ASAS
Arbeiten des Seminars für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft

Nr. 20

Edited by

Karen H. Ebert – Johanna Mattissen – Rafael Suter

From Siberia to Ethiopia – Converbs from a Cross-Linguistic Perspective

Universität Zürich 2008

Proceedings of the
Second Zurich–Cologne Workshop on Clause Linkage

Selected Papers on Converbs and Clause Linkage
from the Swiss National Science Foundation project
"Functional Typology of Ethiopian Languages"
(No. 100012-109306)

ISBN-10: 3-9522954-2-6
ISBN-13: 978-3-9522954-2-7

Herausgeber: Seminar für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft
Universität Zürich
Plattenstr. 54
CH-8032 Zürich

© Copyright:
Seminar für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Universität Zürich 2008

Contents

General Abbreviations

(for particular special abbreviations refer to the lists at the end of the individual articles)

1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
>	direction of transitivity (e.g. 1>2, 1st person acting on 2nd person)
ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative
ADV	adverb
ALL	allative
ANT	anterior
ASS	assertive
AUX	auxiliary verb
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CLF	classifier
COM	comitative
CONAT	conative
COND	conditional
CONTR	contrastive
COP	copula
CV	converb
d	dual
DAT	dative
DECL	declarative
DEF	definite article
DIR	directional
DU	dual
DUR	durative
DS	different subject
e	exclusive
EMPH	emphasis
ERG	ergative
EXCL	exclusive
f	feminine
F	feminine
FIN	finite
FOC	focus
FUT	future tense
GEN	genitive
HAB	habitual
HON	honorific
i	inclusive
IMP	imperative
INCH	inchoative
INCL	inclusive
INDEF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
INST	instrumental
INTJ	interjection
INV	inverse
IRR	irrealis
IPFV	imperfective
IT	iterative
JUSS	jussive
LINK	linker
LOC	locative case
m	masculine
MAN	manner
MID	middle voice
NEG	negative
NFUT	non-future

NML	nominaliser
NOM	nominative
NPT	non-past
ns	non-singular
O	object
OBL	oblique
p	plural
P	patient
PART	particle
PASS	passive
PCPL	participle
PERF	perfect
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRES	present tense
PROC	processual
PROG	progressive
PROL	prolative
PT	past tense
PURP	purposive
Q	interrogative
RDPL	reduplication
REFL	reflexive
REPET	repetition
s	singular
S	single argument
SEQ	sequential
SG	singular
SIM	simultaneous
SMLF	semelfactive
SS	same subject
TEL	telicizing auxiliary
TEMP	temporal
TOP	topic
VB	verbal base
VN	verbal noun
VOC	vocative
VS	varying subject
V2	postverb

Forms and functions of converbs

Karen H. Ebert

1. Introduction

The term "converb" has recently received some attention in typological linguistics (Haspelmath & König 1995). It has been used in Altaic linguistics for non-finite forms of the verb that are used for narrative chaining and for adverbial subordination. In other traditions the corresponding form is called e.g. "adverbial participle", "absolutive", "gerund", "deepričastie". Converbs are found all over the SOV area of Asia, Ethiopia, and in some SOV languages of South America (e.g. Quechua). I will restrict the following brief overview to languages of Asia. In section 7 I will ask how Ethiopian languages fit into the picture.[1]

Two definitions for converbs were proposed in a volume edited by Haspelmath & König (1995). A converb is

— a **non-finite** form of the verb, **adverbial, subordinate** (Haspelmath)
— **not nominal, not ad-nominal, dependent** (Nedjalkov)

Both definitions distinguish converbs from verbal nouns (which are nominal and not adverbial), and from participles (which are ad-nominal and not adverbial). Haspelmath's definition is problematic, as "adverbial" excludes forms with chaining function. Haspelmath acknowledges the problem, but sticks to his criteria. In Nedjalkov's definition the converb does not necessarily have a non-finite form. This makes it difficult to distinguish converbs from finite chaining forms and from ordinary subordination with a postposed conjunction in SOV languages. Van der Auwera (1998) discusses the problem anew and comes to the following characteristics of converbs, which seems to avoid the former shortcomings:

— -argumental, -adnominal, **+dependent, -finite** (van der Auwera)

---

[1] Most of the articles in this volume originate in papers read at a workshop "Konverben-Marathon" held in Zürich in 2004. Ethiopian languages played no central part in our discussion then, but have come increasingly to our attention. I thank the collaborators of the Zurich Ethiopia Project and especially Sascha Völlmin for useful comments.

The first two features exclude verbal nouns and participles. With the feature [+dependent] van der Auwera accounts for the fact that converb clauses depend for their interpretation on a finite verb, thus allowing for chaining forms and avoiding a crucial problem of Haspelmath's definition. The feature [-finite] is most problematic. A verb form that has none of the tense-aspect and person markers of the finite verb is clearly non-finite. But finiteness is a matter of degree, and converbs can have one or the other of the markers that are normally restricted to finite verbs. We found several such partly finite-marked converbal forms in the languages we looked at (cf. Ebert, Suter, Zaugg in this vol.).

I will first briefly summarize the basic semantic functions of converbs and then look at the different forms. In section 5 I present some functionally equivalent forms with finite markers, and in section 6 I will argue for the exclusion of these forms from the category of converb. Section 7 offers a glimpse into converbs in Ethiopian languages.

2.1. Basic types and functions

Haspelmath's definition of a converb is unsatisfactory, as it excludes chaining forms. But a versatile form used both for chaining and for subordination is the most frequent type of converb in Asia. The Khalkha Mongol converb in *-Ad* makes up 86% of the converb tokens. The frequency of *-Ip* may be equally high for some Turkic languages. For some major languages of South Asia Masica states that the 'conjunctive participle' is "no doubt the most important NIA [New Indo-Aryan] non-finite form" (1993:323). I call this versatile form **general converb** (CV). There are also some languages that lack a general converb, although they have a simultaneous (e.g. European languages) and/or a negative one (e.g. Kiranti languages, cf. Ebert in this volume).

As a rule, the general converb connects two or more events. Only one verb — the last verb in SOV languages — carries finite markers.

(1) a. ORIYA (Indo-Aryan)
*ame-sɔbu bɔjarɔ ja-**i** jinisɔ kiɳ-**i** aiskrim kha-**i***
we-all market go-CV thing buy-CV icecream eat-CV
ghɔrɔ-ku pher-il-u.
house-DAT return-PT-1p:INCL
'We went to the market, bought things, had ice cream and returned home.'
(Neukom & Patnaik 244)

b. KIRGHIZ (Turkic)

Men	*erte*	*tur-**up***	*zaryadka*	*ǰas-**ap***	*kiy-in-**ip***
I	morning	stand-CV	gymnastics	make-CV	dress-REFL-CV
*ǰuu-n-**up***	*čay*	*ič-**ip***	*mekteb-ke*	*bar-aǰat*[2] *-am.*	
wash-REFL-CV	tea	drink-CV	school-DAT	go-PRES.1s	

'I get up in the morning, do gymnastics, dress, wash myself, drink tea, and go to school.' (Imart §1551)

The connection that this converb establishes is vague and it can usually be interpreted in a number of ways.[3] In (2a,b) the general converb is used in simultaneous contexts, although both languages also have a special simultaneous form (Hindi *-da*, Tuvan *-A*).

(2) a. HINDI (Indo-Aryan)

vah	*dhauṛ-**kar** aa-yaa.*	
he	run-CV	come-PFV

'He came running.' (Sandhal 114)

b. TUVAN (Turkic)

inek	*saa-**p***	*tur*	*men.*
cow	milk-CV	STAND	1s

'I am milking the cow.' (Anderson & Harrison 57)

The causal interpretation of the general converbs in (3a,b,c) is a matter of pragmatic inference (Tuvan *-gAš* has largely replaced *-Ip*; cf. below).

(3) a. HINDI (Indo-Aryan)

vah	*raat din*	*kaam*	*kar-**ke***	*biimar paṛ*	*ga-yaa.*	
he	night day	work	do-CV	ill	fall	GO-PFV

'He fell ill because of working day and night.' (Kachru 39)

-ke = -kar

[2] *-aǰat* < sim. converb + LIE; cf. (9a,b).

[3] For Kirghiz *-Ip*, Imart (1981) coined the very suitable term 'joker'.

b. TUVAN (Turkic)
*kiži kel-**geš** men anaar bar*[4] *al-ba-dı-m.*
people come-CV I there go TAKE-NEG-PT-1s
'Because people came, I didn't go there.' (Anderson & Harrison 58)

c. TAMIL (Dravidian)
maẓai peytu payir nanraaka vaḷarnt-atu.
rain $fall_{II}$ (=CV)[5] crop well $grow_{II}$-3sn
'Because it rained, the crops grew well.' (Lehmann 273)

Simultaneous converbs describe the manner in which an action is carried out or an activity accompanying the main action.[6] In many languages of different families and areas this converb is typically reduplicated.

(4) a. UZBEK (Turkic)
*duduklan-**a** duduklan-a javob ber-di.*
stammer-CV_{SIM} REPET answer give-PT
'He answered stammering.' (Bodrogligeti 592)

b. CAMLING (Kiranti)
*m-micuk tu-**sa** **tu-sa** khrups-a-lond-a.*
3sPOSS-eye rub-CV_{SIM} REPET get.up-PT-EXIT-PT
'He woke up, rubbing his eyes.'

c. KOLAMI (Dravidian)
*andarnay tin-**a** tin-**ay** mi:te da:k su:l tu:t-in.*
all.those eat-CV_{SIM} REPET hare e.brother get.up run:PT-3sn
'With them all eating, Brother Hare got up and ran away.' (Emeneau T2.30)

While *duduklana* specifies the manner of speaking, rubbing the eyes is an activity accompanying the process of waking up. Simultaneous converbs are mostly

[4] In some compound constructions *bar* is used without the converbal *-Ip* (Anderson & Harrison 1999:57)
[5] The general converb is identical with "stem II" (past stem); *-u* is an "enunciative vowel".
[6] Cf. English: *he came running down the hill* (manner), *he came down the hill, singing* (accompanying activity).

restricted to same-subject constructions,[7] but there are some exceptions (see Kolami (4c)).[8] Actions or events that are co-temporaneous, but occur independently of the main action and can have different subjects, are usually expressed by temporal clauses.

Negative converbs, like general converbs, establish a vague connection with the main predicate. They can correspond to positive general or to simultaneous converbs. The forms in (5a,b,c) are normally understood as sequential, but this is a matter of world knowledge.

(5) a. KANNADA (Dravidian)
*tarakari-gaḷ-annu toḷey-**ade** tinna bār-adu.*
vegetable-PL-ACC wash-CV_{NEG}eat:INF must-NEG(:3)
'One should not eat vegetables without washing them.' (Steever 1998:148)

b. KOḌAVA (Dravidian)
*ava ond-uu əṇṇ-**ate** pooc-i.*
she one-even say-CV_{NEG} go_{II}-3
'She went without saying a word.' (Ebert 1996:45)

c. UZBEK (Turkic)
*ketmon chop-**may** non qayda?*
soil break-CV_{NEG} bread where
'Without breaking the soil, where is the bread?' (Bodroglietti 596)

Negative converbs are not the same as negated converbs. They have special suffixes different from those of positive forms. Most negative converbs do not have an extra negative marker; cf. also Tuvan *-bejn* in (24b). Kiranti languages do have a negative prefix, but in most cases it differs from the negative marker of finite verbs (see Ebert, this vol.).

[7] This restriction makes the passive necessary in English *Lying idly in the sun, Mary was watched by John.*

[8] In Kolami co-temporaneousness can also be expressed by infinitive + *-na: tul-eŋ-na* 'while running'. *-na* following the past tense marker constitutes the general converb: *su:l-t-na* 'having got up' (Emeneau Text 1.5)

2.1.1. Secondary uses

In converb languages, compound verbs typically have the form **general converb + finite postverb** (cf. Drossard, this volume).[9] The second verbs (V2) are from a limited set of more or less desemanticized verbs, that function mainly as aktionsart specifiers; 'give' as V2 indicates benefactive. The following examples show the Oriya verb *pɔ̣-* 'fall' as main verb (a) and as V2 in telicizing function (b).

(6) a. ORIYA (Indo-Aryan)
pɔ̣-i- *gɔl-a* 'he fell down'
fall-CV- V2:GO:PT-3s

b. *so-i-* ***pɔ̣-il-i*** 'I fell asleep'
sleep-CV- V2:FALL-PT-1s

Postural verbs like SIT, STAND, LIE, HANG, WALK[10] as V2 express durativity, progressivity, and related senses. In the course of grammaticization V2 is further desemanticized and finally one of the postverbs becomes a grammatical marker. Similar examples can be found all over Central and South Asia.[11]

(7) a. ORIYA (Indo-Aryan)
jhɔgɔ̣a *bɔh-i* ***cal****-il-a*
quarrel flow-CV V2:WALK-PT-3s
'The quarrel kept going on.' (Neukom 279)

b. TATAR (Turkic)
*awɨr-****ɨp*** ***yat****-tɨ*
be.ill-CV V2:LIE-PT
'He was ill.'

---

[9] Not every converb language follows this pattern; e.g. in Hindi the first verb has no converb suffix.

[10] 'walk, be in motion' functions as a posture verb in all languages with similar constructions (cf. Oriya (7a); for Germanic languages see Ebert 2000).

[11] "The closest analogy of all with Indian usage [...] seems to be in Uzbek and Tajik." (Masica 1976:155). Common telicizing postverbs are PUT, TAKE, GIVE, THROW... A special postverb restricted to South Asia is the telicizer DIE/KILL.

Where the general converb has been replaced by a newer form (e.g. Tuvan *-gAš*), it is usually the old converb (here *-Ip*) that shows up in compound verbs.

(8) TUVAN (Turkic)

*aššaq, oğl-un al-**gaš**, köž-**üp** čoru-y-par-gaš.*[12]

old.man son-ACC take-CV migrate-CV V2:LEAVE-CV_{SIM}-V2:GO-CV

'The old man took his son and proceeded to go nomadizing.' (Krueger 139)

According to Haspelmath (1995:43) "the converb in a progressive periphrasis is usually a simultaneous converb." This is not true for all languages which possess a SIM-converb. In Turkic languages the main verb often has the form of the general converb in progressives; in Dravidian languages this is the rule. Kirghiz seems to prefer the SIM-converb for motion events only (cf. 9a,b). No such preference could be found for Turkic or for Altaic languages in general.

(9) a. KIRGHIZ (Turkic)

*oyn-**op** žat-at* 'he is playing'

play-CV V2:LIE-PRES:3s

b. *kel-**e** žat-at* 'he is coming'

come-CV_{SIM} V2:LIE-PRES:3s

Compound verbs are often lexicalized, e.g. Tamil *terintu koḷḷ-* ($know_{II}$ V2:HOLD) 'understand', *ceerntu poo-* ($join_{II}$ V2:GO) 'arrive'; Oriya *mɔri ja-* (die:CV V2:GO) 'die', Bengali *khey-e dhae* 'eat-CV V2:SEE) 'taste'.

2.2. Specialized converbs

Some languages have special converbs for conditional, causal, and for various temporal subordinations. In most Turkic languages, conditional is a finite mood, but the other branches of Altaic have conditional converbs, as do most of the Dravidian and some Indo-Aryan languages.

[12] Finite forms in Turkic languages sometimes originate in converbs which have taken on person markers; e.g. Uzbek *yoz-ib tur-**ib**-man* (write-CV V2:STAND-CV-1s) 'I keep writing', *yoz-**a**-man* (write-CV_{SIM}-1s) 'I will write'. Bare converbs as in (8) are seldom found in this function.

(10) a. KHALKHA (Mongolic)
*exel-**bel*** *duusg-aax* *xeregtej.*
start-CV_{COND} finish-NML necessary
'If one starts, one must finish.'

b. KOḌAVA (Dravidian)
naanï *vari-pooc-**eengï*** *eccera* *maaḍï.*
I $sleep_{II}$-V2:GO_{II}-CV_{COND} awake make
'If I fall asleep, wake me up.' (Ebert 1996:28)

Concessives are usually expressed by a conditional or a temporal-conditional converb together with a particle meaning 'even, also'; but a few languages have special concessive converbs.

(11) ORIYA (Indo-Aryan)
park-ṭi *choṭɔ* *he-**le*** ***bi*** *bhari* *sundɔrɔ.*
park-DEF small be-CV_{COND} even very beautiful
'Though the park is small, it is very beautiful.' (Neukom & Patnaik 251)

(12) CHUKCHI (Chukchi-Kamchatkan)
*tʔəl-**mačə*** *ətljon* *ivini-gʔi.*
ill-$CV_{CONCESS}$ he hunt-3sS:PT
'Although he was ill, he went hunting.' (Kämpfe & Volodin 113)

Only a few languages with a great number of different converbs[13] have a special causal form (e.g. Hayu, Ebert in this vol. (18b)). Otherwise the general converb can get a causal interpretation (3a,b,c), or the ablative or instrumental case marker is used, as in Chukchi.

[13] The number of converbs varies a lot, but the numbers given for individual languages depend also on the criteria for what should be counted. According to V. Nedjalkov (1995) Korean has over 50, Nivkh 30, Khalkha Mongolian 11 (counting "quasi converbs"); Swantesson (2003) lists only 6 for Khalkha Mongolian; Dunn has 3 converbs for Chukchi, but Kämpfe & Volodin list 5.

(13) CHUKCHI (Chukchi-Kamchatkan)
*vəjopla-**ypə*** *ŋinqeg-ti* *gačgamkə-n* *pʔultə-gʔi.*
whistle-CV_{CAUS} boy-PL skein.of.ducks-ABS turn.course-3sS:PT
'Because the boys whistled, the shoal of ducks turned off.'
(Kämpfe &Volodin 111; *-ypə* = ABL)

Temporal converbs can be very general ('when') or more specific: anterior ('after'), posterior ('before'), successive ('as soon as'), terminative ('until'), co-temporal ('while'), abtemporal ('since').

(14) a. KIRGHIZ (Turkic)
biz *kel-**genče*** *küt!*
we come-CV_{TERM} wait
'Wait until we arrive!' (Imart §2537)

b. TUVAN (Turkic)
ača-m *zavod-ka* *ažıld-**aala*** *čeerbe čıl* *aš-kan.*
father-1sPOSS factory-DAT work-CV_{ABTEMP} twenty year pass-PCPL
'I has been 20 years since my father worked at the factory.' (Anderson & Harrison 74)

c. KALMYK (Mongolic)
samag *ir-**xlä*** *bi* *kino-d* *od-na-w.*
you:ACC come-CV_{SUCC} I cinema-DAT go-IPFV-1s
'As soon as you come, I'll go the the cinema.' (Bläsing 244)

In Central Asian languages, temporal converbal suffixes are often a combination of a participle and a case marker; see section 3.5. "quasi-converbs", (22a, b). In South Asian languages temporal clauses are more often expressed by participles and a noun meaning 'time'.

Purposives are usually included with converbs in the description of Altaic languages.

(15) a. KALMYK (Mongolic)
us *uu-**xar*** *ir-v-v.*
water drink-CV_{PURP} come-PT-1s
'I came in order to drink water.' (Bläsing 244)

b. UZBEK (Turkic)
*maqta-**gani*** *kel-di-ng-mi?*
brag- CV_{PURP} come-PT-2s-Q
'Did you come to brag?' (Bodrogligeti 608)

Some authors do not consider purposives to be converbs. The decision has to be made according to the behaviour in the specific languages. Sometimes the purposive form behaves like a converb. Dumi (Kiranti) *-kiyi*, besides being a purposive marker, has several clearly converbal functions (see Ebert, this vol.). In other Kiranti languages purposives behave more like nominals in that they take possessive prefixes, which converbs do not.

3. Forms of converbs

3.1. Prototypical converbs

The prototypical converb consists of the verb stem and a suffix; i.e. there are none of the tense-aspect or person markers that appear on the finite verb. As this form is unproblematic, no further discussion is necessary. Examples for prototypical converbs have been given above. However, not all converbs or would-be converbs correspond to this simple picture.

Sometimes an extra suffix or particle is added to a converb; e.g. the Turkish terminal converb *-inceye* 'until' consists of the temporal *-ince* + dative. In many languages the conditional converb + 'also, even' results in a concessive; cf. (11). In other cases a suffix is added to the general converb, apparently first to secure a sequential interpretation, but then taking over other functions and finally replacing the shorter form in most functions. However, I do not know of any case where the new form is used in compound verbs.[14] Nepali has suffixed *ra* 'and' to *-e* (an older participle, now conditional; cf. (21)); the converbal suffix *-era* is always used in chaining, but not in compound verbs. The general converb in South Dravidian Koḍava has an additional *-iti* with the past stem, which alone constitutes the general

[14] Cf. also the Tuvan new CV *-gaš*, but *-Ip* in compound verbs; ex. (8).

converb in other South Dravidian languages; cf. Tamil *peytu* in (3c), *vantu* in (16a). *-itï* is not used in compound verbs (e.g. *vari-poo-* sleep$_{II}$[CV]-V2:GO- 'fall asleep' in (10b)). These expanded forms can still count as prototypical converbs.

Both person and aspect markers can be found with forms that have been classified as converbs in the literature. The term converb has been applied even to fully finite-marked verbs followed by a subordinator (e.g. by V. Nedjalkov). The criterion for calling a form "converb" is then purely functional. If we want to set up converbs as a set of morphologically non-finite verb forms (analogous to participles), we have to decide which forms should count as non-finite.

3.2. Converbs with tense-aspect markers

In most South Dravidian languages the general converb is identical with the past stem (stem II). Specialized converb markers like conditional or simultaneous are added to this stem, even in nonpast contexts (16b). Only the negative converb suffix attaches to the unmarked stem; see (5a,b).

(16) a. TAMIL (Dravidian)

Kumaar iṅkee ***vantu*** *paṇam* *keeṭṭ-**aal***

K. here come$_{II}$(=CV) money ask$_{II}$-CV$_{COND}$

onr-um *koṭukk-aat-ee.*

one-even give-NEG-EMPH

'If Kumar comes here and asks for money, don't give him any.'

(Lehmann 269)

b. KANNADA (Dravidian)

cennāgi *ōdid-**are*** *oḷḷe* *kelasa* *siga-tt-e.*

well study$_{II}$-CV$_{COND}$ good job get-PRES-3sn

'If one studies well, one will get a good job.' (Steever 1998:149)

In Oriya the conditional converb marker *-ile* can be attached directly to the verb stem. But a counterfactual conditional requires a perfective marker. With an imperfective marker the situation is described as durative (Neukom & Patnaik 2003:253-4).

(17) a. ORIYA (Indo-Aryan)
*semane cɔrɔ-ku dhɔr-**ile** pulis jima di-ɔnt-e.*
they thief-DAT catch-CV_{COND} police custody give-IRR-3p
'If they caught the thief, they would hand him over to the police.'

b. *semane cɔrɔ-ku dhɔr-**ith-ile** pulis jima di-itha-nt-e.*
they thief-DAT catch-PFV-CV_{COND} police custody give-PERF-COND-3p
'If they had caught the thief, they would have handed him over to the police.'

c. *stri-ṭi ghunguṛ-i mar-**uth-ile** ...*
wife-DEF snore-CV V2:BEAT-IPFV-CV_{COND}
'When the wife snores (generally) ...'

In Evenki imperfective markers can be used with some converbs. In Bantawa (Kiranti) the imperfective is restricted to the simultaneous converb (see Ebert, this vol., (13b), (15)).

(18) a. EVENKI (Tungusic)
*... dunne-li girku-**d'a-ksa** Garpani-tki iče-t-čere-n.*
land-PROL go-IPFV-$CV_{ANT/SS}$ G.-DIR see-PROC-PRES-3s
'... having walked across the land, he looked at Garpani.' (I. Nedjalkov 447)

b. *er ure-li ŋene-**d'e-ŋesi-**vi kete-ve.*
this hill-PROL go-IPFV-$CV_{SIM/VS}$-REFL:SG many-ACC
bejŋe-l-ve iče-ŋki-v.
animal-PL-ACC see-IT:PT-1s
'Walking across this hill, I saw many animals.' (I. Nedjalkov 450)

Generally tense-aspect marking with converbs seems to be rare, possibly due to the fact that converbs in themselves often imply a temporal or aspectual notion.

3.3. Converbs with person or number markers

In the rare cases where there are person or number markers with converbs, they are nominal. Evenki has possessive markers, a) with DS converbs (*-reki* in (19a)), and

with varying subject converbs when used with different subjects (*-čele-s* in (19b)). Even though possessive suffixes function as person markers in three of the Evenki finite tenses, they are primarily nominal. Plural and reflexive markers are identical on converbs and on nouns. (19c) shows the plural reflexive *-ver* after the varying subject converb marker *-čele* (indicating SS) and after the noun 'house'; the plural marker *-l* appears on the SS anterior converb marker *-kse* and on the nouns *asa* 'woman' and *d'u* 'house'.

(19) a. EVENKI (Tungusic)
sun-mi-da *bi-**reki-n*** *bi* *upkačin* *ulap-ča-v.*
coat-1sPOSS-even be-$CV_{ANT/DS}$-3sPOSS I entire get.wet-PT-1s
'Although I had my coat, I got soaked.' (I. Nedjalkov 1995: 457)
(although my coat was there ...)

b. *si* *suru-**čele-s*** *ŋinakin-mi* *n'an* *gogo-l-lo-n.*
you go-$CV_{ANT/VS}$-2sPOSS dog-1sPOSS again bark-INCH-NFUT-3s
'After you had left, my dog began to bark again.' (I. Nedjalkov 1995:448)

c. *kuŋaka-r* *amut-tula* *suru-sin-**čele-ver*** *asa-**l**-ve*
child-PL lake-ALL go-SMLF-$CV_{ANT/VS}$-REFL:PL woman-PL-ACC
*iče-**kse-l*** *d'u-**l**-dula-**ver*** *tuksa-ra.*
see-$CV_{ANT/SS}$-PL house-PL-DIR-REFL:PL run-NFUT

'The children went to the lake, saw the women and ran to their houses.'
(I. Nedjalkov 1995:449)

3.4. Person-sensitive converbs

A peculiar kind of converbs exists in the Siberian language Nivkh. Here some of the converbs distinguish two different 'personal' sets: 2s and 3s vs. the rest.

	I 2s, 3s	II 1s, plurals
general converb	*-r*	*-t*
anterior converb	*-ror*	*-tot*
enumerative conv.	*-ra*	*-ta*

(20) a. NIVKH (isolate)
*honge ḳ'o-iny-**r** nyanya.*
then sleep-MOD-CV_I doze
'Then, wanting to sleep, he dozes.' (Gruzdeva 37)

b. *in'-t k'ryz-**tot** poz-**t** ḳ'o-d-yun.*
eat-CV_{II} full-CV_{ANTII} lie-CV_{II} sleep-FIN-PL
'After eating their fill, they go to sleep.' (Gruzdeva 55)

These are not person markers as the term is normally understood. Note that Nivkh does not indicate person on the finite verb. For further details see Mattissen, this vol. A similar type exists also in the Tungusic language Udihe and in some Ethiopian languages; cf. Yemsa (32a,b) and Awngi (33) below.

3.5. Quasi-converbs

The term 'quasi-converb' was coined by V. Nedjalkov (1995) for forms with a participial suffix + case marker which have converbal function. If this combination is totally frozen, the form can be regarded as a converb proper. An example is the Evenki converb in *-čAlA* (19b,c), which originates in a participle and the allative case marker *-la* (I. Nedjalkov 1995:448). But being frozen is a matter of degree. The Nepali old participle in *-e* is now a conditional converb. Together with postpositions various temporal converbs are created; with *pani* 'also' we get a concessive interpretation, and *-e* + *ra* 'and' resulted in the general converb suffix *-era*, which is completely frozen and no longer transparent for most speakers.

(21) NEPALI (Indo-Aryan)

gar-e	'if doing'
gar-e=pacchi	'after doing'
gar-e=dekhi	'since doing'
gar-e=pani	'although doing'
gar-era	'having done; did and ...'

Whereas South Asian languages join postpositions to a participle, Turkic languages often use case markers. These 'quasi-converbs' are not totally frozen; a person marker in the form of a possessive suffix can often be inserted between the participle and the case marker.

(22) a. KIRGHIZ (Turkic)
*men kel-**gen**-im-**de**, al kitep ok-up otur-gan ɛle.*
I come-PCPL-1sPOSS-LOC he book read-CV V2:SIT-PCPL was
'When I came, he was (sat) reading a book.' (Imart §2313)

b. UZBEK (Turkic)
*qu'l ku'tar-**mas**-iŋ-**dan** **burun** čiq-ib ket-ai.*
hand raise-PCPL$_{NEG}$-2sPOSS-ABL before leave-CV V2:GO-CONAT
'I'd rather get out of here before you raise your hand.' (Bodrogligeti 600)

4. Same subject vs. different subject

Siberian languages typically distinguish same-subjet (SS) and different-subject (DS) converbs. Languages with SS/DS converbs also have some varying subject (VS) converbs that allow both types of linkage. Evenki VS converbs need a person marker when used with a different subject, a reflexive marker in case of SS; see the VS anterior converb *-čele* in (19b,c). The converb *-mi* (SS; (23a)) has only number marking. Mongolic languages also make use of a reflexive suffix for signalling SS. Lack of such a marker with the quasi-converb *-xAd* is understood as DS in (23c).

(23)a. EVENKI (Tungusic)
*d'u-la-ver ene-**mi-l** d'ep-čo-tin.*
house-ALL-REFL:PL come-CV$_{SS}$-PL eat-PT(=PTCPL)-3p
'When they came to their house, they ate.' (I. Nedjalkov 1995:445)

b. KHALKA (Mongolic)
*bi Mongol-d bai-**x-d-aa** ene nom-ig aw-san.*
I Monglia-DAT be-VN-DAT-REFL this book-ACC buy-PCPL
'When I was in Mongolia, I bought this book.' (Swantesson 173)

c. *bi delgüür-t bai-**xa-d** Bat shuudan-d yaw-san.*
I shop-DAT be-VN-DAT (name) post.office-DAT go-PCPL
'When I was in the shop, Batu went to the post office.' (Swantesson 173)

The distinction is normally not made in Turkic[15] and in South Asian languages, but linkage of clauses with coreferential subjects is often highly preferred for the general converb,[16] so that some authors state this as a rule. According to Bergelson & Kibrik (1995:381) the Tuvan converb in *-gaš* is restriced to SS. When linking clauses with different subjects, a quasi converb should be used (24b).

(24) a. TUVAN (Turkic)
xooraj čoru-y ***bar-gaš*** *ava-m-ni* *kör-gen* *men.*
town leave-CV_{SIM} V2:GO-CV mother-1sPOSS-ACC see-PCPL 1s
'Having gone to the town I saw my mother.' (Bergelson & Kibrik 379)

b. *xooraj* *čoru-y* ***baar-ım-ga*** *ava-m* *meni*
town leave-CV_{SIM} V2:GO:VN-1sPOSS-DAT mother-1sPOSS me
kör-bejn *bar-dı.*
see-CV_{NEG} V2:GO-PT
'I left for the town and my mother did not see me.' (Bergelson & Kibrik 379)

As Tuvan is spoken to the north of Mongolia, it could have been influenced by the Siberian model. In their short grammar, Anderson & Harrison (1999:86) describe the process as still ongoing: "Switch reference in Tyvan has not yet been fully grammaticalized, i.e. the requirement for /-GAš/ to have same subjects is not a rigid one for all speakers...".

The coreferential restriction is sometimes also claimed for various Indian languages (e.g. Davison 1986:6-7 for Hindi). Klaiman (1983) shows that the Bengali general converb allows different subjects under certain conditions, excluding a combination of two volitional subjects.

(25) a. BENGALI (Indo-Aryan)
ceear *bheṅg-e* *giy-**e*** *Modhu* *poṛ-e* *gaelo.*
chair break-CV V2:GO-CV (name) fall-CV V2:TEL:PT
'The chair broke and Modhu fell off.' (Klaiman 141)

[15] "... no Turkic language has a consistent comparative personal reference tracking system in which converbs signal identity or change of first actant in the next predication." (Johanson 1995:331). However, Johanson states that under Western influence SS has become more common for the Turkic *-Ip* converb.

[16] Tikkanen (1995:499) e.g. states that he found only very few counterexamples in Burushaski.

b. **Jodu thel-**e** Modhu poṛ-e gaelo.*
(name) push-CV (name) fall-CV V2:TEL:PT
'Jodu gave a push and Modhu fell down.' (Klaiman 140)

The preference for SS with general converbs is obviously widespread in Eurasia. The conditions under which DS is accepted vary between languages, but also between dialects or even between individual speakers.

5. Functional equivalents

5.1. Fully finite-marked forms

Some languages have fully finite-marked verbs followed by a linker or subordinator that have the same function as converbs in other languages. Kiranti languages of Eastern Nepal have a few converbs, but finite forms are more frequent in clause combining. Interestingly, most Kiranti languages lack a general converb; a finite verb followed by a linker takes over the chaining function (cf. Ebert in this vol., section 3).[17] Most cases of adverbial subordination have fully marked finite verbs in Kiranti languages.

(26) a. DUMI (Kiranti)
*a-dzi:t-i-**kə*** *a-sir-i-**kə*** *a-hu:d-i.*
2-wet-2/3s-LINK 2-wash-2/3s-LINK 2-bring-2/3s
'You made it wet, cleaned it and brought it.' (van Driem 1993:245)

b. LIMBU (Kiranti)
khɛŋ kɛ-da?r-u-ba mɛnchuma·n na·pmi-re
that 2-bring-3P-NML girl:DEF person-ERG
*mɛn-de·?r-u-n-**ille** gɔ· mɛ-da-nɛn yaŋ.*
3pA-NEG-take-3P-NEG-COND TOP NEG-come-NEG money

'If no one takes the girl you brought, you may not get any money.' (van Driem 1987: 229)

Morphologically finite-marked verbs + linker are also used in some compound word formations and periphrastic tenses, which again demonstrates the functional

[17] Van der Auwera cites a paper, in which I tentatively called such forms "inflected converbs" (Ebert 1983:106). This term does not make much sense except for converbs of the Ethiosemitic type (cf. Amharic (31a,b)), and I have not used it in my later descriptions of Kiranti languages.

equivalence with the general converb (cf. Ebert in this vol., esp. (30), (32)). But functional equivalence can be no argument for subsuming a verb form under the category of converb.

5.2. Minimally reduced forms

The Munda language Santali has two converbs with a prototypical form. Other dependent forms carry finite TAM and person markers, but declarative *-a* or other speech act markers appear only on the final verb. Athpare (Kiranti) dependent forms look like an imitation of Santali. Here it is also the last marker of the final verb that is cancelled in chaining or subordination, but the last marker usually signals tense in Athpare; Ebert 1997 and this vol.

(27) a. SANTALI (Munda)

*kɔt.ɛc'-ked-e-**khɔn***	*langra-dɔ-e*	*lut.kum-en-**a.***
castrate-PT-3sO-ABL	bullock-TOP-3sS	fat-PT:MID-DECL

'Since they castrated it, the bullock became fat.' (Neukom 191)

b. ATHPARE (Kiranti)

aŋa	*bujha*	*cog-u-ŋ-**lok***	*map-ma*	*kol-ese.*
I	understand	do-3P-1s-MAN	speak-INF	necessary-PERF

'You must speak so that I understand.'
(finite *cog-uŋ-tuŋ* 'I understand'; *-t* nonpast + copy)

In some North and South-Central Dravidian languages the first verb in a sequence can be truncated, so that only the vowel of the person suffix is retained; e.g. Kuṛukh *ēn kerk-a(n) rahck-an* 'I had gone'. In Koṇḍa (28c,d) *vāt-a* and *vāt-i* are minimally reduced.

(28) KOṆḌA (Dravidian)

a.	vāt-a	suṛt-a	'I came and saw'
b.	vāt-e	suṛt-e	'they came and saw'
c.	vāt-**a**	suṛt-**an**	'he came and saw'
d.	vāt-**i**	suṛt-**ider**	'you (pl) came and saw'
	come:PT-trc	see:PT-2p	(Steever 1988:72)

6. What is non-finite?

It should have become clear that we have to distinguish morphological and functional finiteness.[18] Morphologically finite forms can occur in non-finite function, just as non-finite forms can occur in finite function; i.e. stand as the only verb in a sentence (e.g. in Tuvan (8)). Non-finiteness as a defining criterion for converbs can only mean morphological non-finiteness. The following morphological types of converbs and functional equivalents were found in Asian languages:

A prototypical converbs: no person or tense-aspect markers
A' person-sensitive forms (Nivkh)
B nominal person or number markers (Evenki, Turkic quasi-converbs)
C tensed stems (Dravidian)
C' aspect markers (some Oriya and Evenki converbs)
D minimally reduced (Santali, Athpare, N. Dravidian)
E fully finite-marked verb + suffix (Kiranti lgs.)

A A' B C C' D E

non-finite <------- ------> **finite**

The A forms are clearly non-finite; A' belongs to the same morphological type as A, i.e. verb stem + converbal suffix. All person marked B-forms in the Asian languages considered here are non-finite, as the person markers are nominal. As for C, the tensed stems of Dravidian languages or the Evenki imperfective converb become finite together with a personal suffix. But there is no such suffix in dependent forms, so they can also be regarded as non-finite. It should also be

[18] The difference is made in traditional Tamil grammar, which describes the first verb in a combination like *celvēm allēm* 'we shall not go' as *murreccam*, i.e. a finite (*murru*) verb that functions as non-finite (*eccam*); cf. Steever 1988:50.

noticed that stem II of Dravidian languages cannot always be interpreted as past; e.g. it is also used in present progressives.

As for the reduced forms (type D), it seems problematic to classify them as non-finite. They are of course dependent, but complex forms with person and tense markers identical to those of finite verbs run counter to the prototypical shape of a converb. Moreover, with the minimally reduced Dravidian forms (28) there is no specific marker missing; the reduction is phonologically conditioned. The forms are therefore truncated and not non-finite.

A counterpart of converbs on the nominal side are participles, i.e. non-finite ad-nominal forms of the verb. Languages that have finite verbs + suffix in converbal function usually have finite verb + attributivizer / nominalizer in attributive function. One would probably not call the nominalized forms in (29) participles; consequently morphologically finite forms with a linker or some subordinator (as in 26a,b) should not be called converbs.

(29) LIMBU (Kiranti)

*so:kt-u-ŋ-**ba***	*ya:mbɔk*	'the work I had in mind'
aim-3P-1s-NML	work	

CAMLING (Kiranti)

khim-da	*mi-hiŋ-e-**ko**-ci*	'those in the house'
house-LOC	3p-be-NML-ns	

7. How do Ethiopian converbs fit into the picture?

7.1. General remarks

The three branches of Afroasiatic languages of Ethiopia exhibit a bewildering variety of converbs, which would need an extra volume to describe. Only a few types can be indicated here. All morphological types found in Asian languages also occur in Ethiopia. In addition there is the converb formed by stem inflection of Amharic and some other Ethiosemitic languages.

Terminologically some confusion is prone to arise when talking about converbs in Ethiopian languages. The converb proper was originally called 'gerund'. The term 'converb' was introduced by Polotsky (1951:41f) for functional equivalents of the general/narrative converb, which consist of finite-marked forms with a suffix that indicates dependence (i.e. morphological type E). Later the term came to be used for different syntactic and semantic types (see Suter, this vol.).

7.2. Forms

The prototypical converb form, i.e. verb stem + converbal suffix, is not very common in Ethiopia, and if a language has such a form, it is usually only for some of its converbs. The following example shows the Maale general converb in *-f*. It can indicate either a sequence or — typically repeated — simultaneous events. The first verb in compounds also has this form (*ʔekk-f yeʔ-* 'bring' in (30a)). Maale, as most other Omotic languages (cf. Rapold and Zaugg in this vol.), distinguishes SS and DS. Thus SS *-f* in chaining function contrast with DS *-ém* (30a); in simultaneous function it contrasts with an aspect marked temporal converb (30b,c).

(30) MAALE (Omotic)

a. *táání ziginó bookó ʔáád-f ʔaʃki ʃank'-f máccó-m máári*
I:NOM yesterday market go-CV_{SS} meat buy-CV_{SS} wife-DAT house
ʔekk-f yeʔ-f kats-é! geʔ-ém ʔiza kats-é-ne.
take-CV_{SS} come-CV_{SS} cook:IMP say-CV_{DS} she cook-PFV-DECL

'Yesterday I went to the market, bought meat, brought it home to my wife and said 'cook!', and she cooked...' (Azeb Amha 193)

b. *laall-éll-á wóntsi wod-f wod-f ʔayn-ád-á-ne.*
woman-F-NOM mill kill-CV_{SS} REPET sing-VB-IPFV-DECL
'The woman sings while grinding.'

c. *laall-éll-á wóntsi wod-á-nte núúní ʔayn-ád-á-ne.*
woman-F-NOM mill kill-IPFV-CV_{WHILE} we sing-VB-IPFV-DECL
'While the woman grinds, we sing.' (Azeb Amha 184)

Some Ethiosemitic languages have root inflected converbs, which are then combined with person markers. Subject is indicated by suffixes which are different from those of finite verbs and partly identical with possessive suffixes; objects are represented by the same suffix as in finite verbs. The Amharic converb in (31a) has a sequential, that in (b) a manner interpretation.

(31) a. AMHARIC (Ethiosemitic)
ansətt-a-w *hed-äčč.*
take:CV-3fS-3mO go:PT-3sf
'She took it with her and went.'

b. ***anq-äw*** *gäddäl-u-t.*
strangle:CV-3pS kill:PT-3pmS-3mO
'They killed him by strangling.'

Omotic and Cushitic languages show various types of person-sensitive converbs. The Omotic Yemsa, for example, distinguishes two sets of suffixes:[19]

I *a*-forms 3sf, 1, 2
II *e*-forms 3sm, 3p

(32) a. YEMSA (Omotic)
tá *ode-**fääd*** *duu-ná.*
I hear-CV_{SIMa} sit-FUT:1s
'I will sit while listening.' (Lamberti 199)

b. *bár* *kèèr* *am-**fééd*** *bàr-òn* *up'-é.*
he home go-CV_{SIMe} she-O meet-PFV:3m
'While he was going home he met her.' (Lamberti 199)

In the Central Cushitic language Awngi the general converb is formed with three different suffixes.

I *-ta* 3sf, 1s, 2s
II *-má* 3sm, 2p, 3p
III *-na* 1p

The converbal suffixes follow person markers, which are those of finite verbs. For 1p and 2s the two suffixes are identical. Note that 2s and 2p are distinguished only by the converbal suffix.

[19] Zaugg (this vol.) interprets these as gender forms. The other Ethiopian person-sensitive systems I looked at are also gender sensitive and make a distinction between 3sf and 3sm. 1s, 2s usually go together with 3sf; 3p with 3sm; cf. Awngi below and Benchnon (Rapold, this vol.)

(33) AWNGI (Cushitic)

*kas-ta-**ta*** (take-2-CV_I) 'you_{sg} take and'

*kas-ta-**má*** (take-2-CV_{II}) 'you_{pl} take and'

*kas-na-**na*** (take-1p-CV_{III}) 'we take and'

There is also a 'short gerund', which lacks a converbal suffix (*yaska* in (34a)). The long converb is mainly used for chaining, the short one for simultaneous events, including compound verbs.

(34) AWNGI (Cushitic)

a. *lángiso beráwa yas-ka kas-ka-**má** ared-ka-**má** ýóy-ka-**má**...*

ox both take-3p(=CV_{Sh}) go-3p-CV_{II} slaughter-3p-CV_{II} eat-3p-CV_{II}

'They took both oxen away and slaughtered and ate them and ...'

(Hetzron 1969:27)

b. *fay-â fay-**á-má** deret-ani ... aq-o kásí-ɣ^{w}à.*

search-3sm(=CV_{Sh}) search-3sm-CV_{II} tire.3sm-CV_{TEMP} man-ACC ask.3-PT

'He searched and searched, and when he got tired ... he asked people.'

(Hetzron 1969:T1.2)

The short converb is identical with a finite form, the 'indefinite perfect'. The general converb could thus be seen as a finite form + converbal suffix; or alternatively, the 'indefinite perfect' lacks a tense-aspect suffix. The Awngi case shows some of the challenges we face, if we want to apply the notion of converb, as established for Asian languages, to Ethiopia. Depending on the analysis, the person sensitive suffixes are added to a finite form (*-**ka**-má* -$3pPF_{INDEF}$-CV_{II}), or the converb is a non-finite person-marked form with a person-sensitive converbal suffix (*-**ka**-má* -3p-CV_{II}). However, what is meant by 'indefinite perfect' remains unclear to me; the form does not occur as a finite verb in the Awngi narratives, a sentence never ends with a verb form like *ared-ka*. When followed by a converbal suffix, *-ka* has no other function than to indicate 3rd person plural; hence I would tentatively regard the form in (33) as non-finite.

The Ethiosemitic languages of the Gurage area pose different problems. Chaha and some other languages have a so-called 'T-converb' (Leslau's "pseudo-

gerundive") with person markers equalling those of finite verbs (cf. also Suter, in this vol.).

(35) CHAHA (Ethiosemitic)

*šärät afṭi-**tä**-^{w}x*	*bəyä-**tä**-nä*	*täx'nax'*
food prepare.T:CV-1sPFV	eat. T:CV-1pPFV	slowly

tə-kyä-šä.

2s-go.up:JUSS-FUT.INDEF

'I having prepared food and we having eaten, you will go up slowly.'
(Leslau 1988:328)

In non-perfective contexts Chaha uses only the so-called 'm-converb.'

(36) CHAHA (Ethiosemitic)

*ä-goš-**ïm*** *ä-qäṭïr-xä-te*

1sIPFV-strike-M:CV 1sIPFV-kill-2smO-FUT

'I'll strike and kill you.'

7.3. Converbs in finite functions

In a number of Ethiopian languages converbs are used in finite function. The Tigrinya converb in finite use[20] has a resultative meaning. As converbs + auxiliary often form periphrastic TA-forms, a copula could be elided here.

(37) TIGRINYA (Ethiosemitic)

***ḥamim-ka**-do?*	—	*ḥamim-ä.*
ill:CV-2smPOSS-Q		ill:CV-1sPOSS

'Are you ill? - Yes.' (Kogan 439)

The Inor 'm-converb' (with many allomorphs, see (38a,b)) is a finite perfective (see Suter, this vol.); for the chaining function a further morpheme *ta* ~ *taaneda* is added. [21]

[20] Kogan states: "The Tigrinya verbal system comprises three basic tenses, traditionally called perfect, imperfect and gerund." (1997:437).

[21] 'm-converbs' are also found in Zway, Goggot, Soddo. 'Long gerunds' are usually built on these.

(38) INOR (Ethiosemitic)

a. *amʔəst assər xoo-**mʷ-ta** inoor gop.o-**mʷ** säfor.o-**mʷ**.*
five ten be:3pm-*M*-SEQ Inor enter.3pm-*M* settle.3pm-*M*
'... they were groups of five or ten and entered Inor and settled.'
(Leslau 1983:136)

b. *məs huda adood-hʷa gʷar awaʔ'a awän-an'a-**ta***
man DEF:m mother-3smPOSS rear bring:3sm.*M* sit:3smS-3sfO.*M*-SEQ
*ä-hãã̃rãč aʔar-ähä gïnd akäd'ä fenäg'ä-**ta***
REL-be:3fs thing-like log tie:3sm.*M* shoulder:3sm.*M*-SEQ
"adood-aš nəšoa!" bar-än'a.
mother-2sPOSS lift:3fs tell:3smS-3sfO.*M*

[Husband and Wife agree to drown their mothers:]
'The man took his mother behind the house, made her sit down, then tied a log-like thing to his shoulder (as if it was his mother) and told her [his wife]: "Take your mother!" (Hetzron 1977:236)

If a sequence of events is reported, a *ta*-suffix is normally used (cf. Suter, this vol.). In compound verbs, which refer to one event, V1 always has the form of the simple 'm-converb'; e.g. *təʒəpər'ə y.aar* (turn:3sm.*M* 3smIPFV.GO) 'he is returning'.

Only a small glimpse into the bewildering variety of converbs or so-called converbs in Ethiopian languages could be given here. Some details can be seen in the articles by Rapold, Suter, and Zaugg (all in this vol.), but much more research is necessary to get a clearer picture.

References

Anderson, Gregory David & K. David Harrison. 1999. *Tyvan.* München: LINCOM.

Azeb Amha. 2001. *The Maale Language.* Leiden University.

Bergelson, Mira B. & Andrej A. Kibrik 1995. "The system of switch reference in Tuva: Converbal and masdar-case forms." In: Haspelmath & König (eds.) 373-414.

Bläsing, Uwe. 1984. *Die finit indikativischen Verbalformen im Kalmückischen.* Wiesbaden: Steiner.

Bodrogligeti, Andras J. E. 2003. *An Academic Reference Grammar of Modern Uzbek.* München: LINCOM.

Davison, Alice. 1986. "Hindi -kar. The problem of multiple syntactic interpretation." In: Bh. Krishnamurti, C. Masica, A. K. Sinha (eds.) *South Asian languages: Structure, convergence and diglossia.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass. 1-13.

Driem, George van. 1987. *A Grammar of Limbu.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Driem, George van. 1993. *A Grammar of Dumi.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Dunn, Michael John. 1999. *A Grammar of Chukchi.* Ph. D. Diss., Australian National University.

Ebert, Karen H. 1983. "Kiranti subordination in the South Asian areal context." In: K. H. Ebert (ed.) *Studies in Clause Linkage.* Universität Zürich: ASAS 12. 83-110.

Ebert, Karen H. 1996. *Koḍava.* München: LINCOM.

Ebert, Karen H. 1997. *A Grammar of Athpare.* München: LINCOM.

Ebert, Karen H. 2000. "Progressive markers in Germanic languages." In: Östen Dahl (ed.) *Tense and Aspect in the Languages of Europe.* Berlin etc.: Mouton. 603-651.

Emeneau, Murray. 1961. *Kolami, a Dravidian Language.* Annamalainagar.

Gruzdeva, Ekaterina. 1998. *Nivkh.* München: LINCOM.

Haspelmath, Martin. 1995. "The converb as a cross-linguistically valid category." In: Haspelmath & König (eds.) 1-56.

Haspelmath, Martin & Ekkehard König (eds) 1995. *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Hetzron, Robert. 1969. *The Verbal System of Southern Agaw.* Los Angeles: University of Southern Californa Press.

Hetzron, Robert. 1975. "The *t*-converbs in Western Gurage." *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 2/2: 15-26

Imart, Guy. 1981. *Le kirghiz (turk d'Asie Centrale soviétique).* 2 Vols. Aix en Provence.

Janhunen, Juha (ed.) 2003. *The Mongolic Languages.* London: Routledge.

Johanson, Lars. 1995. "On Turkic converb clauses." In: Haspelmath & König (eds.) 313-348.

Kachru, Yamuna. 1981. "On the syntax, semantics and pragmatics of the conjunctive participle in Hindi-Urdu." *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 11.2: 35-48.

Kämpfe, Hans-Rainer & Alexander P. Volodin. 1995. *Abriss der tschuktschischen Grammatik.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Klaiman, Miriam H. 1983. "Bengali conjunct participle constructions." *Proceedings of the Berkeley Linguistic Society* 9: 138-147.

Kogan, Leonid. 1997. "Tigrinya", in: R. Hetzron (ed.) *The Semitic Languages.* Routledge. 424-445.

Krueger, John. 1997. *Tuvan Manual.* Bloomington: Indiana University.

Lamberti, Marcello. 1993. *Materialien zum Yemsa.* Heidelberg: Winter.

Lehmannn, Thomas. 1989. *A Grammar of Modern Tamil.* Pondycherry: Inst. of Linguistics and Culture.

Leslau, Wolf. 1983. *Ethiopians speak. Part V Chaha - Ennemor.* Wiesbaden: Steiner.

Leslau, Wolf. 1988. "The pseudo-gerundive in Chaha." In: Wolf Leslau. *Fifty years of research.* Wiesbaden: Harrassovits. 325-356.

Masica, Colin P. 1976. *Defining a Linguistic Area: South Asia.* CUP

Masica, Colin P. 1991. *The Indo-Aryan Languages.* CUP.

Michailovsky, Boyd. 1988. *La Langue Hayu (Nepal).* Paris: CNRS.

Nedjalkov, Igor. 1995. "Converbs in Evenki." In: Haspelmath & König (eds.) 441-64.

Nedjalkov, Igor. 1998. "Converbs in the languages of Eastern Siberia." *Language Sciences* 20:3, 339-351.

Nedjalkov, Vladimir P. 1995. "Some typological parameters of converbs". In: Haspelmath & König (eds.) 97-136

Neukom, Lukas. 2001. *Santali.* München: LINCOM.

Neukom, Lukas & Manideepa Patnaik. 2003. *A Grammar of Oriya.* Universität Zürich: ASAS 17.

Poppe, Nicholas. 1951. *Khalka-Mongolische Grammatik.* Wiesbaden: Steiner.

Sandhal, S. 2000. *A Hindi Reference Grammar.* Leuven: Peeters.

Schönig, Claus. 1984. *Hilfsverben im Tatarischen.* Wiesbaden: Steiner.

Steever, Sanford B. 1988. *The Serial Verb Formation in the Dravidian Languages.* Delhi etc.: Motilal Banarsidass.

Steever, Sanford B. 1998. "Kannada." In: Steever (ed.) *The Dravidian Languages.* London & New York: Routledge. 129-157.

Svantesson, Jan-Olof. "Khalkha." In: Janhunen (ed.) 154-176.

Tikkanen, Bertil. 1995. "Burushaski converbs in their South and Central Asian areal context." In: Haspelmath & König 487-528.

Tikkanen, Bertil. 2001. "Converbs." In HSK 2/2 *Language Typology and Language Universals.* 1112-23.

van der Auwera, Johan. 1998. "Defining converbs." In: Leonid Kulikov & Heinz Vater (eds), *Typology of Verbal Categories.* Tübingen: Niemeyer. 273-282.

Konverben und Konverbkonstruktionen bei der Bildung von aspekto-temporalen Formen in Turksprachen und ostkaukasischen Sprachen

Werner Drossard

0. Vorbemerkungen

Aus dem Spektrum der Verwendungsweisen von Konverben, wie es z.B. von Bisang (1995) - bei einem Vergleich mit seriellen Verben - aufgezeigt wurde, greifen wir im folgenden zwei wesentliche Erscheinungsformen heraus: a) Die Verwendung in periphrastischen Verbformen und b) in einigen Fällen zum Vergleich: den Gebrauch in Nebensatzäquivalenten. Für a) möge, stellvertretend für eine Vielzahl von Sprachen und eine Vielzahl von semantischen Varianten, das japanische Beispiel stehen:

(1) JAPANISCH
basu o *mat-te* *i-mas-u*
Bus ACC wart-CV sei-HON-PRES
'Ich warte gerade auf den Bus.'

und für b), ebenfalls aus dem Japanischen, unter funktionalem Aspekt ein Äquivalent zu einem kausalen Adverbialsatz:

(2) JAPANISCH
kaze *o* *hii-te,* *gakkoo o* *yasumi-mashi-ta*
Erkältung ACC zieh-CV Schule ACC aussetz-HON-PT
'Da ich eine Erkältung bekam/bekommen hatte, ging ich nicht in die Schule.'

Eine große Zahl von Publikationen aus den letzten 20 Jahren (einen kleinen Ausschnitt davon haben wir in die Bibliographie aufgenommen) hat deutlich gezeigt, daß der im Konstruktionstyp (1) realisierte Fall sehr oft zum Ausdruck von Aktionsarten dient und in grammatikalisierter Form als konstitutives Element in T/A-Formen figuriert. Die Arbeiten aus dem Bereich der Einzelphilologien, aber auch Synopsen (wie etwa Masica 1976), ergeben dann, trotz unterschiedlicher Terminologien, etwa folgendes Bild: Konstruktionen des Typs a), wie in (1), gibt es im Prinzip im gesamten eurasiatischen Kontext, ja man könnte sogar, großzügig interpretiert, viele Beispiele aus den Papuasprachen und australischen Sprachen hinzuziehen.

Das finite Element in den dabei geläufigen periphrastischen Konverbkonstruktionen wird im Bereich

- der Indologie "vector verb" (Sridhar 1990) oder "explicator verb" (Pandharipande 1998) genannt,
- der Turkologie als "deskriptives Verb" (z.B. durchgängig in Deny et al. 1959) oder "Postverbium" (siehe unten) bezeichnet.

Im folgenden wollen wir, in Anlehnung an den von Johanson eingeführten Begriff "Postverbium" (vgl. Johanson 1974, 1990, 1991c), von **Postverb** sprechen, wobei wir a) den lateinischen Begriff "Postverbium" "eindeutschen" und b) z.B. im Gegensatz zu Demir (1993) eine Pluralform Postverb**en** statt "Postverbien" verwenden. Die gesamte Konverbalkonstruktion heißt bei den genannten Autoren "Postverbialverbindung".

Die von Masica (1976) durchgeführten Vergleiche und ein allgemeiner Überblick über neuere Grammatiken zu den in Frage kommenden indischen (dravidischen wie indoeuropäischen), altaiischen, tibeto-birmanischen Sprachen sowie dem Koreanischen und Japanischen zeigen, daß Postverben mit der Semantik 'sein', 'sitzen', 'stehen', 'liegen' etc. progressive/imperfektivische Aktionsarten und Aspekto-Tempora zum Ausdruck bringen, Postverben mit der Semantik 'verlassen', 'wegwerfen', 'beenden' etc. eher perfektivische Nuancen. Dazwischen liegt u.U. eine breite Palette von weiteren Varianten (vgl. unten das Usbekische).
Gerade der von Haspelmath und König herausgegebene Band von 1995 *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective* hat wesentlich zu einer "Globalisierung" der Terminologie (also Konverb statt Gerundium und in Einzelfällen auch Partizipien u.ä.) und der typologischen Ein- und Unterordnung bisher scheinbar disparater Phänomene beigetragen, so daß letztlich auch Konstruktionen aus europäischen Sprachen (möglicherweise von Einzelphilologien beargwöhnt) in diesem Kontext gesehen werden. Man denke hier nur an die englische "continuous form" (vgl. Kortmann 1995), die sich letztlich als z.B. dem Japanischen in (1) analoge, periphrastische Konverbkonstruktion erweist, denn in

(3) ENGLISCH
*I am read-**ing***

ist *am* die finite Postverbform und *-ing* (traditionell: das Partizip Präsens) die Konverbendung. Um die Parallele zum Japanischen (und vielen anderen Sprachen) perfekt zu machen, wäre (4) dann, analog zu (2), in "neuer" Interpretation ein konverbbasiertes Nebensatzäquivalent im Englischen mit temporaler Bedeutung:

(4) ENGLISCH
Leaving the house, I met my neighbour.

Im folgenden konzentrieren wir uns zunächst auf die Turksprachen, für die - ganz im Einklang mit unseren einleitenden Bemerkungen - ebenfalls beide oben skizzierten Kontexte relevant sind. Der erste Abschnitt gibt einen allgemeinen Überblick sowohl in historischer (Abschnitt 1.1) als auch in synchroner Perspektive (Abschnitt 1.2). Besonders herauszustellen sind die Grammatikalisierungskanäle, die zu imperfektivischen (Abschnitt 1.3) und perfektivischen (Abschnitt 4.1) Aspektotempora führen. Desweiteren wird die Problematik von Derivation vs. Flexion erörtert (Abschnitt 2). Im fünften Abschnitt schließt sich eine Synopse über die lesgische Sprachgruppe (Ostkaukasisch) an, in der Konverbalformen in zum Türkischen vergleichbarer Weise an der Bildung von Aspektotempora beteiligt sind, mit der Ausnahme, daß hier in einigen Fällen der Postverbbestandteil in den Temporalformen zu fehlen scheint (wie in Abschnitt 3 zu Turksprachen in den Raum gestellt).

1. Konverbkonstruktionen in Turksprachen

Ein erster grober Überblick über die Tempusformen in Turksprachen zeigt, daß die ursprünglich zur Signalisierung von Aktionsarten verwendete Konverbkonstruktion des Typs

lexikalisches_Verb-Konverbendung + Postverb-Flexionsendung

in diversen Untergruppen und Einzelsprachen bis hin zu Tempusformen (freilich mit erhaltener aspektueller Nuance) grammatikalisiert wurden. Im Rahmen der allgemeinen Grammatikalisierungstheorie (vgl. z.B. Bybee et al. 1994) ist dieses Phänomen unter 'qualitativem' (d.h. 'begrifflichem') Gesichtspunkt (Aspekt > Tempus) hinlänglich bekannt, doch es wird dort (ohne Berücksichtigung turkologischer Evidenz) **formal** vornehmlich an einem Agglutinationsprozess festgemacht, bei dem lexikalische Quellen zu einfachen Affixen avancieren. Im Hinblick auf die formale Komponente der Grammatikalisierung muß nun gerade im Kontext türkischer Sprachen darauf verwiesen werden, daß hier ein komplexeres **Syntagma** (i.e. eine periphrastische Konverbalkonstruktion) der Grammatikalisierung ausgesetzt ist.

Bei der Präsentation des anstehenden Themas ergeben sich folgende Teilaspekte:

- Es muß kurz auf den Ursprung der im Syntagma involvierten Konverbformen eingegangen werden und auf deren synchrone Präsenz.

- Es soll eine grobe Synopse über die Ausdrucksformen der Aktionsarten gegeben werden, mit dem Hauptakzent auf den Postverben, inkl. einer Analyse der Distribution der beiden Konverbmorpheme (*-a/-e* vs. *-ip* und Varianten).
- Über das eigentliche "volle" Konverbalsyntagma und dessen Grammatikalisierung hinaus sind Einzelfälle bekannt, bei denen Konverbformen scheinbar direkt – und nicht über den "Umweg" einer Konverbkonstruktion mit Postverben – zu Tempuszeichen avancieren.
- Bei einem Blick über die Turksprachen hinaus soll zum Vergleich in einem zweiten größeren Teil auf relevante Phänomene aus ostkaukasischen Sprachen verwiesen werden, bei denen - teilweise fast komplett - das aspekto-temporale System auf Konverbsyntagmen fußt.

1.1. Zum Konverbbestand in den frühesten Sprachstufen des Türkischen

A. von Gabain (1950:229ff) führt acht Konverbalendungen für das Alttürkische (Uigurische Inschriften, 8. Jhd. n. Chr.) an: *-p*, *-pan*, *-u* (und vokalharmonisch bedingte Varianten), *-γalı*, *-n*, *-matı(n)*, *-γınca* und *-kan*. In sehr grober Verallgemeinerung läßt sich feststellen, daß *-p* und die vokalischen Varianten (*-u*, *-ü*, *-a*, *-ä* etc.) die beiden Hauptformantien der zum T/A-Ausdruck dienenden Konverbformen darstellen. Bei der Diskussion dieser Formen hebt von Gabain hervor (ebd.:123):

> Zum Schluß sei noch auf den wichtigsten Unterschied dieses Konverbums (*-u*, W.D.) von dem auf *-p* hingewiesen; dieses besagt ein zeitliches Vorhergehen, jenes ein Mittel, eine Gleichzeitigkeit [...].

Es zeigt sich, in sehr verallgemeinerter Form, daß in der Entwicklung der Einzelsprachen zwei Möglichkeiten resultierten:

- der Unterschied "Vorhergehen" (= Vorzeitigkeit), ausgedrückt durch die *-p*-Varianten, vs. "Gleichzeitigkeit", ausgedrückt durch die vokalischen Varianten, wird in einigen Fällen nivelliert;
- der Unterschied wird beibehalten und ist konstitutiv für eine Zeitstufenunterscheidung.

