Finiteness in Jejuan Adverbial Clauses

a Canonical Typology Approach

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Abstract

In this thesis, I examine morphological, syntactic and semantic finiteness properties of a selected set of converbal, adverbial clauses in Jejuan (Koreanic, South Korea), following a Canonical Typology approach. This typological framework relies on the construction of a so-called Canonical Ideal that is the logical convergence of all criteria defining a certain concept. Thus on the basis of finiteness criteria, I build an ideal of a canonically finite clause, which the individual properties of a particular Jejuan adverbial clause are compared to. In this way, I situate Jejuan adverbial clauses in the typological space of Canonical Finiteness. This ensures cross-linguistic comparability through a rigorous application of this concept to a particular language.

Drawing on elicited and spontaneous language data, this study shows that the finiteness properties of Jejuan adverbial clauses are not uniform, and bundle into larger patterns only to a limited extent: one can identify a class of 'canonically non-finite' clauses, yet most clause types do not group into larger classes of finiteness properties. On the one hand, no adverbial clause ever confirms with the canonical ideal in the entirety of its properties, meaning that they are in fact non-finite at least in some respect. On the other hand, a particular clause type may be more canonically finite on the morphological level, yet less so on the syntactic or semantic level, and vice versa.

As a conclusion, the findings support current tendencies in the theoretical literature which suggest that neither a binary, nor a gradual theorisation on finiteness provide satisfactory accounts: in fact, the Jejuan results ask for an examination under a multi-dimensional angle which allows for various mismatches between different linguistic domains. Given this, I argue that the Canonical Typology model is a welcome framework that can capture the diversity of cross-linguistic finiteness manifestations in a rigorous, yet multi-faceted manner, enabling the comparison of different languages in a principled way.

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One of the things that I've learnt especially through my PhD journey has been that life is extremely short, 'like a dew drop on a blade of grass', as a famous Buddhist saying goes, and that within it, any being we come across can be the most magnificent teacher ever encountered. Thus at the risk of making this list of acknowledgments fairly long and packed, I do want to at least make sure that as many teachers of life as possible — other than the people I mentioned above — will find their name at this place, and feel a bit of acknowledgment for their efforts this way; at least a bit.

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i carry your heart with me(i carry it in my heart)...

<div style="text-align: right">E. E. Cummings</div>

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Transliteration conventions

See Chapter 1, page 45 for more on transliteration conventions. 'Han' refers to 'Hangeul' (Korean script character), 'JIPA' to 'Jejuan IPA transliteration' devised by the author, 'Y' to the 'Yale romanisation system' common in Korean linguistics and 'RR' refers to 'Revised Romanisation system', the transliteration used by the South Korean government. Note that examples taken from sources on Korean have been converted into the IPA transliteration using the correspondences below.

Han	JIPA	Y	RR	Han	JIPA	Y	RR
ㄱ	k	k	g/k	ㅗ	o	(w)o	o
ㄴ	n	n	n	ㅓ	ə	e	eo
ㄷ	t	t	d/t	ㅏ	a	a	a
ㄹ	l	l	r/l	ㅣ	i	i	i
ㅁ	m	m	m	. (arae-a)	ɒ	o	-
ㅂ	p	p	b/p	ㅜ	u	wu	u
ㅅ	sʰ	s	s	─	ɨ	u	eu
○ (initial)	-	-	-	ㅐ	ɛ	ay	ae
○ (final)	ŋ	ng	ng	ㅔ	e	ey	e
ㅈ	t͡ɕ	c	j	ㅛ	jo	yo	yo
ㅊ	t͡ɕʰ	ch	ch	ㅕ	jə	ye	yeo
ㅋ	kʰ	kh	k	ㅑ	ja	ya	ya
ㅌ	tʰ	th	t	ㅠ	ju	yu	yu
ㅍ	pʰ	ph	p	ㅒ	jɛ	yay	yae
ㅎ	h	h	h	ㅖ	je	yey	ye
ㅃ	p̬	pp	pp	.. (double arae-a)	jɒ	-	-
ㅉ	t͡ɕ̬	cc	jj	ㅘ	wa	wa	wa
ㄸ	t̬	tt	tt	ㅟ	wi	wi	wi
ㄲ	k̬	kk	kk	ㅚ	we	woy	oe
ㅆ	s̬	ss	ss	ㅙ	wɛ	way	wae
				ㅞ	we	wey	we
				ㅝ	wə	we	wo
				ㅢ	ɨi	uy	eui

List of abbreviations

1	first person		DAT	dative case
2	second person		DECL	declarative
3	third person		DELIM	delimiting
A	agent-like arg. of canonical trans. verb		DEM	demonstrative
A	aspect (only in sketch grammar tables)		DFP	different pivot
ABL	ablative		DIR	directional
ABR	abrupt change		DISJ	disjunctive
ABS	absolutive		DIST	distal
ACC	accusative		DS	different-subject
ADD	additive		DSC	discourse marker
ADN	adnominal		DUR	durative
ANT	anticipatory desinence		DYN	dynamic
ASRT	assertive		EGO	egophoric
ASS	assertive		EP(TH)	epenthetic
ATTR	attributivizer		EV	evidential
AUX	auxiliary		EXIST	existential copula
CAUS	causative		FEM	feminine
CG	common ground suffix		FOC	focus
CLF	classifier		FUT	future
CHNG	change		GEN	genitive
CNT	content		HOD	hodiernal tense
CNTR	contrastive		HON	honorific
COM	comitative case		HORT	hortative
COMP	complementiser		ILLOC	illocutionary force
CONC	concessive		IMM	immediate succession
COND	conditional		IMP	imperative
CONJ.PART	conjunctive particle		IND	indicative
CONV	converb		INDIC	indicative
COP	copula		INF	infinitive
CT	Canonical Typology		INSTR	instrumental
CVB	converb		INT	interrogative
d	Belhare dual		INT	intentional (Jejuan)

INTF	interfix		PST	past tense
IPF(V)	imperfective		PTCP	participle
IRR	irrealis		PURP	purposive
IS	information structure		REAL	realis
J	Chechen J gender		REC.PST	recent past
LNK	linking vowel		REDUP	reduplication
LOC	locative		REM.PST	remote past
M	masculine		REFL	reflexive
MED	medial		RESTR	restrictive
MIR	mirative		RS	reason
MOD	modal		Q	question
NEG	negative		QUOT	quotative
NFUT	non-future		s	singular
NHUM	non-human		SBJV	subjunctive
NMLZ	nominaliser		SEQ	sequential
NPI	negative polarity item		SIM(UL)	simultaneous
NPST	non-past		SG/sg	singular
NOM	nominative case		SOC	sociative
ns	non-singular		SPN	supine
PASS	passive		STAT	stative
PERF	perfective		STM	stem
PFV	perfective		STN	stance
PL	plural		SUCC	successive
PLR	polar		T	tense
POL	politeness marker		TAM	tense-aspect-mood
POSS	posessive		TEMP	temporal
POT	potential		T.PST	today's past
PRED	predicative		TOP	topic
PROG	progressive		VOC	vocative
PROP	proportional increase		VOL	volitional
PROX	proximal		W.PST	witnessed past
PRS	present			
PRG.GEN	generic present			

1. Introduction: finiteness in Jejuan adverbial clauses

Human language has evolved to express complex states-of-affairs in various ways, one of which is in the form of clauses headed by predicates, and populated by various other constituents. When connecting the thoughts, ideas and feelings associated to these expressions, languages employ fascinating means of linking these clauses with each other. More crucially, when clauses are connected in the world's languages, it is not the case that they are simply juxtaposed, but almost all languages, in their very own terms, have grammaticalised means to put the meanings of these clauses into a particular relation. This phenomenon is widely referred to as clause linkage or clause combining (Bickel 2010, Gast and Diessel 2012, Haiman and Thompson 1988, Lehmann 1988).

Koreanic languages, and Jejuan in particular, are interesting since they often connect clauses by means of verb forms specialised for that purpose, which are known under the term converbs (Haspelmath 1995). These verb forms are known to head adverbial clauses, which in this thesis is taken as a working notion referring to dependent clauses with all kinds of 'adverbial adjunct-like' functions (see various understandings presented in Thompson et al. 2007, Gast and Diessel 2012, Diessel 2013, Hetterle 2015). Quite unusually, Koreanic languages make use of a relatively high number of converbs to connect clauses in various maning relationships (cf. Jendraschek and Shin 2011), ranging from semantically unspecified clause linkages with seemingly 'coordinative' function, down to very specific meaning relationships (cf. Sohn H.-M. 2009 for Korean, and Song S.-J. 2011 for Jejuan).

Interestingly, converbs often show a morphological asymmetry to verbs heading independent clauses (or matrix clauses) in that they show only little, or no inflectional possibilities, even in languages with elaborate inflection on independent clause verbs. Typically, in many Jejuan utterances, one would find a succession of clauses of which only the last one is fully specified for grammatical information encodable on a verb, such as tense-aspect or illocutionary force as illustrated below:

(1) a. jeju0143-04, HGS1, 07:10

   sʰumi = ka   kamʨə = lɨl   ʨʰiə-sʰ-i-nti,
   Sumi = NOM sweet_potato = ACC steam-PST-EP-CVB
   kamʨə = ka   əlma an = twe-nan   ʨi = ne   mək-tan
   sweet_potato = NOM much NEG = become-CVB self = SOC eat-CVB
   po-nan ta məkə piə-n   əməŋ = ɨn
   see-CVB all eat   AUX.PERF-CVB mother = TOP
   mot: = anːe-sʰ-ʨə
   NEG.POT = give.HON-PST-DECL

   'Sumi steamed sweet potatos, but since the sweet potatos were not
   much, her friends and her ate them, and then she saw they had eaten
   all of them and not given her mother anything.'

   b. Pear Story, jeju0063-01-02, YSH1, FLEx257

   apʰʨʰime ipə-n   kɨ = le   tʰa nwa-n iʨe ola-n
   apron   put_on-CVB DEM.DIST = DIR pick put-CVB now come-CVB
   piwa-msʰə
   empty:CAUS-PROG

   'So [he] puts on an apron, picks it and puts it there, now comes here
   and empties it.'

   c. Hyun and Kang (2011: 189)

   je, jamʨən   hɒ-ke aʨa-n ʨʰɛk
   yes well_behaved do-CVB sit-CVB book
   poa-msʰ-i-kʰ-i-p-te-ta
   see-PROG-EP-IRR-EP-POL-EV.PST-DECL

   'Yes, from what I saw, [that child], sitting there well-behaved, should
   be reading books.'

In (1a) above, the verb forms ending in *-nti*, *-nan*, *-tan* and *-n* all are con-
verbs heading their own clause. Only the head verb of the final clause, *anːe-sʰ-ʨə*,
'give.HON-PST-DECL', is inflected for tense-aspect-mood, illocutionary force and
politeness[1] (the declarative suffix *-ʨə* only occurs in plain, but not polite forms),
whereas the verbs of preceding clauses are either not inflected for these cate-
gories at all, or they inflect only for a subset of the categories available to a final
clause verb — so the past tense inflection on the *-nti* converb in (1a). A similar
case is shown in (1b) which shows a sequence of clauses headed by *-ŋ/-n* con-
verbs: again, the non-final clause verbs are not inflected, whereas only the final
verb inflects for declarative illocutionary force and progressive aspect. In an ever

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[1] Note that EP in some of the examples above means 'epenthentic nucleus', and refers to a
morphophonological process that is not relevant here. For more, see the relevant sections in
the grammar sketch, for example A.2.13.

increasing range of languages, such a clausal sequence may exhibit properties of what has come to be known as 'clause chaining', especially in Turko-Mongolic languages, and languages of Papua-New Guinea (see Haiman and Thompson 1988, Haspelmath 1995, Hyslop 2013, Kroeger 2004, Sarvasy 2015, Weisser 2015 for references and more). Example (1c) shows a final clause verb inflected for the highest complexity possible in Jejuan[2], contrasting with a -*n* variant of the -*ŋ* converb (see Section 4.4.1) which is not inflected for any of those categories at all.

What is important here is that inflectional asymmetry between converbs and final clause verbs does not stand in an isolated context, but is related to a whole web of syntactic and semantic phenomena worth exploring. For example, some converb clauses show reductions in their possibility to overtly express a verb's arguments, or others exhibit semantic restrictions in terms of independent semantic interpretation, for example, for tense. Even more strikingly, studies on Korean have shown that morphologically, the converbal form may be identical, yet syntactically we may be speaking of quite different clause types (especially -*ko* clauses, cf. Rudnitskaya 1998 among others).

In other words, when clauses are connected by converbs in a language such as Jejuan, we see differences in various linguistic domains between a converb clause and a matrix clause (henceforth, the 'final' clause). These differences, I argue, are differences in finiteness between two clauses. Thus in this thesis, I set out to explore the concept of finiteness (Koptjevsakaja-Tamm 1994; Nikolaeva 2007a, 2010; Eide 2016 among others) focusing on a set of Jejuan clauses headed by converbs which have, broadly spoken, some sort of adverbial function, and are thus referred to as adverbial clauses[3]. Thus one of the points that I wish to emphasise is that examining differences in finiteness between clauses in clause linkage will eventually help us understand what happens when clauses are linked to each other, in a particular language, or more generally across a set of languages.

To summarise, the current focus on the finiteness of Jejuan adverbial clauses has arisen from four major observations:

Firstly, literature on clause linkage has brought about a discussion on the

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[2] Note that by this I am referring to the kind of morphological complexity arising from what is undoubtedly the suffixation of bound morphemes peculiar to verbs. Additionally, a number of particles may attach to a verb (or very often, phrasal constituents of different types, for that matter), which I am not discussing here. See the grammar sketch in Appendix A for more.

[3] Similarly to other researchers, I do not assume an a-priori, unitary set of properties to be associated with what I am calling 'adverbial clause' here, but rather, I am using this as a working notion to exclude complement and relative clauses from the present discussion (see Haspelmath 1995, and Hetterle 2015). However, note that not all Jejuan 'adverbial clauses' are converb clauses per se (section A.3.5).

multiplicity of clause linkage categories which do not seem to fit in the more traditional distinction of coordinate vs. subordinate clauses, with cosubordinate clauses as a more recent addition. Adverbial clauses are traditionally thought of as subordinate, yet more recent research has shown that they do not constitute a homogenous, syntactic class (Gast and Diessel 2012).

Secondly, researchers have attested a vast number of converbs (and resulting adverbial clause types) in Korean, some with more generic, others with very specialised semantics (Sohn H.-M. 2009). Additionally, as mentioned, not only is there a potentially high number of clause types, but also, some researchers also have pointed out that a morphologically homophonous converb can head adverbial clauses with very different syntactic-semantic properties. Korean *-ko* linkages, for example, behave differently according to the subject reference pattern of the entire complex clause, or the semantic interpretation of a *-ko* linkage (Rudnitskaya 1998, Kwon and Polinsky 2008). Jejuan grammar is no exception in that it equally shows a complex array of converb forms, yet very little is known about how the richness of morphological variety in converbs relates to a potential richness of syntactic and semantic properties.

Thirdly, research on finiteness has led from a largely morphological understanding of finiteness to an expansion of the notion to a clausal category that can manifest itself on the morphological, syntactic and/or semantic level in various ways (see chapters in Nikolaeva 2007, especially Sells 2007; Maas 2004, Nikolaeva 2010, McFadden and Sundaresan 2014, Chamoreau and Estrada-Fernández 2016, Eide 2016). Especially in clause linkage, one will observe that linked clauses may differ in these properties that define finiteness (see Givón 1990: 853ff.). Thus if finiteness relates to different aspects of a clause, then it must be that examining the finiteness of Jejuan adverbial clauses will tell us about what happens to different converb clause types if they are linked with other clauses. This knowledge, in turn, could potentially feed back into more general theories of finiteness, and enable us to learn more about the cross-linguistic and language-specific manifestations of this grammatical category.

Fourthly, finiteness has turned out to have extremely diverse manifestations in the world's languages, to an extent where the diversity suggests that the notion cannot be successfully 'kept under one roof' by means of more traditional, binary or gradual conceptualisations (let alone the traditional focus on the morphological form of verbs). Languages differ from each other in the ways in which finiteness distinctions are manifest, and even within one language, different categories may be affected differently (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1994). Thus, from a

typological angle, we require a model that is capable of capturing this diversity in a single language, yet ensuring that what is observed in a particular language is comparable to phenomena in another. This problem has been widely debated in the typological literature (Croft 1990: 12, Stassen 2011, Haspelmath 2010, papers in Plank 2016), and Corbett (2009) among others have referred to it as the 'Correspondence Problem'. As finiteness is a cross-linguistic concept applied to the study of Jejuan, that is, a particular language in this study, we need a model that provides clear definitions of the criteria that are relevant to this notion, and rigorous means to capture it, so that it can enrich our knowledge on finiteness in the world's languages in a reliable way. More importantly, properties should be allowed to diverge in a non-conflicting manner. To address this, a Canonical Typology framework (henceforth abbreviated as CT; Corbett 2003, 2005, 2007; Forker 2016 and papers in Brown et al. 2013) has been adopted in this thesis (see section 3.3).

Thus before we move on to the core chapters of this work, I will briefly elaborate on the issues outlined above in the subsequent sections, closing this chapter with a few methodological considerations, general information on Jejuan, and an overview of the thesis structure.

1.1. The multidimensionality of clause linkage

During the past decades, the evolvement of clause linkage theory has traced its path in a similar fashion to research on finiteness, and the theoretical aspects under consideration frequently overlap. Literature on clause linkage goes back to a traditional distinction between a coordinate or subordinate relationship between clauses. This binary conceptualisation is largely conceived as a difference between symmetric and asymmetric clause linkage.

In this traditional view, coordinate clauses are morphologically symmetrical and exocentric[4], and the linked clauses are equivalent in syntactic status, as no clause is embedded in the other, with no clause showing any morphological or syntactic reduction. Semantically, changing the order of the events yields no difference in meaning, and most typically, the events do not stand in a particular semantic relation to each other, other than a more or less asyndetic, 'listing' type one. Moreover, such coordinate clauses can be characterised as syntactic islands, following Ross's (1967) renowned *Coordinate Structure Constraint* (CSC) postulated in the early times of generative, transformational syntax: "In a coor-

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[4] *Pace* more recent advances à la Munn 1993, Lee 2014, Weisser 2015.

dinate structure, no conjunct may be moved, nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct." Additionally, should such syntactic 'extraction' happen, it can only apply to syntactically corresponding constituents in both clauses, which is known as the *Across-The-Board* (ATB) constraint (cf. Williams 1978 among many others). Related to the syntactic symmetry of co-ordinate clauses, cataphoric reference (also known as backwards anaphora) is impossible between an anaphoric element and its coreferent (Haspelmath 1995, Kroger 2004 among others).

Subordinate clauses have been characterised in an asymmetric way: a subordinate clause is embedded in what is called its matrix clause, which effectuates that only subordinate clauses can interrupt the linear continuity of its matrix clause, whereas coordinate clauses do not allow this. Therefore, there is a clear difference in syntactic hierarchy between such clauses, since the matrix clause cannot be embedded in its subordinate clause. Very often, such a clause is reduced morphosyntactically; its head verb's arguments are controlled by the predicate of the higher clause, or the verb is in a special form which does not inflect for categories in the same way as the matrix clause verb does. Exchanging the events from the subordinate and matrix clauses often changes the meaning, and may lead to semantic unacceptability or oddness. Syntactically, cataphoric reference is possible, and syntactic extraction does not result in ungrammaticality.

Conceptually, the above bundling of different morphological, syntactic and semantic characeristics results in a fairly neat, binary distinction, and was initially based on observations made in languages such as English. This binary distinction was soon questioned in studies which observed that, even in languages with seemingly clear coordinate-subordinate distinctions such as English, syntactically coordinate surface structures may turn out to have some semantic properties of subordination (Culicover and Jackendoff 1997).

In the meantime, in the 1980s, Foley and Van Valin (1984) examined so-called medial clauses in various languages of Papua New-Guinea (the conceptual origin of clause chains mentioned at the beginning of this chapter), and concluded that medial clauses are in fact neither coordinate, nor subordinate. Similar to coordinate clauses, medial clauses defy embedding into what is more neutrally called a 'final clause', whereas at the same time, verbs in such clauses show morphological reductions similar to what we find in infinitival clauses in some languages of the Western realm (Kroeger 2004). Moreover, similar to subordinate clauses, they allow for backwards anaphora, and semantically, they show a dependency in operator scope.

