wife and sat on a reindeer, that man left.'
    (Nedjalkov 1997:45)

-na

The converb –*na* is also a SS converb and usually expresses immediate either anteriority or simultaneity. It does not take possessive affixes but may take the plural marker –*l.* This converbs is often replaceable by the converb –*d^{j}AnA.* In example (73) below, the action of looking takes place simulteous to the boating.

73. *bira-kanpme solo-d^{j}o-m   ertyki-tartyki ichet-ne*
    river-dim-acc boat-ipfv-1sg here-there   look-cv
    'I am going by boat down the small river, looking here and there.'
    (Nedjalkov 1997:48)

-cAlA

This secondary converb is diachronically formed from the participle –*ca-* and the allative case marker –*la*. It is an example of a VS converb and takes a possessive affix denoting the subject of the converbal clause. In cases where the two subjects are correferenced, the reflexive possessive suffix is employed. This converb primarily denotes anteriority and is not used when the matrix verb is marked for the future. It cannot take the imperfective affix and must stand before the matrix verb.

63

74. *bi:, eduk   suru-cele-vi:, gorovo   nuŋanman*
    I   hence go-CV-REFL   long.time 3sg.ACC
    dʲonca-dʲa-ŋki-v.
    remember-IPFV-HAB.P-1SG
    I went hence and remembered him for a long time.
    (Lebedeva, Konstantivnova, and Monakhova 1979:192)

-ktAvA

75. *dʲa-l-tyn   suru-kteve-tyn   beje a:sin-a-n*
    relative-PL-3PL go.away-CONV-3PL man fall.asleep-NFUT-3SG
    'The man fell asleep after their relatives had gone away.'
    (Nedjalkov 1997:51)

Simultaneity

-dʲAnA

This converb is formed from the imperfect affix, *-dʲa-* and the
converb *–na*. It is used to describe simultaneity or manner. It is another
example of a SS converb. With telic verbs, this converb indicates durative
simultaneity, while in combination with atelic verbs it expresses iterative
simultaneity.

76. *bi:,   agi-li   ŋene-dʲe-ne, purta-t-vi   ilke:n-dʲece-v.*
    I-NOM taiga-PROL go-IPFV-CV   knife-INST-1SG note-IMP-1SG
    'I went into the taiga and took notes with my knife.'

    (Lebedeva, Konstantivnova, and Monakhova 1979:178)

77. *asatkan songo-dʲoro-n silgin-dʲene*
    girl   cry-prs-3sg   tremble-cv
    'The girl was crying trembling.'
    (Nedjalkov 1997:52)

-mi

This converb, like *-a/e(se)* in Korean and *–te* in Japanese, has many
possible interpretations. Nedjalkov (1997:46) lists anteriority, simultaneity,

condition, cause and concession. Ewenki contains one other converb with a nearly identical set of functions, *-rAki-*, with one distinction. *–mi* is a SS converb, while *–rAki-* is a DS converb. *-mi* may also be used as an infinitive complement.   The interpretation of this converb is dependent upon the imperfect aspectual marker. When this converbal affix is combined with the imperfect it signifies simultaneity, but anteriority in its absence.

> 78. *aja-t   hava-l-mi:-l   beje-l   o:-dʲanga:-sun.*
>   good-ADV work-INGR-CV-PL person-PL make-FUT.I-2PL
>   'If (you) would start working well, you will become people.'
>   (Bulatova and Grenoble 1999:44)

> 79. *agi-li   ŋene-dʲe-mi dengkʲe-l-ve va:-vki*
>   forest-pro go-ipfv-cv   sable-pl-acc kill-hab.part
>   'Going through the forest, he hunts sable.'

> 80. *dʲu-la-vi   muchu-mi bejukte-ne-dʲe-m*
>   house-all-refl return-cv   hunt-go-fut-1sg
>   'When/if I return home, I will go hunting.'
>   (Nedjalkov 1997:46)

-rAki

As stated above, this converb is functionaly identical with *–mi* above. It however takes a possessive affix, which refers to some subject other than that of the matrix clause. Also like *–mi* above, it may combine with verbs containing the imperfective affix and denotes simultaneity in such cases. When the verb lacks the imperfective, it expresses anteriority.

> 81. *bira-li   ŋene-dʲe-reki-n tygde-l-le-n*
>   river-prol go-ipfv-3sg   rain-inch-nfut-3sg
>   'When (s)he was going along the river, it began to rain.'
>   (Nedjalkov 1997:47)

82. *du:nne olgo-roki-n kuŋaka:-r tuli:-le: evi:-ktin.*
    ground dry-CV-3SG child-PL   street-LOC play-IMPR.3PL
    'When the ground dries, let the children play in the street.'
    (Bulatova and Grenoble 1999:45)

-ŋAsi

This converb expresses a lengthy past situation simultaneous to the matrix clause. This converb is often combined with the imperfective affix. The matrix verb may not be marked for the future tense. This converb usually denotes events or situations which occurred in the distant past for a long period of time.

83. *hute-s   baldi:-ŋasi:-n, bi: a:cin bi-ce:-v.*
    child-2SG born-CV-3SG   I NEG be-PAST-1SG
    'I wasn't (there) when your child was born.'
    (Bulatova and Grenoble 1999:46)

-dⁱAnmA

This is an archaic converb denoting simultaneity and is not seen in modern spoken or written Ewenki.

84. *bi tang-dⁱanma-v, ekin-mi   sune   uli:-dⁱenge-n.*
    I read-CV-1SG   sister-1SG you-ACC feed-FUT1-3SG
    'While I read, my sister will feed you.
    (Lebedeva, Konstantivnova, and Monakhova 1979:188)

Posteriority

-knAn

Like *–dⁱanmA* above, this converb is only seldomly used in modern Ewenki to express anteriority. It is used to express the result of the matrix clause as exemplified in (85) below. When used as a resultative converb, the

converbal clause containing *–knAn* always follows the matrix verb. This can also be seen as illustrating the iconicity principal.

85. *asatkan songo-dⁱocho-n e:sa-l-in   hularga-knan-tyn*
    girl   cry-IPFV-3SG   eye-PL-3SG become.red-CV-3PL
    'The girl cried until her eyes became red.'
    (Nedjalkov 1997:55)

-dAlA

This converb expresses posteriority to the matrix predicate. It is also combined with the negator verb *e-*. Like the very similarly shaped *–tolok* in Korean, it expresses until-posteriority as well as result. In Ewenki, this converbal clause almost always follows the main verb, perhaps due to the iconicity priniciple. The negator verb is often used to describe before-posteriority as in (87) below. Thompson et. al (2007:248) explains that before-clauses are necessarily incomplete with respect to the main clause and negation is a way to reflect this incompletion.

86. *eme-dele:-v, nuŋan haval-dⁱa-ca:-n*
    come-CV-1SG 3SG   work-IPFV-PAST-3SG
    'He worked until I came.'
    (Bulatova and Grenoble 1999:45)

87. *bu:-kel   min-du purt-va-s   e-dⁱeli-v   suru-re*
    give-2sg.imp 1sg-dat knife-acc-2sg neg-cv-1sg go.away-part
    'Give me your knife before I go away.'
    (Nedjalkov 1997:50)

-mnen & -mnAk

These two converbs are nearly identical in function and are consequently interchangeable. They both are SS converbs and do not take possessive affixes. Interestingly their position with regards to the matrix verb

is integral in their interpretation. When the matrix verb preceeds them, they denote posteriority, and anterior when the converbal clause is followed by the matrix clause. In (88) below, *asinimme:n* 'go to bed' follows the matrix clause 'coming home' and so the speaker first comes home and then goes to bed. However in (89), the converbal clause preceeds the matrix verb and therefore the subject takes the reindeer's horns before bringing it home. This phenomenon is another example of the iconicity principle in action.

88. *bi   eme-m,   asini-mme:n*
    I-NOM come-PRES.1ST, go.to.bed-CV
    As soon as I come home, I go to bed.
    (Lebedeva, Konstantivnova, and Monakhova 1979:183)

89. *tar beje oron   ije-l-duk-in   {dʲava-mnen/dʲava-mnak}*
    that man reindeer horn-pl-abl-3sg {take-cv/take.cv}
    elge-ren
    bring-nfut-3sg
    'That man taking the reindeer by its horns, brought it home.'
    (Nedjalkov 1997:50)

2.1.2.1.2. Non-temporal Converbs

Purposive

-dA & *-vunA*

These two converbs denote purpose with the *–dA* form being the more frequent. They both are varying subject converbs and require possessive marking for the subject of the converbal clause. Purposive converbs may preceed or follow the matrix clause, but there is a tendency

towards following. They both may also combine with verbs marked by the imperfective marker –$d^{j}a$-.

90. *bi nungan-dula-n tuksa-cha-v   dukuvun-ma-s bu:-de:-vi*
    I (s)he-all-3SG   run-PAST-1SG letter-ACC-2SG give-CV-REFL
    'I ran to him to give him your letter.'
    (Nedjalkov 1997:52)

91. *evi-vune-v eviken-me emev-re-n*
    play-CV-1SG toy-ACC   bring-NFUT-3SG
    'She brought the toy for me to play.'
    (Nedjalkov 1997:52)

2.1.2.1.3. Comparison

The primary difference between Korean and Ewenki converbs involves the DS forms. Korean lacks any DS converbs, while Ewenki contains three, each contrasting with some SS form. The total number of Ewenki's DS converbs is less than half that of SS converbs. Also unlike Korean, Ewenki does not display the same asymmetry between anterior converbs and posterior converbs. This may be related to the fact that Ewenki permits adjuncts to follow the matrix predicate. Asectual marking plays an important role in the interpretation of several Ewenki converbs. This is relatable to the past tense usage in Korean's conditional *–myen*.

2.1.2.2.   Udihe

Udihe belongs to the central group of Tungusic languages, that are closely related to the Northern Tungusic languages phonologically, but share many typological and grammatical features with the Southern Tungusic languages. Like Ewenki, Udihe has subject-marking on all finite and some non-finite verb forms. However, Udihe has far fewer converbs than Ewenki with a total of seven. Udihe also lacks converbs of posteriority and the languages relies on other means to express such relations.

Contextual			Specialized		
			Temp		NonTemp
	SIM	ANTE	SIM	ANTE	
SS	*-mi*	*-si*		*-na:*	
VS			*-ŋie-*		*-lAgA-* *-lisi-*
DS		*-isi-*			

Table 6 Udihe Converbs (7)

2.1.2.2.1.   Temporal Converbs
-mi

Although Nikolaeva & Tolskaya (2001) refer to this form as the infinitive (i.e. *masdar*), it is apparent that it also functions as a converb expressing manner as exemplified below. Temporally the two predicates occur simultaneous. As noted above, Nedjalkov states that the Ewenki converb *–mi*, a cognate of this form also performs as the *masdar* to some degree in Ewenki. This converb is also used to express anteriority and

70

primarily immediate anteriority as exemplified in (93) below. This converb is

also used to express causality and concessive like that in (94) and (95).