Als Beispiel für den ersteren Fall geben wir die im Usbekischen (Wurm 1959) beim Ausdruck der Durativität festzustellende "Synonymie" von

(5) USBEKISCH

a.	*yoz-ä*	*yot-*	+ Endung[1]	'am Schreiben sein'
	schreib-CV	lieg-		
b.	*yoz-ıp*	*yot-*	+ Endung	dito
	schreib-CV	lieg-		

Der zweite Fall liegt vor, wenn die ursprünglichen Konverbformantien **synchron** ohne erkennbare Postverben mit Verbwurzel und Personalendung eine einheitliche Form bilden (zu **diachronen** Aspekten vgl. Abschnitt 1.3 ff), wie im Azeri:

(6) AZERI

harda	*gal-ib-san*	'Wo bist du geblieben?'
wo	bleib-CV-2s	

oder im Karatschai-Balkarischen:

(7) KARATSCHAI-BALKARISCH

bitew saxar	*ayt-a-di*	'Die ganze Stadt redet.'
ganz Stadt	sprech-CV-3s	

Es ist erkennbar, daß hier das 'Vorzeitigkeits'-Konverb eine Perfektlesart generiert, das 'Gleichzeitigkeits'-Konverb eine Präsensbedeutung bekommt, vgl. besonders Abschnitt 3.

1.2. Postverben

Zu dem hier von Johanson übernommenen Ausdruck für die auxiliarisierte finite Komponente des Konverbalsyntagmas liegen, wie angedeutet, in der turkologischen und nicht-turkologischen Literatur eine ganze Reihe von terminologischen Alternativen vor.

In der älteren Turkologie (besonders im Sammelband Deny et al. 1959) wählt man einheitlich den Terminus "deskriptive" Verben. In der Indologie kennt man die Bezeichnungen "vector verbs" (z.B. bei Sridhar 1990:230) zum Kannada und "explicator verbs" (z.B. bei Pandharipande 1997: 418ff) zum Marathi. Masica (1976) präsentiert in seiner Monographie *Defining a linguistic area* mehrere Gesamtübersichten über indische (sowohl indoarische wie dravidische) Sprachen, Turksprachen, Mongolisch, Koreanisch, Burmesisch, Japanisch etc., die zeigen sollen, daß im großen und ganzen zum Ausdruck bestimmter Aktionsarten immer

[1] Wir haben darauf verzichtet, die einzelsprachlichen Beispiele, die aus sehr unterschiedlichen Quellen stammen, mit einer einheitlichen Glossierung zu unterlegen. Stattdessen haben wir uns zum größten Teil an die Originalglossierung bzw. -transkription gehalten.

die gleichen Postverben beteiligt sind. Während dies bei Masica nur für Konverbalkonstruktionen oder "verbal compounds" gezeigt wird, weist Bisang (1995) darauf hin, daß dies in gewissem Maße auch für die auxiliarisierten Verben in seriellen Verbkonstruktionen gilt. Als "cluster", die in vielen unterschiedlichen Sprachfamilien gleich sind, erweisen sich

- Postverben wie 'sitzen', 'stehen', 'liegen' zum Ausdruck der Durativität/progressiven Lesart,
- Postverben wie 'verlassen', 'werfen' oder, transparenter, simples 'aufhören' oder 'beenden' für kompletive und terminative Nuancen.
- Postverben wie 'sehen', 'blicken' übernehmen oft konative Interpretationen.
- Postverben wie 'nehmen' tauchen in Ausdrücken für Inchoativität oder 'ability' auf.

Um konkrete Beispiele anzuführen, rekurrieren wir auf die ausführliche Darstellung des Usbekischen durch S. Wurm (1959:520ff) und fassen das Ganze tabellarisch zusammen:

TABELLE 1

		-ä, -a	*-ip*	Postverb
1	ability	*yoz-ä ol-mak* 'schreiben können'		*ol-mak* 'nehmen'
2	kontinuativ	*yoz-ä ber-mek* 'keep on writing'		*ber-mek* 'geben'
3	progressive	*yoz-ä yot-mak* 'am schreiben sein'	*yoz-ıp yot-mak*	*yot-mak* 'liegen'
4	konativ	*yoz-ä kör-mek* 'versuchen zu schreiben'	*yoz-ıp kör-mek*	*kör-mek* 'sehen'
	"		*yoz-ıp boq-mak* 'versuchen zu schreiben'	*boq-mak* 'blicken'
5	approximativ (allmählich)		*yaχšilän-ip bar-mak* 'sich mehr und mehr bessern'	*bar-mak* 'gehen'
6	durativ + intensiv		*yoz-ıp otur-mak* 'dauernd schreiben'	*otur-mak* 'sitzen'
7	kontinuativ + habituell		*uč-ip yür-mek* 'herumfliegen'	*yür-mek* 'herumgehen'
8	habituell		*yoz-ıp tur-mak* 'gewöhnlich schreiben'	*tur-mak* 'stehen'
9	inchoativ		*sözläš-ip ol-dık* 'zu sprechen beginnen'	*ol-mak* 'nehmen'
10	plötzliche Hdl.		*kül-ip yubor-mak* 'auflachen'	*yubor-mak* 'senden'
11	punktuell + resultativ		*sin-ip qol-mak* 'plötzlich zerbrechen und so bleiben'	*qol-mak* 'bleiben'
12	kompletiv		*yoz-ıp čıq-mak* 'aufhören mit Schreiben'	*ciq-mak* 'verlassen'

Für das Turkmenische gibt Clark (1998:312ff) 16 deskriptive Verben an. Dabei zeigen sich Übereinstimmungen mit dem Usbekischen, aber auch eine ganze Reihe von eigenen Bildungen:

TABELLE 2

1	*bar-mak*	'gehen'	bekommt eine intensivierende Bedeutung
2	*ber-mek*	'geben'	wird zum Auxiliar für Kontinuativität ('keep on')
3	*yat-mak*	'liegen'	tritt im Kontext von Kontinuativität und Habitualität auf
4	*dur-mak*	'stehen(bleiben)'	kann dreierlei Funktion übernehmen [2]: a) Inzeptivität, b) Kontinuativität und c) Habitualität
5	*otur-mak*	'sitzen'	ist im Prinzip deckungsgleich mit den Bedeutungen unter 4
6	*yör-mek*	'fortschreiten'	kann eine perfektivische Interpretation evozieren oder eine kontinuative ('keep on')
7	*bašla-mak*	'beginnen'	ist als Träger für Inzeptivität identifizierbar
8	*ugra-mak*	'aufbrechen'	dient logischerweise dem Ausdruck der Inzeptivität
9	*gir-mek*	'eintreten in'	wird zur Inchoativsignalisierung
10	*gal-mak*	'bleiben'	wird (kurioserweise) für Inchoativität eingesetzt
11	*git-mek*	'hingehen'	übernimmt die Funktion, plötzliche Handlungen auszudrücken
12	*goy-mak*	'setzen, stellen, legen'	drückt schnelle Handlungen aus ('akzelerativ')
13	*gutar-mak*	'beenden'	wird zum Ausdruck für Kompletivität
14	*čık-mak*	'herausgehen'	findet Verwendung bei Kompletivität
15	*bol-mak*	'sein'/'werden'	bekommt resultative Kraft
16	*gel-mek*	'kommen'	dient zum Ausdruck des Perfekts

1.3. Ein erster Kanal der Grammatikalisierung

Im Hinblick auf den Bereich der Grammatikalisierung im "imperfektivischen" Kontext weist Bybee (1994:140ff) ausdrücklich auf die in vielen Sprachen festzustellende Entwicklung von einfachen Progressivbildungen zu Präsensformen (mit progressiver Nuance) hin.

[2] Clark ordnet darüberhinaus die Konstruktionen mit den deskriptiven Verben 3, 4, 5 als grammatikalisierte Formen für das "Present Continuous" ein. Dazu explizit die folgenden Abschnitte ab 1.3 ff.

1.3.1. Präsensbildungen

Eine grobe Synopse über die wichtigsten Präsensformen (mit progressiver Nuance) in den Turksprachen führt unter rein 'phänomenologischem' Aspekt zu drei Bildungstypen:

Typ 1: Vollverb-CV + Postverb { 'liegen' / 'sitzen' / 'stehen' / 'gehen' }-Tempus-Person[3]

(8) USBEKISCH

yoz-ä	*yot-ır-man*	'Ich bin am Schreiben.'
schreib-CV	lieg-AoPrPTC-1s	

Typ 2: Vollverb-CV + Postverb(-Tempus)-Person

(9) a. TUVINISCH

al-ıp	*tur-men*	'Ich nehme gerade.'
nehm-CV	steh-1s	

Typ 3: Vollverb-CV-Person

(10) a. KASACHISCH

al-a-man	'Ich nehme gerade.'
nehm-CV-1s	

Die Diskussion zu dieser Thematik (besonders bei Johanson 1991b, 1998b:113ff) läßt sich in verkürzter Form so zusammenfassen:

Es sieht ganz danach aus, daß im Kontext von Postverben mit finalem *-r* starke morphonologische Koaleszenzen stattgefunden haben. Im einzelnen heißt dies, daß der Form (9a) eine Form wie

(9) b. TUVINISCH

**al-ıp*	*tur-ur-men*
nehm-CV	steh-AoPrPTC-1s

[3] Bekanntlich werden in der Turkologie zwei Reihen Personalmarkierungen unterschieden, zum einen die aus freien Personalpronomina zu Suffixen entwickelten Formen, zum anderen die sog. Possessivreihe. Im Rahmen unserer Ausführungen haben wir auf diese Unterscheidung verzichtet und glossieren einheitlich nur Person und Numerus.

vorausgegangen ist, wobei die in (8) erkennbare AoPrPTC-Endung auf *-(V)r-* verschliffen wurde.

Es wird aber auch angenommen, daß das "Teilstück" *-dur-ur* in manchen Sprachen sogar zu 'zero' geworden sein kann, so daß auch dem Kasachischen (10a) ein mögliches

(10) b. KASACHISCH
**al-a* *tur-ur-man*
nehm-CV steh-AoPrPTC-1s

zugrundegelegt werden könnte.
Für das Türkeitürkische ergibt sich 'quasi-synchron' eine Segmentierung wie

(11) a. TÜRKEITÜRKISCH
**yaz-a* *yor-um* 'Ich schreibe gerade.'
schreib-CV geh-1s

aber eingedenk der vorerwähnten Koaleszenzen bei /r/-finalen Postverben kann hier im Falle des *-yör*-Postverbs weiter "rekonstruiert" werden, so etwa zu

(11) b. TÜRKEITÜRKISCH
***yaz-a* *yör-er-(V)m*
schreib-CV geh-AoPrPTC-1s

1.3.2. Präteritalbildungen mit progressiver Nuance

Da die meisten Turkologen darin übereinstimmen, daß zu einem alten Aorist-Präsens auf *-(V)-r-* (wie er in (8) und den rekonstruierten Formen, etwa (9b), im Postverb zu erkennen ist) eine Präteritalform auf *erdi* vorliegt (= *er-* 'sein' + Präteritum auf *-di*), kann man für Türkeitürkisch

(12) a. TÜRKEITÜRKISCH
yaziyordum 'Ich schrieb gerade.'

eine Protoform ansetzen wie:

(12) b. TÜRKEITÜRKISCH
**yaz-a* *yör-er* *e-di-m*
schreib-CV geh-AoPrPTC sein-PT-1s
'Ich war gerade am schreiben.'

Schließlich ergäbe sich damit eine Gegenüberstellung von rekonstruierten türkeitürkischen (osmanischen) und realen usbekischen Formen wie:

TABELLE 3

	Osmanisch (rekonstruiert)	Usbekisch (aktuell)
Präsens progressiv	**yaz-a yör-er-um*	*yoz-a yot-ır-man*
Präteritum progressiv	**yaz-a yör-er e-di-m*	*yoz-a yot-ır e(r)-di-m*

Die 'einfachste' Variante zum Ausdruck eines progressiven Präteritums sollte nicht vergessen werden, das Syntagma mit Konverb und einfachem Präteritum von *er-* ('sein'), wie im Nogaischen:

(13) NOGAISCH
bar-a e-di-m
geh-CV sein-PT-1s
'Ich war beim Spazierengehen.'

(Man vergleiche dazu auch die Ausführungen in Abschnitt 6.) Analoge Strukturen gelten für das Baschkirische, das Karatschai-Balkarische, Krim-Tatarische und Kumykische[4].

2. Exkurs: Derivation vs. Flexion

Im Zusammenhang mit den hier thematisierten Formen und Prozessen muß festgehalten werden:

1. Während ursprünglicherweise ein Syntagma wie **yaz-a-yor-um* 'ich schreibe gerade' eine unter vielen Aktionsarten ausdrückte (vgl. die in Tabelle 2 aufgelisteten Formen zum Turkmenischen) und damit eher derivativen Status innehatte, avancierte der Formtyp *yazıyorum* 'ich schreibe gerade' zu einer flexionalen Kategorie.
2. Im T/A-System des Türkeitürkischen ergeben sich (bedingt durch diesen flexivischen Status) gewisse Oppositionen, wie sie eben für Paradigmen typisch sind: Die Form *yazıyorum* 'ich schreibe gerade' (als Präsens) hat ein präteritales Pendant *yazıyordum* 'ich schrieb gerade'.

[4] Interessanterweise werden Konverbalkonstruktionen von *bolmak* 'werden, sein', im Gegensatz zu der mit *ermek*, der zweiten SEIN-Variante im türkischen Bereich, wesentlich seltener zur Bildung progressiver Tempusformen eingesetzt. Wenn *bolmak* in einer periphrastischen Konstruktion erscheint, dann a) wie im Turkmenischen (vgl. Tabelle 2, Zeile 15) zum Ausdruck einer Resultativität und b) in Verbindung mit Partizipialformen bei der Bildung relativer Tempora, vgl. (36), (37a) unten.

Wie hinlänglich bekannt, werden in der Literatur zur Distinktion von Derivation und Flexion prinzipiell einheitliche Kriterien angeführt (man vgl. unter anderem O'Grady et al. 1997). Unter anderem diskutiert auch Aikhenvald (2000:30ff) im Zusammenhang von Klassifikatoren und Genera ebenfalls diese Thematik und weist dabei auf die Opposition "obligatorisch" (Flexion) vs. "optional" (Derivation) hin. Flexion bedeutet unter rein **quantitativem** Aspekt, daß z.B. bezogen auf den nominalen Bestand des Deutschen **alle** Nomina über ein Genus verfügen (müssen), während Derivation z.B. im adjektivischen Bereich bedeutet, daß **nicht alle** Adjektive des Deutschen eine *un*-Präfigierung zulassen. Unter diesem Aspekt müßte, rückbezogen auf die türkischen Verhältnisse, geschlossen werden, daß die Bildung von Aktionsarten optional ist und evtl. die eine oder andere Bildung (vgl. dazu etwa die Verfahren zum Usbekischen) aus semantischen Gründen auf bestimmte Ausschnitte des Verbalbereichs beschränkt ist. Diese Frage ist leider nur schwer zu beantworten, da m.W. keine umfangreichen Daten dazu vorliegen. Aber dennoch sollte festgehalten werden, daß die Grammatikalisierung einer Aktionsart zu einer flexivischen T/A-Form auch impliziert, daß die *-yor-um*-Form für alle Verben des Türkeitürkischen zu bilden ist.

3. Weiteres zur Struktur der Aspekto-Tempora

Während in neueren Untersuchungen, wie in 1.3 gezeigt, angenommen wird, daß z.B. eine Präsensform wie Kasachisch *alaman* 'ich nehme gerade' (= 10a) eine aus **al-a tur-ur-man* (wörtl.) 'nehmend stehe ich' reduzierte Bildung sei, wird in älteren Quellen, so etwa fast durchgängig bei Deny et al. (1959) und den dort in Erscheinung tretenden Autoren, auf eine diachrone Herleitung verzichtet. Pritsak (1959:337) setzt für das Karaimische – bei einer zum Kasachischen analogen Bildung – für eine Präsensform einfach das konverbale *-a/-e* als Tempusformans an, an das dann die Personalsuffixe treten. Analog dazu weist er darauf hin (ebd.:337):

> Zuweilen verbindet sich die Konverbendung auf *-p* mit den Personalsuffixen, und auf diese Weise entsteht eine Präteritalform.

(14) KARAIMISCH
oyan-ip-män
aufwach-CV-1s
'Ich erwachte.'

Insbesondere diese letztere Präteritalbildung fügt sich in den Rahmen der Analyse von Caferoğlu/ Doerfer (1959:306). Sie bemerken zum Azeri:

> Ein auch in der Schriftsprache häufig gebrauchtes Präteritum ist das mit dem Konverb *-p* gebildete.

So verzeichnet man Bildungen wie (dialektal):

(15) AZERI
nä yiy-ib-sän
was ess-CV-2s
'Was hast du gegessen?'

Eine konsequent-analoge Überlegung zu dem in 1.3 Dargestellten folgt auf dem Fuße. Wir kondensieren sie in der Frage: Sollte nun für die Formen im Karaimischen und Azeri ebenfalls diachron eine wesentlich komplexere Konverbalkonstruktion **mit** einem Postverb angesetzt werden? Grundsätzlich ist denkbar, daß in der Tat zunächst eine Konverbkonstruktion mit perfektischer Nuance (und einem die Perfektivität ausdrückenden Postverb) vorgelegen haben könnte, die dann, morphologisch verkürzt, semantisch zu einer Präterital-Variante avanciert sein könnte, im Einklang etwa mit einem von Bybee et al. (1994) aufgestellten Grammatikalisierungskanal (vgl. 4.1 unten).

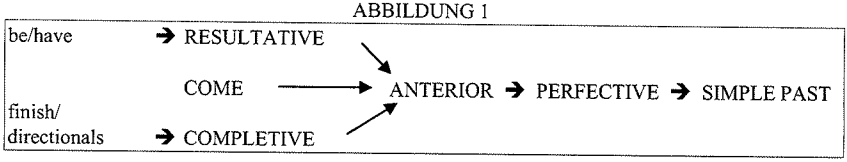
Andererseits aber steht eigentlich der einfachen Annahme, daß sich Konverbzeichen **ohne** die Zwischenstufe einer Periphrase durchaus zu direkten Tempusbildnern entwickelt haben, nichts im Wege. Das hieße, daß man der von Pritsak und Caferoğlu/Doerfer propagierten Darstellung eine gewisse Plausibilität zuschreiben kann. Unterstützende Evidenz dafür kommt aus dem ostkaukasischen Bereich (vgl. dazu unten, Abschnitt 5.2).

4. Ein zweiter Kanal der Grammatikalisierung

4.1. Zur Entwicklung von Perfekt- und Präteritalformen

Die in der Einleitung angesprochene, von Bybee et al. beschriebene Grammatikalisierung von reinen Aktionsarten zu Temporalformen ist in detaillierterer Form in ihrem Kap. 3.17 (1994: 105) skizziert:

ABBILDUNG 1



Von besonderem Interesse ist hier der Sprung von RESULTATIVE/ COMPLETIVE zu 'perfektisch' (ANTERIOR). Diese Mischung aus aspektuellen und temporalen Eigenschaften wird bei der Autorin wie folgt definiert (ebd.:54):

> Anteriors (or "perfects" as they are often called) differ from completives in being relational: an anterior signals that the situation occurs prior to reference time and is relevant to the situation at reference time. Anteriors are typically translated with the English Perfect and often accompanied by the relational adverbs "already" and "just". Anteriors may occur with past or future tense marking.

Rekurrieren wir nun, angesichts dieser Definition, auf Zeile 16 in Tabelle 2 zum Turkmenischen: Konverbkonstruktionen mit dem Postverb *gelmek* 'kommen' bringen also Anteriorität zum Ausdruck, so Clark (1998). Als Beispiel möge dienen:

(16) TURKMENISCH (Clark 1998:319)
bu yıl bolθo ikinji yıllır hat jaðıs-ıp, gepleš-ip
DEM Jahr sein zweite Jahre Brief schreib-CV red-CV
gel-yä:r-iθ
KOMM-AOPrPTC-1p

'Das ist schon das zweite Jahr, daß wir uns Briefe geschrieben haben und miteinander geredet haben.'

Der Autor parallelisiert diese Konstruktion ausdrücklich mit dem englischen Present Perfect Continuous. Im Beispiel erscheint die *gel*-Form in einem Aorist-Präsens, also der aus vielen Turksprachen bekannten *-er*-Bildung, hier in Kombination mit den Konverbformen (auf *-ip*) von *yaz* 'schreiben' und *gepleš* 'reden'. Letztendlich scheint also der hier vorliegende Grammatikalisierungsprozess analog zu dem mittleren Abschnitt der Bybee-Skizze zu verlaufen: COME (=

gelmek) ➔ ANTERIOR, in Verbindung mit den Konverbformen variierender Vollverben.

4.2. Einige Spekulationen

Es läßt sich zeigen, daß der Grammatikalisierungsprozess von ***gelmek*** 'kommen' offensichtlich nicht bis zum Ende des Grammatikalisierungspfads in Abbildung 1 durchgeführt wurde, sondern bei einer perfektischen Nuance "zum Stoppen kam". Es ist zu beobachten, daß sich die "Endstation" SIMPLE PAST nicht etwa durch die Grammatikalisierung von *gelmek* zu ergeben hat, sondern diese temporale Nuance durch *-di* (und vokalharmonische Varianten) belegt ist. Eben dieses *-di* führt man gemeinhin, wie z.B. bei Serebrennikov/Gadžieva (1979: 175ff) ausgeführt, auf ein Perfektpartizip mit den Endungen *-it/-ıt* zurück, so daß letztlich einem

(17) a. TÜRKEITÜRKISCH + analoge Formen in anderen Turksprachen
al-dı-m
nehm-PT-1s
'ich nahm'

eine Protoform wie

(17) b. PROTOTÜRKISCH (rekonstruiert)
**al-(ı)t-ım bar*
nehm-PTC-1s EXIST
'mein Genommen-Haben existiert' (≈ 'ich nahm')

zugrundeliegen soll.

Wir wagen hier eine andere Rekonstruktionsmöglichkeit. Angesichts der enormen Koaleszenzen, wie sie bei der Präsensbildung postuliert wurden, scheuen wir uns nicht, parallel zu den hier erörterten Konverbkonstruktionen auch für die *di*-Form einen konverbalen Kontext anzusetzen. Das würde bedeuten, daß wir für *-di* einen ehemaligen **Postverb**-Status annehmen müssen und die Semantik dieses ursprünglichen Postverbs im Kontext der für Perfektivität "zuständigen" Postverben rekonstruierbar sein muß. Man wird relativ schnell in komparatistischen Lexika der Turkologie (Radloff 1893, Sevortjan 1974) das Verb *dinmak* finden mit der Bedeutung 'enden', 'aufhören'. Setzt man nun etwa eine Urform (beispielsweise mit einem Verb wie *yaz-* 'schreiben' und Elision des Nasals im Postverb) an,

(18) PROTOTÜRKISCH (Spekulation)
*yaz-ıp dı(n)- + Person
schreib-CV aufhör-

so mag dies als periphrastische Konverbkonstruktion zunächst ein Ausdruck für COMPLETIVE gewesen sein. Mit zunehmender Grammatikalisierung mag **formal** ein Ausfall der Konverbendung erfolgt sein und dann, über mögliche Zwischenstufen, **semantisch** eine Verallgemeinerung zu einem SIMPLE PAST, also eine Grammatikalisierung zu einer T/A-Form. Dieser einfache Rekonstruktionsversuch steht formal im Einklang mit sonstigen Elisionsphänomenen und stellt unter semantischem Aspekt den Endpunkt eines aus vielen Sprachen belegten Grammatikalisierungspfads dar.

5. Konverben und Konverbkonstruktionen in lesgischen Sprachen

Bei den Ausführungen zu den Turksprachen zeigte sich, daß die Genese der aspekto-temporalen Formen stark durch die Grammatikalisierung bestimmter Postverben (als Teilen von Konverbkonstruktionen) geprägt ist. Neben desemantisierten Verben (als Repräsentanten der Postverbposition) spielt das semantisch neutralste Verb SEIN eine marginalere Rolle (vgl. oben). In ostkaukasischen Sprachen nun rücken verschiedene SEIN-Verben in zentrale Positionen bei der Konstituenz von aspekto-temporalen Formen, während andere Postverben, die im türkischen Sprachbereich konstitutiv für aspekto-temporale Formen sind, (ohne stärkere Grammatikalisierung) die typischen Aufgaben beim Ausdruck von Habitualität u.ä. übernehmen. Zu diesem letzteren Phänomen liegen nur in einigen Fällen ausführliche Materialien vor.

5.1. Agulisch

Wie wir in Drossard (1991:75ff) nach Magometov (1970:118ff) gezeigt haben, werden im Agulischen (mit Ausnahme des Futurs) alle aspekto-temporalen Formen periphrastisch durch systematische Konfigurationen aus zwei SEIN-Verben und imperfektiven bzw. perfektiven Konverben gebildet.
Grundsätzlich sind die beiden SEIN-Verben wie folgt zu unterscheiden (wir konzentrieren uns wie in Drossard 1991 auf die Variante des Auls Fita und vernachlässigen die Varianten der anderen sieben Dialektformen):

TABELLE 4

identifikationales SEIN:	Präsens affirmativ: Präteritum affirmativ:	*-i* *-i-di*
lokativisches SEIN:	Präsens affirmativ: Präteritum affirmativ:	*-(q)a* *-ů-di*
Konverbformen:	imperfektivisch: perfektivisch:	*-d/-ri/-j* *-n(a)*

Wir geben im folgenden eine tabellarische Darstellung der Kombinationsmöglichkeiten und den aus ihnen 'generierten' aspekto-temporalen Formen und Bedeutungen und fügen danach Einzelbeispiele an:

TABELLE 5

	lok. SEIN Präsens	ident. SEIN Präsens	lok. SEIN Präteritum	ident. SEIN Präteritum
impf. Konv.	konkr. Präs. (a)	habit. Präs. (b)	impf. Prät. (c)	%
perf. Konv.	result. Präs. (d)	"pres. perf." (e)	result. Prät. (f)	Plusquamperfekt (g)

a) konkretes Präsens (in gewissem Sinne: progressives Präsens)

(19) *zun daftɐar xura-d-a*
1s Buch les-CVipfv-LOC.BE:PRES
'Ich lese gerade ein Buch.'

b) generelles (auch habituelles) Präsens

(20) *zun hammisa daftɐar-ar *xura-d-eweti >> xura-ti*
1s immer Buch-PL les-CVipfv-ID.BE:PRES
'Ich pflege Bücher zu lesen.'

(Die hier auftretende Variante von SEIN ist eine unregelmäßig gebildete Form.)

c) imperfektives Präteritum (= Past progressive)

(21) *zun daftɐar xura-d ů-di*
1s Buch les-CVipfv LOC.BE-PT
'Ich las gerade ein Buch.'

d) resultatives Präsens in der Art eines agenslosen Zustandspassivs:

(22) *daftear* *xura-n-a*
Buch les-CVpfv-LOC.BE:PRES
'Das Buch ist gelesen.'

e) "present perfect", eine abgeschlossene Handlung mit Relevanz für den Sprechzeitpunkt in der Gegenwart:

(23) *zun* *daftear-ar* *xura-n-i*
1s Buch-PL les-CVpfv-ID.BE:PRES
entspricht am ehesten dem englischen: 'I have read the books'.

f) resultatives Präteritum (im Prinzip wie (d), aber mit Agens möglich):

(24) *zun* *daftear-ar* *xura-n* *ù-di*
1s Buch-PL les-CVpfv LOC.BE-PT
'Ich hatte die Bücher durchgelesen.'

g) Plusquamperfekt (mit einer dem Englischen am nächsten kommenden Übersetzung):

(25) *zun* *daftear-ar* *xura-n* *i-di*
1s Buch-PL les-CVpfv ID.BE-PT
entspricht am ehesten dem englischen: 'I had read the books.'

Zur Demonstration, daß Konverben der Konstitution von periphrastischen Tempusformen UND zur Wiedergabe von subordinierten Sätzen dienen, betrachte man Beispiel (26):

(26) *kitab-Ø* *xur-u-n* *zun* *üxü-n-i* *xulas*
Buch-ABS les-TV-CVpfv 1s geh-CVpfv-ID.BE:PRES nach Hause
'Nachdem ich das Buch gelesen hatte, bin ich nach Hause gegangen.'

5.2. Lesgisch

Haspelmath (1993:140ff) unterscheidet für das Lesgische "basic tense-aspect categories" von "periphrastic tense-aspect categories". Diese beiden Gruppen rekrutieren sich wie folgt:

TABELLE 6

"basic tense-aspect categories"		**"periphrastic tense-aspect categories"**
1 imperfective:	*-zwa*	7 periphrastic habitual: *xun* + INF
2 future:	*-da*	8 periphrastic future: CV*man* + COP
3 aorist:	*-na*	9 hearsay evidential: *-lda*
4 perfect:	*-nwa*	
5 continuative imperfective:	*-zma*	
6 continuative perfect:	*-nma*	

Bei einer Systematisierung:

TABELLE 7

Imperfective stem:	infinitive (= imperfective converb)[5]:	*-z*
	imperfective:	*-zwa*
	continuative imperfective:	*-zma*
Aorist (perfective) stem:	aorist (= perfective converb):	*-na*
	perfect:	*-nwa*
	continuative perfect:	*-nma*

Wir geben zunächst einfache Beispiele mit imperfektiver Nuance:

(27) *za* *čerčenie.d-in* *tars-Ø* *hazur-zwa-Ø*
1s:ERG zeichnen-GEN Stunde-ABS vorbereit-IPFV-PRES
'Ich bereite gerade die Zeichenstunde vor.'

(28) *marf-Ø* *dat'ana* *q̃wa-zwa-j*
Regen-ABS dauernd fall-IPFV-PT
'Es regnete ununterbrochen.'

Beim Vergleich der sechs systematisierten Formen fällt automatisch auf, daß hier weiter segmentiert werden kann. So weist Haspelmath (ebd.:130) darauf hin, daß die *-zwa*-Form, diachronisch betrachtet, als Kontraktion aus imperfektivem Konverb *-z* und der lokativen Kopula *awa* herzuleiten sei.
Das heißt:

[5] Falls der Leser gewisse Irritationen bei der Terminologie des zitierten Autors empfindet, so legen wir Wert auf die Feststellung, daß wir es hier bei einem bloßen Zitat belassen wollen.

- wir haben im Endeffekt eine Parallelbildung zu den oben im Agulischen aufgeführten Strategien - nur, daß hier eine stärkere Koaleszenz zu verzeichnen ist;
- legt man den "historischen" Zustand zugrunde, so erweist sich eine Rekonstruktion des Verbalkomplexes aus (27) als periphrastisch:

(27') *hazur-zwa* = **hazur-z* *awa*
vorbereit-IPFV vorbereit-CV:IPFV sein
'am Vorbereiten sein'

Analoges gilt dann für das imperfektive Präteritum. Parallel dazu ließe sich dann auch die Perfektform *-nwa* aus *-na* (perfektivem Konverb) und *awa* 'sein' herleiten. Betrachtet man nun einen Beispielsatz wie (29):

(29) *Sadwil-i* *wa* *aq`ulluwil-i* *abur* *q̃utarmiš-na*
Einigkeit-ERG und Klugheit-ERG 3p retten-AOR
'Einigkeit und Klugheit retteten sie.'

so tritt hier eine Aoristform in Erscheinung, die in der Übersicht oben auch als "perfective converb" bezeichnet wird: Während nun die imperfektiven Versionen (27) und (28) hinsichtlich ihrer 'Affirmativität' bzw. ihres Aussagesatzstatus eines SEIN-Postverbs bedürfen, erfolgt hier die Prädikation **ohne** zusätzliches Postverb. Ein komplexerer Beispielsatz wie

(30) *Pab* *jawaš-diz,* *amma* *rik`* *ka-na* *raxa-na*
Frau ruhig-ADV aber Herz brenn-AOC sag-AOR
'Ruhig, aber mit einem brennenden Herzen, sprach seine Frau.'

zeigt noch deutlicher, daß der Autor (Haspelmath ebd.:377) in der subordinierten Phrase die *na*-Endung als AOC (= Aorist converb), das *na-* am Hauptverb mit AOR (für perfektiven Aorist) glossiert, obwohl beide Formen "substantiell" identisch sind. Man muß noch einmal unterstreichen, daß die Konverbform des Hauptverbs **ohne** Postverb auskommen kann, um eine "Hauptprädikation" auszudrücken. Haspelmath (ebd.:131) versucht auch nicht, aus diachroner Sicht – analog zu (27') oben – eine Kontraktion mit Beteiligung einer Kopula anzusetzen, sondern bemerkt vielmehr:

> Its suffix [d.h. das des Aorist, W.D.] is *-na* both for strong verbs and for weak verbs. The affirmative Aorist is homophonous with the Aorist converb.

Sähe man nun von einer bloßen (zufälligen?) Homophonie ab, würde also eine Identität der Formen annehmen, dann muß postuliert werden, daß im Lesgischen im Aorist eine 'postverblose' Konverbform eine Hauptprädikation zum Ausdruck bringen kann. Dieser Eindruck verstärkt sich bei der Betrachtung des Tsachurischen.

5.3. Tsachurisch

Wie im Lesgischen, so lassen sich auch im Tsachurischen zwei Bildungsmuster für aspekto-temporale Formen aufstellen: periphrastische Konstruktionen mit zwei verschiedenen SEIN-Postverben und Basisformen mit einfachen Suffixen. Kibrik & Testelec (1999:202ff) haben in vorbildlicher Weise den Gesamtbestand der tsachurischen Verbformen erläutert und in einer anschaulichen Tabelle (aus der wir im folgenden nur die Realis-Formen herausgreifen) die a-spektuellen und temporalen Komponenten getrennt aufgeführt (ebd.:205, Beispielverb ist *aqas* 'öffnen'):

TABELLE 8

Kategorie	**Beispiel**	**Aspektuelle Komponente**	**temporale Komponente**
Aorist	*aq-i*	Perfektiv	Vergangenheitsbezug
Präsens	*aq-a*	Imperfektiv	Gegenwartsbezug
Perfekt	*aq-i wo=d*	Perfektiv	Vergangenheitsbezug
Durativ	*aq-a wo=d*	Imperfektiv	Gegenwartsbezug
Plusquamperfekt	*aq-i ixa*	Perfektiv	Vergangenheitsbezug
Imperfekt	*aq-a ixa*	Imperfektiv	Vergangenheitsbezug

Dabei sind die *-i-* und *-a*-Endungen als das perfektive bzw. imperfektive Konverb identifizierbar. Die in den periphrastischen Formen auftretenden Zweitverben sind beide SEIN-Varianten (wie im Agulischen): *wo=d* ist als identifikationales 'sein', *ixa* als 'werden' zu glossieren.

Somit wäre nun in Analogie zu den Verhältnissen im Lesgischen zu substantiieren, daß Konverbformen in subordinierten und nicht-subordinierten Kontexten auftreten können.

Bei der "Beweisführung" rekurrieren wir zunächst auf Beispielsätze, die ihrer Struktur nach dem Beispiel (30) oben aus dem Lesgischen ähneln, Kibriks & Testelecs Beispiele (216a) und (215a), hier (31a) und (31b):

(31) (Kibrik & Testelec 1999:539)

a. *zuhr-ē sa maɾʔni ha=wu=ʔu a=rk'ɨn*
Z.-ERG alleine Lied 3-mach-PFV 3-weggeh:PFV
'Nachdem er ein Lied gesungen hatte, ging Zuhra fort.'

b. *zuhr-ē sa maɾʔni ha=wu=ʔu.*
Z.-ERG alleine Lied 3-mach-PFV
'Zuhra sang ein Lied.'

Kibrik & Testelec vergleichen und kommentieren diese beiden Sätze (nebst anderen Varianten zur Demonstration konkomitanter, hier aber irrelevanter, Interpretationen) und weisen dabei darauf hin, daß (31b) – quasi als Teilsatz von (31a) – seine eigene Daseinsberechtigung hat insofern, als es eine komplette Satzaussage darstellt; m.a.W. der Teilsatz (31b) suggeriert, *hawuʔu* als finites Verb zu begreifen. Im komplexeren Satz (31a) interpretieren Kibrik & Testelec *hawuʔu* als subordinierende Konverbalform.

Sie sehen also die Form auf *-u* (als allomorphischer Variante zu *-i*)

- als finit (perfektiv-aoristisch) in (31b) und
- konverbal (als Konverb der Vorzeitigkeit) in (31a).

Das heißt nun wiederum, daß wir hier – wie bei der Diskussion des Lesgischen, dort speziell der Analyse der *-na*-Endung – fragen müssen, ob lediglich Homophonie vorliegt. Kibrik & Testelec selbst kommentieren den Sachverhalt wie folgt (1999:539, Übersetzung W. D.):

> Für das Tsachurische ist der Gebrauch von Konverben in der Funktion eines Prädikats von abhängigen adverbialen Nebensätzen charakteristisch, aber hier tauchen Probleme auf, die damit zusammenhängen, daß die Konverben in ihrer Eigenschaft als einfache Verbalformen, die mit den Verbalendungen des perfektiven und imperfektiven Aspekts und des Potentialis zusammenfallen, nicht nur als Konverben in ihrer eigentlichen Funktion, sondern auch als Prädikat eines nicht-abhängigen [Unterstreichung W.D.] Satzes auftreten können.

Auch Schulze (1997:50, Anm. 93) stellt dazu fest:

> The syncretism of TAM forms and participles and converbs is a typical phenomenon of the (south)-eastern Caucasian languages. It can be regarded as one of the basic isomorphic features in the area.

6. Zur Rolle partizipialer Komponenten bei der Tempusbildung

Die im 1. Abschnitt zitierten Beispiele aus Turksprachen zeigen u.a., daß die Bildung der finiten Postverbbestandteile von Konverbkonstruktionen oft über Partizipialformen läuft, wie etwa im Usbekischen (Beispiel 8 wiederholt):

(8) USBEKISCH
yoz-a *yot-ır-man*
schreib-CV lieg-AoPrPTC-1s
'Ich schreibe gerade.'

Dabei gilt in verallgemeinerndem Sinne: AoPrPTC ist hier, parallel zu dem, was Schulze (1997) für die ostkaukasischen Partizipien und Konverben formuliert hat, sowohl als infinite Verbform, ohne Personalmarkierung, als auch als Bestandteil einer aspektotemporalen Form, mit Personalendung, identifizierbar, ersteres etwa in Formen wie türkeitürkisch

(32) TÜRKEITÜRKISCH
ak-ar *su*
fließ-AoPrPTC Wasser
'fließendes Wasser'

Nicht mit Konverbformen gebildete einfache Tempusformen wie ein generelles oder habituelles Präsens, z.B. in der usbekischen Form

(33) USBEKISCH
ol-ar-man
nehm-AoPrPTC-1s
'ich nehme (gewöhnlich)...'

enthalten selbstverständlich auch diesen partizipialen AoPrPTC-Bestandteil.
Man muß vermuten, daß infinite Formen in den Turksprachen generell, seien es nun Konverben oder Partizipien, direkt an der Tempusbildung beteiligt sind. D.h. wir können das letzte Beispiel direkt neben die für (14) und (15) angeführte

Interpretation ("Konverbformen sind tempusbildende Suffixe") stellen. Dann stehen sich gegenüber:

TABELLE 9

Usbekisch, (33)	Kasachisch, (10a)		Karaimisch, (14)
*ol-**ar**-man*	*al-**a**-man*	bzw.	*oyan-**ıp**-man*
PCPL	**CV**		**CV**
'ich nehme (gewöhnlich)...'	'ich nehme gerade'		'ich erwachte'
partizipial-basierte Tempusbildung	konverbal-basierte Tempusbildungen		

Es darf, um auf die Konverbformen zurückzukommen, nicht vergessen werden, daß in den Sprachen, in denen das Konverb tempusbildend ist, natürlich auch der Postverbalbestandteil einer periphrastischen Konverbkonstruktion die tempusbildende Konverbform enthält, wie im Kirgisischen, so daß **zwei** Konverbformen in **einem** Syntagma erscheinen können.

(34) KIRGISISCH
yaz-ıp žat-a-man
schreib-CV lieg-CV-1s
'Ich schreibe gerade.'

Erweitert man nun den Vergleich von Bildungen mit Konverben und Partizipien, so stößt man u.a. auch auf Partizipialkonstruktionen, die analog zu Konverbalkonstruktionen gebildet sind. Ein direkter Vergleich von zwei Beispielen, beide mit dem "neutralsten" Postverb *er-* 'sein', soll das verdeutlichen. Dabei stelle man (13) aus 1.3.2 (Nogaisch) neben (35):

(13) NOGAISCH
bar-a e-di-m
geh-CV sei-PT-1s
'Ich ging gerade.'

(35) USBEKISCH
yoz-är e-di-m
schreib-AOPTPTC sei-PT-1s
'Ich pflegte zu schreiben.'

In dieser letzteren, von Wurm (1959:518) erwähnten usbekischen Form kommt eine wichtige semantische Nuance der partizipialen *-ar/-er*-Formen zum Tragen. Analoge Bildungen liegen in einer Vielzahl von weiteren Turksprachen vor, so im Karaimischen, Krim-Tatarischen, Jakutischen, Türkeitürkischen, Azeri etc.

Schließlich muß noch neben *e(r)-* 'sein' das zweite "neutralste" Postverb erwähnt werden: *bolmak* 'werden', 'sein' – man beachte dabei, daß die Turksprachen wie das ostkaukasische Tsachurische auch über zwei SEIN-Verben verfügen (siehe oben, Abschnitt 5.3). Parallel zu den geläufigen Konverbalkonstruktionen mit desemantisierten Verben ('liegen' , 'sitzen') geht gemeintürkisches *bolmak* (türkeitürkisch: *olmak*) mit gewissen als Partizipien identifizierbaren Formantien Konstruktionen ein, die strukturell ebenfalls parallel zu Konverbkonstruktionen laufen.

Man betrachte dazu das Beispiel (36) zum Türkeitürkischen, nach Kornfilt (1997:342).

(36) TÜRKEITÜRKISCH

gel-ecek	*yaz*	*üniversite-ye*	*gid-er*	*ol-acağ-ım*
komm-FutPTC	Sommer	Universität-DAT	geh-AoPrPTC	sei-FutPTC-1s

'Im kommenden Sommer werde ich regelmäßig die Uni besuchen.'

Diese komplexere Tempusbildung kann durchaus mit der Struktur einer Konverbkonstruktion verglichen werden: Hinter der Verbwurzel erscheint als Suffix eine Infinit-Endung, die Finitheit der Gesamtkonstruktion wird durch eine (futurische) personalmarkierte Postverbalform (*olmak*) bewerkstelligt. Ähnliches liegt im Falle der sogenannten *miş*-Form vor:

(37) a. TÜRKEITÜRKISCH: Relatives Tempus mit modaler Komponente

saat	*bes-te*	*Londra-ya*	*var-miş*	*ol-acağ-ım*
Stunde	fünf-LOC	London-DAT	ankomm-EvidPTC	sei-FutPTC-1s

'Um fünf Uhr werde ich in London angekommen sein.'

Rein partizipial ist *-miş* in (37b) belegt:

(37) b. TÜRKEITÜRKISCH: Partizipial als Attribut

hazirlan-miş	*plan*
vorbereit-EvidPTC	Plan

'der vorbereitete Plan'

Wie im Falle des AoPrPTC-Formans können an *-miş* direkt Personalendungen treten wie in

(37) c. TÜRKEITÜRKISCH: Präteritum mit Evidentialis-Komponente
gel-miş-ler
komm-EvidPTC-3p
'Ich nehme an, sie sind gekommen.'

Im Prinzip wird dabei die mit der Partizipialform mittransportierte semantische Nuance (bei *-ar/-er* ist es das Merkmal Habitualität, bei *-miş* das der Evidentialität) durch die *olmak*-Form ins Futur situiert. Im Falle des Futurzeichens *-acak/-ecek* gelten dann im übrigen die zu (37b) und (37c) analogen Fälle:

(38) TÜRKEITÜRKISCH: Partizipial als Relativsatzäquivalent
a. *gel-ecek* *haber-ler*
komm- FutPTC Nachricht-PL
'die zukünftigen Nachrichten'
b. Futur
gel-eceğ-im
komm- FutPTC-1s
'Ich werde kommen.'

Die Beispiele (37c) und (38b) mögen dann wiederum als Evidenz für die These gelten, daß an die jeweiligen Infinit-Endungen (= Partizipien) Suffixe für die Personalmarkierung treten, anders ausgedrückt sind auch hier die Partizipien direkte TAM-Formantien, die sich dann in Tabelle 9 neben *ol-ar-man* 'ich nehme (gewöhnlich)...' einordnen lassen[6].

7. Zusammenfassende Bemerkungen

Der Vergleich von turksprachlichen und ostkaukasischen Konverbalkonstruktionen im Dienste der Bildung aspekto-temporaler Formen hat ein gewisses Spektrum an Varianten zutage gefördert. Obwohl in den Turksprachen diachronische Betrachtungen aus der Sicht einiger Autoren die Varianten der Tempusbildung unter 1.3.1 letztendlich doch auf e i n e n Konstruktionstyp zurückführen (d.h. den in (8) exemplifizierten Typ 1 aus Konverb und flektiertem Postverb), steht

[6] Auf die Darstellung der sehr frequenten Perfekt- und Plusquamperfektvarianten, die mit dem Partizip *-gan* gebildet werden, haben wir verzichtet.

dennoch – ungeachtet dieser historischen Herleitungen – die These im Raum (vgl. Abschnitt 3), daß eine Konstruktion wie die in (10a, Typ 3) mit Konverbsuffix + Flexion nicht unbedingt aus einer morphologisch komplexeren Zwischenstufe (mit Postverb) hervorgegangen sein muß, Konverben also direkt als tempusbildend an Verbstämme treten (neben (10a) auch Beispiele (14) und (15)). Eine Unterstützung dieser letzteren These kommt zum einen aus dem Bereich der Turksprachen selbst, wenn man annimmt, daß eine andere Infinit-Form, das Partizip, offensichtlich auch in zu (10a) strukturell parallelen Bildungen auftritt (vgl. (33) und Tabelle 9). Es ist denkbar, daß speziell im Falle der Konverben und Konverbkonstruktionen über das gesamte Spektrum aller Turksprachen hinweg nicht unbedingt immer die gleichen Entwicklungen abgelaufen sein müssen, also durchaus die beiden oben skizzierten Wege koexistieren können: a) Eine Konverbkonstruktion mit Postverb entwickelt sich vom Ausdruck einer Aktionsart bis zur aspekto-temporalen Form vs. b) Konverben sind unmittelbare aspekto-temporale Formantien, die als Suffixe direkt an die Verbwurzel treten.

Aus dem Bereich der ostkaukasischen lesgischen Sprachgruppe haben wir Evidenz für die These (b) angeführt, vgl. Beispiele (29), (30) und (31a,b). Natürlich drängt sich in diesen Fällen die Annahme auf, daß hier evtl. Postverben (hier wären SEIN-Varianten zu erwarten) ausgefallen sind: Das aber ändert nichts an der Tatsache, daß diese Sprachen in ihrem jetzigen Zustand ohne "prädikative Katalysatoren" (=Postverben) bei der Bildung affirmativer Sätze auskommen (Personalmarkierung wie in den Turksprachen ist in den meisten Fällen nicht vorhanden).

Besondere Abkürzungen

(für allgemeine Abkürzungen vgl. Übersichtstafel auf S. 5-6)

AOC	aorist converb	ipfv	imperfective
AoPrPTC	aorist present participle	LOC	locative
		LOC.BE	locational "be"
AOR	aorist	P	person
DEM	demonstrative	pfv	perfective
EvidPTC	evidential participle	S	singular
FutPTC	future participle	TV	thematic vowel
ID.BE	identificational "be"		

Bibliographie

Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 2000. Classifiers - A Typology of Noun Categorization Devices. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bisang, Walter. 1995. Verb serialization and converbs – differences and similarities. In: Haspelmath, Martin & Ekkehard König (eds.). 137-188.

Bybee, Joan, Revere Perkins & William Pagliuca. 1994. *The Evolution of Grammar. Tense, Aspect, and Modality in the Languages of the World.* Chicago und London: The University of Chicago Press.

Caferoğlu, Ahmed & Gerhard Doerfer. 1959. Das Aserbaidschanische. In: Deny et al. (eds.). 280-307.

Clark, Larry. 1998. *Turkmen Manual.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Comrie, Bernard. 1976. *Aspect.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dahl, Östen. 1985. *Tense and Aspect Systems.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Drossard, Werner. 1991. Aspektualität und Temporalität - in-dependent und inter-dependent. In: *Studien zur SITUIERUNG. Aspektualität, Modalität, Temporalität.* Köln: Arbeiten des Kölner Universalienprojekts 83. 67-85.

Demir, Nurettin. 1993. *Postverbien im Türkeitürkischen.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Deny, Jean, Kaare Grønbech, Helmuth Scheel & Zeki Velidi Togan (eds.). 1959. *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* 1. Wiesbaden: Steiner.

Gabain, Annemarie von. 1950. *Alttürkische Grammatik.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Haspelmath, Martin. 1993. *A Grammar of Lezgian.* Berlin und New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Haspelmath, Martin & Ekkehard König. 1995. *Converbs in Cross-linguistic Perspective. Structure and Meaning of Adverbial Verb Forms, Adverbial Participles, Gerunds.* Berlin und New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Johanson, Lars. 1974. Sprachbau und Inhaltssyntax am Beispiel des Türkischen. *Orientalia Suecana* 22. 82-106.

—— 1990. Zur Postterminalität türkischer syndetischer Gerundien. *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher (Neue Folge)* 9. 137-151.

—— (ed.). 1991a. *Linguistische Beiträge zur Gesamtturkologie.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

—— 1991b. Zum Präsens der nordwestlichen und mittelasiatischen Turksprachen. In: Johanson, Lars (ed.). 99-116.

—— 1991c. Zur Typologie türkischer Gerundialsegmente. *Türk Dilleri Arastirmalari* 1991. 98-110.

—— 1992. Strukturelle und soziale Faktoren in türkischen Sprachkontakten. *Sitzungsberichte der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft an der J. W. Goethe Universität*. Frankfurt am Main: Goethe Universität.

—— 1995. On Turkic converb clauses. In: Haspelmath, Martin & Ekkehard König (eds.). 313-347.

—— 1998a. The structure of Turkic. In: Johanson, Lars & Éva Ágnes Csató (eds.). 30-66.

—— 1998b. The history of Turkic. In: Johanson, Lars & Éva Ágnes Csató (eds.). 81-125.

Johanson, Lars. & Éva Ágnes Csató (eds.). 1998. *The Turkic Languages*. London und New York: Routledge.

Kibrik, Aleksandr E. & Jakov Testelec (eds.). 1999. *Élementy tsaxurskogo jazyka v tipologičeskom osveščenia*. Moskau: Nasledie.

Kornfilt, Jaklin. 1997. *Turkish*. London und New York: Routledge.

Kortmann, Bernd. 1995. Adverbial participle clauses in English. In: Haspelmath, Martin & Ekkehard König (eds.). 189-238.

Lewis, Geoffrey L. 1967. *Turkish Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Magometov, Aleksandr A. 1970. Agul'skij jazyk. Tbilissi: Izdatel'stvo Mecniereba.

Masica, Colin P. 1976. *Defining a linguistic area*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

O'Grady, William, Michael Dobrovolsky & Francis Katamba (eds.). 1997. *Contemporary Linguistics – An Introduction*. London: Longmans.

Pandharipande, Rajeshwari V. 1997. *Marathi*. London und New York: Routledge.

Pritsak, Omeljan. 1959. Das Karaimische. In: Deny, Jean et al. (eds.). 318-374.

Radlov, Wassilij W. 1893. *Opyt'slovarja tjurkskich narečij. Versuch eines Wörterbuchs der Türk-Dialekte*. 8 Bände. St. Petersburg: Akademia Nauk.

Schulze, Wolfgang. 1997. *Tsakhur*. München: Lincom Europa.

Serebrennikov, Boris A. & Ninel' Z. Gadzieva. 1979. *Sravnite'lno-istoričeskaja grammatika tjurkskich jazykov*. Baku: Izdatel'stvo "Maarif".

Sevortjan, Èrvand V. 1974. *Ètimologiceskij slovar' tjurkskich jazykov*. Moskau: Izdatel`stvo "Nauka".

Sridhar, Shikaripur N. 1990. *Kannada*. London and New York: Routledge.

Wurm, Stefan. 1959. Das Özbekische. In: Deny, Jean et al. (eds.). 489-524.

Converbs in Kiranti Languages[1]

Karen H. Ebert

1. Overview

Kiranti languages are spoken in eastern Nepal and belong to the Tibeto-Burman family. All languages of the Kiranti cluster except Limbu and Bantawa are probably threatened with extinction. Mostly they are not learned by children any longer. Although often insufficient and inconclusive, I will bring together and try to systematize the information on converbs that I could extract from grammars and texts of the following seven languages:[2] Limbu, by far the most lively Kiranti language, spoken in a large area in Eastern Nepal and to some extent across the border in Sikkim; Athpare, a small language on the southern boundary of the Kiranti area; Camling and Bantawa, two closely related languages in the central area; Dumi, an almost extinct language[3] just to the north of Camling; Thulung a little further to the north, and finally Hayu, which is very divergent in every respect and the inclusion of which within Kiranti is not uncontroversial.

All Kiranti languages are verb-final, so that we would expect preposed and nonfinite dependent clauses. Regarding position, Kiranti conforms to the expected typological profile, but dependent clauses are overwhelmingly finite-marked. Of the seven languages considered here, only Hayu is a typical converb language, in which dependent verbs consist of stem + suffix. Six of the other languages have a negative converb, but in Thulung and Camling it is mainly restricted to the negative perfect. All except Limbu have a simultaneous converb. Most strikingly, there is nothing corresponding to the general converb typical for Central and South Asian

---

[1] I thank A. Coupe and J. Mattissen for comments on an earlier version.

[2] The sources of the data are: Athpare - Ebert 1997a (Eb97a) and fieldnotes; Bantawa - Rai 1984 (NKR), Camling - Ebert 1997b (Eb97b) and fieldnotes, Dumi - van Driem 1993 (vDD), Limbu Phedappe - van Driem 1987 (vDL), Hayu - Michailovsky (Mi), Thulung - Allen 1975 (Al75), Lahaussois 2002 (La02); various languages - Ebert 1994 (Eb94). Examples from texts are marked by T and followed by text number and/or informants' initials and sentence or page number of the source.
Many examples are from mythological texts. Those familiar with Kiranti mythology will recognize the characters and events.

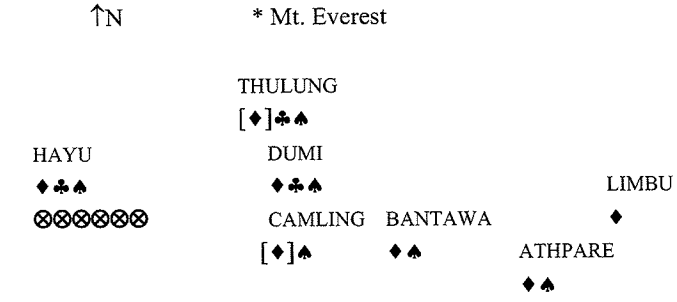
[3] Van Driem writes: "Dumi is a language in the throes of death, and the material in this book comprises the little that has been wrested from death's grip for posteriority." (1993:8).

languages. The form I have simply glossed "CV" in three of the languages has a broader application than the simultaneous converb and can often replace it. It can be used in narrative chaining, but in Thulung and Dumi finite-marked verbs followed by a linker — the functional equivalents of general converbs (see section 3) — are more frequent. Table 1 and Figure 1 below show an uneven distribution of converbs, with Hayu in the extreme west a typical converb language, and Limbu in the east almost exclusively finite-marking.

Table 1: Converbs in seven Kiranti languages

	HAYU	THUL	DUMI	CAML	BANT	ATHP	LIMBU
CV_{NEG}	ma- -sa	[mi- -thiŋa]	ma- -nə	[mi-]	man- -paŋ	mi- -ʔe	mɛn- -ʔe·
CV	-ha	-sa(ka)	-kɨyi				
CV_{SIM}	-ni-	-to	-tœ	-sa	-(yaŋ)sa	-sa	
	+ 6 others						

Figure 1: Distribution of converbs



♦ negative converb
♣ versatile converb
♠ simultaneous converb
⊗ other converbs

2. Converbs

2.1. Negative converbs

The negative converb has a suffix that does not correspond to those of the positive converbs — at least not in the same language. The prefix is mostly different from that of negated finite forms. The negative converb is underspecified for relative sequence. It negates both sequential and simultaneous events, meaning 'without V-ing', 'without having V-ed', and may remain open to either interpretation. Thus (1a), like the English translation, can mean 'she did not speak while going away', or 'she did not say anything and then went away'.

(1) a. ATHPARE (Eb97a 139)
mi-lo-ʔeba *khad-e.*
NEG-speak-CV_{NEG} go-PT
'She went without saying a word.'

b. HAYU (Mi T1.11)
gon *kem-he* *lalat-ha* ***ma-dzaa-sa*** *ma-teʔ-no.*
I house-LOC carry-CV NEG-eat-CV_{NEG} NEG-let-1s>2
'I will carry you home and will not let you go without eating you.'

There is no condition for the identity of subjects.

(2) a. ATHPARE (Eb97a T:Pa3.4)
thik *bhale* *u-khatt-u-na-m,* *aniya kogoŋba-ci-ŋa* *taha*
one rooster 3P-take-3P-NML-TOP our our.uncle-ns-OBL know
mi-tok-ʔeba *hitna* *bhale* *u-riŋs-u-o-sed-u-t.u.*
NEG -join- CV_{NEG} this rooster 3p-strangle-3P-3p-KILL-3P-NPT.[copy]

'They take a rooster, and without our maternal uncles knowing it,
they strangle that rooster.'

b. LIMBU (vDL T346)
hɛkyaŋ *uṭh-ille* *wabak-ʔoˑ* *syaʔl-ɛn* ***mɛn-hum-ʔeˑ***
then camel-DEF:ERG pond-LOC jackal-DEF NEG-sink-CV_{NEG}
naˑndhaŋ *lɔtt-u.*
far.side take-3P

'Then the camel took the jackal to the far side of the pond without him [the jackal] sinking.'

The negative converb of Camling and Thulung occurs practically only in the negative perfect (section 4). (3a) constitutes a very rare example of the Thulung negative converb in clause combining. Most speakers use a negation of the converbs in *-saka* or *-to,* as in (3b,c). These are negated converbs, but not negative converbs.

(3) a. THULUNG (La03 18)

go	***mi-gɔk-thiŋa***	*a-bep*	*si-m-le-mri.*
I	NEG-be.born-CV_{NEG}	my-grandfather	die-3p-AUX-3p

'My grandfather was dead before I was born.'

b. THULUNG (Eb94 T5.30)

oram	*lamḍi-ḍa*	***mi-rep-saka***	*ləəra=ma*	*goaka*	*hai!*
this	path-LOC	NEG-look-CV	go:IMP=LINK	give:IMP	INTJ

'Go along this path without looking [into the bag] and give it to her!'

c. THULUNG (La02 234)

mi-cap-to	*wo*	*sathi-num*	*ləs-ta.*
NEG-able-CV_{SIM}	even	friend-COM	go-PT

'Even not being able [to follow them] she went with their friends.'

2.2. General or versatile converbs

The three converbs treated in this section have several functions, but all three differ from each other. Typical converb languages have a general converb which is used in subordination and in narrative chaining (see introductory article). This is the most frequent converb in Central and South Asian languages (e.g. the Turkic *-Ip* converb). The Hayu nonfinite form consisting of a reduplicated stem with the suffix *-ha*[4] comes closest to a typical general converb. It is used both for chaining and for subordination.

[4] *-ha* is the ergative-instrumental case marker. Kiranti languages often use case markers in clause combining, both as converbal suffixes and with finite-marked verbs.

(4) a. HAYU (Mi 179)

*kolu buḍhā mānche-ha a bārī-noŋ la.lat-**ha***
one old man-ERG his field-LOC go.RDPL-CV
rã'pi lux-to-m are.
taro plant-PT:3s>3-ASS REPET

'An old man went to his field and planted taro.'

b. HAYU (Mi T2.30-31)

*mii sabai-janā top.top-**ha** **tox**-tome.*
that all-CLF beat.RDPL-CV chase-PT:3s>3p
*top.top-**ha** to.tot-**ha** nuntalik mu.mut-**ha***
beat.RDPL-CV chase.RDPL -CV quietly sit.RDPL -CV
mi wol-ta xwan-xwan dza pĩ-ko.
that wither-PCPL full-full eat send-PT:3s>3

'He beat them all and chased them. After he beat them and chased them, he sat down quietly and made the decrepit [bird] eat to its satisfaction.'

The other Kiranti languages lack a comparable form. The nearest Thulung equivalent Σ-*saka* can be used in narrative chaining and in subordination, but it is very rare. Event sequences are normally expressed by a finite-marked verb plus linker (see (25a)). Most often the action expressed by this converb is anterior to the main action.

(5) a. THULUNG (La02 257)

*memma meram tsahi ɔsinḍa bik-**saka** gu-ka mɯ khlambe*
then that.one CONTR here come-CV he-ERG that spell
*kwiba han-**saka** ɔbɔ mina se-**saka** ḍu parne.*
bad.spirit throw-CV now thing kill-CV drink must

'After that he would come here, and then he would throw out and kill the bad spirits, and then one had to drink.'

b. THULUNG (La02 257)
bloku-ju-m *ku* *khe-**saka,*** *pe-m-thal-miri.*
river-lowLOC-NML water emerge-CV eat-3p-HAB-3p:PT
'When the water had come out of the river, they used to consume it.'

The ambiguity between subordinated 'after'/'when' and chaining 'and then' is typical for general converbs (cf. also Haspelmath 1995:7-8). The original suffix was probably *-sa*.[5] Sequential events are connected by *-saka*, but both *-sa* and *-saka* occur in simultaneous contexts. In the following examples the converb describes manner.

(6) a. THULUNG (La02:255)
bamakor *be-**saka*** *lamdi-ra-m.*
crawl do-CV walk-PT:3s-NML
'He got there crawling.'

b. THULUNG (Al75 59)
*mim-**sa*** *mim-**saka*** *je.*
remember-CV remember-CV speak
'Remembering, remembering he speaks. / He speaks, trying to remember.' [i.e. searching for words]

c. THULUNG (Al75 84)
*khole hop-**sa*** *bo-m* *basi;* *duu-**sa*** *bi-i-la* *mi-nü.*
broth sip-CV do-INF must drink-CV do-1pi-COND NEG-good.
'Broth must be taken in a sipping way; if we take it drinking, it is no good.'

Dumi Σ-*kɨyi* is a purposive according to van Driem (1993). However, the texts reveal that it has several functions. *i:-kɨyi* in (7a) and the first occurrence of *ləm-kɨyi* in (7b) are clearly purposive, but the second occurrence of *ləm-kɨyi* cannot be interpreted in this way.

[5] Allen distinguishes "present participial *-saŋa* and past participial *-saka*", but admits that *-sa* "is not well understood" (1975:59). In the progressive only *-saŋa* is used (see (34b,c). According to Lahaussois (2003), *-ŋa* is an emphatic suffix.

(7) a. DUMI (vDD 271)
*aŋ sa:ʔli i:-**kiyi** khus-t-ə.*
I jungle shit-CV go-NPT-1s
'I am going into the jungle in order to shit.'

b. DUMI (vDD T307)
*an-a aŋ a-nana ni ləm-**kiyi** a-phiŋs-ə-si-m.*
you-ERG I your-e.sister two search-CV INV-send-1s-d-NML
aŋ-a lum-u mə-dokt-u-si-nə.
I-ERG search-1s>3P NEG-get-1s>3-d-NEG
*ləm-**kiyi** ləmkiyi o:-sam sukh-a.*
search-CV REPET my-body crestfallen-3s

'You sent me in order to look for your two elder sisters. I searched, but did not find them. From searching, searching I have become depressed.'