Thus, a new category, cosubordination, was introduced into clause linkage theory, which made a distinction between syntactic embedding and dependency. A cosubordinate clause is syntactically (and semantically) dependent, whereas it is not embedded. At the same time, it renders the notions of 'clausal subordination' increasingly problematic (Haiman and Thompson 1984) since in this traditional perspective, the distinction between dependency and embedding is often not made.

As cross-linguistic investigations progressed, however, research showed that not even these three categories could capture the diversity of the world's clause linkage phenomena, culminating in the proposal of what Gast and Diessel (2012) call 'parametric approaches'. Lehmann (1988) looks at clause linkage from such an angle where linked clauses can be situated on a multiplicity of functionally motivated clines which generally move from the characteristics of an independent clause, down to those of a tightly integrated consituent of a clause.

While Lehmann's (1988) model of clause linkage provided a comprehensive view on the various processes that happen in linked clauses and the functional pressures they may be subject to, it may be more relevant when looking at processes of grammaticalisation, and seeing how linked clauses may evolve into monoclausal entities such as serial verbs or nominal constituents, for example. As one of the most recent contributions in this area, Bickel (2010) proposes an inductive, multidimensional perspective on clause linkage, where the notion of clause linkage is decomposed into multiple, independent dimensions which can be statistically measured to see how these parameters tend to cluster in the world's languages. In fact Bickel's (2010) framework bears many similarities to the Canonical-Typological framework which is why it will be discussed in greater detail later on in this thesis.

For now, it suffices to summarise that clause linkage theory has seen as a gradual expansion from a binary understanding into one where no preset categories are determined, yet where multiple dimensions in combination may yield a multiplicity of language-specific categories. In the next section, I will show that finiteness theory has evolved in a very similar fashion.

1.2. Finiteness and cross-linguistic manifestations

Similar to clause linkage theory, research on finiteness has gone through a similar expansion from a fairly unidimensional understanding to a multidimensional one. Dating back to Ancient Greek philosophy (Luhtala 2002), Nikolaeva (2007a)

explains that finiteness was established as a grammatical category to refer to pronouns, and eventually to verbal person/number agreement found in Classical European languages such as Latin (McFadden and Sundaresan 2014: [1-9]).

Early on, a conceptual link was established between characteristics of verbal inflection and their syntactic distribution, observing that in languages such as Latin, a finite verb would occur in syntactically independent clauses, whereas nonfinite verb forms were found in dependent clauses. It is from that Classical perspective that 'finiteness' is nowadays often understood to refer to the morphological features of a verb, denoting its possibilities to inflect for tense and person/number agreement. In this traditional view, a verb could either be finite or nonfinite, allowing only for a binary conceptualisation. Additionally, albeit implied in an implicit fashion, such traditions would largely presuppose a direct link between the properties of a verb and the properties of a clause.

The development of modern linguistics came to refine the traditional, binary view on finiteness. As explained by Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1994: 1246) and (Nikolaeva 2007a) among others, even European languages turned out to defy the seemingly clear, binary finiteness distinction sketched out above: an influential observation was that Portuguese infinitives (Raposo 1987) in clearly embedded clauses take on agreement suffixes together with overt, nominative subject licensing. Moreover, 'non-finiteness' may not generally be phrased in terms of some feature normally present in a matrix or independent clause lacking in that clause, since some languages use specialised 'dependent moods' such as subjunctives which often inflect according to person/number agreement and tense, yet are restricted to dependent clause contexts (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1994: 1246). Also, imperative forms in many languages are used in clearly independent clause contexts, yet they most typically lack morphological features of finite verbs (Nikolaeva 2007b, 2010).

Although these observations on mismatches between understandings of syntactic and morphological finiteness were brought to the fore early on in modern linguistics, early Transformational Grammar theories did not incorporate finiteness into their set of syntactic categories, focusing on a mechanical relationship between the presence or absence of agreement and/or tense marking on a clausal head verb and the licensing of an overt, nominative-marked subject argument. Thus Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1994: 1245) summarises that "within generative grammar, it has been suggested that finite clauses are opaque domains with respect to certain syntactic rules of movement and rules of semantic interpretation (such as reflexivization, reciprocal coindexing etc.)", although "[t]he term 'finiteness',

however, was hardly used in the earlier versions of generative grammar, which distinguished between clauses in terms of tense, the original proposal formulated as the 'tensed-S condition' (Chomsky 1973)" (cf. Eide 2016: 4, McFadden and Sundaresan 2014: [1-9]).

As a matter of fact, if finiteness was to relate to phenomena such as subject licensing, then clearly, it could not remain a merely morphological category. It was only in the late 1990s when Rizzi (1997) proposed his model of an expanded CP layer in Minimalist syntax that finiteness found its way into phrase structure, heading its own projection FinP, in the lowest position of the entire CP complex. While Adger (2007) assigns finiteness an interpretable feature [±finite] acknowledging that there may in fact be some semantic content to this notion by means of referring to the time-related, logophoric anchoring of a clause on the semantic level (Bianchi 2003 among others), it seems that in Minimalist syntax and its successors, the finiteness projection is still not an essential feature of the grammar. For example, Adger (2007) argues that Scottish Gaelic syntax can do without FinP (and in fact, even T) by means of truncation and the inherent, lexical features of auxiliary verbs.

Opposed to this, Nikolaeva (2007a) elaborates that functional approaches dissolved the binary approach to finiteness into a gradual conceptualisation. In an influential perspective, Givón (1990, 2001) understands finiteness to be related to the degree of integration of a clause into another, an integration which entails a morphosyntactic (and semantic) expansion or reduction of a clause, ultimately resulting in the increased acquisition of nominal properties (Chamoreau and Estrada-Fernández 2016). In this gradual conceptualisation, there can be mismatches for a given phenomenon regarding its morphological and syntactic finiteness properties and thus such an approach allows for more intermediate categories than a strictly binary one.

Still, this approach does not solve the problem of capturing the true diversity of the world's languages' finiteness phenomena, since in this approach, we still have two endpoints on a gradual scale, so the clusterings of parameters can only move into the one, or into the other direction. Moreover, such scalar approaches work with hierarchies or implicational relationships, against which one will frequently find counter-examples (Nikolaeva 2010). Similar to what was attempted for clause linkage by Bickel (2010), Nikolaeva (2013) follows a Canonical Typlogy approach where finiteness is conceived of as comprising multiple, independent dimensions on the morphological, syntactic and semantic level, where for a given phenomenon, many more feature combinations are possible than in a binary or

gradual approach, yet at the same time the binary formulation of the criteria themselves enables a more reliable data collection from single languages, where distinctive features of finiteness may or not be present (cf. Bisang 2007). While I explain the framework of Canonical Typology in detail in section 3.3, I now proceed to a summary of the core research questions that have guided this study.

1.3. Research questions: Finiteness in adverbial clause linkage

If clause linkage is concerned with properties of a complex sentence consisting of multiple clauses, and if finiteness talks about the properties of a clause which, at least in approaches such as Givón (1990, 2001), refer to the integration of a clause in another, then these areas of study have a lot in common. As shown above (cf. Bickel's 2010 dimensions with issues related to finiteness in Nikolaeva 2010, 2013), many of the properties such as the range of inflection possible on clausal heads, the licensing of subjects or information structuring are of interest to both clause linkage or finiteness studies.

The difference between finiteness and clause linkage research is that finiteness research is concerned with what happens to a clause as the domain of interest, whereas clause linkage research mainly looks at interclausal relationships. For example, finiteness research often deals with the licensing of a subject of a clause, whereas clause linkage studies are often concerned with the subject reference cohesion or disjunction across a number of clauses, not least because of influential studies on switch-reference in languages of Papua New-Guinea (e.g., Haiman 1980, Roberts 1988 or Farr 1999 among many others). Also, while this study and other studies on finiteness talk about the temporal anchoring of a clause (Tsoulas 1995, Hoekstra et al. 1999, Bianchi 2003), clause linkage studies are interested in a variety of scoping relationships between clauses — see Bickel's (2010) dimensions on scoping in Section 2.4.

More crucially, recent approaches to finiteness have recognised that there are distinctions between properties associated with finiteness in independent clauses as well, for example the case of imperatives or exclamatives, as discussed in Nikolaeva (2007b, 2010, 2013: 119ff). Thus while clause linkage always deals with linked clauses, the notion of finiteness itself applies to any type of clause in principle, regardless of the immediate clausal context (at least in the version of finiteness argued for in this thesis). In this study, however, I will focus on the finiteness of a specific type of clause occuring in clause linkage, namely adverbial clauses headed by converbs, as mentioned above.

Thus in the following, I present the research questions that have guided this research. One area of interest deals with the larger questions independent of the study of Jejuan, and another deals more specifically with the questions related to the study of Jejuan adverbial clauses, and the wider research context of Koreanic languages.

(2) *Questions guiding my research on finiteness in Jejuan adverbial clauses*

1. *Language-independent question*: How can information from a single language be translated into cross-linguistic comparison?

    a) Finiteness is a category that has rich manifestations in the world's languages, and under the current approaches, many of its properties seem to conflict. Thus, can we find a way to study such a concept cross-linguistically with a typological model that can deal with mismatches, rather than problematising them?

    b) Related to this, every language seems to have fairly individual ways of expressing finiteness distinctions. Thus, in what model can such typological individuality be captured down to a particular instance, yet at the same time, ensuring comparability of the same phenomena across a set of languages? That is, in what ways can a typological method bridge the gap between language-particular analysis and cross-linguistic comparison?

    c) Moreover, in what ways can we apply a typological model which on the one hand is informed by theoretical knowledge regardless of theoretical distances, and which on the other could potentially feed back into a variety of theoretical frameworks?

2. *Language-particular question*: What finiteness properties do Jejuan, converbal adverbial clauses exhibit?

    a) How do these properties compare to the Canonical Finiteness Ideal?

    b) Are there regular patterns, either delimiting a consistent class of 'adverbial clauses', or possibly subgroupings?

    c) Thus, what do the results say about converbal, adverbial clauses in Jejuan?

    d) In what way can these results be related back to existing studies on other Koreanic languages such as Korean?

Part of the answers given to the cross-linguistic questions independent of research on Jejuan in particular will be my application of the Canonical Typology

(henceforth CT) model itself (see Section 3.3), as this model was specifically chosen to meet the problem of cross-linguistic diversity of finiteness manifestations on the one hand, and the problem of cross-linguistic comparability of categories such as finiteness on the other.

Thus, two major objectives have shaped the structure of this thesis. The first objective was to collect, analyse and describe data on finiteness in Jejuan adverbial clauses and related matters, which have yielded the data description in chapter 4, and the grammar sketch in Appendix A. The second objective was to then take that data from the descriptive analysis, and feed it into a Canonical Typology model of analysis, which compares the finiteness properties identified for each Jejuan adverbial clause type with the Canonical Finiteness Ideal described in Section 3.4. This resulted in the data evaluation chapter 5.

In terms of the goals of the current description and analysis, I wish to clarify that neither is the current description a strictly *particularist* description of Jejuan morphosyntax of clause linkage and its finiteness in the sense of Haspelmath (2007, 2010), nor is it a *universalist* one in Haspelmath's understanding, where I would be trying to contribute to some formal representation of finiteness (such as Adger 2007 or Sells 2007).

Rather, the current study consists of a heavily theory-informed description (cf. Himmelmann 2016, Pensalfini et al. 2014) of an aspect of Jejuan grammar guided by the objectives of a Canonical Typology approach to finiteness in adverbial clause linkage. Thus, based on criteria suggested by Nikolaeva (2013), my linguistic description was structured around data relevant to the finiteness analysis. While Haspelmath (2010) advocates a strict separation between, for example, a Jejuan Converb Clause and the comparative concept of a 'converb clause', the reader shall be advised that such a strict separation between a language-particular analysis and subsequent application of a cross-linguistic framework has not been consciously pursued in this thesis.

Instead, what I intended to do in this study was to provide a description of a selected set of properties of Jejuan adverbial clauses, and then to see how, on the basis of a single language, data on that selection of adverbial clause types in Jejuan could be put into a Canonical Typology model, and to situate Jejuan into the wider typological space of finiteness in this way. After all, it is one of the points that I wish to make in this thesis that any cross-linguistic study will have to collect data on a language sample, one by one, language by language. While such a study with a focus on a single language is rather unusual from a linguistic typology standpoint, within Canonical Typology, this does not seem to

be too uncommon. A number of studies, such as Seifart (2005) on noun classes in Miraña and Suthar (2006) on agreement in Gujarati have used Corbett's (2001) criteria on Canonical Agreement, and Forker (2014) has developed CT criteria for an argument/adjunct distinction, and applied it to Hinuq. As I will explain later, this is possible because CT relies on the logical emergence of the Canonical Ideal, against which data from a single language, or from a set of languages, can be compared.

Apart from the above, one of my motivations was to provide a description of the properties of Jejuan adverbial clauses which could potentially be inspiring to formal grammar endeavours from various strands of research. As I will mention later in chapter 5, an advantage of the Canonical Typology framework is that instead of a divide between functional-typological and formal research, the dimensions logically converging to a Canonical Ideal can stem from a large body of quite different theoretical perspectives. In fact, this was the case for the current study as demonstrated in sections 3.1 and 3.4. While I do not necessarily believe in the concept of a 'theory-neutral' language analysis and description, the linguistic analysis has opted to employ a descriptive ontology and methodology most akin to what has recently come to be called 'Basic Linguistic Theory' (Dryer 2006 among others) or 'Framework-free grammatical theory' (Haspelmath 2010).

1.4. Jejuan: language and society

In this section I provide a brief contextualisation of Jejuan and sociolinguistically relevant issues (Section 1.4.1). In Section 1.4.2 I briefly outline the basic grammatical features of Jejuan and some differences from Korean. A sketch grammar focusing on verbal morphology has been provided in Appendix A.

1.4.1. The sociolinguistic context of Jejuan

Jejuan (also known as *Jeju language,* 제주어 *Jejueo,* 제주돗말 *Jejudotmal* or 제줏말 *Jeju(t)mal*[5]) is a Koreanic language spoken in most of Jeju Province as well

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[5] A variety of names for this variety have emerged especially during past years. 제주방언 *Jejubangeon* is the taditional name meaning 'Jeju dialect', and researchers seeing Jejuan as a dialect of Korean variously use this term, or above 제주돗말 *Jejudo(t)mal* or 제줏말 *Jeju(t)mal* following Jejuan grammar. 'Jeju language' may be seen as a translation of 제주어 *Jejueo,* which by its literal meaning calls Jejuan a language. While simultaneously advocated by a research collaboration between Yang Changyong, JNU, William O'Grady and Yang Se-Jung, University of Hawai'i, as well as the team of Jeju Language Research Centre (제주어연구소) surrounding Kang Young-Bong, the latter team does not regard the variety as an independent, Koreanic

as sociolinguistic pockets in Japan (most notably, Tsuruhashi district, Osaka, cf. Kang J.-H. 2005)[6].

Figure 1.1.: The South Korean language area — Jeju Island encircled. [Map data ©2017 Google, SK telecom, ZENRIN]

Being the only island province of South Korea (and nominally, the only autonomous province with the name 제주특별자치도 *Jejuteukbyeoljachido,* Jeju Special Self-Governing Province), Jeju Island as the biggest and most important island is located approx. 85km off the South Korean mainland, and characterised by volcanic geography with *Hanlaksan/Hanlosan* (kor. *Hanlasan,* 'Halla mountain'), a 2000 metre-high, extinct volcano throning in its centre, and crucial to the island's sociocultural, as well as sociolinguistic development. Split into a north-south division of administrative districts, 688,211 inhabitants are registered.[7]

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language (see Kang Y.-B. 2007). Moreover, the Sino-Korean -어 (語) *'language'* component may be regarded problematic since it is still a Korean, and not Jejuan, language naming practice. Moreover, this Sino-Korean character does not refer to *independent* languages exclusively, but is also used to refer to regional varieties, and more broadly refers to what is known as fr. *langage.* 'Jejuan' here has been picked in order to give the variety an English name that is a) ambiguous in terms of its classificatory status (albeit, somewhat complicatingly, I *do* regard it a Koreanic language), and b) more easily translatable into other (mostly Western) languages, avoiding the <eo> digraph in the Revised Romanisation version of the language name.

[6] The Chuja Islands, approximately midway between the South Korean mainland and Jeju Island, belong to Jeju Province, yet reported to be socio-culturally more closely associated with the Southwest Jeonla region, with which is said to share its language variety.

[7] As of July 2018, of which 23,632 people are foreigners. See Jeju Province Statistics Bureau 2018: `https://www.jeju.go.kr/open/stats.htm` [retrieved 2018-08-22]. This is a steep increase from 547,917 registered inhabitants in 2010 according to `https://www.jeju.go.kr/open/stats/basic.htm?cat=001&stat=010`, [retrieved 2018-08-22]. Note that central South Korean statistics figures tend to be higher, compare with `http://www.mois.go.kr/frt/sub/a05/totStat/screen.do`, [retrieved 2018-08-22]. Note that sociolinguistic studies such as

Although in this thesis, Jejuan is seen as a member of a larger Koreanic language family (Yang et al. forth.; O'Grady 2015), I will refrain from any attribution to a larger phylum as there have been multiple, and highly controversial hypotheses regarding the language family's genetic affiliation, largely due to the scarcity of historical documentation. For more on this matter, I refer to Sohn H.-M. (1999: 17-36) or Vovin (2009) and references therein.

Looking at Jejuan as a Koreanic language independent from Korean is a highly unusual (yet increasingly accepted) view which, as I argue, is not merely a shallow decision. In much of Korean(-ic) linguistics, Korean is regarded a single language[8], and the study of regional varieties of South Korea is carried out within (South) Korean dialectology. Usually, about six dialectal regions are identified[9], of which the 'Jeju[10] dialect' region is the southernomst one.

Figure 1.2.: Dialectal regions in Korean dialectology, Courtesy of Simon Barnes-Sadler (2018). Clockwise: Northwest, Northeast, Central, Southwest, Southeast, Jeju
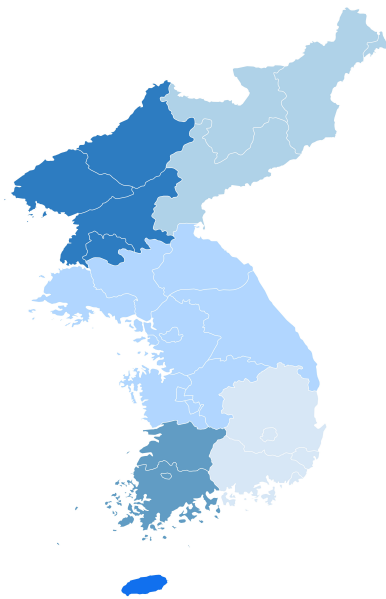
Kim (2015) do not resort to the Jeju government figures.

[8] According to Song J.-J. (2012: 8), Standard (South) Korean is defined as the "modern Seoul dialect widely used by educated people in and around the metropolitan area of Seoul" by the South Korean Ministry of Education. This is curious, since Korean dialectology usually establishes a linguistic difference between Standard Korean and the Seoul variety (which is often seen as part of a larger, 'Central' dialect area see Sohn H.-M. 1999 among others).

[9] Another strand of dialectological research resorts to variety names which are largely congruent with geographic boundaries of administrative regions, a view not presented here (Simon Barnes-Sadler, p.c.).

[10] Often 'Ceycwu' in Yale, and even more commonly 'Cheju' in McCune-Reischauer transliteration.