92. ŋua-*ini   xeŋpi-mi-dei*
    sleep-3SG snore-CV-FOC
    'He sleeps snoring.'
93. *ba:-za   ge-digi-ni   eme-gi-mi   etete-li-gi-e-ni*
    place-NOM surface-ABL-3SG return-REP-CV work-INCH-REP-PAST-3SG
    'After returning from the forest, I usually began to work.'
94. *agda-mi   abuga soŋo-li-e-ni*
    be.happy-CV father cry-INCH-PAST-3SG
    'Father cried from happiness.'
95. *ñaula bi-mi kui-ni   anči*
    young be-cv strength not.exist
    'Although he is stroung he has no strength.'
    (Nikolaeva and Tolskaya 2001:726-727)

Imperfective

-ŋie

This converb denotes a situation that is simultaneous to the situation

of the matrix clause. The matrix clause must have some past tense marking.

It is a VS converb and takes a possessive suffix, which is the reflexive in cases

of coreferentiality.

96. *minti ŋic'a bi-ŋie-fi   udie keje-zi   m'ei diaŋ-ki-fi*
    we   small be-CV-SS.PL Udihe language-INST only speak-PAST-1PL.IN
    'When we were young, we only spoke Udihe.'
    (Nikolaeva and Tolskaya 2001:739)

Perfective

-si

This converb is formed by adding the affix –*si* to the perfect stem of

the verb. No possessive suffix is added to this converb, as with other

Tungusic SS converbs. The plural marker –*du*- may be inserted before the converb. This converb denotes the relative past tense and can be used regardless of the matrix clause's tense. Besides temporality, this converb is used to express the manner or the accompanying circumstances of the matrix clause as seen in (98).

97. *bi ise:-mi   iwana kuzi-ge-si   j'e-we-ke*
    I   see.PAST-1SG Ivan   bend.down-PERF-CV what-ACC-IND
    zawa-i-wa-ni
    take-PRP-ACC-3SG
    'I saw that Ivan bent down and picked something up.'
    (Nikolaeva and Tolskaya 2001:798)
98. *kept'e-si   taŋi:-ni*
    lie.PERF-CV read-3SG
    'He reads lying down.'
    (Nikolaeva and Tolskaya 2001:741)

-*na:*

This same-subject converb is obsolete and only used with a closed set of verbs. This converbal clause often modifies a predicate of movement (Nikolaeva and Tolskaya 2001:238). This converb denotes the manner of the predicate action.

99. *ise-si:-ni   eni-ni   b'ata-ngi: omo aziga-wa xebu-ne:*
    see-IPFV-3SG mother-3SG boy-AL.REF   one girl-ACC bring-CV
    eme-i-we-ni
    come-PRP-ACC-3SG
    'His mother sees that her son came with some girl.'
    (Nikolaeva and Tolskaya 2001:239)

-isi

This converb is formed by affixing *–isi-* to the present stem of the verb as well as subject-agremment affix marking the subject of the converbal clause. The SS and DS forms of the perfective converb are attached to different stems of the verb, namely the perfect and present respectively. This converb expresses the anteriority. However when the matrix predicate is marked with the progressive aspect, this converb denotes simultaneity and is often the background for the matrix verb as seen in (101). This converb can also express causality as expressed in (102).

100. *ni-de   eme-isi-ni   bi mamasa-i agda-ini.*
     who-IND come-CV-3SG 1SG wife-1SG   be.glad-3SG
     'Whoever comes, my wife is glad.'
     (Nikolaeva and Tolskaya 2001:696)
101. *bi eme-gi:-si   bi sita-i   ŋua-mi bi:-ni bi mamasa-i*
     1SG come-REP-CV 1SG son-1SG sleep-CV be-3SG 1SG wife-1SG
     ule:-we   olokto-mi bi:-ni
     meat-ACC cook-CV   be-3SG
     'When I come, my son is sleeping and my wife is cooking meat.'
     (Nikolaeva and Tolskaya 2001:742)
102. *su: su:ni:-si-ni   xokto og'ou-gi-e-ni*
     sun shine-CV-3SG road   dry-REP-PAST-3SG
     'The road dried up from the sun.'
     (Nikolaeva and Tolskaya 2001:743)

2.1.2.2.2.   Non-temporal Converbs

Purposive

-lAgA-

This varying-subject converb expresses the purpose of the matrix predicate. It is followed by the possessive affix marking the subject of the converbal clause, much like varying-subject converbs in Ewenki. Also similar to Ewenki, coreferential subjects are marked by the reflexive, *i.e. –mi* sg. *–fi* pl. The converb can also express intention when the purpose has not been fulfilled as in (103b)

> *103.* a) *bu e-lege-u   ŋua eniŋe   ŋimaŋku-we ŋimasi-e-ni*
> we NEG-CV-1PL.EX sleep mother tale-ACC   tell-PAST-3SG
> 'Our mother told the tale so we would not sleep.'
> (Nikolaeva and Tolskaya 2001:237)
> b) *pa-ligi   mafa-wa gida-la:-mi   auj-I   wa:-ni*
> black-adj bear-acc spear-cv-refl brother.in.law-ref kill.past-3sg
> '(Intending) to stab a black bear with a spear, he killed his brother-in-law.'

(Realis) Conditional Converbs

-lisi-

This conditional converb is formed with the suffix *–lisi-.* This is followed by a subject-agreement marker or the suffixes *–li* sg. *–lie* pl. in cases of coreferentialiality. The primary role of this converb is to express a real conditional. This converb can also express temporality as in (105).

104. *aziga-ziga olokto-lisi-ti minti eme-gi-zenge-fi*
   girl-PL   cook-CV-3PL we   come-REP-FUT-1PL.IN
   'If the girls cook the food, we will come back.'
   (Nikolaeva and Tolskaya 2001:749)

105. *ele   sikie-gi-lisi-ni   susa-gi-kte-iti*
   soon evening-REP-CV-3SG escape-REP-DIST-3PL
   'As soon as evening comes, they run away.'
   (Nikolaeva and Tolskaya 2001:743)

2.1.2.2.3.   Comparison

Udihe shares several features with Ewenki not found in Korean, namely DS converbs and subject-marking. This suggests that there maybe some correlation between these two features differentiating the Tungusic and Korean sets.

2.1.2.3.   Manchu

Besides Japanese only Manchu and its ancestor Jurchen have had any lengthy linguistic contact with Korean having been spoken in the nearest vicinity to Korean speakers. Like Udihe, Manchu has few converbs, in comparison to some other languages in the region. However unlike other Tungusic languages, Manchu lacks subject-agreement and DS converbs.

Contextual				Specialized			NonTemp
				Temp			
	SIM	ANTE	POST	SIM	ANTE	POST	
SS						*-nggala*	*-hai*
VS	*-me*	*-fi*			*-tala*		*-ci*
							-cibe

Table 7 Manchu Converbs (7)

2.1.2.3.1.　Temporal Converbs

Imperfect

-me

This is a very commonly used converb primarily denoting simultaneity. It can also denote purpose as seen in (106b) below. It is also used in several aspectual constructions, e.g. the progressive, inchoative, completive, and ability much like the Korean converbs *–ko, -a/e(se),* and the Japanese *-te*.

> 106. a) *doose geren-i   baru   su-we   omi-me*
> monk everybody-GEN toward you:PL   drink-CV
> *ele-he-o   se-me fonji-ha de, elhe se-me jabu-ha*
> be.enough-PAP-INT say-CV ask-PAP dat well say-CV answer-PAP
> *'[When] the monk asked everybody: "Have you had enough to*
> *drink?" [they] answered: "Enough"*
> (Gorelova 2002:274)
>
>   b) *morin-be dali-me boo-de ji-he*
> horse-acc hide-cv house-dat come-part
> '(He) went home to hide the horses.'
> (Gorelova 2002:270)

Perfect

-fi

The perfect converb in Manchu is formed by affixing *–fi* to the verbal stem. The perfect converb primarily expresses anteriority. A secondary function of this converb is to denote the reason for performing an action.

> 107. *ere-be   gisure-fi aina-mbi*
> this-ACC speak-CV do.what-IPFV

76

(literally: "Having said this, do (you) do what?"); "Why do you speak this?"
(Gorelova 2002:278)

Terminal

-tala

This converb indicates a subordinate action which occurs simultaneous to the matrix verb. The matrix predicate continues until the subordinate predicate is completed. This converb shares function and shape with the Ewenki converb *–dAlA* described above and the Mongolian converb *–tel* below. This converb is found primarily in the lexical items, *isi-tala* 'until' and *o-tolo* 'until', which are formed from the verbs *isi-mbi* 'to arrive, reach' and *o-mbi* 'to become' respectively.

108. *jing erin o-hobi,   geli sin-i   boo-de   isina-tala baita*
     now time become-PAST still you-GEN house-DAT arrive-CV matter
     be tookabu-rakū-n
     ACC delay-PP:NEG-INT
     "Now the time has come, while arriving at your house should we still delay the matter?"
     (Gorelova 2002:282)

Posteriority

-nggala

This converb expresses a subordinate action which takes place after the matrix predicate.

109. *dosi-nggala asuki isibu-mbi*
     enter-CV   noise make-IPFV
     "Before entering (one) makes a noise;"
     (Gorelova 2002:284)

2.1.2.3.2.   Non-temporal Converbs

Conditional

-ci

This converb is formed with the suffix *–ci* which resembles the ablative case particle. It shares the feature of anteriority with the converb *–fi*, but expresses the hypothetical with unreal conditions. Gorelova suggests that the converb may be derived from the case particle diachronically (Gorelova 2002:279). This form seems unrelated with the Ewenki conditional *-mi*.

110. *gene-ci uthai gene-mbi seme hendu,   gene-rakū   o-ci,*
     go-CV   then go-IPFV   that say:IMP   go-PP:NEG   be:AUX-CV
     uthai gene-rakū   seme hendu
     then go-PP:NEG   that   say:IMP
      "If (you are intending to) go, then say that (you) will go; if (you are not intending to) go, then say that (you) will not go"
     (Gorelova 2002:278)

Concessive

-cibe

The secondary converb, *-cibe* is formed from the combination of the conditional converb and the accusative particle *–be*. The Turkic languages form their concessive similarly as seen in Sakha below.

111. *fulun caliyan   bi-cibe, inenggidari baitala-rakū de*
     salary just.enough exist-CV every.day   use-PP:NEG   DAT
     isi-rakū
     suffice-PP:NEG
     "There is a salary, but it is not sufficient for day-to-day necessities"

(Gorelova 2002:280)

Durative/Frequentative

-hai

This converb expresses an action that is durative, intermittent, frequentative or intensive. It is believed that this converb is formed from the perfect participle *–hA* and the genitive *–i*. In cases of reduplication only the final predicate is marked with the converb and preceding verbs are in the perfect participle.