In (8) the first sentence could mean 'R. walked around asking' or 'R. walked here and there in order to ask' (if this interpretation is possible with *lamthi:-).* Van Driem's identical translation of both sentences suggests that *siŋ-kiyi* is used here like a simultaneous converb.

(8) DUMI (vDD T282)
*Ri:be:m-ʔa towu.mowu siŋ-**kiyi** lamthi:y-i ʔe. mombi-kə*
(name)-ERG hither.thither ask-CV walk-3s REPET there-ABL
*Ri:be:m-ʔa me:ŋa towu.mowu siŋ-**tœ** khuts-i ʔe.*
(name)-ERG the.more hither.thither ask-CV_{SIM} go-3s REPET

'Ribem went asking here and there. Ribem went asking here and there.'

Further suffixes can be added to the converb, such as *-kə, -bi, -ya.*[6] *-ya* is also a subordinator with finite-marked verbs; cf. finite *syend-u-**ya*** and nonfinite *syet-**kiyi-ya*** in the following example. *-ya* indicates simultaneous events (van Driem 'whilst'); it is also combinable with the simultaneous converb itself (see (16a)), which could not be used in (9) because it is restricted to coreferential subjects.

[6] *-kə* ergative-instrumental, *-bi* general LOC, *-ya* same-level LOC.

(9) DUMI (vDD T279)
*Ruwabhu yukkoki thukkopti syet-**kiyi-kə-**ne*
(name) below up.high look-CV-*kə*-TOP
syend-u-ya-ne kənikpa.
look-1s>3:PT-WHILE-TOP nice
*tombi-kə syet-**kiyi-ya**-ne jarbili mo:-ta ca.*
above-ABL look-CV-WHILE-TOP revulsion be-NPT:3s PART
'When I looked from below up at Ruwabhu, as I looked at him, he was handsome. Now looking from up here, he is disgusting.'

Dumi Σ-*kiyi* is not used as a narrative converb. Event sequences are conjoined by a finite verb plus linker (see (25b)).

2.3. Simultaneous converbs

All languages considered here except Limbu have a simultaneous converb, but they are comparable only to a certain extent. The Hayu, Thulung and Dumi SIM-converbs have a broad application; they describe manner, accompanying activities and (less often) co-temporal independent events. The Athpare and Camling *-sa* converb describes only accompanying actions.

(10) a. HAYU (Mi T1.26)
*bilv lv<**ni**>lvn ṭhakkai doŋ lax-tse-m ɪxtse.*
tiger run<CV_{SIM}>RDPL just arrive GO-REFL-ASS REPET
'The tiger came running right away.'

b. THULUNG (Al T2.82)
*ma prok-**to** prokto ləs-ta.*
and jump-CV_{SIM} REPET go-PT
'... and off it [the flea] jumped.'

c. THULUNG (La02 246)
*u-bahini khrap-**to** u-dadzu-lai sɯi-ry-ʔe...*
3sPOSS-sister cry-CV_{SIM} 3sPOSS-e.brother-DAT tell-3>3sPT-REPET
'The sister told her elder brother in a crying voice ...'

d. DUMI (vDD T291)
siŋ-kiyi-bi *siŋkiyibi siŋkiyibi* *kira* *tsili* *mi-**tœ***
ask-CV-*bi* REPET REPET mat.uncle anger do-CV_{SIM}
"Yakka khu go:-t-a," a:ts-i ʔe.
over.there way be-NPT-3s say-3s REPET

'When she asked and asked and asked, her maternal uncle angrily said: "Over there she is."'

The converbs in (10a,b) characterize the manner of motion, and in (c,d) the converb describes the way of speaking. The relationship between converb and main verb is different in (11a-d); singing, crowing, cutting firewood and rubbing the eyes are independent activities that accompany the main action, carried out by the same subject.[7] (The SIM-converb is often repeated, thus iconically stressing duration or iteration of the activity).[8]

(11)a. DUMI (vDD 249)
antsi *lamba-kə* *le:lu-**tœ*** *kuŋ-t-i.*
we:DU:EXCL below-ABL sing-CV_{SIM} come.up-NPT-1p:INCL[sic!]
'We'll come up from below, singing.'

b. THULUNG (Eb&G T2.85)
... möram *ok-**to*** *okto okto* *ləs-ta,*
that.one crow-CV_{SIM} REPET REPET go-PT
'[The rooster] went off, crowing all along, ...

c. CAMLING (Eb00 T:Ha2.41)
tyudakalyo ito *Cakrodhoma* *suŋ* *khop-**sə*** *t-a* *tyoda.*
then one (name) firewood cut-CV_{SIM} come-PT there
'Then a certain Cakrodhoma [forest demon] came along, cutting firewood.'

[7] The difference between manner and an accompanying activity is, admittedly, sometimes subtle, at least so it seems to the non-native speaker.

[8] Other converbs can also be repeated if the speaker wants to indicate duration or iteration; cf. Dumi *ləmkiyi ləmkiyi* 'after searching searching' in (15a), *siŋkiyibi siŋkiyibi siŋkiyibi* 'when asking asking asking' in (17), Hayu *rimnoŋ rimnoŋ* 'when waiting waiting' in (20a).

d. CAMLING (Eb00 T:Ha2.63)
*m-micuk tu-**sa** tusa khrups-a-pa-lyo ...*
3sPOSS-eye rub-CV_{SIM} REPET get.up-PT-TEMP-TOP
'When he woke up, rubbing his eyes ...'

SIM-converbs are most frequent with motion verbs. Certain verbs that in European languages imply deplacement, like 'chase', 'follow', 'search for', appear as a rule in converbal form followed by 'go' or some other motion verb.

(12) a. HAYU (Mi T1.31)
*mi-khen mi bilʊ ko namsaŋ to?<**ni**>tot to?nitot*
that-ABL that tiger TOP smell chase<CV_{SIM}>RDPL REPET
to?nitot to?nitot la?-noŋ ha?-noŋ le ma ʊx-to.
REPET REPET go-CV_{TEMP} what-LOC PART NEG find-PT:3s>3

'Then, when the tiger followed [chasing chasing went] the smell,
he did not find them anywhere.'

b. THULUNG (La244)
*məram wak-pa luŋ khlək-**to** khləkto bik-tsi-lo...*
that shine-PCPL stone follow-CV_{SIM} REPET come-3d-TEMP
'When they come following that shining stone ...'

In Bantawa an imperfective marker seems to be optional with the SIM-converb. This is the only aspect marked converb I found among the Kiranti languages.

(13) a. BANTAWA (NKR T5.7)
*khana yuni yuni lam-**sa** lamsa ti-khat-hida*
you down:ALL REPET search-CV_{SIM} REPET 2-go-TEMP
ti-dhir-u ŋa.
2-find-3P EMPH
'When you go down, searching, searching, you will surely find him.'

b. BANTAWA (NKR T2.87)
*Hecchakuppa thin-**yaŋ-sa** thinyaŋsa khatt-u nimaŋ.*
(name) chase-IPFV-CV_{SIM} REPET go.after-3P REPET
She went after Hecchakuppa, chasing him all the way.

'While'-clauses describe co-extensive independent events that can have different subjects. The difference between an accompanying and a co-extensive event can be demonstrated with the following example from Athpare. The descent of the ox and his bellowing constitute one event, hence the simultaneous converb is used to describe the accompanying activity of bellowing. The co-temporal chatting expressed by the *-lok* clause is an independent action with a different agent.

(14) ATHPARE (Eb T:Ca1.9)
*mundupta-getta-ci-ya-**lok*** *toba-lam* *thik* *goru*
chat-PROG-d-EXCL-WHILE above-ABL one ox
*huk-**sa**-ʔm* *uŋs-e.*
bellow-CV_{SIM}-EMPH come.down-PT

'While we two were chatting, an ox came down from above, bellowing.'

While it is impossible to use the Athpare or Camling *-sa* converb for co-extensive events, I found one Bantawa example with an imperfectly marked *-sa* converb in Rai's texts.

(15) BANTAWA (NKR T7.8)
kəylelo *nampik-ci-da* *mi* *tup-**yaŋ-sa*** *laltina* *oŋ-**yaŋ-sa***
sometimes sunset-ns-LOC fire blow-IPFV-CV_{SIM} lantern light-IPFV-CV_{SIM}
koybelalo *ladipuŋ-ci-da* *chaŋ* *pədəy* *mi-n-ya-n-ka.*
Sometimes moonlight-ns-LOC also study do-1p-IPFV-1p-e

'Sometimes, in the evening, we would study, while blowing the fire or lighting a lantern, sometimes even in the moonlight.'

As we have already seen in (9), Dumi uses *-ya* suffixed to a converb or to a finite-marked verb to indicate co-extensive actions. This is possibly also the motivation for the suffix *-ya* on a simultaneous converb.

(16)a. DUMI (vDD 249)
ima *me:lam* *mi-ti-**ya*** *dze:-dzo:-ta*
he work do-NPT:3s-WHILE talk-DUR-NPT
'While he works, he keeps on talking.'

b. DUMI (vDD 249)
o:-ŋəsi *le:lu-**tœ-ya*** *lamti-kə* *ye:-thiŋ-t-a.*
my-friend sing-CV_{SIM}-WHILE walk-LINK come.down-TEL-NPT-1s
'My friend is coming down as he sings a song.'

Michailovsky mentions a special Hayu converb in *-he*, which he translates "pendant que". In his material there is only one occurrence.

(17) HAYU (Mi T2.21)
mi-ha *dza-**he*** *gon* *le* *ta* *dzã:tse* *de* *no.*
that-ERG eat-CV_{WHILE} you also PART eat:IMP PART PART
'Eat you also while the others eat.'

2.4. Hayu specialized converbs

In Hayu nearly all subordinate clauses have nonfinite verb forms; we thus find a number of converbs that do not have a corresponding nonfinite form in the other Kiranti languages;
— *-noŋ* (= locative case marker) general temporal converb, 'when'
— *-khen* (= ablative case marker) anterior converb, 'after'
— *-tiliŋ* causal converb, 'because'
— *-nana* iterative-habitual converb
— *-he* co-extensive converb, 'while' (see 17)
— *-boŋ* 'as long as'

Several of the forms are open to other interpretations, given the right contexts. In (18a) the anterior converb is used in a causal sense, much like the special causal form in *-tiliŋ* in (18b). The temporal converb in *-noŋ* is doubled to stress long duration.

(18) a. HAYU (Mich. 183)
dza *ma* *bit-**khen*** *ko* *haŋa* *dzããtsəŋ* *ro?*
eat NEG let-CV_{ANT} TOP how eat:1s Q
'Since they do not let me eat, how shall I eat?'

b. HAYU (Mich. 183)
*rim-**noŋ** rimnoŋ noŋnana parai lax-**tiliŋ** gu ima waajv*
wait-CV_{TEMP} REPET behind fall GO-CV_{CAUS} we so Hayu
no'-kok.
be-1pe
'Because we fell behind when we waited and waited, we are the Hayu.'

The special Hayu converb for repeated or habitual activities is a rather rare type among converbs world-wide.

(19) HAYU (Mich. 181)
*mithenoŋ ko dinekal dzok-**nana** syāl-ha dza'-ko-m are,*
then TOP daily come-CV_{HAB} jackal-ERG eat-PT:3s>3-ASS REPET
*dv-**nana** dza-**nana**.*
dig-CV_{HAB} eat-CV_{HAB}
'Then the jackal used to come and eat every day, it is told, digging and eating.'

Hayu converbs are negated by *maaŋ* (Michailovsky 1988:163), but sometimes the negator of finite verbs *ma* is used, too. Thus *ma pha.phat-ha* and *maaŋ pha.phat-ha* 'not being able' occur side by side in the same text (T2.17, 24; cf. also *ma bit-khen* in (18a)).

(20) HAYU (Mich. 163)
*a ro'tso-ha ma wax-to. **maaŋ** wat-**noŋ** a thum*
her husband-ERG NEG let-PT:3s>3 NEG let-CV_{TEMP} her heart
*sā'rai ma jox-tse-mi. **maaŋ** jox-**tiliŋ** ...*
very NEG content-REFL-ASS NEG content-CV_{CAUS}

'Her husband did not leave her any. When he did not leave any, she was not content. Because she was not content ...'

2.5. Purposives

Purposives are converbs in some languages (e.g. in Mongolian). The Dumi versatile converb suffix *-kiyi* also serves as a purposive (see (7)). Purposives in other Kiranti languages look much like converbs.

(21) a. CAMLING

*ira mina jal am-**si** khat-a.*
one man fish.net aim-PURP go-PT
'A man went fishing.' (in order to fish)

b. *ira mina m-bhera lam-**sa** khat-a.*
one man his-sheep search-CV_{SIM} go-PT
'One man went searching for his sheep.'

However, objects are coded as possessive prefixes, which is not possible with converbs (and not with Dumi purposive *-kiyi*.

(22) THUL	*ini-reb-**ḍa***	*bi-ŋḍo-m.*	'I have come to meet you.'
CAML	*kap-tum-**si***	*t-uŋ-ko.*	
LIMBU	*kɛ-dum-**se***	*ty-aŋ-ba.*	
	2sPOSS-meet-PURP	come-1s:PT-NML	

These purposives seem to be nominal in origin (*-si* marks manner nouns in some other Kiranti languages), and have kept some nominal properties.

3. Finite-marked functional equivalents

The great majority of subordinate clauses have morphologically finite-marked verbs in Kiranti languages, e.g.

(23) a. THULUNG

p-iy-hoŋŋa jhari yo.
eat-1p-WHILE rain come.down
'While we are eating, rain will come.'

b. CAMLING (TDib 2.90)
syiraha-ci *cam-ne-pa* *i-sinyo* *lond-e.*
sour-ns eat-1pNPT-TEMP our-saliva come.out-NPT
'When we eat sour things, our saliva comes out.'

c. ATHPARE (fieldnotes)
aŋa *cep-netni-ŋ=bhane* *mund-u-ŋ-k.uŋ.*
I write-NEG:PT-1s=COND forget-3P-1s-NPT.[copy]
'If I don't write it down, I will forget it.'

As such specialized forms are not converbs and are not used in other typically converbal constructions, I shall not go into further details. In the following I concentrate on the substitutes for general/narrative converbs, which also have developed some of the secondary functions typical for general converbs.

While converb languages use the general converb for the chaining of events, most Kiranti languages have a fully finite-marked verb followed by a linker (cf. Ebert 2003). The linker is only loosely attached to the verb. It connects any tense-aspect or mood forms as well as infinitives. It conjoins clauses with same or different subjects. The former are more frequent in narratives, as often a sequence of actions with the same protagonist is reported. But the latter are by no means rare.

(24) a. LIMBU (vDL 350)
hɛkyaŋ *nepmadzaŋ* *him-lɛpsaŋ* *tha:-nɛt-chi,* *kərə* *kɛ:b-ɛn*
then both house-towards drop-REFL-d but tiger-DEF
hara *him-ʔo* *kɛʔr-ɛ=**yaŋ*** *ku-ndzum* *syaʔl-ɛn* *idik*
quickly house-LOC arrive-PT=LINK his-friend jackal-DEF long.time
*haŋs-u=**waŋ*** *lɔk* *ando:* *ando:* *te:.*
wait-3P=LINK only later REPET come:PT

'Then they both headed homeward, but the tiger arrived quickly and waited long for his friend the jackal, and he (the jackal) came much later.'

b. CAMLING (T:Nir5.27)
tyuko *siy-e-ko-mo* *m-sata* *lam-sa* *wa-ku-ya*
that die-NPT-NML-GEN his-soul search-CV_{SIM} water-inside-acrossLOC
lam-sa *lamsa* *khai-ma=**nʌ*** *po-ma-da-ma* *tire.*
search-CV_{SIM} REPET go-INF=LINK depose-INF-PUT-INF must

'[The shaman] must go searching for the soul of the dead, searching, searching he must go into the water and depose it down there.'

Even in languages which possess a versatile converb that can be used in event sequencing, finite-marked verbs with a linker are much more frequent.

(25) a. THULUNG (T4.13)
mö lək-pa *mücu-mim-lai* *puwaŋ-ku* *sö* *reṭ-miri=**ma**,*
that come-PCPL man-p-DAT (bird sp.)-GEN meat bring-3p:PT=LINK
ban-thö-m *seṭ-miri=**ma*** *reṭ-miri=**ma***
where-DIR-ABL kill-3p:PT=LINK bring-3p:PT=LINK
sallaah *be-mdi.*
advice make-3p:PT

'To the people who had come they brought bird meat, they killed [birds] and brought them from somewhere and then they held a councel.'

b. DUMI (vDD 245)
*a-dzi:t-**i**=**kə*** *a-sir-**i**=**kə*** *a-hu:d-i.*
2-wet-2/3s=LINK 2-wash-2/3s=LINK 2-bring-2/3s
'You made it wet, cleaned it and brought it.' (Nepali *bijhā-**era** dho-**era** lieko*; *-era* general/narrative converb)

c. DUMI (vDD 294)
kiki.kira-ʔa *a-dzo:=**kə***
RDPL.maternal.uncle-ERG 2-eat=LINK
a-sa:lu-ŋa:lu *yakka* *khu* *ka:nd-i-m* *lum-pad-u=**kə***
your-bone-ECHO over.there way toss.out-3s-NML look.for-GO-1s>3=LINK
*hu:d-u=**kə*** *sadzimkho:-bi* *kaŋki* *ka:yi-bi* *ta:m-ni=**kə***
fetch-1s>3=LINK trough-LOC water wet.ash-LOC immerse-1s>2=LINK
timmələ *i-lal-he:m* *ŋə* *a-tsik-ləŋts-i-m.*
now 3sPOSS-before-like EMPH 2-become-COME.OUT-2s-NMLZ

'Our maternal uncle ate you, and I looked for your bones tossed out over there, and I fetched them and immersed you in a trough in water and ashes, and now you have become like before.'

The functional equivalence with converbs is also apparent when a linked form is negated by a converb. *mɛ-dhoʻkt-u* in (26) is a finite form (the Limbu past is unmarked); in the response the negative converb is used.

(26) LIMBU (vDL 182)

*kumaŋwayɛʔl mɛ-dzɔ-iʻ, mɛ-dhoʻkt-u=**aŋ** mɛ-dzɔ-iʻ —*

raw 3pA-eat:3P-Q 3pA-cook-3P=LINK 3pA-eat:3P-Q

***mɛn**-dhoʻk-**ʔɛʻ** mɛ-dzɔ.*

CV_{NEG}-cook-CV_{NEG} 3pA-eat:3P

'Do they eat it raw or do they cook it first?'— 'They eat it without cooking.'

Van Driem calls all functional equivalents of general and simultaneous converbs "gerunds", irrespective of the morphological shape. Forms like Limbu *mɛdhoʻktu=aŋ* in (26) are called "perfect gerund"; Limbu *mɛ-nuʻks-ɛ-rɔ* [3p-return-PT-SIM] and Dumi *leːlu-tœ* [sing-CV_{SIM}] are "present gerunds". But only the Dumi form is a converb according to the criterion of nonfiniteness.[9]

4. Converbs in compound verbs and in periphrastic tense-aspect forms

The canonical compound verbs have the shape $V1_{CV}$ + $V2_{finite}$ in South and Central Asian languages, where V1 usually has the general converb suffix (cf. ; Drossard, this vol.; Ebert, this vol. (6)-(9)). Although Kiranti languages share many of the desemanticized second verbs with Turkic and Indo-Aryan languages, the form of the whole compound differs mostly from the canonical pattern.

Hayu has root serialization; in the other languages both verbs carry finite markers. Outer suffixes, such as the 3rd plural patient marker or various tense markers appear only once. Prefixes are not realized with V2 or they are optional except in Limbu, which retains prefixes on both verbs. In Thulung and Dumi only certain person markers are realized after V1, so that forms often look like root serialization (for details see Ebert, to appear).

[9] Some linkers even appear at the beginning of a sentence; e.g. Thulung *ma thama* ... 'and then later...', Camling: *nʌ tyoso musa*... 'and then, doing like that ...'.

(27)a. LIMBU (vDL128)
haˈs-u-ŋ- *piˈr-u-ŋ-si.ŋ* 'I dealt it out to them'
deal.out-3P-1s- GIVE-3P-1s-3ns.[copy]

b. ATHPARE
o-riŋs-u- *(o-)sed-u-t.u* 'they strangle it to death'
3pA-strangle-3P-3pA- KILL-3P-NPT.[copy]

c. LIMBU (vDL122)
kɛ-butch-u- *kɛ-dhɔ* 'you forgot it' (vDL122)
2-forget-3P- 2-PUT:3P

d. THULUNG
be-m- *sa-m-ɖi* 'they did it for him'
do-3p- GIVE-3p-PT

Interestingly, in two languages V1 has the shape of a converb in directional compounds.

(28) a. HAYU (Mi T1.6)
*bu.bu-**ha*** *cuŋ-to*
carry.RDPL-CV MOVE.UP-PT:3s>3
'she carried him up'

b. DUMI (vDD T280)
mom *sakbo* *silpu-ʔa* *su-**kiyi*** *yi:-si* *ʔe.*
that two bird-ERG escort-CV MOVE.DOWN-3d REPET
'The two birds escorted her down.'[10]

A linker construction is also possible in Dumi instead of the converb. Van Driem tries to force a sequential interpretation upon such directive compounds and translates Dumi (29a) as "she went and ran" (1993: 286). Note that he has to change the position of the verbs to make this translations sound somewhat more plausible.

[10] As van Driem always understands the converb in *-kiyi* as a purposive, he translates "Those two birds took her down to escort her back" (1993: 286), which does not make much sense. The birds escort Naayeem from the sky down to the earth.

(29) a. DUMI (vDD T281)
*kaŋki do:khot-i-ya Na:ye:m bil-i=**kə** khuts-a.*
water see-3sP:PT-WHILE (name) run-3s=LINK GO-3s
'When Naayeem saw the water, she ran off.'

b. DUMI (vDD T289)
*o:-birme o:-nana ni-ʔa sil-sis-i=**kə** khuts-i.*
my-y.sister my-e.sister both-ERG hide-REFL-d=LINK GO-d
'My younger sister and my elder sister have hidden themselves / have gone into hiding.'

Limbu and Thulung use the linker construction in directional compounds and with the V2 'kill'.

(30) a. LIMBU (vDL T342)
*mɛ-dzups-ɛ=**yaŋ** mɛ-de'* 'they came crowding'[11]
3pS-crowd-PT=LINK 3pS-COME:PT

b. LIMBU
*lo:kt-aŋ=**aŋ** pe:g-aŋ* 'I ran away'
run-1s-LINK GO-1s

c. THULUNG (Eb&G T2.24)
*huḍ-ḍa=**ma** ləs-ta* 'she flew away'
fly-PT=LINK GO-PT

d. THULUNG
*khrec-ci=**ma** sec-ci* 'they (d) bit him to death'
bite:PT-d=LINK KILL:PT-d

In the ABC languages (Athpare, Camling, Bantawa) directionals have the same shape as other compound verbs, but occasionally one can find a directional compound with a linker in Camling.

[11] Van Driem translates as a "they came and assembled" (1987:344).

(31) a. ATHPARE
peya-aba-c-e 'they$_d$ came flying'
fly:PB-COME.ACROSS:PB-d-PT

b. BANTAWA (NKR T2.95)
undh-yi-khaid-yi '[the river] swept her away'
float-3P-TAKE-3P

c. CAMLING
pera-khata 'it flew away'
fly:PT-GO:PT

d. CAMLING (Dib2)
*pa-khura-ci=**nʌ*** *pa-puta-ci* 'they carried it away'
INV-carry-d=LINK INV-TAKE-d

Compounds with a postural or a locational verb as V2 universally tend to develop more grammaticalized senses, e.g. progressive or durative. In Limbu these can again be expressed with a linker.

(32) a. LIMBU
*pe:k-ʔɛ=**aŋ*** *poʔl-ɛ.*[12] 'I am going.'
go-1sNPT=LINK HANG-1sNPT

b. *hɛʔyo* *ha:ʔ* *ipas=**aŋ*** *nɛ:ʔ* 'Who is sleeping there?'
there who sleep:3s=LINK LIE

c. *him* *co:g-u-ŋ=**aŋ*** *ya:k-ʔɛ* 'I am building a house' (vDL 161)
house make-3P-1s-LINK loc.be-1sNPT

Limbu also has a progressive with a narrow focus on the present moment, which need not be given for the linked forms (cf. (32c)). The narrow progressive is

[12] Haspelmath (1995:43) mentions *pe:k-ʔɛ-aŋ poʔl-ɛ* as an example of a progressive formed from a simultaneous converb. But *pe:k-ʔɛ-aŋ* is not a converb according to his own criterion of nonfiniteness.

formed with the simultaneous subordinate form, the functional equivalent of the simultaneous converb.

(33) LIMBU

mɛ-jɔ-rɔ	*mɛ-yaːk*	'they are eating' (just now)
3pA/S-eat-SIM	3pA/S-be	

Thulung has two progressives, one formed from the simultaneous converb together with the auxiliary *len-*, the other with the versatile *sa*-converb + *ŋa* (cf. fn. 6) and the auxiliaries *len-* or *bu-*.

(34) a. THULUNG (La02 250)

*liser sit-**to** le-ry.*

millet bear-CV_{SIM} AUX-PT:3s

'The millet is bearing fruit.'

b. THULUNG (La02 184)

*boro pakhara lu-mu mal-**sa.ŋa** bu.*

frog outside go.out-INF search-CV be:3s

'The frog is trying to get outside.'

c. THULUNG (La02 260)

*homlo dasai mane-**sa.ŋa** len.ku.*

now Dasai respect-CV AUX-1pe

'Now we are celebrating Dasai.'

The Hayu habitual converb in *-nana* combined with the auxiliary *no* 'be' is a progressive according to Michailovsky (1988:148); but not surprisingly, in his texts the periphrastic form has a habitual interpretation. A progressive meaning is expressed by the general converb in *-ha* + auxiliary.[13]

(35) a. HAYU (Mi T1.45)

mi nonotso ...	*thojimthotha*	*khok-**nana***	*no.*	
DEF sisters	together	walk-CV_{HAB}	be	

[13] This is also a perfect; cf. Ebert (1995) for a possible explanation of this overlap, which also exists in Nepali, Japanese, Arabic, Seneca, and others.

'The sisters walk together [in the sky forever] ...'

b. HAYU (Mi T2.43)
*bheḍā cv.cvt-**ha** no-m ɪxtse a ta:mi.*
sheep look-CV be-ASS REPET his daughter
'His daughter was herding the sheep.'

In the ABC languages, duratives or progressives have the same shape as compound verbs in these languages.

(36)

ATHP	*lems-u-**wett**-u-e*	'he is beating him'
	beat-3P-PROG-3P-PT	
CAML	*mi-khat-e-**ŋas**-e*	'they are going'
	3pS-go-NPT-STAY-NPT	
BANT	*yuŋ-a-**yakt**-a-ci*	'the two were sitting / living'
	sit-PT-STAY-PT-d	

In all languages negative perfects have the form of negative converb + auxiliary. The forms of positive perfects are:
a. finite-marked verb + linker (i.e. equiv. of converbs) + auxiliary (Limbu only)
b. finite-marked verb + nominalizer (i.e. equiv. of participles) + auxiliary

(37)	positive perfect	negative perfect
LIMBU	*peˑg-aŋ=**aŋ** waˑ-ʔɛ*	***mɛn**-beˑk-**ʔɛː** waˑ-ʔɛ*
	go-PT-1s=LINK be-1s:PT	CV_{NEG}-go-CV_{NEG} be-1s:PT
	'I have gone'	'I have not gone'
THUL	*püü-r-ü-m bu*	***mi**-pe-**thiŋa** bu*
	eat:3P-PT-3P-NML be:3s	[NEG-eat]-CV_{NEG} be:3s
	'he has eaten'	'he has not eaten'
DUMI	*luph-i-m goː-ta*	***ma**-lop mit-t-a*
	seize-3s-NML be-3s	[NEG-seize]CV_{NEG} do-NPT-3s
	'he has seized it'	'he has not seized it'

Summing up, we find the following morphological shapes of the first verbs in complex forms:

a) compound verbs
— V1 converb in DIR compounds
— V1 functional equivalents of converbs in DIR compounds (+ with V2 KILL)
— V1 finite markers, but reduction of affixes.
b) periphrastic tense-aspects
— V1 converb
— V1 functional equivalents of converbs (general, simultaneous)
— V1 finite-marked + nominalizer

Table 2: Form of V1

	HAYU	THUL	DUMI	CAML	BANT	LIMBU
compound verbs						
- directional	**CV**	LINK	**CV / LINK**	fin	fin	LINK
- V2 KILL	root	LINK	fin	fin	fin	LINK
- other compound v.	root	fin	fin	fin	fin	fin
periphrastic tense-aspects						
PROG	**CV**	$\mathbf{CV_{SIM}}$	fin	fin	fin	SIM
DUR, HAB	$\mathbf{CV_{HAB}}$	**CV**	fin	fin	fin	LINK
PERF	**CV**	fin+NML	fin+NML	fin+NML	fin+NML	LINK
negPERF	$\mathbf{CV_{NEG}}$	$\mathbf{CV_{NEG}}$	$\mathbf{CV_{NEG}}$	$\mathbf{CV_{NEG}}$	$\mathbf{CV_{NEG}}$	$\mathbf{CV_{NEG}}$

CV - V1 converb
LINK - V1 finite-marked + linker (= functional equivalent of converb)
fin - V1 finite-marked (with reductions)

5. Minimally reduced forms

Athpare differs from the other languages insofar as the final tense marker (together with a copied person marker, if present) is elided before the linker and some subordinators.

(38) a. ATHPARE

sed-u-ŋ-t-uŋ. *sed-u-ŋ=**uŋ*** ...

kill-3P-1s-NPT-[copy] kill-3P-1s=LINK

'I will kill it. I will kill it and ...'

b. ATHPARE (Eb97a T:Ca1.28-29)

paŋ-i *tad-u-ŋ-ci-ŋ-e.* *tad-u-ŋ-ci=**uŋ*** ...

house-LOC bring-3P-1s-ns-[copy]-PT bring-3P-1s-ns=LINK

'I brought them home. I brought them and ...'

c. ATHPARE (Eb97a T:Ca1.9) (= 14)

*mundupta-getta-ci-ya-**lok*** *toba-lam* *thik* *goru*

discuss:PB-PROG:PB-d-EXCL-WHILE above-ABL one ox

*huk-**sa**-ʔm* *uɲs-e.*

bellow-CV_{SIM}-EMPH come.down-PT

'While we were discussing, an ox came down from above, bellowing.'

(finite: *mundupta-getta-ci-y-e* 'we were discussing')

As subordinate and linker-forms have no tense marker, their temporal interpretation depends on the main verb. These forms constitute some challenge for the converb definition. Although they are dependent, I am reluctant to regard them as converbs for the following reasons:

a) Forms like *tad-u-ŋ-ci=uŋ* 'I brought them and', *mundupta-getta-ci-ya-lok* 'while we were discussing' seem morphologically too complex to subsume into a category which prototypically has the shape of stem + suffix;

b) Athpare has protoypical converbs, e.g. (1a), (2a), (38c);

c) the Athpare forms sometimes correspond morpheme by morpheme to fully finite forms in a neighbouring language; e.g.

Camling *lo-na=nʌ*, Athpare *lo-na=uŋ* (tell-1>2:PT-LINK) 'I told you and'

Camling *ta-khata=nʌ*, Athpare *a-khada=uŋ* (2-go:PT-LINK) 'you went and'.

The Camling form preceding the linker is a finite verb; the Athpare finite forms are *lon-e* 'I told you', *a-khad-e* 'you went'.

6. Discussion

Compared to South and Central Asian languages, the inventory of converbs in Kiranti languages is quite unusual. There is no form corresponding exactly to the cross-linguistically most frequent converb, i.e. the general converb. Three of the languages have converbs with a broad semantics, but in Thulung and Dumi these are seldom used as narrative converbs, where finite-marked functional equivalents are preferred. These functional equivalents are also used in secondary functions in directional compound verbs, in two of the languages also with the V2 KILL.

The converbal suffixes, some of which seem etymologically related across languages, look like relics of a once more common strategy. This is confirmed by the more frequent use of negative converbs, as negative forms tend to be more conservative. The suffix *-sa* appears in several languages with somewhat different functions and may have had a broader distribution once. *-sa* marks the general converb in Thulung, the negative converb in Hayu, and the simultaneous converb in the ABC languages.

Converbs often carry a double marker, e.g. Thulung *-sa+ka*, Dumi *-kɨyɨ+kə / +ya / +bi*. Double suffixing can also be found in other languages of the area. The Nepali CV marker *-era* is made up of an older converbal/participial suffix *-e* and the coordinating conjunction *ra* 'and'. Kiranti structures are often adapted to Nepali. Lahaussois cites the following three possibilities of expressing a sequence of events; in (a) a converb is used, in (b) a finite verb + linker, and in (c) a nominalization of a finite form followed by *patshi;* cf. Nepali *-ko pacchi* [-NML after].

(39) THULUNG (La03 27)

a.	*mari*	*mi*	*ho-**saka***	*happa*	*mwasy*	*tshabeṭ-miri.*
	much	fire	light-CV	much	soot	spread-3p:PT
b.	*mari*	*mi*	*hoṭ-miri=**ma***		"	"
	much	fire	light-3p:PT=LINK			
c.	*mari*	*mi*	*hoṭ-miri-**m=patshi***		"	"
	much	fire	light-3p:PT-NML-after			

'They lit a huge fire and spread the soot all over.'

The preference for finite-marking of the eastern Kiranti languages, however, is unknown in Nepali. We also find no parallel for this preference in other Tibeto-Burman languages of the area, which are typical converb languages. A comparison

of Kiranti languages from northwest to southeast shows a constant decrease of converbs and an increase of finite-marked forms in subordination, chaining, and verb compounding. It also shows an increase in the number of suffixes, leading to extensive suffix copying in the extreme eastern and southeastern languages Limbu and Athpare.

Crossing over the Gangetic Plain, we find the tendency to use finite-marked verbs instead of converbs in North Munda and in North Dravidian. Santali and some smaller Munda languages drop only the final indicative marker of the verb in subordination, retaining all person and tense suffixes (cf. a similar behavior in Athpare). We thus can make out an area in which verbs have developed lengthy suffix chains, most of which are preserved in subordination and clause chaining. This area is interrupted by Indo-Aryan languages in the Gangetic Plain. Our knowledge of the languages in question and especially of their history is still very limited, but an areal pattern emerges, in which finite-marking is strongly preferred.

References

Allen, Nicholas J. 1975. *Sketch of Thulung Grammar.* Ithaca: Cornell University.

Driem, George van. 1987. *A Grammar of Limbu.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Driem, George van. 1993. *A Grammar of Dumi.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Ebert, Karen H. 1997a. *A Grammar of Athpare.* München: LINCOM.

Ebert, Karen H. 1997b. *Camling (Chamling).* München: LINCOM.

Ebert, Karen H. 1995. Ambiguous perfect-progressive TAM-forms across languages. In: Pier Marco Bertinetto et al. (eds.) *Temporal reference, aspect and actionality.* Vol. II: Typological perspectives. Turin: Rosenbaum & Sellier. 185-203.

Ebert, Karen H. 2003. "Equivalents of 'conjunctive participles' in Kiranti languages." In: Tej R. Kasakar & Mark Turin (eds.) *Themes in Himalayan Linguistics.* Heidelberg: Südasien-Institut & Kathmandu: Tribhuvan University. 27-47.

Ebert, Karen H. to appear. "Compound verbs in Kiranti languages."

Haspelmath, Martin. 1995. "The converb as a cross-linguistically valid category." In: Haspelmath & König (eds.) 1-56.

Haspelmath, Martin & Ekkehard König (eds.) 1995. *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Lahaussois, Aimée. 2002. *Aspects of the Grammar of Thulung Rai; an Endangered Himalayan Language.* Ph. D. Diss., University of California, Berkeley.

Lahaussois, Aimée. 2003. "Thulung Rai." *Himalayan Linguistics:* Archive No. 1.

Michailovsky, Boyd. 1988. *La langue hayu*. Paris: CNRS.

Noonan, Michael. 2003. "Recent language contact in the Nepal Himalaya." In: David Bradley, Randy LaPolla, Boyd Michailovsky & Graham Thurgood (eds.) *Language variation. Papers on variation and change in the Sinosphere and in the Indosphere in honour of James A. Matisoff.* Canberra: Pacific Linguistics. 65-87.

Rai, Novel K. 1984. *A Descriptive Study of Bantawa*. Ph. D. Diss. Pune.

Converbs in Nivkh

Johanna Mattissen

1. Types of predicates in Nivkh

Nivkh is a language isolate spoken by the Nivkh people (also known as 'Gilyak') in the Lower Amur basin and on Sakhalin island; even so, it is included in the geographically designed Paleosiberian language group. Nivkh morphosyntax is characterized by dependent-head synthesis (a structure which bears certain similarities to polysynthesis), by agglutinative morphology and by predicate-final word order (for a detailed presentation see Mattissen 2003). The language is and has been in contact with Tungusic languages (Ulch, Nanai, Evenki, Oroch, Udeghe, Negidal, Orok), Manchu, Mongol, Japanese, Ainu, Chinese, and Russian. Except for Chinese, these languages all have converbs as Nivkh does; but even in comparison to the Altaic languages, Nivkh disposes of a considerably great number of nexus forms.

In order to discuss their status with regard to converbhood, we have to have a look at the range of Nivkh predicate forms. A Nivkh verb form has the structure

(1) undergoer-root-(aspectoid/degree)-(causative)-(aspectoid/degree/temporal)-(scalar_operator)-(modality)-mood/scalar_operator/focus/nexus/participle_suffix.

Transitive verbs are obligatorily marked for their undergoer either in the form of the undergoer prefix or of an incorporated nominal form (see Mattissen 2003), independently from any other verbal categories.

The different nexus suffixes are in the same (final) slot and mutually exclusive with mood suffixes. Nivkh does not have any conjunctions, but makes use of clause-initial cohesion markers. Word order is as follows (cf. Mattissen 2003):

(2) discourse marker ⌣ topic ⌣ embedded clause ⌣ adverbials ⌣ subject ⌣ causee ⌣ secondary object ⌣ primary object-predicate [1]

---

1 The topic-subject construction resembles the Japanese one (so-called double subject construction):

(i) JAPANESE

*zoo-**wa***	*hana-**ga***	*naga-i*
elephant-TOP	trunk-NOM	long-NPST

'As for the elephant, the trunk is long.'

A matrix predicate form is marked for mood or with *-ɻ* (a nominalizer in origin, but the most commonly occuring predicate form in Nivkh)[2]. The *-ɻ*-form is not person-marked for its actor, but may bear the (nominal) plural suffix if the actor is plural.

(3) (Panfilov 1962:192)
tə-ñivγ-gu *mu-tʻom-γir* *ʧo-ŋəŋ-ɻ-γu* *həɻ-γu*
this-person-PL boat-five_CLF-INS fish-hunt-IND/NML-PL that_one-PL
ŋamk-γir *ʧo-ŋəŋ-ɻ-γu*
seven-INS fish-hunt-IND/NML-PL
'These people went fishing in five boats, those went fishing in seven.'

Among the moods, only those with imperative force and the Negative Assumptive (see section 4.1) are marked for person, as can be seen from the list below and from examples (6) and (28). Nouns or pronouns indicating the actor are never obligatory.

(4) NIVKH MOOD SUFFIXES

Imperative	(1>2s) *-ja ~ -j*	(1>2p) *-ve ~ -be ~ -pe, -nave*	
Hortative	(1>1d) *-nəte, -nate*	(1>1p) *-da*	
Permissive	(>1s/p) *-nəkta ~ -nəxta*	(>2s) *-gira*	(>2p) *-girla*
Preventive	(>2s) *-jra ~ -nəra*	(>2p) *-jtla*	
Negative Assumptive	(1s, plural) *-tla*	(2s, 3s) *-rla, -tlo/-rlo*	
'it is natural that'	*-kitle ~ -γitle ~ -xitle, -kitla ~ -γitla*		
Subjunctive	*-ʁar ~ -qar*		
Optative	*-ʁazo, -ʁaro ~ -χajro*		
Narrative	*-ʁan(a) ~ -qan(a)*		
(Indicative	*-ɻ ~ -ʧ, -nt ~ -d ~ -nd)*		

Mood suffixes are rare in texts; discourse use of nexus forms is treated in section 6. Tense distinction in all Nivkh verb forms - matrix and nexus - is future-nonfuture. Thus finiteness is not an unproblematic category in Nivkh: tense and person of undergoer are obligatory on any verb form (exceptions to the latter are due to root-initial nasals and laterals, see Mattissen 2003: ch. 4), person of actor is not obligatorily marked. Other categories such as modalities are not obligatory but possible on any verb form, and there is no verbal category of voice. The only distinctly finite category, mood, is rarely marked.
The attributive verb form stands out from the rest because categories of the final slot in (1), except the participle suffix, are prohibited on it, i.e. it may inflect for all categories except focus, nexus and mood, is never nominalized, and it synthesizes with its head noun ((5), see Mattissen 2003: ch. 8).

2 Unless indicated otherwise, examples are from the Amur variety of Nivkh.

(5) (Panfilov 1965:52)
ñi p'i zosq-ƫaqo-vəkz-ḑ
1s REFL break-knife-throw-IND/NML
'I threw away the knife I had broken.'

Thus it is best to draw a distinction between verb forms which are used as a minimal sentence as such - the matrix forms (moods and *-ḑ*-form) - and verb forms which are not so used, but need a superordinate verb form. Nivkh has five types of non-matrix forms, the attributive form, the supine (see section 3) and three types of forms for clausal nexion. The latter forms differ with respect to their marking of person of actor, handling of coreference, embeddedness and their functions and are discussed in detail below: the converbs proper are treated in section 2, the actor-marked converbs in section 4 and the enumerative (an actor-marked form with coordinative force) in section 5.

They are easily delimited from matrix predicates, complement and attributive verb forms: Nexus forms share the properties of not being used as the only predicate in a sentence (not constituting a minimal sentence) and of not being marked for mood, as the mood suffixes are in the same slot and mutually exclusive with the nexus suffixes. Both mood and nexion are never marked word internally and thus signal the right margin of a word form (Mattissen 2003: ch. 3.8). The verbal attribute, on the other hand, takes the form of the verb root or stem (without a nexus or mood suffix) in the Amur variety and the form of a participle (with suffix *-ŋ*) in the Sakhalin varieties and synthesizes with its head noun, whereas a complement clause has a nominalized verb form (ex. (7)), synthesizing with its head when a transitive object (ex. (6)). The predicate in complement clauses is always a nominalized form, which may inflect for all verbal categories (preceding *-ḑ*) except mood and focus, and for nominal categories (following *-ḑ*) except for focus (see template (40)).

(6) (Panfilov 1965:112)
ətək aqr-p'i-ḑ-ama-ja!
father downriver-be_in-IND/NML-watch-IMP.S
'Look, father is downriver.'

(7) (Panfilov 1962:244)
oʙla! huŋrəḑ-vo-ḑ uiɣ-ḑ-ra
child such-take-IND/NML unlawful-IND/NML-HILI
'My child! taking such things is unlawful.'

We are now prepared to turn to the different types of nexus forms and the supine.

2. Converbs proper

2.1. Forms and their categories

Nivkh has a range of clausal nexion forms which are rather unproblematic converbs. These forms are not marked for person of actor and indicate the semantic relation to their matrix proposition. Such converbs bear one of the following suffixes (cf. Krejnovič 1973, Gruzdeva 1994, Otaina 1978:85-86, Comrie 1981:271, Beffa 1982:78):

(8) CONVERB SUFFIXES

-ŋan	'when, if, after, because'
-ənke	'before'
-ba ~ -pa	'as soon as, since (HAB)'
-ge	'as soon as, since'
-ke, -fke	'through V-ing, while, because'
-ivo	'by V-ing, while'
-ʁa ~ -qa, -ʁaj ~ -qaj	'if'
-nəftox	'for to; until, as long as'
-gin ~ -kin, -girk ~ -kirk, -girn ~ -kirn	'although'
-xrəγrə	'because'
-lax	'for'
-guin	'for to' (in case of different subject)

2.2. Distribution and use

These forms are used as "specialized converbs" in the sense of Nedjalkov (1995), as predicates of adverbial clauses. Two co-ranking forms are possible (as in (12)), but these converbs do not occur in a verb series or in verb union (i.e. two verbs jointly expressing a single event), in contrast to actor-marked converbs (see section 4.3).

(9) (Panfilov 1965:153)

*at por-**ŋan** hemar p'u-nə-ɣ-heʁa-ɣ-ra*

tiger lie(down)-CV:when old_man go_out-FUT-IND/NML-scared-IND/NML-HILI

'When the tiger lay down, the old man was afraid of going out.'

(10) (Panfilov 1965:129)

*ʃax tuz-**gin** õla-gu mrə-ɣ-γu-da*

water cold-CV:although child-PL bathe-IND/NML-PL-HILI

'Although the water is cold the children bathe [it in].'

(11) NORTH SAKHALIN DIALECT (Krejnovič 1983:114)

*ʃi ñ-ro-**lax** (ñi) ʃe-rχ ŋixə-d-ra*

2s 1sU-help-CV:for 1s 2s-ALL thank-IND/NML-HILI

'I thank you for helping me.'

(12) (Panfilov 1965:144)
*ñi laŋr-lo siq̣-lo-ŋəŋ-t axot-**ke** ʃələjo-gu-t*
1s seal-be.it what-be.it-hunt-CV.1s hunt-CV:while foggy-CST-CV.1s
*lerler-**ke** lərk-t pʿřə-q̣-ra*
lose_way-CV:while swim-CV.1s come-IND/NML-HILI
'Hunting seals etc. I got caught and lost in the fog and came here swimming.'

A special case is the marking of a single verb form with two converb suffixes, as in

(13) (Panfilov 1965:150) as answer to the question "how are you?"
*ur-lə-q̣-ra vi-**ke-ŋan** mu-nə-q̣-ra*
good-DIM-IND/NML-HILI go-CV:while-CV:when die-FUT-IND/NML-HILI
'Quite good. I will be running around as long as I am not dead.'

for which Panfilov (1965:150) furnishes no further explanation. All examples have future or imperative marking on the matrix form and a habitual/presential reading (see also 4.3 below).

2.3. Coreference

Coreference between participants in the matrix and dependent clauses is no precondition for using the converbs. The converb clause may have its own subject.

(14) (Panfilov 1965:141)
***if** nana hurʿiv-r i-ñ-inə-ŋan hə-maʃa lapʿal-dox*
3s just sit(down)-CV.3s 3sU-eat-INT-CV:when that-guy floor-ALL
ʧarq-r məŋ-q̣
jump-CV.3s descend-IND/NML
'When she had just sat down and would eat, the guy jumped down onto the floor.'

Converb suffixes do not involve any switch reference marking; a participant coreferent with the subject or topic of the matrix predicate, if overt at all, is encoded through the reflexive pronoun (in subject (16) or adjunct functions) or the reflexive prefix (in undergoer (20) or possessor functions).

(15) (Panfilov 1965:143)
pʿrə-ɣət-ke *ŋaŋəŋñivγ-gu* *pʿrə-lət-ɬ-γu*
come-CPL-CV:while hunter-PL hut-make-IND/NML-PL
'When they had come the hunters built a hut.'

(16) (Otaina 1978:87)
if ***pʿi*** *ɬez-**ivu**-ŋan* *ur-gu-r* *pʿ-ōla-dəu-ɻ*
3s REFL weak-PROG-CV:when good-CST-CV.3s REFL-child-teach-IND/NML
'When he was growing weak, he taught his child well.'

(17) (Nedjalkov 1995:111)
pʿi *vi-**nə**-ənke* *ñi* *tə-kʿe-ov-ɻ* *tvi-γət-nə-ɻ*
REFL go-FUT-CV:before 1s this-net-repair-IND/NML end-CPL-FUT-IND/NML
'Before I go I'll finish repairing this net.'

Another option is to dislocate the participant into the topic and dislocation positions in front of the first clause, as is shown in the next subsection.

2.4. Embedding

The converb clause may precede a complete matrix clause ((17), (19)) or may be enclosed in it. In the latter case, its position is after the topic ((18), (16)) or other dislocated noun forms. Tense, aspect and modalities may be marked on the converb ((15)-(17)), which is not within the scope of the matrix categories, as the example below shows.

(18) (Otaina 1978:93)
ɬoŋəŋñivx-gu ***tu*** ***ŋəz-γət-ke*** *pʿovo* *en-f-tox*
fisherman-PL lake shallow-CPL-CV:while immediately other-LOCNML-ALL
vi-ɻ-γu
go-IND/NML-PL
'As soon as the lake has grown shallow the fishermen go to another place.'

(19) (Panfilov 1965:88)
tə-eri *maŋ-gu-r* *ver-la-ʁa* *ñi* *ɤəm-t*
this-river strong-CST-CV.3s wide-PERM-CV:if 1s swim-CV.1s
*tozə-**jiki**-nə-ɻ-ra*
cross-cannot-FUT-IND/NML-HILI
'If this river is very (*maŋgur*, cf. 4.3) wide I will not be able to swim across.'

Converb and matrix predicates encode two events. The converb clause may have its own participants with the exception of a topic. They are marked in the same way as in a matrix clause (word order, case, etc.) with the exception of the use of the reflexive for coreferent participants in the converb clause, signaling its dependency and asymmetry in this type of clausal nexion.
The converb in *-guin* 'for to' stands out for being used in a different subject constellation only. The converb clause follows its matrix clause, and the overt actor is marked with the causee case.

(20) (Panfilov 1965:149)
*hoʁat ñəŋ ʧəŋ-ŋəŋ-ɖ-ra ʧəŋ-**ax** **pʿ-ro-guin***
therefore 1p.ex 2p-hunt-IND/NML-HILI 2p-CAUSEE REFL-help-CV:for_to
'Therefore we looked for you in order for you to help us.'

This is because the element *-gu-* originates in the causative morpheme (*-gu- ~ -(ŋ)k(u)- ~ -g-*). The source of the converb morpheme as a whole is unclear, the rear part is at best reminiscent of the locative case morpheme *-(u)in*.

2.5. Diachronic sources of converb suffixes

The converb suffixes in (8) are obviously related to other morphology. For some of them, an origin in case suffixes is most plausible.

(21) CONVERB SUFFIX		SOURCE CONSTRUCTION	CASE ALLOMORPHS
-gin ~ -kin, *-girn ~ -kirn*, *-girk ~ -kirk*	'although'	*root-*ŋ*-INS	(*-ɣir ~ -kir ~ -gir ~ -xir*) [3]
-ge	'as soon as'	*root-*ŋ*-associative	(*-ke ~ -ɣe ~ -ge ~ -xe*)
-(ʃ)ke	'while'	root-(LOCNML-)associative	"
-nə-ʃ-tox	'for'	root-FUT-LOCNML-ALL	(*-tox ~ -rox ~ -dox ~ -ʈox*)

The source construction then is a nominalized and case-marked verb form. Nominalization is either due to the participle suffix *-ŋ*, which triggered the case allomorph with the initial voiced plosive and later elided in the Amur variety (see Mattissen 2003: ch. 2.3). Such constructions still exist in lexicalized nouns.

(22) *əzŋ* (call-PCPL, East Sakhalin Dialect) ~ *əs* (Amur Dialect) 'master'
pʿuf-ŋ (saw-PCPL, East Sakhalin Dialect) ~ *pʿuf* (Amur Dialect) 'a saw'
tun-wo-fi-ŋ (this-vill.-be_in-PCPL, East Sakh. Dial.) 'inhabitants of this village'

3 Originating in the verb *i-ɣr-ɖ ~ -xir-ɖ ~ -kʿir-ɖ* 's.o. uses sth.', the final *-k* is another nominalizer. For allomorphy in Nivkh see Mattissen 2003: ch. 2.

Or it is due to the local nominalizer *-f*, which regularly triggers a voiceless plosive. In the Amur variety, the nominalizing *-f* then elided from *-fke*, but it is still present on Sakhalin. Other suffixes are identical in shape to a relational morpheme ("postposition"), which itself is of verbal origin (Panfilov 1962:143-156).

(23)

CONVERB SUFFIX		"POSTPOSITION"	VERBAL SOURCE
-xrəγrə 'because'		*-kʿrə* 'with'	< *i-γrə-ɻ~-xrə-ɻ~-kʿrə-ɻ* 's.o. accompanies s.o.'
		-kʿrəγrə~-xrəγrə 'because of'	< *i-γrəγrə-ɻ* etc. 's.o. serves s.o.'
-lax	'for'	*-lax* 'concerning'	< *laγnə-ɻ* 'demand s.o.'
	cf. also	*-laʁa(j)*, *-laxiŋk* 'next to'	< 'side'
-ənke	'before'	*-ənk(i)* 'in front of, before'	< *j-ənki-ɻ* 'walk ahead of s.o.'

(24) (Panfilov 1962:152)

ñaγr	*əγrəkun*	*pʿ-ŋafq-**ənk***	*mər-ra*
rat	long_ago	REFL-comrade-before	go_up-ENU.3s

'the rat went up long before his friend'

The source for *-ivo* 'while' is not evident, but the suffix is obviously related to the progressive/inchoative suffix *-ivi-* ~ *-ivu-*, *-ifu-*.

For the rest of the suffixes, we may speculate about a relation to focus (25a, c), verbalizers (25b) or mood suffixes (25c) because of an identical allomorphy not found otherwise. Note that the morphemes in (25b) are found as scalar operators on nouns and verbs and as nominal verbalizers but not as free verbs.

(25) POSSIBLY RELATED MORPHEMES

a. *-ŋan* 'if, because' : *-ŋ* (participle) + *-an* 'also'

b. *-ba ~ -pa* 'as soon as' : *-park ~ -vark ~ -bark* 'oneself, only' on N, *-bark* 'only' on V
< *-varkʈ ~ -parkʈ ~ -barkʈ* 'sth. is contained exclusively'

: *-para ~ -vara ~ -bara* on N, *-bar(a) ~ -var(a)* on V 'still, yet'
< *-vara-ɻ ~ -bara-ɻ* 'sth. is similar to sth.'

c. *-ʁa ~ -qa*, *-ʁaj ~ -qaj* 'if' : *-qa~-ʁa~-χa~-ɢa* Inquiry focus 'what about...?' on N
-ʁavr- ~ -qavr- NEG : *qʿau-ɻ* 'sth. does not exist'
-ʁan(a) ~ -qan(a) Narrative : *-qan ~ -ʁan ~ -χan ~ -ɢan* QUO/Evidential on N

(compare also *-ʁar ~ -qar* SUBJ, *-ʁazo*, *-ʁaro ~ -χajro* OPT)

2.6. Converb vs. Subjunctive

Both the Nivkh subjunctive and converbs are used in clausal nexion and are not marked for person of actor but for any other category (except for those in the final slot in (1), of course). They are nevertheless distinct in status. The subjunctive may not only be used as a conditional nexus form (as in (26)), but also as the only predicate in a minimal sentence (as in (27)). It thus resembles the Latin conjunctive in function. Furthermore, as (26) shows, it is not the coreferent participant of the subjunctive clause which is encoded by the reflexive (as we should expect of a converb clause, e.g. (17)), thus, there is no relation of dependency between the first clause and the second. Converbs cannot stand on their own in a minimal sentence.

(26) (Panfilov 1965:78)
*ʄi maŋg-**ʁař** jař lax pʿ-əřp-ɣət-ku-řa-ḑ-ŋa*
2s strong-SBJ why cloud REFL-wrap-CPL-CST-HAB-IND/NML-Q
'If you are strong, why do you let clouds wrap you up?'

(27) (Panfilov 1965:121)
*als helo-**ʁar***
berry nice-SBJ
'But the berries are nice!'

3. The supine

The supine is marked by the suffix *-dox* ~ *-tox*. It always occurs in a verb union which expresses a single event. Most commonly, it is adjacent to the verb *qʿauḑ* 'not exist' with the construction encoding non-future negation in the Amur dialect of Nivkh.

(28) (Panfilov 1965:121)
*if pʿrə-**dox** qʿ**au**-ɣitle*
3s come-SUP not_exist-naturally
'Naturally, he didn't come.'

Furthermore, it occurs together with verbs like *humḑ* 's.o. is there, lives', *viḑ* 's.o. goes', *pʿrəuḑ* 's.o. learns', *xezḑ* 's.o. tells s.o. sth.', *maḑ* 'sth. is near'.

(29) (Panfilov 1965:151)
*ərk kʿeŋ ŋəu-**dox** **hum**-ŋan jaŋ-gu-r eɣ-inə-ḑ-ŋa?*
already sun dark-SUP be_there-CV:when how_be-CST-CV.2s return-INT-IND/NML-Q
'With dusk already falling (lit. when the sun is already to darken), how do you think to return?'

(30) (Panfilov 1965:153)
*ɻi jār əki-la-**dox** hum-ɖ-ŋa?*
2s why bad-PERM-SUP be_there-IND/NML-Q
'Why are you living in a bad fashion?'

(31) (Panfilov 1965:152)
*ɻxəv-ləi-t ŏo-t məγ-ŋan i-ñ-nə-**tox***
bear-kill-CV.3p carry-CV.3p descend-CV:when 3SU-eat-FUT-SUP
təŋz-ɖ-γu
work-IND/NML-PL
'When they had killed and brought down the bear, they prepared it for eating.'

(32) (Panfilov 1965:152)
*tu-**dox** mu-varu-ja*
move_downriver-SUP boat-turn-IMP.S
'Turn the boat [to go] downriver.'

(33) (Panfilov 1965:152)
*ñi ena-**dox** lət-ɻ-ra*
1s other-SUP make-IND/NML-HILI
'I made it differently.'

(34) (Panfilov 1965:151)
*naf ɻi řəm-**dox** **pˁrəu**-ja*
now 2s swim-SUP learn-IMP.S
'Learn how to swim now.'

(35) (Panfilov 1965:151)
*imŋ mu-**dox** **vi**-ɖ*
3p die-SUP go-IND/NML
'They went to die.'

For the two latter examples, however, we find the following alternative constructions with a complement clause (36) and a different nexus form (37), respectively (see section 4). The difference between the alternatives is unclear:

(36) (Panfilov 1965:153)
ñəŋ nuγi j-uru-ɖ́ pʿrəu-tʿa-ɖ
1p.ex first 3sU-read-IND/NML learn-HAB-IND/NML
'We learn how to read first.'

(37) (Gruzdeva 1998:52)
ñi pʿ-apak-ajma-t vi-nə-ɖ-ra
1s REFL-father_in_law-watch-CV.1s go-FUT-IND/NML-HILI
'I'll go to see my father-in-law.'

The supine can only be used if the subject of the dependent clause is coreferent to the matrix subject or topic; the only apparent exception to this in the literature is (38).

(38) (Panfilov 1965:152)
vi-dox als qʿau-ɖ-ra
go-SUP berry not_exist-IND/NML-HILI
'There were no berries on the way.'

This sentence is less strange if we consider a covert topic construction (which perfectly meets grammatical structure, see (89)), yielding 'we had no berries on our way'. The use in (39) challenges the usual causative construction (see (26), (90)).

(39) (Panfilov 1965:152)
*hemar imŋ-kʿez-ɖ imŋ-ax eγ-r vi-ku-**tox***
old_man 3p-tell-IND/NML 3p-CAUSEE return-CV.3s go-CST-SUP
'The old man told them to go home.'

The term supine has been chosen because of the formal and functional parallels to the Latin supine: Both forms are nominalized verb forms in the allative. The Nivkh supine goes back to a construction *verb root-participle (*-ŋ*)-allative (*-tox ~ -rox ~ -dox*) (compare 1.5), with the initial voiced plosive of the suffix being triggered by the later elided nasal.
In contrast to other converbs, the supine allows further nominal inflection, viz. a scalar operator or focus, according to the nominal template

(40) determiner/possessor_prefix-possessor^{n}-attribute^{n}/quantifier-nominal_root-number-relational_morpheme-case-scalar_operator^{2}/focus

(41) (Krejnovič 1979:312)
siḍhagin-nə-j-xsu-r *qʿo-**doχ-pərk*** *hum-ḍ*
anything-do-EXPL-NEG.HAB-CV.3s sleep-SUP-only be_there-IND/NML
'He does not do anything but sleep.'

(42) (Krejnovič 1934:216)
ñi *mə-**doγ-at*** *mə-ḍ-ra* *it-nə-**doγ-at*** *qʿauk-ra*
1s hear-SUP-EXH hear-IND/NML-HILI say-FUT-SUP-EXH not_exist-HILI
'I may well have heard something, but I won't tell.'

The supine thus makes a fairly nominal impression. It furnishes an extra "valency" for verbs which cannot take a complement clause. Otherwise, the supine behaves as other converbs as discussed in section 2.

4. Converbs marked for person of actor

4.1. Paradigms and categories

There are two converb-like nexus forms in Nivkh which are marked for the person of their actor:

(43) general converb *-t/-r, -n/-t/-ř*
anterior converb *-tot/-ror , -non/-tot/-řoř* 'after V-ing'

Person marking is in the form of idiosyncratic suffixes, which do not occur as person markers otherwise, e.g. for possessive marking or in mood forms. The person marking of the Negative Assumptive *-tla/-rla* is only an apparent exception, as the morpheme is formed from the general converb + focus suffix *-la*.

(44) Sakhalin realis and Amur forms

	general	anterior			
1s	*-t*	*-tot*	1p	*-t*	*-tot*
2s	*-r*	*-ror*	2p	*-t*	*-tot*
3s	*-r*	*-ror*	3p	*-t*	*-tot*

Sakhalin FUT/IMP forms

	general	anterior			
1s	*-n*	*-non*	1p	*-n*	*-non*
2s	*-r*	*-ror*	2p	*-n*	*-non*
3s	*-r*	*-ror*	3p	*-n*	*-non*

The Amur variety has only the paradigm to the left. On Sakhalin the forms containing the element /n/ are used if the matrix predicate bears future or imperative marking, i.e.they distinguish realis and irrealis.[4]

4 A parallel distinction is found in Eskimo languages: in Greenlandic there are two anterior converbs, one for realized and one for non-realized events. The latter is used if there is future marking on the matrix verb. Greenlandic, too, distinguishes future and non-future tense (Mattissen, this volume).

(45) EAST SAKHALIN DIALECT (Otaina 1978:102)

a. *ñi ʃo-xu-**tot*** *pʿ-vo-roχ* *vi-ɖ*
1s fish-kill-ACV.1s REFL-village-ALL go-IND/NML
'After catching some fish I went to my village.'

b. *ñi ʃo-xu-**non*** *pʿ-vo-roχ* *vi-j-ɖ*
1s fish-kill-ACV.1s REFL-village-ALL go-FUT-IND/NML
'After catching some fish I will go to my village.'

There are several morphemes which are marked on the general converb, but not on mood forms:

(46)

-vu-	QUO	complement of communication verbs
-ilǝkr-	'lest'	negative purposive
-durgu-	'while V-ing'	converbal continuative
-data-	'in the state of being V-ed'	converbal continuative
-γǝta- ~ -kǝta- ~ -xǝta-	Resultative	(in attribute or converb clause)

(47) (Panfilov 1965:122)

pañd-r *pil-gan* *ga-χa-urla-ñivx-mu-nǝ-**vu-r***
grow-CV.3s big-CV:when animal-shoot-good-person-become-FUT-QUO-CV.3s
it-ʃ-ra
say-IND/NML-HILI
'He$_i$ says that when he$_j$ grows up and is big he$_j$ will become a good shot.'

(48) (Panfilov 1968:433)

hǝ-baχ *qʿav-**data-gu-t*** *hǝ-ʃaχ-tox* *si-ta*
that-stone hot-CONT-CST-CV.3p that-water-ALL put-ENU.3p
'They put that stone into that water in hot condition.'

4.2. Coreference

The coreference of participants of matrix and dependent clause is no precondition for the use of these forms; however, in the case of non-coreference between subjects or subject and topic an extra marker is necessary in addition to the personal suffixes: the dependent form bears the causative morpheme. Switch reference is not expressed in the person markers. The dependent clause may have its own overt subject. Here are some examples with the general (49) and anterior converbs (50).