Crucially, the basis of identifying these dialectal regions is their historical origin in (less well-attested, spoken versions of) Middle Korean, spoken during a long period from about 10th to 16th centuries (Ko Y.-G. 2010), with most phonographic (Hangeul script) sources from Late Middle Korean of the 15th and 16th centuries (see Lee and Ramsey 2011). Opposed to this, there are hardly any clear sources which give us insights into earlier forms of spoken Jejuan (see Kang Y.-B. 2015: 38 for a few examples). Among many reasons discussed in this section, one reason not to take a dialectological approach to Jejuan is a basic tenet of Korean dialectology that shows some considerable bias towards this diachronic perspective:

> "A language consists of several lower-level dialects. Research on those dialects is needed for the research on a language as a whole. Assuming that "Korean" is the whole which unites the dialects constituting it, research on a dialect cannot possibly be separated from, or independent of, research on the Korean language. [...] Research on a dialect greatly contributes to the research on the history of the national language." [translation mine][11] Yi (S.-K. 2003: 48)

As discussed more in detail in Kim S.-U (2017), the problem with such an approach to Jejuan is that very often, grammatical description and analysis does not have as its goal a synchronic description of Jejuan grammar as an autonomous system, but rather an exploration of the variety's relationship to Middle Korean, and the contributions such a study could make to the study of Korean language history (for example, see Stonham 2011). Even those dialectological approaches which attempt at describing Jejuan grammar from a synchronic perspective often resort to diachronic explanations of facts (e.g., Kim J.-H. 2014), which has led to an interesting situation where Jejuan is among the most well-studied Koreanic varieties, yet where a lot of truly synchronic descriptions are still missing[12]. Thus one of this study's aims is to provide a synchronic description of Jejuan data independent of the study of 'the Korean language and its history' per se.

Undoubtedly, Jejuan does take a special place within Korean dialectology. On the one hand, mutual intelligibility tests have shown a very low degree of mutual

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[11] Original: "하나의 언어는 몇 개의 하위방언으로 구성되어 있다. 그 하위방언의 대한 연구는 해당 언어에 대한 총계적인 연구를 위해서 필요한 것이다. 한국어는 한국어를 구성하고 있는 방언들의 총체라고 가정한다면 방언에 대한 연구가 국어학 일반과 결코 유리되거나 독립적인 성격일 수가 없다. [...] 방언의 연구는 국어의 역사적 연구에 기여하는 바가 크다."

[12] Yang and Kim's (2013) paper on Jejuan discourse clitics may be one of a few mentionable exceptions.

intelligibility (O'Grady 2015[13], also cf. Brown and Yeon 2015: 460), also attested by some Non-Korean scholars (King 2006) as well as commonly known in popular belief (Kim S.-U 2013, as well as Long and Yim 2002: 258[14]). While argumentation following mutual intelligibility between two lects is fraught with many problems beyond the scope of this thesis (cf. relevant articles in Pangenyenkwuhoe 2001), it is interesting to see how Koreanic linguistics has recently been catching up with this wide-spread folk knowledge.[15] On the other hand, statistical evaluations establish clear isoglosses between the mainland and the Jejuan-speaking island region (cf. Barnes-Sadler 2017, Lee 2015), which underlines the position of this variety as meriting special attention.

This thesis' stance regarding Jejuan as a language in its own right does not solely focus on linguistic arguments or related arguments on mutual intelligibility, just because mutual intelligibility is now well-known to operate independently of other language classification factors such as socio-political processes (see Heinrich 2012 for Japan). While to a structuralist linguist, the grammatical divergence of Jejuan from Korean may be a crucial argument to classify it independently, the rise of Korean, nationalist dialectology (alongside other developments in China, Japan, France, Germany and elsewhere) has shown that precisely these 'purely linguistic' factors are not objectively decisive for linguistic classification, and therefore, any supposedly 'objective(-ist)', linguistic argumentation quickly ends up being futile, or aloof of socio-political contexts at best (and therefore unmasking these views as ultimately subjective; see Kim S.-U 2017 for more).

Given this, the current position is a result of reflections on countering monolingualist and nationalist language ideologies which support the demise of regional varieties, and is seen as a statement for the linguistic acknowledgment of diversity in the Korean-speaking realm (Kim S.-U 2017). Also, focusing on Jejuan as a language separate from Korean paves the way for research on regional variation of the language itself. Korean dialectologists often assume that regional

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[13] Speakers from Seoul were shown to have an intelligibility rate of approx. 12 per cent, with speakers from Cenla and Kyengsang provinces at a mere five to six per cent of understanding Jejuan. Note that as this seems to be a structuralist, autonomous approach, attitude or self-identification effects on intelligbility, as well as the meaning of 'intelligibility' were not considered.

[14] This is a folklinguistic study on the perception of South Korean regiolects by Korean residents. See footnote 2 in Long and Yim (2002: 258): "With the Cheju dialect, however, the Reader points out that [...] because of great differences between this island dialect and those on the mainland, most Koreans would be unable to understand the Cheju variety anyway[...]."

[15] Consider this exemplary, curious statement: "Despite such geographical and socio-political dialectal differences Korean is relatively homogeneous, with excellent mutual intelligibility among speakers from different areas."(Sohn 1999: 12)

variation is fairly uniform, or take no interest in variation further than regional boundaries or broader isoglosses[16], although focusing on Jejuan alone, we can identify clear regional differences mainly on the phonological-lexical level. Even the two field sites presented in the methodology section 1.5 show a few linguistic differences (cf. the section on verbal root and stem formation in Section A.2.13), despite geographical proximity. In fact, as one of the few studies on this matter, Kim S.-J. (2014) shows that there are clear differences mainly between East and West Jeju (with a slight, additional divide between North—South Jeju), parallel to the folk perception of differences between these parts of Jeju Island. Moreover, for some reason that I am as yet unable to discern, 'monolingualist-dialectological' studies on Jejuan may exhibit the tendency to show data that is more similar to Korean. Thus Jejuan deserves to be looked at as a language independent from Korean if we wish to study it more extensively, and from a perspective less guided by South Korean, nationalist objectives.

No official status has been granted to Jejuan in any way, although according to Kang Y.-B. (2015), regional media attention on Jejuan began to surge in 2006, with a subsequent adoption of a bill on the "preservation and support of Jeju language" (Jeju Government, 2017; Kang Y.-B. 2015: 26-33), paving the way to an official recognition by UNESCO as a "critically endangered language" in 2010 (Moseley 2010), which in turn attracted a lot of attention from national media (Hwang 2012, including the common, commodifiying discourse on endangered languages, cf. Duchêne and Heller 2007), setting in motion various projects and movements to contribute to the popularisation and revitalisation of the language.

Moseley (2010) now indicates approximately 5000 to 10,000 fluent speakers.[17]

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[16] Cf. Kim S.-J. (2014) as a mentionable exception, and Barnes-Sadler (2017) criticising such approaches.

[17] It is not clear where these figures originate from, although Kang Y.-B. (2015) explains that it was himself and his colleagues at Jeju National University who were in touch with UNESCO delegate linguists. In fact, this number has spurred some criticism given the low figures of speakers. Kim E.-H. (2015), for example, refers to the central government figure of 607,346 inhabitants as of 2014 in Jeju province (18 per cent of which are people beyond the age of 60), and brings this figure together with a questionnaire study where people of different age groups are given very vague self-evaluative questions on Jejuan language competency. This then leads to very simplistic conclusions, with her stating that "Given the usage rate of 66 per cent within the family and respondents' confidence given their dialect competence, we see that Jeju is a society where dialect is the major medium of communication (original: 가정내 사용비율 66%, 방언능력에 대한 자신감 등을 고려해 보면 제주는 방언주류사회임을 알 수 있다. Kim E.-H. 2015: 304)", and therefore judging that the majority of 'Jejuan society' speaks the variety. On the one hand, the problem is the essentialising and homogenising approach to the inhabitants of Jeju province; official figures explicitly include dark figures and foreign nationals. What is more, given the recent, steep rise of registered inhabitants, it is likely that many of these people are mainlanders who are not Jejuan speakers. Thus deducing

Based on the author's own impressions, many fluent speakers encountered were of the grandparental generation and past the age of 80, with many speakers in their late 60s and 70s speaking a form of Jejuan that is phonologically more similar to Standard Korean. As mentioned by other authors (O'Grady 2015) and also witnessed by the author of this thesis, people below the age of approx. 45 now tend to speak a regional variety of Korean, which may be named the 'Jeju variety of Korean'. Although the differences between the Jeju variety of Korean and Jejuan proper have not been well examined yet, the author's impressions point toward a few lexical items and the usage of largely prosodic and morphological devices which differ from Seoul Korean (which is perceived as being equivalent to Standard Korean, cf. Kim S.-U 2013). Not surprisingly, more complex and divergent aspects of older speakers' Jejuan phonology and morphosyntax are not used by younger generations any longer, and some morphological items have emerged which are not usually part of a Jejuan speaker's language usage (albeit these are perceived to be typically Jejuan). For example, younger speakers may use forms where the past form of a verb in *-n*, e.g. *komawə-n*, be_grateful-PST, can additionally be suffixed with a politeness particle *=maṣim/=maṣim*, thus '*komawə-n=maṣim*', 'be_grateful-PST=POL'[18]. While the author has encountered a number of younger people claiming that this is typically Jejuan, elderly speakers have so far not been attested to use such a form.[19]

Many factors play into the current endangerment of Jejuan. As a formerly independent kingdom called *Tamla* or *Tammora*, and the latest to be politically integrated into mainland regimes (by Goryeo in the 12th century), it long served as a place of exile with heavy socio-political sanctions imposed on islanders for centuries (Kim S.-N. 2004). Mutual resentments due to heavy social discrimination, and the political turmoil of the 1940s upon Korea's independence from Japan gave rise to an armed uprising and a subsequent, massive counter-insurgency by South Korean mainland forces later euphemistically termed the *4.3 ("April-third") incident*. At least 30,000 of resulting casualties, as well as 40,000 refugees and the

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speaker numbers from the mere number of registered inhabitants is highly risky, without information on a) the origin of speakers and main household language, and b) without careful consideration of what language form 'speakers' consider to be 'Jeju dialect'. In sum, even though 'real' numbers of fluent speakers may be higher, it does not change the fact that on the one hand, Jejuan is a minority variety within South Korea, and that its usage is rapidly declining.

[18] The root form of the verb is *komap-* where the */p/* lenites to *[w]*. The above stem formation ending in *-ə* is parallel to Korean morphology. A more divergent, 'Jejuan-type' stem formation pattern would be *komawa* (see section A.2.13 on page 307), yet such a pattern is almost never used by younger generations.

[19] The politeness particle does otherwise attach to verb forms among other syntactic categories. More in the grammar sketch section.

destruction of many of the islands villages (Park 2010)[20], followed by decades-long social discrimination ad sanctioning of Jeju islanders throughout the military dictatorship era up until the 1990s (Young-Bong Kang, JNU, p.c.), left not only deep scars in islanders' memories and and fostered (probably the historical continuation of) negative language attitudes towards the usage of Jejuan (Kim S.-U 2013), but also has been a factor in the current gender disbalance of elderly Jeju inhabitants in terms of population numbers, also impressionistically witnessed by the author.

Recent years have seen increasing scholarly interest in the island's culture paralleled by by slow changes in popular (that is, mostly Non-Jejuan) language attitudes towards Jejuan, as well as various on-going (yet mostly symbolic) efforts to revitalise the language. In light of ever increasing pressures from vibrant tourism and a surge of immigration from the mainland[21], the pressures exerted on the survival of the language are steeply on the rise. Still, symbolic usage of Jejuan is now a popular means of broadcasting, advertising and decoration all over the province (ironically, even on Chuja Islands, see footnote 6), and the language is gaining presence by music bands using Jejuan lyrics, or frequent radio programmes and online media.

The clear power divide between Korean and Jejuan, as well as the importance of Jejuan as a more or less clear in-group marker[22] have led to methodological consequences for the current thesis research. For example, speakers' tendency to accomodate more towards Korean features when speaking to an outsider has led to the decision to carry out fieldwork monolingually in Jejuan, which in turn has had its ramifications for linguistic elicitation work.

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[20] According to Park S. (2010), approximately a tenth of the population was eradicated, and 95 per cent of the island's inland villages were burnt down.

[21] The International Air Transport Association (IATA)'s 2016 World Air Transport Statistics indicate a number as high as 11.1 mil. for 2015's passenger numbers carried between Seoul Gimpo and Jeju Airport, which in fact makes it the busiest air route of the world. In fact, one plane departing about every ten to twenty minutes to the South Korean mainland immensely densifies demographic exchange. See `http://www.iata.org/pressroom/pr/Pages/2016-07-05-01.aspx` [retrieved 2017-02-17]

[22] Note that the usage of Jejuan as in-group/out-group marking was observed by the author in interesting ways. Many mainlanders, especially from Southwest Jeonla province with which Jeju Province used to be fused, who migrated to Jeju Island during earlier waves of the 1960s and later, now speak an interesting mixture of their original Koreanic variety and Jejuan, and are perceivably integrated within Jejuan social structures (even though many Jeju islanders still tend to label them as so-called *juk͡t͡ɕisʰsʰalɨm*, 'mainlanders'). With newer migrants, especially of the sudden surge of mainlander immigration observed in the 2010s, the author experienced that hardly any of them take on the local, Jeju variety of Korean, and many of them report that they tend to socialise with mainlanders predominantly. For an example for the older generation of mainlander immigrants, please search for the speaker 'BHG1' in the on-line archive of Jejuan conversations compiled by the author.

1.4.2. Basic grammatical features of Jejuan

While numerous lexical and grammatical differences have influenced the decision to regard it a Koreanic language of its own in this thesis, in the mainstream, nationalist view on the Korean language, Jejuan is classified as one of the six traditional varieties of the Korean language (cf. Sohn H.-M. 1999: 57f., 74f.).

As a linguistic treasure having 'preserved'[23] numerous features of Middle Korean (Kim S.-J. 2014, Sohn H.-M. 1999: 74f., Stonham 2011, Yeon 2012 among many others), from the very beginning of Korean dialectology, it was of interest to researchers with the intention of tracing the origins of the Korean language (in fact, this is often seen as the most important purpose of studying regional varieties, cf. Yi S.-K. 2003:48, cf. Kim S.-U 2017). As opposed to this perspective, this thesis is an initial attempt to provide a much-needed description and analysis of the language's grammar, conceptualising it as an autonomous system which first and foremost shall serve the goal of explaining its own workings, and not, say, teach us more about this ideologically motivated supra-entity of 'the Korean language' (cf. Jung S.-C. 2013 for a more dialectological-diachronic overview).

Arguably, Jejuan shares a number of traits with Korean, by virtue of being genetically related to it. On the phonological level, it maintains a threefold phonation distinction in stop consonants, as well as the general distribution of consonant and vowel phonemes within the phonological space, including the typologically rare opposition between a lax, aspirate alveolar fricative vs. a tense, inaspirate fricative (Chang C. 2013). It also shares most of the allophonic processes, although this area is one where Jejuan diverges more from Korean. On the autosegmental level, Jejuan shares with Korean its word-initial stress pattern and predominantly CV(C) syllable structure[24].

On the other hand, in Jejuan there is evidence for a row of labialised stops and affricates (yet less so for palatalised stops). A hallmark of Jejuan phonology is the high frequency of /ŋ/ or /n/ in many areas of its morphology, and the existence of a mid-low to low, back, rounded vowel /ɒ/, which in Korean studies is called

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[23] In Korean grammatical discourse (as in other nationalist discourses), there is the tendency to use the notions of 'preserving' older features, or 'Middle Korean items' — whether grammatical or lexical — although it should be obvious to synchronic analyses that what is understood to be 'preservation', is actually current usage of certain elements among living speakers, of which similar correspondences can be identified in past linguistic sources that reflect some aspects of linguistic forms *definitely not* spoken anymore.

[24] Note that in Korean phonology, there are debates on whether to assume a syllable structure with a specific glide position (thus C(G)V(C)), or to see glides as vowels phonologically (thus CVV(C)). I will not delve into these issues here. Standard Korean does exhibit vowel length distinctions, yet Jejuan shows less evidence to reasonably justify such V-V associations within one syllable.

아래아, *alae-a*, 'low a', and is written with a dot to symbolise the diachronic connection to a similar, Middle Korean vowel that has undergone complete merger in Korean. Jejuan tends to more rigidly apply CV structures which often arise from more regular nucleus epenthesis. The language has a distinctive prosody (Ko Y.-L. 2009), and as opposed to (Standard, yet probably not colloquial) Korean, it does not exhibit vowel length distinctions. There are a number of morphophonological processes not attested in Korean; aspiration in word compounding, consonantal gemination in nominal particle affixation (cf. Jung S.-C. 2013: 18f. for similar observations), regular */-t-/* interfixation in nominal compounding, as well as different allophonic processes and expansive sonority alternations. The examples below are taken from Kim S.-U (2017).

(3)   Consonantal gemination in Jejuan nominals[25]

   a. Nominal inflection

       /an/   + */=e/* $\longrightarrow$ *[anːe]*
       inside   =LOC   'inside.LOC' (*kor. [aːne]*)

   b. Nominal compounding

       /t͡ɕʰɒm/ + */we/* $\longrightarrow$ *[t͡ɕʰɒmːe]/[t͡ɕʰɒmʷːe]*
       ?   cucumber   'honey melon' (*kor. [t͡ɕʰam(w)e]*)

On the morphological level, the basic characteristics are shared as well: Jejuan shows a complex inflectional verb system with agglutinating, and almost exclusively suffixing morphology, which contrasts with a less complex nominal inflection system, where most of the 'inflection' is done through a system of morphologically less bound particles. Moreover, a common feature is the language family's morphosyntactic tendency to broadly distinguish categories into those with noun-like, or verb-like behaviour, and the option of morphologically expressing information-structural categories such as topic and focus. What in Western (European) terms we would understand as adverbs, adjectives and postpositions is either hardly distinguishable from nouns or verbs, or constitutes a closed class of a not as yet precisely determined number of items.

Apart from these general commonalities, Jejuan shows a much higher tendency for segment-based exponency in morphological inflection (as opposed to a syllable in Korean), and a somewhat higher degree of portmanteau exponency, especially when it comes to declarative and interrogative inflection on verbs.

The politeness system intersects with illocutionary force inflection, and is markedly different from both Middle Korean and Korean. While in Korean, politeness morphology involves a S/A pivot, honorific suffixation on verbs, and distin-

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[25] The IPA representation for *kor. [t͡ɕʰamwe]* follows the colloquial pronunciation of the word.

guishes more verbal forms, paired with suppletive, honorific lexis, in Jejuan, the verbal system distinguishes fewer politeness distinctions, a much more reduced number of honorific lexemes and no honorific particles or subject honorification on verbs (although Korean politeness morphology tends to be borrowed more as we move into younger generations of speakers).

The tense-aspect-mood system differs greatly, including a different distribution of periphrastic vs. synthetic forms, and the presence of morphologically marked progressive aspect, and generic present tense. Opposed to Korean, it seems that Jejuan has a limited egophoric inflection which is a feature that it shares with Middle Korean. Non-final clause morphology also greatly differs from Korean, with a different set of converbs, and a complex and partly synthetic process of quotative formation unique among Koreanic languages. The following example demonstrates how the verb form *sʰɒlːua pul-kʰi-ə*, tell.HON, AUX.PERF-IRR-ILLOC, 'I will tell him' changes to *sʰɒlːua pul-kʰ-en*, AUX.PERF-IRR-QUOT, 'that [the quoted speaker] will tell him' when appearing in quoted speech. The Korean translation provided by Kang (2007), *alʷe-n-ta*, bears no corresponding formal marking for quoted speech (NB: an optional *-ko* particle can be used: *alʷe-n-ta-ko*, tell.HON-NPST-DECL-COMP) .

(4) Jejuan quotative formation

    a. Jejuan, Kang (2007: 98)

        halɨpaŋ = sʰɨnti   sʰɒlːua   pul-kʰ-en   hɒ-nan   kɨɲaŋ
        grandfather = DAT tell.HON AUX.PERF-IRR-QUOT say-CVB just
        sʰusʰimiak hɒjə
        mute   do
        'I told him that I would tell his grandfather, so he just went mute.'

    b. Korean version of previous sentence, after Kang (2007: 98)

        halapətɕi = k̚e   alʷe-n-ta   ha-ni   kɨɲaŋ mutɕʰum
        grandfather = DAT.HON tell.HON-NPST-DECL say-CVB just   mute
        hɛ
        do
        'I told him that I would tell his grandfather, so he just went mute.'