112. *yasa hada-hai   tuwa-mbi*
     eye   fix.the.eyes.on-CV look.at-IPFV
     "(Someone) stares at (smth./smb.) intently"
     (Gorelova 2002:281)

Degree

This converb expresses the degree to which the matrix verb is performed. In the example below the subject performs the matrix verb, *afa-mbi* 'fight' to the degree that the converbal predicate *buce-mbi* 'die' takes place.

113. *buce-tei afa-mbi*
     die-cv   fight-ipfv
     '(S/he) fights until death.'
     (Gorelova 2002:283)

Comparison

Like Korean and Japanese, Manchu lacks both subject-markers and DS converbs. All other Tungusic languages have both subject-markers and DS converbs. Moreover Manchu is strictly AOV in contrast to the other Tungusic

languages described. Manchu also shares the terminative converb *–tAlA* with

Korean and Ewenki.

2.1.3.   Mongolic (Mongolian)

Like other Transeurasian languages, Mongolian is characterized by suffixal agglutination as well as AOV word order and vowel harmony. These features exert influence on the converbal system much as they do in the other Transeurasian languages discussed. Mongolian is also the language for which the term converb was first invented by Ramstedt in 1903. Mongolian is characterized by a significant amount of dialectical variation as well as two writing systems. An adaptation of the Cyrillic alphabet is used in the nation of Mongolia while the traditional script originally derived from the Sogdian script is still used exclusively by Mongolian speakers residing Inner Mongolia. This results in some variation in Romanization. The author has made no attempt to regularize this variation and the reader should be mindful of this.

Contextual				Specialized			
				Temp			NonTemp
	SIM	ANTE	POST	SIM	ANTE	POST	
SS	*-e.ʤ*	*-g.A:d*			*-s.A:r*		*-e.n*
							-xA:r
VS		*-ng.U:t*	*-tel*		*-megtz*		*-bel*
					-e.msA:r		*-e.bč*
					-e.xlA:r		

Table 8 Mongolian Converbs (11)

2.1.3.1. Temporal Converbs

Conjunct, Same-subject

Imperfect

-e.ʤs(u)

The imperfect converb is formed in Mongolian by the suffix *-ʤ* to the verb stem. The converb denotes simultaneity between the converbal clause and the matrix clause. Other functions of the converb include anteriority, manner and causality.

> 114. baidel   yammer   met udz-e.gd-e.ʤ bai-n'
>   situation what.kind like see-PASS-CV   be-DUR
>   'What does the situation look like?'
>   (Janhunen 2012:201)
> 115.   modon següder oči-ʤu nom ungsi-na
>   tree   shadow go-CV   book read-NPAST
>   '(S/he) goes under a tree and reads a book.'
>   (Ujiyediin 1998:87)
> 116. tede ende-eče negü-ʤu yabu-na
>   3PL   here-ABL move-CV go-NPAST
>   'They will move away from here.'
>   (Ujiyediin 1998:88)

Perfect

-g.A:d

This converb has traditionally been described as the perfective converb expressing anteriority. However, as a contextual converb, *-gA:d* can be used to describe simultaneous and manner relationships as well. These secondary readings are exemplified in (117 b-c) below.

117. a) *beedʒeng xur-eed   xed-e.n   euder bol-sen*
          Beijing   arrive-CV how.many-ATTR day   become-P.PRF
          'I arrived in Beijing some days ago.'
          (Janhunen 2012:210)
      b) *tere qola-yi qara-ɣad daɣu ügei saɣu-n*a
          he far-acc stare-cv sound neg sit-npast
          'He sits quietly looking into the distance.'
      c) *keüked   üsür-ged ɣar-la*
          children jump-cv   come.out-past
          'Children are jumping out.'
          (Ujiyediin 1998:91)

-sA:r

This secondary converb is formed from a version of the perfective participle *–s-* and the instrumental case affix *–AAr*. According to Janhunen, this converb expresses a complex temporal relationship in which the converbal action begins before the matrix predicate but continues, having elements of anteriority and simultaneity (Janhunen 2012:166).

118. *bii xot-e.d soo-saar arb-e.n jil   bol-lao*
          1sg city-DAT sit-CV   ten-ATTR year become-CONF
          'I have been living in the city for ten years.'
          (Janhunen 2012:216)

Terminative

-tel

This converb shares a similar form with the Korean converb, *-tolok* as well as the Tungusic converbs; Manchu *–tala* & Ewenki *–dAlA*. Like the posteriority interpretation of *–tolok,* this converb indicates the temporal limit of the matrix predicate. Janhunen states that in Mongolian the terminative can also be used to mark simultaneity or immediate anteriority

(Janhunen 2012:167). Coreferentiality is marked with the reflexive possessive

–AAn as in Ewenki and Udihe.

119. *min-ii   aʤel-deg   uildber sheun'   orai bol-tel   aʤel-deg*
      1sg-GEN work-P.HAB factory evening late become-CV work-P.HAB
      'The factory where I work is active until late in the evening.'
      (Janhunen 2012:274)

Immediative

-megtz

This converb expresses immediate anteriority of the converbal clause

with respect to the matrix verb. Like the terminative above, coreferentiality

is marked with the reflexive possessive.

120. *duᴜg   ʤab-magtz eedʒ   aʤl-aač-aa   ir-eb*
      younger.brother go-CV   mother work-ABL-REFL come-TERM
      'As soon as my younger brother left, my mother came from her
      work.'
      (Kullmann 2001:164)

Concomitant

-(ng)U:t

This varying-subject converb which express coincidental relationship

between the converbal clause and the matrix clause. It often can express

immediate anteriority as well.

121. *nomin.san haa-ngoot ʤab-na   shuu*
      library   close-CV   go-CONF PART
      'As soon as the library closes, we will surely go.'
      (Kullmann 2001:170)

Contemporal

-(e)msA:r

The contemporal converb also expresses immediate anteriority, but with a past tense reference. It was mostly found in northern dialects and is not found in most modern dialects of Mongolian (Janhunen 2012:168).

2.1.3.1. Non-temporal Converbs

Modal/Manner

-(e)n

This converb is often described as the manner converb, expressing how the matrix predicate is performed. In (122) below the converbal clause in *–n*, *er-* 'search' describes how the subject has been performing the matrix predicate *sourbeldʒel-* 'investigate'. However, it is also been described as contextual with many of the same values as *-dʒu* above (Ujiyediin 1998). Like *-dʒu,* simultaneity is much more commonly expressed than anteriority. However *–n* can be used to describe immediate anteriority like in (125). Extensive differentiation the three contextual converbs is given in Ujiyediin (1998).

> 122. *arb-e.n dʒil-ii.n   toursh er-e.n   sourbeldʒel-dʒ   bai-n'*
>   ten-ATTR year-GEN during search-CV investigate-CV   be-DUR
>   'For ten years he has been investigating (this).'
>   (Janhunen 2012:203)

123. *tere qola-yi qara-n   daɣu   ügei saɣu-na*
     he   far-acc stare-cv sound neg   sit-npast
     'He looks far away and sits quietly.'
124. *boroɣan arila-n   nara ɣar-ba*
     rain   disappear-cv sun   rise-past
     'It stopped raining and became sunny.'
     (Ujiyediin 1998:89)
125. *tere üʤe-n kele-be*
     he   see-cv say-past
     'He spoke as soon as he looked at it.'
     (Ujiyediin 1998:91)

-xA:r

Like the converb above, this secondary converb consists of the particple and the instrumental case affix, i.e. future participle *–x + -AAr.* This converb is referred to as the final converb, but might better be called the purposive converb as it expresses the goal of the matrix verb.

126. *neg-en euder eubgen tulee   tuu-xeer oi-d   oč-tel…*
     one-ATTR day   old.man firewood collect-CV forest-DAT go-CV
     'One day an old man went into the forest to collect firewood and…'
     (Janhunen 2012:291)

Conditional
-bel

This converb expresses the condition by which the matrix predicate takes place. According to Ujiyediin, the matrix verb containing this converbal clause must be non-past (Ujiyediin 1998:115).

127. *nuur boudelt-aa   dzeub   xii-bel taa oulem=č   xeorxen*
     ace colouring-REFL correct do-CV   2pl still.more=ADD beautiful
     bol-e.n'
     become-DUR
     'If you do make-up correctly, you will become even more beautiful.'
     (Janhunen 2012:280)

Concessive (condition)

-e.b(A)c(U)

The concessive converb shares much in common with the conditional

above. Formally, both are derived from the terminative marker *–(e)b* and an

emphatic postclitic. Ujiyediin also states that this converb can be translated

into English as "if" or "even though", thus implying that the converb can

express the concessive or the concessive conditional.

128. *xai-ġ.aad xai-ġ.aad yab-e.bč   xaa-n-aas-č   ol-d-ex-gwai*
     search-CV search-CV depart-CV where-LOC-ABL-ADD find-PASS-P.F-PRIV
     'Although they go looking all around, it cannot be found anywhere.'
     (Janhunen 2012:281)

Successive

-(e)xlA:r

This varying-subject converb expresses presupposition and the

anteriority of the converbal clause and contains the the instrumental case

ending *–AAr*.

129. *nar gara-xlaar dolaan   bol-dog*
     sun rise-CV   warmth become-HAB
     'When the sun rises, it gets warm.'
     (Kullmann 2001:165)

2.1.3.2. Comparison

One finds the same correlation between lack of subject-marking and lack of DS converbs in Mongolian. Moreover, Mongolian is characterized by a large number of converbs, but like Korean only one posterior converb –*tel.* And like the Korean *-tolok*, *-tel* signifies when the matrix predicate ends and not an action that takes place after the matrix clause.

2.1.4. Turkic (Sakha)

Sakha is the sole Turkic language spoken within Northeast Asia. Like other Transeurasian languages, Sakha is characterized by suffixal agglutination and AOV word order. It is notable that although Sakha has subject-marking on all finite verb forms, they are found on only the conditional converbs. Sakha also lacks DS converbs and this maybe due to the paucity of subject-marking on converbs.

Contextual				Specialized			NonTemp
				Temp			
	SIM	ANTE	POST	SIM	ANTE	POST	
SS	*-A/-II*	*-A:t*					*-A:rI*
							-ImA:rI
							-BiccA
VS	*-BAkkA*	*-An*					*-tAr*
	-BItInAn						*-bAtAr*
							-tAx
							-bAtAx
DS							

Table 9 Sakha Converbs (11)

2.1.4.1. Temporal Converbs

-An

The converb formed with this suffix expresses anteriority. The converbal action takes place prior to the beginning of the matrix predicate. However, as seen in (130) below it can also express simultaneity or manner.