(i) GREENLANDIC (Fortescue 1984:56)

a. *apuum-**mat*** *atirviur-parput*
arrive-ARC.3s go_down_to_meet-IND.1p>3s
'When he arrived we went down to meet him.'

b. *apuuk-**kuni*** *niri-uma-**ssa**-aq*
arrive-ANC.REFLs eat-want-FUT-IND.3s
'When he arrives he will want to eat.'

(49) NORTH SAKHALIN DIALECT (Krejnovič 1983:109, 114)

a. *ñi pʿřə-t* *ezmu-d* same subject
1s come-CV.1s rejoice-IND/NML
'I was happy to come.'

b. *ñi pʿřə-g-r* *ezmu-d* different subject
1s come-CST-CV.3s rejoice-IND/NML
'He was happy that I came.' (lit. 'he rejoiced letting me come')

c. *jaŋ pʿřə-g-t* *ezmu-d* different subject
3s come-CST-CV.1s rejoice-IND/NML
'I was happy that he came.' (lit. 'I rejoiced letting him come')

d. *ʄi pʿ-ro-g-t* *(ñi) ʄe-rχ* *ŋixə-d-ra*
2s REFL-help-CST-CV.1s 1s 2s-ALL thank-IND/NML-HILI
'I thank you for helping me.'

(50) (Nedjalkov 1995:116)
imŋ(-ax) *mujnə-gu-ror* *ətək* *pʿrə-ɖ*
3p-CAUSEE ill-CST-ACV.3s father come-IND/NML
'Father came after letting them get over their illness.'

In the different-subject case in (50), the anterior converb bears the necessary causative morpheme, and its agent may be in the causee case. Obviously, the causative force is still alive here. With the general converb, I have never come across a causee-marked agent in a different-subject constellation, except with the quotative (see section 4.4). We may assume a diachronic perspective here: originally, the converb was only used in a same-subject constellation. In order to employ it with different subjects, the subject or topic of the superordinate form was introduced into the dependent clause as the causor, thus producing a same-subject constellation.[5]

(51) (Panfilov 1965:158)
ʄo vərk-tox qʿau-gu-t *ñəŋ* *taʄ-si-ɖ-ra*
fish rot-SUP not_exist-CST-CV:1p 1p.ex salt-put-IND/NML-HILI
'Not letting the fish rot we put it into salt.'

---

5 The use of a causative for enabling the employment of a "same subject"-form (the coreferent converb) in a "different subject"- case is found in Greenlandic as well (see Mattissen, in this volume: sect. 6.2).

(i) GREENLANDIC (Fortescue 1984:57, sic)
Aggu-mut *arviq* *isigi-til-lugu* *tuqu-vuq*
A.-ALL whale look_at-CST-CCV:>3s die-IND:3s
'While Agguᵢ was looking at the whale heⱼ died.' (lit. 'causing A. to look at the whale he died')

The causative force and the causee case-marking then eroded. Note that the same strategy is observed with modal suffixes, which originated in full verbs in a verb root serial construction (Mattissen 2003: ch. 6.4): the causative is obligatory on the (first) full verb root, as in the examples below, if the subject and actor are different persons.

(52) (Panfilov 1965:162)
hemañaχ *ñ-**ax*** *kʿrəu-**gu**-di-**ger**-ɻ-ra*
old_woman 1s-CAUSEE rest-CST-even-unwilling-IND/NML-HILI
'My old lady does not even want to let me rest.'

(53) (Panfilov 1965:162)
kʿe *vərk-**ku**-i-**ger**-t* *seu-tʿa-ɻ*
net rot-CST-EXPL-unwilling-CV:3p dry-HAB-IND/NML
'Not wanting to let the net rot they dry it.'

An exception to the usual coreference behavior in Nivkh is the example below, with switch reference marking missing (compare (48) above).

(54) (Panfilov 1965:145)
megi *qʿo-**data-t*** *megi-kʿu-nə-ɻ-γu-da*
1d sleep-CONT-CV.1p 1d-kill-FUT-IND/NML-PL-HILI
'They will kill us in our sleep.'

If coreference is between matrix subject or topic and non-subject participants in the dependent clause, these participants are encoded by the reflexive prefix (primary object, as in (49d), (55), possessor (56)) or pronoun (adjunct), but not if coreference is the other way round, as with the 2nd person in (49d).

(55) (Otaina 1978:98)
ñi ***pʿ**-su-t* *tvi-ɻ*
1s REFL-wash-CV.1s end-IND/NML
'I finished washing myself.'

4.3. Distribution and use

The anterior converb is used to encode an anterior relation to the matrix predicate.

(56) (Gruzdeva 1998:59/Krejnovič 1934:221)
ral ***pʿ-mu*** *hur-tov-ror* *pʿ-ŋafq-rox* *mər-ra*
frog REFL-boat there-tie-ACV.3s REFL-comrade-ALL go_up-ENU.3s
'After the frog had moored his boat he went up to his comrade.'

It can be combined with the converb suffix *-ŋan* in a single verb form, Panfilov (1965:50), however, furnishes no further explanation for this. All examples have future or imperative marking on the matrix form and a habitual/presential reading (see also 2.2 above).

(57) (Panfilov 1965:150)
*ñi vi-**tot-ŋan*** *pityə-daju-nə-ḍ*
1s go-ACV.1s-CV:when book-write-FUT-IND/NML
'When I go I'll write a book afterwards.'

The general converb fulfills the functions of a "contextual converb" in the sense of Nedjalkov (1995). It is used in the following contexts:
✧ in verb union adjacent to a directional or transfer verb with coreferential subject, expressing a single event

(58) (Panfilov 1965:147)
ñi meuʈu-ř̆o-t *ŋa-ŋəŋ-t* *vi-ḍ*
1s rifle-carry-CV.1s animal-hunt-CV.1s go-IND/NML
'I'll go hunting with my rifle.'

(59) NORTH SAKHALIN DIALECT (Krejnovič 1960:86)
məy-ux *meñ-aʃ-r* *i-xm-d*
bow-ABL rudder-transport_downriver-CV.3s 3sU-give-IND/NML
'He passed him the rudder from the bow downriver [within the boat, i.e. aft].'

(60) (Panfilov 1965:150)
hoʁař *Vagun* *ʈalra-rot* *aŋ-gu-ř̆* *ʈaq-vo-ř̆* *i-rlə-ř̆*
then V. stalk-ACV.3s firm-CST-CV.3s spear-take-CV.3s 3sU-pull-CV.3s
səu-ḍ. *səu-rot* *qama-ř̆* *pʿu-ř̆* *məy-ř̆*
take_off-IND/NML take_off-ACV.3s run-CV.3s exit-CV.3s descend-CV.3s
hivmu *j-əʃ-ʃ-ra*
birch_bark_boat 3sU-transport_riverside→water-IND/NML-HILI
'Vagun approached, gripped the spear tightly and pulled at it, pulled it out.

After pulling it out he ran outside down [to the river] and launched the birch bark boat.'

✧ in verb union expressing path & manner ('exit carrying/running') or manner & result ('kill by stabbing')[6], see also (60) above:

(61) (Gruzdeva 1998:60)
hoʁar ral təvə-r mot-heqr-ux tañ-ɖaqo-γe-ra
then frog enter-CV.3s pillow-inland-ABL cut_out-knife-take-ENU.3s
ř̆o-r pʿu-r e-sp-r i-γ-ra.
carry-CV.3s exit-CV.3s 3sU-stab-CV.3s 3sU-kill-ENU.3s
'Then the frog entered the house, took a cutting-out knife from behind a pillow, went outside with it and stabbed it [the elk].'

✧ adjacent to an auxiliary-like phasal verb (very common cross-linguistically), viz.

(62) *hum-ɖ* 'sth. is there' (contracting to *-tʿumɖ/-ř̆umɖ*): continuative/progressive/resultative
ha-ɖ 'it is so' (contracting to *-tʿaɖ/-ř̆aɖ*): habitual
tvi-ɖ 's.o. ends sth.': 'finish V-ing'
kʿevara-ɖ 's.o. often does': frequentative
ñu-ɖ 's.o. examines sth. by sight': conative
ūmu-ɖ 's.o. fights': 'strive for'

(63) (Otaina 1978:49)
*tə-ər-ux ləx ərti əki-**ř̆u**-ɖ*
this-time-ABL weather always bad-HAB-IND/NML
'At this time the weather is always bad.'

(64) (Otaina 1978:98)
ñi mos-amra-t ***ñu**-ɖ*
1s fish_skin&berry_dish-taste-CV.1s examine_by_sight-IND/NML
'I tried (the) mos.'

The reading of the converb+ *humɖ*-form depends on the inherent lexical "aspect" of the verb. Activity verbs have a progressive reading (as in (65)), terminative verbs a

6 Note that a result reading is also found in verb root serial constructions (see Mattissen 2003:190).
(i) (Panfilov 1965:9)
ñi vi-pʿer-ɖ
1s go-tired-IND/NML
'Walking, I got tired.'

resultative reading (as in (66), aspect theory by Breu 2000).

(65) (Nedjalkov/Otaina 1988:138)
pʿ-lumř-ku *tləhontq-si-r* ***hum**-ḑ*
REFL-sable-PL bag-put-CV.3s be_there-IND/NML
'He is putting his sables into a bag.'

(66) (Nedjalkov/Otaina 1988:139)
əlţ-γu *sək* *mu-t* ***hum**-ḑ-γu*
servant-PL all die-CV.3p be_there-IND/NML-PL
'The servants were all dead.'

Note that, besides the converb construction, *tviḑ* may also take a complement, but with a different reading ('stop' instead of 'finish'):

(67) (Otaina 1978:98)
a. *ţ́am* *lu-r* ***tvi**-ḑ*
shaman sing-CV.3s end-IND/NML
'The shaman finished singing.'
b. *andχ* *i-ñ-r* ***tvi**-ḑ*
guest 3sU-eat-CV.3s end-IND/NML
'The guest finished eating it.'

(68) (Panfilov 1965:153)
va-ḑ ***tvi**-nəte*
fight-IND/NML end-HOR.d
'Let's stop fighting.'

✧ as the predicate of an adverbial clause
The adverbial clause may be subordinate to a matrix or another dependent clause, e.g. a converb or attributive one (e.g. (69), (14)). The predicate is either a plain converb form or bears one of the morphemes listed in (46).

(69) (Panfilov 1962:157)
oz-ŋan *u-γrə-t* *pʿu-t*
rise-CV:after RECI-accomp.-CV.3p go_out-CV.3p

pʿ-eñ-f-eñ-uy-ḍ-ra
REFL-ski-REFL-ski-sink_into-IND/NML-HILI
'After getting up they went out together and put on their skis.'

✧ as an adverb form or objective copredicate
The adverb and the objective copredicate ((72), (89)) are formed from property-denoting verbs and are always marked with the causative (i.e. different subject forms). They are in number concord with the matrix verb.

(70) (Beffa 1982:88-89)
hoʁor ***eʁ-gu-r*** *məy-ḍ*
therefore fast-CST-CV.3s descend-IND/NML
'Therefore he descended quickly.' (lit. 'descended letting it be fast')

(71) (Panfilov 1965:67)
veta-yət-tot ***patej-gu-t*** *pʿu-ḍ-yu*
dress-CPL-ACV.3p quiet-CST-CV.3p leave-IND/NML-PL
'After having dressed they left quietly.'

(72) (Krejnovič 1934:220)
qala-gu-r *i-ñ-ja*
green-CST-CV.2s 3SU-eat-IMP.S
'Eat vegetables.' (lit. 'eat it letting it be green')

The adverb form is used for single concrete events. An inherent or generic state of affairs is expressed via verb root serialization. Compare the two examples below:

(73) (Panfilov 1965:113)
hə-ñivx *ur-gu-r* *nənə-ḍ*
that-person good-CST-CV.3s work(RED)-IND/NML
'S/he is working well.'

(74) (Krejnovič 1979:321)
laq-xir *vi-ur-ḍ-a*
ski-INS go-good-IND/NML-XCL
'One moves well on skis.'

✧ as predicate of a complement of a verb of cognition or communication

Except for the *-vu-r/vu-t*-form, this use seems to be marginal, since in general complements have their predicate in the nominalizing *-ɻ*-form (as in (6), (9) or (76b)).

(75) (Krejnovič 1979:314)
ñi pʿ-ŋafq mu-inə-gu-t j-eʁ-ɻ
1s REFL-comrade die-INT-CST-CV.1s 3sU-hear_about-IND/NML
'I heard that my comrade is ill.' (lit. 'I heard about it, letting my comrade be ill')

(76) (Panfilov 1965:147, 1962:244)
a. *ñi jaŋgut vi-nə-ɻ-ŋa? pʿfo-vəks-t*
1s how go-FUT-IND/NML-Q REFL-village-throw_away-CV.1s
uiɣ-ɻ-ra
unlawful-IND/NML-HILI
'How can I go? Leaving my village is unlawful.'
b. *oʁla! huŋrəɻ-vo-ɻ uiɣ-ɻ-ra*
child such-take-IND/NML unlawful-IND/NML-HILI
'My child! Taking such things is unlawful.'

✧ clause chaining of tightly related sequential or coordinate events
The clause chaining function is generally borne by the enumerative (see section 5). If two events are close (share a primary object) and the preceding clause is short (e.g. a single verb form), or if a coordinate verb form is subordinate to another non-matrix form the general converb can be used.

(77) (Panfilov 1965:152)
ʧxəv-ləi-t ǩo-t məɣ-ŋan i-ñ-nə-tox
bear-kill-CV.3p carry-CV.3p descend-CV:when 3sU-eat-FUT-SUP
təŋz-ɻ-ɣu
work-IND/NML-PL
'When they had killed and brought down the bear, they prepared it for eating.'

(78) (Panfilov 1965:75)
əyrəku ñivɣ-gu ʧaj-χavu-t ra-ɣsu-ta.
long_ago person-PL tea-heat-CV.3p drink-NEG.HAB-ENU.3p
tiv-la-ʧaχ-park-tara-ta
cold-PERM-water-only-drink(RED)-ENU.3p
'In the past, the Nivkh did not heat tea and drink it. They used to drink cold water only.'

(79) NORTH SAKHALIN DIALECT (Hidetoshi Shiraishi, field data 1999)
ʧi vi-ř ʧaj-ra-ja
2s go-CV.2s tea-drink-IMP.s
'Go and have tea.'

4.4. Embedding

The converb clause is a satellite to its matrix clause. All participants are marked as in a matrix clause (with the exception below). The general and anterior converbs may be marked for their own categories including tense and modalities except for mood and focus, but may alternatively be in the scope of categories of the superordinate verb (as in (80)).

(80) (Panfilov 1965:121)
hoke v-umgu it-ʧ: pʿxə-dox ***ex-t*** ***vi-da.***
then 3s.POR-woman say-IND/NML back-ALL return-CV.1p go-HOR.p
v-utku it-ʧ: qʿaukra, mer tuin nama-gu-t hum-bara.
3s.POR-man say-IND/NML no 1p.in here fit-CST-CV.1p be_there-yet
'Then his wife said: let's go back home. Her husband said: no, we are living well here.'

The examples below show the general converb dependent on another converb in (81) and on an attributive form in (82).

(81) (Nedjalkov 1995:101)
hoʁoŋan if hə-kutə-x toj-ra mif-tox məγ-ra
then 3s that-hole-ABL creep_through-ENU.3s earth-ALL descend-ENU.3s
(ha-ɖ); kəpr-ror ku-γe puñɖ-γe-bo-r tʿaŋra-r
be_so-IND stand-ACV.3s arrow-ASC.s bow-ASC.s-take-CV.3s lurk-CV.3s
hum-ke pək kutə-x pʿu-ivo puñɖ-γirχa-ɖ
be_there-CV:while cuckoo hole-ABL exit-CV:while bow-INSshoot-IND/NML
'Then he crept out of the opening, climbed down onto the ground; after standing up he took bow and arrow and lay in waiting; while the cuckoo came out of the opening, he shot it with the bow.'

(82) (Otaina 1978:93)
lerler-r ***pəkz-ñivx*** *pʿi ərk keχt-γət-ke*
lose_way-CV.3s get_lost-person REFL already turn_grey-CPL-CV:while

nan *pʿ-vo-rx* *pʿřə-ɻ*
not_until REFL-village-ALL come-IND/NML
'Someone who got lost over losing his way did not return to his village until his hair had already turned grey.'

The *-vu-r/-vu-t* converb allows alternative actor marking. Besides the usual non-marking of subjects as in (83), the subject may bear the quotative subject case/focus marker (see Mattissen 2003:11) as in (84), which does not occur in any other context, or may bear causee-case (cf. section 4.2), as in (85).

(83) (Otaina 1978:79)
if *pʿ-afik* *pand-ur-nə-vu-r* *it-r* *raju-ɻ*
3s REFL-younger_brother grow_up-good-FUT-QUO-CV.3s say-CV.3s write-IND/NML
'She wrote that her little brother is going to be pretty.'

(84) (Otaina 1978:79)
*if-**gan*** *qʿoʁi-maŋg-vu-t* *it-ʈ*
3s-QUO reason-strong-QUO-CV.3p say-IND/NML
'He is said to be intelligent.'

(85) (Otaina 1978:79)
if *přə-r* *pʿ-ŋafq-**ax*** *osqa-vil-vu-r* *it-ʈ*
3s come-CV.3s REFL-comrade-CAUSEE cowardly-big-QUO-CV.3s say-IND/NML
'He came and said that his comrade is a coward.'

As with the non-actor-marked converbs, the actor-marked ones have an asymmetric relation to other predicates.

4.5. Diachronic sources

The morphological source for both anterior and general converbs is unknown. The anterior form seems to involve reduplication, however. The general converb form itself grammaticalizes to adpositions/relators. In (86), *ʃ́-ro-t* can no longer be interpreted literally.

(86) (Panfilov 1965:146)
ʃ́i *ñəŋ-əri-nə-ʁavr-nəftox* *ñi* *ʃ́-χos-puk-t* *puks-əx*
2s 1p.ex-stay_behind-FUT-NEG-CV:for_to 1s 2s.POR-neck-tie-CV.1s cord-end

əŋg-γir j-az-t ɟ-ro-t vi-nə-ḑ-ra
mouth-INS 3SU-take_between_teeth-CV.1s 2SU-help-CV.1s go-FUT-IND/NML-HILI
'Lest you fall back behind us I'll tie a cord around your neck, take its end between my teeth and thus we go with you.'

The additional morphemes found on the general converb (see (46)) go back to verbal and nominal sources (Otaina 1978:39-40, 102; Panfilov 1962:143-156).

(87) *-vu-* QUO < *fur-ḑ* 'say' *-data-* 'while' < *tata-ḑ* 'whole'
-γəta- RES cf. *-γət-* CPL *-durŋu-* 'in state of' < *turŋ* 'form, shape'

5. The enumerative

5.1. Paradigms and categories

The enumerative is person-marked for its actor in a similar way to the general converb, but without switch reference marking.

(88)

Sakhalin realis, Amur		Sakh. FUT/IMP	Sakh. realis, Amur		Sakh. FUT/IMP
1s	*-ta*	*-na*	1p	*-ta*	*-na*
2s	*-ra*	*-ra*	2p	*-ta*	*-na*
3s	*-ra*	*-ra*	3p	*-ta*	*-na*

Cross-reference is with the topic (1st plural *-ta* in (89) does not refer to *lums*).

(89) (Panfilov 1965:117)
*lums lili qˁau-**ta**, laŋr-ɟus-park talva-gu-t i-ñ-**ta***
victuals very not.exist-ENU.1p seal-flesh-only raw-CST-CV.1p 3SU-eat-CV.1p
'We did not have any victuals at all, we only ate seal raw.'

Usually, no further verbal categories are marked on the enumerative verb form, except for causative.

(90) (Panfilov 1965:117)
*ťa ñ-ax vār-**gu**-re ñivγ-ar ťa vār-**gu**-re*
PROH 1s-CAUSEE feel_ash.-CST-ENU.2s person-also PROH feel_ash.-CST-CV.2s
*ha-**ja***
be_so-IMP.s
'Do not make me feel ashamed, nor other people.'

5.2. Distribution and use

The enumerative resembles most Nedjalkov's "narrative converb" (1995). It may enter into verb union with the dummy verb only (see below), but is used for coordinative clause chaining. The relation between the chained clauses may be sequential or adversative (with a parallel focus), as the examples below show.

(91) (Panfilov 1965:66) context: the old man found a fox in the trap
*ʧīr-kir za-ř i-γ-**ra** ř̆o-r vi-**ra**,*
wood-INS hit-CV.3s 3sU-kill-ENU.3s carry-CV.3s go-ENU.3s
*i-nār səu-**ra** seu-**ra** verax-tox i-mγ-**ra***
3s.POR-pelt take_off-ENU.3s dry-ENU.3s slave-ALL 3sU-give-ENU.3s
'Hitting it with a stick he killed it and took it with him and skinned it and dried the skin and gave it to his servant.'

(92) (Beffa 1982:87) context: the brother grew up
*hoŋgutˁumke mīv-ñaqr pal-rox mər-**ra** qˁotr-kˁu-**ra***
living_thus day-one_CLF mountain-ALL ascend-ENU.3s bear-kill-ENU.3s
*hoʁorot lər-γət-**ra**. tˁu-in ʁoñḑi-ror vəγi-ř̆ məγ-ḑ.*
then divide_up-CPL-ENU.3s sledge-LOC load-ACV.3 drag-CV.3s descend-IND/NML
'Living thus, one day he went up into the mountain woods and killed a bear and then cut it fully up. He loaded it onto the sled and, dragging it along, descended.'

(93) (Panfilov 1962:145)
*ətək tˁoχ ŋox-kir xedr-**ra** tˁəqr-kir ř̆oav-**ra***
father elk lard-INS rub-ENU.3s rosemary-INS smoke-ENU.3s
'Father rubbed the elk with lard and smoked it with wild rosemary.'

(94) (Beffa 1982:86)
*hoŋgutˁumke aʧik ərk pil-**ra** pal-rox*
thus_living younger_brother already big-ENU.3s mountain-ALL
*mər-**ra** ʧolŋaj-xu-**ra** tˁoχ-kˁu-**ra** qˁotr-kˁu-**ra***
go_up-ENU.3s stag-kill-ENU.3s elk-kill-ENU.3s bear-kill-ENU.3s
'Living thus the brother had already become big and he went up into the mountain woods and he killed stags, elks and bears.'

(95) (Panfilov 1965:117)
vo-ñaqr *hum-**ra**,* *hə-vo-in* *maŋgla-ñivx-ñin*
village-one_CLF be_there-ENU.3s that-vill.-LOC strong-person-one_CLF
*hum-**ra***
be_there-ENU.3s
'Once upon a time there was a village, and a strong man lived there.'

(96) (cf. Taksami/Polet'eva 1992:50)
a. *ñi mγe-**ta**,* *ɬi meñ-vo-**ra*** ***ha-ja***
1s row-ENU.1s 2s rudder-take-ENU.2s be_so-IMP.s
'Let me row and you take the rudder.'
b. *ral* *mγe-**ra**,* *ñaγř* *meñ-vo-**ra*** ***ha-ḑ***
frog row-ENU.3s rat rudder-take-ENU.3s be_so-IND/NML
'The frog rowed and the rat took the rudder.'

(97) (Panfilov 1965:117)
ɬi tol-ux *nəŋ-**ra**,* *ñi miv-uin* *pan-**ta***
2s water-ABL move-ENU.2s 1s earth-LOC be_born/grow_up-ENU.1s
'You came from the sea, I was born on dry country.'

The enumerative is prohibited on attributive forms in a coordinative relation; instead, the plain root is used (cf. Mattissen 2003:114).

(98) (Panfilov 1954:20)
ñi ***pila*** *piula-q̑otr-k̑u-ḑ*
1s big- black-bear-kill-IND/NML
'I killed a big black bear.'

As examples (91)-(95) show, two or more plain enumerative forms in a series remind of matrix predicate forms. They also occur, however, with a dummy matrix form concluding the series.[7] This dummy is formed from the verb *ha-* 'be so' and bears any mood or focus markers, i.e. morphemes of the final slot of the verb template which

7 A parallel to the Nivkh enumerative is known from Japanese. In the V-*tari* V-*tari* (V-*tari* etc.) *suru*-construction, *-tari* is the enumerative converb and *suru* 's.o. does sth.' the dummy matrix form inflecting for tense, aspect, mood, modalities and negation.
(i) JAPANESE (Makino/Tsutsui 1986:458)
utat-tari *odot-tari* *shi-mashi-ta.*
sing-ENU dance-ENU do-HON-PST
'We sang and danced and things like that.'

cannot be marked on the enumerative itself (see also (96)).

(99) (Panfilov 1965:117)
*ʧi, jār pʿrə-ivo kər-r kīs-hup-**ra** vivus-hup-**ra***
2s why come-CV:while stop-CV.2s lace-lace-ENU.2s belt-lace-ENU.2s
***ha-ɖ-ŋa**?*
be_so-IND/NML-Q
'Why do you, while you are coming, stop and lace up your shoes and buckle your belt?'

Note that with the dummy present, person marking is not on the dummy, but on the interior enumerative form. The extant materials do not allow to formulate a stricter rule for the use of the dummy. Nedjalkov (1995) considers it to be a dialectal variation, which is not actually borne out by the language materials.
In general, the Nivkh enumerative is used for a series of chained verbs (usually with the exception of the final verb) in a paragraph or text or before a change of topic or perspective. The final form is usually in the indicative. Insofar the enumerative is still different from a matrix predicate form, as the following text shows (punctuation by Panfilov):

(100) (Panfilov 1968:433)
*əγrəkon ñivγ-gu pila-vəñ qʿau-**ɖ**.*
long_ago person-PL big-cauldron not_exist-**IND/NML**
hoʁat hisk-he-ŋan tol-kar-tʿavi-zīr-polo-tot
therefore hemp-cook-CV:when thick-ELAT-aspen-tree-fell-ACV.3p
*orŋ-ləɜ-**ʧ*** *pil-gu-t vəñ-ŋarla-gu-t*
trough-make-**IND/NML** big-CST-CV.3p cauldron-similar-CST-CV.3p
*ñlami-erq-əx-olkeu-**ta*** *ʧəj*
half-direction-end-hollow_out-**ENU.3p** else
*en-v-erq-əx-olkeu-**ta*** *pil-gu-t*
other-LOCNML-direction-end-hollow_out-**ENU.3p** big-CST-CV.3p
vəñ-ŋarla-gu-t. hə-tār-ux orŋ-ŋarla-gu-t
cauldron-sim.-CST-CV.3p that-interval-ABL trough-similar-CST-CV.3p
*j-olkeu-**ta**. ha-tot hisk-za-tot*
3SU-hollow_out-**ENU.3p** be_so-ACV.3p hemp-hit-ACV.3p
*ñlami-erq-uin vəñ-ŋarla-v-uin hunḍi-**ta**.*
half-direction-LOC cauldron-similar-LOCNML-LOC put_into-**ENU.3p**

kməj-ŭuv-tot *pləŋk-ɣe-**ta*** *hisk-rxə-rx* *ruirui-**ta**.*
oak-burn-ACV.3p ashes-take-**ENU.3p** hemp-top_surface-ALL sprinkle-**ENU.3p**
hoʁotot *hə-orŋ-dox* *ʃaχ* *marq-**ta*** *pila-baχ-ku-ge-tot*
thereafter that-trough-ALL water pour-**ENU.3p** big-stone-PL-take-ACV.3p
tʿūr-pʿu-tot *paχ-qʿavu-tot* *hə-baχ*
fire-make_fire-ACV.3p stone-heat-ACV.3p that-stone
qʿav-data-gu-t *hə-ʃaχ-tox* *si-**ta**.* *paχ-təkstəks-t*
hot-CONT-CST-CV.3p that-water-ALL put-**ENU.3p** stone-exchange(RED)-CV.3p
*χavu-**ɖ**.* *hoŋke* *hə-ʃaχ* *qʿorqʿor-**ɖ**.*
heat-**IND/NML** then that-water boil-**IND/NML**
hə-hisk-he-tot *kʿe-lət-**ta*** *ʃo-ŋəŋ-**ta*** (end of extract)
that-hemp-cook-ACV.3p net-make-**ENU.3p** fish-hunt-**ENU.3p**
'In former times, people did not have big cauldrons. Therefore, when cooking hemp, they made, after felling a very big aspen tree, a trough. Big, cauldron-like, they hollowed out one end and on the other side they hollowed it out big, cauldron-like. Between [the ends] they hollowed out a trough. Then, after beating the hemp, they put it into one half, into the cauldron-like place. After burning oak wood they took the ashes and sprinkled them onto the hemp. Afterwards they poured water into that trough, and after taking big stones, making a fire and heating a stone they put that stone into that water in hot condition. Replacing the stone again and again they heated it [the water]. Then that water came to a boil. After they had cooked the hemp they made a net [from it] and fished [with it].'

In the marginal example below, the enumerative occurs in a single instance (without a chain), however.

(101) (Gruzdeva 1998:63-64)
əmɣi *pʿakifaki* *kʿlu-jo-ɣar-d.* *əmɣi*
son_in_law more+more fear-DIM-CPL-IND/NML son_in_law
'The son-in-law grew more and more afraid.'
pʿ-ňu *vi-ř* *poz-ř* *ʃŋər-kis* *pʿ-aňku-**ra***
REFL-sledge go-CV.3s lie(down)-CV.3s grass-INS REFL-cover-**ENU.3s**
ha-ř *tʿək* *pʿerv-ř* *hunv-fke* *qʿo-d.*
be_so-CV.3s long_time hide-CV.3s be_there-CV:while sleep-IND/NML
'The son-in-law went to his sledge, laid down, covered himself with grass and thus hiding for a long time slept.'

5.3. Coreference

The enumerative with or without the dummy matrix form is used independently from the coreference of participants and does not mark switch reference (see (96), (99)). Any participant shared between enumerative clauses is dislocated into the topic and dislocation positions before the first verb form and its further adjuncts.

(102) (Panfilov 1965:66)

i-năr	*səu-ra*	*seu-ra*	*verax-tox*	*i-mɣ-ra*
3s.POR-pelt	take_off-ENU.3s	dry-ENU.3s	slave-ALL	3sU-give-ENU.3s

'He skinned it and dried the skin and gave it to his servant.'

5.4. Embedding

The enumerative form is in the scope of the mood of the dummy verb and is not marked for verbal categories except causative (see (90)). Each verb in a chain of enumeratives may have its own subject or other participants and adverbials. Relation marking is as in a matrix clause. An enumerative verb form is never dependent on or in verb union with any other predicate except for the dummy. When a dummy is missing, it looks very much like a matrix predicate; still, it is never marked for mood but for person, whereas on most matrix forms categories are marked just the other way round. The dummy may be in a converb form itself, then the whole construction is dependent on another matrix predicate. Such a construction is not possible for matrix predicates.

(103) (Otaina 1978:87)

ʃaχ	*veu-ra*	*lɐx*	*ur-ra*	***ha-ɣan***	*ñəŋ*
water	deep-ENU.3s	weath.	good-ENU.3s	be_so-CV:when	1p.ex

ʃ-rorvi-nə-ɖ-ra

2sU-take_away-FUT-IND/NML-HILI

'When the water is deep and the weather is fine we'll take you away.'

The topic/dislocation position of shared participants and the dummy form a kind of frame around the symmetric chain of enumerative verb forms. Chained enumeratives are thus neither independent from each other, nor are they dependent on each other, they are cosubordinate.

5.5. Diachronic source

There is no obvious source for the enumerative, except for the same unknown source as for the actor-marked converbs with which it shares the person markers.

Given the possibility of using the enumerative without the dummy matrix form, it may be itself undergoing an evolution towards a matrix predicate form.

6. The status of nexus forms in Nivkh in typological perspective

In the foregoing, we have presented the three types of verb forms used in Nivkh clausal nexion: the converbs proper, the actor-marked converbs and the enumerative, as well as the supine. These forms differ with respect to their marking of person of actor, handling of coreference, embeddedness and functions.

They are easily delimited from matrix predicates, complement and attributive verb forms: Nexus forms share the properties of not being used as the only predicate in a sentence (not constituting a minimal sentence) and of not being marked for mood, as the mood suffixes are in the same slot and mutually exclusive with the nexus suffixes. Both mood and nexion are never marked word internally and thus signal the right margin of a word form (Mattissen 2003: ch. 3.8). The verbal attribute, on the other hand, takes the form of the verb root or stem (without a nexus or mood suffix) in the Amur variety and the form of a participle (with suffix *-ŋ*) in the Sakhalin varieties and synthesizes with its head noun, whereas a complement clause has a nominalized verb form.

Any verb form, however, may be marked for tense and phases, and is obligatorily marked for its undergoer if transitive, i.e. these categories are not involved in "finiteness" - if there is such a thing at all in Nivkh.

The converbs proper are not marked for the person of their actor and express an adverbial relation to their superordinate predicate, which can be a matrix predicate or another non-matrix form. They are used in any coreference constellation, with a participant coreferent to the matrix topic or subject encoded by the reflexive pronoun or prefix. They can precede their matrix clause but are usually enclosed in it after the topic and dislocation positions. They are not used in verb union or coordinate relations. There is thus a clear asymmetrical relation to another verb in the sentence.

The supine, on the other hand, occurs only in verb union with another verb, with which it expresses a single event. Its subject has to be coreferent to the topic of the matrix verb.

Therefore, both the converbs proper and the supine fit the definition of converbs. According to Haspelmath (1995), converbs are predicate forms which are formally dependent on the existence of a superordinate matrix verb form to which they generally exhibit an adverbial relation. They are employed for clausal nexion or in combination with auxiliaries. Nivkh, by the way, is a predicate-final language with the converb forms being non-last verb forms, a typological trait shared by most converb languages, e.g. Altaic languages, but not Bantu (where the converbs follow the matrix

verb, see Haspelmath 1995).

Actor-marked converbs are a different case. As they are marked for the person of their actor whereas several matrix forms are not, they seem more "finite" than a matrix predicate. At the same time, the fact that there is one more category, and person marking for that matter, marked on dependent than on independent predicates is most conspicuous; I do not know of any similar case cross-linguistically. However, as Mattissen (2003:205) stated, a count of verb forms in actual texts (usually narrative) shows that 50% of all verb forms are either a general converb or an enumerative, thus actor marking is more "useful" for the hearer on these dependent forms. Together with the most common matrix form, the indicative, which may be marked for plural of its actor, and the anterior converb, only 15% of all verb forms in a text (other converbs, supine, mood) are completely without a subject cross-reference.

On the other hand, actor-marked converbs are sensitive to coreference constellations and mark "different subject" with an additional suffix, a trait typical of converbs or medial verbs. Whereas the anterior converb is in an adverbial relation to its superordinate form, the general converb is used in adverbial or coordinative relations or in verb union with an "auxiliary". This versatility is not untypical of converbs cross-linguistically; and we observe a clear asymmetry of predicates. A participant coreferent to the matrix subject or topic is encoded by a reflexive prefix or pronoun. Thus, most properties of the forms meet converbal characteristics well.

The enumerative, however, is less easy to decide on. Not only is it actor-marked, but it is used for a chain of coordinate and symmetric predicates. Although it is in verb union (not necessarily adjacent) with a matrix predicate bearing mood markers it itself cannot take, this matrix form is a dummy and more often than not missing. Still, the enumerative is different from matrix forms in its absence of mood marking, its possibility of being dependent on another dependent form, its being chained, not generally occurring as a single predicate nor a paragraph-concluding form. Thus, the form is best described as cosubordinate.

Nivkh does not have special negative converbs; converbs are negated either by negational morphemes in the modality slot or by the construction supine + 'not exist'-converb suffix, just as finite or attributive verbs (see Mattissen 2003:24-25, 194-195 and examples (41), (42), (51), (78), (86)).

Nivkh is characterized by nexus forms with and without actor marking. The former are inhomogeneous in their distribution and function and clearly not prototypical converbs. Their origin is not reconstructible, nor, by the way, the origin of most of the mood markers. The only exception is the Negative Assumptive *-tla/-rla*, which still exhibits the person marking of the general converb and thus betrays its origin in the converb + focus suffix *-la*. Furthermore, we observe *ra/ta* reoccurring in several com-

manding forms (see (4)). We are therefore left in the dark as to the evolution of the present situation of person marking in Nivkh.

The discussion of nexus forms in Nivkh contributes to the question of the correlation of the morphological type of a language and the existence of converbs. Not only does the type of morphology play a role, but also the distinction of lexical categories.

Bisang (1993) demonstrates that isolating languages like Chinese rely on verb serialization for clausal nexion, whereas agglutinating language (e.g. Altaic languages, Bantu) make use of converbs. Of course, a language with less prominent morphology, such as an isolating language, does not have the morphological prerequisites for converb affixes while agglutinating languages, in which morphology plays a prominent role, easily afford them.

Sasse (1993) adds that a polysynthetic language such as Cayuga (Iroquoian), in which all word forms are predicates, lacks converbs, too. Salishan and Wakashan languages are similar. The absence of converbs is not due to scarcity of morphology in this case. What isolating and polysynthetic languages may have in common is the fact that all predicates in such a language have the same hierarchic status. Converbs, however, signal a difference in predicate status.

On the other hand, polysynthetic languages such as Eskimo (in this volume), Chukchi (Chukcho-Kamchadal), Wichita (Caddoan) (and Nivkh for that matter) do have converbs. This is not owed to any difference in amount of morphology. What distinguishes them from Iroquoian languages, for instance, is the fact that they have at least two sufficiently distinct types of word forms, based on distinct lexical categories ("nouns" and "verbs"; see Mattissen 2003: chs. 7, 9, 10). These distinct word forms have different statusses in syntax and need structures above the word-level.

We may thus conclude that at the "extremes" of morphological type morphology either is practically absent ("pure syntax"), or is so prominent that what happens on the syntactic level in other languages is encoded morphologically within a word unit ("pure morphology"), making even a distinction of lexical categories practically superfluous (participants are integrated into a verb form in the form of roots or personal affixes). Converbs come into play when relations are encoded on the syntactic level and signal a difference in predicate status.

Of course, these conditions are given in the European languages, which nevertheless prefer conjunctions over converbs. Languages such as German and French have complex verb paradigms made up of either fairly opaque portemanteau morphemes or verbal nouns with auxiliaries. Such a morphological constellation seems to disfavor converbs, for reasons yet unknown, as well.

Special Abbreviations

(for general abbreviations see pp. 5-6)

ACV	anterior converb	INS	instrumental
ANC	anterior non-realized converb	INT	intentional
ARC	anterior realized converb	LOCNML	local nominalization
ASC(.s)	correlative-associative (sg)	NPST	non-past
CONT	continuative	PERM	permanent property (*-la*)
CPL	completive	P'OR	possessor
CST	causative	PROH	prohibitive
DIM	diminutive	PST	past
ELA	elative	QUO	quotative
ENU	enumerative	RECI	reciprocal
EXPL	expletive	SBJ	subjunctive
EXH	exhaustive focus	SUP	supine
HILI	highlighting focus	U	undergoer
HOR.p	hortative plural	XCL	exclamative
IND	indicative		

References

Beffa, Marie-Lise 1982: "Présentation de la langue Nivx suivie de l'analyse linguistique d'un paragraphe du conte". *Études mongoles et sibériennes* 13: 49-98

Bisang, Walter 1993: "Der Konverb-Typ und der Verbalisierung-Typ: Skizze zu einer Arealtypologie der Satzverbindung in den Sprachen Asiens". In: Ebert, Karen H. (ed.): Studies in Clause Linkage. Zürich: Seminar für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, ASAS 12. 57-70

Breu, Walter (Hrsg.) 2000: *Probleme der Interaktion von Lexik und Aspekt (ILA)*. Tübingen: Niemeyer

Comrie, Bernard. 1981. *Languages of the Soviet Union*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Fortescue, Michael. 1984. *West Greenlandic*. London etc.: Croom Helm

Gruzdeva, E.Ju. 1994: Taksisnye otnošenija vo vremennyx polipredikativnyx konstrukcijax nivxskogo jazyka [Taxis relationships in Nivkh temporal multi-predicate sentences]. Avtoreferat dissertacii na soiskanie učjonoj stepeni kandidata filologičeskix nauk. Sankt-Peterburg: Rossijskaja Akademija Nauk, Institut lingvističeskix issledovanij, 18pp.

Gruzdeva, E.Ju. 1998: *Nivkh*. Munich: LINCOM (= Languages of the World Materials 111)

Haspelmath, Martin 1995: "The converb as a cross-linguistically valid category". In: König, Ekkehard / Haspelmath, Martin (eds.): *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 1-55

Krejnovič, E.A. 1934a: "Nivxskij (giljackij) jazyk [The Nivkh language]". In: Krejnovič, E.A. (ed.): *Jazyki i pis'mennost' narodov Severa*, Vol. III: *Jazyki i pis'mennost' paleoaziatskix narodov*. Leningrad: Instituta Narodov Severa / Učpedgiz. 181-222 (= Trudy po Lingvistike 3)

Krejnovič, E.A. 1960. "Vyraženie prostranstvennoj orientacii v nivxskom jazyke (k istorii orientacii v prostranstve) [The expression of spatial orientation in Gilyak (toward a history of orientation in space)]". *Voprosy Jazykoznanija* 9:1. 78-89

Krejnovič, E.A. 1973. "O deepričastii v nivxskom jazyke [Converbs in Nivkh]". *Voprosy nemeckoj dialektologii i istorii nemeckogo jazyka* [Questions of German dialectology and language history]. Omsk: Ministry of Education RSFSR.

Krejnovič, E.A. 1979: "Nivxskij jazyk" [Nivkh]. In: *Jazyki Azii i Afriki*. Moscow: Nauka. Vol. III: 295-329

Krejnovič, E.A. 1983: "Ob odnoj unikal'noj konstrukčii složnopodčinennogo predloženija v nivxskom jazyke" [A unique subordinate syntactic construction in Nivkh]. In: Sem, Ju.A. / Gamilov, A.I. (eds.): *Voprosy leksiki i grammatiki jazykov narodov Krajnego Severa SSSR*. Leningrad: Leningradskij gosudarstvennyj pedagogičeskij institut. 105-116

Makino, Seiichi / Tsutsui, Michio 1986: *A Dictionary of Basic Japanese Grammar*. Tokyo: The Japan Times

Mattissen, Johanna 2003: *Dependent-Head Synthesis in Nivkh. A contribution to a typology of polysynthesis*. Amsterdam: Benjamins

Mattissen, Johanna 2004: "Structural Typology of Polysynthesis". *Word* 55 (2): 189-216

Nedjalkov, V.P. 1995: "Some typological parameters of converbs". In: Haspelmath, Martin / König, Ekkehard (eds.): *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Berlin: Mouton. 97-136

Nedjalkov, V.P. & G.A. Otaina. 1988. "Resultative and continuative in Nivkh". In: Nedjalkov, V.P. & B. Comrie (eds). 1988. *Typology of Resultative Constructions*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 135-151

Otaina, G.A. 1978: *Kačestvennye glagoly v nivxskom jazyke* [Nivkh verbs denoting quality and property]. Moscow: Nauka

Panfilov, V.Z. 1954. "K voprosu ob inkorporirovanii. Na materialax nivxskogo (giljackogo) jazyka [The question of incorporation – the case of Nivkh]". *Voprosy Jazykoznanija* 3:6.6-27

Panfilov, V.Z. 1962, 1965: *Grammatika nivxskogo jazyka* [Nivkh Grammar]. 2 Vols. Moscow, Leningrad: Nauka. Reviewed by Savel'eva, V.N. 1966 in *Voprosy Jazykoznanija* 15 (1): 121-126

Panfilov, V.Z. 1968: "Nivxskij jazyk" [Nivkh]. In: Skorik, P.Ja. (ed.): *Jazyki Narodov SSSR*, Vol. 5: *Mongol'skie, Tunguso-Man'čžurskie i Paleoaziatskie jazyki.* Leningrad: Nauka. 408-434

Sasse, Hans-Jürgen 1993: "Clause combining in Cayuga". In: Ebert, Karen H. (ed.): Studies in Clause Linkage. Zürich: Seminar für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, ASAS 12. 161-173

Savel'eva, V.N. / Taksami, Č.M. 1970. *Nivxsko-Russkij Slovar'* [Nivkh-Russian dictionary]. Moscow: Sovetskaja Enciklopedija.

Taksami, Č.M. & C.F. Polet'eva. 1992. *Raduga.* Kniga dlja dopolnitel'nogo čtenija v 1-2 klassax Nivxskix škol [Rainbow. Nivkh primer]. St. Peterburg: Prosveščenie.

van der Auwera, Johan 1997: Cosubordination. Working Papers in Functional Grammar 63

van der Auwera, Johan 1998: "Defining converbs". In: Kulikov, Leonid / Vater, Heinz (eds.): *Typology of Verbal Categories.* Tübingen: Niemeyer (LA 382). 273-282

Polypersonalism, ergativity, and coreference - the case of Greenlandic converbs

Johanna Mattissen

1. Polypersonalism in an ergative system

West Greenlandic of the Inuit branch of Eskimo disposes of six nexus forms which are either known as subordinate moods or participles (Fortescue 1984), but are more reminiscent of converbs. They are person marked, and Greenlandic has ergative morphology. Thus, Greenlandic not only offers the opportunity of discussing the status of nexus forms but also of observing how nexion is organized in an ergative system. This paper deals with both topics, presenting the functioning of clausal nexion in Greenlandic.

The verb form in Greenlandic may be quite complex, but has only two slots to be filled obligatorily: the root in initial position, and the inflectional suffix in final position. This suffix encodes person and mood or nexion cumulatively.

(1) *Hansi-p* *tuttu* *taku-aa*
H.-ERG caribou see-**IND.3s>3s**
'Hansi saw the caribou (ABS)'

Except for the participles, person marking on the predicate is obligatory and saturates the argument slots of the verb, whereas explicit NPs or pronouns encoding central participants are optional (cf. Fortescue 1984:252). Depending on a verb's valency and voice one or two participants are encoded on it. Monopersonal inflection reflects a single central participant of the verb, and polypersonal inflection reflects an actor and an undergoer. Thus, polypersonal inflection is found with transitive verbs in the unmarked voice ("active"), or with the causative or applicative, while monopersonal inflection is found with intransitive verbs or with the impersonal, passive or antipassive voices. Transitive verbs in the antipassive encode their undergoer argument (which is not cross-referenced on the verb) as a NP or pronoun in the instrumental case (see (3)).

Morphologically, Greenlandic is ergative in case-marking (in the singular), and to a low degree also in person-marking on the verb (see section 6.3). Syntactically, relativization, nominalization, raising (see examples by Fortescue 1984:44, Woodbury

1977:311-312, 333), and promotion and demotion operate on the basis of a S/U pivot while word order (Actor - Undergoer - Predicate), reflexivation and the imperative are controlled by a S/A pivot (cf. also Payne 1982 on analogously behaving Alaskan Yup'ik). Other mechanisms, like purposives, Equi-NP, etc. are not relevant in Greenlandic as the corresponding categories are expressed by bound morphemes within the polysynthetic verb form.

Taking relativization for the illustration of a S/U pivot, clauses can only be attributed to an absolutive NP. The agent of a transitive verb and peripheral participants have to be promoted into the absolutive by antipassivizing and applicativizing the verb, respectively (see description by Fortescue 1984:52-55).

(2) (Fortescue 1984:53) Relativization to ABS-NP (S)
pana *savi-ssa-a* *ipis-suq*
sword knife-material-3s.POR sharp-**IP**
'a sword with a sharp blade'

(3) (Fortescue 1984:54) Relativization to ABS-NP of AP (A)
piniartuq *nannu-mik* *tuqut-si-suq*
hunter polar_bear-INS kill-**AP-IP**
'the hunter who killed a bear'

(4) (Fortescue 1984:53) Relativization to ABS-NP (U)
nanuq *Piita-p* *tuqu-ta-a*
bear P.-ERG kill-**PP-3s.POR**
'the bear killed by Piita'

(5) (Fortescue 1984:53-54) Relativiz. to ABS-NP of APPL (location)
angut *isir-vi-gi-sa-ra*
man enter-**LOC.APPL-have_as-PP-1s.POR**
'the man to whom I went in'

(6) (Fortescue 1984:54) Relat. to ABS-NP of APPL (instrument)
savik *tuqut-si-ssuti-gi-sa-a*
knife kill-**AP-INS.APPL-have_ as-PP-3s.POR**
'the knife with which he killed'

With coordinative conjunctions lacking in Greenlandic, an interesting syntactic mechanism to check for ergativity is the use of clause chaining forms, as coreference plays the crucial role there. Clause chaining is at the crossroads of (i) ergativity, both on the morphological and syntactic levels, (ii) polypersonalism, and (iii) the recogni-

tion and encoding of coreference. We will study the interaction of these three factors by analyzing the conditions under which coreference is acknowledged with respect to the choice and marking of nexus forms. These conditions are neither evident nor trivial because both syntax and morphology in Greenlandic are split with respect to ergativity, and the behavior of nexus forms is quite inhomogeneous.

2. Greenlandic: converbs or subordinate moods?

Mood forms, nexus forms, and participles actually form three distinct sets in Greenlandic, from the formal as well as from the distributional and functional points of view (as will be shown below). I therefore argue for a terminological differentiation of these three, i.e. for not subsuming the nexus forms under either moods or participles, as the traditional terms suggest. They mask either the nexus form - mood or the nexus form - participle distinction[1].

Before turning to the nexus forms, the four undisputable moods and two participles of Greenlandic have to be introduced for a comparison.

The Greenlandic moods (indicative, interrogative, optative, and imperative) are used in independent (matrix) clauses, and are never employed for clausal nexion (including coordination). Paratactic juxtaposition of clauses is the exception in Greenlandic. Mood forms are indifferent to taxis constellations (anteriority, simultaneity, etc.), tense and coreference of participants. They are marked for person, with each mood having two paradigms for monopersonal and polypersonal inflections, but they are not marked for coreference (for paradigms see section 3).

The Greenlandic participles (intransitive (*-su- ~ -tu-*) and passive participles (*-sa- ~ -ta- ~ -ga-*)) are marked for case and number, with the passive participle being additionally marked for its possessor in person and number. These case/number and possessive suffixes are from the nominal paradigm.

(7) paradigm of the intransitive participle

	Singular	Plural
Absolutive	*-su-q*	*-su-t*
Ergative	*-su-p*	*-su-t*
Locative	*-su-mi*	*-su-ni*
Instrumental	*-su-mik*	*-su-nik*
Ablative	*-su-mit*	*-su-nit*
Allative	*-su-mut*	*-su-nut*
Perlative	*-su-kkut*	
Equative	*-su-tut*	

1 Nevertheless, there is one form which in critical contexts challenges a clear distinction between converbs and participles, see section 7.

Participles agree with the head noun they follow in attributive position.

(8) (Fortescue 1984:49)
angum-mut *ippassaq* *naapi-ta-n-nut* *tunniup-para*
man-**ALL** yesterday meet-**PP-1s.POR-ALL** give-IND.1s>3s
'I gave it to the man I met yesterday'

They are used independently of taxis and coreference constellations but are sensitive to transitivity and the semantic role of their participants (see examples (2) to (6)): all monopersonally inflecting verb forms take on the intransitive participle, all polypersonally inflecting ones the passive participle.
The nexus forms are dependent on a superordinate predicate. They are neither irrealis forms, nor are they specially triggered by expressions of deontic and epistemic modalities, as for instance the Romance subjunctive is, which is a subordinate mood (see examples (9b) and (9c) for a comparison). They may be used in wishes, however, parallel to (9a) (see Fortescue 1984:202).

(9) FRENCH
a. ***Fût**-il arrivé plus tôt!*
'If only he would have (SUBJUNCTIVE) come earlier!'
b. *Je parle plus fort afin que tu me **comprennes**.*
'I am speaking louder in order for you to understand (SUBJUNCTIVE) me.'
c. *Maman exige / doute que Marie **soit** de retour à 8 heures.*
'Mother demands/doubts that Marie be (SUBJUNCT.) back home at 8 o'clock.'

The nexus forms are used as predicates of adverbial and complement clauses (which is impossible for a Greenlandic mood form), and two of them additionally function as a cosubordinate form (in the sense of Foley/Van Valin 1984:242, examples in section 6.2). They cannot be used attributively.
Their final suffix is mutually exclusive with mood suffixes, and they do not encode mood morphologically otherwise. All other verbal morphology is possible, as it is on mood forms and participles, but no nominal morphology. As will be shown in sections 4 and 6, the distribution of nexus forms is conditioned by taxis, participant and coreference constellations, with the final suffix indicating the nexus type, person, taxis relation and relative tense. This person marking then is conditioned by participant and coreference constellations, as well, and includes coreference markers. Two of the nexus forms have both monopersonal and polypersonal paradigms, the others, roughly speaking, only one set of forms, with two of these complementing each other to a full

paradigm. The personal markers are idiosyncratic (see section 3).
Since these Greenlandic forms which are different from both moods and participles share several relevant characteristics of converbs (as defined by Haspelmath 1995:3-5), e.g. in Altaic languages, by being forms of the verbal paradigm distinct from finite forms and by being used in adverbial subordinate clauses, the term "converb" seems legitimate for the Greenlandic phenomenon under discussion. Their inherent relative tense value and sensitivity to coreference fit into the picture. Person marking on and a cosubordinate function of converbs are not rare cross-linguistically. Only their use as predicates of complement clauses is less characteristic of converbs. Therefore, the six nexus forms are henceforth addressed as converbs.
In the presentation of the six Greenlandic converbs we begin by focusing on taxis constellations in this section and turn to coreference constellations in section 4.
The converbs are specified for relative tense and for being either a realized or not-yet-realized state of affairs. The different converbs are identified below in Fortescue's (1984) terms, for the sake of recognizability:

(i) "Causative Mood", characterized by the element *-ga- ~ -(m)ma-* on the verb form in front of the personal component.[2] It is used for a realized state of affairs in anterior relation to the superordinate clause (cf. Woodbury 1977:309), e.g. for causal relations.

(10) (Fortescue 1984:56)
apuum-mat *atirviur-parput*
arrive-**ARC.3s** go_down_to_meet-IND.1p>3s
'When he arrived we went down to meet him.'

(11) (Fortescue 1984:36)
iqqaama-vaa *taamani* *Uummanna-mut* *tikim-mat*
remember-IND.3s>3s that_time U.-ALL arrive-**ARC.3s**
'He$_i$ remembered how he$_j$ had arrived at U. that time.'

The paradigm contains monopersonal and polypersonal inflections. Henceforth it will be glossed **A**nterior **R**ealized **C**onverb (ARC).

(ii) "Conditional Mood", characterized by the element *-gu- ~ -ku- ~ -(p)pa-*. It is used for a non-realized state of affairs in anterior relation to the superordinate clause which itself contains a non-realized state of affairs (marked for future or irrealis; cf. Woodbury 1977:309), e.g. for conditional relations (cf. Fortescue 1984:65).

2 Note that the characteristic elements are not perfectly segmentable and vary within each paradigm. They are isolated here to help identify the forms.

(12) (Fortescue 1984:56)
apuuk-kuni *niri-uma-ssa-aq*
arrive-**ANC.4s** eat-want-**FUT**-IND.3s
'When he arrives he will want to eat.'

The paradigm contains monopersonal and polypersonal inflections. Henceforth it will be glossed **A**nterior **N**on-realized **C**onverb (ANC).

(iii) "Contemporative Mood", characterized by the element *-(l)lu-*, and its negated counterpart with *-na-*, a negative converb in Ebert's sense (see Introduction, this volume). They are used for non-anterior states of affairs and in certain coreference constellations. Their paradigms contain only eight monopersonal forms each for both intransitive and transitive verbs, glossed **C**oreferential **C**on**V**erb (CCV) here.

(13) (Fortescue 1984:131)
Hansi-p *taku-aa* *qimaa-lluni=lu*
H.-ERG see-IND.3s>3s flee-**CCV.4s**=and
'Hansi saw him and fled.'

(iv) (transitive) "Participial Mood", characterized by the element *-gi- ~ -ki- ~ -ga-*. It is used for non-anterior states of affairs and in non-coreference constellations, the paradigm contains polypersonal inflection only. Henceforth it will be glossed **P**oly-personal **N**on-coreferential **C**onverb (PNC).

(14) (Fortescue 1984:58)
Aggu-p *arviq* *isigi-gaa* *tuqu-vuq*
A.-ERG whale watch-**PNC.3s>3s** die-IND.3s
'While Aggu_i watched the whale he_j died.'

(v) (intransitive) "Participial Mood", characterized by the element *-su- ~ -tu-*. It is used for non-anterior states of affairs and in non-coreference constellations. The paradigm contains monopersonal inflection only.

(15) (Fortescue 1984:18)
apiqquta-a-ginnar-puq *naqinnir-it* *surli-it* *ki-mut*
question-be-only-IND.3s letter-PL which-PL who-ALL
nalunaarutiqar-nir-sut
indicate-I_wonder-**MNC.3p**
'The question is simply which letters stand for which person.'

Henceforth it will be glossed Monopersonal Non-coreferential Converb (MNC). Note that converbs (iv) and (v) cannot be merged into one paradigm because of different stem markers (characteristic elements).
Except for the coreferential converb, converbs are negated through the usual negational morpheme *-nngit-* within the verb form, e.g. *-nngit-sunga* (MNC:1s), *-nngin-nama* (ARC:1s).

3. Person marking

Whereas each mood has a monopersonal and a polypersonal inflectional paradigm, only the two anterior converbs do so. Of the other three converbs, converb (v) is monopersonal only (formed from intransitive, impersonal, passive and antipassive verbs), converb (iv) is polypersonal only (formed from transitive, causative and applicative verbs). The paradigm of the coreferential converbs is more complex and will be treated in detail in section 6.2. It contains forms which are formed from both intransitive and transitive verbs and forms which are formed only from either one or the other.

The inflectional suffixes partly resemble indicative personal forms (especially the monopersonal converb), partly nominal inflection, viz. the possessed ergative, possessed absolutive and possessed locative portmanteau morphemes. The moods, however, do not have coreferential forms. In table 1, the characteristic elements of moods and converbs and the personal components have been parsed for better comparison. Of the polypersonal paradigms, only the singular undergoer forms are listed for reasons of space.

Table 1: Monopersonal paradigms

Person	Indicative	MNC	CCV aff. / neg.	ERG.POSS (Case)	ARC	ANC
1s	*-vu-nga*	*-su-nga*	*-llu-nga / -na-nga*	*-ma*	*-ga-ma*	*-gu-ma*
2s	*-vu-tit*	*-su-tit*	*-llu-tit / -na-k*	*-vit*	*-ga-vit*	*-gu-it*
3s	*-vu-q*	*-su-q*	-	*-ata*	*-mm-at*	*-pp-at*
3.refl.s	-	-	*-llu-ni / -na-ni*	*-mi*	*-ga-mi*	*-gu-ni*
1p	*-vu-gut*	*-su-gut*	*-llu-ta / -na-ta*	*-tta*	*-ga-tta*	*-gu-tta*
2p	*-vu-si*	*-su-si*	*-llu-si / -na-si*	*-ssi*	*-ga-ssi*	*-gu-ssi*
3p	*-ppu-t*	*-su-t*	-	*-ata*	*-mm-ata*	*-pp-ata*
3.refl.p			*-llu-tik / -na-tik*	*-mik*	*-ga-mik*	*-gu-nik*

Table 2a: Polypersonal paradigms

	Indicative			Optative			ABS. POSS	LOC. POSS
	1sU	2sU	3sU	1sU	2sU	3sU		
1sA	-	*-va-kkit*	*-va-ra*	-	*-la-kkit*	*-la-ra*	*-ga*	*-nni*
2sA	*-va-rma*	-	*-va-t*	-	-	-	*-(i)t*	*-nni*
3sA	*-va-anga*	*-va-atit*	*-va-a*	*-li-nga*	*-li-sit*	*-li-uk*	*-a*	*-ani*
3.refl.sA	-	-	-	-	-	-	*-ni*	*-mini*
1pA	-	*-va-tsigit*	*-va-rput*	-	*-la-tsigit*	*-la-rput*	*-(r)put*	*-tsinni*
2pA	*-va-ssinga*	-	*-va-rsi*	-	-	-	*-(r)si*	*-ssinni*
3pA	*-va-annga*	*-va-atsit*	*-va-at*	*-li-nnga*	*-li-sit*	*-li-ssuk*	*-at*	*-anni*
3.refl.pA	-	-	-	-	-	-	*-(r)tik*	*-minni*

Table 2b: Polypersonal paradigms

	CCV aff. / neg.			ARC			
	1sU; 1pU	2sU; 2pU	3sU; 3pU	1sU	2sU	3sU	3.refl.sU
1sA	*-llu-nga / -na-nga;* *-llu-ta / -na-ta*	*-llu-tit / -na-k* *-llu-si / -na-si*	*-llu-gu / -na-gu* *-llu-git / -na-git*	-	*-ga-kkit*	*-ga-kku*	*-ga-nni*
2sA				*-ga-mma*	-	*-ga-kku*	*-ga-nni*
3sA				*-mm-anga*	*-mm-atit*	*-mm-agu*	*-mm-ani*
3.refl.sA				*-ga-minga*	*-ga-misit*	*-ga-miuk*	-
1pA				-	*-ga-tsigit*	*-ga-tsigu*	*-ga-tsinni*
2pA				*-ga-ssinga*	-	*-ga-ssiuk*	*-ga-ssinni*
3pA				*-mm-annga*	*-mm-atsit*	*-mm-assuk*	*-mm-anni*
3.refl.pA				*-ga-minnga*	*-ga-mitsit*	*-ga-mikku*	-

Table 2c: Polypersonal paradigms

	PNC				ANC			
	1sU	2sU	3sU	3.refl.sU	1sU	2sU	3sU	3.refl.sU
1sA	-	*-gi-kkit*	*-gi-ga*	*-gi-nni*	-	*-gu-kkit*	*-gu-kku*	*-gu-nni*
2sA	*-gi-mma*	-	*-gi-t*	*-gi-nni*	*-gu-mma*	-	*-gu-kku*	*-gu-nni*
3sA	*-ga-anga*	*-ga-atit*	*-ga-a*	*-ga-ani*	*-pp-anga*	*-pp-atit*	*-pp-agu*	*-pp-ani*
3.refls	-	-	-	-	*-gu-ninga*	*-gu-nisit*	*-gu-niuk*	-
1pA	-	*-gi-tsigit*	*-gi-pput*	*-gi-tsinni*	-	*-gu-tsigit*	*-gu-tsigu*	*-gu-tsinni*
2pA	*-gi-ssinga*	-	*-gi-ssi*	*-gi-tsinni*	*-gu-ssinnga*	-	*-gu-ssiuk*	*-gu-ssinni*
3pA	*-ga-annga*	*-ga-atsit*	*-ga-at*	*-ga-anni*	*-pp-annga*	*-pp-atsit*	*-pp-assuk*	*-pp-anni*
3.reflp	-	-	-	-	*-gu-ninnga*	*-gu-nitsit*	*-gu-nikku*	-

4. Coreference constellation

Whereas moods are indifferent to coreference constellations, converb choice and/or person marking are sensitive to the participants of a superordinate predicate in Greenlandic. Converbs bear coreference marking for third person (there is no coreference marking for 1st/2nd person), the coreferent third person being commonly called 4th person. As converbal person marking, like person marking on mood forms, is not cleanly segmentable, it is more adequate to distinguish suffixes involving coreferent 3rd person (as S, A, or U) and suffixes involving non-coreferent 3rd person (as S, A, or U).

Woodbury (1977) and Fortescue (1984, 1991) describe the functioning of coreference in Greenlandic in terms of coreference to the "subject", e.g. Fortescue (1991:53):

> "the non-1st/2nd person subject or object of a subordinate clause verb is either coreferential with the subject of the superordinate clause verb or it is not. In the first case the subordinate verb takes '4th person' (reflexive 3rd person) inflection, and in the second, 3rd person inflection."