Jejuan verbal and nominal marking is more sensitive to information structure, partly reflected in the interaction of information-structural marking with tense-aspect-mood marking on the clausal (or even supra-clausal) head verb, and partly reflected in the existence of a separate 'common-ground-of-knowledge' inflection, and the employment of unique discourse particles (cf. Yang and Kim 2013).

(5)   from jeju0146-03, 05:57, Soung-U Kim, HYJ1 and HGS1 talking[26]

    a.   *HYJ1: [...] ikə muləponin kə   [...] koŋpue   tehjən sʰihəmponin*
             this ask.ADN thing   study.LOC about take:exam

       *kə   ani-k̪ʷa = **ke!***
       thing NEG-Q.POL = DSC

       'Well that what he's asking us, you know that he will take his exams
       on what he's learning with us, don't you think?'

    b.   *HGS1: **ke***
          DSC

       'Yes, you see.'

    c.   *HGS1: sʰənsʰɛŋ i-ə = **ke**,   uli = ka = **ke***
          teacher COP-DECL = DSC, we = NOM = DSC

       'We are of course the teachers, us, you know.'

Syntactically, Jejuan is an SOV language just as its 'bigger sister' Korean, with nominative-accusative alignment and S/A pivots. Unsurprisingly, its syntax is strictly head-final and the dropping of constituents (mostly any except for the head predicate) is common. Constituent orders within clauses and nominal phrases are fairly variable as long as the head is in final position, and may interact with the morphological expression of information structure. Similar to Korean, verbal morphology intersects with syntax in complex ways when it comes to periphrastic expressions of typically verbal categories, such as expression of passive/causative and aspectual distinctions, or the formation of some adverbial clause types.

Differences in syntax begin with the different distribution of periphrastic vs. synthetic expressions, both on the lexical, as well as grammatical level. Nominal compounding lies on the verge to syntax, since as opposed to Korean, syntactic elements affixed with particles can take part in compounding, in complex interaction with */-t-/* interfixation. This is crucial, since such particles in Koreanic languages attach to phrasal categories, not terminal nodes.

(6)   Jejuan nominal compounding (not attested in Korean)

    a.   jeju0114-06, HYJ1, 00:00:17, pronounced *[ˈtʰɛguk̪ət̪indiˌsarim]*

       [t͡ɕə   tʰɛkuk kət̪-i-n   ti-t]-sʰalim = in...
       DEM.MED Thailand resemble-EP-ADN place-INTF-person = TOP

       'As for people from places like Thailand...'

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[26] This excerpt is part of a larger on-line collection of Jejuan conversations, which can be accessed here: `https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI971100` [retrieved 2017-02-07]

  b. jeju0103, YYU1, 04:33, pronounced *[ˈkɨbaɭːaˌʂarɨm]*

    [kɨ   palːa-t]-sʰalɨm

    DEM.DIST opposite-INTF-person

    'The person from opposite my place'

  c. jeju0116-01, GOH1, 00:39, pronounced *[ˈtoŋimːaɭ, ˈsʰəimːaɭ]*

    "*aiko, [[toŋ-i]-t-mal]=kʷaŋ   [[sʰə-i]-t-mal]=kʷaŋ*

    Oh East-LOC-INTF-speech=COM West-LOC-INTF-speech=COM

    tʰilːi-kuna=ke!"

    differ-EV=DSC

    'I see, so the speech from 'in the West' and 'in the East' [of Jeju] are

    different!'

As in Korean, Jejuan shows various adnominal constructions, yet they exhibit degrees of grammaticalisation quite distinct of what we observe in Korean (see Appendix A). Moreover, Jejuan shows a much greater, formal diversification of case particles. Exceptional case marking on verbal arguments, or the existence of double-accusative have not been attested so far, while double nominative marking is the only option for many experiencer verbs. As opposed to Korean, Jejuan allows for copula-less predication in generic, present tense contexts, and exhibits a distinct lpragmatically-determined reference system with different pronominals, which has not been well researched. As mentioned for its morphology, information structure (and, presumably, discourse structure) interacts with nominal particle and verbal marking in ways that are still poorly understood.

(7) Interaction of non-final verb morphology with mood marking on higher-clause verbs (see Hong J.-R. 2001, Song S.-J. 2011 for more)

  a. Jejuan [from field notes, Nov 2015]

    t͡ɕesʰukkɒsʰim=in/=ilaŋ   na=ka sʰa-n/-ŋ*

    ritual_fish=TOP.REAL/*=TOP.IRR 1SG-NOM buy-CVB.REAL/CVB

    ola-sʰ-u-ta

    come-PST-POL-DECL

    'As to the fish for the ritual, it is I who bought it and brought it home.'

  b. (7a) in Korean

    t͡ɕesʰasʰkam=in t͡ɕeka   sʰa o-asʰ-sʰip-ni-ta

    ritual_food=TOP 1SG.DEF:NOM buy come-PST-POL-EV-DECL

  c. Jejuan [from field notes, Nov 2015]

    nal=laŋ/=lakine moɲə ka-ŋ/-n   sʰi-kʰ-u-ta*

    1SG=TOP.IRR first go-CVB/*-CVB.REAL exist-IRR-POL-DECL

    'I'll go/I might go there first and wait for you!'

d. (7c) in Korean

$\widehat{t\varphi\partial}=n$ mə$\widehat{nt\varphi\partial}$ ka iṣ-keṣ-s^{h}ïp-ni-ta
1SG = TOP first go exist-IRR-POL-EV-DECL

Despite these numerous differences on all levels of linguistic enquiry, linguistic differences between Korean and Jejuan often tend to go unnoticed (or not explicitly addressed, at best), presumably because of complex, systemic reasons, having to do with Korean, dialectological research methodology and objectives, as well as ideological motivations.

1.5. Methodology and methods of data collection

For the collection of data relevant to this thesis, I applied a linguistic fieldwork methodology, which relies on the collection of linguistic data and its analysis through the researcher's presence in the field (Bowern 2008, Crowley 2007, Chelliah and de Reuse 2010). Furthermore, as no data has been gathered so far on the topic chosen in this thesis, a qualitative methodology of data sampling, collection and analysis was followed. Data was collected through fieldwork on Jeju Island, South Korea, and collection followed convenience sampling procedures.

Related to the critical endangerment of this language, the data collection carried out for this thesis was part of a bigger language documentation project aimed at providing a comprehensive and "lasting, multipurpose record of a language" (Himmelmann 2006: 1), with a focus on multi-modal (that is, audiovisual) recordings of Jejuan conversations.[27]

The above map shows the location of the chosen field sites[28]. A total of approximately nine months (three in 2015, six in 2016) was spent on Jeju Island, mainly living with HGS1, an approx. 85 year-old speaker from 짐녕 Jimnyeong[29], [$\widehat{t\varphi}$imɲəŋ] (kor. 김녕리 Gimnyeong-Ri, Gujwa-Eup) of Northeast Jeju.

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[27] This is an ongoing project. Most of the recordings and some accompanying annotations (transcriptions and interlinearisations) can be openly accessed under `https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI971100` [retrieved 2017-10-10]. All examples in this thesis which indicate a file name from jeju0001 to jeju0178 are part of this online collection. More on language documentation can be found in Gippert et al. (2006).

[28] 열운이/온펑리 Yeolluni [jəɭ:uɲi]/Onpyeong was visited only once, and will not be discussed here. Note that the upper-line names (except for that of Jejudo, the island) are the autochthonous Jejuan toponyms. Nowadays these are only known among fluent Jejuan speakers or scholars, and actually calling villages this way has largely fallen out of practice. This thesis, however, intends to use the Jejuan names in order to follow the diversity-driven practice outlined earlier.

[29] Note that older inhabitants from Jimnyeong identify themselves more with *s^{h}ə$\widehat{t\varphi}$imɲəŋ*, 'Western Jimnyeong' or *toŋ$\widehat{t\varphi}$imɲəŋ*, 'Eastern Jimnyeong', as a few decades ago these used to be two separate villages. To the interested reader, it may be useful to know that research was con-

Figure 1.3.: The location of Jimnyeong and Sukkun field sites [Map data ©2017 Google, SK telecom, ZENRIN]

This town is one of the biggest villages of the island about 20 kilometres east of the province's capital 성내 Seongnae, [sʰəŋnɛ] (also, *sʰəŋan*, lit. 'inside the fortress', kor. 제주시 Jeju-Si, 'Jeju City')[30], yet throughout the decades has been affected comparatively less by the April-Third massacres, or the booming tourism of the island, with comparably little in-migration from the mainland and little land development, and was deemed a suitable field site out of these reasons. As the village is known for its rocky and oligotrophic soil, many women have earned their living as women divers (ᄌᆞᆷ녜 *t͡ɕɒm-ɲe*, Sino-Jejuan 'diving-woman', kor. Haenyeo, cf. UNESCO 2016). HGS1 mentioned above and HYJ1, a approx. 83 year-old neighbour (both of female gender) have become the author's main teachers in this village.

The second field site was 숙군 Sukkun, [sʰuk̥un] (kor. 신촌리 Sinchon-Ri, Jocheon-Eup), which is a town east of Jeju City, and at about 17 kilometres west of Jimnyeong. Sukkun has a regular city bus connection and recently has seen some new development in the form of apartment construction, yet compared to neighbouring villages, the lack of a beach (and resulting lack of mass tourism)

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ducted in Eastern Jimnyeong almost exclusively, as (older) social circles from the two parts of the village only rarely mingle.

[30] Using the 'Jejuan' term for the capital may be controversial since scholars remark that in a literal sense, this name only refers to the formerly walled enclosures of now Jeju City. Older speakers, however, still use this name to refer to the entire city regardless of its recent expansion. Also, note that somewhat confusingly, 제주시 Jeju-Si, 'Jeju City' now has become the name for the entire upper half of Jeju Island, which goes against public use and perception.

has led to a fairly close-knit and more or less stable demographic. As opposed to Jimnyeong, Sukkun is known for its numerous sweet water spots by the coast, its fertile soil and watermelons, as well as its fishing culture. In this village, HJG1, a approx. 70 year-old speaker and his wife, JOS1 (approx. 65) were the author's main language teachers.[31]

Culturally, Jeju inhabitants from the Northern part of the island perceive there to be a cultural divide between Eastern and Western Jeju Island, with Southern regions often generally labelled 'the South' (jej. 남군 *namkun*, 'Southern District', an abbreviation of a former administrative division). Thus linguistic differences are perceived to run along similar lines, and it has been observed by the author that many older inhabitants from Eastern Jeju seem to be less interested in the Western part of the Island, with many having only little familial ties to that part at best. Not surprisingly, both the variety spoken in Sukkun, as well as that spoken in Jimnyeong are not that different from each other on the phonological and morphosyntactic level, with differences coming down to a few lexical items and the meaning of words which are homophonous across the two villages. This means that the selection of two different field sites was not seen to yield crucially different data with regard to the present investigation on finiteness in Jejuan.

Field site selection and speaker sampling followed a mixture of convenience sampling and snowballing methods. For once, this is due to the surging interest of scholars in studying Jeju culture which, paired with heavy mainlander's in-migration and largely mainland-induced or Chinese land development, has made Jeju social circles more adverse to outsiders, and the primary way of gaining access to speakers' communities was through relationships of mutual trust, and personal connections. As a more important aspect, convenience sampling had to be applied due to the high endangerment of the language, as fluent speakers who bring in the necessary conditions for hour-long linguistic elicitation (that is, physical and mental conditions), as well as interest and time[32] were not easy to find.

Fieldwork was carried out under a monolingual perspective, which means that the researcher aims at acquiring the language variety under study (henceforth

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[31] Note that similar to Jimnyeong, inhabitants make a spatial distinction of the village into *usʰ-toŋne*, 'upper, mountainside village', *altoŋne*, 'lower, seaside village', and more importantly, *sʰəkʰalɨm*, 'Western division' and *toŋkʰalɨm* 'Eastern division', seen from the position of the main sweet water spot *kʰɨnmul*, 'Great Water'. HJG1 is a speaker from Western Sukkun, and his wife is originally from a neighbouring village, yet have more interaction with inhabitants of Eastern Sukkun. Social interactions between different parts of the village seem less divided than in Jimnyeong.

[32] Note that most older people, often regardless of their age, tend to go after some work during the day, especially agriculture.

'target language') in a way that resorting to a contact variety (unless motivated by consultants themselves) is not needed any longer (Everett 2001). While the benefits of learning to use the target language as fluently as possible have been mentioned in various places (see Bowern 2008, Chelliah & Reuse 2011, Kibrik 1977), it is certainly not a pre-requisite for being able to analyse it per se as Everett (2001) would suggest (Crowley 2007: 155).

However, a language attitude study carried out prior to this thesis fieldwork (Kim S.-U 2013) showed that the Jejuan language context was embedded in a complex web of power attribution between Korean and Jejuan, and that this in-fluenced speakers' code choices, especially when communicating with outsiders and/or people of respectable social standing, as well as when being in a context involving such participants.

Although due to the normality of code-switching and multilingualism among speakers (many speakers know Jejuan, Standard Korean, and Japanese) I do not regard the usage of the contact language (that is, Korean) as a lack of "purity of the data collected" (Everett 2001: 185), two reasons led to the decision to choose a monolingual fieldwork method. The first reason was that the abovementioned usage of Standard Korean would inevitably re-inforce a speaker's accomodation tendencies towards the language of higher status, and that this may in turn foster negative language attitudes, and images of social inferiority. The second reason was simply that the declared goal of the data collection period was to collect as much Jejuan data as possible. Given older people's accomodation tendencies in communication with younger people such as the author and/or outsiders, this meant that more conscious 'code management' had to be done. Thus in case the author knew that there are two lexical alternatives he could choose from — one with higher 'authenticity' in terms of its differences from Korean, yet with considerably lower occurence in nowadays Jejuan speech, the other with much higher 'conventionality' in everyday usage, yet its origins either clearly being the result of Korean-Jejuan code-switching, or lexical near-identical borrowings — he decided to use the less common form which was nevertheless regarded the 'more authentically Jejuan' form by speakers (*sʰun t͡ɕet͡ɕutomːal*, 'pure Jejuan', or *enːalmal*, 'words of back then').[33] In most cases, this would prompt speakers to

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[33] To give an example, we have the Jejuan expression *t͡ɕʷe t͡ɕəpʰːa-n*, sin fear-CVB, 'lit. in fear of commiting an error', i.e. 'because I feel to be a burden'. In Korean, a similar meaning would be expressed by the light verb expression *mian he-sʰə*, sorry do-CVB, and accordingly, Jejuan speakers nowadays build an analogous form *mian heə-n*, sorry do-CVB. Anecdotally, the Jejuan expression was uttered by HGS1 when the author was in a car with her and her family, with her considerably younger family members admitting that they heard that expression for the first time. Thus in future interactions, I resorted to using this expression even though HGS1

use that form in replies and instantiate the usage of more Jejuan grammar, which is arguably the most desired form of language in this thesis. Thus I am very well aware that such data may be less natural in a sense that code-switching was covertly 'managed' and directed by the researcher in interaction, and that using the language of lesser social power does not redress power imbalances created by centuries of structural and social violence in such a simplistic fashion. Yet in terms of social relationships, community engagement as well as creating less formal recording environments (which was found out to be essential, Kim S.-U 2013), using Jejuan exclusively was seen to be very beneficial, indirectly aiding successful and rich data collection (cf. also Munro 2002).

Linguistic elicitation relevant to the thesis research was also carried out monolingually. In order to do this, after a period of focus on the author's language acquisition in parallel with easier, lexical elicitation sessions to accustom consultants to an elicitation setting, the author set up questionnaires tailored towards the data collection on finiteness in Jejuan adverbial clauses. Elicitation sessions turned out to proceed much slower than previously anticipated, not least because language teachers were not used to the metalinguistic tasks associated with such work[34], but also due to very practical factors, such as the age of speakers and physical consequences thereof.

The employment of judgment elicitation remains to be a controversial issue, since it seems that what counts as a linguistic judgment (cf. Lüpke 2010: 93), what is grammaticality (and ungrammaticality in particular, cf. Hinds 1981), and what is the relationship between a linguistic judgment uttered by a native speaker and their intuition (cf. Botha 1981: 30, Schütze and Sprouse 2013: 28, Bresnan 2007 for varying positions) can be difficult to determine in epistemological terms.

Still, researchers mostly seem to agree over the fact that without explicit elicitation of metalinguistic judgments, one could not account for negative evidence (cf. Lüpke 2010: 61 or Schütze 2009: 29) no matter what the size of a corpus is. Moreover, without applying linguistic elicitation, the collection of data with the manipulation of various variables for a particular study would be very difficult to achieve. Thus with respect to this thesis research on Jejuan adverbial clauses, it is very difficult to find a sufficient number of examples in spontaneous utterances where we a) have a biclausal linkage with only the adverbial clause and the final clause, b) where the adverbial clause is not in a post-verbal 'echoing' position, where c) all of the arguments of the predicates of both clauses are expressed,

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would not comonly use it to interlocutors of my age.

[34] Note that many older speakers only had limited, formal schooling, and thus many are currently being taught to read and write (Standard Korean, and not Jejuan) by local councils.

and d) the final clause verb is in a form which appears in a declarative form (for demonstrative purposes). This is why elicited examples played a crucial role in the present analysis.[35] This, then, enabled a more or less controlled manipulation of morphosyntactic variables, for example the applicability of centre-embedding, or the relativisation of clausal arguments, and their combination with each other (cf. Matthewson 2004).[36]

Due to the similarities between Korean and Jejuan, it sometimes admittedly is difficult to judge whether an example was constructed on the basis of the author's knowledge of Korean, or the newly acquired knowledge of Jejuan, and therefore, researchers of reductionist approaches caring about the 'linguistic purity' of language data may contend that the data collected is in fact 'contaminated' by Korean, presumably the native Korean knowledge of the author. Two things can be said on this matter.

Firstly, consultants' language use is never pure in a sense that in one moment, the grammar of the language used would be 'entirely Korean' and in another, 'entirely Jejuan'. Adding most older speakers' knowledge (and occasional usage) of Japanese to this argumentation, I am not assuming any kind of isolated conceptualisation of Jejuan language use; that is, we are dealing with a multilingual context where problematising the very common multilinguality of the language data is quite an unhelpful, monolingualist (and possibly ethno-nationalist) perspective on language. Therefore, I as the author occasionally decided to make judgment calls on a more intuitive basis, and in the case of doubt, examples were not used for this thesis if they seemed to be primed by possible Korean language structures.

Secondly, although it took some time to negotiate a workable elicitation routine (partly, by virtue of different levels of literacy, as well as the high age of the consultants), consultants would fairly honestly react to unacceptable examples, which they either deemed to be nonsensical, or which they attributed to Korean language use.

Having discussed perspectives on data collection, I will now proceed to a brief

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[35] The reader may note that some examples have been taken from so-called Pear Story recordings, where I showed consultants a video and asked them to describe what happens in it. These recordings are now a common tool in eliciting narratives in linguistic field research. Since they only played a marginal role in my documentary corpus, I will not discuss them extensively here, but refer to Chafe (1980) and this webpage: `http://pearstories.org/docu/ThePearStories.htm` [retrieved 2018-08-22].

[36] All examples which are labelled beginning with 'EQ/EN' are elicited examples which were — on the basis of conversational recordings and other field notes — constructed by the author and checked back with consultants. Often, consultants would suggest more suitable examples, in which case these ones were favoured.

overview on the thesis structure, including some general remarks.

1.6. General remarks and thesis overview

In line with conventional research on clause linkage and finiteness, egarding the scope of research, I am only considering biclausal linkages to narrow down the scope of investigation. Thus although truly multiclausal contexts with more than one non-final clause as shown at the beginning of this chapter may be interesting (and certainly more naturalistic), their examination exceeds the scope of this thesis. Moreover, I focus on cases where we have a 'non-final clause—final clause' context, rather than a 'non-final clause—non-final clause' one with no accompanying final clause, or a more typically 'insubordinate' (Evans 2007) one where a non-final clause is used in contexts where a final clause would be expected. Especially the latter contexts seem to require quite a bit of additional prosodic, pragmatic, and discourse-interactional argumentation which would also go beyond what is being examined in this study.[37]

Similar to conventional usage of the term (Haspelmath 1995, Thompson et al. 2007, Hetterle 2015), I use the notion of 'adverbial clause' more in a more practical than theoretically motivated sense, and therefore use this term as a working notion without assuming that this type of clauses has any categorial validity per se. Roughly speaking, an adverbial clause will be regarded as any clause that has some sort of meaning similar to adverbial adjuncts (yet potentially going beyond it in the case of clauses with 'coordinative' function), to distinguish it from a clause that functions as an adnominal adjunct (relative clauses) or a clausal complement (complement clause).