130. uol ist-en   tur-ar
     boy listen-CV stand-PRS.3SG
     The boy is standing and listening.
     (Stachowski and Menz 1998:427)

-A/-II

This primary converb has several interpretations determined by its context. According to Petrova (2011:29), if the converbal clause is followed immediately by a stative verb, the converbal clause denotes simultaneity but when it is followed by an active verb, it describes the purpose of the action. It is notable that all examples Petrova (ibid.) gives for the purpose interpretation have matrix verbs of movement.

131. olja it-ii   i-tii   surug-u   uok-ka birax-ta
     Olja cry-CV cry-CV letter-POSS:3SG fire-DAT throw-PAST.3SG
     Olja threw the letter into the fire, crying and crying.
     (Kang 2011:205)

-BAkkA

This converb denotes a negative manner, or in other words the converbal clause expresses a predicate uncompleted before the matrix predicate takes place. This converb is used as a negative form of either –An or –A/II.

132. *maʃa   üle-ti-n   büter-bekke jie-ti-ger   bar-bït*
     Masha work-3sg-acc finish-cv   home-3sg-dat go-past.3sg
     'Masha went home without finishing her work.'
     (Petrova 2011:30)

-A:t (as soon as)

This converb expresses immediate anteriority. The converbal clause is completed immediately before the matrix verb begins. In the example below the converbal predicate, *ki:reet* 'enter' occurs immediately before the raining, *tüste*.

133. *min χos-po-r   ki:r-eet   ardaχ tüs-te*
     1SG room-POSS1SG-DAT enter-CV   rain   fall-PAST:3SG
     'As soon as I came into my room, it began to rain.'
     (Stachowski and Menz 1998:427)

2.1.4.2.   Non-temporal converbs

-A:rl

The purposive converb is formed with the affix –*A:rl*. In the example below the purpose of the matrix predicate, *barda* 'go', is expressed by the converb, *bulaarï* 'find'. The matrix verb does not need to be a verb of movement as seen in (134) in which the matrix verb is *khaal* 'stay'.

134. *kïïh-ï-n   bul-aarï bar-da*
     daughter:POSS3SG-ACC find-CV   go-PAST:3SG
     '(S)he went to find his/her daughter.'
     (Stachowski and Menz 1998:427)

135. *maʃa   učuutal-ï-n   kïtta kepset-eeri uruok   kenne khaal-la*
     Masha teacher-3sg-acc with talk.cv   lesson after   stay-past.3sg
     'Masha stayed after class to speak with her teacher.'
     (Petrova 2011:34)

-BiccA (causal)

The causal converb is formed by suffixing –*BiccA* to the verb stem. In the example below, *kuttammicca* 'be.frightened' is the reason whey the speaker performed the matrix verb *ettim* 'speak'.

136. iti-ni   *kuttam-micca*   *et-tim*
    that-ACC be.frightened-CV say-PAST:1SG
    I said that because I was frightened.
    (Stachowski and Menz 1998:427)

-tAx

This converb is used to express realis conditions, like those formed from the Korean converb –*myen*. Unlike other converbs in Sakha, this form is followed by the possessive suffixes marking agreement with the converbal subject. The negative form of this converb is formed with the suffix –*bAtAx.*

137. min korjeja-ttan kel-lex-pine saxa tïlï   üöre-tiem
    1sg Korea-abl   come-cv-1sg Sakha language learn-past:1sg
    'When/if I come from Korea, I will learn Sakha.'

-tAr

The irrealis conditional converb is formed with the similar suffix –*tAr*. As with the realis conditional, this converb is followed by a subject agreement marker.

138. min kini-ni kör-dör-bün sibekki bier-iem e-te
    1sg 3sg-dat see-cv-1sg flower give-1sg imp-past
    'Had I seen you, I would have given you a flower.'

Comparison

The conditional forms are traditionally not considered converbs and the reasoning may have to do with the subject-agreement markers which all other converbal forms lack in Sakha. However when compared to the system of converbs in Ewenki and Udihe, converbal forms often do contain subject-agreement markers.

2.2.   Protoasiatic Languages

The following four languages belong not to the Transeurasian language group but to the Protoasiatic. These languages differ to some degree from those of the Transeurasian group. Regardless of these differences, all four of the languages described below utilize converbs.

2.2.1.   Nivkh

	Contextual		Specialized			NonTemp
			Temp			
	SIM	ANTE	SIM	ANTE	POST	
SS	*-r/t*		*-data-r/t* *-durŋu-r/t*	*-ror/-tot*		
VS	*-ke* *-ge* *-ivo*	*-ŋan*		*-fke* *-ba*	*-ənke*	*-xrərə* *-inə-ftoχ* *-toχ* *-vur/t* *-kirk/girk* *-kirn/girn* *-kin/gin* *-vur* *-ʁajnapə* *-ʁa* *-ʈaʁa*
DS			*-data-gu-r/t* *-ro-gu-r/to-gu-t* *- durŋu-gu-r/t*			*-guin* *-ilәkr-r/t*

Table 10 Nivkh Converbs (26)

2.2.1.1. Temporal Converbs

Temporality

-ba

This converb expresses a completed action which immediately follows the matrix predicate. When combined with stative verbs, this converb becomes interchangeable with *–fke.*

139. *v-ətək   por-r hum-ba maṭkilk   e-rχ*
    3SG-father lie-CV be-CV   be.small:NML (s)he-DAT/ADD
    vi-řa-ḍ
    come-USIT:3SG-IND
    'As soon as his father is lying, the little one usually comes to him.'
    (Nedjalkov and Otaina 2013:335)

-ivo

This converb is derived from the aspectual forms *–ivi-*, expressing the inchoative or progressive. The converb expresses the action of the converbal predicate in progress without stressing duration, i.e. simultaneity. When combined with stative verbs, this converb denotes the beginning of the quality, i.e. inchoation as seen in (141) below.

140. *ñi řək-ivo   if   p'u-ḍ*
    I bring.home-CV (s)he exit-IND
    'When I was taking (it) into the home, he left.'
    (Nedjalkov and Otaina 2013:329)

141. *ṭif   q'ori-vo,   qan-gu maŋ-gut   ve-ḍ-ɣu*
    road be.sloping-CV dog-PL be.strong-ADV:3PL run-IND-PL
    'As the road began to slope, the dogs ran very strong(fast).'
    (Nedjalkov and Otaina 2013:330)

-fke

This converb expresses a temporal relationship, in which the converbal clause is completed before the matrix verb take place. This is another form of immediate anteriority.

142. *ñi p'-atəik   n'řə-fke ərk   taur-ḍ*
     I REF-younger.sibling see-CV   already be.long-IND
     '(Since) I saw my brother, it has already been long.'
     (Nedjalkov and Otaina 2013:338)

-ge

Nedjalkov & Otaina (2013:336) explain that the degree of anteriority of this converb lies somewhere between the immediacy of *–ba* and the temporal distance of *–ror/tot*. Besides anteriority, they speculate the converb may also express simultaneity. This ambiguity can be seen in the glosses of (144). When the converb is formed with a stative verb, there is a degree of interchangeablity with *–fke*.

143. *hemar   k'əmlə-ge   p'u-r vi-ḍ.*
     old.man think-CV:DUR/INST go.out-CV go-IND
     'As soon as (he) made up his mind the old man went away going out.'
     (Nedjalkov and Otaina 2013:336)

144. *lur ţeqa-ge   laχ-t   vi-ḍ-ɣu*
     ice be.strong-cv visit-cv go-ind-pl
     i. 'As soon as the ice became strong, they went to visit (someone).'
     ii. 'While the ice is strong, they went to visit (someone).'

-datar/-durŋur

This secondary converb consists of a continuative affix –*data/durŋu*-
and the converb –*r/t*. The two continuative suffixes are interchangeable and
overall the converb expresses a continuing state during which another (i.e.
the matrix) action takes place. In many cases the main predicate interrupts
the converbal action, much like the Korean   –*ta[ka]*.

> 145. *k'eq {vi-durŋu-r/vi-data-r} mu-ḍ*
>   fox   go-CONT-CV:3SG   die-IND
>   'While the fox was going, he died.'
>   (Nedjalkov and Otaina 2013:331)

-ke

This converb combines primarily with atelic verbs and expresses
simultaneity. Nedjalkov and Otaina (2013:327) state that it denotes "a state
or action of long duration during which another action takes place." Often
the matrix predicate takes place after a "pronlonged converbal action as a
kind of … consequence or as its final stage." The continuative/progressive
analytical construction is often formed with this converb. Finally this converb
is also used in some cases to express a causal relationship between the two
clauses as exemplified below in (149).

> 146. *hoŋgut   va-ke if   p'er-ra   mu-inə-ra.*
>   in.that.way:3PL fight-CV (s)he tire-CO:3SG die-INCH-CO:3SG
>   'While/after they were fighting so, he got tired and fell ill (died).'
>   (Nedjalkov and Otaina 2013:327)

> 147. *mujnək   oz-oz-ke   añ por-doχ park hum-ḍ*
>   sick.person get.up-REP-CV again lie-SUP   only be-IND
>   'The sick person kept getting up, but only feels like lying.'

148. *v-aţik-xu*   *k'əmlə-ke sek it-ţ-γu*
3SG-younger.sibling-PL think-CV   all say-IND-PL
'His younger brothers thought (for some time) and then said everything.'
(Nedjalkov and Otaina 2013:328)

149. *if*   *p'i*   *ţez-ke*   *ñivx-gu*   *k'rə-nə-ḍ*   *amţez-ḍ*
(s)he self be.weak-CV man-PL   be.with.sb-FUT-NML be.late-IND
'Because he himself was weak, he was too late to be with the people.'
(Nedjalkov and Otaina 2013:328-329)

-ŋan

This converb denotes either anteriority of simultaneity depending on the aspectual nature of the verb it is formed with. When combined with telic verbs the converb expresses anteriority and with atelic verbs simultaneity. The standard Russian gloss of this converb is *kogda* 'when' signifying the time when the matrix predicate takes place. This converb is similar to –*ror/tot* below and is in some cases interchangeable, however –*ŋan* relates the two predicates as partially overlapping. Therefore this converb is not used when the two verbs are in some form of inverse relationship to one another.

Another interpretation of this converb denotes the realization of the matrix predicate, while performing the converbal predicate as seen in (150) below. This resembles the temporal interpretation of the Korean converb -*ni(kka)* above. However, this converb is restricted to different-subject constructions when the matrix predicate has the progressive/continuative construction. Finally this converb can also express the "perfectivization", i.e. the formation of a telic verb from a qualitative verb like that of (152).