What, however, is the subject in a language whose syntax is partly controlled by a S/A pivot and partly by a S/U pivot, as was shown above? Woodbury's (1977:318) rule for both 4th person marking on verbs (coreferent person) and on nouns (reflexive possessor marking) is more explicit:

> "One, called the FOURTH PERSON, cross-references NPs coreferent with the S_t or the S_i of the verb of the same clause for possessives, and of the verb of the next higher clause for primaries in subordinate clauses; the other, called the THIRD PERSON, cross-references all other nonfirst- and nonsecond-person NPs."

What remains unsaid in both statements is (i) the fact that there is more than only one set of conditions governing coreference marking on converbs and (ii) that there are above all two axes of conditions: one controlling coreference marking, the other, however, determining converb choice in the first place.

When studying the principles behind converb choice and person marking, especially with respect to ergative traits in the language, it makes sense to group the six converbs into three different types of converbs with regard to their respective coreference sensitivity.

Type A constitute the anterior converbs (**A**nterior **R**ealized **C**onverb/"causative mood" and **A**nterior **N**on-realized **C**onverb/"conditional mood", distinguished by mood). They are used in any kind of participant constellation and have 4th person suffixes under one certain set of conditions.

Type B represent the affirmative and negative **C**oreferential **C**on**V**erbs/"contempora-

tive mood". They can only be employed under certain coreference conditions (different from the conditions controlling 4th person marking on type A converbs).

Type C comprises the non-coreferential converbs (Polypersonal Non-coreferential Converb and Monopersonal Non-coreferential Converb/polypersonal and monopersonal "participial mood", respectively, distinguished by valency). These converbs **cannot** be used under the conditions for the type B converbs, but are employed when these conditions do not hold. Furthermore they have 4th person marking under part of the conditions relevant for type A converbs.

Viewed from another angle, one (syntactic) axis of coreference principles determines the distribution of converb types B and C, the other (morphological) axis determines coreferent (4th) person marking on type A and C converbs. While for types A and B only one axis each is relevant, for type C both axes govern the converb use.

Before taking a closer look at the actual conditions let us mention in passing some general principles, independent of converb types, which influence recognition of coreference. Most of these are discussed in Fortescue (1991).

5. General coreference conditions

Synchronically, abstracting from descriptions and examples in Fortescue (1984:145-155; 1991: 56), the following general principles must be recognized.

(i) Coreference is relevant for all grammatical persons.

(ii) Coreferent person marking (4th person) is only used in case of a third person participant, but not in the case of 1st or 2nd person marking. In example (16), the coreferential converb is used because of coreference of the 1st person in both the matrix and subordinate clauses, but person marking on the converb is 1st person, not 4th.

(16) (Fortescue 1984:33)
apiri-niar-pakkit niqi-si-sinnaa-sura-lunga
ask-try-IND.1s>2s meat-buy-POT-think-**CCV.1s**
'I would like to ask you if I could buy some meat.'

(iii) Coreference forms are triggered by a directly superordinate predicate which is either a matrix predicate, another converb, or a participle (cf. Fortescue 1984: 147, 154). If, in the example below, the anterior realized converb (ARC) were dependent on the monopersonal non-coreferential converb (MNC), we should expect its person marking to be 3p>4p. As this is not the case, the dependency relation must be the other way round, with the MNC being subordinate to the ARC.

(17) (Fortescue 1984:95)
uqar-puq ikinnguti-ni irniinnaq tiki-ssa-sut taku-juma-mmatigit
say-IND.3s friend-4p.POR.PL right_away come-FUT-**MNC.3p** see-DES-**ARC.3p>3p**
'He said his friends$_i$ would come right away because they$_j$ wanted to see them$_i$.'

(iv) For referential identity to be acknowledged the coreferential participants in subordinate and superordinate clauses must match in number. An exception to this rule constitutes a relation of inclusion (e.g. partitivity, meronymy, inalienable possession) between the participants (cf. Fortescue 1984:149, 152-153; 1991:59, 62-63). Such a constellation can furthermore be at the base of unexpected coreference effects (see (v) below), as possessed participants are acknowledged as coreferential with their possessor.

(18) (Fortescue 1984:63)
taava tassa iti-rlaaq uqami-vuq nipa-a sajul-luni
then that_is wake_up-one_who_just say-IND.3s voice-**3s.POR** shake-**CCV.4s**
'"So this is it", said the one who had just woken up, his voice shaking.'

(v) Coreference effects turn up without any obvious antecedent a) in a sentence cross-referencing a participant whose perspective pervades the discourse ("topic" or "psychological subject" in Fortescue's terms (1984:153-154; 1991:63-64, 68); discourse controlled coreference is also dealt with in Woodbury 1983 for Yup'ik), b) on the predicate of complement clauses of evaluation verbs (as in (19), Fortescue 1984:39; 1991:61pp), c) with weather expressions (Fortescue 1991: 62), or d) in parallelized clauses (see (20), Fortescue 1984:145-146).

(19) (Fortescue 1984:39)
mianirsur-luni ajunngin-niru-ssa-aq
careful-**CCV.4s** good-COMP-FUT-IND.3s
'It would be best to be careful.'

(20) (Fortescue 1991:63)
anguta-a danski-u-vuq arna-a=lu kalaali-u-lluni akutaq
father-3s.POR Dane-be-IND.3s mother-3s.POR=and Greenlander-be-**CCV.4s** mixed
'Her father is Danish and her mother is a Greenlander of mixed blood.'

(vi) On the other hand, an expected coreferential form does not occur after certain conjunctional particles, e.g. *naak* 'where; although' (see Fortescue 1984:68).

(21) (Fortescue 1984:68)
naak *illiri-galua-rikka* *tama-asa tunniup-pakka*
although attached-but-**PNC.1s>3p** all-3p give-IND.1s>3p
'Although I was much attached to them I gave them all away.'

6. Specific coreference conditions for the three converb types

With the above-mentioned general principles in mind, we go on to present the specific principles governing the choice and person marking of the three types of converbs.

6.1. Type A converbs

Type A converbs are used in any participant constellation, i.e. there are no coreference conditions limiting their distribution. Coreference constellations, however, control their person marking:

a) The single participant (S) of a monopersonal converb is encoded on the converb by a suffix indicating coreference (4th instead of 3rd person) if it is identical in reference to the single participant (S, see (22)) or the actor (A) of the superordinate verb.

(22) (Fortescue 1984:41)
nalunaar-puq *ila-a-sinnaa-nngin-nami*
announce-IND.3s part-be-POT-NEG-**ARC.4s**
'He announced he could not come along.'

Compare (23), where there is no coreference:

(23) (Fortescue 1984:15)
su-qar-mat *pisiniar-put*
what-exist-**ARC.3s** go_shopping-IND.3p
'Because there is something [in the shops] they are out shopping.'

Remember that coreference is only distinguished for 3rd person participants. Otherwise, coreference is not marked:

(24) (Fortescue 1984:15)
puigu-ruma-gama *imir-tar-punga*
forget-DES-**ARC.1s** drink-HAB-IND.1s
'I drink in order to forget.'

b) The actor (A) of a polypersonal converb is encoded on the converb by a suffix involving coreferent person if it is identical in reference to the single participant (S, see (25)) or the actor (A, see (26)) of the superordinate verb.

(25) (Fortescue 1984:65)
kuki-ni *asiru-qina-gamigit* *assaa-juma-nngi-laq*
nail-4p.POR.PL break-danger-**ARC.4s>3p** dig-DES-NEG-IND.3s
'She did not want to dig since it might ruin her nails.'

(26) (Fortescue 1984:281)
palasi *taku-gaa-ngamikku* *nasa-tik* *piir-tar-paat*
priest see-each_time-**ARC.4p>3s** cap-4p.POR.PL remove-HAB-IND.3p>3p
'Whenever they saw the priest they would take their caps off.'

c) The undergoer (U) of a polypersonal converb is encoded on the converb by a suffix indicating coreference if it is identical in reference to the single participant (S, see (27)) or the actor (A, see (28), with first ARC subordinate to second ARC) of the superordinate verb.

(27) (Fortescue 1984:147)
qiturna-i *atisa-lup-put* *arna-mik* *suqutigi-nngim-matik*
child-3p.POR.PL clothes-have_bad-IND.3p mother-4p.POR.ERG care-NEG-**ARC.3s>4p**
'His children$_i$ are badly dressed because their$_i$ mother does not care about them$_i$.'

(28) (Fortescue 1984:61)
niqi-si-sinnaa-sura-lunga *apiri-ganni* *angir-manga* *pisi-vunga*
meat-buy-POT-think-**CCV.1s** ask-**ARC.1s>4s** say_yes-**ARC.3s>1s** buy-IND.1s
'I bought [some] because he said "yes" when I asked him if I could buy meat.'

The findings resulting from this study of person marking under coreference are that S and A are treated alike while U behaves differently. This suggests an accusative kind of person marking on Greenlandic converbs. Note that due to ergative morphology, any overt NP cross-referencing a 3rd person S or U is in the absolutive case, any overt NP cross-referencing an A is in the ergative.
A schematical overview over person marking (3rd person) on type A converbs is given in the table below. The participant in the superordinate clause is the one with which the participant of the subordinate (converb) clause is coreferential.

participant in superordinate clause		participant in subordinate clause	person marking on the converb	
S		S	4th person	(see (22))
S		A	4th>n pers. (n any person but 4th)	(25)
S		U	n>4th person	(27)
A		S	4th person	
A	=	A	4th>n person	(26)
A		U	n>4th person	(28)
U		S	3rd person	
U		A	3rd>n person	
U		U	n>3rd person	

6.2. Type B converbs

In contrast to type A, type B converbs are used in particular participant constellations only, i.e. there are conditions limiting their distribution: the single participant (S) of a monopersonal or the actor (A) of a polypersonal converb has to be identical in reference to the single participant (S) or the actor (A) of the superordinate predicate. In such a constellation, no other non-anterior converb can be used. The constellations are exemplified below:

(29) (Fortescue 1984:131)
Hansi *isir-puq* *ingi-lluni=lu* S ↔ S
H. enter-IND.3s sit_down-CCV.**4s**=and
'Hansi came in and sat down.'

(30) (Fortescue 1984:131)
Hansi-p *taku-aa* *qimaa-lluni=lu* A ↔ S
H.-ERG see-IND.3s>3s flee-CCV.**4s**=and
'Hansi saw him and fled.'

(31) (Fortescue 1984:131)
Hansi *isir-puq* *taku-llugu=lu* S ↔ A
H. enter-IND.3s see-CCV.**>3s**=and [3]
'Hansi came in and saw him.'

(32) (Fortescue 1984:131)
Hansi-p *taku-aa* *kutaar-lugu=lu* A ↔ A
H.-ERG see-IND.3s>3s greet-CCV.**>3s**=and
'Hansi saw him and said hallo to him.'

3 with ">3s" denoting "person coreferential with superordinate S/A acting on 3s"

In other words, the converb cannot be used if the single participant (S) or actor (A) of the subordinate verb is identical in reference to the undergoer (U) of the superordinate verb (cf. Fortescue 1984:131). In such constellations a converb of type C has to be used. As the coreferential converbs (CCV), however, are the only ones employed in a cosubordinate relation (in the sense of Foley/Van Valin 1984:242; cf. Fortescue 1984:132), the "forbidden" constellations are bypassed by syntactic reorganization through passivization (as in (33)) or causativation (as in (34)).

(33) (Fortescue 1984:131)

Hansi isir-puq Kaala-mil=lu taku-niqar-luni
H. enter-IND.3s K.-ABL=and see-**PASS-CCV.4s**
'Hansi came in and was seen by Kaalat.'

(34) (Fortescue 1984:57, sic)

Aggu-mut arviq isigi-til-lugu tuqu-vuq
A.-ALL whale look_at-**CST-CCV.>3s** die-IND.3s
'While Aggu_i was looking at the whale he$_j$ died.' (lit.: 'causing A. to look at the whale he died')

A schematical overview over person marking (for 3rd person) on type B converbs is given in the table below. The participant in the superordinate clause is the one with which the participant of the subordinate (converb) clause is coreferential.

participant in superordinate clause		participant in subordinate clause	person marking on the converb	
S		S	4th person	(see (29))
S		A	>3rd person	(31)
S		U	converb not applicable	
A		S	4th person	(30)
A	=	A	>3rd person	(32)
A		U	n.a.	
U		S	n.a.	
U		A	n.a.	
U		U	n.a.	

Note that for the distribution of the coreferential converbs (CCV), no coreference is recognized between a single participant (S) and an undergoer (U), but, on the other hand, it is recognized between two actors. Again, and even more clearly, these are traits characteristic of a nominative-accusative system.

Under the coreference conditions explained above the coreferential converb is used in all grammatical person constellations, e.g. for 1st person:

(35) (Fortescue 1984:64)
nassar-pakka *ilissin-nut* *taku-qqu-llugit*
bring_along-IND.1s>3p 2p-ALL see-tell-**CCV.>3p**
'I have brought them along in order to show them to you.'

There is, however, a person split where the formal encoding of grammatical persons on the converb is concerned. The principles behind person encoding are specific to converbs type B (coreferential converbs). In contrast to the other converbs, the coreferential converbs only have a small paradigm:

(36) characteristic element *-(l)lu-* + person suffixes

1s	*-(l)lu-nga*	1p	*-(l)lu-ta*	encoding S or U
2s	*-(l)lu-tit*	2p	*-(l)lu-si*	encoding S or U
4s	*-(l)lu-ni*	4p	*-(l)lu-tik*	= coreferent 3rd person, encoding S only
>3s	*-(l)lu-gu*	>3p	*-(l)lu-git*	= non-coreferent 3rd person, encoding U only

To give an example (note causativation):

(37) (Fortescue 1984:57)
aallar-sima-til-lusi *Kaali* *uqaluup-para*
leave-PERF-**CST-CCV.2p** K. speak_with-IND.1s>3s
'While you were away I spoke with K.' (lit.: 'causing you (U) to be away I ...')

As is obvious from (36), all forms are monopersonal. 1st and 2nd person forms are used for both otherwise monopersonally or polypersonally inflected verbs, encoding the single participant on the former and the undergoer on the latter. On monopersonal verbs, the coreferent participant (S) is redundantly marked (as it is already implied through the very use of the converb); on otherwise polypersonal ones, the non-coreferent participant (U) is non-redundantly marked with the same suffix. Thus, an ergative trait is visible with respect to **which** participant functions are encoded in the suffix (S and U, not A) and **how** they are encoded (with the same morphemes). This morphological behavior is not to be confused with the overall distribution of the converb, which is controlled by a S/A pivot, as shown above.
The third person forms are more complex. With monopersonal verbs the 4th person markers are used and redundantly encode the coreferent participant S (as the converb

as such is only used under coreference; see also Woodbury 1977:320). With otherwise polypersonal verbs a different suffix, the 3rd person undergoer marker, is employed and encodes the non-coreferent participant (the undergoer of the converb), while the actor is the implied coreferent participant. Thus with 3rd person forms, there is still an ergative trait with respect to which participants are encoded (S and U), but S and U are distinguished by different suffixes (while A is still not marked).
The table below gives an overview over the distributional and person marking principles for all grammatical persons:

person triggering coreference on superordinate verb	participant(s) of converb (function of coreferent pers.)		pers. aff. on converb
1st (S or A)	1s/1p	(S)	1s/1p
2nd (S or A)	2s/2p	(S)	2s/2p
3rd (S or A)	3s/3p	(S)	4s/4p
1st (S or A)	1 > 2s/2p	(A)	2s/2p
1st (S or A)	1 > 3s/3p	(A)	>3s/>3p
2nd (S or A)	2 > 1s/1p	(A)	1s/1p
2nd (S or A)	2 > 3s/3p	(A)	>3s/>3p
3rd (S or A)	3 > 1s/1p	(A)	1s/1p
3rd (S or A)	3 > 2s/2p	(A)	2s/2p
$3rd_i$ (S or A)	$3_i > 3s_j/3p_j$	(A)	>3s/>3p

6.3. Ergativity

Resuming what has been said in section 6.2, the coreferential converbs exhibit several ergativity splits. Their distribution is controlled by a S/A pivot, as U never triggers coreference effects. In distinction to other converbs, they only mark one participant even with otherwise polypersonally inflected verbs. This participant is the S of monopersonal and the U of polypersonal verbs, A never being encoded. This constitutes an ergative trait which is conditioned neither by verbal nor nominal semantics nor tense/aspect (as non-anterior type C converbs behave differently). Note that it is only the non-anterior (but cosubordinate) converbs which show ergative traits, contrary to what we would expect (cf. Dixon 1979:94-95). The split seems grammatically conditioned (main vs. subordinate), but again it is only one type of converb, the only one used for cosubordination, operating on this ergative basis.
Finally for 1st/2nd person, S and U are encoded with the same suffixes (ergative morphology), for 3rd person, however, S and U are encoded by different suffixes (reminiscent of accusative morphology, but A is not marked, so S and A are not treated alike). From the point of view of Silverstein's hierarchy (1976:122), we should expect that, in case of a person split, it is accusativity which starts from the top of the hierar-

chy, where 1st and/or 2nd person are located. But it is not only the coreferential converbs which contradict this prediction in Greenlandic. Actually, considering the paradigms of all moods and converbs (see Janussen 1987) we have to state that if morphologically ergative traits are manifest at all - and this is an important restriction, as most verbal forms do not lend themselves to a clean segmentation - they do so in the 1st/2nd person constellations, not in constellations involving only 3rd persons. On the contrary, the anterior converb paradigm shows nominative-accusative traits where 3rd person is involved[4]. For an example, compare the following suffixes:

(38)	*-langa*	1s.OPT	*-lara*	1s>3s.OPT
	-li	3s.OPT	*-linga*	3s>1s.OPT
(39)	*-gama*	1s.ARC	*-gakkit*	1s>3s.ARC
	-mmat	3s.ARC	*-mmanga*	3s>1s.ARC
			-mmagu	3s>3s.ARC

On the other hand, for Greenlandic nominals the predictions of Silverstein's hierarchy are perfectly borne out. Although case marking of nouns follows the ergative-absolutive scheme, personal pronouns (1st and 2nd person) do not distinguish central case forms, i.e. the same form is used in S, A, or U function. Thus, there is a split in case marking and a diametrically opposed split in person marking on the verb. Based on parallel findings, Vaxtin (1979:286-287) states for Chaplino Yup'ik, where paradigmatic verb forms are more transparent, that

> "if ergativity is expressed in nominal case-marking [as with 3rd person configurations], it is not expressed in verbal agreement and vice versa".

Therefore nominal and verbal ergativity can be seen as being in a complementary distribution. Taking account of the neutral marking on 1st/2nd pronouns and of the rather intransparent person marking for most of the verbal paradigm, we could state for Greenlandic that in case case-marking is neutral, person-marking is ergative, and in case case-marking is ergative, person-marking is more or less neutral. So there is no interference of different relational systems, although most of the time participants are only encoded on the verb anyway. These findings are reminiscent of Dixon's observation (1979:79) that participant marking on verbs behaves in the inverse way to case marking on nouns: with case marking, the unmarked term usually has zero realization, with person affixes, the unmarked term has overt realization. Integrating this into the

4 Hewson (1991:870-871) even works out traces of an inverse system for Inuktitut which seem to be paralleled by Greenlandic.

idea behind the animacy hierarchy that participants who are most likely to be agents (from 1st/2nd person down) are less likely to bear the marked agent case (ergative; cf. Dixon 1979:86) but are more likely to be encoded on the verb (Dixon 1979: footnote 44) we could state that if there is a split in ergativity,

a) on the nominal side we could expect (as is done by Dixon and Silverstein) that there is no ergative marking for participants on the left-hand (top) end of the hierarchy, and this is true for Greenlandic 1st/2nd person pronouns,

b) on the verbal side we could expect the inverse: the most likely agents are encoded overtly, and in an ergative fashion at that. This could be a motivation for the Greenlandic anti-Silversteinean behavior that ergativity in pronominal affixes is restricted to the top of the person hierarchy.

In part, this does not hold for the coreferential converbs as participant encoding (S and U) (but not person-marking 4th.S vs. 3rd.U) and case-marking of cross-referencing NPs both operate on an ergative basis; but usually only the U can be found expressed additionally by an overt NP.

With Dixon's claim that person affixes on verbs have developed from pronouns (1979:92) in mind, note that only 1st and 2nd person suffixes on the verb in Greenlandic resemble free pronouns. But whereas the pronouns are not case-marked in central participant roles, the person suffixes are used on an ergative basis. This is contrary to Dixon's expectation (1979:92) that person affixes will be constrained to patterning on a nominative-accusative basis due to their pronominal origin. Dixon's prediction is in line with his basic idea that person marking on verbs cross-references NPs (see for instance 1979:92). Now as verbal person marking is obligatory and referential in Greenlandic (cf. Sadock 1980:311) and thus represents the verb's arguments while explicit NPs are optional, cross-reference is here conceived the other way round. In this light the case-unmarked pronouns (used for emphasis mostly) are less surprising, relations are already clear through verbal marking.

To conclude, we have observed several properties of Greenlandic converbs standing against conceptions of ergativity.

6.4. Type C converbs

Finally, there are conditions limiting the distribution of type C converbs (polypersonal and monopersonal non-anterior converbs (PNC and MNC)). They are used if A or S of the converb, respectively, are not identical in reference to S or A of the superordinate predicate, i.e. in those constellations in which type B converbs cannot be used.

(40) (Fortescue 1984:14)
sava *kia-p* *pigi-gaa* *ilisari-sinnaa-sar-paa*
sheep who-ERG own-**PNC.3s>3s** recognize-POT-HAB-IND.3s>3s
'He could tell who owned each sheep.'

These constellations are:
(i) no identity of reference of any two participants (as in (40))
(ii) involvement of an undergoer in a coreference constellation, i.e.
  (a) identity in reference of two undergoers (as in (41))
  (b) identity in reference of the undergoer (U) of the converb and the S or A of the superordinate predicate (as in (42))
  (c) identity in reference of the S or A of the converb to the U of the superordinate predicate (as in (43) and (44))

(41) (Fortescue 1984:39) U ↔ U
irn-i *qajartur-tuq* *qinnguar-paa* *natsirsu-up* *sursuk-kaa*
son-4s.POR out_in_kayak-IP binocular-IND.3s>3s hooded_seal-ERG attack-**PNC.3s>3s**
'Through his binoculars, he$_i$ saw his son$_j$ in his$_j$ kayak being attacked by a hooded seal.'

(42) (Fortescue 1984:63) U ↔ S
suurlu *uqarvigi-ginni* *taama* *iliur-puq*
how tell-**PNC.1s>4s** thus do-IND.3s
'He did as I told him.'

(43) (Fortescue 1984:42) S ↔ U
aggir-sinnaa-nir-suq *apira-ara*
come-POT-I_wonder-**MNC.3s** ask-IND.1s>3s
'I asked him whether he could come.'

(44) (Fortescue 1984:38) U ↔ A
nakursa-kkut naapip-pavut *umiar-tik* *amu-li-raat*
doctor-COLL come_across-IND.1p>3p boat-4p.POR pull_up-begin-**PNC.3p>3s**
'We came across the doctor and his family pulling their boat up.'

In addition to these distribution principles (for which non-coreference is relevant) there is another set of conditions controlling person marking on the polypersonal converb (for which coreference is relevant). A suffix indicating coreferential 3rd person

(4th) is employed if the undergoer of the converb is identical in reference to S or A of the superordinate verb (i.e., in the above constellation (iib), ex. (42))[5]. This condition features, too, among those controlling coreference marking on type A converbs, where it is only one of the conditions on their use.

(45) (Fortescue 1984:60) U ↔ S
anurliliuk-kaani *utir-sinnaa-junnaar-puq*
blow-**PNC.3s>4s** return-POT-no_longer-IND.3s
'Caught in a strong wind he could no longer return.'

(46) (Fortescue 1984:148) A ↔ U
uqar-put *niuirtu-kkut* *ilimagi-gaat* *urni-ssa-gaatik*
say-IND.3p shopkeeper-COLL.ERG expect-**PNC.3p>3s** come_to-FUT-**PNC.3s>4p**
'They$_i$ say the shopkeeper and his wife$_j$ expect that he$_k$ will come to them$_j$'

A schematical overview over person marking (3rd person) on type C converbs is given in the table below. The participant in the superordinate clause is the one to which the participant of the subordinate (converb) clause is coreferential. Again we observe S and A being treated alike, i.e. an accusative trait.

participant in superordinate clause		participant in subordinate clause	person marking on the converb		
S		S	converb not applicable		
S		A	n.a.		
S		U	n>4 person	(see (42))	on PNC
A		S	n.a.		
A	=	A	n.a.		
A		U	n>4 person	(46)	on PNC
U		S	3rd person	(43)	on MNC
U		A	3>n person	(44)	on PNC
U		U	n>3 person	(41)	on PNC

7. The participle - converb ambiguity

The forms and functions of converbs and participles in Greenlandic are distinct, except for two contexts. The ambiguity arises because the monopersonal non-coreferent converb and the intransitive participle share the characteristic element *-su-* ~ *-tu-*. Usually, the converb inflects for person and number and the participle for case and number (see (7)). The absolutive forms of the participle, however, are identical in

5 Note that Eskimo languages differ on that point, e.g. Woodbury (1983:295).

form to the 3s and 3p forms of the converb: *-sut ~ -tut* (3s or ABS.SG) and *-sutit ~ -tutit* (3p or ABS.PL). The ambiguous contexts then are forms which can be interpreted either (i) as an attribute to an undergoer or a headless relative clause, which take the form of a participle, or (ii) as a complement clause, which takes the form of a converb, compare (47) and (48).

(47) participle (Fortescue 1984:254, 163) (evidence: agreement)

a. *nalinginnaq* ***piuma-suq*** *ilaa-li*
anyone want-**IP** take_part-OPT.3s
'anyone who wants to can come along'

b. *nukappiaq* *immi-nut* ***tuqut-tuq*** *taku-ara* (ABS)
young_man self-ALL kill-**IP** see-IND.1s>3s
'I saw the young man who had killed himself'

c. *nukappissa-mit* *immi-nut* ***tuqut-tu-mit*** *qimaa-vunga* (peripheral case)
young_man-ABL self-ALL kill-**IP-ABL** flee-IND.1s
'I fled from the young man who had killed himself'

(48) converb (Fortescue 1984:59) (evidence: no case marking)
ui-ni ***angirla-nngit-suq*** *nirisassiu-lir-puq*
husband-3s.POR come_home-NEG-**MNC.3s** prepare_food-begin-IND.3s
'she began to prepare food before her husband came home' ('for her husband' needs ALL case)

Even more intriguing is the situation of a headless relative clause in the absolutive with a first or second person actor. In this case, person (not possessor as with the passive participle) is marked on the intransitive participle (Fortescue 1984:49), and the participle again looks like the monopersonal non-coreferent converb (which is marked for its actor):

(49) participle (Fortescue 1984:49)

a. ***Amirika-miu-u-su-gut*** *piili-uti-rpassua-qar-pugut*
A.-dweller-be-**IP-1p** car-ALIEN-many-have-IND.1p
'we Americans have many cars' (lit. 'we being America-dwellers we have many cars')

b. ***Kalaali-u-su-gut*** *taakku-u-lluta* *isir-sima-vugut*
Greelander-be-**IP-1p** this:PL-be-CCV.1p enter-PERF-IND.1p
'it was us Greenlanders who were in there'

(50) converbal (Fortescue 1984:41)
taa-riir-para *Iruupa-mi* *sursut-tu-nik* ***tusar-tugut***
mention-PERF-IND.1s>3s Europe-LOC fight-IP-INS.PL hear-**MNC.1p**
'I've already mentioned that we heard that they were fighting in Europe'

The headless relative clause is an attribute with the head noun missing; such a head noun, e.g. a general noun like 'people', or a personal pronoun may added. In this case person marking remains on the attributive intransitive participle, see (51a). (51b) shows that in a case form other than the absolutive the ambiguity vanishes because of case marking.

(51) (Fortescue 1984:243, 253)
a. *uagut* *marlu-u-su-gut*
1p(ABS) two-be-**IP-1p**
'the two of us'
b. *uatsin-nut* *marlu-u-su-nut*
1p-**ALL** two-be-**IP-ALL.PL**
'to the two of us'

In sum, there is a clear distinction between participle and converb besides inflection:
✧ The intransitive participle occurs under coreference of its S and the A or S of the matrix verb or the referent of its head whereas the monopersonal converb occurs under non-coreference of these participants (see 6.4), as the examples above show.
✧ The ambiguity arises in two contexts only: an attribute or a headless relative clause in the absolutive.
✧ Participle and converb marking are not mutually exclusive in a single form.

(52) (Fortescue 1984:37)
ilitsura-anga *taanna* ***taamaat-tu-u-suq***
become_conscious-IND.1s that be_thus-IP-be-**MNC.3s**
'that has been that way as long as I can remember'

✧ Verbal suffixes expressing future and epistemic modality cannot be marked on the participle (inside the participle suffix), but are marked on the converb (cf. Fortescue 1984:50). The future suffix, however, is also used on nouns; therefore, it can be marked on the participle outside the category-changing participle suffix. Thus (53a) is ungrammatical because of *tiki-ssa-suq*, which is, however, grammatical as a converb 's/he (different subject) will arrive'.

(53) participle (Fortescue 1984:50)

a. **ikinnguta-a aqagu tiki-ssa-suq*
friend-3s.POR tomorrow arrive-**FUT-IP(ABS.SG)**
'his friend who is to arrive tomorrow'

b. *ikinnguta-a aqagu tikit-tu-ssaq*
friend-3s.POR tomorrow arrive-**IP-FUT(ABS.SG)**
'his friend who is to arrive tomorrow'

✧ There are two clearly distinct counterparts for polypersonally inflecting verbs to both forms: the passive participle matching the intransitive one and the polypersonal non-coreferent converb matching the monopersonal non-coreferent one.

These facts speak in favor of keeping the two categories distinct, which is usually not done. Only Fortescue (1984:49) draws a functional distinction by calling the converb use "participial mood" and the participial one "intransitive participle". We may, however, assume a diachronic link between the participle and the converb, with the transition having occured in a context allowing more than one reading, e.g. from 'I saw the boy who (had) killed himself' to 'I saw the boy kill himself'.

8. Passive, switch reference, and obviation

Distribution and person marking of the Greenlandic converbs are generally controlled by a S/A pivot (with the exception of type B participant and person markings). Converbs show nominative-accusative traits particularly in recognizing the coreference of two transitive actors. On the other hand, an ergative system is blocked: for the distribution of type B converbs (CCV), coreference between S (of superordinate verb) and U (of subordinate verb) is not acknowledged, although the converb manifests ergative traits otherwise. S↔U coreference is recognized, however, for coreferential person marking on the other converbs (cf. sections 6.1 c), 6.4).

One means of bypassing a constellation of S and U is to passivize the converb, as in example (33). The S of the passive verb is then recognized as being coreferential with the S of the superordinate verb. The crux with the passive, however, is that, for coreference between the two S's to be acknowledged, the passive is fine on converbs, but not on matrix verbs.

If a matrix verb is in the passive voice and the S or A of a converb depending on it is identical in reference to the passive verb's single central participant (which may itself be cross-referenced by an absolutive NP), type B coreferential converbs are usually not used (see Fortescue 1984:42), i.e. there is no coreference acknowledged between S_{PASS} and S or A. Instead, a non-coreferential type C converb is used (as in (54)).

(54) (Fortescue 1984:42)
apiri-niqar-tar-punga *suna-rpiaq* *siurnirta-ri-ni-riga*
ask-**PASS**-HAB-IND.1s what-exactly goal-have_as-I_wonder-**PNC.1s>3s**
'I would be asked what exactly my goal was.'

If we do not want to explain this by extrinsic ordering of transformation rules (as Woodbury 1977:325pp does: passivization applies after converb choice and 4th person marking) we could of course argue that the single participant of the passive verb semantically bears a patient role, as we observed above that undergoers never trigger coreference effects. And indeed there is independent evidence that for matrix verbs the semantic (patient) role is decisive, not its grammatical function. First, if the verb of the matrix clause is passive, a "psychological subject" (see section 5, point v.a) can come into play (cf. Fortescue 1984:44, 1991:60-61). In the example below, a coreferential converb is employed, but its actor is not coreferential with the S_{PASS}. From a semantic point of view, this is the one scolding (the "by-agent") who is not expressed in the sentence at all but is at best implied by the passive verb. So the coreferential converb seems to be used because of the coreference of its actor to the "psychological subject" (the actor) of the matrix clause, as if treating the matrix verb as transitive "active" (with S_{PASS} = U; cf. Fortescue 1991:61).

(55) (Fortescue 1984:44)
naviir-niqar-puq *taamaaliu-qqin-navii-qqu-llugu*
scold-**PASS**-IND.3s do_thus-again-no_longer-tell-**CCV.>3s**
'He was scolded and told not to do it again.'

Second, and more importantly, Greenlandic has two classes of intransitive verbs. They are obvious when contrasting an intransitive verb with a transitive counterpart. First, there are pairs of intransitive and transitive verbs in which the S of the intransitive one is identical to the A of the transitive one. These intransitive verbs are called "agentive" by Fortescue (1984:85).

(56)	transitive	agentive intransitive	
	nirivaa 'he eats it'	*nirivuq* 'he eats'	
	igavara 'I cook it'	*igavunga* 'I do the cooking'	
	angalavaa 'he moves through it'	*angalavuq* 'he moves'	
	sanavaa 'he makes, works on it'	*sanavuq* 'he makes s.th., works'	etc.

In contrast to these, there are pairs of intransitive and transitive verbs in which the S

of the intransitive one is identical to the U of the transitive one. These intransitive verbs are called "non-agentive" by Fortescue (1984:85, 270-271).

(57)	transitive	non-agentive intransitive
	qalappaa 'he boils it'	*qalappuq* 'it has boiled'
	aturpaa 'he used it'	*aturpuq* 'it is used'
	ikivaa 'he puts it into s.th.'	*ikivuq* 'it is inside, comes aboard'
	napivaa 'he breaks it'	*napivuq* 'it is broken'
	kisarpaa 'he anchored it'	*kisarpuq* 'it is at anchor' etc.

Now with non-agentive intransitive verbs as matrix predicates we observe the same effect as with passive matrix verbs, i.e. no coreference:

(58) (Fortescue 1984:146)
*tikim-**magu*** *illu* *tassanngaannaq* *piir-puq*
arrive-**ARC.3s>3s** house suddenly be_removed-IND.3s
'When he came up to the house it vanished suddenly.'

Compare (59) to a parallel example with a clearly non-patient role verb:

(59) (Fortescue 1984:146)
*tikim-**mani*** *Hansi-mut* *uqa-lir-puq*
arrive-**ARC.3s>4s** Hansi-ALL say-begin-IND.3s
'When he_i came up to him_j he_j began to say [s.th.] to $Hansi_i$.'

There are also examples of a coreference triggering "psychological subject" with non-agentive verbs (see Fortescue 1991:60):

(60) (Fortescue 1984:153)
ningi-lla-ramiuk *kitturar-puq*
let_down-INTENS-**ARC.4s>3s** break-IND.3s
'When he let it [the line] down into the water it broke.'

These findings corroborate the interpretation that the semantic role of the matrix verb overrules grammatical function. Furthermore, they bear a unique trait of an active system in Greenlandic. Again, we observe an anti-Dixonian behavior: Dixon (1979:113) claims that

> "S_a and S_o are not distinguished for later syntactic rules such as coordination and subordination, in any language; 'S' is treated as a single homogeneous category."

In Greenlandic, the S of a matrix verb triggers coreference forms of a (co)subordinate verb only if agentive, thus S is not a homogeneous category.
But why then are passive converbs and passive matrix verbs treated differently? Or, to put it another way: why does semantic role (not merely a S/A pivot) take control over matrix verbs whereas the coreferential converbs are controlled by grammatical function (pivot)? Especially since, as noted above, converb choice is otherwise dominated by a S/A pivot.
One answer is that two independent mechanisms are at work: (i) the matrix verb is relevant for the distribution of converbs B and C and these converbs constitute a switch reference system. The coreferential converb is chosen if the same S or A continues, the non-coreferential converb if S or A changes (for all grammatical persons). Switch reference is then controlled by role (in the sense of Foley/Van Valin 1977, Van Valin 1977; with U never triggering the "same subject" form). (ii) Person marking on converbs is independent of the switch reference system. It indicates coreference only and is similar to a proximative-obviative distinction (cf. Fortescue 1991:69-70; only 3rd person is involved) for which role is irrelevant since undergoers are also encoded as coreferential. For this reason the distinction of two coreference axes is all the more important. Furthermore, for the coreferential converb, it is grammatical function rather than role which plays the decisive role in the encoding of S and U (vs. A), in person marking for 1st/2nd person, and in the very fact that the passive is employed to establish a coreference constellation.
At any rate, there are only few examples with a passive coreferential converb, but a considerable number of causativized ones (with an agentive S, as in (34)), the other means of bypassing a coreferential S=U constellation. This seems to indicate a certain preference against the passive construction in general.

9. Conclusion

In Greenlandic, clause chaining forms are clearly distinct both from mood and participle forms. Although they are person marked and used in complement clauses, they resemble converbs otherwise, especially in their being used in adverbial clauses and encoding coreference.
It is important to keep the two axes on which coreference is relevant distinct: on the syntactic level, coreference controls the distribution of four of the converbs (types B, C) and establishes a switch reference system, on the morphological level, coreference controls person marking on four of the converbs (types A, C), its function being close to an obviative system. So Greenlandic "4th person" is no homogenous category but comprises the "same actor" of the switch reference system and the "proximative" of the obviative system.

"Proximate vs. obviative" person marking (on anterior and non-coreferential converbs) is controlled by a S/A pivot, with U not triggering coreferential marking. Switch reference (on coreferential and non-coreferential converbs) is controlled by role according to an active system rather than by S/A pivot, with S_a and A of the superordinate predicate triggering the coreferential converb. A participant of a superordinate verb bearing a patient role does not trigger the coreferential converb, even if it is structurally the single participant of the verb. As other syntactic mechanisms are partly controlled by a S/U pivot, and partly by a S/A pivot, there is no general pivot, and subject properties are distributed over several participant functions/NPs in Greenlandic. Thus a statement of coreference in terms of "subject" is rather imprecise for Greenlandic.

Besides, different pivots are an important criterion for the distinction of converbs and participles: Whereas converbs are employed according to a S/A pivot, the use of participles (see (2) to (6)) is determined by a S/U pivot.

The converbs are not homogenous in their behavior, so for each of the three converb types separate distribution and marking principles have to be set up. Switch reference governs the distribution of the coreferential and the non-coreferential converbs, but not of the anterior converbs. The coreferential converbs are employed if their A or S is coreferential with the superordinate verbs' S_a or A, the non-coreferential ones if this condition does not hold. The coreferential converbs being monopersonal, the participant encoded on them is a (coreferential) S or a (non-coreferential) U (ergative trait), with person suffixes being identical for both in 1st/2nd person (ergative morphology) and different in 3rd person. The table below presents a survey of our results combining the axis of syntactic distribution with the axis of morphological marking.

Table 3: Overview

converb type A (anterior)			type B (coreferential)			type C (non-corefer.)		
I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
S, A	S, A, U	4th	S, A	S	4th (S)	S, A	S, A	n.a.
			S, A	A	3rd (U)			
			S, A	U	n.a.	S, A	U	4th
U	S, A, U	3rd	U	S, A, U	n.a.	U	S, A, U	3rd

column I: coreference inducing participant of the superordinate verb

column II: participant of the subordinate verb identical in reference to the coreference inducing superordinate participant

column III: morphological encoding of the coreferent 3rd person participant on the converb with

"3rd" for non-coreferent person marking, "4th" for coreferent marking, "n.a." signifying that the converb is not applicable in this constellation

Person marking on Greenlandic verbs bears an ergative trait for 1st/2nd person in an anti-Silversteinean fashion, most clearly visible on the coreferential converb, and is otherwise mostly not cleanly segmentable. Case-marking, on the other hand, does not distinguish S, A, and U on 1st/2nd person pronouns and is ergative-absolutive otherwise. So both morphology and syntax show split ergativity in Greenlandic, and in a diametrically opposed fashion at that.

Further unexpected or rare properties observed in connection with Greenlandic converbs are

(i) an inhomogenous S category with respect to clause chaining (S_a and S_o being distinguished)
(ii) multiple ergativity splits within two converbs (CCV) which are conditioned by different parameters
(iii) grammatical conditioning of an ergativity split (participant marking on the coreferential converb)
(iv) ergative behavior of a non-anterior converb.

These facets could use further study to see if they are interrelated and can perhaps shed some new light on ergativity in general.

Abbreviations

(for general abbreviations see pp. 5-6)

A	actor	IND	indicative
ALIEN	alienable possession	INS	instrumental
ANC	anterior non-realized converb	INTENS	intensive
AP	antipassive	IP	intransitive participle
APPL	applicative	MNC	monopersonal non-coreferential converb
ARC	anterior realized converb		
CCV	coreferential converb	OPT	optative
COLL	collective	PNC	polypersonal non-coreferential converb
COMP	comparative		
CST	causative	P'OR	possessor
DES	desiderative	POT	potential
ERG	ergative	PP	passive participle
FUT	future	PRF	perfect
HAB	habitual	U	undergoer

References

Dixon, R.M.W. 1979: "Ergativity". *Language* 55 (1): 59-138

Foley, William A. / Van Valin Jr., Robert D. 1977: "On the Viability of the Notion 'Subject' in Universal Grammar". In: *BLS* 3: 293-320

Foley, William / van Valin Jr., Robert D. 1984: *Functional Syntax and Universal Grammar*. Cambridge: CUP

Fortescue, Michael 1984: *West Greenlandic*. London etc.: Croom Helm

Fortescue, Michael 1991: "Switch reference anomalies and 'topic' in West Greenlandic: a case of pragmatics over syntax". In: Verschueren, Jef (ed.): *Levels of Linguistic Adaptation,* Vol II. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 53-80

Haspelmath, Martin 1995: "The converb as a cross-linguistically valid category". In: König, Ekkehard / Haspelmath, Martin (eds.): *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 1-55

Hewson, John 1991: "Person hierarchies in Algonkian and Inuktitut". *Linguistics* 29 (5): 861-875

Janussen, Estrid 1987: *Håndbog i Grønlandsk Grammatik*. Nørhaven: Pilersoiffik

Mattissen, Johanna (in prep.): "Lexikalische und syntaktische Kategorien im Grönländischen"

Payne, Thomas E. 1982: "Role and Reference Related Subject Properties and Ergativity in Yup'ik Eskimo and Tagalog". *Studies in Language* 6 (1): 75-106

Sadock, Jerrold M. 1980: "Noun Incorporation in Greenlandic: A case of syntactic word formation". *Language* 56 (2): 300-319

Silverstein, Michael 1976: "Hierarchy of features and ergativity". In: Dixon, R.M.W. (ed.): *Grammatical Categories in Australian Languages*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. 112-171

Van Valin Jr., Robert D. 1977: "Ergativity and the Universality of Subjects". In: *CLS* 13: 689-705

Vaxtin, Nikolaj B. 1979: "Nominal and verbal ergativity in Asiatic Eskimo: Splits in the person and mood paradigms". In: Plank, Frans (ed.): *Ergativity*. London: Academic. 279-289

Woodbury, Anthony C. 1977: "Greenlandic Eskimo, Ergativity, and Relational Grammar". In: Cole, Peter / Sadock, Jerrold M. (eds.): *Syntax and Semantics 8. Grammatical Relations*. New York etc.: Academic Press. 307-336

Woodbury, Anthony C. 1983: "Switch reference, syntactic organization, and rhetorical structure in Central Yup'ik Eskimo". In: Haiman, John / Munro, Pamela (eds.): *Switch Reference and Universal Grammar*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 291-316

Medial verbs in Benchnon

Christian J. Rapold

Human discourse is predominantly multi-propositional (Givón 1995:397). In other words, when people start to talk (about something), they usually say more than one thing (about it). Stretches of discourse are then typically divided into smaller chunks of thematically related propositions, although languages differ in how they group related propositions. One such strategy is clause chaining, in which there is a morphological distinction between chain-medial and chain-initial or chain-final verbs. The former case typically occurs in VO, the latter in OV-languages. For the latter type, a clause chain may be schematically represented as follows:

(1) CLAUSE CHAIN (schematical)
medial verb$_1$ … (medial verb)$_2$ … (medial verb)$_n$ … final verb.[1]

Consider an example of the final section of a clause chain in Benchnon, an Omotic language spoken in Ethiopia:

(2)

		medial verb		medial verb
…	*kŭr-ī*	***dònt-ɨ́***	*mát*	***m̀ʔ-ɨ́***
	donkey-NOM.m	get.up-m	grass	eat-m

---

* The research for this paper was carried out with the support of the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (project no. 200-50-087: "A Grammar of Benchnon") and the Swiss National Science Foundation (project no. 100012-109306: "Functional typology of Ethiopian languages"). I wish to thank Behiwot Benyam Erma, Samuel Dalatet Koyisti, Endrias Essay Tihit and Tagegne Marku Zoygenab for sharing their knowledge of Benchnon with me, and Azeb Amha, Karen H. Ebert, Johanna Mattissen, Maarten Mous, Rafael Suter, Sascha Voellmin and Silvia Zaugg-Coretti for useful comments on previous versions of this article and/or inspiring discussions about medial verbs.

[1] For the definition of medial verbs see section 1.2 below. The term "clause chain" is sometimes also applied to sequences of converbs. Unless stated otherwise, we follow the more restricted traditional usage of this term here, without implying that converbs cannot occur in longer sequences.

final verb
kyā-k'-ù-ē.
become.satisfied.SC-FS-M-MED$_{DECL}$

'...the donkey got up, ate grass and was satisfied.'

As can be seen in (2), there is a morphological discrepancy between the medial verbs, marked here by the agreement suffix *-í*(m), and the final verb, marked *-ù-ē* (-M-MED$_{DECL}$).[2] Clause chaining is very frequent in Benchnon, being the only way of coordinating clauses. Especially in narratives clause chains can be quite lengthy. One of the folk stories we recorded consists of a single complex sentence with more than twenty medial and some subordinate verbs.

Subject reference across clause chains is tracked by means of a switch reference system hosted by the medial verbs (see 2.1.1 for more details).

Besides the chaining function illustrated in (2), medial verbs in Benchnon also play an important role in the tense-mood-aspect system, as all Imperfective tenses are periphrastically formed from a medial verb plus a following auxiliary:

(3) *yĕr-á* *wŏl-á* *wŏt'-á* *[...]* *bŏd-ám* ***hān-k'-í***
God-COOR rain-COOR death-COOR road-INST go-FS-m

yīst-ènd-ē.
be.located-PL-MED$_{DECL}$

'God, Rain, and Death [...] were walking on the road.' (opening sentence of a folk story)

Such periphrastic tenses may be seen as minimal clause chains consisting of just two elements that have been grammaticalised into TMA categories.[3] In fluent speech the Imperfective tenses are usually fused into a single word (see Breeze

---

[2] For the difference between the lower case and small caps glosses m/M and f/F see the list of glosses at the end of the article, as well as section 2.1.4 below.

[3] Periphrastic Tenses involving a medial verb have also been reported of Papuan languages (Reesink 1987, Roberts 1987 *inter alia*). A syntactic parallel is found in the Swedish Progressive of the type *Han sitter och läser.* 'He is (sitting) reading (lit. He sits and reads)' (Holmes and Hinchliffe 1994:276, cf. Ebert 2000).

1990, Rapold 2006 for the specific rules), unless a subject pronoun intervenes between the two parts, signalling focus on the medial verb.

After a brief introduction of Benchnon (section 1.1) and a note about the typology of converb-like forms and their terminology (1.2), this paper explores the morphology (section 2), syntax (3) and semantics (4) of medial verbs in Benchnon.

1. Introduction

1.1. Benchnon

Benchnon (/*bénçᵩ nón*/ 'Bench mouth/language') is an Omotic language spoken in South West Ethiopia by more than 200,000 people. It comprises three main dialects, of which Benchnon proper has the highest number of speakers and is the variety investigated here. All three dialects are mutually intelligible.

Typological characteristics relevant for the present paper include a basic SOV constituent order, two genders, two numbers, a switch reference system and six phonemic tones (5 level tones and one glide from level 2 to level 3). For more detailed descriptions of the language see Breeze (1990) and Rapold (2006).

Benchnon medial verbs comprise same-subject and different-subject forms and distinguish four different Tense-Mood-Aspect categories, polarity and focus, though all medial verbs share the same basic morphological structure and markers.

1.2. Typology and terminology of medial verbs and converbs

For Omotic languages, structures functionally similar to Benchnon medial verbs have been described under the terms gerund, *gerundio, Gerundium, perfetto/passato subordinato*, participle, non-final verbs with a participle-like function, consecutive, a part in *Zusammensetzung/Aneinanderfügung zweier Verba*, and converb. The term converb, now often used in Omotic studies since about a decade ago, was coined by the Altaicist Ramstedt in 1903 and first applied to Ethio-Semitic by Polotsky in 1951. Recently, the converb has received much attention as a cross-linguistic category (Nedjalkov and Nedjalkov 1987, König and Haspelmath 1995 *inter alia*) and been defined as a *subordinate* verbal adverb in one of the most influential definitions (Haspelmath 1995:3-4, Hagège 1996:94). As can be shown for Benchnon, however, the forms in question are not subordinate, but cosubordinate (in the sense Foley and Van Valin 1984:238ff., following a concept developed in Olson's 1981 dissertation). Such verbs are not part of the main clause, but unlike coordinated independent verbs or clauses, they

are not specified for some semantic features like tense and mood, which they share with the main verb. As a result, they are dependent in the sense that they cannot constitute a sentence on their own, although they are not syntactically subordinate, but coordinate (Foley 1991:445). In Papuan language studies, where such forms abound, they are called *medial verbs*, a term which was apparently coined by Wurm (cf. Thurman 1975) and which seems to be a translation of Pilhofer's *Satzinnenform*, used in his 1933 description of Kâte (Trans-New Guinea, Papua New Guinea) (Haspelmath 1995:48). More recently, *medial verb* has been proposed as a cross-linguistic label (Longacre 1985:263-283, Givón 1990:865ff., Haspelmath 1995:20-27), a term that has the advantage of not being burdened by traditional usages.

Besides the more narrow definition of converbs mentioned above, there is a tendency to use the term "converb" in a range of broader senses, which include medial verbs as described above. Table 1 summarises five uses found today, slightly extending the overview in van der Auwera (1998):

Table 1: Uses of the term "converb"

<table>
<tr><td colspan="4">verb form</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">+dependent, -argumental, -adnominal</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">+embedded</td><td colspan="2">-embedded</td></tr>
<tr><td>+finite</td><td>-finite</td><td>-finite</td><td>+finite</td></tr>
<tr><td>subordinate "mood"</td><td>narrow converb</td><td>medial verb</td><td>cosubordinate "mood"</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="2">broad converb 1 (L1)</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>broad con-_</td><td></td><td>_verb 2 (L2)</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">broader converb (XL)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">broadest converb (XXL)</td></tr>
</table>

Using the term converb in one of the broader senses has the practical advantage of being able to refer to a set of forms before a detailed syntactic and morphological analysis of a language is available. For more detailed discussions, however, it is convenient to have concise labels for the various lower level slots in table 1 and it is for this reason that the term medial verb is adopted here. As Bickel (1998:395) states,

> "[w]hen reading that a language has converbs in this broader sense [i.e. our L_1 – XL or XXL in table 1 (CJR)], the only information we would gain is that in this language at least some interpropositional relations are marked by verbal

> affixes rather than free morphemes (conjunctions). But [...] this distinction certainly does not correlate with the use and distribution of converbs in various clause linkage types."

In table 1 above, medial verbs are defined as verb forms that are [+dependent, -argumental, -adnominal, -embedded, -finite]. These five features are discussed for Benchnon in section 2 (-finite), section 3 (-argumental, -adnominal, -embedded) and section 4 (+dependent) respectively.

2. Morphology of medial verbs

This section describes the morphology of medial verbs in Benchnon in order to assess their (non)-finiteness. Medial verbs in Benchnon have their own characteristic agreement markers and morphological structure, which set them off from the other verb forms. After describing agreement of medial verbs in the context of other verbal agreement morphology (2.1), the internal structure of medial verbs is presented (2.2). In section 2.3 finally, we discuss the (non)-finiteness of medial verbs. It is argued that while not being totally non-finite, their finiteness is drastically reduced.

2.1. Agreement markers of medial verbs

The agreement markers on medial verbs form one set out of four basic agreement paradigms in the language. One of these is the cross-linguistically rare polar question paradigm. The two other paradigms correspond roughly to main clause indicative and imperative forms. There are also verb forms with no subject agreement, viz. the New Situation tense, subordinate verbs in relative clauses and in some adverbial clauses (Rapold 2006, forth.). Besides agreement markers, there are verbal suffixes that mark derivations, tense-mood-aspect, negation, focus, mediativity and subordination. Table 2 presents the subject agreement suffixes of the four basic paradigms:

Table 2: Basic subject agreement paradigms

person	indicative final	medial	polar question	imperative
1s	*-ù*	*-á*	*-dà*	-
2s	*-ù*	*-á*	*-nè*	*-Ø*
3sm	*-ù*	*-ɨ́*	*-sè, -gè*	-
3sf	*-èn*	*-á*	*-sà, -gà*	-
3refl	*-ù*	*-á*	-	-
1+3	*-ù*	*-á ~ -ó́*	*-nù*	-
1+2	*-ù*	*-ɨ́*	*-nì*	-
2p	*-ènd*	*-ɨ́*	*-dè*	*-n̄d*
3p	*-ènd*	*-ɨ́*	*-sò, -gò*	-

In medial verbs *-á* varies with *-ó* in the first person plural inclusive, *-ó* being typical of the Mer dialect. Unless otherwise indicated, *-ó* is always implied in the present description when referring to *-á* as a switch reference marker. The reflexive third person markers occur only in subordinate contexts, e.g. in medial verbs preceding a chain-final verb that is subordinate.

The following data illustrate each of the four agreement paradigms:

(4) indicative final *nàns-ī* *sō?* ***ùc-k-ù-ē.***
boy-NOM.m water drink-FS-M-MED$_{DECL}$
'The boy drank water.'

The final mediative suffix (***-ē*** MED$_{DECL}$) found in (4) is a mood marker. In general, mediativity is marked in reported speech, for the expression of politeness (addressing a respectable person or a group of people) and in shouting at a distance. It is not rendered in the translations here unless specifically mentioned.

(5) medial

nàns-ī *sō?* ***ùc-k-í*** *ʒóng* ***m̀?-í***
boy-NOM.m water drink-FS-m cocoyam eat-m

gāb-ń̄ *hān-k'-ù-ē.*
market-LOC go-FS-M-MED$_{DECL}$

'The boy drank water, ate cocoyam and went to the market.'

(6) polar question

nàns-ī *sō?* ***ùc-k-á-sɛ̀?***
boy-NOM water drink-FS-PQ-3sm.PQ.PFV
'Did the boy drink water?'

(7) imperative

sō? ***ùc!***
water drink
'Drink water!'

The labels given to the paradigms in table 2 refer only to the most salient use of these forms, while some of them also appear in quite different functions (with slight formal variants of the agreement markers in some cases). For instance, the medial paradigm also serves in content question constructions, where the verb is syntactically not a medial verb. It would however be less useful to use a cover-term that suits both these functions, and a mere alphabetic or numeric symbol would be rather less informative than the label chosen here. The distribution of the above basic paradigms thus yields whole "families" of uses and related paradigms.

In particular, the indicative final paradigm occurs also in one type of subordinate verbs, and in the counter-expectational mood.

The medial agreement paradigm family also includes subject focus marking, content questions, purposive verb complements, the irregular equational/ identificational verb *gīz* 'to be', suggestive imperatives, and it is rudimentarily present in prohibitives (for more details see Rapold 2006).

The polar question paradigm is also used in some conditional clauses.
The imperative paradigm does not occur in other functions than its label suggests.

The following sections provide more details about the agreement markers in medial verbs, by setting them in the wider paradigm of switch reference (2.1.1) and presenting a hypothesis of their diachronic origin (2.1.1). In the remaining two sections we describe expressive allomorphs of the agreement markers and gender agreement across clause chain.

2.1.1. Switch reference in medial verbs

The agreement markers in medial verbs presented in table 2 above are part of a switch reference system that tracks the reference of subjects across a clause chain. The markers *-ǐ* and *-á* basically signal referential identity of their subject and the subject of the following clause in the clause chain. The different subject marker *-n̄* basically indicates that the next clause in the chain has a different subject from the clause it marks. Note that while same subject marking is gender sensitive, different subject marking is not. Table 3 summarises the switch reference marking in medial verbs:

Table 3: Switch reference markers

function	same subject		different subject
form	*-ǐ*	*-á*	*-n̄*
gloss	m	f	DS
gender	masculine	feminine	-

The switch reference system is strongly syntactically conditioned, to the near-total absence of semantic and pragmatic triggers of the same-subject or different-subject markers. However, inanimate subjects with a low agentivity occasionally fail to trigger different-subject marking. Consider the following example, where there is no different-subject marker in the verb *hān-k'-ǐ* in spite of the subsequent subject switch:

(8) ... *hān-k'-ǐ* *[ǐts* *yīst-āg-ùç]* ***dōd-ī*** *bòd-ń*
go-FS-m 3hon be.located-BE-M country-NOM.m road-LOC

t'ùm-m̄...
get.dark-DS

'...they went and it got dark where they were, on the road...'

Note also that Benchnon both has a switch reference system and a passive voice, two mechanisms that have been claimed to almost never co-occur in the same

language (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:290).[4] Van Valin and LaPolla try to motivate this generalisation functionally, but in the light of Benchnon and a few other languages of Ethiopia (as well as Greenlandic, see Mattissen (this vol.)) that motivation may not be as universal as expected. Switch reference marking and passive voice may even co-occur in the same sentence in Benchnon:

(9) *gāb-ñ̄* *tā* *hān-k'-á* *pōlís-ám* *tā*
market-LOC 1s.NOM go-FS-f police-INST 1s.NOM

ú-s.t-ù-ē.
seize.STC-PASS-M-MED$_{DECL}$

'When I went to the market, I was caught by the police.'

2.1.2. Origin of the switch reference markers

The forms of the same-subject markers *-ī́* and *-á* are reminiscent of the nominative suffixes, *-ī* (NOM.m) and *-ā* (NOM.f). As Hayward (1998) points out for the related Ometo languages, the same-subject markers on medial verbs may have arisen from resumptive topic pronouns in non-initial conjoined clauses that cliticised leftwards and thus became associated with the verb of the preceding clause:

(10) [NP pron VP]$_S$ [pron VP]$_S$ [pron VP]$_S$ ..... (Hayward 1998:103)

(Note: "pron" stands for the topic pronouns in question.)

When used in apposition to an initial agentive NP, the same topic pronouns would have grammaticalised as markers of the nominative case on nouns (*-ī* and *-ā* in Benchnon), which is represented by the leftmost arrow in (10).

This scenario of course presupposes that the language(s) had a SOV basic constituent order at the time the process took place. Apart from accounting for the formal similarity between the same-subject markers and the nominative markers, this scenario would also explain why in spite of this similarity the medial verbs are not nominal or nominalised forms, but rather share many morphological and syntactic characteristics with the final verbs. The tonal difference between the

[4] The only counterexample cited in Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) is Martuthunira (Pama-Nyungan), with reference to Dench (1988). However, Dench (1988:136-137) himself states that what he terms "switch-reference" in Martuthunira is not a real switch-reference system at all.

nominative allomorphs (with tone 3 (*v̄*)) and the same-subject switch reference suffixes (tones 5 and 4 (*v̂*), (*v́*)) still needs to be motivated for Benchnon in this scenario.

As to the different-subject marker *-n̄*, it is formally identical with the dative case marker, a situation also found in other Omotic languages (cf. the discussion of Maale in Azeb 2001:198). While case markers have been shown to be a source of switch-reference markers (Austin 1981), it is impossible to decide at this stage whether the two markers are historically related or not. Interestingly, different-subject marking in some Australian languages is associated with locative or allative case (Austin 1981). While in Benchnon the dative has a locative interpretation in certain contexts, the locative case (*-ń*) only differs in tone from the dative case. It cannot be excluded that the different-subject marker *-n̄* goes back to a locative marker that did not undergo the same tonal development as when attached to noun phrases. It may further be noted that a suffix *-n̄* occurs not only in different-subject constructions in medial verbs, but also in certain subordinate verbs. In those forms, however, it is not in opposition to a same-subject marker.

2.1.3. Expressive variants of the medial verb markers

There is a tonal variant of the same-subject agreement markers on medial verbs in which all persons carry tone 1 (*v̌*), instead of tones 4 (*v̂*) or 5 (*v́*). Besides this tonal reduction, there is no variation in the first person plural exclusive (*-ā̀* ~ **-ò*) and there is no expressive different-subject marker such as **-ǹ*. These observations suggest that the expressive pattern is derived from the one in table 2 rather than the other way round.

The expressive same-subject markers typically occur in dialogues and have the effect of putting more attention on each of the medial clauses they mark (without signalling focus in the strict sense). Medial verbs marked in this way tend to be uttered in slower speech than their non-expressive counterparts and a short pause is likely to occur just after them. The hearer thus has extra time to pause on each clause in the chain and is invited to pay attention to each of them separately. Consider the following pair of examples:

(11) *tàn-ā* *mīzán-n̄* *hān-k'-ā̀* *ómt.án* *yē?-ù-ē.*
1s.STR-NOM.f M.-DAT go-FS-f$_{EXP}$ yesterday come.FS-M-MED$_{DECL}$
'I went to Mizan, and came back yesterday.'

(12) *tằn-ā* *mīzán-n̄* *hān-k'-á* *ómt.án* *yē?-ù-ē.*
1s.STR-NOM.f M.-DAT go-FS-f yesterday come.FS-M-MED$_{DECL}$
'I went to Mizan and came back yesterday.'

Sentence (12) is a simple declaration, while (11) arouses the interest of the hearer and makes her wonder why the speaker went to Mizan.

Also elsewhere in the language, a low tone with an expressive function before a (potential) pause is found, viz. in subject focus marking (tone 1 (*v̏*)), in the New-Situation tense (tone 2 (*v̌*)) and possibly in mediative markers in vocatives (tones 1 and 2).

2.1.4. Gender agreement in clause chains

Comparing the subject agreement suffixes in indicative final and medial verbs (table 2), it is noted that the grammatical persons pattern differently with respect to gender in the two paradigms. The switch reference suffixes in medial verbs not only have fewer distinctions than the subject agreement suffixes in indicative final verbs, but the groupings of persons intersect:

Table 4: Gender alignment in medial and indicative final verbs

controller gender	person	medial	indicative final
I	1s	*-á*	*-ù*
	2s	*-á*	*-ù*
II	3sm	*-í*	*-ù*
III	3sf	*-á*	*-èn*
I	3refl	*-á*	*-ù*
	1+3	*-á ~ -ó*	*-ù*
II	1+2	*-í*	*-ù*
IV	2p	*-í*	*-èn̄d*
	3p	*-í*	*-èn̄d*

Subject tracking of some grammatical persons thus alternates between two genders in a clause chain (as illustrated e.g. in (12)). The sets formed by the intersections of the two paradigms can be taken as abstract genders, so-called "controller genders" (Corbett 1991). Controller gender I thus comprises the grammatical persons 1s, 2s, 3refl, 1+3; controller gender II: 3sm, 1+2; III: 3sf; and IV: 2p, 3p. The controller genders predict which gender-related allomorphs a given word selects, in spite of the different patterning of these various forms in different contexts.[5] The groups of persons defined by the actual agreement markers are termed "target genders". The persons that select *-á*, for example, constitute a target gender that comprises 1s, 2s, 3sf, 3refl, 1+3. In table 4 there are as many target genders as there are individual morphological exponents of gender, i.e. five (*-ǐ, -á, -ù, -èn, -ènd*). The two agreement patterns in Benchnon verbs can thus be analysed as the two sets of in total five target genders that are the exponents of four controller genders. In the glosses, the five *target* genders are glossed as follows: *-ǐ* (m), *-á* (f), *-ù* (M), *-èn* (F), *-ènd* (PL). (Note the differential use of lower case letters and small caps.) The reason for glossing *-ǐ*, *-ù*, and *-á*, *-èn* as masculine and feminine respectively lies in the fact that gender is the sole distinguishing feature between the two non-reflexive third person singular categories, 3sm and 3sf.