Moreover, the sketch grammar section A.3.6 shows how some constructions involving adnominal clauses may be used in adverbial function (more specifically, temporal adverbials) which is said to be a common phenomenon across the world's languages (Thompson et al. 2007). Thus, while the term 'adverbial clause' may refer to both converb clauses and adnominal clause constructions, it is only the former that I will be examining here. This partly has to do with the fact that technically, only converb clauses are clauses with the predicate as their syntactic head, whereas in adnominal constructions we have an adnominal clause and a weak nominal which functions as the head of the phrase (just as a regular nominal would do), and therefore, in many cases one may argue that the whole

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[37] For more on this matter, consider Kiaer (2014: 167ff.) who looks at such cases from a prosodic angle, and combines this knowledge with a pragmatic approach to Korean syntax.

phrase could be seen as a nominal phrase than a clause. As we are interested in finiteness as a clausal property, I am not considering these cases here.

The notion of 'matrix' clause and 'final' clause will be used to mean roughly the same, yet 'matrix clause' will only be used for clause linkage types which can be shown to be syntactically embedded, whereas for linkages where there is no evidence for syntactic embedding, the more neutral term 'final/non-final clause' will be used. 'Subordinate clause', however, will not be a term used in this thesis due its notional vagueness (Haiman and Thompson 1984 among others). Furthermore, given that it is one of this thesis' assumptions that a clause can be 'non-finite' or 'finite' on many levels and to varying degrees (depending on the various manifestations of finiteness properties), the more usual term 'non-finite clause' etc. will be avoided in order to avoid circularity. Admittedly, 'non-final' and 'final' are terms fraught with their very own problems since they are linear notions that do not necessarily take into account the actual syntactic structure behind them. However, these terms are employed here to avoid more problematic notions mentioned above, and ultimately for ease of reference without having to 'invent' a new syntactic category which applies to that particular clause type.

In this thesis, in fact, the Canonical Typology approach will be used to identify different shades of finiteness in Jejuan clause linkage, which does not necessarily assume any set bundlings of parameters except for the canonical ideal (and its logical opposite, see section 5). In other words, since I wish to avoid preset terms which are associated with a number of properties as applied with 'matrix' and 'subordinate' clauses, I prefer the linear terms 'non-final' and 'final' clause as a theoretically more 'neutral' term of convenience.

Regarding more practical issues, I would like to explain a few things regarding transliteration and interlinear glossing conventions. Contrary to Koreanist scholarship, I will not resort to the more usual, yet more diachronically reflective Yale transliteration. Instead, a phonemic IPA transliteration[38] was developed for Jejuan which was also intended to support accessibility to readers outside Koreanic linguistics. For the sake of accuracy, Yale romanisation (and McCune-Reischauer if necessary) of Korean will be applied for terms used in Koreanic linguistics, as well as when citing from sources that apply such romanisations. Established toponyms and other proper names and cultural artefacts will be displayed in Revised Romanisation as used in official usage, unless there are other known versions (for example, personal names). See table on page 11 for an overview of conventional

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[38] As any phonemic writing requires abstraction by virtue of not displaying allophony, and orthographic conventionalisation, I am counting this IPA orthography as transliteration, and not necessarily as transcription.

characters chosen.

For the interlinearisation of examples, I follow the guidelines of the Leipzig Glossing Rules. Examples which were used in elicitation sessions are indicated by the letters 'EQ/EN...'. Examples from other field notes (e.g., witnessed accounts) are indicated with 'FN...'. Examples which are labelled with 'jeju0000' and a minute:second number refer to the recordings made of the elicitation.[39] Examples without any source reference, especially as given in the phonology section, are abstractions of existing data and can therefore not be clearly assigned to a particular source.

On a more general level, I am aware that I am writing about 'language comparison' or 'the world's languages' here although the very notion of 'a language' — especially in the Jejuan context — is more ideologically loaded than many structural linguists may be willing to consider. Instead of using a potentially more accurate term such as 'the world's language varieties' or 'comparison of language varieties', I am being deliberately vague here. I will not be touching upon this ideological and highly political question of linguistic differentiation in this thesis, yet would like to refer to variously scholarly treatments such as Cysouw and Good (2013), Heinrich (2012), Irvine (1989), Irvine and Gal (2000) and Kim (2017) among others.

1.6.1. Overview of thesis content

Chapter 2 will give an overview of the wider literature on clause linkage. It will be shown that clause linkage literature, in light of extraordinary diversity of cross-linguistic phenomena, has shown an increasing move towards multidimensional, parametric approaches which try to avoid preset categories such as the more traditionally common notions of coordination, subordination among others. It will be argued that in order to understand adverbial clauses and their properties better, we can examine their finiteness properties in comparison to a canonically finite clause.

Chapter 3 will show how research on finiteness has seen a comparable, conceptual expansion from morphological properties to multifaceted properties of a clause. I will show that accordingly, the opposition of 'finite' vs. 'non-finite' turns out to be a less helpful, binary distinction in typological research, and that

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[39] The 'jeju0000' part indicates the overall bundle of files, and '-00' indicates the number of the file within the bundle. All recordings from jeju0001 and jeju0178 are part of an online collection of the Jejuan Language Documentation Project funded by the ELDP, see `https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI971100` [retrieved 2017-10-10]. Most recordings can be accessed without restriction upon registration.

more sophisticated methods are required to capture the typological diversity. After a brief summary of the goals of general, typological research, the Canonical Typology framework will be presented as a useful solution to this problem, and Nikolaeva's (2013) ideas on examining finiteness under a Canonical-Typological framework will be discussed in detail. I will then propose the set of finiteness criteria applied to the data in this thesis, and formulate the relevant questions guiding this research.

Chapter 4 will describe properties of a selected set of Jejuan adverbial clauses in detail, following the morphological, syntactic and semantic finiteness criteria presented in Chapter 3. This chapter will point out that there are finiteness criteria that are not relevant to the description of Jejuan adverbial clauses since they do not show any manifestations in the language's grammar, and also highlight some properties of the adverbial clauses which the Canonical-Typological approach does not account for.

Chapter 5 will take the data from the previous chapter and arrange them in a way relevant to the Canonical Typology model. This chapter will analyse inter-criterial patternings according to the linguistic domain, closed by a more holistic comparison of the patternings with the Canonical Finiteness pattern represented by our Canonical Ideal. The central finding is that Jejuan adverbial clauses are in fact a heterogenous class, and that consistent patternings can be found only for a subset of the examined clause types, eventually referred to as 'canonically non-finite' clauses. The multidimensional approach to finiteness will be highlighted as a necessary perspective to capture the various alignments and mismatches that have come to the fore in this analysis. Discussing the merits and benefits of the Canonical Typology framework, the chapter will point out that Canonical Typology provides a rigorous method to situate languages and their phenomena within the typological space, which may then subsequently ensure that the data are maximally comparable to other languages, addressing the Correspondence Problem in a sophisticated, and well-defined way.

Chapter 6 will close the thesis with a summary of the findings and theoretical contributions, raising questions for further research. In order to facilitate understanding of the interlinearised examples, and to give a contextualisation of Jejuan grammar, a grammar sketch has been appended in Appendix A which mainly focuses on various aspects of verbal morphology.

2. Approaches to clause linkage

This section will summarise the most important developments in the literature on clause linkage, beginning with more tradtional concepts such as coordination and subordination (Section 2.2), via the introduction of intermediate clause linkage categories (Section 2.3) up to approaches which decompose clause linkage categories into a possibly language-specific array of multiple dimensions (Section 2.4). It will be in the light of these mutidimensional approaches to clause linkage that the bridge to the current examination of finiteness in Jejuan is made. Also, a few paragraphs will summarise research on clause linkage within Koreanic linguistics (2.5). I begin with a brief explanation of the notion of a 'clause'.

2.1. On the notion of a clause

In this section, I intend to give a brief explanation of what I mean by 'clause', referring to traditional views on this notion. Note that the notion of a clause is related to finiteness as soon as one regards the latter to be a clausal property involving the three domains of morphology, syntax and semantics. However, I do not delve into the relationship between these notions here as different theories may potentially lead to very diverging understandings of this relationship, as discussed in the next chapter. Given that this thesis has as its focus the grammatical description of finiteness dimensions in Jejuan, I leave this matter to future theorisation.[1]

The definition of 'clause' as a notion is related to ways of conceptualising predicates. The classical understanding of a clause is bipartite in nature, containing a predicate and its subject argument. As a consequence, the definition of a clause depends on what is conceived of as a predicate, as the following quotation from Kneale and Kneale (1962: 64) shows:

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[1] Similarly in Nikolaeva (2013: 104): "[...] I maintain that finiteness-related criteria belong to one of the three relevant domains: morphology, syntax, and semantics. In fact I believe a canonical clause to be finite, but leave open the question of how exacty the notions of finiteness and 'clausality' may interact."

> "The subject-term may be taken to indicate or refer to a number of individuals distributively by expressing a property or group of properties which these individuals have in common. The copula then expresses the not further analyzable notion of predication and the predicate simply expresses the property which it is the function of the whole sentence to ascribe to the individuals indicated by the subject-term."

The above quotation is taken from Ackerman and Webelhuth (1998: 37), where the authors state that such a bipartite conceptualisation of clausal structures leads back to Aristotle. Thus looking at Kneale's attempt of a definition above, one can identify two perspectives on the notion of a clause.

In a semantic view, a clause is conceptualised as the "smallest grammatical unit which can express a complete proposition" (Kroeger 2005: 32). A proposition, in turn, is often understood in the following terms:

> "The proposition expressed by a sentence is the set of possible worlds of which that sentence is true." (Sternefeld and Zimmermann 2013: 144)

According to Sternefeld and Zimmermann (2013: 143), a possible world is a "completely specified possible state of affairs", which is why propositions are often more simply defined as the description of such states of affairs holding between particular entities.

Traditional, syntactically oriented perspectives focus on a bipartite structural distinction mentioned above:

> "a clause is essentially a subject [...] and a predicate phrase. The most obvious kind of clause is the simple [sic] sentence" (Carnie 2012: 212)

The conceptual division of a clause into a predicate and its subject is often found in non-formal approaches to grammatical theory as well, for example in Tallermann (2015: 77) among others. Note that in the literature, 'clause' is commonly used interchangeably with 'simple(x) sentence', as in the quotation by Carnie (2012) above.

The structure of a clause being divided into the position of the grammatical subject and a predicate phrase has found its way into many syntactic frameworks that assume some sort of phrase structure, yet has been conceptualised as particularly consistent in Chomskyan syntax. There, the subject NP occupies the specifier position of the top IP node, and is the sister of VP (or in advanced versions, vP).

The bipartite conceptualisation of clausal structure is therefore represented in the fact that in English, for example, the VP in a simple clause tree represents the 'predicate phrase' mentioned by Carnie (2012: 212) above, and the subject NP is located outside of it as the specifier of IP. At the same time, in non-configurational languages where one cannot establish a VP category, one way of interpreting the data would be to assume a flat IP structure.[2] There, an emphasis will have to be put on the argument structure of a verb, and how it holds together a predicate and its argument NPs within a contiguous clausal domain, without referring to a 'predicate phrase' in phrase structure.

The existence of IP in syntactic frameworks similar to the above is also based on the assumption that it is the maximal projection of a zero-level category which functions as the inflectional head of the entire clause. Depending on the properties of such an inflectional head, a clause is seen as finite or non-finite (see Section 3.1 for more on this matter).

A further pillar of clausal architecture is the domain within which a predicate takes the arguments that it requires (cf. Tallermann 2005: 133ff.). Thus in the following, I will give a brief elaboration on the notion of 'predicate' as a grammatical category, focusing on selected semantic and syntactic aspects. On the semantic level, a predicate is roughly seen to be part of an assertion about a property of an entity or the relation between entities (see Luraghi and Parodi 2008: 154f., Riemer 2010: 190ff.). Within this view, researchers such as Stockwell (1977: 10) emphasise the relational aspect of a predicate by referring to the argument structure that is inherent to it:

> "[...] a casual examination of various sequences of words suggests that not just any type of word can occur just anywhere in the sequence. Rather, there must be some word which is understood to express a relation that holds over some domain [...]. The expression of such a relation is a predication. The domain over which the predication is asserted is made up of participants (also called arguments)."

Ackerman and Webelhuth (1998) provide a more syntactically grounded definition of predicates. In their view, predicates are seen as "determiners of central properties of clauses" (Ackerman and Webelhuth 1998: 6). As such, a predicate a) is the "entity that [...] determines all of the complement requirements for the

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[2] Of course, this matter is much more complex, and different strands of syntactic research may interpret the data very differently. Sells' (1995) non-transformational approach to morphosyntax discusses 'free scrambling languages' such as Korean or Japanese, where the entire 'clause' could be seen as a chain of V' adjunctions within which NPs can be freely repositioned.

domain which it heads", and b) is the "locus for clausal operators" such as tense, aspect and mood (Ackerman and Webelhuth 1998: 37)[3].

An advantage of this view is that firstly, the syntactic category of a predicate does not matter, and secondly, a predicate need not be a single morphosyntactic unit:

(8) English

    a. I have seen it.

    b. Have you seen it?

(9) German

    a. *Die Tür   auf-machen, aber zackig!*
       the door open-do   but quickly
       'Open the door, now!'

    b. *Mach die Tür   auf!*
       do   the door open
       'Open the door!'

The above example from English shows the surface realisation of a predicate as two syntactically independent units, where an auxiliary and its main verb can occur in syntactically non-adjacent positions. Similarly, in ex. (9b) from German, the predicate *aufmachen* 'open sth.', is syntactically expressed as two disjunct constituents. Here, a 'preverb'[4] and the inflected verb can be syntactically disjunct, wheras in contexts such as ex. (9a), the preverb and the verb appear in a contiguous form. For such cases where a predication is not realised as a syntactic unit, they use the term 'phrasal predicate' (Ackerman and Webelhuth 1998: 4).

Ackerman and Webelhuth's (1998) distinction between a predicate and its surface realisation entails that a clause always has one predicate irrespective of the number of its syntactic correlates. However, there seems to be no agreement among researchers on whether multiple verbs in a single clause are to be seen as constituting a single predicate, since researchers such as Baker and Harvey (2010: 13ff.) argue that "monoclausality as a criterion does not determine a unitary set of predicate structures". Structures as shown in (9) that deviate from the one-to-one correspondence between a clause and a syntactically single predicate are referred to as 'complex predicates'. See here the definition that Butt (2010) provides:

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[3] The second aspect of their definition does not imply that the "locus" of tense, aspect, mood marking has to be the place where the verb is located in a clause, since for Ackerman and Webelhuth (1998), it can be realised in a syntactically independent position through a non-verbal element.

[4] See Ackerman and LeSourd (1997: 67): "A preverb [...] may be a prefix, a proclitic element, or a particle which is syntactically separable from the verb with which it is construed."

> "[T]he term complex predicate is used to designate a construction
> that involves two or more predicational elements (such as nouns, verbs,
> and adjectives) which predicate as a single element, i.e. their argu-
> ments map onto a monoclausal syntactic structure." (Butt 2010: 49)

Thus within the domain of a single clause, a predicate can be made up of several "predicational elements" (from Butt's 2010 quotation above), and such a predicate is complex. Complex predicates are difficult to define and comprise a variety of constructions (cf. Alsina et al. 1997, Butt 2010 for more), among which are serial verbs and auxiliary verb constructions.

2.2. Traditional approaches to clause linkage: coordination and subordination

Traditional approaches to clause linkage make a distinction into two categories, namely coordination and subordination (Cristofaro 2003: 16, Gast and Diessel 2012: 4ff., Haiman and Thompson 1984: 510).[5] Within the domain of clausal subordination, one commonly distinguishes three functional subtypes: relative, complement and adverbial clauses (see Luraghi and Parodi 2008: 170). Complement clauses function as arguments of verbs, whereas relative clauses modify a noun (see Shopen 2007, vol. II for an overview and references). Adverbial clauses are similar to an adverbial adjunct, yet depending on the understanding, they can take on a much broader range of functions and meanings (cf. Diessel 2013, Gast and Diessel 2012, Hetterle 2015, Thompson et al. 2007).

Lyons (1968: 178) explains such a more traditional view on clause linkage as follows:

> "Complex sentences are divided into: (a) those in which the con-
> stituent clauses are grammatically co-ordinate, no one being depen-
> dent on the others, but all being [...] added together in sequence,
> with or without the so-called coordinating conjunctions [...] (and,
> but, etc.); and (b) those in which one of the clauses ('the main clause')
> is 'modified' by one or more subordinate clauses grammatically de-
> pendent upon it and generally introduced [...] by a subordinating
> conjunction [...]."

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[5] Note that formal approaches to clause linkage will not be treated in this chapter. For example, for an introduction into various treatments in Chomskyan grammar see Radford 1988, Carnie 2012, or in particular Weisser 2015.

Traditional approaches to clause linkage notoriously rely on showing that a complex sentence is *not* coordinate, implying that 'not coordinate' entails 'subordinate'. Haspelmath (1995: 12ff.) presents the following criteria for subordination:

(10) Criteria for diagnosing clausal subordination
      1. subordinate clauses may disrupt the clause-internal, linear word order of a matrix clause
      2. only subordinate clauses may precede or follow their main clause
      3. backwards pronominal anaphora is only allowed into subordinate structures
      4. only subordinate clauses can narrow down the reference of the main clause
      5. only subordinate clauses can be focused
      6. extraction of constituents is possible only from subordinate clauses

Note that the last criterion stems from the work of Ross (1967), where the impossibility of extraction of coordinate elements was termed as the Coordinate Structure Constraint. The diagnostics presented for the identification of subordinate or coordinate structures are intimately connected with the notion of dependency (cf. Croft 2001: 320/321). By applying the term 'dependency', the notion of 'asymmetry' between constituents can be syntactically grounded (cf. Cristofaro 2003): when looking at coordinate clauses, two constituents are assumed to be potentially fully independent syntactic units which combine to a bigger unit that has the same syntactic category as each of the combined constituents (see Haspelmath 2007: 46). In this sense, the relationship between two coordinated constituents is said to be symmetrical. In a dependency relationship however, only one member of a combination of constituents determines the category of the whole complex, and this member is the syntactic head. Thus subordination is an asymmetrical relationship between clauses, whereas coordination is a symmetrical relationship.[6] As a consequence, Haspelmath (2007: 46, footnote 12) states that a subordinate clause can be understood to be equal to a dependent clause.

A noteworthy feature in traditional treatments of subordination vs. coordination is their connection to the concept of finiteness, which in clause linkage research is often employed to refer to the morphological features of clausal head verbs. Especially subordinate clauses are said to manifest asymmetries between matrix clauses in that their morphology is non-finite compared to matrix clause

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[6] Weisser (2015) or Lee J. S. (2014) discuss more recent ideas in some Chomskyan approaches, suggesting that in fact, coordinate structures are more appropriately understood as syntactically asymmetrical.

verbs (cf. Haspelmath 1995, Bickel 2010). While it is my intention to use that connection to look at Jejuan adverbial clauses through the eyes of finiteness, note that in Section 3.1 and all other relevant sections thereafter, finiteness is conceived of as a clausal property that involves the areas of morphology, syntax and semantics.

I will now move to the next Section to show that one needs to make a clear distinction between clausal embedding and dependency.

2.3. Embedding and dependency as discrete parameters: Clause-chaining constructions

Research has shown that different types of clauses that are called subordinate actually exhibit quite divergent degrees of embeddedness in a matrix clause, and as they comprise such a variety of constructons, some voices such as Payne's (1997: 336) judge it not to be very useful for usage in grammatical descriptions, with Haiman and Thompson (1984: 510) as an early call for the abandonment of subordination as a grammatical category.