150. *i-ɣ-ŋan   řək-ṯ*
     3SG-kill-CV bring.home-IND
     'When (he) killed it (he) brought (it) home.'
     (Nedjalkov and Otaina 2013:339)

151. *təvə-ŋan   i-nanak   haundo-ḑ*
     enter.house-CV 3SG-elder.sister sing.as.shaman-IND
     'When (he) entered the house, his elder sister was singing as a
     shaman.'
     (Nedjalkov and Otaina 2013:340)

152. *hoʁat   q'o-tot oz-ŋan   mu-ɣir   vi-ḑ*
     then:3SG sleep-CV get.up-CV boat-INS go-IND
     'Then, having slept, he got up and went by boat.'
     (Nedjalkov and Otaina 2013:341)

153. *k'eŋ hərk-ŋan if   p'u-ḑ*
     sun   be.low-CV (s)he go.out-IND
     'When the sun had set, he went out.'
     (Nedjalkov and Otaina 2013:341)

-ror/tot

This converb expresses anteriority, whereby the converbal action is
completed before the matrix predicate takes place. Usually there is an
interval of some time between the two actions. This converb primarily
attaches to telic verbs, unlike *–ke* described above. When the converbal
clause is in the progressive/continuative analytical form, this converb
expresses the completion of a long-lasting action or state. Either simultaneity
or anteriority can be expressed depending on the context.

Like the distinction between the Korean converbs *–ko* and
-a/e(se), this converb contrasts with *-ŋan*. Like *–ko*, a converbal clause
containing this converb can modify a matrix clause which contains a verb
with the opposite value. In (154) below, his lying down and getting up are a

temporal sequence with no overlap. The Korean sentence *nwup-ko(se) ilena-ss-ta* is acceptable whereas the same sentence with *-a/e(se)* seems somewhat awkward, **nwuw-ese ilena-ss-ta*.

154. *por-ror oz-ḍ*
    lie-CV   get.up-IND
    '(He) lay down and then got back up.'
    (Nedjalkov and Otaina 2013:332)

155. *if   por-ḍ*
    (s)he lie-IND
    He lay down.

156. *if   por-ror oz-ḍ*
    (s)he lie-CV   get.up-IND
    He lay down and then got back up.

157. *if   por-r hum-ḍ*
    (s)he lie-CV be-IND
    He is/was lying.

158. *if   por-r hum-ror oz-ḍ*
    (s)he lie-CV be-CV   get.up-IND
    He was lying for some time and got back up.
    (Nedjalkov and Otaina 2013:333)

-ənke

This converb denotes posteriority and is combined with the verb marked for the future.

159. *utkuōla pʼi vi-nə-ənke ŋajqnonq ŋəŋ-ə.*
    boy   self go-FUT-CV puppy   look.for-IND
    'Before he went, the boy looked for the puppy.
    (Nedjalkov and Otaina 2013:80)

Terminative/Purpose

-inə-ftoχ

This converb describes the either the purpose of the matrix predicate or the degree to which the matrix predicate takes place. Like the Korean converbal system, Nivkh contains multiple purpose converbs, this one expressing either purpose or the terminative and the *-guin* expressing either causality or purpose.

160. *mu   aj-inə-ftoχ   ṭ'χa   ñ-imɣ-ḍ*
     boat make-MOD-CV money 1SG-give-IND
     '(He) gave me money so that (I can) make a boat
     (Gruzdeva 1998:51)

Subjunctiveness

-ʁar

This converb denotes an action, which did not occur due to some obstacle. It is often found following the future tense marker.

161. *k'it-t   vi-nə-ʁar, lar   vil-ra   lur malɣo-ra.*
     run.away-CV:3PL go-fut-CV wave be.big-CO:3SG *ice be.much/many-CO:3SG*
     'They would have run away, (but) there was a (great) storm, much ice'
     (Nedjalkov and Otaina 2013:43) (Gruzdeva 1998:54)

2.2.1.2. Non-temporal Converbs

Cause

-xrərə

This causal converb is formed from the functionally identical postposition. Although as a postposition it can follow noun phrases or finite verb forms, when it follows the unmarked verb stem it acts much the same way any converb does and for this reason is considered a converb in this usage alone.

> 162. *ñi qʼo-xrərə əs   ña-za-ḍ*
>   I sleep-CV master 1SG-beat-IND
>   'Because I fell asleep, (my) master beat me.'
>   (Gruzdeva 1998:51)

-toχ

Like the converb it resembles above, this secondary converb contains the dat/add particle *–toχ*. It has been referred to as the supine and expressed the purpose of the matrix verb and is also used in several analytic constructions, including negation, impending action, and avoidance (Nedjalkov and Otaina 2013:96-99).

> 163. *imŋ   mu-doχ vi-ḍ*
>   they die-CV   go-IND
>   'They went to die.'
>   (Gruzdeva 1998:52)

> 164. *if   pʼrə-nə-doχ   qʼau-ḍ.*
>   s/he come-FUT-SUP not.be-IND
>   'He will not come.'

165. *hə   von-gu   mu-doχ hum-ḍ-ra.*
that villager-PL die-SUP be-IND-FOC
'The inhabitants of that village will die' , lit. 'are on the way to death.'

166. *ñi ṭʻ-ətək   or-nə-doχ   pəxṭ-t*
I   2SG-father meet-FUT-SUP avoid-CV:1SG
ex-t   vi-jvu-ḍ.
go.home-CV:1SG go-INCH/PROGR-IND
'I am going home (in order) to avoid meeting your father.'

167. *mujnək   tʻxərp-nə-doχ ojvu-ḍ.*
sick.person forget-FUT-SUP do.often-IND
'The patient often forgets.'
(Nedjalkov and Otaina 2013:97-99)

-guin

This converb expresses the either the purpose or the causal relationship between the two clauses. It is composed of the causative marker –*gu*- and the a converbal affix –*in*, but Panfilov states that this should be considered one form as –*in* is unable to stand alone (Panfilov 1965:148). This resembles the Korean converb –*key*, which also expresses the same two functions.

168. *hoʁat ñəŋ   ṭ'əŋ ŋəŋ-ḍ-ra   ṭ'əŋ-aχ   p'-ro-guin*
then we   you look.for-IND-PRED you-DAT/ACC REFL-help-CV
'We were looking for you in order that you help (us).'
(Gruzdeva 1998:52)

-ilǝkr-r

This is referred to as the prohibitive-purposive converb in Nivkh as it is used only to express the negative purpose of the matrix predicate. In the example below the converbal clause lest the children drink it is the opposite

of the purposives given above. In Korean this would be performed with the negator verb, *ai-tul-i masi-ci anh-{key/tolok}*.

169. *ñi e-f-t   řorvi-ḍ-ra,   oola-gu ra-jlǝkr-t*
I   3sg-take-CV carry.away-IND-FOC child-PL drink-PROH-CV
I took it away lest the children drink it.
(Nedjalkov and Otaina 2013:347)

Condition

-ʁa

This is one of Nivkh's conditional converbs and can express either real or unreal conditions. In both cases, the matrix verb must be marked for the future tense, but unreal conditions are futher marked with the particle – *for*.

170. *ñi ñ-imǝ-ker-ʁa   ñi tǝ   muřki-γir tǝ ḍir ʁev-nǝ-ḍ-ra*
I   1SG-give-refuse-CV I   this horn-INST this tree pierce-FUT-IND-FOC
vol-u-nǝ-ḍ-ra.
fall-TR-FUT-IND-FOC
'If (you) refuse to give me (it) with these horns I will pierce this tree and *bring (it) down.'*
(Nedjalkov and Otaina 2013:47)

-ţaʁa

This converb is purpoted to have been derived from the analytical construction of the indicative mood ending *-ḍ/ţ* plus the verb *ha-* 'to do, be' inflected with the conditional converb above *-ʁa* (Panfilov 1965:126). This can be expressed with the following expression *-ţaʁa > ţ + ha-ʁa*. This converb follows the same restrictions as *-ʁa* above.

171. *ṭ'i   ñ-iɣrə-r   qo-ṭaʁa qo-ja!*
     you 1SG-be.together-CV swim-CV swim-IMP
     'If you will swim with me, swim.'
     (Gruzdeva 1998:53)

Concession

-ʁajnapə

This secondary converb is derived from the conditional converb *-ʁaj* plus the adverb *napə* 'still, yet'.

172. *p'ax   kuty-ɣun sik řəřɣ-ʁajnapə q'av-d*
     window hole-PL   all open-CV   be.hot-IND
     'Though all the windows are opened, it is hot.'
     (Gruzdeva 1998:53)

-vur

This is sometimes referred to as a concessive particle as it follows not only verb stems but also nouns. However, like *-xrərə* above when the particle is attached to the bare verb stem it peforms the same function as other concessive conerbs and will be considered such in this work.

173. *ñi lu-vur   k'ə-i-ḍ-lo?*
     I   compete-CV win-FUT-IND-INT
     'Though I (am going) to compete, will I win?'
     (Gruzdeva 1998:53)

-girk & -gi(r)n

These two converbs resemble one onother in form and are identical in function. Both converbs express the concessive and are interchangeable.

174. *ñi asqa-girk   maŋ-la   gins-tox   ur-ḍ-ra*
     I   be.younger-CV be.strong-EMP devil-DAT/ADD be.good-INF-PRED
     'Although I am younger, I am better than a mighty devil.
     (Panfilov 1965:129)

175. *heʁa-girn imŋ t'ar-ux   vinə-kta.   honggərsh*
     fear-CV   3PL among-LOC/ABL go-IMP.1SG in.that.way:3SG
     k'əmlə-ḍ
     think-IND
     'Even though I'm afraid, I will go with them. I think so.
     (Panfilov 1965:129)

176. *if p'rə-gin ṭomsomu-ḍ*
     (s)he come-CV be.silent-IND
     'Even though he came, he is silent.'
     (Nedjalkov and Otaina 2013:44)

Manner

-r/t

This converb is especially common and forms parts of many of Nivkh's secondary converbs. Its primary function is to express the manner of the matrix verb, but can also be used to express, simultaneity (177), anteriority (178), and is causal (179) and purposive (180). The causal interpretation is normally in cases of different-subjects and takes the causative suffix, *-gu*. This converb normally expresses purpose when the matrix verb is one of movement, like the Korean converb *–le* and Japanese *–ini*.

177. *if   ṭ'o ŋəŋ-r   lerler-ḍ*
     (s)he fish look.for-CV get.lost-IND
     While fishing, he got lost.

178. *if   ṭ'o ŋəŋ-r   p'rə-ḍ*
     (s)he fish   look.for-CV come-IND
     Having fished, he returned.