2.2. Morphological structure of medial verbs

Formally, a medial verb consists of at least a root, a TMA marker and a switch reference (SR) suffix. The full structure of medial verbs is as follows:

(13) root – (DERIVATION) – TMA – (NEG) – (FOC) – (SP) – SR – (FOC)

This structure formula disregards various co-occurrence restrictions. For instance, the subject pronoun (SP) only occurs in combination with a different-subject marker (14). The two slots for focus marking cannot be occupied at the same time; they differ in scope and in the markers that occupy them. In Imperfective medial verbs, both constituent verbs follow the formula in (13). TMA marking in medial verbs is treated in greater detail in the following section.

---

[5] Marginal variation caused by semantic agreement is neglected in Table 4 (for more details cf. Rapold forth.).

Here are some examples of medial verbs with various make-ups:

(14) ***yə̀nk'-ìs-ī*** *nūn-ā* *wōts'-ù-ē.*
get.angry-3sm.STR_R-DS 1+3.WK-NOM.f run-M-MED_{DECL}
'He got angry and we ran (away).'

(15) ***mó∫t-í-ān*** *yíst-īs-ù-ē.*
swim-m-FOC_{NSUB} be.located.NFS-FUT-M-MED_{DECL}
'He will be *swimming* [now].' / 'Maybe he is *swimming*.'

(16) ***hám-āg-á*** ***àt-ár-āg-á*** *wū* *∫íd-ā.ñ*
go.NFS-BE-f reach-NEG-BE-f 3sf.NOM remain.NFS-COND

k'ə̀yts'-ī *k'ə̀yts'-īs-árg-ù.*
work.VN-NOM.m work.PASS-FUT-NEG-M

'If she does not come, the work will not be done.'

2.2.1 Tense-mood-aspect in medial verbs

TMA marking in medial verbs is severely reduced with respect to chain-final declarative verbs, which have an elaborate TMA system. In the affirmative, this system comprises ten Tenses built on a threefold tense distinction (Past, Present, Future) in combination with a twofold aspect (Perfective, Imperfective) and a Perfect—Non-Perfect tense-aspect opposition.[6] In addition, there is a New Situation tense for thetic propositions and a Habitual. In medial verbs, by contrast, there is no tense distinction and only four Tenses are found, with TMA and agreement markers as displayed in table 5:

[6] In the Perfective the distinction of Present and Past tense is neutralised, which explains why only ten out of twelve theoretically possible Tenses (3 x 2 x 2) are attested. ("Tense" with a capital initial refers to any formal TMA category here, cf. *tiroir* in the French linguistic tradition or *screeve* in Georgian linguistics. Following a specific formal label such as "Perfective Future", the same is written with a lower case initial for typographic reasons. In other contexts, "tense" generally refers to grammaticalised time reference.)

Table 5: TMA system in medial verbs

	Non-Perfect	Perfect
Perfective	*-Ø*-SR	*-ńs / -ánk'*-SR[7]
Imperfective	*-Ø*-SR_1 *AUX*]-SR_2	*-ńs / -ánk'*-SR_1 *AUX*]-SR_2

In the Imperfective tenses the first switch reference marker (SR_1) can only be a same-subject marker as it is part of a grammaticalised compound Tense, whose right edge is signalled by a bracket in the table. All the other switch reference suffixes can be same-subject or different-subject markers.

The TMA morphology of medial verbs is also found in indicative final verbs. For a more detailed understanding of TMA markers in medial verbs, however, a small excursion on the verb system is in order: Each verb in Benchnon has from one to three different verb stems, whose distribution is mainly conditioned by TMA and polarity. These stems are the so-called basic, factual and non-factual stems. The number of stems of a given verb is lexically determined, although there are semantic tendencies in some cases (for details see Rapold 2006). The existential verb *yīst* 'to be, be located' is the only verb in the language that has a separate Present stem (besides a basic and a non-factual stem).

The following table presents the specific stems to which the TMA markers attach in medial verbs:

Table 6: Verb stems in medial verbs

	SS/DS	stem of medial verb	stem of AUX
Perfective Non-Perfect	SS	factual	—
	DS	non-factual	
Perfective Perfect	SS, DS	factual	
Imperfective Non-Perfect	SS	factual	basic
	DS		non-factual
Imperfective Perfect	SS	factual	basic
	DS		non-factual

[7] The distribution of the Perfect allomorphs is mainly conditioned by telicity; *-ńs* is used with atelic, *-ánk'* with telic and passive verbs.

The information contained in Table 6 is necessary to understand the relation between TMA categories in medial and in indicative final verbs, as the TMA morphemes, verb stems and auxiliaries found in medial verbs are also used to express TMA in indicative final verbs. However, while medial verb Tenses do not code absolute time reference (cf. table 5 above), their formal correlates in indicative final verbs do. For instance, the TMA marking that codes the Perfective Non-Perfect in same-subject medial verbs (17a) expresses the Perfective *Non-Future* Non-Perfect tense in indicative final verbs by the "addition" of a Non-Future time reference (17b). Identical TMA morphology thus does not have exactly the same semantic values in medial and in indicative final verbs:

(17) a. *gāb-ńń* ***hān-k'-á*** (ss Pfv. Non-Prf.)
market-LOC go-FS-f

fāntá tā ŭç-īs-ù-ē.
Fanta 1s.NOM drink.NFS-FUT-M-MED$_{DECL}$

'I will go to the market and drink a Fanta.'

b. *gāb-ńń tā* ***hān-k'-ù-ē.*** (Pfv. Non-Fut. Non-Prf.)
market-LOC 1s.NOM go-FS-M-MED$_{DECL}$
'I went to the market.'

The absolute time reference "added" in indicative final verbs varies from Tense to Tense, yielding the pairs of formally corresponding Tenses in medial and indicative final verbs displayed in Table 7. For each pair, the absolute time reference "added" in indicative final verbs is underlined. Further example sentences illustrating Table 7 are given in (18)-(19) below.

Table 7: Formally corresponding Tenses in medial and indicative final verbs

medial verbs		indicative final verbs
Perfective Non-Perfect	SS	Perfective Non-Future Non-Perfect
	DS	—
Perfective Perfect	SS, DS	Perfective Present Perfect
Imperfective Non-Perfect	SS	Imperfective Past Non-Perfect
	DS	—
Imperfective Perfect	SS	Imperfective Past Perfect
	DS	—

Which absolute time reference is found in a given Tense of indicative final verbs seems to be functionally motivated in some cases: Non-Future time reference, the absolute time reference "added" in the Perfective *Non-Future* Non-Perfect tense (17b), is the most frequent time reference of any Perfective verb in any Tense in indicative final verbs. Similarly, the present time reference, which is "added" in the Perfective *Present* Perfect in indicative final verbs, is the most frequent time reference of any Perfect verb form in indicative final clauses. The same-subject forms of the two Imperfective tenses in medial verbs, however, strikingly correspond to the *Past* Imperfective tenses in indicative final verbs (18), whereas the most frequent Imperfective indicative final verbs are in a Present tense (Present Perfect or Present Non-Perfect). The TMA markers of all different-subject medial verbs except the Perfective Perfect ones, finally, do not have a direct formal correspondent in indicative final verbs. The non-factual stem found in these forms also occurs in Future, Habitual and negative indicative final verbs, but in each case in combination with other TMA morphemes (19)[8].

(18)a. *kărgù-ī* *dórù-k'án* ***wòg-ńs-ī́*** ***yīst-ī́***
K.-NOM.m watch.tower-in sit.down-PERF-m be.located-m

dítʃī́ *bák'-ńs-ù.* (ss Ipfv. Prf.)
maize keep.watch.of-FUT-M

'Kargu will watch the maize, sitting in a watch tower.'

b. ... *dítʃī́* *bák'-ī́* *dórù-k'án* ***wòg-ńs-ī́***
maize keep.watch.of-m watch.tower-IN sit.down-PERF-m
yīst-ù. (Ipfv. Past Prf.)
be.located-M

'...watched the maize [...] and was sitting in a watch tower.

[8] Outside of indicative final verbs, the non-factual stem also occurs in Optative tenses, purposive verb complements and realis conditional clauses.

(19)a. *gāb-ńń* *nū* ***hám-m̄*** *fāntá* *tā* (DS Pfv. Non-Prf.)
market-LOC 1+3.NOM go.NFS-DS Fanta 1s.NOM

ùç-k-ù-ē.
drink-FS-M-MED$_{DECL}$

'We went to the market and I drank a Fanta.'
Note: The assimilation of *-n̄* to *m* is a regular phonological process.

b. *gāb-ńń* *nū* ***hám-m̄s-ù-ē.*** (Pfv. Fut. Non-Prf.)
market-LOC 1+3.NOM go.NFS-FUT-M-MED$_{DECL}$
'We will go to the market.'

Given that the non-factual verb stem is found in the different-subject forms of the Perfective Non-Perfect in medial verbs, the question arises whether the label "Perfective" is justified for this Tense, especially since a case could be made for a semantic link between different-subject forms and Future, negative and other non-factual verb forms, all of which are built on the non-factual stem. Moreover, the "Perfective Non-Perfect" medial verb can also assume a simultaneous interpretation (see section 4), which somewhat contradicts the notion of Perfectivity. However, the same-subject medial verbs (which are built on the factual stem) are functionally unmarked compared to the different-subject medial forms. Furthermore, it can be shown that the TMA marking found in Perfective Non-Perfect same-subject medial verbs clearly has perfective and non-perfect semantics if it occurs in indicative final verbs. Thus, considering the overall symmetry of the TMA system, the semantics and frequency of the respective TMA morphemes and verb stems, the label "Perfective Non-Perfect" would seem to be well motivated for the Tense in question.

The Perfective Non-Perfect medial verb is noteworthy for other characteristics as well. It is the most frequent type of medial verb and semantically the most versatile and most general medial verb. In line with Ebert's converb typology in the introduction to this volume, it may be termed the general medial verb. Furthermore, the fact that the stem of the general medial verb is identical with the stem in the Perfective Non-Future Non-Perfect of indicative final verbs is reminiscent of most South Dravidian languages, where the general converb is identical with the past stem (Ebert, this volume: Introduction). More semantic details about the general medial verb are found in section 4.

2.3. Non-finiteness of medial verbs

Medial verbs can occur in clause chains whose final verb is marked by morphemes of any of the basic paradigms in table 2 except the medial paradigm, but for the sake of brevity we concentrate only on the morphological differences between medial verbs and indicative final verbs, which represent the most frequent category in sentence final verbs. Disregarding compound tense forms, indicative final verbs have the internal structure given in (20). The one of medial verbs is repeated here as (21) for the sake of comparison:

(20) root – (DERIV.) – TMA – (NEG) – (SP) – NG – (SP_R) – (MED) (indicative final)

(21) root – (DERIV.) – TMA – (NEG) – (FOC) – (SP) – SR – (FOC) (medial)

The derivational, tense-mood-aspect and negation markers that occur in medial verbs are also found in indicative final verbs. By contrast, the verb-final mediative markers of the latter are completely absent in medial verbs. On the other hand, medial verbs have characteristic morphology not found in indicative final verbs, viz. the switch reference (SR) and the focus markers.[9]

Benchnon medial verbs thus have TMA, negation and subject markers, but compared to indicative final verbs they are less finite, if one accepts that non-finiteness is a scale that reflects various degrees of desententialisation (Lehmann 1988:200, Haspelmath 1995:5): Subject agreement markers in medial verbs make fewer distinctions than those in indicative final verbs, the occurrence of negation marking is severely restricted and only a subset of Tenses occurs in medial verbs. Finally, mediative mood marking is absent in medial verbs (as well as in all subordinate clauses). In addition to this morphological non-finiteness, medial verbs are also "functionally non-finite", as they cannot constitute the predicate of a main clause by themselves. They are dependent on a main clause (section 4).

3. Syntax of medial verbs

This section discusses the syntax of Benchnon medial verbs in the light of the features [-argumental], [-adnominal] and [-embedded], which are the defining syntactic characteristic of medial verbs in general (table 1).

---

[9] Verb (phrase) or truth value focus in indicative final verbs is expressed by the presence of subject pronominal suffixes (SP) on the verb.

3.1. [-argumental] and [-adnominal]

Benchnon medial verbs never function as the argument of another predicate or an adposition, whether as a subject or object clause, as a verb complement or any other type of argument. There are verbal nouns (or: masdars) in the language, and subject and object clauses are formally headless relative clauses. Purposive verb complements share the same person-sensitive markers as medial verbs, but they have a different morphological structure and are obligatorily marked by the purposive marker *-n̄* (22). They always have the same logical subject as their head:

(22) *sōʔ ūç-n̄-á kòy-ár-tân-ù.*
water drink.NFS-PURP-f look.for-NEG-1S.STR$_V$-M
'I *don't want* to drink.'

Medial verbs can never function adnominally either. Adnominal clauses are coded as relative clauses in Benchnon, whose verbs have no agreement at all (Rapold 2006, forth.). It may be added that there are no participles in the language and arguably no deverbal adjectives.

3.3. [-embedded]

The term "embedded" as used in table 1 (and in van der Auwera (1998), on which the table is based) is synonymous with "subordinate". Haspelmath (1995:12) lists five possible criteria for subordination, claiming that while a subordinate clause may not fulfil all of them, non-subordinate clauses fail all of them. For lack of space, we restrict ourselves here to the one criterion that yields the most straightforward results in Benchnon, the possibility of backwards pronominal anaphors.

Since backward pronominal anaphors (or: cataphors) need to be c-commanded (i.e. in the scope of the referential control of their antecedent), they can normally only occur in subordinate clauses. Thus, while the pronoun *him* in (23) can be interpreted as co-referential with *Pedro*, it cannot in (24) except in very marked contexts:

(23) *Talking to him$_i$, she solved all of Pedro's$_j$ problems.* (subord. clause)
(24) *She talked to him$_{*i/j}$ and solved all of Pedro's$_i$ problems.* (coord. clause)
(Haspelmath 1995:14)

As illustrated by the following data, Benchnon medial verb clauses cannot contain a cataphoric pronoun, whether its antecedent is overt (25) or covert (26):

(25) ***yí*** *bēk'-ńs-á* ***kǎrgù***-*èʃī̀* *mŭz* *úts-èn.* (direct obj. pronoun)
3sm see/look-PERF-f K.-BEN banana give-F
'She saw him$_{i/*j}$ and gave Kargu$_j$ bananas.'

(26) ***yí*** *bēk'-ńs-á* ***Ø*** *mŭz* *úts-èn.*
3sm see/look-PERF-f banana give-F
'She saw him and gave bananas (to a third person).'
*'She saw him$_i$ and gave bananas (to him$_i$)'.

(27) ***yí*** *káts* *sìs-k-í* *yīst-í* ***nătnél*** *ts'èg-ù.* (genitive pron.)
3sm voice hear-FS-m be.located-m N. call-M
'While he$_i$ was hearing his$_{j/*k}$ voice, he called Natnael$_k$.'

Note that it is the intended cataphoricity that causes the ungrammaticality in these sentences, not the mere presence of pronouns in the respective non-final clauses. Interpreted anaphorically, they are perfectly grammatical in medial verb clauses, as shown by the indices.

Further evidence from pronouns comes from the distribution of the long-distance reflexive pronouns. In subordinate clauses with the "same subject" as in the main clause, a third person subject is obligatorily expressed by a subject-reflexive pronoun:

(28) [*gāb-ńń* ***bā*** *hān-k'-ù* *géʃ-ń-ān]* *mŭz* *gòt-ù.*
market-LOC Refl.NOM go-FS-M back-LOC-FOC$_{NSUB}$ banana trade-M
'After having gone to the market, he bought bananas.' (subord. clause)

Medial verb clauses, on the other hand, cannot contain a subject-reflexive pronoun (if depending on a non-embedded clause):

(29) **gāb-ńń* ***bā*** *hān-k'-ńs-í* *mŭz* *gòt-ù.* (medial clause)
market-LOC Refl.NOM go-FS-PERF-m banana trade-M

Intended: 'Having gone to the market, he bought bananas.'

If *bā* is omitted in (29), the sentence is grammatical. Again, the ungrammaticality of this pronoun in a medial verb clause is due to the fact that it is not c-commanded by the intended antecedent.

Note that this does not mean that reflexive subject pronouns are categorically excluded from medial verb clauses. If the clause-final verb upon which they depend is subordinate, their pronominal subject has to be a reflexive, if it is co-referential with the third person subject of the matrix clause. Consider the following data, where a medial verb occurs inside a relative clause:

(30) *[...**bā*** *yís-ɲ́* ***pàʃt-ī-á*** ***bā***
Refl.NOM 3sm-LOC be.together-R.MIDD-f Refl.NOM

dyām-ɲ́-ɲ̄s-ùc̣] *kūts-īs* *yéc̣-ās-ɲ́s-ɲ́*
meet-R.MIDD-FUT-M place-TOP get.ready.TC-CAUS-PERF-m

bà-t'ī *bà-t'ī* *hám-ɲ̄s-ènd.*[10]
Refl-PLACE.LOC Refl-PLACE.LOC go.NFS-FUT-M-PL

'...having prepared the place [where they will meet], they will go each to their home.' (lit. ...[here they will be together and meet]...)

The point is that the medial verbs *by themselves* are not subordinate. According to the criterion of backward pronominal anaphors, then, the Benchnon verb forms in question are not subordinate.

4. Semantics of medial verbs

This section investigates the semantic relation between medial verbs and their chain-final clause, upon which they depend semantically. In Benchnon, this dependency shows in two ways. First, medial verbs cannot constitute the only predicate of a sentence, and second, they depend on the chain-final verb for the interpretation of their tense, mood and, in some cases, polarity.

With respect to the first of these dependencies a minor exception has to be noted. In casual speech, compound Tenses are occasionally used without their auxiliary second verb, as a result of which the medial verb appears to be the main predicate in the sentence:

[10] Data courtesy of Mary Breeze; tones and glosses by CJR.

(31) *kărgù-ī* ***k'áyts'-ī.***
K.-NOM.m work-m
'Kargu is working.'

This elision of the main verb occurs only in compound Tenses where the first element is a general medial verb. Moreover, the elided auxiliary can always be restored and in slow, careful speech such elision is usually avoided. In the Horn of Africa area a similar phenomenon has been reported for Tigrinya and the Gojjam dialect of Amharic, where the "converb" may be used as a main verb (Appleyard 2002).
For lack of space, we focus on the general medial verb in the remainder of this section. The following examples illustrate its dependency on the chain-final verb for the interpretation of its tense (32)-(34) and mood (35)-(36):

Tense

(32) *bá nyā? **ēt-á** yē?-èn-ē.* (Pfv. Non-Fut. Non-Prf.)
Refl child take-f come.FS-F-MED$_{DECL}$
'She brought her child.' (lit. She took it and came.)

(33) *bá nyā? **ēt-á** yē?-á yísk-èn-ē.* (Ipfv. Pres. Non-Prf.)
Refl child take-f come.FS-f be.located.PRES-F-MED$_{DECL}$
'She is bringing her child.'

(34) *bá nyā? **ēt-á** wú-ēs-èn-ē.* (Pfv. Fut. Non-Prf.)
Refl child take-f come.NFS-FUT-F-MED$_{DECL}$
'She will bring her child.'

Mood

(35) *ēs-ń* *nèn-ā* ***hám-ēn*** *tàn-ā* (Optative)
like.this-LOC 2s.STR-NOM.f go.NFS-DS 1s.STR-NOM.f

tà-t'ēn *hám-è*
1s-PLACE.LOC go.NFS-MED$_{OPT}$

'Well then, may you go and may I go to my place.'

(36) ***cc'ăct-ī*** *ʃăl-nd* (Imperative)
clap-m sing-PL
'Clap and sing (pl)!'

For instances of general medial verbs in declarative clause chains, see e.g. (34) above.

The fact that general medial verbs are unspecified for mood also accounts for the ungrammaticality of (37). Since the medial verb clause in (37) does not contain a content question word, it cannot take over the content question mood of the final verb:

(37) **kărgù-ī* *[bá* *kāmbúl* ***gŏt-ī]*** ***hăr-ān*** ***gŏt-ād-ē?***
K.-NOM.m Refl car trade-m what-FOC$_{NSUB}$ trade-CQ-BE.m

Intended: 'Kargu sold his car, and what did he buy?'

General medial verbs derive a negative interpretation from the chain-final verb (38), but can be separately negated if the chain-final verb is affirmative (e.g. (16)). Negation on the medial verb may be expressed periphrastically by means of the verb *ʃīd* 'to remain' or by the suffix *-ārg* (NEG). The factors governing these two strategies are beyond the scope of this paper.

(38) *wùs-ā* ***ēt-á*** *wú-**árg**-èn-ē.*
3sf.STR-NOM.f take-f come.NFS-NEG-F-MED$_{DECL}$

'She did not bring it.'
*'She took it and did not come.'

Depending on the co-text and context, the general medial verb can assume a range of various circumstantial interpretations with respect to the following verb. Among the most frequent ones are, in an impressionistic order of descending frequency: sequential (39), manner(40), accompanying activity (or: simultaneous) (41), causal (42):

(39) *sō?* ***kĭt-á*** *tā* ***ùç-k-ù-ē.*** (sequential)
water draw.water-f 1s.NOM drink-FS-M-MED$_{DECL}$
'I drew water and (then I) drank.'

(40) *... "wɔ̀ nás-ō ní dìr gób-k'án tá àtʃ!"*
VOC.M man-MED$_{VOC.M}$ 2s slashed.vegetation inside-IN 1s hide

màk-ɪ́ *yɪ́* ***k'ōl-ù-ē.*** (manner)
say/do-m 3sm beg-M-MED$_{DECL}$

'...and he begged him, saying "Oh man, hide me inside your slashed vegetation!".'

A further example of a manner function is the last medial verb (*wōts'-á*) in (42).

(41) *dōd-à hǎc-ɲ́-ān yī* ***gɔ̀-s.t-ɲ̄-ān***
country-REL this.M-LOC-FOC$_{NSUB}$ 3sm.NOM trade.SC-PASS-DS-FOC$_{NSUB}$

bɛ̄k'-ńs-á *tà hāyt'-ād-á-ò?* (accompanying activity)
see/look-PERF-f 1s.STR.NOM tell-CQ-f-MED$_{CQ}$

'Did I say I had seen them [= the skins of monkeys] being *traded in this country*?' (lit. Did I tell, after they were sold in this country and I saw it?)

A further example of an accompanying activity interpretation is found in (36).

(42) *āts-āg-ɪ́ tá* ***ʒàg-ɲ̄*** *tān-ā* ***wōts'-á*** *yē?-ù-ē.* (causal)
people-BE-m 1s hunt-DS 1s.STR-NOM.f run-f come.FS-M-MED$_{DECL}$

'Some people hunted me and I came running.' / '..., that's why I came running.' (said the leopard in answer to the question 'Why did you come running?')

5. Conclusion

This article explored morphological, syntactic and semantic aspects of Benchnon medial verbs, whose main functions are the formation of clause chains and the expression of Imperfective aspect in compound Tenses. Medial verbs have their own characteristic morphological structure and switch reference markers. While being semantically dependent on the final verb in the clause chain, they are not syntactically subordinate, as evidenced by the distribution of backward pronominal anaphors. Medial verbs can express four different tense-aspect

categories. The Perfective Non-Perfect medial verb is semantically the most general, assuming a variety of circumstantial interpretations, including sequential, simultaneous and causal.

It was further argued that the relevant Benchnon verb forms are medial verbs in the widely accepted sense of the term (cf. table 1 above), thus showing that at least some forms of an Ethiopian language that have previously been called "converb" in the literature are in fact medial verbs, if a narrow use of the term converb is intended. Terminology as such does not matter so much, but the *distinction* of the two categories is useful and important, since Benchnon also has converbs in the narrow sense of the word. Consider the following data, which features a verb form that has all the defining characteristics of a narrow converb. Like medial verbs, it is a dependent, non-argumental and non-adnominal verb form. It is even less finite than medial verbs, as it carries no person-sensitive markers at all.[11] Unlike medial verbs, however, it is subordinate, as evidenced by the presence of the long-distance reflexive subject pronoun *bā*.

(43) *nàns-ī* *[sō?* *bā* ***ŭc-ā.ñ]***
boy-NOM.m water Refl.NOM drink.NFS-COND

pyāts'-ñs-ù-ē.
get.saved/well-FUT-M-MED$_{DECL}$

'If the boy drinks water, he will get better.'

Further major differences with medial verbs include the fact that forms such as *ŭc-ā.ñ* in (43) do not typically occur in chains and do not enter into the formation of compound Tenses. Distinguishing between medial verbs and narrow converbs may thus lead to a finer-grained understanding of dependent, non-finite forms in Benchnon and languages of the world in general.

[11] For pragmatic purposes, however, the subject pronouns can be incorporated into it.

Selected glosses and symbols

(for general abbreviations see index on pp. 5-6)

BE	'be': marker in habitual verbs, focus marking and content questions
COOR	coordination
CQ	content question
exp	expressive
f	feminine (in medial agreement paradigm)
F	feminine (in indicative final agreement paradigm)
FS	factual stem
hon	honorific
Ipfv.	Imperfective
m	masculine (in medial agreement paradigm family)
M	masculine (in indicative final agreement paradigm family)
MED	meditative
NFS	non-factual stem
NSUB	non-subject
OV	object–verb word order
Pfv.	Perfective
Prf.	Perfect
PLACE.LOC	'at x's place/home'
PQ	polar question
R.MIDD	reciprocal–middle
Refl	Reflexive
REL	relational case
SC	unpredictable segmental change
SP	subject pronominal suffix
SP_R	subject pronominal suffix of the reduced paradigm
SR	switch reference marker
SR_1, SR_2	first and second switch reference marker in a compound tense
STC	unpredictable segmental and tonal change
STR	strong pronoun
STR_R	form of the reduced subject pronominal suffix paradigm
STR_V	subject pronominal suffix
TA	tense–aspect
TC	unpredictable tonal change
TMA	time-mood-aspect
VO	verb–object word order
WK	weak pronoun
]S	switch reference
ˇ	rising tone (from level 2 (v́) to level 3 (v̋))

References

Appleyard, David L. 2002. The morphology of main and subordinate verb marking, with special reference to Ethiopian Semitic and Agaw. In: Christian Rapold and Graziano Savà (eds.), Ethiopian morphosyntax in an areal perspective. Papers from the EMIAP symposium at Leiden, 04.-05.02.2001. *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 71:9-31.

Austin, Peter. 1981. Switch-reference in Australia. *Language* 57:309-334.

Azeb Amha. 2001. *The Maale language.* (CNWS publications, vol. 99). Leiden: Research School of Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies.

Azeb Amha and Gerrit Dimmendaal. 2006. Converbs in an African perspective. In: Felix K. Ameka, Alan Dench and Nicholas Evans (eds.), *Catching Language: The Standing Challenges of Grammar Writing.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Bickel, Balthasar. 1998. Review article of: Martin Haspelmath, Martin and Ekkehard König (eds.). 1995. *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective. Structure and Meaning of Adverbial Verb Forms -Adverbial Participles, Gerunds.* (Empirical Approaches to Language Typology, 13). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. *Linguistic Typology* 2:381-397.

Breeze, Mary J. 1990. A sketch of the phonology and the grammar of Gimira (Benchnon). In: Richard J. Hayward (ed.). *Omotic Language Studies*. p.1-67. London: SOAS.

Corbett, Greville G. 1991. *Gender.* (Cambridge textbooks in linguistics). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Dench, Alan. 1988. Complex sentences in Martuthunira. In: Peter Austin (ed.). *Complex sentence constructions in Australian languages.* pp. 97-139. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Ebert, Karen H. 2000. Progressive markers in Germanic languages. In: Östen Dahl (ed.), *Tense and aspect in the languages of Europe.* (Eurotyp, VI. Empirical approaches to language typology, 20-6). Berlin: Mouton. 603-651.

Foley, William A. 1991. *The Yimas Language of New Guinea.* Stanford (CA): Stanford University.

Foley, William A. and Robert D. Van Valin, Jr. 1984. *Functional syntax and universal grammar.* (Cambridge studies in linguistics, 38). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Givón, Talmy. 1990. *Syntax: A functional-typological introduction, vol. II.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Givón, Talmy. 1995. *Functionalism and Grammar.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Hagège, Claude. 1996. Review article of: Martin Haspelmath, Martin and Ekkehard König (eds.) (1995. *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective. Structure and Meaning of Adverbial Verb Forms -Adverbial Participles, Gerunds.* (Empirical Approaches to Language Typology, 13). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. *Bulletin de la société de linguistique de Paris* 91(2):94-110.

Haspelmath, Martin. 1995. The converb as a cross-linguistically valid category. In: Martin Haspelmath and Ekkehard König (eds.) *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective. Structure and Meaning of Adverbial Verb Forms - Adverbial Participles, Gerunds.* (Empirical Approaches to Language Typology, 13). pp. 1-55. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Haspelmath, Martin and Ekkehard König (eds.). 1995. *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective. Structure and Meaning of Adverbial Verb Forms – Adverbial Participles, Gerunds–.* (Empirical Approaches to Language Typology, 13). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Hayward, Richard J. 1998. The origins of the North Ometo verb agreement systems. *JALL* 19(2):93-111.

Holmes, Philip and Ian Hinchliffe. 1994. Swedish. A Comprehensive Grammar. London: Routledge.

Lehmann, Christian. 1988. Towards a typology of clause linkage. In: John Haiman and Sandra A. Thompson (eds.), *Clause combining in grammar and discourse.* (Typological studies in Language, 18). pp. 181-225. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Longacre, Robert E. 1985. Sentences as combinations of clauses. In: Timothy Shopen, (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description. Vol. 2. Complex Constructions,* pp. 235-286. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Nedjalkov, Vladimir P. and Igor V. Nedjalkov. 1987. On the typological characteristics of converbs. In: T. Help and S. Murumets (eds.), *Symposium on language universals.* Tallinn: Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR, 75-79.

Olson, Michael L. 1981. Barai clause junctures: toward a functional theory of interclausal relations. PhD dissertation, Australian National University.

Petros Tsanu, Endrias Essay and Mary Breeze. 1991. A Benchnon-English wordlist. ms.

Pilhofer, Georg. 1933. *Grammatik der Kâte-Sprache in Neuguinea.* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen, 14). Berlin : D. Reimer.

Polotsky, Hans Jakob. 1951. *Notes on Gurage grammar.* (Oriental notes and studies, 2). Jerusalem: The Israel Oriental Society.

Ramstedt, Gustaf John. 1903. *Über die Konjugation des Khalkha-Mongolischen.* (Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, 19). Helsingfors: Société Finno-Ougrienne.

Rapold, Christian J. 2006. Towards a Grammar of Benchnon. PhD dissertation, Leiden University.

Rapold, Christian J. *forth.* From demonstratives to verb agreement in Benchnon: A diachronic perspective. In: Azeb Amha, Maarten Mous and Graziano Savà (eds.), *Omotic and Cushitic Studies. Papers from the Fourth Cushitic—Omotic Conference, Leiden, 10-12 April 2003.* Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.

Reesink, Ger P. 1987. *Structures and their Functions in Usan. A Papuan language of Papua New Guinea.* (Studies in Language Companion Series, 13). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Roberts, John R. 1987. *Amele.* (Croom Helm Descriptive Grammars Series). London: Croom Helm.

Thurman, Robert C. 1975. Chuave Medial Verbs. *Anthropological linguistics* 17(7):342-352.

Van der Auwera, Johan. 1998. Defining converbs. In: Leonid I. Kulikov and Heinz Vater (eds.). *Typology of verbal categories: papers presented to Vladimir Nedjalkov on the occasion of his 70th birthday.* (Linguistische Arbeiten, 382). pp. 273-282. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Van Valin Jr., Robert D. and Randy J. LaPolla. 1997. *Syntax. Structure, meaning and function.* (Cambridge textbooks in linguistics). Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Converbs in Inor[1]

Rafael Suter

1. Introduction

Inor (Amharic designation Ennämor) is a South Ethiosemitic language belonging to the Gunnän Gurage language group spoken by approximately 160,000 people at the south-western confines of the Gurage region,[2] some 180 kilometres south-west of Addis Ababa. This area, as a whole, is surrounded by Cushitic speaking regions.

This paper aims at presenting the forms that have been termed "converbs" in Inor and relating them to other dependent, though not embedded verb forms. From the point of view of a narrow definition of the term converb (which, besides functional criteria also includes morphological ones), the so-called m-converb can hardly be accepted as a converb proper. However, at a closer look, also the other form traditionally labelled "converb", the so-called t-converb, with a more restricted use than the m-converb, but appearing in paradigmatic variation with the latter in certain functions, could as well be described in terms of a dependent mood form rather than a converb. Generally, the verb final structure of Inor syntax along with the property of adpositions and conjunctions of merging into phonetic units with the nouns or verbs they are combined with leads to several dependent verb forms. These are combinations of conjunctional prefixes with morphologically finite verb forms. They are treated as paradigmatic units, i.e., as a set of dependent mood paradigms. They show properties of so-called specialised converbs. Formally, they parallel the m- and t-converbs except for taking prefixes instead of suffixes. However, not all verb forms which are marked by conjunctional prefixes can uniformly be interpreted as dependent verb forms, as semantically, in some cases, conjunctional prefixes plus aspectual stems remain fully transparent and independent of each other, interacting freely.

In a first step, the present paper addresses the intricacies related to the problem of a morphological differentiation of finite vs. non-finite verb forms in

[1] I am grateful to my informant Iyob Libu for his patient way of introducing me to the maze of his mother tongue. Further I thank Giorgio Banti, Karen H. Ebert, Johanna Mattissen, Sascha Völlmin, Silvia Zaugg-Coretti and Fernando Zúñiga for their helpful and critical remarks.

[2] Most of the languages included therein differ from the rest of Ethiosemitic in that, in addition to the perfective-imperfective contrast, they have special future tense paradigms. Within Gunnän-Gurage, Inor is classified as Peripheral Western Gurage (for details of classification see Hetzron 1972, 1977, Chamora & Hetzron 2000).

the language. For this purpose, a short sketch of the Inor TAM-system precedes the discussion of the various dependent verb forms. For the sake of convenience, I shall use the terms m-converb and t-converb without anticipating the status of these forms.

2. The Inor verb forms and TAM-system

2.1 The morphology of Inor TAM forms

The Inor verbal system corresponds to the general Ethiosemitic type both from a formal and a semantic point of view. The verbal morphology shows the familiar differentiation into three different TAM-stems: perfective, imperfective and jussive. Details of derivation are highly complex: on the one hand, the number of radicals of the roots[3] can vary from one up to four and, on the other hand, the phonological development of Inor has led to phenomena of extensive neutralisations of inherited oppositions, giving rise to a large class of morphologically opaque verbs. This class comprises about two thirds of all Inor verbs. They show considerable irregularities due to the presence in their roots of complex, i.e. labialised or palatalised, consonants or vowels other than the two central vowels /ə/ and /ɨ/ (Chamora & Hetzron 2000:34). The remaining regular verbs of Inor can be assigned to two different templates, depending on the number of root consonants included.[4] For each template, three so-called base forms or types are distinguished: type A is realised with a fortis consonant[5] in C_2 in the perfective; type B has fortis consonants in C_2 both in the perfective and the imperfective along with a palatalisation of C_1 or of V_1 –if C_1 is not palatalisable–, and type C eventually has a vowel /a/ appearing between C_1 and C_2 in all forms. Table 1 shows the root derivations of three verbs belonging to the A, B or C type of the short template, respectively (V stands for the default low central vowel /ə/ in derivation; v is the epenthetic high central vowel /ɨ/, triggered by phonotactic rules):[6]

[3] Cf. Chamora/Hetzron (2000:23).

[4] The so-called short template consists of three, the long one of four root consonants.

[5] Chamora/Hetzron (2000:25) speak of geminate (vs. simplex) consonant positions. I prefer conceptualising fortis consonant positions as consisting of two underlying consonant slots, filled by the reduplication of the respective root consonant.

[6] For a more detailed account of Inor verb derivation see Chamora (1996) and Chamora & Hetzron (2000:22–44).

Table 1: *The TAM-derivations of Inor, short template A, B and C types*

perfective	**imperfective**	**jussive**
A-type *səpərə* 'to break', √ sbr		
/s/ /b/ /r/ | | | **C V CC V C** [səpər]	/s/ /b/ /r/ | | | **C V C v C** [səβir]	/s/ /b/ /r/ | | | **C v C v C**[7] [siβir]
B-type *ʒəpərə* 'to give back', √ zbr		
		C V CC v C [zəpir] | | |
/z/ /b/ /r/ | | | **C ʸ V CC V C** [ʒəpər][8]	/z/ /b/ /r/ | | | **C ʸ V CC v C** [ʒəpir]	/z/ /b/ /r/ | | | **C ʸ a C v C** [ʒaβir][9]
C-type *ʒanəgə* 'to go away', √ zng		
/z/ /n/ /g/ | | | **C ʸ a CC V C** [ʒanəg]	/z/ /n/ /g/ | | | **C ʸ a CC v C** [ʒanig]	/z/ /n/ /g/ | | | **C ʸ a C (v) C** [ʒarg][10]

These TAM-stems are combined with their respective personal affixes expressing subject reference. Again, the system is clearly Semitic: the affixes differentiate between first, second and third person in the singular and plural. Additionally, 2nd and 3rd person indicate gender. Imperfective and jussive have their respective set of personal prefixes. In the perfective, there is a different set of personal subject suffixes. Definite or referential objects can be referred to by object suffixes showing the same range of person/number differentiations as the subject suffixes.

The imperfective and jussive paradigms of *səpərə* 'to break' are given below in Tables 2a and 2b. The jussive prefixes are restricted to jussive use proper. The

---

[7] Some mainly intransitive verbs introduce a derivational vowel (V) after C_2, cf. Chamora & Hetzron (2000:26).

[8] The floating /ʸ/ of the template is associated to the leftmost item possible. It is associated with C_1 if the phoneme filling it can be palatalised, otherwise it is associated with the ensuing V, rising /ə/ to [e], /i/ to /i/, cf. *besər-*, *-βesir*, *-βəsir* 'to observe'.

[9] The formation of the jussive in B-type verbs is not regular. In the present case, there are two alternative constructions: if palatalisation is absent, as in *-zəpir*, C_2 is reduplicated, if not, C_2 is not reduplicated, but preceded by /a/. The combination of insertion of /a/ after C_1 and palatalisation can be observed in the C-type example verb *ʒanəgə*. Chamora & Hetzron (2000:29) present only this example.

[10] Inor syllable structure allows for two subsequent consonants in the coda position if the first is higher in sonority than the second one. Otherwise syllabification changes, treating the entire complex as a closed syllable, inserting a vowel peak /i/, cf. *ʒaβir* vs. *ʒarg* above.

forms of the 2nd person without personal subject prefixes are used as imperatives. (1a) is an example of a jussive with permissive meaning. The jussive stem is also the base of the so-called indefinite or remote future. In this function, however, it takes imperfective prefixes (cf. 1b-c). On the other hand, if any form based on the imperfective paradigm appears after a conjunctional prefix, it does take a prefix *n-* instead of *ə-* in the first person singular (1d), i.e. a prefix homonymous with the jussive rather than the imperfective prefix.

Table 2a: *Imperfective personal prefixes*

	singular	plural
1	***ə-***səβir	***ni-***səβir-***nə***
2m	***ti-***səβir	***ti-***səwir-***ua***[11]
2f	***ti-***səβi:-***wa***[12]	***ti-***səβir-***a:***
3m	***yi-***səβir	***yi-***səwir-***ua***
3f	***ti-***səβir	***yi-***səβir-***a:***

Table 2b: *Jussive personal prefixes*

	singular	plural
1	***ni-***sβir	***ni-***sβir-***nə***
2m	*siβir !*	*siwir-**ua** ! [suwurua]*
2f	*siβi:-**wa** !*	*siβir-**a:** !*
3m	***ə-***sβir	***ə-***swir-***ua*** [əswurua]
3f	***ti-***sβir	***ə-***sβir-***a:***

(1) a. *ə-s'aaf!*
3sms-write:JUSS
'Let him write!'

[11] The masculine ending of the 2nd and 3rd person plural *-ua* triggers a secondary labialisation of bilabial fricatives, leading to their realisation as labiovelar glides [w]. The entire sequence of vowels preceding this ending can be labialised, i.e. added the feature [+round], thus yielding *tisəwurua* and *yisəwurua*. This leftwards spreading ends at any segment with either the feature [-continuant] or [+strident].

[12] The female ending of the second person singular is a floating ^{y} which attaches to the rightmost palatalisable consonant; if no consonant is palatalisable, the first root vowel is raised from /ə/ to [e]. /r/ + /^{y}/ is realised as [y] which then raises the epenthetic vowel after C_2 to /i/, thus vowel and C_3, realised as [y] together yield a long [i:]. The origin of the suffix *-wa/ua* in the 2nd person singular feminine and the 2nd and 3rd person plural masculine is unclear. The suffix -wa of the 2nd person singular feminine does not coincide with the seemingly identical plural suffix, as with roots which contain /b/, the endings in the plural correlate with a secondary labialisation of [β] and its realisation as [w], while the 2nd singular feminine has [β]. (Cf. note 11.)

b. *aat giziyə wəzgəβ kifjit-ə biid kəsir* ***yi-****giβʔa-se.*
once door open-3smS:TCV house inside **3sm**S-enter:JUSS-RFUT
'Some day, he will open the door and enter the house.'

c. *atat giziyə ə̃-β̃ə̃ʼcəβə-nira* ***t-****aʔawj-i-yoo-se*[13].
some:time to-grandchildren-1pPOSS **2p**S-tell:JUSS-mpS-3pO-RFUT
'Some day, we will tell stories to our grandchildren!'

d. *arəʔəd-i* ***ti-n****-aar-ka bə̃-β̃ə̃ỹə̃ giiyə y-asatid-e*
A.-to when-**1s**S-go:IPFV-TOP in-street dog 3smS-chase:IPFV-1SO
baanəda.
COP:PT.3smS
'When I went to Arä'äd, a dog was following me.'

TAM stem plus TAM-specific personal prefixes thus are not in a simple one to one relationship. Generally, however, there are no ambiguities, as in sentence final contexts, all imperfectives take imperfective subject prefixes, the bare jussive root always appears with the jussive prefixes, and only the indefinite future, morphologically based on the jussive stem, takes the imperfective subject prefixes.[14] Consequently, in what follows, a verb form *taʔawjiyoose* (Ex. (1c)) in spite of its overt morphology will be treated as a 2nd person plural masculine indefinite future form, and glossed respectively.

Table 3 shows the perfective paradigm for *səpərə* 'to break':

Table 3: *Perfective personal endings*

	Singular	Plural
1	*səpər-**hu***	*səpər-**nə***
2m	*səpər-**hə***	*səpər-**huum***
2f	*səpər-**ʃi***	*səpər-**haam***
3m	*səpər-**ə***	*səpʷɔr-**m*** /səpər-ʷ**m**/
3f	*səpər-**əci***	*səpər-**aam***

The sentence-final, i.e. functionally finite, perfective forms are extended by a suffix *-m* (with a series of allomorphs) which will be dealt with further down. If

[13] The subject endings of the verbs in combination with the object suffixes exhibit a complex allomorphy. *-i* here is the allomorph of the 3rd person masculine plural suffix *-ʷua.*

[14] The indefinite future takes a suffix *-se.* This suffix presumably has developed from the verb *seʔə* 'to want'.

the forms appear along with the attributive prefix *ə-*, i.e. in nominalised contexts, they appear without this element:

(2) *ə-tə?ɛpər-**hu**-y* *dəbdabbe* *ənə-nahaam.*
ATTR-receive:PFV-2pmS-3smO letter be.lost:PFV.3smS-2pmO
'You$_{mp}$ lost the letter you$_{mp}$ received.'

2.2 Overview of the semantics of Inor sentence-final TAM forms

The Inor TAM system is based on a contrast between perfective and imperfective aspect. The forms of the imperfective can be extended by additional suffixes. This gives rise to paradigms of additional tense-aspect forms which generally preserve intraterminal semantics.

The imperfective with the prefix *b-* and a nominalising suffix yields a "habitual imperfective" which is restricted to non-focal intraterminal uses.

The verb of being for past tense contexts, which formally corresponds to the habitual imperfective[15] based on the locative verb *aanə* 'to be', is peculiar in that it contrasts with a genuine non-verbal copula *-n* which is restricted to present tense contexts. Through this contrast, secondarily, the basic aspectual contrast of perfective vs. imperfective is superimposed by a temporal past vs. non-past opposition. While perfective verbs generally by inference establish a past interpretation, the imperfective remains ambiguous with respect to its temporal reference. Imperfectives can be extended by the past tense copula substitute *baanəda* to explicitly mark past tense. This latter construction is the source of a peculiar past imperfective form, simply suffixing the eroded form *-ba* to the plain imperfective. The imperfective paradigm further is the basis of a future tense form, which adds a suffix *-te/de/ke*[16] to the imperfective.

The perfective has not led to compound aspecto-temporal paradigms. A limited group of verbs establishes present tense reference when appearing in the perfective. These perfective forms are read as resultatives.[17] Verbs of this class include a considerable number of impersonal verbs, the single argument of which is expressed not by the subject marking morphology, but by object suffixes. Examples include (single argument or argument ranking highest in control hierarchy expressed by subject suffixes) *nəməd**h**u* 'I like', *təgətər**h**u* 'I am lying / sleeping', *cənah**u*' I am sitting', *k'et'hu* 'I am tired', (single argument expressed by

[15] The locative verb *aanə* formally is a perfective. Due to its durative semantics, however, it is treated as an imperfective in synthetic TAM-forms.

[16] This suffix seems to have developed from the nominalising/topicalising t/d/k-suffix with the same allomorphic alternations of the initial consonant, and the directional postposition *-i*.

[17] This group includes punctual verbs and certain verbs with a dynamic phase preceding a point of final achievement.

object suffixes) *gaadəy* 'I am hungry', *t'əmay* 'I am thirsty', *təsəm?ay* 'I feel', *sarəyi* 'I am happy'.

If verbs belonging to this group are to be used with past tense reference, they have explicitly to be marked for past tense by the auxiliary *baanəda*, like imperfectives.

(3) a. *əc-huda məkina t-ii-kurəkum-ku-da səcay*
boy-DETm car when-3smS-knock.down:IPFV-3smO-TOP side
əfəkəβ-hu baanəda.
stand:PFV-1sS AUX:PT
'I was standing there, when the car knocked down the kid.'

b. *tiraaɲa film aamad* ***nəməd-hu baanəda.***
yesterday film very **like:PFV-1sS AUX:PT**
'I very much liked yesterday's movie.'

All composed tense-aspect forms mentioned above are defective in that they only have affirmative paradigms. In the negative, the general imperfective or jussive is resorted to. The same is true in dependent contexts where the combined forms do not appear. Their use is restricted to affirmative, functionally finite sentence final forms.

3. Gerund and "converb"

The term "converb" was first introduced into the Ethiopian context by Polotsky (1951) in a grammatical sketch of Chaha.[18] Like the other Southern Ethiosemitic languages, Chaha, a Central Western Gurage language, has no gerund form:

In most Transversal and Northern Ethiosemitic[19] languages, the gerund is a specialised verb form which, except for a restricted resultative use in main clauses, is confined to dependent contexts. Its main function is the chaining of single units of action without specifying the semantics of the relationship holding between them. If subject reference between two connected verb forms is maintained, the two units of action rendered by the gerund and by the ensuing verb form, respectively, are interpreted iconically as a sequence in time. If the verb following

[18] The term "converb" was later accepted by Hetzron in a publication on Agaw verbal morphology (1969), in works on the classification of Ethiosemitic (1972, 1975) and a monograph on Western Gurage languages (1977), where Hetzron uses it to replace the term "gerund". The concept has been judged as quite adequate for describing the functions of the Tigriñña gerund by Voigt (1977).

[19] The North Ethiosemitic language of Tigrē has no such form.

the gerund has a different subject the interpretation is cotemporaneous. The causal and adverbially modifying readings of the gerund can be understood as inferentially established and triggered by respective contexts. Unlike the chaining or co-ordinating functions of the gerund, these can be identified as subordinate by means of substitution tests. Combinations of gerund plus ensuing verb can lead to grammaticalised tense aspect forms and lexicalised compound verbs. Gerunds further can be lexicalised as adverbs. For an analysis of these subordinate functions of the Amharic gerund cf. Maaß (1996:355).

Polotsky's (1951:41) motive of introducing the term "converb" into Ethiopian linguistics was to capture the fact that, in Chaha, the combinations of a finite verb form (and the infinitive!) with a conjunctional suffix *-m* exactly parallel the entire range of uses of the Amharic gerund. The choice of this "new" term was intended to prevent the adulteration of the concept of gerund by using this genuinely morphological term to refer to an entire range of syntactical phenomena related to the conjunctional suffix *-m*.[20] This differentiation between a morphological term "gerund" and a syntactical term "converb" was later suspended by Hetzron (1972) who speaks of the converb as a co-ordinating *verb form* and generally replaces the term "gerund" by "converb".[21]

4. The "m-converb"

Polotsky's Chaha converb was more specifically termed "m-converb" by Hetzron (1972:95) in order to differentiate it from the "t-converb", another non-finite verb form which shares some of the functions of the "m-converb", but which is used in different modal contexts. The conjunctional suffix *-m* is reminiscent of the Amharic and Argobba conjunction *-m* meaning 'too'. This element, also found in the East Gurage languages Sïlt'i and Wäläne, as well as in Western Gurage, is a general conjunction with the meaning 'and', used with both nominal phrases and verbal clauses. This use of the same affixes as both adverbal conjunctions and

[20] "This construction is a purely syntactical category. The term 'gerund' had therefore better be avoided. A convenient term to borrow and to adapt to our special needs (by *limiting it to syntax* [italics mine]) is 'converb', which was originally coined for Mongolian and seems now to be gaining favour with Turkologists in preference to 'gerund'." (Polotsky 1951:41)

[21] Hetzron (1972:99) proposes three major functions of the "converb": (1) "consecutive" converbs express anteriority; (2) in so-called chains of action each non-final predicate appears as a "serial" converb, and (3) "co-extensive" converbs eventually do not include any subsequent relation between two actions, but rather either (a) express simultaneity between the action of the main and the dependent verb, (b) form the first part of a lexicalised compound verb, or (c) the choice of the converb is determined by the subsequent verb (e.g. in phasal verbs). This interpretation of the notion of 'converb' has been widely accepted in the literature on Ethiopian languages.

adnominal appositions is well known in neighbouring Cushitic and Omotic languages. Some Ethiosemitic languages which do have a separate gerund paradigm can replace the gerund by a combination of a finite form with a conjunctive suffix including an element *m*, e.g. *-ʔəmmo* or simply *-mm* in case of Tigriñña, cf. (4a) vs. (4b), see also Voigt (1977:151). The proposed identification of the verbal *m*-suffix with the conjunctional suffix *-m* is refused in Hetzron (1972:97):[22]

(4) TIGRIÑÑA (North Ethiosemitic)

a. *nab səmäṭru raʔsi ʔalula* ***ləʔik-om*** *säräwit-om*
to S. R. A. send:GER-3p army-3pPOSS
ʔaktit-om *nab kʷinat* ***gäṣ-om*** *täbäggäs-u.*
gather:GER-3p to battle go:GER-3p turnPFV-3p

'He sent Ras Alula to Sïmät'ru, gathered his army and went into the battle.' (Voigt 1977:150)

b. *nə-läyti käʔa əzi səfra-zi-wwən bədäqqi ityoṗṗya*
in-night but this place-this-TOP by:troop Ethiopia
*täkäbb-ä-****mmo*** *Ḥasän məs säʕabt-u*
be.surrounded:PFV-3sm-CJ Hasan with companion-3sPOSS
tämaräk-ä.
be.arrested:PFV-3sm
'But at night, this place was surrounded by the Ethiopians and Hasan with his companions was arrested.' (Voigt 1977:151-2)

In Gurage languages, the combination of the perfective and a suffix *-m* developed into a marker of present perfect.[23] In most Western Gurage languages and Muhär, the construction of perfective plus *-m* has entirely replaced the

[22] He presents the Harari situation where the converb takes a suffix *-ma*, while the conjunction is *-m*, as counterevidence.

[23] This situation is preserved in Mäsk'än, where the so construed present perfect contrasts with the past perfective, expressed by the plain perfective without the suffix *-m*, and in Gogot, which expresses the past perfective by the perfective paradigm plus the so-called main-verb markers. Hetzron argues that Proto-South Ethiosemitic had two different strategies for expressing a sequence of subsequent actions. On the one hand, it had finite verb forms plus an enclitic *-ma* allegedly inherited from Semitic, on the other hand, it made use of the gerund. According to his view, the languages then lost the gerund and resorted to the finite verb forms plus *-ma* to replace it. Thus, the use of the m-converb as a present perfect is explained via the use of the gerund in this function. This argumentation suggests that the gerund exhibits a more plausible tendency to develop from a sequential converb to a perfect marker than the m-converb, an idea which is not argued for, and which, as such, is not too convincing.

unmarked past perfective (Hetzron 1972:113). This grammaticalisation of the present perfect into a past perfective has blurred the differences between the sequential converb and the present perfective on the one hand, and the finite past perfective marker on the other hand.

The so-called "m-converb" cannot be identified with a single specific paradigm. The term refers –in a rather general way– to the combination of a finite imperfective, perfective or jussive verb form with the conjunctional suffix *-m*. A verb form followed by *-m* has the same TAM-specifications as the ensuing matrix verb. This is formally reflected in the fact that the m-converb and the ensuing verb appear in the same stem form, i.e. are either both perfective, imperfective or jussive. Additional suffixes of the second verb determining tense do not appear on the m-converb which, as a dependent verb form, cannot be independently specified for tense. Like the gerund in other Ethiosemitic languages, it has no negative forms.[24]

5. The "m-converb" in Inor

The recognition of the conjunctional suffix *-m* is rendered difficult by Inor morphophonology: The suffix is realised as *-i* after consonants, and, after *y* and *i*, it appears as *-i*. Following the long verbal endings –diphthongs and long vowels– the *-m* is preserved, even if the ending itself disappears, as in the 3rd person plural masculine, and –in some instances– the 2nd person feminine singular. After short vowels it disappears.[25]

The suffix appears both on nouns and on verbs. Adnominal and adverbal uses are described to show different allomorphies[26]. Additionally, the conjunction of two nominals is expressed by suffixation of *-m* on both of them. The suffix of the first noun is generally lengthened. According to my own data, it is rather the construction itself (including the lengthening of the first *-m*) than a different allomorphy that makes up the difference between adverbal and adnominal

[24] In the literature reviewed, only the Amharic dialects of Gojjam and Gondar are reported to have negative gerund paradigms (Leslau 1995:357). Generally, the respective form of the perfective is used.

[25] In my own data, there is no evidence of the suprasegmental effects of the *m*-marking described by Chamora & Hetzron (2000:45; 60-63).

[26] For a full account on the allomorphy of *-m* cf. Chamora & Hetzron (2000:60-63). Single allomorphies as those of the 2nd feminine singular and the 3rd masculine plural of the perfective are treated in slightly a different way there. Furthermore, there are some morphological details in which the language of my informant differs from the one described in Chamora & Hetzron.

conjunction.[27] Below are some examples of the conjunctional suffix *-m* linking two nominals –adjectives being treated as a nominal category in Inor.

(5) a. *addis* *nɔɔʔi-**mii*** *niʔuyi-**mi**-n-aʔar.*
A. far-M_L big- M-COP:PRES3sm-DEF
'Addis is far and big.'

b. *iyoβ-**ii*** *tireza* *bə-k'əri* *k'aya* *ỹĩ-r̃ə̃β̃ũr̃-ũã.*
I.-M_L T.-M in-small village 3pS-live:IPFV-3pmS
'Iyob and Tireza lived in a small village.'

c. *ãỹβ̃-**ĩĩ*** *sik^{w}ar-**i*** *ʔiraʔir.*
milk-M_L sugar-M mix:IMP.2smS
'Mix milk and sugar!'

The following are examples of the combination of the conjunction *-m* with perfective (6a) and imperfective (6b) respectively:

(6) a. *ərwʔad yi-wɔrʔ-ua-y* *mɔʔɔ-**m**-ta* *azəʒ-u-**m***
food 3smS-eat:IPFV-3pmS-to come:PFV.3pmS-M-CJ:I order:PFV-3pmS-M
tə-sirʔa-sin *t-ii-tc'awɔj-ua* *bə-cəna-ua-ga*
at-arrival-till when-3pS-play:IPFV-3pmS in-sit:PFV-3pmS-in
ərwʔad-hunoa *sənʔa-ta* *bɔnʔɔ-**m**-ta* *isab*
food-3pmPOSS arrive:PFV.3smS:M-CJ:I eat:PFV.3pmS-M-CJ:I bill
*k^{w}aaʃ-**im**-ta* *wɔr-**m**^{w}*[28].
pay:PFV.3pmS-M-CJ:I go:PFV-M:3pmS

[27] I will not discuss the use of *-m* as a topic marker here, although the linking function of *-m* presumably cannot be detached from it.

[28] The third person plural masculine marker *-u* leads to the labialisation of the rightmost labialisable consonant of the stem. If this latter does not contain any labialisable consonant, the rightmost vowel is labialised. Labialisation then further *can* trigger the rounding of neighbouring vowels. In case of *azəʒum* (vs. *wɔrm^w*) an increase in sonority from /ʒ/ to /m/ causes the insertion of an epenthetic vowel /i/ which then is labialised and changed into /u/. Contrarily, sonority decreases from /r/ to /m/ in *wɔrm^w* which does not call for the insertion of an euphonic vowel, but rather causes the syllabification to treat the cluster /rm/ as the coda of a closed syllable /*wɔrm*/. Thus there is no epenthetic vowel /i/ between stem and ending to be labialised. This leads to the labialisation of the suffixal /m/.

'They came to eat something, ordered, and till the food arrived, sat together chatting, and when their food arrived, they ate, paid the bill and left.'

b. *gʷɔrəbiid* *yɨ-sβəs-uu-**m*** *ə-gərəd* *wɨjɨr*
neighbour 3smS-gather:IPFV-3pmS-M to-girl clothes
ỹɨ-ỹĩĩβ̃-ĩ-ỹã = taanəda *ə-ʔaʒəβəɲə* *k'ət'əro*
3pmS-give:IPFV-3pmS-3sfO:M=CJ:II ATTR-wedding appointment
yɨ-t'əc'-ua.
3pS-arrange:IPFV-3pmS

'The neighbours gather, give the girl clothings as a present, and then arrange a date for the wedding.'

The combinations of verb plus conjunctional suffix *-m* in (6), traditionally referred to as "m-converbs", bear sequential meaning. While (6a) is part of a longer narrative, (6b) is an excerpt of a text describing the course of traditional wedding rites of the Inor. In both cases, the single activities described by the verbs are knit together to narrative strands of action. The forms thus, in some sense, preserve their aspectual values: In (6a) the perfective seems to be used in its genuine propulsive function, driving the story-line ahead, while the imperfective of (6b) seems to be employed because of its habitual meaning. However, this first impression is misleading: The perfectives in (6a) are required by the perfective matrix verbs, while the imperfectives in (6b) are required by the imperfective matrix verb. Furthermore, in both cases, the *m*-marked forms simply conjoin different events to loosely knit sequences of action: The common property of (6a) and (6b) is that they link different actions, which are generally interpreted iconically as temporal sequences. This "linking" property overrides the aspectual values of the forms, which are defined by the matrix verb. This can be seen from the fact that if (6b) is to be interpreted simultaneously rather than in terms of a habitual sequence, the m-marked imperfectives would have to be replaced by another dependent construction including the prefix *t-* plus the imperfective (see below, examples (19b vs. 19b')). Thus, the aspectual specifications of the stem are still transparent, but no more functional. They have become agreement markers, as their morphological shape agrees with that of the matrix verb. The sequence *ərwʔad-hunoa sanʔa-ta bɔnʔɔ-**m**-ta* in (6a) shows that the m-converb in this "linking" use can connect forms with different subject reference. Thus, unlike the aspectual morphology, the personal agreement affixes remain functional, and the subject reference of two subsequent m-converbs can change.

Obviously, the combination of a formally finite verb with the conjunctional suffix *-m* cannot be properly described as a dependent verb *form*, as there is no single clearly identifiable paradigm. However, the combination of finite form plus *-m* is restricted by a well-defined set of rules.

First, the choice of the formally finite form is entirely dependent on the matrix verb. It has necessarily to appear in the form of the same TAM-stem. Thus, the aspectual finiteness purported by the formal specification of the form preceding *-m* is hiding functional non-finiteness: the morphological specifications are mere repetitions (or rather anticipations) of the values determined by the matrix verb.

Second, as for those operators, which are expressed by suffixes restricted to the sentence-final position, i.e. to functionally finite verbs (as e.g. the tense markers), the combination finite verb plus *-m* is entirely within the scope of the matrix verb specifications.

Third, the operational features of the matrix verb can block the occurrence of the m-converb: The form can never precede a negative matrix verb (in this case, a single m-converb has to be replaced by the t-converb, a series of m-converbs by a string of finite negative verb forms (cf. the examples in (20)).

The m-converb thus is clearly a dependent form. Nevertheless, its TAM-specifications remain transparent: the choice of the TAM-stem of the m-converb is determined by the matrix verb, the former showing agreement with the latter. Consequently, an m-converb can appear in the imperfective in habitual contexts, or in the imperative preceding another imperative. These morphological differentiations have to be interpreted in terms of agreement strategies and thus are a phenomenon of dependence (and non-finiteness) rather than independence or functional finiteness.

Contrary to gerunds in Indo-European languages which show no subject agreement, but as their last trace of finiteness, preserve their aspectual properties which are determining their taxis interpretations (simultaneity for imperfective forms, sequentiality of perfectives), the Inor m-converb itself cannot have any independent aspectual value; on the other hand, it preserves the freedom of indicating subject agreement independently from the matrix verb. Thus, the reduction of functional finiteness shows a specific order in Inor: Finiteness in terms of aspect and polarity are lost first, while subject agreement remains functional in Inor; just the other way round from the Indo-European case.

The forms *mɔʔɔmta*, *sanʔata*, *bɔnʔɔmta*, *kʷaʃəmta* in (6a) and *ỹɨ̃-ʔĩĩβ̃-ɨ̃-ỹã=taanəda* in (6b) show a suffix *-ta* and an enclitic *taanəda*, respectively, which are further added to the m-converbs. As mentioned above, the sentence-final,

functionally finite perfective also takes the suffix *-m*.[29] Thus, there is no formal difference between the combination of perfective plus conjunctional suffix *-m*, an instance of the so-called m-converb which is a dependent form, on the one hand, and the sentence-final finite perfective, on the other hand. Inor probably due to this development resorts to an enclitic *taanəda* for explicitly expressing sequentiality, a function which the suffix *-m* both as a consequence of its volatile morpho-phonetics –and even partial disappearance– and of the formal coincidence with the finite perfective has become too weak to independently fulfil. *taanəda* has developed from a conjunctional prefix *t-* 'when/from' combined with the 3rd singular masculine of the locative verb *aanə*. The suffix *-da* is an instance of the nominalising and topicalising suffix *-da, -ta, -ka*. The original meaning of *taanəda* was 'and then there was'. The form is no more understood in this sense, but has fully developed into a conjunctional enclitic with the meaning 'then'. It is not restricted to finite verb forms combined with the conjunctional suffix *-m*, although this combination is, by far, the most frequent one: Example (7) shows that it can appear after finite imperfectives which lack the conjunctional suffix *-m*.