As Thompson et al. (2007: 238) and Diessel (2013: 342) point out, adverbial clauses in particular seem to be rather loosely integrated into a main clause. Whereas Thompson et al. (2007) mention this rather vaguely by shortly stating that adverbial clauses are "less subordinate" than other subordinate clause types, Diessel (2013: 342) further explains this by discussing Matthiessen and Thompson's (1988) ideas that adverbial clauses are not embedded in, but dependent on their main clause.

Such a view on the syntactic status of adverbial clauses is remarkable from a traditional viewpoint in that a distinction is made between clausal dependency and the embedding. Based on the ideas of Jespersen (1924), Foley and Van Valin (1984) and Foley and Olson (1985) developed their influential syntactic theory of Role and Reference Grammar (cf. Van Valin and LaPolla 1997 as the standard reference) which was a first step towards a parametric take on subordination.

Referring to their understanding of syntactic units as nucleus (the predicate of a clause), core (whole predication with arguments of a predicate) and periphery (syntactic adjuncts and modificational elements), they provide the means to specify on which syntactic level subordination occurs. In Foley and Van Valin (1984: 238ff.), the combination of clauses is referred to as nexus, and the syntactic level of where a clause attaches to is called a juncture. Finally, their theoretical reasoning about the combinability of embedding and dependency leads to a logical

grid of four syntactic types of clause linkage:

(11) modeled after Foley and Van Valin (1984: 241)
　　　1. [-embedded], [-dependent] = coordination
　　　2. [+embedded], [+dependent] = subordination
　　　3. [-embedded], [+dependent] = cosubordination
　　　4. [+embedded], [-dependent] = *

If one assumes embeddedness and dependency to be attributes with binary values, one would have four logical possibilities of which the fourth possibility, [+embedded] and [-dependent] is deemed to be "inherently inconsistent and thus impossible" (Foley and Van Valin 1984: 393), since embedding is expected to involve the dependency of a constituent.

As Foley and Van Valin (1984: 243) state, embedding only exists if a clause is a constituent of another clause, but dependency between clauses is visible through a superordinate clause having scope over a subordinate clause in terms of "illocutionary force, evidentials, status and tense" (Foley and Van Valin 1984: 243, also 257; and Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 448ff.).

To recall, in a traditional sense, a combination of clauses that are neither embedded in one another nor dependent is considered to be coordination, and dependent clauses that show signs of embedding are seen to be model examples for subordination. Eventually questioning this dichotomous view, a third type, cosubordination, was coined by Olson (1981) as a result of his work on Papuan languages:

(12) Chuave, Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 448; citing Thurman 1975)
　　a. *Yai kuba i-re　　kei si-re　　fu-m-e.*
　　　　man stick get-SEQ.SP dog hit-SEQ.SP go-3sg-INDIC
　　　　'The man got a stick, hit the dog, and went away.'
　　b. *Yai kuba i-re　　kei su-n-goro　　fu-m-e.*
　　　　man stick get-SEQ.SP dog hit-SEQ.DFP go-3sg-INDIC
　　　　'The man got a stick, hit the dog, and it went away.'

These examples from Chuave show a series of clauses where the verb of the final clause is the only one marked for subject agreement and tense, aspect, mood. As such, the last clause is said to be able to occur in an independent context, whereas all the other preceding clauses cannot occur independently. This series of clauses is called a chain, and these constructions are referred to as 'clause

chains' (Longacre 2007: 398ff.). In Papuan linguistics[7], the verbs which head the non-final clauses are referred to as 'medial verbs'.

These constructions have had an impact on syntactic theory since they normally tend to occur in very long chains of clauses where only the final verb can receive the full range of inflectional marking. Researchers have argued that the sheer length of clause-chains questions the notion of a sentence as distinguished from a paragraph (see Longacre 1979, and 2007: 400).

Furthermore, as Kroeger (2004: 242ff.) elaborates, clause-chaining constructions are interesting for syntactic theory in that they are not clearly identifiable as subordinate or coordinate, but in fact, they seem to be somewhere in the middle with regard to their syntactic behaviour. Mostly relying on data from Amele (Papua-New Guinea, Roberts 1988), he shows that clause-chaining constructions are different from subordination with respect to the word order of the whole complex sentence. In contrast to usual subordinate clauses, medial clauses in Amele (the verb of the medial clause is suffixed with a MED marker) cannot appear within their matrix clause, making it discontinuous. The first example below is a clause-chaining construction and the second a subordinate clause construction:

(13) Amele, (Roberts 1988: 52-55; taken from Haspelmath 1995: 24)

    a. Clause chain

        [Ho busale-ce-b]   dana age qo-i-ga.
        pig run.out-MED.DS-3SG man they hit-3PL-HOD
        'The pig ran out and the man killed it.'

    b. Subordinate clause

        Dana age [ho qo-qag-an   nu]   ho-i-ga.
        man they pig kill-3PL-FUT PURP come-3PL-HOD
        'The men came to kill the pig.'

    c. Clause chain

        *Dana age [ho busale-ce-b]   qo-i-ga.
        man   they pig run.out-MED.DS-3SG kill-3PL-HOD
        'The men, the pig having run out, killed it.'

Also, medial clauses may not appear either before or after their main clause, but must precede it.

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[7] Longacre (2007: 399) suggests that where clause-chaining constructions are "most fully, and one might say, remorselessly developed is the island of New Guinea [...]", adding that similar constructions can be found in South America, India, Central and East Asia as well

(14) Amele, (Roberts 1988: 55/56; taken from Haspelmath 1995: 24)

    a. Subordinate clause

      Uqa sab man-igi-an   *[ija ja hud-ig-en*   *fi]*
      she food roast-3SG-FUT I   fire open-3SG-FUT if

      'She will cook the food if I light the fire.'

    b. Clause chain

      *Dana age qo-i-ga   *[ho busale-ce-b]*
      man   they kill-3PL-HOD pig run.out-MED.DS-3SG

      'The men, the pig having run out, killed it.'

These properties make clause-chaining constructions in Amele more similar to subordinate clauses. On the other hand, clause chains share properties of coordinate clauses in that backwards pronominal anaphora in clause-chaining constructions is not possible. Backwards pronominal anaphora should be possible if one assumed a subordinate structure, although the opposite seems to be the case in Amele:

(15) Amele (Roberts 1988, in Kroeger 2004: 247f.)

    a. Subordinate clause

      (Uqa$_i$) sab j-igi-an   *nu*   *Fred$_i$ ho-i-a*
      3SG   food eat-3SG-FUT PURP Fred come-3SG-REC.PST

      'He$_i$, in order to eat food, Fred$_i$ came.'

    b. Coordinate clause

      *Uqa$_i$ ho-i-a   *qa Fred$_i$ sab qee je-l-Ø*
      3SG   come-3SG-REC.PST but Fred food not eat-NEG.PST-3SG

      *'He$_i$ came but Fred$_i$ did not eat.'

    c. Clause chain

      *Uqa$_i$ bi-bil-i   *Fred je-i-a*
      3SG   SIMUL-sit-3SG-SS Fred eat-3SG-REC.PST

      *'While he$_i$ sat, Fred$_i$ ate.'

Kroeger (2004: 248) suggests accounting for the data through a constraint that requires the noun phrase as the antecedent of a pronoun to precede it, or to control the pronoun through c-command. Since in clause-chaining constructions backwards pronominal anaphora is not possible, Kroeger concludes that these constructions are not embedded in their main clauses. Furthermore, order reversal of constituents as in coordinate constructions is not possible, which in turn makes clause-chaining constructions in Amele seem closer to coordinate structures (Kroeger 2004: 249). This somewhat 'intermediary' status between

coordinate and subordinate clauses, sharing properties of both, led researchers to suggest a new category of cosubordination.

Foley and Van Valin (1984) admit that their definition of subordination is much more restricted than a traditional conceptualisation, since the necessary condition for a clausal relationship to be called subordinate would be only in the case of clausal embedding. In this sense, only complement clauses would be considered to be an instance of authentic subordination, whereas adverbial clauses which were discussed above would belong to the category of cosubordinate clauses. This would be similar to approaches presented by Mathiessen and Thompson (1988) and Givón (1990) where adverbial clauses indeed have an intermediate status between coordinate and subordinate clauses.

That means that under this view, linked clauses that are normally considered coordinate would be classified as being cosubordinate, as soon as one of the dependency criteria of the main clause predicate having illocutionary force, evidential or tense scope over the dependent clause is fulfilled. Indeed, Cristofaro (2003: 23) and Foley and Van Valin (1984: 259) discuss cases where English could be considered as having cosubordinate clauses since what on the surface seems to be identical to a prototypically 'subordinate' clause, may exhibit atypical characteristics. Based on these problems I would like to go over to presenting quite a radical approach where there are no pre-established categories such as 'cosubordination' or 'coordination', where such syntactic categories are rather conceptualised as bundles of independent parameters.

2.4. Clause linkage as a multidimensional notion

Gast and Diessel (2012: 9) remark that "the recent history of crosslinguistic work on complex sentences can be regarded as a stepwise movement away from "major" categories like "adverbial clause" or "complement clause" to more specific categories or subtypes. In other words, research on complex sentences has increasingly been parametricized." This process of increasing parametricisation will be outlined in this section.

2.4.1. Haiman and Thompson's multidimensional understanding

The parametricisation that Diessel refers to has seen some early repercussions in the work of Haiman and Thompson (1984), where the authors argue that "subordination" as a traditional notion is very inconsistent and language-specific, and

that one cannot define this notion without circularity. In a similar vein, they criticise attempts at levelling out inconsistencies by conceptualising the subordination/coordination divide as a continnum between two poles (Haiman and Thompson 1984: 510), as they believe a multidimensional conceptualisation to be the most suited one. In fact, what they present is the deconstruction of the notion of 'subordination' into "a composite of factors" (Haiman and Thompson 1984: 511), which may or may not correlate with each other:

(16)   Haiman and Thompson (1984: 511)
   1. Identity between the two clauses of subject, tense, or mood
   2. Reduction of one of the clauses
   3. Grammatically signalled incorporation of one of the clauses
   4. Intonational linking between the two clauses
   5. One clause is within the scope of the other
   6. Absence of tense iconicity between the two clauses
   7. Identity between the two clauses of speech act perspective

As in this approach one would do away with any referral to a notion such as "subordination" or "subordinate clause", one is left with discussing linked clauses solely by means of referring to the above dimensions.

Haiman and Thompson's early ideas on resovling the problem of defining 'subordination' are promising, as inter- and intra-linguistic evidence clearly suggests that it is hardly possible to consistently define what one understands under 'subordination', without avoiding circularity, and constantly referring back to properties of coordination as the supposed opposition.

A closer look at the factors and the evidence reveals that it might be recommended to have lower-level and higher-level factors when establishing a typology of clause linkage. For example, "identity of tense, or mood" is certainly a question of scope, and could therefore be a sub-factor to the scope factor mentioned in (Haiman and Thompson 1984: 517). Similarly, the 'identity' of subject should probably be one way that one can see how 'clausal reduction' is reflected in morphosyntax, which is why instead of having them as discrete parameters, the former should be seen as a lower-level category to the latter. This in fact, is realised in the current view taken on finiteness in the following chapter.

Moreover, the strength in the parametric approach lies in the fact that it balances between the challenges of cross-lingistic comparison and intra-linguistic analysis and description, as well as between deductive and inductive approaches. On the one hand, establishing clear factors restricts the view of the linguist so that he can find the data he needs. On the other hand, having no higher-order

grammatical categories that represent bundles of parameters means that in theory one could get a very fine-grained analysis of certain structures, and in case that some factors correlate which each other more or less consistently, one could let language-specific categories emerge from the data, which may, or more importantly, may not coincide with wider-circulated categories in the literature, such as 'subordination' or 'coordination' or 'clause-chaining'.

More radically, if subordination was a binary notion with coordination as its opposite, and if one decided to deconstruct the notion of subordination, then clearly one would need to consider a deconstruction of clausal coordination as a notion as well.[8] This, however, is not clearly done in Haiman and Thompson's paper.

Except for the prosodic dimensions suggested by Haiman and Thompson (1984), the dimensions they suggest are fairly similar to the aspects of clause linkage that are taken into account in Bickel's (2010) study. This is why I will not go into the details of Haiman and Thompson's (1984) suggestions here. While the discussion of Bickel (2010) is a core part of this section, before that I present a brief elaboration of Lehmann's (1988) ideas of a typology of clause linkage. The reason is that these two papers show a similar theoretical opposition that we will see in finiteness studies, between multidimensional, scalar approaches (Givón 1990, 2001), versus multidimensional, discrete approaches to finiteness (Nikolaeva 2013).

2.4.2. Lehmann's parametric typology

Lehmann's (1988) paper on the typology of clause linkage is based on the idea that cross-linguistically there are so many types of complex sentences that they can hardly be classified into mere groupings of coordinate, subordinate and co-subordinate clauses, and emphasizes the fact that much more important than classifying them into one of these three categories is capturing them adequately with reference to multiple factors.

Lehmann presents three aspects of analysis with two sub-parameters each, and each of these parameters is seen as a continuum between two extreme poles:

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[8] However, it need not mean that one should do away with coordination as a category per se, as there seems to be a marked difference between nominal and clausal coordination, in that in some languages where clausal coordination is deconstructed into hypotactic clause linkage, nominal coordination still seems viable as a category (cf. Ono 1993).

(17) **Parameter**   **Sub-Parameter**
Autonomy vs. Integration   Hierarchical downgrading
                                Syntactic level
Expansion vs. Reduction   Desententialisation of subordinate clause
                                Grammaticalisation of main verb
Isolation vs. Linkage   Interlacing
                                Explicitness of linking

In the following, I will give a short description of each of the parameters.

2.4.2.1. Autonomy vs. integration

The first major parameter, autonomy vs. integration, refers to the degree of integration of a clause into another. As Lehmann (1988: 3ff.) argues, the question of how integrated a clause is in another clause can be explored by looking at two sub-parameters.

The first is the hierarchical downgrading of a clause: a clause is said to be maximally downgraded within a hierarchical relationship to another clause when it becomes a "well-defined constituent within the main clause" (Lehmann 1988: 3). As soon as a clause becomes a constituent of another clause and obtains a grammatical function (for example, as a verbal complement), then it can be said to be maximally downgraded.

Another specification of the autonomy vs. integration parameter is the syntactic level of constituent embedding. Lehmann (1988: 8) assumes a "multiplicity of syntactic levels between the morpheme and the paragraph" where syntactic subordination could occur, and the lower the syntactic level, the higher the degree of syntactic integration of a clause.

2.4.2.2. Expansion vs. Reduction

The second broad parameter Expansion vs. Reduction, refers to the cline of clausal properties of a constituent within the syntax-semantics-pragmatics interface.

The first sub-parameter, the degree of desententialisation of a clause, describes the gradual loss of clausal properties of a clause towards the acquisition of nominal properties. A maximally desententialised clause exhibits the properties of a noun phrase, for example the possibility of being inflected for case or the

possibility of allowing possessive agreement (cf. English *I heard the man's singing* as provided by Lehmann 1988: 12. See also Givón 1990).

The scale of desententialisation also shows that the properties changing along the continuum seem to be based on rather heuristic observations, since they include a range of truly syntactic properties such as the expressibility of verbal arguments as well as pragmatic factors such as the maintenance or loss of illocutionary force. Tentatively speaking, Lehmann (1988)'s scale of desententialisation possibly calls for a further refinement into a web of differently motivated sub-dimensions, since notions such as illocutionary force or the expressibilty of verbal arguments could be further specified into cotinua between extreme points.

As a second factor within the dimension of expansion vs. reduction, the desententialisation of a clause may result in the dissolution of the clausal boundaries between two clauses, where eventually, the main verb's function changes from an independent clausal predicate to an auxiliary that expresses a certain grammatical function. An example for such a process could be the grammaticalisation of the Korean periphrastic causative, since the clausal status of this construction has been a matter of dispute (see Song 2005, for example).

2.4.2.3. Isolation vs. linkage

The third major parameter Lehmann (1988) discusses is that of isolation vs. linkage. Within this dimension, he explores the actual dependency relationship between clauses which is highly intertwined with the semantic interdependency of clauses.

This interdependency is described by his sub-parameter 'interlacing'. The more a clause is embedded into another, it may display a greater interlacing in meaning with that of its main clause. As Lehmann puts it, "interlacing means that the tense and aspect of the subordinate clause are partly or wholly determined by those of the main clause" (Lehmann 1988: 19). For example, as we saw, in clause-chaining constructions a great deal of the tense-aspect-mood interpretation of a medial clause event depends on the properties of the final verb.

A second sub-parameter within the question of isolation vs. linkage consists of the explicitness of linking. It basically describes a continuum of how the combination of clauses is signalled, and ranges from a sequence of separate sentences where the one after the first sentence contains a subordinate clause built of a deictic, subordinate clause (described as an example for maximally explicit linking in Lehmann 1988: 25) to the usage of nonfinite forms, which would in turn be

an example for the lowest degree of explicitness of linking.

Arranging morphological devices of clause linkage along such a linear continuum seems rather dubious. For example, I would not say that the usage of a nonfinite verb form to signal clausal combinations of various sorts (for example in clause-chaining constructions above) would be an instance of a somewhat 'lower' degree of explicitness of linking between two clauses than that established through the usage of morphologically independent conjunctions. In addition to this, whether some syntactic element is a conjunction or rather a minimal clause consisting of a deictic verb that is inflected for some nonfinite verb form is often not very clear, as the following examples from Korean suggests:

(18) Korean
     sʰeil ha-n-ta-ko   hɛ-sʰə   ət͡ɕe   sʰit͡ɕaŋ = e   ka-ṣ̌-ta.
     sale do-PRS-QUOT say-CVB yesterday market = LOC go-PST-DECL
     kɨləh-nte   *sʰeil an = ha-tə-la.*
     be_so-CBV.BUT sale NEG = do-EV.PST-DECL
     'They said they were having special offers and so I went to the market.
     But as far as I could tell there were no such offers.'

In the example given above, the Korean word *kɨləh-nte*, be_so-CBV.BUT, has been translated into a conjunction in English, although the Korean word is a deictic verb that can be inflected (albeit defectively). Here, it is inflected for a converbal ending signalling contrastiveness or concession. Thus rather than conceiving of it as a continuum, it would suffice just to indicate the explicitness of linking as a factor to be taken into account when describing different types of clause linkage.

2.4.3. Bickel's multivariate approach

Similar to the authors above, Bickel (2010)'s analysis of clause linkage tries to address the problem that categorical definitions rely on the practice of selecting one or more properties by which a certain phenomenon can be identified. The crucial problem of establishing higher-order categories is described by the author as follows:

> "Any property that is picked as definitional will favor one type and make it the model for others. The fundamental problem is that there is no non-arbitrary choice [...]: should Amele provide the model, or Tauya, or English?" (Bickel 2010: 54)

On the other hand, a sole focus on resorting to language-specific categories (as suggested by Haspelmath 2007) is seen not to be fruitful either for cross-linguistic comparison, since for this comparison to be possible, one needs an explicit descriptive metalanguage that applies to all languages equally. More importantly, even language-specific categories will never be exclusively inductive, as the identification of such phenomena relies on the theoretically informed knowledge of the researcher (Bickel 2010: 54).

Therefore, Bickel concludes that any category that bundles linguistic variables into one collective will brush over variation and exceptions, which then 'decreases' the diversity of the 'grammatical reality' of a linguistic system (Bickel 2010: 55). To counter this effect, he proposes an inductive approach where one measures 'structural similarity' between linguistic phenomena of various languages by means of establishing variables and parameters, and mathematically mapping their congruence.[9]

The author discusses the following variables (taken from Bickel 2010: 56-80)[10]:

(19) 1. Illocutionary scope
      2. Negational scope
      3. Tense/mood scope
      4. Finiteness
      5. Categorical symmetry
      6. Focus, questioning and extraction
      7. Focus marking on dependent clauses
      8. Clause position
      9. Layer of attachment

Apart from the conceptual make-up, what characterises this study is that the relationship between semantic scope and syntactic properties is given much attention, and the various possibilities in scope variation that he shows hint towards a fine-grained diversity of clause linkage structures.