(Nedjalkov and Otaina 2013:343)

179. *eri   veu-gu-t   ñəŋ   toz-ijki-ḍ*
river be.deep-caus-cv:1pl 1pl:ex cross-be.unable-ind
'As the river is deep, we cannot cross.'
(Nedjalkov and Otaina 2013:42)

180. *if   ṭʼo ŋəŋ-r   vi-ḍ*
(s)he fish look.for-CV go-IND
He went fishing.
(Nedjalkov and Otaina 2013:343)

2.2.1.3.   Comparison

In many ways the Nivkh set of converbs is most similar to that of Korean. Both languages contain a relatively large set of converbs consisting of both contextual and specialized converbs. Neither language utilizes subject marking, but because Nivkh contains a switch-reference morpheme, Nivkh is able to create DS converbs by combining this with some SS converbs. Nivkh also exhibits the same asymmetry between temporal converbs with only one converb expressing a posterior relationship.

2.2.2.   Ainu

The Ainu verb differs from the Korean in two fundamental ways. First unlike Korean, the Ainu verb permits both inflectional prefixes and suffixes. Besides this, the Ainu verb also differs regarding subject-marking. Ainu marks both subjects and objects on finite verb forms. However, this is not the case for Ainu converbs which are not marked for subject agreement. As one would expect, without subject-agreement on the converb we find no DS converbs in Ainu.

Contextual		Specialized		
		Temp		NonTemp
	ANTE	SIM	ANTE	
SS	*-wa* *-hine* *-hike*		*-tek* *-ayne*	*-ranke*
VS	*-konno*	*-kane*	*-akus*	*-cik* *-yakun* *-yak* *-yakka* *-na* *-kunine* *-kusu*

Table 11 Ainu Converbs (16)

2.2.2.1.   Temporal Converbs

-wa (contextual)

This converb shares the same form as the ablative case particle and is described by Rensing as the most common Ainu converb[18] and having the function of merely connecting two events in a sequence. Much like –*ko* in Korean and –*i* in Japanese*, -wa* has both cosubordinate as well as subordinate functions. It is used in serial verb complexes where Korean uses –*ko, koro-wa ek 'bring it' cf. kaci-ko wa i*n Korean. However as seen in the examples below, the contextual relationship of the two clauses can give the converb a value of anteriority (181), simultaneity (182), and causal (183-4).

181. *kesto-an-konno i-kasuy-wa   i-tura-wa   ekimne*
     every.day   1SG.ACC-help-CV 1SG.ACC-join-CV hunt
     'Every day he helped me and joined me in hunting…'
     (Refsing 1986:239)

182. *ponno rurihi ci-kar-wa   ci-e*
     little   soup 1PL-make-CV 1PL-eat
     'We made a little soup and ate it.'

183. *sino   nispa   an-ne-wa ekimne-an-wa kamuy hene yuk*
     truly   wealthy.person 1sg-be-cv hunt-1sg-cv   bear   and deer
     hene a-rura-wa
     and   1sg-bring-cv
     'I am a truly wealthy person, and so I went for a hunt and returned with a bear and a deer and…'
     (Dettmer 1997:720)

184. *Sunke ka   eaykap-wa an-pe patek ye rusuy-pe*
     lie   even cannot-cv truth only   say want-person
     'He cannot even tell lie, for he is one who wants to speak only the truth.'
     (Dettmer 1997:718)

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[18] Rensing refers to the converbs of Ainu as conjunctionalizers in her work on the dialect of Shizunai.

-no

Like *–wa*, this converb describes the the situation with which the matrix predicate occurs. Yet *–no* is primarily used in negated predicated, while *–wa* is in affirmative cases. It is also used as an adverbializer with stative/qualitative verbs as seen in (186).

185. *iteke ukoyki-no tup-ne   ukosaraye-yan*
     PROH quarrel-CV two-MUT share-IMP
     'Don't quarrel, but divide it in two and share!'

186. *pirka-no   kuykuy-wa e*
     good-ADV chew-CV   eat
     'Chew it well and eat it!'
     (Refsing 1986:241)

-hine

This converb, like *–wa* above, functions as both a medial verb and a converb. Refsing (1986:242) explains that *–hine* has a looser connection than the former and is mostly limited to folk tales and not often found in everyday dialogue.

187. *emkota ku-hopuni-hine ku-wakka-ta-kusu   pet-otta ku-oman*
     early   1SG-rise-CV   1SG-water-fetch-CV river-LOC 1SG-go
     'I arose early, and went to the river to draw water.'
     (Refsing 1986:242)

-hike

This converb can also be used to juxtapose two clauses without any close relationship between the two. In some cases it is used to denote concession as in (189). Here the converbal clause expressing an extended

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period of eating, is in contrast with the speaker not being full. When this converb is followed by the postposition *ka* it functions as a concessive converb, interchangeable with –*yakka*.

188. *e-monaa-wa e-an-hike   nepkus e-matkosanpa e-hopuni-siri.ta.an*
     2SG-sit-CV   2SG-imp-CV why   2SG-jump.up   2SG-rise-INT
     'You were sitting there, and suddenly jumped to your feet, -why?

189. *ku-ipe-a   ku-ipe-a-hike-ka   ku honi   sik*
     1SG-eat-DUR 1SG-eat-DUR-CV-then 1SG stomach be.full
     ku-erampetek
     1SG-not.know
     'I eat and eat, but don't know a full stomach.'
     (Refsing 1986:244)

-ranke

This converb denotes an action that is repeated during with the matrix predicate acts may act as a backgrounding action. In other cases two actions are carried out alternatingly. Refsing (ibid.) notes than in these cases both predicates are marked with the affix.

190. *toon korsi nep oyamokte-wa ponno apkas-ranke sioka-un*
     that child what be.afraid-CV little walk-CV   behind-ALL/DAT
     inkar ponno apkas-wa sioka-un   inkar
     look little   walk-CV   behind-ALL/DAT look
     'What is that child afraid of, walking a little and looking behind and
     walking a little and looking behind.'
     (Refsing 1986:245)

Sequential

-tek

The converb formed with the affix –*tek* denotes anteriority. This perfective converb has no other functions and can be categorized as a specialized anterior converb.

191. *nanpe ku-nukar-tek ku-ekimatek-hine cise-otta ku-hayupu*
  well 1SG-see-CV 1SG-be.frightened-CV home-LOC 1SG-run
  'After seeing the well, I was frightened and ran home.'
  (Refsing 1986:246)

-ayne

This converb also expresses anteriority, but stresses that the converbal action has been taking place for a long period of time. The speaker often expresses impatience by means of this converb. Diachronically this form is said to derive from the durative auxiliary *–a* and the converb *–hine* (Takamura 1972:159).

192. *orun paye-an uske tuyma-wa apkas-an-ayne sinki-an*
  thither go-1PL place be.far-CV walk-1PL-CV be.tired-1PL
  'We went there, walking to that distant place and finally were tired.'
  (Refsing 1986:247)

-akus

This converb expresses the background action or state in which the matrix predicate unexpectedly occurs as in (193). The speaker often expresses surprise with this converb. It has some cases this converb can also be used to describe the cause or condition for the matrix predicate as exemplified in (194).

193. *tun   katkemat ukoitak-kane apkas-kane oka-akus*
  two.people woman chat-CV walk-CV UNCM-CV
  ekuskonna mun   tum-wa poro heper cisoyekatta
  suddenly underbrush midst-ABL be.big bear jump.out.suddenly
  'Two women were walking and talking, when suddenly a large bear jumped out from the underbrush.'

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194. *kamuy ku-nukar-wa ku-ramutuyke toonta as-wa-an*
    bear   1SG-see-CV 1SG-be.scared there stand-CV-IMP
    utarpa-orun ku-ye-akus ne   rametok-ka kimatek   kiraas
    chief-ALL/DAT 1SG-say-CV this brave-too   be.frightened flee
    'I saw a bear and was scared. I told the chief and this brave too was frightened and fled.'

    (Refsing 1986:248)

-*konno*

This converb is used to describe the state or circumstances in which the predicate took place. It can also be used to describe generic conditional, i.e. those conditional statements that describe truth or general habits. In (195), the subject becomes ill, everytime he or she eats fish, thus describing a truth of the world.

195. *cep e-konno sanpe   wen*
    fish eat-CV   condition be.bad
    'If/whenever (he) eats fish, (he) gets sick.'
    (Refsing 1986:249)

Contemporal

-*kane*

This converb indicates that the converbal clause takes place simultaneous with the matrix predicate. Refsing also notes that it when modifying a stative verb, this converb can denote the circumstances or state in which the matrix predicate takes place.

196. *sinenne paye-an-na-ari   hawki-an-kane soyenpa-an*
    alone   go-1SG-ASS-QUOT say-1SG-CV   go.out-1SG
    '"I'll go alone", I said leaving the house.'
    (Refsing 1986:250)

2.2.2.2.   Non-temporal Converbs

Consequential

-kusu

-*kusu* is the Ainu converb denoting either cause or purpose of the matrix clause. In (197A) below, the converbal clause describes the fine weather as the reason for which the three people took a stroll. In (197B) however, the converbal clause expresses the purpose of coming, i.e. to visit.

197. A) *numan-anak   to   pirka-kusu ren   an ne-wa*
        yesterday-TOP weather be.fine-CV three.people 1pl cop-CV
        too kim-peka   yaykoapkasapkas-an
        thus   mountain-PROL stroll-1PL
        'Yesterday, as the weather was fine, the three of us took a stroll
        across the mountain.'
    B) *nisatta   suy   sinewe-kusu ek*
        tomorrow again visit-cv   come
        'Come to visit again tomorrow!'
        (Refsing 1986:251)

-kunine

This is another example of a purpose converb in Ainu. In (198) the act of the matrix predicate is done with the purpose of having grandmother eat.

198. *huci   e-kunine ku-kar…*
        grandmother eat-CV   1SG-make
        'I'll make (it) for grandmother to eat.'
        (Refsing 1986:253)

-na

Like *–ni(kka)* in Korean, this converb expresses the reason for a matrix command or request. The sentence could be translated into Korean

with the corresponding converb *satang-i manh-unikka mekko sipumyen meke.*

199. *topenpe poronno an-na, e-e-rusuy-cik e*
     sweets   much   be-CV 2SG-eat-DES-CV, eat
     'There are many sweets, so if you want to eat any, then eat!'
     (Refsing 1986:253)

Concessive

-yakka

This converb is used to express concession and the matrix predicate does or does not take place in spite of the converbal clause. In (200) the son does not work, even though he is at home.

200. *taan ikimaypap   cise-otta e-an-yakka e-toranne-wa*
     this   ungrateful.son home-LOC 2SG-be-CV   2SG-idle-CV
     e-monrayke-ka somo ki…
     2SG-work-ASS   not-ASS …
     'You ungrateful son, even though you are at home, you just rest and do not even work…'
     (Refsing 1986:254)

Conditional

-cik

The Shizunai dialect of Ainu contains three converbs expressing the conditional. This conditional converb is used to modify predicates marked for the imperative or the propositive mood. It resembles *–na* in function, but instead of expressing a reason, *-cik* expresses an assumption. This converb is also used to express hypothetical conditionals as well.