(7) *insəsa bər y-aar-ua* ***taanəda*** *iha yi-səc'-ua.*
animal river 3pmS-go:IPFV-3pmS **then** water 3pmS-go:IPFV-3pmS
'The cattle is running to the river and drinks water.'

Example (7) is significant in that the verb form preceding *taanəda* is a finite imperfective. The expected form with the dependent imperfective in *-m* would be *yaaru-**m**=taanəda*. In fact, the above sentence is taken out of a passage describing what is going on from the perspective of a direct observer on the spot. The connection of the two verb forms thus seems to be less tight than in the sequential contexts of (6b). The verb *yaarua* preceding the conjunction *taanəda* has to be analysed as a functionally finite main verb. Besides its function as an enclitic following the m-converb, *taanəda* has further developed into a phonetically independent conjunction. This independent conjunction is used for co-ordinating main clauses.

The shorter suffixed conjunction *-ta* is less independent than its longer companion piece *taanəda*. It appears only on dependent verb forms in *-m* or on the so-called "t-converb" (see below). The comparison with a phonologically similar suffix suggests that it has developed from *taanəda*.[30]

---

[29] Cf. Hetzron 1972:113.

[30] (1) *i?ni giziyə* *yi-tc'əwɔd* ***baanəda.***
always 3smS-playIPFV AUX:PT

The sequential clitic =*taanəda* in combination with the dependent finite verb forms in *-m* actually can always be replaced by the suffix *-ta*. However, there are contexts where only *-ta* is allowed. This is the case when the relationship between the two conjoined verbs is not merely sequential, but rather adverbial, the first verb modifying, in some sense, the latter. The use of the suffix *-m* as a general linker does not explain certain peculiar traits of the combination of perfective plus *-m*, which is often used in contexts where the ensuing verb form does not, as in other instances of the combination of morphologically finite dependent verb form plus *-m*, share the same TAM-stem. This hints at the fact that this peculiar combination has actually grammaticalised into a more specialised dependent verb form. It is clearly different from the m-converb described so far which shows aspect-stem agreement with the matrix verb. Further, in this peculiar case, where the m-converb only appears in its perfective or imperative form, it has to show subject agreement with the matrix verb (SS).

The m-converb of the verb 'to say' *baarə* (infinitive: *əwarɨ*) is used to express the beneficiary of a certain action, allowing it explicitly to appear as an additional actant besides the direct object of the verb:

(8) a.	*iiya*	*baar-**əci-ta***	*ə-haile*	*dənəg-əci-n-i-**i**.*
	to:me	say-3sfS:MCV[31]-CJ:I	to-H.	beat:PFV-3sfS-BEN-1sO-**M**
	'She beat Haile for me.'			
b.	*iiya*	*ba-**ʃə-ta***	*ə-huda*	*ti-dərgi-n-i.*
	to:me	say-2sfS:MCV-CJ:I	to-him	2sfS-beat:IPFV-BEN-1sO
	'You beat him for me.'			

---

(2) *ɨʔni giziyə* *yɨ-tc'əwɔd-**ba***.
always 3smS-playIPFV-PT
'He would always play around.'
The auxiliary *baanəda* corresponds to the past tense substitute of the copula. Morphologically, it represents an instance of the so-called past habitual, consisting of an imperfective stem, the locative prefix *b-* 'in' and the nominalising/topicalising *d/t/k*-suffix. Although the stem of the locative verb *aanə* is formally perfective, this analysis is sound, as this verb due to its semantics is treated like an imperfective in the more recent layers of Inor morphology. While it is prosodically independent from the preceding verb (cf. (1)), the shortened version *-ba* has fully merged with the preceding verb form and developed into a past tense suffix (cf. (2)). The phonological reduction process seems to have taken place in exactly the same way from *taanəda* to *-ta*. However, while *baanəda* and *-ba* both are past tense indicators, and do not show any semantic difference, this is not the case with *taanəda* and *-ta*.

[31] As the modifying m-converb always takes the perfective stem, I will renounce on explicitly marking the latter by the explicit gloss ':PFV'.

Example (8b) illustrates that in this function the perfective m-converb is also used together with the main verb in the imperfective. This is generally the case if the m-converb is no longer used in its function as a general sequential linker. Both the exclusive use of the suffix *-ta* (instead of *taanəda*) and the entire loss of the potential for aspectual agreement with the matrix verb, still present in sequential contexts, are indicative of the subordinate, adverbial character of this function of the m-converb.

There are uses of the m-converb where the connotation of sequentiality is lacking altogether. These include verb complexes where the preceding m-converb describes the manner in which a certain action expressed by the ensuing verb is exerted. Cf. (9):

(9) *ahəna* *yi-zreŋk.*
be.loud.3smS:MCV 3smS-speak:IPFV
'He speaks in a loud voice.'

The absence of any temporal iconicity or sequential connotation in (9) can well be illustrated by the alternative expression of the same state of affairs with a dependent clause introduced by the conjunctional prefix *t-* used to express simultaneity:

(10) *t-ii-zreŋk-ka* *ỹ-ãh̃ə̃r̃ã.*
SOURCE-3smS-speak:IPFV-TOP 3smS-be.loud:IPFV
'He speaks in a loud voice.'

The combination of an m-converb with an ensuing verb of directive movement leads to directional compounds:

(11) a. *əc* *bə-βər* *waŋ-ə* *waʔa.*
boy in-river swim-3smS:MCV go.out:PFV.3smS
'The boy swam out into the river.'

b. *araʔ-**əci*** *wɔr-əci.*
go.on-3sfS:MCV go:PFV-3smS
'She went further.'

c. *tə-β̃ɛ̃ⁿda* *alləf-ə* *tə̃r̃ə̃ʔãw̃ɔ̃ʔ-ə̃.*
at-field cross-3smS:MCV run:PFV-3smS

'He ran across the fields.'

In some cases, the combination of two verbs of motion can be split up by the complement of the second. I would argue that these are not directional compounds proper, but that, here, the converb rather fulfils the role of a subordinated adverbial clause which is functionally equivalent to adverbs in other languages:

(12) ***təʒəpər-ə*** *biid-i* *wɔr-ə.*
return-3smS:MCV house-to go:PFV-3smS
'He went home **again**.' (rather than: 'He went back home.')

Thus *təʒəpərə*, literally the m-converb of a verb 'to return' is to be translated as 'again'. Unlike "European" adverbs –and Amharic lexicalised gerunds which invariably appear in the 3rd singular masculine–, they are regular verbs and show subject agreement with the matrix verb. Additionally, the valency of the converb has to agree with that of the matrix verb. Thus, the notion of 'again / back' has to be expressed by the verb *təʒəpərə* along with intransitive verbs (13a), but by *ʒəpərə* with transitive verbs (13b):

(13) a. *biid-i* ***təʒəpər-ə*** *wɔr-ə.*
house-to return-3smS:MCV go:PFV-3smS
'He went back home.'

b. *firaŋk* ***ʒəpər-ə*** *ããβ̃-ə̃.*
money return-3smS: MCV give:PFV-3smS
'He gave the money back.'

The borderline between adverbial uses and lexicalised verbal compounds is difficult to draw. In either use, the perfective m-converb is used also in co-occurrence with an imperfective matrix verb.

(14) **Compound verbs**

a.	*təʒəpər-ə*	*wɔr-ə*	'he returned'
	return-3smS:MCV	go:PFV-3smS	
	təʒəpər-ə	*y-aar*	'he is returning'
		3smS-go:IPFV	

b.	*ak'warət'-ə*	*maʔa*	'he made a shortcut'
	cross-3smS:MCV	come:PFV.3smS	
	ak'warət'-ə	*yĩ-β̃āʔã*	'he is making a shortcut'
		3smS-come:IPFV	
c.	*nəsa*	*t'əbət'-ə*	'he took away'
	deprive:3smS:MCV	take:PFV-3smS	
	nəsa	*yi-t'ət'*	'he is taking away'
		3smS-take:IPFV	
d.	*ããw̃ɔ̃ⁿd-hu*	*t'əbət'-hu*	'I took down'
	lower-1sS: MCV	take:PFV-1sS	
	ããw̃ɔ̃ⁿd-hu	*ə-t'ət'*	'I'm taking down'
		1sS-take:IPFV	
e.	*cəʔə-hu*[32]	*wɔr-hu*	'I left'
	leave-1sS:MCV	go:PFV-1sS	
	cəʔə-hu	*aar / cəʔəhʷaar*	'I am leaving'
		1sS.go:IPFV	

With an imperative main verb, the converb does not appear in its perfective-based form but resorts to the imperative stem regardless of the syntactical or semantic tightness of the connection between converb and main verb:

(15)a.	*aʒ-e-**yi**-ta*	*daʔi!*	'Look at me and laugh!'
	look: IMP.smS-1sO-MCV-CJ:I	laugh:IMP.smS	
b.	*niʃ-**im***	*t'ic'-iwa!*	'Take away!'
	deprive: IMP-sfS:MCV	take:IMP-sfS	
c.	*teʔi-im*	*hʷɔy-wa!*	'Leave!'
	leave:IMP-sfS:MCV	go:IMP-sfS	

The conjunctional suffix *-ta* cannot be used if the converb appears in directional compounds, or has a merely adverbial function in the above sense; the clitic *=taanəda* does not show up in non-sequential contexts. Generally, a single m-converb without an additional *-ta* or *-taanəda* tends not to be interpreted sequentially. Especially, if more than two verbs are to be related, sequentiality has

[32] The verb *cəʔə* no longer occurs independently in Inor. It is related e.g. to Gumär *cəm* 'he left'.

to be overtly marked by either *-ta* or *=taanəda*. In some expressions, the absence of the sequential markers even renders ungrammatical the combination of a perfective m-converb with a perfective main verb:

(16) a.	*kufiita*	*hən?a-ʃi=**taanəda***	*wɔr-ʃi.*
	hat	put.on-2sfS:MCV=CJ:II	go:PFV-2sfS
b.	*kufiita*	*hən?a-ʃi-**ta***	*wɔr-ʃi.*
	hat	put.on-2sfS:MCV-CJ:I	go:PFV-2sfS
c.	**kufiita*	*hən?a-ʃi*	*wɔr-ʃi.*
	hat	put.on-2sfS:MCV	go:PFV-2sfS
	'You (sf) put on your hat and left.'		

The generalisation of the m-marked present perfect (homophonous with the perfective m-converb) into a perfective expressing past tense in Inor obviously has led to the innovation of additional devices for the expression of sequentiality to re-introduce a morphological difference between finite (sentence-final) and dependent chaining verb forms. In the case of lexicalised compound verbs the connection between the two consecutive verbs is tightest, and a sequential relationship between them has either extremely weakened or faded away altogether. Consequently, these compound verbs have not been affected by the innovation of new markers of sequentiality.

6. The "t-converb" in Inor

The dental segment of the ending of the t-converb (Hetzron 1972, 1975, 1977) (pseudo-gerundive in Leslau (1967-8:444-5)) is peculiar to the Western Gurage languages. This leads Hetzron (1972:103-105) to etymologically link the t-converb to the gerund of the North and Transversal Ethiosemitic languages, stating a common origin for both of them.[33]

[33] The gerund in the Transversal Ethiosemitic language Argobba has an initial element *d-* in all personal endings. The personal endings themselves show a strong similarity to the adnominal possessive suffixes to which they can be traced back. The origin of the suffix *-d* is not clear. Leslau (1997:52) and Hetzron (1972) relate it to a phenomenon known from Amharic verbs with a weak third radical: in the gerund and the infinitive, they resort to an epenthetic *-t* to fill in the position of C_3. However, in case of the infinitive, Argobba, like Amharic, inserts a voiceless *-t*, instead of the voiced *-d*, present in the gerund. The vocalisation of the Argobba gerund is C_1äC_2C_3ï-*d*, the epenthetic vowel *ï* appearing due to the presence of the consonantal suffix *-d*. This vocalisation pattern is close to the Inor jussive/imperative stem C_1ïC_2C_3ï-t which is the morphological basis of the t-converb. Alveolar and velar consonants in C_3 are palatalised. Unlike the gerund in Argobba and other Transversal and Northern Ethiosemitic languages, the t-converb

The "t-converb" is *systematically linked* to the m-converb. It replaces the m-converb in its different uses presented above if the verb of the ensuing clause is of **negative polarity** or of **non-indicative mood** other than imperative.[34]

The near future tense, in spite of its imperfective base, is treated as non-indicative in being combined with the t-converb.

(17) a. *biid-i* *tiʒaβey-**tə*** *ỹĩ-β̃ãʔã^{ŋ}-ke.*
house-to return-3smS:TCV 3smS-come:IPFV-FUT
'He will come back.'

b. *aahə* *bay-**təh^{w}**-ta* *ə-dərg-ku-de.*
to:you(ms) say-1sS:TCV-CJ:I 1sS-beat:IPFV-3smO-FUT
'I will beat him for you.'

The infinitive as a non-indicative form also takes the t-converb:

(18) *k'aya* *teʔi-tua* *ə-h^{w}ɔr-t* *a-y-ʃir-e-da.*
village leave-3pmS:TCV INF-go:INF-INF NEG-3smS-like:IPFV-1sO-NEG.
'I don't like leaving the village.'

The example shows that the infinitive is combined with the third person masculine plural t-converb. This is a trace of the origin of the Inor *infinitive* which derives from the so-called impersonal, a form which in Inor has merged with the third person plural masculine, but which is preserved in other Gurage languages, plus the adnominal prefix *ə-*. The Inor infinitive shows both palatalisation (probably deriving from the impersonal suffix *-^{y}*) and velarisation. The latter is triggered by

takes the personal subject suffixes of the perfective. This, however, corresponds to a general tendency of Western Gurage to replace affixes of nominal origin in positions where they refer to notional subjects. This can be illustrated by the present tense copula in *n-*, which parallels the gerund in taking the possessive suffixes for indicating subject reference in Amharic, but exhibits perfective personal endings in Western Gurage. Hetzron argues that the original vocalisation of the converb *säbir* after having been extended by the suffix *-tä* led to a similarity of originally triradical verb stems to quadriradicals. These had received an additional epenthetic vowel e.g. in Amharic and Argobba between C_2 and C_3, which further provoked the weakening of the initial *-ä* into *-i* in the case of the Northern Gurage in general and the Western Gurage languages of Mäsk'än and Ezha. Following the same prosodic principles an original form **säbirtä-* would have developed into *sibirtä-*. He rejects possible objections to this path of development with further evidence from among Western Gurage languages. Eventually, the similarity of the gerund **sibirtä-* to the feminine imperative according to Hetzron provoked a general replacement of the inherited gerund stem by the jussive.

[34] Before a main verb in the imperative, the converb appears in the form of the jussive stem plus *-m*.

the suffix of the third person plural masculine *-ua*, which has disappeared and only left a floating suffix *-ʷ*. Due to these historical developments, infinitives take t-converbs in the 3rd person plural masculine.

The rules defining in which uses the m-converb can be combined with the sequential suffix *-ta* and the enclitic *=taanəda* are also valid for the t-converb. In sequential meanings, the t-converb can be followed by either *=taanəda* or *-ta*. In the function which explicitly marks the beneficiary of an action, the t-converb always takes *-ta*, while compound verbs and directional compounds are not combinable with either.

The following examples illustrate the distribution of the different converb forms in dependence of the aspecto-temporal and modal features as well as polarity values of the matrix verb. In (19) the matrix verb is affirmative, in (20) negative.

(19) **Matrix verb (MV) affirmative**

a. MV past perfective:

wəzgəβ	*kəfəd-ə-ta*[35]	*biid*	*kəsir*	*gəpa.*
door	open:PFV-3smS:M-CJ:I	house	inside	enter:PFV.3smS

'He opened the door and went inside the house.'

b. MV imperfective (focal, actual present):

waʔaka	*wəzgəβ*	*kəfəd-ə-ta*	*biid*	*kəsir*	*yi-gəβʔa.*
now	door	open-3smS:MCV-CJ:I	house	inside	3smS-enter:IPFV
		**yi-kəfd-i-ta*			
		3smS-open:IPFV-M-CJ:I			

'He has opened the door and (now) enters the house.' *or*
'He is entering the house by opening the door.'

b'. MV imperfective (non-focal, habitual present), parallel to (a):

iʔni giziyə	*wəzgəβ*	*yi-kəfd-i-ta*	*biid*	*kəsir*
always	door	3smS-open:IPFV-M-CJ:I	house	inside

yi-gəβʔa.
3smS-enter:IPFV

'He always opens the door and enters the house.'

[35] As mentioned before, *-ta* in the sequential meaning is always replacable by the longer *-taanəda*.

c. MV near future:
nəgə wəzgəβ kɨfjɨ-tə biid kəsɨr yɨ-gəβʔa-ke.
tomorrow door open-3smS:TCV house inside 3smS-enter:IPFV-FUT
'Tomorrow, he will open the door and enter the house.'

d. MV remote future:
aat giziyə wəzgəβ kɨfjɨ-tə biid kəsɨr yɨ-giβʔa-se.
once door open-3smS:TCV house inside 3smS-enter:JUSS-RFUT
'Some day, he will open the door and enter the house.'

e. MV imperative:
wəzgəβ kɨfd-ɨ-ta biid kəsɨr giβʔa!
door open:IMP-**M**-CJ:I house inside enter:IMP
'Open the door and enter the house!'

(20) **Matrix verb (MV) negative**

a. MV past perfective:
wəzgəβ kɨfjɨ-tə biid kəsɨr aŋ-gəpa-da.
door open-3smS:TCV house inside NEG-enter:PFV.3smS-NEG
'He did not open the door and enter the house.'

b. MV imperfective (both focal and non-focal):
waʔaka wəzgəβ kɨfjɨ-tə biid kəsɨr a-y-gəβʔa-ka.
now door open-3smS:TCV house inside NEG-3smS-enter:IPFV-NEG
'He is not entering the house by opening the door.'
'He usually does not open the door and enter the house.'

c./d. The difference between imperfective and the two future tenses is neutralised in the negative:
nəgə/aat gɨziyə wəzgəβ kɨfjɨ-tə biid kəsɨr
tomorrow/once door open-3smS:TCV house inside
a-y-gəβʔa-ka.
NEG-3smS-enter:IPFV-NEG
'He will not open the door and enter the house tomorrow / He will never ... .'

f. Negative command expressed by the negative hortative with the prefix *iŋ-* plus perfective:

wəzgəβ kɨfj-təhə biid kəsir ɨŋ-gəpa-hə!
door open-2smS:TCV house inside NEG:HORT-enter:PFV-2smS
'Do not open the door and enter the house!'

Table 4 summarises the distribution of the different converb types exemplified in (19) and (20) above.

Table 4 : *The distribution of the Inor converb depending on TAM and polarity of the matrix verbs.*

affirmative matrix verb		negative matrix verb	
TAM matrix verb	converb type	TAM matrix verb	converb type
perfective	**PFV+M**	perfective	T
imperfective (focal)*	**(PFV+M)**	imperfective	T
IPFV (non-focal)	**IPFV+M**		
near future	T		
remote future	T		
imperative	**IMP+M**	negative hortative	T

* The reading of PFV+M here is not sequential, but rather adverbial.

If the main verb is affirmative, the perfective m-converb is used before the perfective and the focal imperfective. The imperfective m-converb can only be used in a non-focal sense. It is confined to genuine sequential uses, where the converb represents an independent unit of action. This is not possible, however, in the actual present, where the action of the verb preceding the matrix verb either has to be completed, and then appears in the perfective, or is understood adverbially in the sense of characterising the action yielded by the main verb. In this adverbial meaning, the perfective m-converb is generally used. If the main verb is in the imperative, the imperative m-converb (i.e. imperative plus suffix *-m*) is used.

Both future tenses are preceded by the t-converb which shows that they are treated as non-indicative modal rather than temporal forms in this respect.

If the matrix verb is negated, it is preceded by a t-converb. The t-converb is always in the scope of the negation of its matrix verb. It neutralises the aspectual (perfective vs. imperfective) and modal (imperative, jussive etc.) differentiations partly preserved in the m-converb as agreement patterns.[36]

[36] Likewise there is only one negative imperfective form in the negative main clause. This leads to the neutralisation of the differentiation between the imperfective and the two future tenses (or

A t-converb preceding a negative main verb has to be replaced by a finite imperfective or perfective in order to be enabled to exhibit independent polarity features. In this case, the verb cannot be combined with neither the linker *-m* nor the conjunctions *-ta* / *= taaənda*. The two verbs thus are finite and the construction is syntactically co-ordinated.

(21)a. *bəsər* *yi-kətif,* *ink'ura* *a-y-cəkər-ka.*
meat 3smS-cut:IPFV egg NEG-3smS-boil:IPFV-NEG

a'. **bəsər* *yi-kətif-**i**-ta* *ink'ura* *a-y-cəkər-ka.*
meat 3smS-cut:IPFV-M-CJ:I egg NEG-3smS-boil:IPFV-NEG
'He is cutting meat, (but) not boiling eggs.'

b. *bəsər* *kətəf-ə,* *ink'ura* *an-cəkər-ə-da.*
meat cut:PFV-3smS egg NEG-boil:PFV-3smS-NEG

b'. **bəsər* *kətəf-ə-ta* *ink'ura* *an-cəkər-ə-da.*
meat cut:PFV-3smS:**M**-CJ:I egg NEG-boil:PFV-3smS-NEG
'He chopped the meat, (but) did not boil the eggs.'

If a verb preceding an affirmative matrix verb is explicitly specified for negative polarity in a chaining construction it appears in a negative temporal clause in t- (for this construction see below) followed by the conjunctional suffix *-m*:

(22) *ərwʔad* *azəʒ-u-m* *bənʔɔ-m-ta*
food order:PFV-3pmS-**M** eat:PFV.3pmS-**M**-CJ:I

t**-a-y-k^{w}ɔʃ-u-**m *wor-m^{w}.*
when-NEG-3pS-pay:IPFV-3pmS-M go:PFV-**M**:3pmS
'They ordered dinner, ate it up and left without paying.'

Summarising the data presented so far, there seem to be three basic "converb" types which can be identified. These are characterised by differing degrees of functional and morphological freedom:

(1a) Imperfective and imperative/jussive stems with a conjunctional suffix *-m* can be analysed as **co-subordinating** on a **clausal level**. They are determined by the matrix verb for clausal operators like tense and illocutionary force. Further,

---

moods). The remote future is negated by the imperfective, although it is formally based on the jussive.

both the core operators of mood and polarity as well as the nuclear operator of aspectuality are determined by the matrix verb. Thus, e.g., it is impossible to have an imperfective plus *-m* preceding a finite perfective verb.

The imperfective m-converb is restricted to non-focal, habitual uses, while high-focal dependent clauses have to be expressed by a combination of the temporal conjunctional prefix *t-*, the imperfective and –in some cases– the topicalising / nominalising *t/d/k*-suffix.

The status of the perfective m-converb is peculiar from both a morphological and a semantic perspectives. The perfective m-converb formally coincides with the finite perfective appearing sentence-finally.

(1b) The most frequent use of the perfective plus *-m* is analoguous to the **co-subordinating** function of the "m-converb" on the **clausal level** mentioned in (1a). However, in this function, perfective plus *-m* is virtually always accompanied by *-ta* or *=taanəda*. A perfective preceding another perfective, if unmarked by these markers of sequentiality, is preferably interpreted either as the matrix verb of an independent sentence, or as an instance of clausal co-ordination –if none of the readings (2-3) is available. (1a) and (1b) together constitute one function of the Inor m-converb: It is void of any specific semantics and generally interpreted in terms of a temporal sequence of loosely related events. This fundamental sequentiality is underlined by the fact that even the combination of imperfective plus *-m* preserves this core meaning and consequently receives a non-focal, habitual meaning. Simultaneity or cotemporaneity as opposed to sequence is rather expressed by a peculiar dependent verb form consisting of the conjunctional prefix *t-* plus the imperfective. In non-indicative contexts, the m-converb is replaced by the t-converb which, –at least in my own data–, does never appear in a sequence of more than two tokens. Consequently, it cannot replace entire sequences of m-converbs, which are rather replaced by fully finite negative perfectives or imperfectives. Thus, Inor seems to differentiate between the sequence of two single events, which show some affinity to the converb functions (2-3) and a sequence of several events.

Functions (1a) and (1b) have in common that the aspectual or modal value of the m-marked stem has to correspond to that of the ensuing matrix verb. On the other hand, converb and matrix verb may have different subjects.

(2) The second use of the perfective plus *-m* is more clearly dependent on the ensuing matrix verb. It is generally marked by the suffix *-ta* and can precede a matrix verb in the *imperfective*. It is not interpreted sequentially, but fulfils the pragmatic function of explicitly mentioning the beneficiary of a certain action. This is achieved by a subordinating strategy which adds the participant frame of an

additional verb 'to say' in order to enlarge the number of overtly expressible actants of the matrix verb. All clause and core operators are determined by the matrix verb, and the aspectual morphology is entirely neutralised. It is opaque in the sense that, morphologically, it no longer agrees with the matrix verb in aspect and mood. In this function, the m-converb is replaced by the t-converb with all non-indicative matrix verbs. The suffix *-ta* is also preserved with the t-converb.

This converb type allows for the extension of the core of the sentence by enlarging the participant frame of the matrix verb. As it is not formally marked as embedded in any way, it is best analysed as **co-subordinating** on a **nuclear level** (for the layered structure of the clause (LSC) cf. Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:477-484).

The third set of functions of the perfective m-converb can hardly be described exclusively in terms of clause combining.

(3a) The perfective m-converb forms of certain verbs develop an entirely adverbial character. They cannot be attributed to a fixed layer of the clause, but quite freely modify any of them. Thus, these forms function as modal operators. They show agreement in person, number and gender with the matrix verb. Like (2), they are entirely within the scope of the clausal and core operators of the matrix verb. In non-indicative contexts they are replaced by the t-converb.

(3b) Some perfective m-converbs of motional verbs are used to specify the manner of the movement expressed by a limited group of directional matrix verbs. These verbs have to show agreement not only with the clausal and core operators of the matrix verb, but also with its valency. Thus, they are **subordinated** on the **nuclear** level. In non-indicative contexts, they are replaced by the t-converb.

(3c) A number of perfective m-converbs develop into integral parts of new lexical compounds. These are **lexicalised** instances of **nuclear subordination**. In these functions, both m-converb and corresponding t-converb *never* take sequential markers, neither the suffix *-ta* nor the enclitic *=taanəda*. Additionally, functions (2-3) of the converb require subject identity between converb and matrix verb (SS).

In my Inor data, there is no evidence for infinitives linked by the *m*-suffix, mentioned e.g. in Hetzron (1977). Infinitives are treated as non-indicative verb forms and thus have to take the t-converb instead of the m-converb. See example (18) above.

Fundamentally, two basic kinds of converbs have to be distinguished:

(i) The sequential m-converb (1) has no restriction as to subject identity (SS) and shows aspectual agreement of its transparent aspect stems with the matrix

verb. In its chaining function, this form is generally not replaced by the t-converb in non-indicative contexts.

(ii) The modifying m-converb (2-3) with same subject restriction and an aspectually opaque perfective stem, semantically overriden by the aspect specification of the matrix verb. This form is replaced by the t-converb in all non-indicative contexts except along with imperatives. Consequently, from a functional perspective, one should speak of a m/t-converb, rather than of an m-converb on the one hand and a t-converb on the other hand.

Both sequential and modifying converbs in Inor share the property of being within the scope of the tense and mood operators of the matrix verb, as well as not being combinable with negative matrix verbs.

7. Other dependent verb forms

Besides the constructions discussed so far, traditionally termed "gerunds" and "converbs" respectively, Ethiosemitic languages exhibit another strategy of marking dependent clauses. The fact that the inherited Semitic adpositions and conjunctions were prefixes and proclitics, respectively, has led to a peculiar trait of Ethiosemitic dependent clauses. Non-finite verbs at the right end of the subordinate clause are combined with a conjunctional *prefix*, rather than a suffix, with which they merge into a phonological unit. Unlike subordinating conjunctions in other languages, many of these prefixes *determine* the choice of the ensuing verb form. Although formally fully specified for mood and aspect morphologically, their semantics are intertwined with the meaning of the prefix or overridden by it altogether. These constructions structurally parallel those Cushitic and Omotic dependent verb forms which are based on –at least formerly– finite aspect paradigms extended by conjunctional suffixes. If one accepts those forms as converbs one would, consequently, also have to include at least some of their Semitic equivalents within this category. A rather conservative language of the Ethiosemitic family, Tigrē, spoken in the Western part of Eritrea, in its syntax has preserved the synthetic constructions that in other Ethiosemitic languages have led to the merged subordinate forms:

(23) TIGRĒ (North Ethiosemitic)

wa-kərkərre	*ʔət*	*dabər*	*ʔət-wək'k'əl*	***ʔəndo***	***gaʔ-at***
and-partridge	on	mountain	up-high	**while**	**get:PFV-3sfS**
dahay	*ʔəgəl*	*ti-de*		*ʔassaʔal-aw-a.*	
clamours	to	3sfS-make:JUSS		tell:PFV-3pmS-3sfO	

'And they told the partridge that having gone on the mountain she should make a great deal of noise [to summon the cattle].' (Raz 1983:106-7)

Both in Amharic (24a) and Inor (24b), a conjunction and the ensuing verb of the dependent clause merge into a phonological unit:

(24)a. AMHARIC (Transversal Ethiosemitc)

zare	*t'wat*	***s-ï-nnässa***	*yï-zänb*	*näbbär.*
today	morning	when-1sS-wake.up:IPFV	3smS-rain:IPFV	AUX:PT

'When I woke up this morning, it was raining.' (Hartmann 1980:193)

b. INOR (South Ethiosemitic, West Gurage)

əhir	***t-ii-dərg-ka***	*awd-h^{w}a*	
crop	when-3smS-beat:IPFV-TOP	reward-3smPOSS	
ããβ̃-ə-ni=taanəda		*wəsəd-ə*	*asiy-ə.*
give-3smS-3smO:MCV=CJ:II		take-3smS:MCV	sell-3smS:MCV

'When he had threshed the crop, the uncle gave the reward, and he took it and sold it.'

However, the choice of the TA form of the subordinate verb in the above examples is not free. In combination with the conjunctional prefix *t-* only the imperfective stem is allowed (not the perfective!). Although this form is morphologically finite, the semantics of the prefix override the indicated aspectual value of the verb root (imperfective). This is most obvious from the fact that an imperfective form is used for marking the entry into a new narrative sequence (which would rather be expected to be the prototypical use of perfectives in taxis relations)[37].

The combination of conjunctional prefixes with aspectual forms which the former semantically neutralise, bare of any nominalising morphology (in fact the *t/d/k*-suffix *could* be interpreted as a nominaliser), could well be treated as fixed, paradigmatic combinations, i.e. dependent verb forms or converbs.

These forms, presumably due to their idiosyncratic morphological structure, have never been described in this way. They are reserved for clearly subordinated contexts, and each combination is restricted to a well-defined range of uses. In this respect, they resemble 'specialised' converbs. The term 'quasi-converb' seems inadequate because of the precarious status of nominalisation in clause combining:

[37] This rather idiosyncratic use of the imperfective in taxis relations is paralleled in Central Cushitic Awngi where the so-called temporal, a verb form functionally corresponding to the constructions presented here, is based on the imperfective stem diachronically – which can be seen from the aspectual vowel *-a*. Cf. ex. (33, 34) in Ebert, this vol., p. 29.

Many adpositions or clitics in Ethiopian languages are used both with nominals and with finite verbs, and their semantics are so close that any alleged polysemy appears to be motivated by their translation into a Western language rather than by their intrinsic meaning. In such a language, which uses the same affixes both with nouns as adpositions, and with verbs as conjunctions, additional morphology on a subordinate verb need not be interpreted as nominalising, as often, e.g. in the case of the Inor temporal, the construction is also possible without this marker (which in other contexts may well function as a nominaliser).

Unlike the gerund or the m- and t-converbs discussed above, these dependent verb constructions show pre- or circumfixes. Gerund (in other Ethiosemitic languages), m-converb and t-converb lend themselves to a presentation in conjugation tables of the type common in traditional European grammars, because their structure comprises a stem plus a personal ending. They can easily be identified as paradigmatic units. Contrarily, the dependent clauses introduced by conjunctional prefixes have not been treated in this way. However, in the case of Cushitic or Omotic, and even of the m-converb, combinations of morphologically finite verb forms plus a conjunctional *suffix* often *are* treated as a part of verbal morphology. There is, abstracting from the merely formal fact that the specialised subordinated verb forms in Ethiosemitic languages take prefixes instead of suffixes, no compelling reason not to treat them accordingly. Thus, constructions among them which (a) do not show nominalising morphology on the verb, (b) override the semantics of the aspecto-temporal features of the verb, and (c) whose meaning is determined by the combination of both prefix and verb form, could be analysed as specialised converbs, or at least a separate type of dependent verb forms on a par with the m- and t-converbs.

The following section is intended to exemplify how the combination of affixes plus different verbal aspectual stems can lead to new verbal paradigms expressing specific relations of subordinate clauses to their matrix clause.

All Inor dependent verb forms of the mentioned type are based on merely two prefixes also used as adnominal prepositions. *tə-* very generally indicates the source of an action[38], *bə-* the locus where it takes place.

(25) *tə-* and *bə-* in adnominal contexts (as prepositions)

a.	***tə-k'aya***	*cɔʔɔ-m*	*wɔr-m=taanəda,*
	SOURCE-village	leave:PFV.3pmS-M	go:PFV.3pmS-M=CJ:II

[38] The comitative meaning of *t-* at a first glance seems to be basic. However, although generally used in this sense, this reading seems to be retraceable to the construction *t- immaati* 'together with', cf. Amharic *kä- gar.*

gitɔʃə *aləf-u-m,* *diβir* *kəsir* *g^{w}ɔpɔ-m.*
grassland cross:PFV-3pmS-M forest inside enter:PFV.3pmS-M
'They left the village, crossed the grasslands and went into the forest.'

b. ***bə-ʔədar*** *wərəji* *ti-t-waʔa-ka* *hɔhɔwə*
LOC-night outside SOURCE-2smS-go.out:IPFV-TOP star
t-aaʒ-i *ti-cəəl.*
2smS-see:IPFV-GOAL 2smS-can:IPFV
'When you go outside at night, you can see the stars.'

These two prefixes combined with different aspectual stems lead to subordinate verb forms whose specific interpretations are not predictable from the semantics of either the prefix or the aspectual stems. The prefix *tə-* together with the perfective stem expresses irreal or counterfactual conditionals:

(26)a. *dəŋgəɲə* ***tə̃-ɦə̃ə̃r̃-ɦũ*** *yi-sar-e* *baanəda.*
rich SOURCE-become:PFV-1sS 3smS-like:IPFV-1sO COP:PT
'If I were (had got) rich I would be happy.'

b. *aba-ɲa* *əgir-ɦ^{w}a* *t-an-eeʔə-n.*
father-1sPOSS foot-3smPOSS SOURCE-NEG-lame:PFV.3smS-3smO
addis ***b-am-bərə-da.***
A. LOC-NEG-go:PFV-3smS-TOP
'If my father's leg had not got lamed, he wouldn't have gone to Addis.'

(26b) shows that the dependent verb in this construction can have a polarity specification differing from that of the main verb. In this respect, it is more independent from the matrix verb than the various types of m- and t-converbs discussed above.

Combined with the imperfective, the prefix *t-* expresses the verb of a temporal clause. This construction can be interpreted as (i) an event or state of affairs occurring simultaneously with the action of the main verb, or as (ii) a punctual event marking the starting point of a subsequent action. (i) is the typical reading with a main verb in the imperfective, (ii) is the default reading if the matrix verb is in the perfective. The form can be followed by the topic suffix which then marks a break or contrast between the two conjoined actions (27b).

(27) a. *listro* *yɨ-t'ɔrg-ua-ta* *deeŋga*
shoeshine 3pS-polish:IPFV-3pmS-NML boys
***t*-ĩĩ-β̃ɔ̃ʔɔ̃-w̃ã-ta** *aba-ɲa* *ə-gətaccəw ...*
SOURCE-3pS-come:IPFV-3pmS-CJ:I father-1sPOSS to-G. ...

'Whenever a shoeshine boy came across, my father (would say) to Gätaccäw ... .'

b. *barik* *mɨs* *aɲə* *məya* ***t*-ii-yaar**
old man mountain path SOURCE-3smS-go:IPFV
ɨ̃β̃ãã̃r̃-hʷa *yɨ-ʃə̃β̃* ***t*-ii-k'iit'-ka**
donkey-3smPOSS 3smS-drag:IPFV SOURCE-3smS-be.tired:IPFV-TOP
y-aafʷɔy-i *səʔ-ə.*
3smS-restIPFV-GOAL want:PFV-3smS

'An old man was travelling on a mountain path, dragging his donkey and, when he became tired, he wanted to take a rest.'

The topic marker can assume more clearly defined functions than the simple marking of a break or contrast between a temporal and an ensuing verb:

(28) a. *astəmari* ***tɨ*-y-aarəmbɨβ** *reedio* *yɨ-sə̃β̃ʔã.*
teacher SOURCE-3smS-read:IPFV radio 3smS-hear:IPFV

'The teacher is reading a book and listens to the radio.' *or*
'While the teacher reads, he is listening to the radio.'

b. *astəmari* *y-aarəmbɨβ* *reedio* *yɨ-sə̃β̃ʔã.*
teacher 3smS-read:IPFV radio 3smS-hear:IPFV

*'The teacher is reading and listens to the radio.'
'The teacher usually reads and listens to the radio.'

c. *astəmari* ***tɨ*-y-aarəmbɨb-ka** *təmari* *məlməja*
teacher SOURCE-3smS-read:IPFV-TOP(DS) student exercise
yɨ-s'ɔɔf-ua.
3pS-write:IPFV-3pmS

'The teacher is reading, and the students are writing exercises.' *or*
'While the teacher reads, the students are writing exercises.'

d. **astəmari* ***ti****-y-aarəmbiβ* *təmari* *məlməja* *yi-s'ɔɔf-ua.*

'The teacher is reading, and the students are writing exercises.' *or*
'While the teacher reads, the students are writing exercises.'

As (28a) shows, the Inor temporal verb form in *t-* is the only means for the expression of simultaneity of an event with a high-focal imperfective in the present (default reading). The simple co-ordination of two imperfectives for the expression of simultaneity, as illustrated in (28b), is only allowed in non-focal contexts. (28c) vs. (28d) show that the topic marking *d/t/k*-suffix has to be added to the temporal in order to enable a different subject (DS) reading.

The locative prefix *bə-* in combination with the perfective has two different interpretations. First, it indicates the marked posteriority of the following verb, and in this sense, it can be translated by 'after'. This meaning can be made more explicit by the suffix *-ga* (29b):

(29)a. *aba-ɲa* ***bə****-tte?eɲ-ə* *bə-sūū^{n}t* *zəβ̃ər̃-h^{w}a*
father-1sPOSS LOC-be.born:PFV-3smS LOC-eight year-3smPOSS
əgir-h^{w}a *ee?ə-n-i.*
foot-3smPOSS lame:PFV.3smS-3smO-M

'Eight years after my father was born, his leg got paralysed.'

b. *əgir-h^{w}a* ***b****-ee?ə-n-****ga*** *are?* *yi-wɔ?ɔr*
foot-3smPOSS LOC- lame:PFV.3smS-3smO-in cattle 3smS-herd:IPFV
baanəda.
COP:PT

'After his leg got lame, he was herding the cattle.'

The second interpretation of the construction is conditional:

(30) ***bə****-kaas-hə* *iiβ̃-hə.*
LOC-pay:PFV-2smS 1sS.give:IPFV-2smO
'If you pay me, I give it to you.'

The prefix *b-* in combination with the imperfective has a durative meaning and sets the ground for another action to ensue. If the following verb is in the perfective, the construction provokes an interpretation of sequentiality. Thus (31) translates "when he asked his father for money, ... that one said". However, the

first action of asking father rather introduces the frame, within which the latter's reaction is situated. The construction therefore does not merely emphasise the fact that the first action marks the point from which the second departs, but rather it presents the first action as the general setting within which the second arises. Sequentiality, although present, is not the central semantic core of the construction. The locative meaning of the preposition *bə-* interacts with the intraterminal reading of the imperfective. Both, preposition and aspectual value are intact and preserve their semantics. The interpretation of their combination arises from the respective meanings of the components.

(31) *addis abəba y-aar-ɨwə-da firaŋk a-ʔaba-h^{w}a*
A.A. 3smS-go:IPFV-LOC.3smO-NML money to-father-3smPOSS
***b**-ii-tsaʔar-ku enə-n-ii-da*
LOC-3smS-ask:IPFV-3smO not.be:PFV-3smS-BEN-1sO-NEG
baar-ə-ni.
say:PFV-3smS-3smO

'When asking his father for the money to go to Addis Ababa, the latter told him: "I have no money." '

The same effect of a 'posterior' reading can also occur if the matrix verb is a habitual imperfective. In (32) *biyaʔans* is translated adverbially as 'at least'. Literally it means "when it (the ripening time) decreases / gets least, it ripens after five years".

Thus, again, the conjunctional prefix *bə-* along with the imperfective verb *yaʔans* opens a space, which sets the stage for the action to follow.

(32) *ɔ-ʔɔpɔr-i hinəβa **bi**-y-aʔans amʔist zə̃β̃ə̃r̃*
ATTR-dig:PFV.3pmS-3smO hineba LOC-decrease:IPFV five years
bə-cena-ga yɨ-sə̃r̃ʔə̃.
LOC-rest:PFV.3smS-in 3smS-ripen:IPFV

'The buried hineba (marrow of the inset tree) at least (= if / only after [ripening time] has decreased) takes five years to mellow.'

The differentiation between a conditional and a posterior temporal meaning, however, at last seems to be somewhat forced, as the everyday notion of conditionality, unlike its "purely" logical counterpart, by its very integration into a context which forcibly is one "in time", always has a temporal connotation: A certain action is *only* exerted *after* some other action has taken place. Thus it does

not make sense, in my view, to assume some kind of polysemy for the Inor conjunctional prefix *bə-*.

The prefix *bə-* generally seems to have preserved its independence which is obvious from the fact that its vague semantics along with the general aspectual values of the verb forms with which it is combined account for the various interpretations the respective combinations yield. The conjunctional prefix maintains a certain semantic autonomy and is freely combinable with different aspectual forms, in which respect it resembles prototypical conjunctions, although phonetically it merges with the verb of the clause, which it marks as subordinated. Unlike in the case of the conjunctional prefix *t-*, it does not seem necessary or even profitable to conceive of the combinations of *bə-* with either the perfective or the imperfective as two different dependent verb forms.

Table 5 summarises the interaction of the prefixes *t-* and *b-* with the aspect stems:

Table 5 : *Specialised converbs formed from conjunctional prefixes t-/ b- plus aspectual stems*

type	prefixes	**perfective stem**	**imperfective stem**
dependent verb paradigms	***t-***	**irrealis / counterfactual conditional**	**temporal** (MV* PFV) **cotemporaneous** (MV IPFV)
subordinating preposition plus finite verb form	***b-***	posterior/conditional (meaning predictable due to the interaction of prefix and aspectual values).	

* MV = main verb

A more detailed account of the way prefixes and single aspectual forms interact has to be left for further research. Only such detailed information would provide a basis for deciding whether the range of functions covered by a combination of a specific conjunctional prefix with a certain aspectual form is to be judged coherent enough to justify an interpreation of the respective phonetic unit as an instance of a specialised dependent verb form.

The findings of the present section show that the two conjunctional prefixes *t-* and *b-* in this respect behave in rather different ways: while the combinations of *t-* plus aspectual stems yield three subordinated forms clearly restricted to well-defined contexts and expressing specific meanings not directly explainable by the interaction of the respective semantics of the prefixes and the aspectual values of the involved verb forms, the interpretation of the combinations of aspectual stems

with *b-* can be well explained as a function of prefixal semantics and aspectual values of the respective verbs. Thus, in case of the constructions with *t-*, one would tend to identify the several combinations as different dependent verb forms, while in case of *b-*, we are rather dealing with straightforward subordinate clauses, simply marked by prefixes on the clausal heads rather than by phonetically independent conjunctions.

A glance at certain grammaticalisation and lexicalisation paths observable in Inor supports the hypothesis that combinations of prefixes plus aspecto-temporal verb forms are actually treated as paradigmatic units, i.e. dependent verb forms or specialised converbs: The habitual imperfective consists of an imperfective form combined with the conjunctional prefix *b-* and the *t/d/k* topic suffix. The past tense marker *baanəda* has developed from the same construction, the locative verb *aanə* generally being treated as an imperfective in spite of its perfective morphology. The conjunctional enclitic *taanəda* has developed from a temporal, including the same root. Obviously, combinations of conjunctional prefixes plus morphologically finite verb forms tend to be treated as units not only phonetically, but also conceptually, and they represent starting points for further developments into functionally finite verb forms or single lexemes.

Special abbreviations

(for general abbreviations see index on pp. 5-6)

ATTR	marker of adnominal determination (on nominals, 'attributiviser')	DET	determiner (definite article)
		GER	gerund
CJ	conjunction	LOC	marker of location
CJ:I	conjunctional enclitic ('and')	M	m-linker (general linker, 'and')
I			
CJ:II	conjunctional enclitic (sequential, 'and then')	MCV	m-converb
II		RFUT	remote future (indefinite future)
DEF	definite (marker on predicative adjectives referring to definite phrases)	S	subject
		TCV	t-converb
noun		TOP	topicaliser

References

Chamora, Berhanu. 1996. "Consonant distribution in Inor" In: G. Hudson (ed.) *Essays on Gurage Language and Culture, dedicated to W. Leslau*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 53-67.

Hartmann, Josef. 1980. *Amharische Grammatik*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Hetzron, Robert. 1969. *The verbal system of Southern Agaw.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hetzron, Robert. 1972. *Ethiopian Semitic: Studies in classification.* Manchester: Manchester University Press. 145.

Hetzron, Robert. 1975. "The t-converb in Western Gurage." *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 2(2): 15-26.

Hetzron, Robert. 1977. *Gunnän-Gurage languages.* (SERRIC 22) Napoli: Istituto Orientale di Napoli. 264.

Leslau, Wolf. 1967-8. "The pseudo-gerundive in Chaha." *RSE* 23: 27-42.

Leslau, Wolf. 1992. *Gurage Studies – collected articles.* Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden.

Leslau, Wolf. 1995. *Reference grammar of Amharic.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 1044.

Maaß, Uwe. 1996. "On grammatical functions of the gerund in Amharic." In: *Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Literatures: Memorial vol. of Karel Petráček.* Prague: Academy of Sciences of the CR. 343-357.

Polotsky, Hans Jakob. 1951. "Notes on Gurage Grammar." In: *Notes and Studies published by the Israel Oriental Society* 2. Jerusalem: Israel Oriental Society. [Reprinted in: Polotsky, Hans Jakob. 1971. *Collected Papers.* Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University. 519-573.]

Raz, Shlomo. 1983. *Tigre Grammar and Texts.* (Afroasiatic Dialects 4). Malibu: Undena Publications.

Van Valin, Robert D. Jr. and Randy LaPolla. 1997. *Syntax, Structure, Meaning and Function.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Voigt, Rainer M. 1977. *Das tigrinische Verbalsystem* (Marburger Studien zur Afrika- und Asienkunde). Berlin: Reimer.

Converbs in Yemsa

Silvia Zaugg-Coretti

1. Introduction

Converbs are found throughout the Afroasiatic languages of Ethiopia: they occur in the Ethiosemitic, the Cushitic and the Omotic language families. As a recent article (Azeb Amha & Dimmendaal 2006b) points out, there are also instances of converbs in Nilo-Saharan languages adjacent to the Ethiopian area. Dependent verb forms in Ethiopian languages have been termed converbs, gerunds, medial verbs or participles, among other designations. Sometimes the formal and functional properties of these verb forms overlap completely in different languages, sometimes they do so only in a few respects (cf. Suter MS). There is no consensus as to what should be called a converb (using just the most common of the terms mentioned above), and the dependent verb forms in Ethiopian languages have rarely been systematically compared to their functional equivalents in Asian or Papuan languages. Thus, not only morphology and function of Yemsa converbs are treated here, but also the reasons for treating them as 'converbs'.

This article is structured as follows: In the descriptive part, the Yemsa converbs with their forms and functions are presented. A description of specialised subordinate forms follows in order to be able to delimit them from converbs. In the discussion the morpho-syntactical properties of the Yemsa converbs are summarised so as to make the converb definition adopted in this paper explicit and plausible.

1.1. The Yemsa language

Some general information about Yemsa is in order here. Yemsa is an Omotic language spoken in Ethiopia. The original[1] location is around the town of Fofa to the Southwest of Addis Ababa, between Welkite and Jimma, in a hilly area approximately 2000 metres above sea level. According to the Ethnologue (Gordon 2005), the number of speakers is around 80,000. Most of them live in a rural environment. Besides in the original area, a major part of the speech community is found in villages around Jimma.

The language is also known as Yem (although for some speakers this name refers to the people, not to the language) and Janjero, which has a negative connotation.

[1] At least for several centuries.

Yemsa belongs to the Gonga-Gimojan branch of the North Omotic languages. Together with the Ometo languages (e.g. Wolaitta, Maale), Chara and Benchnon it forms the Gimojan branch and is the only language of its subbranch (Gordon 2005), which means that Yemsa has no close relatives. It is also separated from the other Omotic languages geographically: Its neighbours are Cushitic and Ethiosemitic (Gurage) languages.

Previous linguistic work on the language includes some notes on the phonology and morphology by Cerulli (1938), a phonological study by Wedekind (1990), a grammar with a focus on morphology by Lamberti (1993) and an abundance of unpublished material by Schaumberger and Schaumberger, comprising a phonology, sketches on tone and grammar as well as a lexicon and a text collection. Concerning the converbs, this was the most valuable source. Lamberti (1993) mentions two converbs: the general converb (which he calls *Gerundium Präteriti*) and a so-called *Gerundium Präsentis*, which I identify as the imperfective simultaneous converb; with the difference that Lamberti (1993) renders the suffixes *-faad/-feed* instead of *-fȁt/-fēt*[2]. Besides the general converb (which he calls *gerund*) Schaumberger (MS a) mentions the simultaneous, sequential and different subject converbs, which he subsumes under 'adverbial clause' together with some other subordinate verb forms.

The data presented in this paper were collected by myself during two field trips in Ethiopia (Sekoru and Addis Ababa) in 2006.

Some linguistic peculiarities of the Yemsa language will be mentioned here.

An interesting phoneme in Yemsa is the glottalised r: /r'/. It is not an implosive but an ejective[3] sound and must be analysed as one phoneme. Yemsa has three level tones: high, mid and low, as well as a rising tone. Very often, gender is – exclusively or not – marked by tone.

Yemsa is a strictly head-final language, which manifests itself in the SOV, determiner-adjective-noun and relative clause-head word order. The final position of the verb in clauses and sentences is common for languages using converbs.

Yemsa distinguishes between polite and non-polite forms. Pronouns and person-marking suffixes show four polite forms, namely for the 2nd and 3rd person singular and plural. Additionally, for about 100 lexemes – verbs and nouns – there are distinct forms in the polite register which include words relating to the human body (cf. Aklilu Yilma 1993 and Wedekind 1986).

[2] The diacritics represent tone in the following way: ̀ low tone, ̄ mid tone, ́ high tone, ̌ rising tone.

[3] Nevertheless, there are linguists who insist that it is indeed /d/ as in Oromo (Derib Ado p.c.). They might refer to a different variety of Yemsa spoken in the more Oromo-influenced areas around Jimma.

2. Converbs in Yemsa - descriptive part

Here, I will briefly outline properties of what will be called a converb in this article. The discussion of how to define converbs will be taken up later.

The converb forms presented below are all dependent verb forms in that they cannot constitute a sentence by themselves. They are verb forms which can neither function as an argument (=verbal noun) nor a noun modifier (=participle). So far, the definition overlaps with the one given by Haspelmath (1995:3). However, I would like to enlarge it so as to include not only subordinate but also non-adverbial, non-subordinate forms used in chaining constructions (cf. table 1 in 4.1).

There are five converbs in Yemsa which meet these criteria, in addition to a number of clearly subordinate and morphologically finite verb forms which convey purposive, temporal and conditional meanings.[4] The latter will be called specialised subordinate forms. Although they are not in the main focus of this paper, a brief description will be given after the description of the converbs for the purpose of comparison. Basically, they are not called converbs because they are more finite than the converbs (see below). The five converbs which will be described below are the **general converb**, the **different subject converb**, the **sequential converb**, the **simultaneous converb** and the **negative converb**. The sequential and the negative converbs each have separate forms for same and different subject. Thus, the total number of converb forms is seven. For each of them, the formal and functional properties will be explained in the following paragraphs.

2.1. General converb

Form Yemsa distinguishes three verb classes on the basis of morphological properties. They are characterised by their stem-final vowel (henceforth called *stem vowel*). In the verbal noun and in the Irrealis stem (used for future, purposive and negative converb forms), the stem vowel is either *-a*, *-o* or *-u*. In the other inflected verb forms, this vowel is either elided (a-class), or changed to *-e* (o-class) or to *-i* (u-class).

The form of the a-class general converb differs from the ones of the other classes. u- and o-verbs change their stem vowels to *-i* and *-e*, respectively. To this stem the converbal suffix *-r* and the final vowels *-à* or *-ē* are added (e.g. *wàagè-r-à* 'trade-CV-f', ex. (1)). The final vowel indicates gender. In the *a*-verb class, however, the stem vowel is elided and the *r*-suffix does not appear. Instead, the last stem consonant is geminated and the final vowel *-à/ē* is added (e.g. *tókk-à* 'plant.CV-f', ex. (1)).

It is important to note that, in addition to the above rule, the 3rd person plural

[4] There is a verb form whose subordinate status is not entirely clear. In this paper, it is considered a subordinate verb form, see the discussion below.

of a-verbs is formed like the o-verbs by suffixation of *-e-r-à/ē*, as in *hàm-è-r-ē* 'go-PL-CV-m'. An explanation for this phenomenon might be that the gemination of the last stem consonant in a-class converbs historically results from the suffixation of *-r* to the verb stem. The elision of the stem vowel – which is characteristic of this verb class also in other forms – led to the adjacency of the last stem consonant and *-r*. Consequently *-r* fully assimilated to the stem consonant, yielding the gemination. In the 3rd person plural forms the stem vowel did not elide but changed to *-e* instead, which also occurs in some other inflected (main or subordinate) verb forms. For this reason, *-r* never assimilated to the stem consonant and was preserved there.

There are exceptions to the gemination of the last stem vowel in the a-class converb, namely glottal stop and *r'*, which are never geminated, and the ejective stops such as *p'*, with which gemination is not consistent[5]. This can be explained by a non-gemination rule applying to the glottal stop and *r'*. Some examples are:

Verb	**General converb (f)**
tè'-à 'to put on fire'	*tè'-à*
kíir'-ā 'to break'	*kíir'-à*
kèp'-à 'to harvest'	*kèpp'-à*
èp'-à 'to take'	*èp'-à* ~ *èpp'-à*

As mentioned above, the final vowels of the general converb indicate gender. This requires some specification. The final vowel *-ē* is used for the 3rd person masculine forms in singular and plural, i.e. it marks masculine gender. *-à* is used in all other forms, i.e. 1st and 2nd person and 3rd person feminine and therefore marks feminine (default) gender. Even though it is used for the 1st and 2nd person, which do not have a gender opposition in Yemsa, it is still justified to call *-à/-ē* a gender marker, since the feminine form is the default form (i.e. used for the unmarked 1st and 2nd persons), which is generally the case in Yemsa. With the 3rd person polite converb forms, however, the masculine form is used for both genders. This can be explained by the men's higher social status.

The gender markers *-à* for feminine and *-ē* for masculine are the same as those used on the imperfective suffix in main verbs (cf. table in 2.2 below).

In the o- and u-classes a plural marker *-se*[6] can be inserted before *-r-à/ē*. It is found in the same form in other inflected verb forms. Where it occurs, it can occur twice without a change in meaning, as in ex. (21) below. However, it never occurs in the 1st

[5] The conditions for the presence or absence of gemination have yet to be determined. So far the occurrence of geminated ejective stops seems random.

[6] The tone of this morpheme seems to be conditioned by neighbouring tones. Possibly, it lacks an inherent tone.

person plural, and in the 2nd person plural non-polite it only occurs with a few verb forms. The use of the 3rd person plural forms is optional, i.e. they can be replaced with the respective singular form. This corresponds to the fact that plural marking is generally optional in Yemsa – with verbs as well as with nouns. Consequently, the plural converb form of a-class verbs (suffix *-e-r-à/ē*) can be replaced by the singular form (geminated last stem consonant + suffix *-à/ē*).

In order to exemplify the formation of the general converb, paradigms are given for each verb class:

a-class: hàm-à 'go'

	1	hàmm-à	
	2	hàmm-à	
	2POL	hàmm-à	
3sf	hàmm-à	3pf	hàm-è-r-à
3sm / 3sPOL	hàmm-ē	3pm / 3pPOL	hàm-è-r-ē

o-class: dùud-ō 'try'

	1	dùud-è-r-à	
	2	dùud-è-r-à	
2sPOL	dùud-è-r-à	2pPOL	dùud-è-sē-r-à
3sf	dùud-è-r-à	3pf	dùud-è-sē-r-à
3sm / 3sPOL	dùud-è-r-**ē**	3pm / 3pPOL	dùud-è-sē-r-**ē**

u-class: wōlg-ū 'return (tr)', 'answer'

	1	wōlg-ī-r-à	
	2	wōlg-ī-r-à	
2sPOL	wōlg-ī-r-à	2pPOL	wōlg-ī-sē-r-à
3sf	wōlg-ī-r-à	3pf	wōlg-ī-sē-r-à
3sm / 3sPOL	wōlg-ī-r-ē	3pm / 3pPOL	wōlg-ī-sē-r-ē

Use The general converb represents the most unmarked way of expressing a sequence of events, and when it occurs, it signals such a sequence most of the time. This can be seen in the following example, in which only the last event in a sequence is expressed by a full verb:

(1) *Ēwā* ***tókk-à***, *būnā* ***tókk-à***, *és-bār-òn* ***kèpp'-à***, ***wàagè-r-à***
enset plant.CV-f coffee plant.CV-f that-3s-ACC.f harvest.CV-f trade-CV-f
màá-nī-r.[7]
eat-1p-NML[8]
'We planted enset, planted coffee, harvested it, sold it and ate.'

The first two events *Ēwā* ***tókkà***, *būnā* ***tókkà***, however, are not in a sequence. They are not explicitly simultaneous events either, but the temporal relation is unmarked. The occurrence of this converb type with events related in an unspecific temporal way is one of the reasons for calling it a general converb, and not, for instance, a sequential converb.

Other reasons for calling this converb 'general' are instances of lexicalisation and its use in compound verb forms. The general converb is the only converb with these possibilities. Sentence (2) shows an example of converb lexicalisation, where a fixed converb form is used to express an adverb like *késsē* 'afterwards' and is no longer perceived as an event in its own right.

(2) *...fīgā èpp'-ē kūwā kùurì-r-ē ì'ō kèpp'-é*
dung take.CV-m grass cut.grass-CV-m wood collect.CV-m
késsē *ésī-sī-mātó kèyà-s-sī*
afterwards [lit: go.out.CV-m] that-GEN.DEF-like house-DEF-INESS
shól-sí wòstōo-s-ō zùutāmbàsē wòst-ě-r.
want-CAUS work-DEF-ACC.f all work-m-NML
'...he takes dung, harvests grass, collects wood and then does every necessary work in the house (like this).'

A compound verb is shown in sentence (3). The converb form of *ge'a* 'be proud' is compounded with a semantically emptied V_2 *fòo* 'be there/live', describing just one event of extended duration, not two events.

(3) *Zōmō-bèsì-nèen=tú wòllě-t kàssě-t*
friend-3sfPOL.POSS-COMIT=FOC talk.m-SS play.m-SS
gě'-ē-fèe-f-ē.
be.proud.CV-m-live-IPFV-m
'She[9] chats with her friends and is proud.'

Other V_2 verbs include *késā* 'come out', *kūnā* 'lie', *hàmà* 'go', *tàamā* 'take somewhere'. With *késā* 'come out' a large variety of V_1s are possible: *késā* indicates that the action denoted by V_1 in its general converb form has been completed. With

[7] Yemsa orthography is used in this paper. It is rather straightforward from an Africanist's perspective. Just a few remarks on it: ⟨ch⟩ stands for /ʧ/, ⟨sh⟩ for /ʃ/ and ⟨ng⟩ for /ŋ/.

[8] The function of *-r* as a suffix on finite, sentence-final verbs is not well understood yet. It also occurs as a nominaliser on verbs producing agentive nouns and, as such, takes part in subject focus marking together with the focus marker *=tu* and other focus marking constructions. Because its use is licensed by the focus marker *=tu* it is not a durative marker, as was suggested by Schaumberger (MS a).

[9] 'she' is used for 'the mother' here. That is the reason for the polite possessive form *zōmō-bèsì* and for the masculine converb and main verb forms, which are used for both 3rd person masculine and polite forms.

the other three V_2s the V_1 action denotes the manner in which V_2 is carried out, i.e. *wŏr'-ē-tàamm-ē* 'take somewhere', lit. 'carry take somewhere' (cf. ex. (12)). Because of the semantic interrelation between V_1 and V_2 the possible V_1s are restricted. The V_2 *too* does not have an individual meaning any longer. Together with the V_1 *èp'à* 'take' it yields the meaning 'to believe', as in *tá èpp'à-tàan* 'I believe (it)'.

It has not yet been studied which verb forms the V_2 may occur with, but according to the examples available there do not seem to be many restrictions[10]. In sentence (4) the V_2 is not a main verb, but a sequential different subject converb form (see below for the description of this converb). The converb form of *icha* 'beat' is compounded with V_2 *kēwū* 'sit', which emphasises the on-going nature of the beating:

(4) *Bàas àsù-s-ōn* ***ícch-ē-kēy-f-āa-tē-n***
3SPOL wife-DEF-ACC.f beat.CV-m-sit$_{POL}$-IPFV-CV$_{SEQ}$-3POL-DS[.2s/3]
bèyy-à hàmì[11].
refuse.CV-f go[.3]
'He beat the (his) wife, so she left.'

Compound verbs in Yemsa are built and used in the same way as in some South Asian languages, but seem to be less frequent. Their occurrence in Omotic languages is common. For instance, a recent study by Azeb Amha & Dimmendaal (2006a) describes compound verbs in Wolaitta.

2.2. Different subject converb

Form The different subject converb is person-sensitive. There is syncretism in that the number of the markers is reduced and the same marker is used for different persons. There are three different person-sensitive markers occurring on the DS converb: *-nā*, *-nī* and *-n*. The constant formal property of the suffix is *n*[12], as shown in the following table. The paradigm of the Simple[13] person suffixes is given next to it for

[10] Cf. examples (10), (12).

[11] Contrary to the above statement that with a-class verbs the stem vowel is elided, there is a vowel *i* at the end of the verb *hàmì*. I do not treat this vowel as a stem vowel because it does not behave like the other stem vowels, e.g. the stem vowel *-i* in the u-class. Likewise, it is not a TAM marker since it occurs with a-class verbs only. Its occurrence is limited to the persons where there is a person suffix which consists of a consonant only or where there is no person suffix, as in 3rd persons. This leads me to conclude that it occurs because of phonotactic reasons and is an epenthetic vowel. This is supported by the fact that the default epenthetic vowel in Yemsa is indeed *i*.