Comparing Haiman and Thompson (1984) with this study, prosodic features and semantic tense iconicity between events in linked clauses are not addressed. Moreover, as Bickel's study focuses on statistically measureable variables, more

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[9] A detailed description of the statistical methods employed for multivariate analysis can be found in Bickel (2010: 82-84).

[10] Bickel narrows down the scope of his investigation to the above variables, and mentions that cross-clausal coreference properties, morphosyntactic type of realisation of linkage, and the "nature of inter-propositional relations" in clause linkage (Bickel 2010: 80) have not been included.

functional-interpretative, higher-level factors such as 'clausal reduction' (Haiman and Thompson 1984: 512) or 'interlacing' (Lehman 1988: 19) are not discussed.

In the following, I will give a short summary of the variables that Bickel (2010) looks at, and present the relevant parameters.

2.4.3.1. Illocutionary force scope

For illocutionary scope, the following values have been identified:

- conjunct
- disjunct
- local
- extensible
- constraint-free

Conjunct scope deals with cases where the scope extends over all linked clauses:

(20) Amele, Roberts (1988: 52)

  ho busale-ce-b   dana age qo-ig-a   fo?
  pig run.out-DS-3S man 3P hit-3P-T.PST Q

  'Did the pig run out and did the men kill it?'

Ex. (14) from Amele[11] shows how the interrogative marker *fo* has its scope reaching both over the final clause, as well the non-final clause, resulting in the fact that both the content of the dependent clause, as well as the main clause are asked for confirmation.

Illocutionary scope can be *disjunct* as well, which means that it reaches over one clause only, irrespective of whether a clause is a matrix clause:

(21) Belhare, Bickel (2010: 57)

  ne-e   yuŋ-a = naa   mundhupt-e   i?
  DEM-LOC [3sS]sit-SBJV.PST = TOP [3sS]chat-PST Q

  1. 'When he was here, did he say something?' (or was he silent? - dependent clause presupposed)

  2. 'Did he say something when he was here?' (or later only? - matrix clause presupposed)

  not: 'Was he here, and did he say something?'

---

[11] This example has been shown in its declarative version in ex. (13) on page 57. Whereas here the original example from Roberts (1988: 52) has been cited, note that the cited example in Bickel (2010: 52) has an *-ʔe-* as the DS morph, and *gbo-* as the stem for the verb 'hit'.

Ex. (21) above exemplifies disjunct scope in clause linkage. Here, the interrogative scope reaches either over the dependent clause or over the matrix clause, yet as opposed to cases displayed in ex. (20), it cannot reach over both clauses.

A case where scope is limited to the clause where the operator is located has been termed *local* scope, and is shown in Amele clause linkage through the disjunctor *gba,* 'but':

(22)   Amele, Bickel (2010: 57, citing from Roberts 1987)
ho   busale-i-a   gba dana age gbo-i-ga   fo?
pig run.away-3s-T.PST but man 3P hit-3P-T.PST Q
'The pig ran away but did the men kill it?'

In some languages there are constructions where local scope is the default, yet dependeing on the context, with the same type of clause linkage the scope can reach over all linked clauses. Such a case with local scope as default, but conjunct scope as an option has been termed *extensible* scope:

(23)   Chechen, Good (2003), cited in Bickel (2010: 58)
Malika   tyka-na = 'a   j-ax-na   c'a-j-e'a-r = ii?
M.(J).NOM store-DAT = SS J-go-CVB home-J-come-W.PST = Q

1. 'Did M. come home, having gone to the store?'

2. 'Did Malika go to the store and come home?'

but not: 'Did Malika go to the store, having come home?'

As shown in ex. (23) from Chechen, in clause linkages with extensible scope, scope can reach over the main clause, (*c'a-j-e'a-r = ii,* home-J-come-W.PST = Q) and over the dependent clause as well, but never over the dependent clause alone[12].

2.4.3.2. Tense/mood scope

For tense/mood scope, the following scope options have been identified in Bickel (2010: 60ff.)[13]:

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[12] Although somewhat curiously, there do seem to be languages where in certain clause linkage constructions one can have a scope operator (e.g., illocutionary force marking) in the main clause, but its scope reaching over the dependent clause only. In these cases, scope options are said to be *unconstrained*. See Bickel's (2006) conference handout, examples (4) to (6) for examples.

[13] All examples discussed in this section relate to tense scope, although the scope of mood operators is implicitly included in the discussion. In Jejuan however, tense partially overlaps with mood marking when it comes to inassertible situations such as those lying in the future.

- conjunct
- local
- extensible

Conjunct scope has been shown for Amele clause linkage structures where clauses are linked by the switch-reference marker *-ce-*:

(24)   Amele, Roberts (1988), cited in Bickel (2010: 60)[14]

    ho busale-ce-b   dana age qo-ig-a
    pig run.out-DS-3s man 3p hit-3p-T.PST
    'The pig will run out (*not: ran out*) and the men will kill it.'

In ex. (24) above, the scope of the tense marker obligatorily reaches over the dependent clause, which is unmarked for tense.

Local scope is reported[15] for cases where "both the dependent and the main clause are marked for their own tense" (Bickel 2010: 62). Extensible tense scope, by contrast, allows for local or optional scope interpretations:

(25)   Belhare, Bickel (2010: 61)

    khimm-e   n-ta-ch-u   ki   mun-n-dhup-chi
    house-LOC 3nsA-reach[SBJV]-d-3sP SEQ chat-3nsS-chat[NPST]-d

    1. 'They reached home and now they will chat.'

    2. 'When they reach home, they'll chat.'

    3. 'They will reach home and chat.'

Disjunct scope is said not to occur with tense/mood operators.

2.4.3.3. Morphological finiteness and marking possibilities

As opposed to approaches such as Nikolaeva (2013), Bickel's understanding of finiteness is a much more morphologically guided one. As he phrases it, finiteness is his perspective is "the range of categories that can be expressed by inflectional forms in those main clause types that allow the maximal number of categories" (Bickel 2010: 62). A certain predicate that expresses less categories than possible is therefore called 'nonfinite'[16]. The following parameters were examined in Bickel's study:

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[14] For differences between the example cited here and the one cited in Bickel (2010), cf. footnote 11 on page 66.

[15] No example is given in Bickel (2010: 62).

[16] However, Bickel (2010: 62) rightly remarks that even though the predicate of a dependent clause may not express a certain category, there could be other means to express the same meaning (for example by means of time adverbs), which is why finiteness is not entirely the same as the inflectional range of predicates. See next chapter for more.

- finite
- nonfinite
- any

Although examples such as ex. (24) may suggest a correlation between conjunct scope and nonfinite verb forms in dependent clauses, this is not always the case (cf. ex. (23) above).

With respect to illocutionary force marking, it is mentioned that in many languages there is a correlation between conjunct illocutionary scope and the fact that verbs of dependent clauses cannot be marked for illocuitonary force themselves (Bickel 2010: 62). Such a case was shown in ex. (20) for Amele, where conjunct illocutionary scope is obligatory for clause linkages marked with *fo*, the interrogative marker. Thus in Amele, dependent clauses headed by verbs with *-ce-* different-subject marking may not be separately marked by *fo*.

In contrast, languages such as Turkish allow for such separate marking alongside conjunct scope:

(26)   Turkish, Bickel (1991), Johanson (1995), cited in Bickel (2010: 63)

    a. *gel-ip   şana bir şey söyle-di   mi?*
        come-CVB 2SDAT one thing say-PST[3s] Q?

        'Did he come and say something?'

    b. *otur-up mu konuş-tu-lar?*
        sit-CVB Q   speak-PST-[3]p

        'Was it while sitting that they were talking?'

The Turkish example above implies that conjunct scope for illocutionary marking in clause linkage does not automatically imply that the marking itself is not possible for dependent clauses, which is why (*nota bene*, morphological) finiteness in terms of a verb's inflectional range, and scope behaviour should be seen as independent variables. Thus for illocutionary marking, the following parameters have been identified for Bickel's study:

- allowed[17]
- banned
- harmonic

A close relationship between the variables discussed in this section is visible in cases where marking of illocutionary scope on dependent verbs is possible only if the same marking appears on a matrix clause verb.

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[17] In Bickel (2010: 81), this parameter was termed OK, and 'allowed' was given as an explanation. For greater consistency, this term has been chosen here.

(27) Belhare, Bickel 2010: 63

caw-a ki khar-a!
eat-IMP SEQ go-IMP
'Eat and go!'

Imperative marking in ex. (27) above from Belhare is only possible on the dependent clause verb if the matrix clause verb *khar-*, 'go', is marked for imperative as well.

Tense/mood marking possibilities in dependent clauses are also seen as an important variable when looking at clause linkage, identifying the same parameters for examination as for illocutionary force above:

- allowed
- banned
- harmonic

This marking is sometimes constrained in a sense that the choice of tense marking is not free, but depends on the tense of the matrix clause verb:

(28) Hua (Haiman 1980: 421, cited in Bickel 2010: 65)

    a. *fu=mo d-mi-sa-ga-da u-gu-e*
       pig=TOP 1sP-give-FUT-3pDS-1sAS go-FUT-1sDECL
       'They will give me pork and then I will go'

    b. * *fu=mo d-mi-sa-ga-da u-e*
       pig=TOP 1sP-give-FUT-3pDS-1sAS go[NFUT]-1sDECL
       intended: 'They will give me pork and so I went'

The Hua examples above (ex. (28)) show how future tense marking on the dependent clause verb is only possible if the matrix clause verb bears the same marking as well. According to Bickel (2010: 66), "unconstrained tense marking in dependent clauses is traditionally associated with either 'coordination' and 'subordination', while the presence of constraints has sometimes been suggested as diagnostic of 'chaining' and 'converb' constructions". However, Bickel shows how independent tense marking is in fact possible on chained verbs in some language:

(29) Korafe, Farr 1999, cited in Bickel (2010: 66)

    a. *mut-eno er-ira-re*
       give.1s-SEQ.REALIS.1sDS IPFV-go.DUR.PRS.3sIND-CURR.RELEV
       'I gave it and he is currently going'

    b. *mut-eno*   *i-sira*
          give.1s-SEQ.REALIS.1sDS go.DUR-F.PST.3sIND
          'I gave it and he went (two or more days ago)'

The above example[18] illustrates how marking constraints on dependent clause verbs are not solely relevant for diagnosing a syntactic clause linkage type such as clause-chaining, but rather, clausal dependence and inflectional properties of dependent clause verbs should be seen as separate variables.

2.4.3.4. Categorical symmetry

Categorical symmetry in clause linkage deals with whether the same range of grammatical categories is expressed in all linked clauses, or whether there is a difference between the clauses with respect to their marking possibilities:

- symmetrical
- asymmetrical
- free

While this is related to the question of (what Bickel understands as morphological) finiteness above (section 2.4.3.3), categorical symmetry does not take marking possibilities of the matrix clause as the maximum standard in relation to which verb form is deemed equally or less finite, but it looks at whether both a dependent clause and its main clause allow for the identical range of categories to be expressed.

Numerous examples have been given for asymmetrical clause linkage, where a dependent verb and a main clause verb differ quite drastically in the possible range of categories they can express. Categorical symmetry can be found in English clausal coordination, for example:

(30)   English
      Sandra baked bread, and Mary cleaned the dining room.

In English clausal coordination, one has two or more clauses where both of the verbs are inflected for the same categories, and linked by the conjunction *and*.[19]

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[18] Note that the original example cited in Bickel (2010: 66) glosses *-re* as CURRENT.RELEVANCE. Here, it has been abbreviated to CURR.RELEV for typesetting reasons.

[19] This is not to suggest that all structures where clauses are linked by *and* in English in fact show 'classically coordinate' properties. As mentioned elsewhere in this thesis, there is a larger body of research (Culicover and Jackendoff 1997 among others) which suggests that depending on the semantics, these structures may in fact exhibit widely divergent properties.

Whereas symmetrical constructions often correlate with the linkage of clauses by means of conjunctions, languages such as Hua have symmetrical constructions without such elements:

(31) Hua, Haiman (1980), cited in Bickel (2010: 67)

p-mi-rohí *de-rehí*
3pO-give-1sALTER.ITER eat-3pALTER.ITER
'I gave them some, they ate, I gave them some more: they ate; and so on.'

Example (31) shows that the existence of a symmetrical clause linkage construction does not imply the usage of conjunctions (and of course, vice versa).

2.4.3.5. Focus, questioning and extraction

The occurence of question words in certain clause linkage types has been observed to be banned in many languages, and as mentioned by Bickel (2010: 69), it has been explained through reference to syntactic islands and resulting constraints on extraction (cf. section 2.2), or through restrictions regarding the information structure of linked clauses (cf. Foley and van Valin 1984). Therefore for the possibility of wh-questions within dependent clauses, the following parameters were identified.

- allowed
- banned

For the possibility of extraction from dependent clauses, the same values above are applied.

Note that Bickel's work takes the view that in in-situ question formation there is in fact no extraction. Furthermore, he argues that extraction sites (i.e., possible places where extraction can happen) do not always coincide with the syntactic position of question words. This is why extraction and wh-question formation are conceived of as two separate dimensions of enquiry:

(32) Chechen, Good 2003, cited in Bickel 2010: 70

a. 'plain' utterance

Zaara *koch* *ec-na* *c'a* *J-e'a-ra*
M.(J).NOM dress.NOM buy-CVB house J-come-W.PST
'Zaara bought a dress and came home.'

b. in-situ question

Malika hu iec-na c'a J-ea'ra?
M.(J).NOM what buy-CVB house J-come-W.PST

'What did Malika buy and come home?'

c. impossible extraction from syntactic position of question words

*Zaara(-s) ec-na c'a j-e'a-cha J-olu koch
Z.J.(-ERG) buy-CVB home J-come-CVB J-AUX.PTCP dress

intended: 'The dress that Zara bought and came home'

ex. (32a) and ex. (32b) show that Chechen is a language employing in-situ questions, which means that the semantic role of THEME that is assigned to both *koch,* 'dress' in ex. (32a) and *hu,* 'what' coincides with their syntactic position. However, this does not imply that the position of the question word is a possible extraction site, as shown by the impossibility of relativisation of *koch* in ex. (32c). Therefore, extractability and domains of syntactic occurrence of question words[20] should be treated as separate variables (Bickel 2010: 70).

2.4.3.6. Focus marking on dependent clauses

Dependent clauses which are "tightly integrated into the main clause syntax" (Bickel 2010: 74) can be marked for focus, which may have the function of "restricting, adding, or contrasting propositions" (Bickel 2010: 74). Thus the parameters given for this variable are:

- allowed
- banned

While Haspelmath (1995: 15f.) discusses this phenomenon under the headlines of "clausal subordination", Bickel (2010: 74) remarks that "it also extends to some structures that are less intergrated into main clauses."

(33) Belhare, Bickel (2010: 74)

[foc cama ca-he ki]=cha raksi uŋ-he
food [3sS]eat-PST SEQ=ADD liquor [3sS]drink-PST

'He drinks liquor even after the meal'

Example (33)[21] from Belhare illustrates how some types of dependent clauses in the world's languages can be marked for focus. Whereas this parameter seems

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[20] As touched upon in Bickel (2010: 72/74), the author sees question and focus as syntactically identical positions.

[21] Bracketing mine. The square bracketing and subscript FOC is not supposed to represent any syntactic structure, but is just used as an illustration of the focus scope stretching over the whole clause.

similar to that of 'focus and questioning' *within* a dependent clause from section 2.4.3.5 on page 72, the author remarks that it is independent from focus marking *on the edge of* a clause, as some languages allow for only one of those possibilities, depending on the dependent clause type:

(34) Chechen, Good (2003), cited in Bickel (2010: 75)

Malika   hu   iec-cha='a   c'a   J-e'a-ra?
M.(J).NOM what buy-WHEN = FOC house J-come-W.PST

'What did Malika buy and came home?'

Whereas in ex. (32b) shown earlier a dependent clause with a verb in *-na* cannot be marked for focus, a dependent clause headed by a verb marked with *-cha*, -WHEN, as shown in ex. (34) can be focused. This shows that clause-internal possibilities of focusing and focus marking on clausal boundaries are indenpendent variables to examine in a language.[22]

2.4.3.7. Clause position

where it may serve to distinguish different clause linkage types. This parameter is frequently mentioned in more traditional discussions of clause linkage (cf. Haspelmath 1995: 13) as mentioned earlier. The position of dependent clauses can be fixed in relation to their main clause, or it can vary:

- fixed: post-main
- fixed: pre-main
- flexible-adjacent
- flexible-relational

Thus in some languages, the position of certain dependent clause types varies, whereas in others the position of such clauses may be fixed:

(35) German

    a. *Weil   ich nicht gehen wollte, blieb   ich noch ein Weilchen*
       because I not go   wanted stayed I just a   little.while

       'As I didn't want to leave, I stayed a bit longer.'

    b. *Ich blieb   noch ein Weilchen, weil   ich nicht gehen wollte*
       I   stayed just a little.while because I not go   wanted

       'I stayed a bit longer, as I didn't want to leave.'

---

[22] However, Bickel (2010: 75) remarks that focus marking sometimes does restrict illocutionary force scope in clause linkage, although with reference to data from Puma, he suggests that this may not be universal, and hence supports an independent examination of these variables.

(36)   Korean[23]

    a.   *at͡ɕik ʈəna-ko   sʰip-t͡ɕi   anha-sʰə   t͡ɕom tə   məmulə-sʰ-ta*
           yet   leave-CVB want-COMP NEG-CVB bit   more stay-PST-DECL
           'As I didn't want to leave just yet, I stayed a bit longer.'

    b.   * *t͡ɕom tə   məmulə-sʰ-ta   at͡ɕik ʈəna-ko   sʰip-t͡ɕi   anha-sʰə*
           bit   more stay-PST-DECL yet   leave-CVB want-COMP NEG-CVB
           intended order: 'I stayed a bit longer, as I didn't want to leave just yet.'

Bickel (2010: 75ff.) shows that in some languages, dependent clauses may have variable position with respect to their main clause. This is shown by German in ex. (56a) and (56b). Others such as Korean do not usually allow for postposed dependent clauses,[24] which is why ex. (36a) is regarded the only possibility, whereas (36b) is deemed ungrammatical (at least in this context). Looking at Belhare, Bickel (2010: 77) identifies another possibility, namely that of a dependent clause having flexible order, yet being subject to an adjacency constraint that forces a dependent clause to be adjacent to its main clause.[25]

2.4.3.8. Layer of attachment

This variable is similar to the sub-factor of syntactic level discussed in Lehmann (1988: 8) in section 2.4.2.1, and talks about which level a dependent clause attaches to within the syntax of a main clause. Bickel (2010: 77) lists four main distinctions:

- *ad-V*: attachment to level of verb/predicate
- *ad-S*: attachment to level of an entire clause
- *detached*: attached to a level higher than S
- *'ad-utterance'*: adjoining realised by pragmatic means on the level of an utterance [phenomenon paraphrased in Bickel 2010; terminology mine]

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[23] A more natural way of saying the same content of ex. (56a) would be to use a construction *məmul-ta ka-*, stay-CVB go-, 'stay and leave', which is preliminarily identified as a serial verb construction here. The examples here are deemed acceptable (albeit slightly odd) by the author without the second verb, and have been simplified in this respect in order to simplify illustration.

[24] Although in some cases, presumably more likely in spoken language and restricted to certain marking conditions on the main clause verb, dependent clauses do occur after their main clause, yet not without a distinctive prosodic pause, and intonational features similar to that of afterthoughts or echoes, which is why this phenomenon is not regarded a truly flexible constituent order option in the syntax of Korean clause linkage. Of course, from a discourse-functional perspective, there may be similarities in how discourse organisation affects the linear order of clauses, yet this is not something I will delve into here.

[25] See ex. (54) in Bickel (2010: 76).

Ad-V and *ad-S* attachment types are suggested to be the most common ones[26].