201. *nepka   e-ye-rusuy-cik monaa-wa nepka   ye*

something 2SG-say-DES-CV sit-CV   something say
'If you want to say something, then sit and say something!'

202. *ru-kari   eci-payeka ru   eci-erampetek-yakun nenka*
    road-PROL 2PL-go   road 2PL-not.know-CV   somebody
    eci-nukar-cik uepekennu iteke sitturaynu-no payeka-yan
    2PL-see-CV   ask   PROH get.lost-PROG go-IMP
    'Going along the road, if you do not know the way, ask someone and do not go and get lost!'
    (Refsing 1986:255-256)

-yakun

This converb can expresses potential conditionals as evidenced in (203). Like *–na* and *–cik* above, the matrix predicate containing this converb usually is imperative, optative, or propositive. When the matrix predicate is in the indicative, the converb expresses the situation, from which the matrix predicate must follow.

203. *taan anep e-e-rusuy-yakun e e-e-maka-yakun iteke e*
    this food 2SG-eat-DES-CV   eat 2SG-eat-NEG.DES-CV PROH eat
    'If you want to eat this, eat it! If you do not want to eat it, don't eat it!'
    (Refsing 1986:256)

-yak

This converb describes a potential condition, which necessitates the matrix predicate. According to Refsing (ibid. p. 257), this converb of caries the connotation that the speaker is concerned about the matrix predicate occurring and is thus usually negative. Unlike *–yakka* this converb is used when the condition is nearly general and lacks the characteristic of hypotheicality.

204. *toon nispa-anak   kesto-an-konno tokap mokor somo-ki-yak-anak*
    that gentleman-TOP everyday   noon sleep   NEG-do-CV-TOP
    hesuypa-kane-an

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doze-IPFV

'If that gentleman does not get his nap every day at noon, he will be dozing off.'

(Refsing 1986:257)

2.2.2.3. Comparison

Although Ainu shares fewer typological features with Korean, it is notable that its set of converbs has much in common with Korean. Like Korean, Ainu lacks DS converbs which may be related to the fact that Ainu converbs lack subject-agreement. Like many languages in Northeast Asia, Ainu is also characterized by the asymmetry between anterior and posterior converbs.

2.2.3. Kolyma Yukaghir

Kolyma Yukaghir is a minority language of Siberia spoken less than 100 speakers at present. It is characterized by some of the same features as the Transeurasian languages, namely vowel harmony agglutination and head-final word order.

Contextual			Specialized			
			Temp			NonTemp
	SIM	ANTE	SIM	ANTE	POST	
SS	*-de/-re* *-r/-t*			*-(de)lle*		*el- -čuøn*
VS						*-ŋide* *-din*
DS	*-ge*			*-luge/dege*		

Table 12 Kolyma Yukaghir Converbs (9)

2.2.3.1. Temporal Converbs

Imperfect

-t

This same-subject converb primarily expresses either simultaneity or causality. Other functions of the imperfective converb is to express immediate anteriority, manner and purpose. In example (205) the converb *amdoot* 'be.dead' expresses a state simultaneous to the finite verb *qodooj* 'lie'. In (209), however, the converbal phrase *imil ʃelgedejt* 'break (one's) neck' expresses the cause of the matrix predicate *amdaal'el* 'die'.

205. *jaqa-je tude-ge amd-oo-t qodoo-j*
     arrive-NTR:1SG he-LOC die-RES-CV lie-NTR:3SG
     'I approached him. He lay dead.'
     (Maslova 2003:161)

206. *kurtʃeŋ aaj imil ʃelge-de-j-t   amdaa-l'el*
     crane   CP neck break-CAUS-PFV-CV die-INFR(3SG)
     'The crane died too, having broken its neck.'
     (Maslova 2003:161)

207. *sog-u-t   oqil'l'aa n.'aace-le aa-l'el-u-m*
     enter-0-CV perch   face-INST make-INFR-0-TR:3G
     'Having entered, the perch bowed.'
     (Maslova 2003:162)

Perfect

-delle

This specialized converb is used for the sole purpose of expressing anteriority. In the following example, the converbal phrase *tʃohotʃe laŋin ønʒejdelle* 'go to the shore' necessarily takes place prior to the main clause *tʃumutʃiil'I* 'fish'.

208. *mit tʃohotʃe laŋin ønʒe-j-delle   tʃumu-tʃiil'i*
     we shore   AD:DIR go.down-PFV-CV fish-NTR:1PL
     'We went down to the shore and fished.'
     (Maslova 2003:162)

Iterative

-de

This converb is used to express some set of identical repeated actions that take place simultaneous to the matrix verb. The matrix predicate can be also be seen as a series of repeating events or a lengthy event during which the repeated action takes place. In the example below, both

predicates are repeated in intervals the raven repeats the converbal predicates of flying and sitting all within the background matrix predicate of moving.

> 209. *mer-uj-de mon-d'ii-de eg-uʒu-j   ediŋ tʃomparnaa*
>   fly-IPFV-CV sit-ITER-CV   walk-ITER-NTR:3SG this   raven
>   'This raven moves with pauses, flying and perching.'
>   (Maslova 2003:163)

luge/dege

This different-subject converb is formed by combining either the Action Nominal marker *–l* (in cases 1st or 2nd person) or the possessive marker *–de* (3rd person) and the locative case affix *–ge*. This converb can express either simultaneity or anteriority. It can also be used to express perception much like the temporal interpretation of the Korean *-ni(kka)*.

> 210. *numø-ge jaqa-luge numø-ge   oj-l'e-ŋi*
>   house-LOC arrive-CV house-LOC NEG-be-3PL:INTR
>   'I came home, but they were not at home.'
>   (Maslova 2003:160)

> 211. *tamun titte-ge   jowles'-luke mon-ŋi <…>*
>   that   they-LOC ask-CV   say-3PL:INTR
>   'We asked them that, and they said…'
>   (Maslova 2003:160)

2.2.3.2.   Non-temporal Converbs

Conditional

-ŋide

Yukaghir's sole conditional converb is used to express realis, general, and irrealis conditions underwhich a matrix predicate may or might have

taken place. The negative can be affixed when the conditional clause is negative as in (212) below.

> 212. el+jubege-ŋide   tet-ek   lek-te-me
>   NEG+stuff.oneself-CV you-PRED eat-FUT-OF:1SG
>   'If I do not stuff myself, I will eat you.'
>   (Maslova 2003:164)

Negative

el- -tʃuøn

The negative converb in Yukaghir is formed by prefixing the negative affix *el-* and suffuxing the converbal suffix *–tʃuøn,* which is identical to the privative affix for nouns. The function of this converb is to express that an event one expects to accompany the matix predicate did not take place and is commonly translated into English with the phrase 'without doing …'.

> 213. uuj-l-e   tʃugoo-n tʃeme-re-j-m   el+iʒulbe+tʃuøn
>   work-ANR-INST quick-adv finish-CAUS-PFV-TR:3SG NEG+get.tired+PRV
>   'He finished the work quickly, without getting tired.'
>   (Maslova 2003:166)

Purposive

-din

The purposive converb is formed by adding the the possessive dative to the verb stem. Like the Korean *–tolok* the subject of the converbal clause need not be coreferenced with that of the matrix clause. In (214) there is coreferencing of the subject *terike* 'old woman', but in (215), it is the direct object of the matrix clause, *met* 'I', that acts as the subject of the converbal clause.

214. *terike-die   taat ʃej-re-din   uke-s*
     old.woman-DIM CON enter-CAUS-CV go.out-PFV.INT.3SG
     'The little old woman went out to bring (it) in.'
     (Maslova 2003:432)
215. *met-kele kereke-pul taajle erpeje-pul aŋs'ii-din jannu-m*
     1SG-ACC Koryak-PL CON Even-PL   search-CV send-TR.3SG
     '(S)he sent me to look for Koryaks and Evens.'
     (Maslova 2003:433)

Conditional

lugene/degene

This converb is used to describe conditional clauses when there is no

coreferencing of subjects. It is formed much like the converb above with the

Action Nominal or Possessive marker plus an obsolete gereric locative

marker. The 3ʳᵈ person plural is also marked with –*ŋi*, the plural marker.

216. *tamun-pe tʃuge aa-ŋi-de-j-ne taŋide kewe-j-t-iil'i*
     that-PL road make-PL-3-CV there:DIR go-PFV-FUT-NTR:1PL
     'When they make the road, then we will go.'
     (Maslova 2003:164)

2.2.3.3.   Comparison

Yukaghir is characterized by having a set of DS converbs as well as

subject-markers on finite verbs. Although adjuncts may follow the matrix

clause in Yukaghir, we find no posterior converbs. This patterns well with

other languages in the region.

2.2.4.   Chukchi

Chukchi is found in the far northeast of the target region. This language is the most divergent from the Transeurasian model. Chukchi has many features in common with some languages of native North America. Chukchi is highly synthetic and head marking. The verbs mark both subject and object like Ainu, but are organized as ergative and absolute. Regardless of the morphosyntactic differences between Chukchi and Korean, both languages similarly utilize converbs to construct complex sentences.

Contextual			Specialized		
			Temp		NonTemp
	SIM	ANTE	SIM	ANTE	
SS					*emre-ŋe/amra-ŋa*
VS	*-mA*	*-k*	*-(j)ɣut*	*-ineŋu*	*-(ə)nwə*
					-jpə
					em-te/am-ta
					-te/ta
					-(ə)machə

Table 13 Chukchi Converbs (10)

2.2.4.1.   Temporal Converbs

Contemporaneous

(ga)- -ma

This converb expresses the simultaneity of the converbal clause with that of the matrix clause. In the following example, the converb *təlama* 'walk' is an action that takes place simultaneous to the matrix verb *niwqinet* 'say', thus describing what they were doing while they spoke.

217. *n-iw-qinet   təla-ma "mət-ra-rʔela-mɣo-ɣʔa=ʔm*
HAB-say-3PL walk-CV 1PLA-FUT-race-start-TH=EMPH
mən-racwəɣ-mək"
1PL.INT-be.in.race-1PL
They said while they were walking "We'll start racing, we'll be in the
race"
(Dunn 1999:245)

Anterior

-k

The perfective converb in Chukchi is formed by the suffix –*k* and

expresses anteriority. The converb in (218), *cajoŋŋok* 'begin drinking tea'

takes place before the matrix verb *nenəɣjewʔen* 'waking him/her' which

contains the inverse marker, because according to markedness hierarchy for

agency, the 3pl subject is more marked than the 3sg object. This converb is

also found in analytical constructions describing the volitive as well as

aspectual constructions (Kämpfe and Volodin 1995:107-111).