[12] This does not come as a surprise: It is common in Omotic languages to mark the DS converb by a suffix containing *n*. Examples are, among others, Wolaitta *-(í)n* (Azeb Amha & Dimmendaal 2006a:323), Benchnon *-ī̃* (Rapold 2006:231ff), Maale *-em* (not *n*, but still a nasal) and *-nte* (Azeb Amha 2001:190ff).

[13] The Simple verb form is formed by the Realis stem and person suffixes. In opposition to the Imper-

illustration of the differences.

Different subject converb				**Simple (main verb)**			
1s	**-n**-ā	1p	**-n**-ī	1s	-n	1p	-nī
2s	**-n**	2p	**-n**-ī	2s	-t	2p	-tī
2POL	**-n**-ī			2POL	-nī		
3	**-n**			3	-∅		
3POL	-tē-**n**			3POL	-tē		

In the 2nd person singular and non-polite 3rd person forms *-n* occurs alone. In the 3rd person polite form the suffix is segmentable into a polite marker *-tē*, which also occurs in the Simple and in the specialised subordinate forms, and *-n*. *-nā* 1st singular and *-nī* 1st plural suffixes are common in verb forms such as future and jussive, as well as in most specialised subordinate forms. *-nī* for 2nd person polite is the same for all person-marked verb forms in Yemsa. However, the second person suffixes *-n* (singular) and *-nī* (plural) are not found with other verb forms. It is striking that they correspond to the 3rd singular and 1st plural forms respectively. But compared to the Simple forms they simply replace *-t* with *-n*, which again points out that *-n* seems to be the main marking property of the DS converb.

The person-sensitive suffixes shown above are added to the Realis stem form of the verb, which can be further expanded by valency changing suffixes, the imperfective suffix, and the optional plural marker *-se*, the latter one only with the 2nd polite and 3rd person forms. *gàwsìfē-n* 'feed-DS.3' (cf. sentence (7)) for example is built on the Realis stem *gàw*, a causative suffix *-sì*, an imperfective suffix *-fē* and a DS marker *-n*.

The imperfective suffix used with the DS converb is *-fà* in the first person singular and *-fē* or *-fè* in all other persons and is inserted before the person-sensitive DS suffix. Thus, the gender distinction made within the imperfective suffix – as used in the simultaneous converb, for instance – namely *-f-à* for feminine and *-f-ē* for masculine gender with 1st and 2nd person marked for feminine (cf. 2.4 below), does not apply in the imperfective DS converb forms. The gender distinction in the imperfective main verb, on the other hand, is still different and operates in the 3rd person only, as shown by the paradigm on the right below. In the case of the imperfective DS converb, the fact that the suffix is *-fà* only in the 1st person singular can be explained by regressive vowel assimilation. Maybe regressive vowel assimilation (although only partial) is also the reason for there being *-e* instead of feminine -a in the 1st plural and the 2st plural and polite forms of the imperfective main verb.

fective (formed by the Simple with an additional *-fà/-fē* suffix) it has perfective value, but since it is the unmarked counterpart, both morphologically and functionally, I prefer to call it 'Simple' and not 'Perfective'.

When comparing the imperfective DS converb to the simple DS converb, the following observations can be made: In the 3rd person polite forms of the imperfective DS converb the polite suffix *-tē* is dropped; thus the polite and the masculine 3rd person forms are not morphologically distinct. The person-sensitive suffixes assimilate their tone from mid to low after IPFV *-fà* or *-fè*.

Imperfective DS converb				**Imperfective main verb**			
1s	-fà-nà	1p	-fè-nì	1s	-f-à-n	1p	-f-ē-nì[14]
2s	-fē-n	2p	-fè-nì	2s	-f-à-t	2p	-f-ē-tì[14]
	2POL		-fè-nì		2POL		-f-ē-nì
	3		-fē-n		3f		-f-à
					3m / 3POL		-f-ē

The imperfective suffix historically derives from the verb *fòo* 'be there, live'. This verb is irregular in that it shows gender agreement in the Simple form. Its final vowel *-òo* changes to *-àa* (feminine) or to *-èe* (masculine), this time according to the general Yemsa gender distinction as operating in the general converb (2.1 above) or the simultaneous converb (2.4 below). Contrary to the imperfective suffix *-f-à/-f-ē* in the imperfective SIM converb, however, there are no tone alternations according to gender.

Simple of fòo 'be there, live'

1s	f-àa-n	1p	f-àa-nì
1s	f-àa-t	1p	f-àa-sè-tī
2sPOL	f-àa-nì	2pPOL	f-àa-sè-nī
3sf	f-à	3pf	f-àa-sè
3sm	f-è	3pm	f-èe-sè
3sPOL	f-èe-tē	3mPOL	f-èe-sè-tē

Use The simple, aspectually unmarked different subject converb is basically used to express the same temporal relation as does the general converb. This means that there is no specification as to whether the event represented by it occurs before or simultaneously with the following event; however, in most cases it stands for a sequence of events. The most important function of this converb is to mark a subject change immediately following the converb. The subject of the event expressed by the converb is marked by the person-sensitive suffix on the converb, while the following subject is marked on the next verb. The DS converb thus gives no hint to the nature of the subject of the following event besides that it has to be different. DS refers to a

[14] Depending on the tonal verb class, main verb *-fē-nì* and *-fē-tì* sometimes occur as *-fè-nì* and *-fè-tì*, respectively.

change of referent, not of the grammatical person marker, i.e. a converb with a third person singular feminine subject followed by another third person feminine subject has to be marked for different subject.

In the next example the subject of the first three events is *téegóos* 'the husband'. The first two events *hàmmē* and *tìr'ō yìísshē* are represented by general converbs because there is no subject change after them. The third event *tèsshè-tēn=tū*[15] however has to be marked for different subject because the following event is in passive voice; its subject is *tìr'ō* 'cotton'.

(5) *Bàasì téegóo-s dèy tòonà hàmm-ē tìr'ō yìíssh-ē*
3sfPOL.POSS husband-DEF TOP lowlands go.CV-m cotton dig.CV-m
tèsshè-tē-n=tū *súk-tē-r-à*[16] *màámā wǐcchē-f-à.*
bring-3POL-DS[.2s/3]=FOC spin-PASS-CV-f clothes weave.PASS-IPFV-f
'Her husband goes to the lowlands, collects cotton and brings it back; it is spun and clothes are woven.'

The following example shows instances of DS converb use where the events which the converbs represent are not in a sequence. Their temporal relation is not specified. Temporal overlap of the events is probable, but not so important as to be marked by the imperfective suffix (compare with examples below).

(6) *Yèe-sè-tēe-sē ēwāa-s-ōn kách'é-r* ***kāch'ē-n,***
come-PL-3POL.SUB-TEMP$_2$ enset-DEF-ACC.f cut.m-NML cut-DS[.2s/3]
wàar'ă-r ***wàar'ī-n,*** *shèdǐ-r*
dig.m-NML dig.m-DS[.2s/3] remove.leaves.m-NML
shèdī-n, *wàashá-r* ***wàáshī-n,***
remove.leaves-DS[.2s/3] harvest.enset.m-NML harvest.enset-DS[.2s/3]
ūwāa-s-ōn bùlě-r ***bùlē-n*** *wòstè-sé-f-ē.*
enset.root-DEF-ACC.f chop.m-NML chop-DS[.2s/3] work-PL-IPFV-m
'When they have come the enset cutters cut, the diggers dig, the leaf removers remove (dry) leaves, the enset harvesters harvest enset (by scraping out the pith) and the choppers chop the enset roots; that is how they work.'

The following examples illustrate instances of DS converbs marked for imperfective (suffix *-fē*). The instances of imperfective marking found in the texts show that the imperfective is used when the action represented by the converb takes place over an extended time period and overlaps temporally with the action represented by the

[15] The encliticised *=tū* need not concern us here; it seems to be a focus marker which can occur both on nouns and on verbs.

[16] Between passive verbs with different subjects, however, there is no DS marking, and therefore the general converb is used.

following verb. The meaning of the imperfective suffix in the DS converb differs from the one in main verbs: With the converb it conveys a durative meaning while with the main verb it conveys habituality.

(7) *Àfì è'sō kúndīmā-n kàbì-nāa-sē gàchùwàa-s-ō*
A. morning bed-ABL get.up-1s/3SUB-TEMP$_2$ oxen-DEF-ACC.f
kótt-ē kéemm-ē ***gàw-sì-fē-n;*** *àbàá-s*
untie.CV-m watch.CV-m satiate-CAUS-IPFV-DS[.2s/3] father-DEF
kúndīmā-n nìbìnìbì kàbì-r-ē...
bed-ABL slowly get.up-CV-m

'When Afi gets out of bed in the morning he unties the oxen, and while he watches and feeds them, his father slowly gets out of bed...'

(8) *Bǎr* ***tòrì-fē-n*** *wàalì.*
3sm plough-IPFV-DS[.2s/3] get.dark[.3]

'He was ploughing the whole day.' (lit. 'While he was ploughing it became night.')

2.3. Sequential converb

Form The sequential converb occurs in a same subject and a different subject form, but the SS form is far more frequent. The latter is characterised by a suffix *-aa* and a SS suffix *-t*, which is also found with the simultaneous converb. *-aa-t* can be preceded by the imperfective suffix *-f*. The imperfective suffix occurs without the gender marker *-à/-ē* and is inserted between the verb stem and the suffix *-aa-t*:

kò's-ū 'finish (tr.)'

1s	kò's-àa-t	1p	kò's-àa-t
2s	kò's-àa-t	2p	kò's-àa-t
2sPOL	kò's-àa-t	2pPOL	kò's-àa-t
3sf	kò's-àa-t	3pf	kò's-àa-t
3sm	kò's-āa-t	3pm	kò's-āa-t
3sPOL	kò's-āa-t	3pPOL	kò's-āa-t

dūu/kēw-ū 'sit'[17] (IPFV)

1s	dīi-f-āa-t	1p	dīi-f-āa-t
2s	dīi-f-āa-t	2p	díí-sē-f-āa-t
2sPOL	kēy-f-āa-t	2pPOL	kéy-sē-f-āa-t
3sf	dīi-f-āa-t	3pf	díí-sē-f-āa-t
3sm	dīi-f-áa-t	3pm	dīi-sé-f-áa-t
3sPOL	kéy-f-áa-t	3pPOL	kéy-sé-f-áa-t

Gender is marked by tone: *-áa-t* or *-āa-t* (e.g. *dīifáat/kò'sāat*) are the masculine forms and are used for 3rd singular masculine and polite as well as for 3rd plural masculine and polite. Thus, gender is assigned in the same way as in the general converb. The feminine forms of the suffix are *-āa-t* or *-àa-t* (e.g. *dīifāat/kò'sàat*). They are used with all other persons. Mid tone *-āa-t* turns out to be possible both in masculine and in feminine forms. This shows that the suffix tone marking is not absolute but depends on the tone class of the verb. *kò's-ū* 'finish (tr.)' and *dūu/kēw-ū* 'sit' belong to two different tone classes. Within the paradigm of a given verb, the masculine form always carries a higher tone than the feminine form.

The plural suffix *-se* occurs in the plural imperfective forms (except for 1st plural). Here again, however, as elsewhere in the language, plural marking is not compulsory.

In the data, there are only a few instances of a sequential converb which is marked for different subject. Instead of *-t*, the suffixes of the DS converb are added. DS marking seems to be possible both with the simple and the imperfective form of the sequential converb, but I only have a full paradigm of the imperfective:

shak-a 'not do' (IPFV DS)

1s	shák-f-áa-nā[18]	1p	shák-f-áa-nī
2s	shák-f-āa-n	2p	shák-f-áa-nī
2sPOL	shák-f-áa-nī	2pPOL	shák-sé-f-áa-nī
3sf	shák-f-āa-n	3pf	shák-sē-f-āa-n
3sm	shák-f-áa-n	3pm	shák-sé-f-áa-n
3sPOL	shák-f-áa-tē-n	3pPOL	shák-sé-f-áa-tē-n

The gender distinction is not made along the same lines as in the same subject sequential converb: There is a tonal distinction, but most of the forms carry a high tone, not only 3rd person masculine and the polite forms. Still, in the 3rd persons, the

[17] This verb has a polite and a non-polite lexical form. But since the tonal class is the same, this has no implication for the tone of the complex suffix *-aat*.

[18] The person-sensitive DS suffixes are not segmented further in this table because their parts cannot occur separately.

masculine and the polite forms carry a higher tone on the *-aa* suffix than the feminine form.

Use The sequential converb is used when the following verb expresses a new event starting after the completion of the event expressed by the converb. Unlike events coded by general converbs the two actions cannot be in a close semantic relationship or refer to different parts of more complex events. Furthermore, the events have to be in a clear sequence.[19] In most cases the sequential converb could be replaced by a subordinate verb form equivalent to 'after [...]-ing', such as *[...]-nnēén òrfō*, a temporal subordinate verb form described in 3.1. Basically there is no difference in meaning between such an 'after'-form and the sequential converb. Rather, the use of the latter seems to be guided by text structuring decisions.

A further difference to the subordinate temporal verb forms is that the sequential converb is marked for switch-reference: The same or different subject suffixes indicate whether there is subject identity between the subject of the converb and the subject of the following verb. This is not the case with a temporally subordinating form, which needs an overt subject.

The following examples both show the cooccurrence of a sequential converb with a future main verb. Nonetheless, the sequential converb can occur with main verbs of all TAM forms.

(9) *Tà'nī* ***wòst-āà-t*** *yòó-nà.*
quickly work-CV_{SEQ}.f-SS come.IRR-1SFUT
'I'll finish it quickly and then I'll come.'

(10) *"Àkā ússh-ā-**kés-f-āa-t=tū***[20] *kà'ōo-s-īn*
water drink.CV-f-go.out-IPFV-CV_{SEQ}.f-SS=FOC monkey-DEF-ACC.m
múu-ná=wā" *yì-r-ē* *éetó òod-f-ē-nà*
eat.IRR-1SFUT=DECL say-CV-m Lion wait-IPFV-m-1s/3SUB
kābāa-s-ĭk; *(...)*
time-DEF-INSTR
' "After drinking water I will eat the monkey", said Lion while he was waiting. (...)'

Sentence (9) shows a simple, sentence (10) an imperfective sequential converb from the point of view of form, but it is hard to say anything definite about the use of the imperfective suffix *-f* with the sequential converb. With some verbs, it is obligatory,

[19] The use of the sequential converb seems to parallel the use of the so-called *temporal* in Awngi, which conjoins two actions or events that are regarded as individual units (Hetzron 1969:21).

[20] Here, the sequential converb occurs as V_2 of a compound verb.

e.g. *késā* 'go out' with *kés-f-āa-t* as its SS sequential converb form, cf. ex. (10). Like the general converb form *késs-à*, however, *kés-f-āa-t* is a lexicalised form with the meaning 'after'. This fixed use might be the reason why it is always used with the imperfective suffix. In other instances, both the simple and the imperfective forms are correct and do not yield any difference in meaning:

(11) *Wòstō-s-ō* ***kò's-āa-t/*** ***kò'sì-f-āa-t***
work-DEF-ACC.f finish-CV_{SEQ}.m-SS finish-IPFV-CV_{SEQ}.m-SS
kèe-bā *hàmì.*
house-3smPOSS go[.3]
'After finishing the work he went home.'

Even though the sequential converb always marks a clear sequence of events, the imperfective-marked instances of it are characterised by the fact that they can have an impact on the following action or serve as a temporal background for it. Thus, semantically, the imperfective sequential converb has an aspectual value and resembles the perfect. This is not necessarily a contradiction, since perfect and imperfective meaning are very close with initially transformative verbs (cf. *he has hidden* vs. *he is hiding*). There are languages in which there is only one form with both perfect and imperfective readings for initially transformative verbs. It is interesting in this context that Yemsa has no perfect in main verbs.

As an example, consider the following sentence: It shows three instances of the sequential converb, one simple and two imperfective forms.

(12) *Nàwàa-s gàbā* *wědèy kóon-níkī* *wědèy sùrū-sī*
girl-DEF market or relative-ALL.POL or sing.VN-INESS
hàmà-nā *wònàa-s-ōn* ***àrì-f-áa-t***
go.VN-1s/3SUB time-DEF-ACC.f know-IPFV-CV_{SEQ}.m-SS
zòmó-bárī *gèerì-r-ē* *ùgùn-tā āaché-r-ē-**kūn-f-āa-t***[21]
friend-3smPOSS.ACC call-CV-m road-on hide-CV-m-lie-IPFV-CV_{SEQ}.m-SS
nàwàa-s-ō *dīínk'ō* *kàbì-r-ē* *bò'è-r-ē*
girl-DEF-ACC.f unexpectedly stand.up-CV-m kidnap-CV-m
wŏr'-ē-tàamm-ē *kèer* *gèd-nā-ysē*
carry.CV-m-take.CV-m $house_{LOC}$ put.into-1s/3SUB-$TEMP_2$
zòmó-báa-s *bǎsā-s-tā=nāwǎ* *bàrì-s-tā=nà*
friend-3smPOSS-DEF 3smPOSS-DEF-on=and 3sfPOSS-DEF-on=and
gàmàlā-s-ō ***kùlf-āa-t*** *èel-è-r-ē-hàm-è-f-ē.*
door-DEF-ACC.f lock-CV_{SEQ}.m-SS run-PL-CV-m-go-PL-IPFV-m
'He knows the time when the girl goes to the market, to her relatives or to the festivities; he calls his friends, they hide on the road lying (there), then they

suddenly kidnap the girl, take her to the house and put her into it, his friends lock the door behind him and her and run away.'

Two examples of the DS sequential converb follow, sentence (13) with simple, sentence (14) with imperfective forms. However, the instances of the DS sequential converb in the data are too few to allow to draw a conclusion of its use with the imperfective suffix.

(13) *Mā'ā kórmá-nī* *ìnnō* *Yèngàr-kī*
good bull[AMH]-ACC.m 1pPOSS Yem.country-$ATTR_{LOC}$
wòràdā-s-sī ***yèet-āa-n,*** *àáchō-nòn*
province-DEF-INESS introduce-CV_{SEQ}-DS[.2s/3] hidden-ADV
màngǐstī *kìrǎyī* ***kàas-āa-n*** *mīyā àáchō-nòn*
government[AMH] rent[AMH] pay-CV_{SEQ}-DS[.2s/3] cow hidden-ADV
ùp'è-r-à *yàa-r-à* *mā'ā mīi-bà* *kòonī-n*
meet-CV-f come-CV-f good cow-3sfPOSS give.birth-DS[.2s/3]
yòo-nì *sháabó-s-ó* *úsh-fé-ní* *yá.*
come.IRR-REL_{FUT} milk-DEF-ACC.f drink-IPFV-1p PART
'They introduce a good bull to our Yem country; secretly the government pays it; secretly a cow meets it and gives birth to a good cow; we drink its milk.'

(14) *Tá zàgū* ***shák-f-áa-nā*** *bèyì.*
1s do.VN not.do-IPFV-CV_{SEQ}-DS.1s abandon[.3]
'He left [me] because/after I did not do [what he wanted].'

2.4. Simultaneous converb

Form The simultaneous converb has a suffix *-t*, which can be added either directly to the Realis stem or to a stem with an imperfective suffix *-fà/-fē*. This suffix has to be analysed as SS suffix, since it also occurs with the same subject SEQ converb. Consequently, there is no special SIM suffix, and the simultaneous reading seems to be induced by the non-occurrence of the sequential suffix.

As for gender marking, a distinction must be made between simple and imperfective forms. In the simple simultaneous converb, gender is marked by the tone on the last vowel, i.e. the stem vowel. In the case of a-class verbs where the behaviour of the stem vowel is irregular (cf. 2.1 above) the stem vowel is *-e* in the SIM converb. High or rising tone indicates masculine; low or mid tone indicates feminine.

[2] This is another example of a sequential converb occurring as V_2 of a compound verb.

The masculine form is again – as with the other gender-marked converbs except the imperfective DS sequential converb – used for 3rd person singular masculine and polite as well as for 3rd person plural masculine and polite forms, while the feminine is used for the remaining forms.

In the imperfective simultaneous converb the gender marker is the *-à/ē* suffix, which is not only used with the general converb, but also with the finite imperfective verb. The suffix *-é* is an allomorph of the plural suffix *-se*.

In order to exemplify the formation of the simultaneous converb in both its simple and imperfective forms the following tables are given:

kàss-ō 'play'

1s	kàss-è-t	1p	kàss-è-t
2s	kàss-è-t	2p	kàss-è-t
2sPOL	kàss-è-t	2pPOL	kàss-è-t
3sf	kàss-è-t	3pf	kàss-è-t
3sm	kàss-ě-t	3pm	kàss-ě-t
3sPOL	kàss-ě-t	3pPOL	kàss-ě-t

kéem-ā 'watch' (IPFV)

1s	kéem-f-à-t	1p	kéem-fà-t
2s	kéem-f-à-t	2p	kéem-fà-t
2sPOL	kéem-f-à-t	2pPOL	kéem-é-fà-t
3sf	kéem-f-à-t	3pf	kéem-é-fà-t
3sm	kéem-f-**ē**-t	3pm	kéem-é-f-**ē**-t
3sPOL	kéem-f-**ē**-t	3pPOL	kéem-é-f-ē-t

Use The simultaneous converb is used when the action referred to by the converb and the following action occur simultaneously. The imperfective form seems to convey an exact temporal overlap of the two events, whereas with the simple (=aspect-unmarked) form the events occur only roughly at the same time, without the implication that they have the same duration. In other words, the imperfective form is more focal than the simple one. But in order to state the difference properly, more investigation is needed on this topic.

The next example shows a sentence in which the two actions encoded by converbs are only in a general simultaneous relation, not a focal temporally co-extensive one. This is reinforced by the nature of the main verb *gě'-ē-fèe-fē* 'live proudly', which extends semantically over a longer, undefined period.

(15) *Zōmō-bèsì-nèen=tú* ***wòllě-t*** ***kàssě-t***
friend-3sfPOL.POSS-COMIT=FOC talk.m-SS play.m-SS
gě'-ē-fèe-f-ē.
be.proud.CV-m-live-IPFV-m

'She chats with her friends and is proud.'

The next example shows an imperfective simultaneous converb. Since plural marking is facultative in Yemsa, it is not marked on the converb (but it is marked on the main verb). This sentence was also accepted with a simple converb form by the informants.

(16) *...wàagà-s-ō* ***kéem-f-ē-t*** *shòwō tésā kàssō kàssè-sé-f-ē.*
livestock-DEF-ACC.f watch-IPFV-m-SS many kind game play-PL-IPFV-m
'...while watching the livestock they play many different kinds of games.'

2.5. Negative converb

Form In order to form the negative converb the suffix *-nòyí* is attached to the Irrealis[22] stem of the verb. This is the stem which ends either in *-a*, *-o* or *-u*, depending on the verb class (cf. paragraph 2.1 above). The suffix *-nòyí* is the same for all persons and both genders.

Again, a plural suffix can optionally be inserted before the converb suffix: In this case, it is *-so* instead of *-se*. *-so* is used with Irrealis verb forms. It occurs in the 2nd person plural and the 3rd person plural forms.

There is a possibility of supplementing the negative converb by *fàat/fèēt*, which has to be analysed as the same subject converb of the verb *fòo* 'be there, live'. Although the Yemsa imperfective suffix *-f-* is clearly derived from this verb, here we have to treat *fàat/fèēt* as a full verb rather than a suffix because the full verb form is still identifiable. This is also the informants' suggestion.

The following paradigm exemplifies this and shows the negative converb followed by the same subject converb of the verb *fòo* 'be there, live':

yòo/òf-ō 'come' (+ fòo 'be there, live' (CV_{SIM} SS))

1s	yòo-nòyí (**f-àa-t**)	1p	yòo-nòyí (f-àa-t)
2s	yòo-nòyí (**f-àa-t**)	2p	yòo-sò-nòyí (f-àa-t)
2sPOL	òfō-nōyí (**f-àa-t**)	2pPOL	òf-sò-nòyí (**f-àa-t**)
3sf	yòo-nòyí (**f-àa-t**)	3pf	yòo-sò-nòyí (**f-àa-t**)
3sm	yòo-nòyí (**f-èē-t**)	3pm	yòo-sò-nòyí (**f-èē-t**)
3sPOL	òfō-nōyí (**f-èē-t**)	3pPOL	òf-sō-nōyí (**f-èē-t**)

A form which has to be mentioned in this context is the negative converb extended by an imperfective and a DS suffix. In this case, the ending *-fee*-DS/*-faa*-DS cannot be analysed as a verb form in its own right because it is not simply the combination of the verb 'be there' with a DS suffix. Rather, the forms have their own

[22] Irrealis stem and verbal noun are identical in form. But since *-nòyí* is not a nominal suffix and other, clearly verbal suffixes can be added to it (see below), it is more plausible to state that the base of the negative converb is the Irrealis stem, not the verbal noun.

paradigm, although the converb extensions *-faa/-fee* differ from the simple DS forms of the verb *fòo* 'be there' only in two of the forms and some of the tones[23]:

yòo/òf-ō 'come' (IPFV DS)

1s	yòo-nòyí-fàa-nà	1p	yòo-nòyí-fàa-nì
2s	yòo-nòyí-**fèe-n**	2p	yòo-nòyí-fàa-nì
2sPOL	òfō-nōyí-fàa-nì	2pPOL	òf-sò-nòyí-fàa-sè-nì
3sf	yòo-nòyí-**fēe-n**	3pf	yòo-sò-nòyí-fàa-sè-n
3sm	yòo-nòyí-fēe-n	3pm	yòo-sò-nòyí-fèe-sè-n
3sPOL	òfō-nōyí-fèe-tē-n	3pPOL	òf-sō-nōyí-fèe-sè-tē-n

fòo 'be there, live' (DS)

1s	fàa-nā	1p	fàa-nì
2s	**fàa-n**	2p	fàa-nì
2sPOL	fàa-nì	2pPOL	fàa-sè-nī
3sf	**fàa-n**	3pf	fàa-sè-n
3sm	fèe-n	3pm	fèe-sè-n
3sPOL	fèe-tēn	3pPOL	fèe-sè-tēn

The fact that *-nòyí* can be simplified to *-nōy* or *-nō* in these forms is a further indication that – contrarily to the instances of negative converb + [fòo]-SS – what we have here is a combined form of negative converb with the suffixes -IPFV-DS.

Use The negative converb is used when the first action is not carried out, but the second one (the one following the converb) is. This can either convey the meaning that the action referred to by the converb is not performed at all (cf. sentence (17)), or that the first action is not performed *before* the second one, but maybe later (cf. sentence (18)). The reading depends on the situation.

(17) *Àfàdū* ***mùu-nòyí*** *kúní.*
A. eat.IRR-CV_{NEG} lie.down[.3]
'Afadu went to sleep without having eaten.'

(18) *Tíchā* ***tìch-ù-nòyí*** *mèéthà'ū mú-nā.*
letter write-IRR-CV_{NEG} dinner eat.IRR-1SFUT
'Before writing a letter I will have dinner.'

The subject of the converb and of the following verb have to be the same unless a DS suffix is attached (see above).

[23] However, I have to admit that the tones in this paradigm are not well established and the inconsistencies (also with respect to ex. 20) need re-checking.

The negative converb itself is not marked for aspect or tense. It can occur with main verbs of different TAM types, as exemplified by the sentences above. The lack of aspect marking on this converb may be due to the fact that the question is not whether the converb action occurs simultaneously with the main verb action or rather precedes it. Rather, the converb action either does not take place at all or it occurs after the main verb action.

Using the negative converb together with *fàat/fèēt* does not change the meaning of the sentence:

(19) ***Mùu-nòyí*** ***(f-àa-t)*** *Àfàdū kúní.*
eat.IRR-CV_{NEG} be.there-f-SS A. lie.down[.3]
'Afadu went to sleep without having eaten.'

The complex suffix -IPFV-DS is used to mark DS reference of the following verb. An aspectual meaning does not seem to be associated with this suffix in spite of the imperfective component. One could speculate that in an earlier stage of the language the verb *fòo* was – for whatever reason – needed in order to attach the DS suffix to the negative converb. Later, in the course of grammaticalisation, it lost its meaning, since an aspectual dichotomy with the negative converb is not needed anyway, as I argued above.

(20) *Àfàdū* ***bìí-nōyī-fèe-n*** *Àfī kúní.*
A. see.IRR-CV_{NEG}-IPFV-DS[.2s/3] A. lie.down[.3]
'Afi went to sleep without Afadu having seen him/ before Afadu saw him.'

3. Specialised subordinate forms

The verb forms discussed in this section are a distinct set used in subordinate contexts. They are included in this study because they are very similar to converbs, but differ in some regards. I decided not to call them converbs because of their person suffixes which may be regarded as finite marking, even though the person suffixes are not the same as on main verbs[24]. They differ from most converbs not in their subordination status, but in their semantics, which is conveyed by suffixes added after the person markers and is very specific. Adapting Nedjalkov's 'specialised converbs' (1995:107f) I call them *specialised subordinate forms*. They include temporal, conditional, purposive and similative concepts, as well as two special cases: The relative form which is not subordinate to another clause, but is used adnominally, and a general subordinate form which is rare and whose semantics remain unclear. The latter

[24] The future main verb is an exception, since its person suffixes are also used for some specialised subordinate forms, see below.

two forms are included in the description because they make use of the same person suffixes as other specialised subordinate forms. The following description is intended to give a clearer image of how these forms function and how to delimit them from the converbs. As they are not central to the present article I restrict myself to the main characteristics of the most important specialised subordinate forms.

The person suffixes occur in three – very similar – sets which are shown in the first three of the following tables. One set is also used with main verbs in future tense. They are compared to the ones of the Simple main verb:

Specialised subordinate 1

1s	**-nā**	1p	-nī
2s	**-tā**	2p	-tī
2POL		-nī	
3		**-nā**	
3POL		**-tē**	

Specialised subordinate 2

1s	**-nā / -nà**	1p	-nī / -nì
2s	**-tā / -tà**	2p	-tī / -tì
2POL		-nī / -nì	
3		**-nā / -nà**	
3POL		**-∅**	

Future (main/subordinate)

1s	**-nā**	1p	-nì
2s	**-tā**	2p	-ti
2POL		-nī	
3		**-nā**	
3POL		**-nē**	

Simple (main verb)

1s	-n	1p	-nī
2s	-t	2p	-tī
2POL		-nī	
3		-∅	
3POL		**-tē**	

The three sets of subordinate person suffixes differ – besides some tonal differences – only in the 3rd person polite form, which is either *-te*, *-ne* or *-∅*. Thus, the first two sets are nearly identical to the person markers of the future main verb. The first set is used with temporal 1 (Realis variant), temporal 2, conditional, similative, negative purposive and general subordinate. The second set is used for relative and similative (imperfective). The suffixes carrying mid tone are used in the simple forms, while those carrying low tone are used when they occur after an IPFV suffix *-fa/-fe*. The person suffixes of the future main verb themselves are also used with some specialised subordinate forms, namely the future-related ones: temporal 'until' and purposive.

The differences between the Simple main verb and the specialised subordinate person suffixes are bigger than the ones between the different sets of specialised subordinate person markers, but still slight. They consist of an additional vowel *-a* in the 1st and 2nd person singular, a suffix *-na* in the 3rd person and, in case of the markers of future and set 2 of the specialised subordinate forms, of different 3rd person polite forms. Even though they are slight, these differences are found in the most frequent person forms.

After the verb stem a plural suffix can be inserted. Since plural marking is

optional in Yemsa, this marking is optional for plural verbs, too. The plural suffix is the same as in other verb forms, namely *-se* for Realis and *-so* for Irrealis verb stems.

With all of the specialised subordinate forms except the general subordinate, the imperfective *-fà/-fē* can be used between the verb stem or plural suffix and the person suffix. Its functions are not the same with all forms, but they cannot be discussed here.

The different forms are grouped according to their suffixes. However, it is important to note that one suffix can have different meanings depending on other formatives used with the verb form. Interestingly, all of the suffixes can be used as case markers on nominals as well, in most cases with different – yet related – meanings. As it is often the case in Omotic, many grammatical formatives are not confined to either verbs or nominals in Yemsa. Or, to put it another way, this fact could point to a nominal origin of the forms in question, but this claim remains speculative.

3.1. Temporal 1 *-nnēén*

The first temporal subordinate form in Yemsa can be combined both with Realis and Irrealis verb forms. It is constructed with an optional plural marker, a person suffix of the first set (Realis verb form) or future set (Irrealis verb form) and a suffix *-nnēén*.

(21) *Wàagàa-s dèy mīyā, fàntū, fizō, fàzà, hànyā kót-é-sé-r-ē*
livestock-DEF TOP cow sheep goat horse donkey untie-PL-PL-CV-m
féesh-dīmā ***hàm-è-nā-nnēén*** *wàagàa-s-ō*
spend.the.day-place go-PL-1s/3SUB-TEMP$_1$ livestock-DEF-ACC.f
kéem-f-ē-t shòwō tésā kàssō kàssè-sé-f-ē.
watch-IPFV-m-SS many kind game play-PL-IPFV-m
'The livestock are cows, sheep, goats, horses and donkeys, and when they have untied them and gone to the place where they spend the day, they play many kinds of games while watching the livestock.'

(22) *Bàassò* ***kár'-ō-nē-nnēén*** *nìbì-r-à-yòo-tì.*
3pPOL reach-PL.IRR-3POL.FUT-TEMP$_1$ be.slow-CV-f-come.IRR-2p
'Come slowly until they have come (here).'

With the Irrealis verb form (ex. (22)) *-nneen* has the meaning 'until', whereas with the Realis verb form (ex. (21)) the reading is sequential. Very often, however, the latter form is followed by an adverb which specifies the temporal relation to the next event. In the following example, this is done by *hànkàlō* 'after'. A lot of different adverbs and lexicalised converbs can be used in that position, such as 'after', 'before',

'since' etc.[25]

(23) *...dàwòó-s hóoré tòshàa-s-tā* ***dīī-nā-nnēén*** ***hànkàlō*** *hóoré*
people-DEF prepare leaves-DEF-on sit-1s/3SUB-TEMP$_1$ after prepare
mūu wŏsh-tē-r-à...
food serve.food-PASS
'...after the people have sat down on the prepared leaves, the prepared food is served...'

The suffix *-neen* (without a geminate *n* and a tonal register depending on the preceding noun) can occur on nouns, where it is either used with comitative meaning on nouns denoting persons or together with a postposition indicating temporal or spatial relations. Further research on tonal behaviour is needed in order to see if the comitative and the spatial/temporal meanings are differentiated formally.

(24) *băr băsā* ***àbà-s-néen*** *Sòkŏrrū hàmì.*
3sm 3smPOSS father-DEF-COMIT S. go[.3]
'He went to Sokoru with his father.'

(25) *hèp* ***nèyà-nèēn*** *sìnà-k*
two year-TEMP$_1$ front-INSTR
'two years ago'

The spatial/temporal use of the suffix *-nèēn* with nouns parallels the verbal temporal use of *-nnēén*, and the shape of the tonal contour is the same. Both the verbal and the nominal suffix probably stem from the same source. The relation to the comitative meaning is less clear, although a connection certainly exists.[26]

3.2. Temporal 2 *-(y)sē*

The second temporal form is built on the Realis verb form, an optional plural marker, a person suffix of set 1 and a temporal suffix *-(y)sē*. The variants with or without *y* seem to occur in free variation. Where there is no *y* the vowel of the person suffix is lengthened (ex. (26); for the whole sentence cf. ex. (6)).

(26) ***Yèe-sè-tēe-sē*** *ēwāa-s-ōn* *kách'é-r* *kāch'ē-n...*
come-PL-3POL.SUB-TEMP$_2$ enset-DEF-ACC.f cut.m-NML cut-DS[.2s/3]
'When they have come the enset cutters cut...'

[25] Part of them are also used as postpositions after nouns with the suffix *-neen*, such as *sìnàk* 'before, ago' (cf. ex. (25) below).

[26] Johanna Mattissen (p.c.) points to the fact that the interrelation between comitative and temporal is a widespread phenomenon cross-linguistically; cf. German: *Mit Peters Kommen stieg die Stimmung.* 'When Peter came (lit. **with** Peter's coming) the general mood improved.'

Semantically, a sequential reading is common (ex. (26)), although a simultaneous reading seems possible in (27). More research is needed on this.

(27) *Àfì kèer wǒll-ē ùfĕsshū-bā* ***mèé-nā-ysē***
A. house$_{LOC}$ return.CV-m breakfast-3smPOSS eat-1s/3SUB-TEMP$_2$
àtē ày-bàá-s wàagàa-s-ō kótt-ē
younger brother-3smPOSS-DEF livestock-DEF-ACC.f untie.CV-m
kìsì-nā-nnēén fìgā èpp'-ē kūwā kùurì-r-ē ì'ō
take.out-1s/3SUB-TEMP$_1$ dung take.CV-m grass cut.grass-CV-m wood
kèpp'-ē késsē ésī-sī-mātó kèyà-s-sī
collect.CV-m after [lit: go.out.CV-m] that-GEN.DEF-like house-DEF-INESS
shól-sí wòstōo-s-ō zùutāmbàsē wòstĕ-r.
want-CAUS work-DEF-ACC.f all work.m-NML
'Afi returns and while/after he eats his breakfast, his younger brother unties the livestock and takes them out, (then) he (Afi) takes dung, harvests grass, collects wood and then does every necessary work in the house (like this).'

The temporal 2 suffix *-(y)sē* occurs on nominals as *-yse*[27] with similative meaning:

(28) *Nèe-**ysè** f-é nàá-tā f-èé-r./ Nèe-**ysé** f-à*
2s-like be.there-m child.m-1sPOSS.m be.there-m-NML 2s-like be.there-f
nàa-nà f-àa-r.
child.f-1sPOSS.f be.there-f-NML
'I have a child of the same age/size as yours.'

3.3. Conditional *-nē*

The conditional is formed from the Realis stem, a person suffix and a conditional suffix *-nē*. This form is used both with the factual and the counterfactual (together with the auxiliary *sìnà* 'become' in the latter case), as shown below in examples (29) and (30). There is also a suffix *-aa* which cannot be analysed as part of the imperfective marker before the person suffix because it also occurs without the imperfective *-f*. This suffix is probably identical with the formative of the sequential converb, and the tonal behaviour seems to be the same as the one of the CV$_{SEQ}$ suffix followed by the DS markers. Unfortunately, I do not have full paradigms, with all tones, of the conditional.

[27] No generalisation can be made on its tone yet. In ex. (28) *-yse* is used with low tone in the first case and with high tone in the second one.

(29) *Cháatī* ***kóy-f-áa-nā-nē*** *àfǎy' àané tàa-n èp'-f-ē/*
khat chew-IPFV-CV_{SEQ}-1s/3SUB-COND sleep NEG 1s-ACC take-IPFV-m
àané àfǎ'ī-tē-f-à-t.
NEG sleep-PASS-IPFV-f-1sNEG
'If I chew khat, I cannot sleep.'

(30) *Wàag-nà f-àa-r*[28] ***sìn-f-àá-nā-nē***
money-1sPOSS be.there-f-NML become-IPFV-CV_{SEQ}-3s-COND
sìnìmā-nì kèer hàmà-nā ***kābā.***
cinema-GEN $house_{LOC}$ go.IRR-1sFUT IRR
'If I had money I would go to the cinema.'

Interestingly, the conditional suffix, too, has similative meaning when used on nominals:

(31) ***kànà-nē*** *f-àa-r.*
dog-like be.there-f-NML
'It's like a dog.'

3.4. Purposive *-k*

The purposive is formed from the Irrealis stem, a person suffix of the future set and a suffix *-k*. The person suffix is omitted if there is subject identity between the subordinate and the main clause (33).

(32) *Nèé* ***úsh-á-tā-k*** *būnāa-s-sī bàr ìmàtā*
2s drink-IRR-2sSUB-PURP coffee-DEF-INESS 3sf butter
gèdì=wā.
put.into[.3]=DECL
'She added butter to the coffee for you to drink it.'

(33) *Shólé-ní wūzā* ***wàag-ō-k*** *chìmà-nī.*
want-1p thing trade[29]-IRR-PURP can-1p
'We can buy what we want.'

With the Realis stem, the imperfective and the suffix *-k* a concessive meaning is conveyed:

[28] In (30), *wàag-nà f-àa-r*, which could also be uttered as an independent sentence, functions as subject of the verb *sìn-f-àá-nā-nē*.

[29] In Yemsa, the notions 'buy' and 'sell' are both rendered by *wàagō*, which can be specified by 'take' or 'take to', if necessary.

(34) ***Kùn-sì-f-ē-nà-k*** *àané màkó=wá.*
lie-CAUS-IPFV-m-1s/3SUB-PURP NEG tell=DECL
'Even though he put it down she did not tell.'

On nominal roots, the suffix *-k* has dative or instrumental meaning[30].

(35) *Nàanggòtàa-s* ***hàarō-k*** *kàssè-sē-dī-f-ā.*
children-DEF stick-INSTR play-PL-PROG-IPFV-f
'The children are playing with a stick.'

3.5. Similative *-mātó*

This suffix has several verbal uses, but it is perhaps best understood if we begin with its function on nominals. There it is used together with a genitive suffix to render a similative meaning 'like', as *ésī-sī-mātó* 'like this' in example (27) above.

With verbs, it can also be used as a similative. To the Realis stem and an optional plural suffix a person suffix of set 1 (Simple) or 2 (imperfective), a definite genitive suffix *-si* and the suffix *-mātó* are added. The person suffix gets lengthened in this construction.

(36) *Àané* ***màké-nāa-sī-mātó*** *wòsùs-tò-wā.*
NEG speak-1sSUB-GEN-like work.PL-3pNEG-NEG
'They did not do as I had told.'

Another function of the suffix *-mātó* is its use as a complementiser of indirect speech with verbs of saying, hearing and cognition. In this function, the suffix is used without the genitive suffix *-si* and is added directly after the person suffix of set 1.

(37) *Àbà-báa-s-ík* *dùpè-r-ē* ***féesh-nā-mātó****=nàwǎ*
father-3sPOSS-DEF-DAT hunt-CV-m spend.the.day-1s/3SUB-like=and
òo-nèén ***dùp-sè-nā-mātó****=nà* *dèy ǎppún* *mīyā*
who-COMIT hunt-PL-1s/3SUB-like=and also how.many cow
bòojè-sé-nā-mātó *màk-sé.*
capture-PL-1s/3SUB-like tell[.3]-PL
'They told their father that they had spent the day hunting, with whom they were hunting and how many cows they had captured.'

Together with the suffix *-nòyí* otherwise occurring in the negative converb the suffix *-mātó* has negative purposive meaning. In this construction, too, the person suffixes of set 1 are used, in contrast to the positive purposive, where the future suffixes are used.

[30] Cf. also ex. (37) and (40) below; there, *-k* occurs with an epenthetic *-i*.

(38) *Mīyā* ***gìrù-nòyí-nā-mātó*** *gĭmbī* *kèer'-nī.*
cow enter.IRR-CV_{NEG}-1s/3SUB-like wall[AMH] build-1p
'We built a wall lest the cows enter.'

3.6. Relative

In Yemsa, a relative clause has no characteristic formatives. It is recognised as such by its position before its head noun and carries no person suffix if the subject of the relative clause is the head noun. A relative form is built with a Simple or imperfective verb and, if necessary, a person suffix of set 2, which indicates the subject of the relative clause if it is not identical with its head noun. This is illustrated by *hóossí-nā sàwsāa-s-ōn* 'the spices she had prepared' in the following example:

(39) *gēyā sòokk-à, gāwāa-s-ōn tè'-à, mù'ì-r-à*
fire light.CV-f pot-DEF-ACC.f put.on.fire.CV-f cut-CV-f
hóossí-nā *sàwsāa-s-ōn sīr gèdd-à, óomā óomā*
prepare.CAUS-1s/3SUB spice-DEF-ACC.f into put.into.CV-f other other
sàwsā dàysì-r-à, mā'ā ùtō kòotè.
spice add-CV-f good sauce cook[.3]
'...she lit the fire and put the pot on it, put spices she had prepared into it, added other spices and cooked a good sauce.'

Very often, an imperfective relative clause with 'time' in the instrumental case as its head noun is used as another means to express temporal relations:

(40) *mèshmét-nì wònà* ***kār'-f-à-nà*** *kābāa-s-ĭk*
lunch-GEN time reach-IPFV-f-1s/3SUB time-DEF-INSTR
'at lunchtime' (lit. 'at the time when lunchtime reaches')

3.7. General subordinate -rè

This form is the least understood subordinate form in Yemsa. Its use is very rare. In the available data, only one instance in spontaneous speech was found (cf. ex. (41)). Other instances could be elicited (e.g. ex. (42)). The conditions of its use remain unclear. In all instances it can be replaced by a converbal form: either by the general or by the simultaneous converb, depending on the situation to be described. This is probably one reason why it is found so sparsely. Its main difference to the two converbs by which it can be replaced is that person is marked on it.

The main feature of the general subordinate is a person suffix of set 1. It is added to the Simple Realis verb stem and is followed by an invariable suffix *-rè*. This

suffix is reminiscent of the *-r-à/ē* general converb suffix, but the difference is that in the general subordinate suffix *-rè* there is no gender differentiation and the tone is always low.

(41) *Óom-íi(s) ússh-ē* ***zàyè-nā-rè***=*tŭ* *màngū wòstō*
other-DEF drink.CV-m get.drunk-1s/3SUB-SUB=FOC bad work
wòstĕ-t *f-èe-f-ē.*
work.m-SS live-m-IPFV-m
'Others drink too much and do bad work (as a consequence).'

(42) *Băr* ***tòrì-nā-rè*** *féeshí.*
3sm plough-1s/3SUB-SUB spend.the.day[.3]
'He spent the day ploughing.'

The general subordinate form can be used both for a sequence of events (41) and for events occurring simultaneously (42). If it describes a sequence, it can be replaced by the general converb, whereas with simultaneous events it can be replaced by the simultaneous converb.

The subject of the general subordinate has to be the same as the one of the following verb. This restriction is not there with the other person-marked forms.

4. Discussion

4.1. What is a converb?

The term 'converb' has been used for a large variety of constructions, which does not facilitate a comparison of converbs across languages and especially across language areas. One has to be aware of the researcher's converb definition when reading descriptions. I do not intend to start the discussion about what should be called a converb in general here, but I want to make the converb definition used in this article explicit.

Van der Auwera in his 1998 paper offers a survey of what has been called converb in the literature. His clarification is very useful in making the properties of so-called converbs explicit. The following table is the essence of his findings:

It is generally accepted that a converb is a dependent verb form which cannot constitute a sentence on its own and which is neither the argument of another predicate nor a nominal modifier. This excludes functionally finite verb forms as well as verbal nouns and participles. Beyond this point the definitions vary. Some linguists, e.g. Haspelmath (1995), only accept subordinate verb forms which are not morphologically finite as converbs and argue for a converb definition 'sensu stricto'.

+dependent, -argumental, -adnominal			
+embedded 'subordinate'		-embedded 'cosubordinate'	
+finite	-finite	+finite	-finite
subordinate mood	converb *sensu stricto*	inflected narrative converb 'cosubordinate mood'	medial verb
converb *sensu latiore*			

Table 1: Converb definitions found in the literature (Van der Auwera 1998)

Others adopt a broader definition and include all dependent, non-argumental, non-adnominal verb forms – comprising embedded as well as non-embedded and finite as well as non-finite forms – in their definition. Nedjalkov's (1995) converb is of the 'sensu latiore' type.

Regardless of the converb definition adopted, '[w]hat is most important, of course, is that anyone who cares to state that a certain language does or does not have converbs, must make clear how (s)he uses the term' (Van der Auwera 1998:281). The converb definition adopted in this paper can be explained as follows:

I reject the converb *sensu stricto* definition and include the 'medial verbs' because they share very important properties with so-called converbs in languages where the term 'converb' has a long tradition, especially in Altaic languages.[31] But contrary to the *sensu latiore* definition I do not call finite forms converbs because the term 'converb' would then become too vague.

In the following section the status of the Yemsa converbs with respect to finiteness will be discussed in order to explain on which grounds the term 'converb' is justified for the verb forms in question and why the specialised subordinate forms should not

[31] Of course, they are not called 'medial verbs' in descriptions of Altaic languages, but their syntactic status is essentially the same as that of the verb forms commonly called *medial verbs*, in e.g. Papuan languages. This is also acknowledged by Haspelmath (1995:23): "The key difference [between converbs and medial verbs, SZ] lies in the fact that prototypical converbal clauses are subordinate [...] while prototypical medial clauses in clause-chaining constructions are not subordinate, but cosubordinate". Thus, he does not treat the Altaic general converb (e.g. Turkic *-Ip*) as a prototypical converb, as he states elsewhere (ibid.:8): "According to my definition, this [use in a chaining construction, SZ] is not a central, typical use of the converb because it is not really adverbial." If we reject the restriction that converbs need to be subordinate, medial verbs become a category of converbs.

be treated as converbs. After that, the embeddedness properties are examined – even though they do not play a role in the converb definition adopted here – in order to fit them into Van der Auwera's categories described in table 1 above.

4.2. Finiteness

As the converb is by definition a dependent, i.e. functionally non-finite verb form, the term finiteness as it is used here is to be understood referring to morphology. Finiteness is not an absolute, but a relative term, since the categories marked on a verb are not the same across languages – nor on different verb forms within a single language. It refers to the question which grammatical categories are marked on the converb compared to a non-dependent main verb. Here, we come across the problem of the graduality of finiteness. As soon as there are different converb types in a language – as is the case in Yemsa –, we may find that one is more finite than another, i.e. more grammatical categories can be marked. Yet it need not be as finite as a main verb. Where, then, do we draw the line between finite and non-finite forms? This question has to be answered language-specifically.

For Yemsa, I decided to call the forms with person marking finite, but not the ones with person-sensitive or gender marking. Concerning aspect and tense marking, all converbs and specialised subordinate forms are less finite than the main verb, since perfective/imperfective aspect is the only category which can be marked on dependent verb forms. Thus, even though the possibility of aspect marking differs across the dependent verb forms, this does not lead to finiteness differences compared to the main verb. In order to get the most meaningful differentiation, person marking was chosen as the main finiteness-relevant property, even though the morphological person markers are only in part identical for specialised subordinate forms and main verbs (cf. the paradigms shown in section 3). This means that I draw a line between more and less finite dependent verb forms – which are still less finite than the main verb! – and call them finite and non-finite. Doing so, the dependent verb forms can be classified as belonging to one of two types, namely the finite specialised subordinate forms and the non-finite converbs.

It is important to note that the difference between person-sensitive and person marking, which is crucial for the distinction of finite and non-finite forms as it is done here, manifests itself not only in different suffixes, but also in the position of these suffixes: the person suffixes occur before the specialised subordinate suffixes, whereas the person-sensitive suffixes occur after the DS suffix or are fused with it (except for the 3rd person polite form).

The following tables are overviews of the finiteness properties of the converbs

and the specialised subordinate verb forms[32], respectively. It becomes clear that the differences in finiteness are gradual. In the rightmost column of each table, the properties of the Realis main verb are given for comparison. The switch-reference properties are included even though they are not relevant to finiteness, just to give a more complete picture of the different categories marked on converbs. '-' and '+' refer to the presence or absence of switch-reference marking on the converb in question. 'SS' and 'DS' in the brackets indicate the switch-reference value conveyed by the marking (or by its absence, respectively).

	CV_{NEG}	CV	CV_{SEQ}	CV_{SIM}	CV_{NEG} DS	DS	CV_{SEQ} DS	main verb
Person	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Pers.-sens.	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
Gender	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	(+)[33]
Number	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
PFV/IPFV	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
PROG	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
SR	-(SS)	-(SS)	+(SS)	+(SS)	+(DS)	+(DS)	+(DS)	-

Table 2a: Grammatical categories marked on converbs

Out of the five basic Yemsa converb forms (i.e. CV_{NEG}, CV, CV_{SEQ}, CV_{SIM} and DS), one has person-sensitive marking and three are marked for gender. There are two additional converb forms with person-sensitive marking: the DS forms of the sequential and the negative converbs. The distinction between the basic and the combined converbs is purely formal: The DS SEQ and DS NEG converbs combine converb markers which otherwise occur alone to form a converb. Concerning TAM marking, besides the Realis - Irrealis difference, which is marked on the verb stem with all converbs, some converbs allow aspect marking. It is confined to imperfective marking and occurs in four out of the seven converbs.

Table 2b shows that the specialised subordinate forms do not make use of either gender or person-sensitive or switch-reference marking, since these categories give only limited information about the subject or subject change and are redundant if the finite strategy of person marking is used.

[32] From here on, the relative form is no longer included, since it is not dependent on another clause and therefore not relevant for our discussion.

[33] In main verbs, gender is marked only with the imperfective, including progressive.

	$TEMP_1$	$TEMP_2$	COND	PURP	SIMIL	generalSUB	main verb
Person	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Pers.-sens.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gender	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)
Number	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
PFV/IPFV	+	+	+	-	-	-	+
PROG	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
SR	-	-	-	-	-	-(SS)	-

Table 2b: Grammatical categories marked on specialised subordinate forms

4.3. Embeddedness

A dependent clause can be of an embedded or non-embedded type. An embedded dependent clause is subordinate, a non-embedded dependent clause is cosubordinate (cf. table 1).

Haspelmath (1995) gives various criteria for subordination. Of those, variable position of subordinate clauses and the possibility of main clause discontinuity proved to be the most helpful ones in distinguishing subordinate (embedded) and cosubordinate (non-embedded) dependent verb forms in Yemsa. Concerning variable position of subordinate clauses, we have to specify that they can only be interchanged between themselves. They are not allowed to stand after the main verb, since the main verb occupies the last position of the sentence in every case. Furthermore, a converb which is used adverbially is likely to be subordinate to the main verb; in contrast to a converb in a chaining construction, which is to be regarded as cosubordinate.

General converb The general converb is used mainly in a consecutive manner in a chain of events, or without a specified temporal relation between the events. In this case it is not adverbially subordinate to another verb. Unlike a subordinate clause, its position in the sentence cannot be varied without a change in meaning. Even though there are some instances of adverbial, even lexicalised use - which is indeed common for a general converb cross-linguistically - the general converb has to be considered a non-embedded, i.e. **cosubordinate** verb form.

Different subject converb In the same chain of events as the general converb, the DS converb can occur without a restriction of the number of such converbs used in one chain. Again, variation of position will result in a change in meaning. Thus, the different subject converb is a **cosubordinate** verb form as well.

Sequential converb The sequential converb is the third converb type which can be used in a chain. There is no restriction on the number of instances in the same chain, and a change in the order of the chain links results in a change in meaning. The difference to the general converb is not syntactic, but only semantic in that it is more specialised and indicates that a new, different situation is about to start. It too has to be regarded as a **cosubordinate** verb form.

Simultaneous converb This converb is used adverbially to describe the manner of another action, which comes naturally because of the strict simultaneity of the events. If there are several instances of it subordinate to the same verb, a change in order does not affect the meaning of the sentence. This converb is a **subordinate** verb form.

Negative converb The status of embeddedness of the negative converb is not easy to determine since there have not been extensive tests carried out for this converb. But there are two facts which show that the negative converb is to be regarded as adverbially **subordinate**: First, a discontinued main clause is possible with both the simple and the DS forms. The second fact is illustrated by the following example:

(43) *Tá **mùu-nòyí*** *àané hàm-ùt.*
1s eat.IRR-CV$_{NEG}$ NEG go-1sNEG
'I did not go without having eaten.' = 'Having eaten I went' and not: 'I didn't eat and (then) I didn't go'.

The simple negative converb in this sentence cannot be analysed as a link in a chaining sequence, but it is used to specify in what manner the main or next verb action is carried out: namely by not performing (or before performing) the converb action.

Specialised subordinate verb forms Specialised subordinate forms are not used in a chaining sequence. The temporal forms, however, can be used as final verbs of such a sequence – and thus subordinate the whole sequence to the main verb – but never form a sequence on their own (for an example of this see the temporal 2 form *gèd-nā-ysē* 'when they have put into' ex. (12) above). It is common to have a discontinuous main clause interrupted by the clause which contains a specialised subordinate form. This justifies calling them **subordinate** verb forms.

The only difficult case is the general subordinate form. Due to the small number of examples, it is difficult to decide whether it is used in a chain of actions or whether it is adverbially subordinate to another verb. Example (42) would suggest the latter. It is impossible, on the other hand, to have a discontinuous main clause with the general subordinate form, which would point to a cosubordinate form. This would then

be the only instance of a so-called 'inflected narrative converb' in Yemsa. Since its syntactic status is not clear, the form is nevertheless subsumed under the subordinate verb forms because of the person suffixes it shares with the other specialised subordinate forms.

4.4. Conclusion

As we have seen, Yemsa has a great variety of dependent verb forms, which makes the language interesting for converb studies, especially when it comes to the question of defining the notion 'converb'. The morphological and syntactic differences among the converbs are not as straightforward as to justify an exclusion of one or the other type from the label 'converb'. If we compare the specialised subordinate forms with the converbs, there are reasons to call them converbs as well: Like some of the converbs, they are subordinate, and they are clearly less finite than main verbs. They share suffixes with the converbs, especially the negative suffix *-nòyí* (negative converb and negative purposive) and probably *-aa* (sequential converb and conditional). If we allow for the existence of person-marked converbs, Yemsa – and in fact many other Ethiopian languages if the same criteria were applied to them – would be extremely rich in converbs. It was argued, however, that it is reasonable to draw the line between finite and non-finite forms between the person-sensitive- and the person-marking type of dependent verb forms in order to keep the notion 'converb' meaningful in Yemsa. Furthermore, there is a qualitative difference in reference tracking between forms which use gender, person-sensitive or switch-reference marking on the one hand and person-marked forms on the other. The formally distinctive feature of person marking thus also has a functional component.

To summarise, there are five converbs and at least six specialised subordinate forms in Yemsa. The examination of the embeddedness and finiteness properties of the converbs has further shown that there are two different converb types present: Three 'medial verbs' which are cosubordinate and used in order to describe events in a chain: general, different subject and sequential converbs, and two subordinate 'converbs *sensu stricto*'[34] used for describing the manner of another event: simultaneous and negative converbs. In addition, the negative and the sequential converbs have forms marked for different subject. The different subject, sequential and simultaneous converbs have simple as well as imperfective forms which allow for subtle aspectual differentiations.

It is to be hoped that the present description will help to compare the Yemsa converbs with their counterparts in other languages in and outside Ethiopia and contribute to a broader understanding of converbs in all their variety.

[34] Still using Van der Auwera's (1998) terminology.

Acknowledgements

Research for this paper was undertaken within the Swiss National Science Foundation project no. 10-109306/1 'Functional typology of Ethiopian languages' under the auspices of Karen H. Ebert at the University of Zürich, Switzerland. Special thanks go to Hans Schaumberger who made his data collection available to me, and to my informants, Biru Rago and Nigatu Gebreselassie who greatly helped to broaden my understanding of Yemsa. For very valuable comments on a presentation of this paper at WOCAL 2006 credits go to Sascha Völlmin, Azeb Amha, Christian Rapold and Anne-Christie Hellenthal. For detailed and insightful comments on earlier drafts of the paper and support concerning the English language I thank Christian Rapold, Johanna Mattissen, Karen H. Ebert, Rafael Suter, Per Baumann, Sascha Völlmin and Fernando Zúñiga.

Special abbreviations

(for general abbreviations see index on pp. 5-6)

AMH	Amharic loan	SIMIL	similative
COMIT	comitative	SOV	subject-object-verb word order
CV	general converb	SR	switch-reference
CV_{NEG}	negative converb	SS	same subject
CV_{SEQ}	sequential converb	SUB	subordinate
CV_{SIM}	simultaneous converb	TAM	tense-aspect-mood
INSTR	instrumental	tr.	transitive
lit	literally	V_1, V_2	first and second verb in compound verbs
NML	nominalisation	WOCAL	World Congress of African Linguistics
PART	particle	1, 2, 3	1^{st}, 2^{nd}, 3^{rd} person
POL	polite		

References

Aklilu Yilma. 1993. 'The Linguistic Etiquette in Yemsa'. In: *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 26. 1-13.

Azeb Amha. 2001. *The Maale language*. Leiden: Research School CNWS, Leiden University.

Azeb Amha & Gerrit Dimmendaal. 2006a. 'Verbal compounding in Wolaitta'. In: Aikhenvald, Alexandra & R.M.W. Dixon (eds.): *Serial verb constructions: A cross-linguistic typology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Azeb Amha & Gerrit Dimmendaal. 2006b. 'Converbs in an African perspective'. In: Felix K. Ameka, Alan Dench & Nicholas Evans (eds.): *Catching Language:*

The Standing Challenge of Grammar Writing. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Cerulli, Enrico. 1938. *Il linguaggio dei Giangerò ed alcune lingue sidama dell'Omo (Basketo, Ciara, Zaissè)* (Studi etiopici 3). Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente.

Gordon, Raymond G., Jr. (ed.). 2005. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Fifteenth edition*. Dallas, Tex.: SIL International. Online version: http://www.ethnologue.com/.

Haspelmath, Martin. 1995. 'The converb as a cross-linguistically valid category'. In: Haspelmath, Martin & Ekkehard König (eds.): *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 1-55.

Hetzron, Robert. 1969. *The verbal system of Southern Agaw*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Lamberti, Marcello. 1993. *Materialien zum Yemsa* (Studiae Linguarum Africae Orientalis 5). Heidelberg: Winter.

Nedjalkov, Vladimir P. 1995. 'Some typological parameters of converbs'. In: Haspelmath, Martin & Ekkehard König (eds.): *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 97-136.

Rapold, Christian J. 2006. *Towards a grammar of Benchnon.* Doctoral dissertation, University of Leiden.

Schaumberger, Johann. Unpublished a. [Yemsa Grammar]. Manuscript.

Schaumberger, Johann. Unpublished b. [Yemsa Lexicon]. Manuscript.

Schaumberger, Johann & Gabriele Schaumberger. 2001. *Phonology of Yemsa*. SIL.

Suter, Rafael. *Converbs in Ethiopian languages*. Unpublished manuscript.

Van der Auwera,] Johan. 1998. 'Defining converbs'. In: Kulikov, Leonid & Heinz Vater (eds.): *Typology of verbal categories*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Wedekind, Klaus. 1986. 'Communication breakdown or lèse-majesté: How feudoid subgroups of the Yemma (Janjero) talk to each other.' In: Benjamin F. Elson (ed.): *Language in global perspective: Papers in honor of the 50th anniversary of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1935-1985*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics. 557-562.

Wedekind, Klaus. 1990. 'Gimo-Jan or Ben-Yem-Om: Beng-Yemsa Phonemes, Tones and Words'. In: Richard J. Hayward (ed.). *Omotic Language Studies*. London: SOAS.

Contributors

Prof. Dr. Karen H. Ebert
Seminar für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft
Universität Zürich
Plattenstr. 54
8032 Zürich
Switzerland
karen.ebert@access.uzh.ch

Dr. Werner Drossard
Institut für Linguistik
Universität zu Köln
Albertus-Magnus-Platz
50923 Köln
Germany
w.drossard@uni-koeln.de

Dr. Johanna Mattissen
Institut für Linguistik
Universität zu Köln
Albertus-Magnus-Platz
50923 Köln
Germany
johanna.mattissen@uni-koeln.de

lic. phil. Rafael Suter
Ostasiatisches Seminar
Universität Zürich
Sinologie
Zürichbergstr. 4
8032 Zürich
Switzerland
suter@oas.uzh.ch

Dr. Christian Rapold
Opl. Talen en Culturen van Afrika
Faculteit Letteren
Postbus 9515
2300 RA Leiden
Netherlands
c.j.rapold@let.leidenuniv.nl

lic. phil. Silvia Zaugg-Coretti
Seminar für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft
Universität Zürich
Plattenstr. 54
8032 Zürich
Switzerland
zaugg@spw.uzh.ch

Language Index

Page numbers in **boldface** refer to examples of the respective language, page numbers in *italics* indicate references to the language that appear in footnotes, tables or brackets.