218. *caj-o-ŋŋo-k   ne-nəɣjew-ʔe-n   mal-ʔataw*
tea-consume-INCH-SEQ INV-wake-TH-3SGO appr-??(sic)
iɣət-qej   atcʔat-ɣʔe
now-DIM.3SG.ABS   sleep-TH
After starting to drink tea they woke him, several times, he'd only
just gone to sleep.
(Dunn 1999:244)

Preconditional Anteriority

-ineŋu

This converb also expresses anteriority and is categorized with –*k* in

Kämpfe and Volodin's description of Chukchi. Dunn does distinguish between

the two, stating that this converb expresses some completed precondition of

the matrix predicate.

219. *ləɣen ʔire-plətku-neŋu ɣ-ekwet-lin   jara-ɣtə*
    really race-finish-CV   PFV-leave-3SG home-ALL
    Since [he] finished racing he set off homewards.
    (Dunn 1999:244)

2.2.4.2. Non-temporal Converbs

Purposive

-(j)ɣut

This is one of three ways that Chukchi forms converbal clauses of

purpose. This form permits the subjects of the clauses to differ, much like

the Korean converb *–tolok*.

220. *qljavəl-te   ekvet-ɣʔe-t   retə-jɣut ŋelvəl*
    man-ABS.Pl proceed-PFV-3PL drive-CV herd
    'The men broke up to drive the herd.'
    (Kämpfe and Volodin 1995:116)

-(ə)nwə

This converb also denotes the purpose of the matrix predicate, but

requires that the two subjects be coreferenced akin to the Korean purposive

converb *–lyeko.* This converb can also stand with other converbs in complex

constructions involving several subordinate clauses.

221. *aʔacek   awerʔepə-ɣʔe   qətə-nwə enaalʔ-etə*
    young.man get.dressed-PFV go-CV   neighbor-ALL
    'The young man got dressed to go to the neighbor.'
    (Kämpfe and Volodin 1995:114)

emre-ŋe/amra-ŋa

The last of Chukchi's purposive converbs can be considered a circumfix. Kämpfe and Volodin (1995:117) was unable to find any functional distinctions with this form and express the need for a larger text corpora.

222. *emre-jəlqen-ŋe amɣəmnan tə-nto-ɣʔa-k cottaɣn-etə*
CV-sleep-CV   alone   1SGS-exit-IPFV-1SGS hall-ALL
'I went out to the hall to sleep alone.'
(Kämpfe and Volodin 1995:117)

Causal

-jpə

Standard written Chukchi has three ways of constructing causal clauses. This converb is formed by adding the suffix *-jpə*. In the example below the converbal clause *wəjopcajpə ŋinqeɣti* 'the boys whistling' describes the reason that the ducks moved aside.

223. *wəjopca-jpə ŋinqeɣ-ti   ɣacɣamkə-n   pʔultə-ɣʔi*
whistle-CV   boy-ABS.PL brace.of.ducks-ABS.SG turn.aside-PFV
'Because the boys whistled, the brace of ducks turned aside.'
(Kämpfe and Volodin 1995:111)

-ta

This converb is formed with the instrumental case affix which is affixed directly to the verb stem. In the example below, the converbal clause *təmŋetwata* 'being lazy' explains why the listener has not finished making the shoes.

224. *təmŋetwa-ta qərəm plekə-t   qə-plətku-ɣə-net*
     be.lazy-CV   not   shoe-ABS.PL 2SG.finish-PFV-3PL.O
     'Because you are lazy, you didn't finish the shoes.'
     (Kämpfe and Volodin 1995:112)

em-te/am-ta

This form resembles the causal form above, except that his form includes a prefix that Kämpfe and Volodin (ibid) gloss as 'only, exclusively'. In (225) the converb is *amarəcɣəwata* 'only lying on (your) side' gives the cause to why the listener is unable to become rich.

225. *am-arəcɣəwa-ta   jara-k   ɣət   camʔam*
     only-lie.on.one's.side-CV house-LOC 2SG.ABS impossible
     ra-ɣajməcʔak-wʔa
     FUT-be.rich-PFV
     'As you only lie at home, you don't become rich.'
     (Kämpfe and Volodin 1995:113)

Concessive

-(ə)machə

The concessive converb of Chukchi is formed with the suffix, *-(ə)machə.* In (226) below the converb *tʔəlmacə* 'though ill' expresses that state of matrix subject, in spite of this state he performs the matrix predictate, *iwiniɣʔi* 'he hunted'.

226. *tʔəl-macə ətlon   iwini-ɣʔi*
     be.ill-CV   3SG.ABS hunt-3SG.PFV
     'Even though he is ill, he went hunting.'
     (Skorik 1977:162)

2.2.4.3.   Comparison

The Chukchi verb diverges furthest from the Transeurasian model. Like Ainu, Chukchi is not a solely suffixing language and number of Chukchi converbs are formed via circumfixes. In fact Chukchi more closely resembles the polysynthetic languages of Native North America. Nevertheless, Literary Chuckchi as described by Skorik (1977) and Kämpfe and Volodin (1995) has no less than ten different converbal forms. Chukchi utilizes ergative-absolutive argument marking with both subjects and objects marked on the verb. However, Chukchi converbs lack subject-marking as well as DS converbs. Chukchi also lacks any posterior converbs but not anterior or simultaneous converbs. The asymmetry of temporal converbs and lack of DS converbs in even such a divergent language suggests that these features are descriptive of the region overall.

3.   Converbs in Northeast Asia

The following section will serve to list several features found in all or most of the languages described above. These include the scarcity of posterior converbs and DS converbs. The terminative converb will be given as an example of one specific semantic function that is found widespread among many of these languages.

Many of the languages described above contain one or no posterior converbs. Only Ewenki diverges from this asymmetry with two converbs. As stated several times throughout this paper, the scarcity of posterior converbs is related to the iconicity principle. Several of the languages in the region are strictly AOV permitting no adjuncts to follow the finite verb. For most other languages in the region this word order is unmarked, but do permit others perhaps under influence from Russian. Nevertheless it is fair to assume that all the languages described were strictly AOV before Russian contact.

DS converbs are also relatively scarce in the region. The only languages exhibiting this phenomenon are Ewenki, Udihe, Nivkh, and Yukaghir. All these languages except Nivkh have some form of subject-agreement. The seeming exception of the Nivkh DS converbs can be explained via compositionality. Nivkh's DS converbs are all composed of SS converbs along with a so-called switch-reference morpheme. All other languages lacking subject-marking also lack DS converbs. Subject marking is not a sufficient condition for DS converbs for several languages with subject

marking lack DS converbs. Turkish, Ainu, and Chukchi all exhibit subject-agreement but have no DS converbs.

The terminative posterior converb is an example of a relatively specific converb that is found among several languages in the region. Indeed the forms of this converb are so similar to suggest that it was borrowed from the same source. This converb is formed with the suffixes *–tolok, -dAlA,* & *-tel* in Korean, Ewenki, Mongolian respectively. The Inner Mongolian form of this converb is even more apparent, *-tAlA* (Ujiyediin 1998:107). In each case the converb clause states an action or state remarking the end of the matrix predicate.

In most languages there is one converb that has many more interpretations than the all others. In Korean this converb is *–a/e(se)* and can specify up to at least five different values. The Japanese *–te* is said to have six possible values. The Tungusic *–mi* is another example of a highly contextual converb with multiple values.

Korean is unique in permitting tense specification on a number of converbs. Nevertheless we find several languages that allow aspect ual marking with converbs, e.g. Ewenki and Nivkh. According to Lehmann's (1988) "scale of desententialization", tense and aspect are treated equally with respect to finiteness. Therefore there seems to be no reason to permit aspectual marking on converbs but forbid tense.

Conclusion

The languages of Northeast Asia share a common converbal strategy for complex sentence construction. This is not restricted only to the Transeurasian languages, for languages as divergent as Ainu and Chukchi contain no small number of converbs.

Korean converbs are characterized by their variety. Of the eleven languages examined, no other language compares with the amount of converbs present in Korean besides Nivkh. Both posterior and DS converbs are relatively rare in the region. Most languages have at most one posterior converb restricted to a certain subset of predicates.

There is also a strong correlation between the existence of DS converbs and subject-marking. All languages which contain DS converbs are also characterized by subject-marking besides Nivkh. Nivkh constructs its DS converbs from SS converbs by means of a switch-reference marker.

The converb is a useful tool in comparing the languages of Northeast Asia. A great deal of agreement is found in the respective converbal systems, e.g. an overall aversion to posterior converbs and DS converbs. However, even within the Tungusic family, the three languages explored here show a tremendous amount of variety. The typological feature is too coarse a tool to be used in such a fine-grain application as determining distant genetic

relationships, but may be of aid in determining what features one may label as distinctive or definitive of all (or most) languages in the region.

Most languages in this study are extremely in danger of extinction. It is one goal of this study to raise awareness of Korean's relationship with the languages of greater Northeast Asia with the goal of fostering interest local interest in the description and study of these languages before they disappear. There is much work to be done both in the description of the individual languages particularly those of the Protoasiatic grouping as well as further studies into shared typological features in the region.

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초록

한국어 부동사의 설명과 북동 아시아 문맥

이 논문은 한국어의 부동사를 이웃언어인 동북 아시아어와 비교한 연구이다. 현대언어학 이론적 발달에 바탕을 두고 한국어와 10 개 이웃 언어의 부동사의 광범위한 분석을 제시한다. 서론과 결론을 포함한 5 개의 장으로 구성되어 있다.

서론에서는 부동사와 유형론 이용에 대한 배경지식을 다룬다. 1 장은 3 부분으로 나누어진다. 첫번째 부분은 한국어의 형태 중에 어떠한 특정적인 형태가 부동사를 이루는지 설명을 하고 그것들의 전통적인 한국 문법을 설명하였다. 두번째 부분은 한국어 부동사를 시간의 의미를 가지고 있는 부동사와 시간의 의미를 포함하지 않는 부동사로 구별하였다. 세번째 부분은 부동사의 기원과 부동사로부터 파생된 구문을 기술하였다. 2 장은 한국어 부동사와 이웃언어의 부동사의 비교를 다루었다. 이 언어들은 통유라시아제어(Transeurasian)와 고아시아제어(Protoasiatic) 두가지로 분류될 수 있다. 3 장은 동북아시아언어들의 부동사 체계의 유사점을 논의하였다.

한국어 부동사는 북동아시아 언어들과 특별히 다르지는 않다. 한국어가 다른언어들에 비해 많은 수의 부동사를 가지고 있는 것은 사실이나 니브흐어 또한 거의 같은 수의 부동사를 가지고 있으므로 특별한 것은 아니다. 한국어에는 이주어(different-subject) 부동사가 없으며 소수의 후부 부동사(posterior)가 있으나 이는 동북아시아의 전체적인 특성이다. 하나의 문맥부동사(contextual converb)가 아주 많은 의미와 해석으로 이용되는 것 또한 통상적인 것이다.

핵심어: 한국어, 부동사, 북동아시아, 고아시아제어, 통유라시아제어,

언어 유형론