As for the former, Bickel (2010: 78) states that "Ad-V clauses typically behave like ordinary adverbial constituents, often case-marked like NP constituents of the main clause. The critical result of all this is that ad-V clauses can be center-embedded":

(37) Belhare, Bickel (2010: 78)

    a. *Dhankuta him-yakt-a-lok = to*   *khar-e*
        D.[LOC]   [3sS-]stumble-IPFV-PSTSBJV-COM = FOC [3sS]go-PST
        'He went to Dhankuta stumbling.'

    b. *pit-chi-lo*   *ap-khat-et*
        cow-ns-COM [3sS]-come.on.the.same.level-go-TEMP
        'She is passing by with the cows.'

The dependent clause consisting of a single predicate *him-yakt-a-lok*, [3sS-]stumble-IPFV-PSTSBJV-COM, 'stumbling', is center embedded in ex. (37a), which is shown through the fact that it stands between the verb *khar-e*, [3sS]go-PST, 'he went' and a locative argument *Dhankuta*, D.[LOC], 'to Dhankuta',which is licensed by *khar-e* and therefore must belong to the same clausal domain (that is, it is not part of the dependent clause). Furthermore, the high degree of integration also makes it similar to noun phrases in that it can be case-marked, shown by comitative marking to be found in both ex. (37a) and (37b).

An ad-S clause linkage type does not allow for center-embedding:

(38) Belhare, Bickel (2010: 78) [bracketing mine]

    a. *[u-chom*   *pok = naa]*   *Dhankuta khaʔ-yu*
        3sPOSS-desire [3sS]rise[SBJV = TOP] D.[LOC]   [3sS]go-NPST
        'If he wants, he will go to Dhankuta'

    b. * *Dhankuta [u-chom*   *pok = naa]*   *khaʔ-yu*
        D.[LOC]   3sPOSS-desire [3sS]rise[SBJV = TOP] [3sS]go-NPST

According to Bickel, as Belhare topic clauses linked by = *naa* do not allow for center-embedding (ex. (38b)), he concludes that as opposed to *-lok* constructions (ex. (37a)), they adjoin to the S-level of a clause[27].

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[26] By which he at the same time indicates that 'traditional' understandings of 'adverbial clauses' usually conflate these two (Bickel 2010: 78).

[27] Bickel (2010: 78) further argues that center-embedding blocks case assignment between the main clause verb and its argument *Dhankuta*. Maybe, the problem rather lies in a clash between the construal of syntactic structure, and semantic interpretation that leads to ungrammaticality. The NP in utterance-initial position may be interpreted as a constituent of the dependent clause (given the centre-embedding is not possible in the first place in this case), although semantically it should be governed by the main clause. The impossibility of case assignment

2.5. Clause linkage in Koreanic linguistics

Clause linkage in the way summarised in this chapter has not been widely studied within Koreanic linguistics, let alone in treatments of Jejuan grammar. While Kim G.-C. (2011) is a translation of a syntactic analysis of Korean into Jejuan syntax, it largely excludes complex clauses from the discussion. Song S.-J. (2011) is a descriptive overview of Jejuan clause linkage devices, while Hong J.-R. (2001) is a study on the variation between *-ŋ/-n* in *-ŋ* converbs. No other systematic study on Jejuan clause linkage has been carried out so far.

For Korean of course, there is a higher number of studies which deal with clause linkage matters. When it comes to the study of converb clauses, the *-ko* clause has by far received the most attention (Rudnitskaya 1998, Cho 2004, Kwon and Polinsky 2008, to name a few), with a focus on the syntax and semantics of these clauses. Studies which look at a wider array of clause types are few, among them Sohn (2009) and Jendraschek and Shin (2011).

An important finding of Rudnitskaya's study is that instances of the *-ko* clause linkage may differ with respect to their syntactic properties due to the following factors:

(39)   Rudnitskaya (1998: 184)

1. **tense-marker factor**: presence or absence of tense inflection on the *-ko* converb
2. **subject reference factor**: same-subject or different-subject reference
3. **semantic interpretation factor**: semantic interpretation of event relation

The tense-marker factor that Rudnitskaya proposes is based on the observation that *-ko* converbs can be either inflected for the past tense marker *-ṣ-* or not. The subject reference factor deals with the subject reference of verbs in linked clauses: different-subject (DS) or same-subject (SS). The semantic interpretation factor observes how the relationship between events described in linked clauses is construed from a temporal perspective. For *-ko* converbs, Rudnitskaya observes that events expressed in clauses linked by this converb can either be interpreted sequentially (called 'successive reading' here), or not (called 'non-successive' by Rudnitskaya).

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would then not be a case of 'assignment blocking', but rather due to the fact that a predicate can only assign semantic roles to an argument within the same clausal domain, yet not within a dependent clause, which is a domain governed by the dependent predicate.

Rudnitskaya (1998: 196) puts the above three factors in the following relation to each other:

	SUCCESSIVE		NON-SUCCESSIVE	
	+ TENSE	-TENSE	+ TENSE	-TENSE
DS	n/a	-√SUBORD	COORD	COORD
SS	n/a	SUBORD	COORD	COORD

Table 2.1.: Rudnitskaya's (1998: 196) analysis of Korean *-ko* constructions

As shown by Rudnitskaya in table 2.1, the author concludes that in the Korean *-ko* construction, the semantic interpretation of two linked events "determines the coordinate/subordinate status directly, while the tense affix and same/different subject factors can influence the status only indirectly, via the interpretation factor" (Rudnitskaya 1998: 196). Four tests are used, listed below:

(40) 1. scrambling: left-dislocation of object NP belonging to final clause
 2. wh-question: questioning in syntactic positions in non-final, or final clause
 3. nesting: centre-embedding a non-final clause inside a final clause
 4. topicalisability of the subject of non-final clause

The first three syntactic tests above[28] are inspired by Ross's (1967) work on the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC). It is assumed that if the above tests yield ungrammatical examples, then the construction under discussion will be seen as coordinate.

According to her study, non-successively interpreted *-ko* linkages are claimed to show typical properties of clausal coordination, whereas successive interpretation yields typically subordinate properties. Furthermore, tense-marked *-ko* converbs are said not to be possible for same-subject clause linkages, and different-subject constructions have been marked as '-√SUBORDINATE' (i.e., ± SUBORDINATE), as they are claimed to "normally disallow successive interpretation" (Rudnitskaya 1998: 196). Therefore, for Rudnitskaya the only case where a *-ko* construction shows typically subordinate properties is in the case of untensed, same-subject clause linkages[29]. Below I show Rudnitskaya's (1998) evidence for

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[28] The fourth test (topicalisation in non-final clause) is only applied to different-subject contexts, presumably because only in these instances one can be sure that the subject NP on the left edge of the sentence actually belongs to the non-final clause, and not the final clause.

[29] Rudnitskaya (1998: 184) remarks that she is aware of the fact that if a construction shows such divergent properties depending on its syntagmatic distribution, one might consider regarding this as a case of homophony, assuming two separate lexical entries, explaining: "However,

same-subject, *-ko* clauses:[30]

(41) Basic examples, same-subject, Rudnitskaya (1998: 185)

    a. Successive

        sʰunmi = nɨn t͡ɕaki apʰatʰɨ = lɨl   pʰal(-a̧ş)-ko t͡ɕoh-ɨn
        Sunmi = TOP own apartment = ACC sell-PST-CVB good-ADN
        t͡ɕip = ɨl   sʰa-ş̧-ta
        house = ACC buy-PST-DECL

        'Sunmi sold her apartment and bought a good house.'

    b. Non-successive

        sʰonnim = tɨl = ɨn at͡ɕʰim = ɨl   mək(-əş)-ko nokt͡ɕʰa = lɨl
        guest = PL = TOP breakfast = ACC eat-PST-CVB green_tea = ACC
        masʰɨ-əş̧-ta
        drink-PST-DECL

        'The guests had breakfast and drank their green tea.'

(42) Scrambling, Rudnitskaya (1998: 185)

    a. -TENSE

        t͡ɕoh-ɨn   t͡ɕip = ɨl   sʰunmi = nɨn t͡ɕaki apʰatʰɨ = lɨl   pʰal-ko
        good-ADN house = ACC Sunmi = TOP own apartment = ACC sell-CVB
        sʰa-ş̧-ta
        buy-PST-DECL

    b. +TENSE

        **t͡ɕoh-ɨn   t͡ɕip = ɨl   sʰunmi = nɨn t͡ɕaki apʰatʰɨ = lɨl*
        good-ADN house = ACC Sunmi = TOP own apartment = ACC
        pʰal-a̧ş-ko   sʰa-ş̧-ta
        sell-PST-CVB buy-PST-DECL

(43) Nesting, Rudnitskaya (1998: 185)

    a. -TENSE

        sʰunmi = nɨn t͡ɕoh-ɨn t͡ɕip = ɨl   t͡ɕaki apʰatʰɨ = lɨl   pʰal-ko
        Sunmi = TOP good house = ACC own apartment = ACC sell-CVB
        sʰa-ş̧-ta
        buy-PST-DECL

[30] Note that Rudnitskaya (1998) does not apply an IPA transliteration format. Her romanisation has been converted into the IPA version used in this thesis in order to avoid confusion.

b. +TENSE

*sʰunmi=nɨn t͡ɕoh-ɨn t͡ɕip=ɨl   t͡ɕaki apʰatʰɨ=lɨl   pʰal-aṣ-ko
Sunmi=TOP good house=ACC own apartment=ACC sell-PST-CVB
sʰa-ṣ-ta
buy-PST-DECL

(44) Wh-question, Rudnitskaya (1998: 185)

a. -TENSE

sʰonnim=tɨl=ɨn at͡ɕʰim=ɨl   mək-ko musʰɨn t͡ɕʰa=lɨl
guest=PL=TOP breakfast=ACC eat-CVB which tea=ACC
masʰɨ-əṣ-ni
drink-PST-Q

'The guests had breakfast and drank what tea?'

b. +TENSE

*sʰonnim=tɨl=ɨn at͡ɕʰim=ɨl   mək(-əṣ)-ko musʰɨn t͡ɕʰa=lɨl
guest=PL=TOP breakfast=ACC eat-CVB   which tea=ACC
masʰɨ-əṣ-ni
drink-PST-Q

From the perspective of the Jejuan findings discussed later on in this thesis, one potentially problematic aspect is the fact that the author adopts a dichotomous distinction between coordination and subordination here, which is close to the more traditional understanding of clause linkage types discussed in earlier sections. For Jejuan, such a black-and-white approach to *-ko* clause linkages will turn out not to capture the data adequately. Note that research on Korean usually works with such a binary view of clause linkage, however.

Kwon and Polinksy (2008) have contributed to the research on the Korean *-ko* linkage in a similar way to Rudnitskaya (1998): They argue that the sequential or non-sequential interpretation of *-ko* clause linkages influence their syntactic properties, further differentiating non-sequential interpretations into distinctions of independent, simultaneous, or co-extensive (events happening within particular time frame, Kwon and Polinksy 2008) event relationships.

As opposed to Rudnitskaya (1998), Kwon and Polinsky (2008) do not use wh-questioning as syntactic tests[31], but additionally to Rudnitskaya, they employ topicalisation and relativisation tests.[32] In the following, I present their examples of non-sequentially interpreted *-ko* linkages.

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[31] As Bickel (2010: 69) mentions for other languages such as Belhare, not all types of question formation should be seen as involving extraction, which is why the CSC and resulting syntactic island effects may be seen as phenomena independent from *in-situ-wh* questions. While this is what is assumed in this thesis, note that Carnie (2013: 397) in a discussion of *wh-in-situ* questions in his more modern version of Chomsykan, transformational syntax, states, "we're going to claim that in Chinese the [*in-situ*] *wh*-phrase does move, you just don't hear it!".

[32] Ex. (45d) may be unfortunate in a sense that it a) conflates entre-embedding and left-edge

(45) Korean, after Kown and Polinsky (2008: 91/92)[33]

    a. t͡ɕon=i   t͡ɕein=il   t͡ɕohaha-ko mali=lil   sʰalaŋ hɛ-ṩ-ta
       John=NOM Jane=ACC like-CVB   Mary=ACC love do-PST-DECL
       'John liked Jane and loved Mary.'

    b. Permutation
       t͡ɕon=i   mali=lil   sʰalaŋ ha-ko t͡ɕein=il   t͡ɕohahɛ-ṩ-ta
       John=NOM Mary=ACC love do-CVB Jane=ACC like-PST-DECL
       'John loved Mary and liked Jane.'

    c. Cataphoric reference
       *t͡ɕaki$_i$=ka ṩu=lil   t͡ɕohaha-ko tʰom$_i$=i   t͡ɕon=il
       self=NOM Sue=ACC like-CVB   Tom=NOM John=ACC
       sʰilhəhɛ-ṩ-ta
       dislike-PST-DECL
       intended: 'He$_i$ liked Sue and Tom$_i$ disliked John.'

    d. Topicalisation from only one clause
       *mali$_i$=nin t͡ɕon=i   t͡ɕein=il   t͡ɕohaha-ko tʰom=i   ___$_i$
       Mary=TOP John=NOM Jane=ACC like-CVB   Tom=NOM
       t͡ɕohaha-n-ta
       like-PRS-DECL
       intended: 'As for Mary$_i$, John likes Jane and Tom likes her$_i$.'

    e. Topicalisation in both clauses (across-the-board)
       √t͡ɕein=in t͡ɕon=i   t͡ɕohaha-ko mali=nin   tʰom=i
       Jane=TOP John=NOM like-CVB   Mary=TOP Tom=NOM
       t͡ɕohaha-n-ta
       like-PRS-DECL
       'Jane, John likes, and Mary, Tom likes.'

    f. Relativisation out of only one clause
       *t͡ɕon=i   t͡ɕein=il   t͡ɕohaha-ko tʰom=i   ___$_i$ t͡ɕohaha-n
       John=NOM Jane=ACC like-CVB   Tom=NOM   like-ADN.PST
       mali$_i$
       Mary
       intended: 'Mary$_i$ who John likes Jane and Tom liked ___$_i$'

    Their conclusion is such that the Korean *-ko* construction, depending on non-sequential or sequential interpretation of their inter-clausal event semantics, ei-

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    scrambling for topicalisation which are separate processes, and b) even without the *-ko* clause the example may not be acceptable in all cases. However, I do share with them the judgment that the example with what they regard as across-the-board topicalisation above is correct, yet taking this merely as evidence that in principle, *-ko* clauses in DS contexts allow for topicalisation. Cf. ex. (45d) and (45e).

[33] The IPA rendering and all glossings of Kwon and Polinsky's (2008) examples are mine.

ther shows 'all' signs of subordination or 'all' signs of coordination (cf. Kwon and Polinsky 2008: 103), which has been illustrated in the table below:

Table 2.2.: Kwon and Polinsky's (2008) analysis of Korean -*ko* constructions

	non-sequential ('coordinate')	sequential ('subordinate')
Permutation without meaning change	yes	no
Backwards pronominalisation	no	yes
Topicalisation	no	yes
Relativisation	no	yes
Centre embedding	no	yes
Tense marking	yes	no

Comparing the studies mentioned above, one can deduct the following findings on the Korean -*ko* clause linkage:[34]

(46)   a.   Depending on semantic interpretation, a -*ko* clause will exhibit divergent syntactic behaviour.

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[34] Note that I am skipping over one problematic aspect in their data, relating to their understanding of topicalisation tests discussed in footnote 2.5 on page 80. Above, they intend to show that topicalisation of a constituent of only one clause (here, from the final clause) in a Korean, non-sequentially interpreted -*ko* linkage is not possible, yet they employ an example which, according to my intuition, employs an illicit syntactic position where the topicalised constituent occurs, namely the left edge of the entire clause linkage (as opposed to the left edge of the final clause), which in my eyes is not a separate syntactic position, but just the left edge of the non-final clause. This would mean that a final clause constituent becomes a non-final clause constituent, hence rendering that example ungrammatical by virtue of non-sensical overlap of final clause and non-final clause domains. Now, in a sequentially interpreted context, Kwon and Polinsky claim that a -*ko* linkage can be topicalised in that way:

(1)   Kwon and Polinsky (2008: 93)
tɛtɕ͡ən $_i$ = ilo = nin, John = i   hankuk = e ipkukha-ko(s^{h}ə) [sic] Tom = i   ___$_i$
Daejeon-to-TOP, John = NOM Korea = to enter-and   Tom = NOM
isaha-ə̞ş-ta
move-PST-DECL
'As for Daejeon, after John entered Korea, Tom moved to (it). [i.e., the city]'

There are two problems with this example, which is why I am not listing it in the main body. There is a little detail that is slightly skipped over in their study, namely the fact that the above example is only grammatical if the converbal form is -*kos^{h}ə*, and not -*ko*. A number of researchers such as Rudnitskaya (1998) and Kwon and Polinsky (2008) assume that -*kos^{h}ə* is a -*ko* converb additionally suffixed with the mysterious -*s^{h}ə* element, which on the surface seems similar to the Korean -*s^{h}ə* converb (that, in turn, in many ways resembles the Jejuan -*ŋ* converb). However, given the difference in grammaticality, I deem -*kos^{h}ə* simply to be a separate converbal category. Furthermore, given that the above example is in fact only grammatical with -*kos^{h}ə* as the converbal form, I must conclude that such topicalisation is not possible with -*ko* converbs. This, I argue, is irrespective of the semantic interpretation of the clause linkage; rather it is because of the problematic rendering of the topicalisation as mentioned above.

b. A simultaneously interpreted event relationship will yield typically 'coordinate' properties, whereas a sequentially interpreted relationship will yield 'subordinate' relationships.

c. 'Coordinate' *-ko* clauses allow for tense inflection, while 'subordinate' *-ko* clauses do not.

The above characterisation of Korean *-ko* clauses has given rise to theoretical explanations that assume far-reaching structural differences on a deeper level of syntactic representation. Weisser (2015), for example interprets these results so as to assume that 'subordinate' and 'coordinate' *-ko* clauses differ with respect to whether or not they are moved to the specifier position of a coordinate phrase projection which he calls '&P'. He concludes that while both 'coordinate' and 'subordinate' *-ko* clauses in Korean are base-generated as syntactic adjuncts, those where the assumed T-heads of each linked clause are indexed with an identical subject stay in that position, and those where the indices are different (that is, each clause has its own subject), the entire clause is moved to the above specifier position, as a sister of &' (see Weisser 2015: 84ff. for more). This argumentation, however, works only if we really assume there to be such a strong isomorphism between semantic interpretation and morphological-syntactic asymmetry.

As a matter of fact, there is a clear asymmetry in the syntactic distribution of clauses in a *-ko* clause linkage, as the non-final *-ko* clause always has to precede the final clause and cannot appear without it, and a clear morphosyntactic asymmetry in that the *-ko* converb can only inflect for two categories if at all (past tense *-ş-* and irrealis *-keş-*), whereas the final verb can take the full range of possible inflections.

The existence of these asymmetries alone should illustrate that we do not have a 'coordinate' relationship between clauses in the way it has been described for languages such as English, yet at the same time, the impossibility of properties such as nesting of one clause in another shows that these clauses are not 'subordinate' either. As typical for approaches to Korean syntax in Chomskyan frameworks, the 'coordinate' behaviour of *-ko* clauses is linked to finiteness in a sense that only in these, supposedly symmetric, structures a tense-marked converb can appear, whereas this is not possible in 'subordinate' *-ko* clauses. Thus in the former case, we have a 'finite' clause, whereas in the latter the *-ko* clause is 'non-finite'. As I will show in chapters 4 and 5, the Jejuan data does not allow us to draw similar conclusions, since Jejuan *-ko* clauses do not show the correlations between properties as described for Korean.

2.6. Chapter conclusion

The goal of this chapter was to demonstrate how in light of the recurring, yet incredibly rich and diverse clause linkage phenomena in the world's languages, research moved from the binary distinctions of coordination and subordination through a gradual conceptual expansion. Via the introduction of the intermediate category of cosubordination, it was shown that what consitutes a 'subordinate' clause is actually describable by means of separate parameters of dependency and embedding. Further research culminated in the call for the abandonement of a-priori, clause linkage categories, and instead the pursuit of the examination of clause linkage phenomena under the perspective of multiple, theoretically independent dimensions.

Three such multidimensional approaches were presented, closing with the discussion of Bickel's (2010) multivariate approach to clause linkage . While Haiman and Thompson's (1984) suggestions were an initial and early proposal of what one could look at when looking at clause linkage without preset categorical assumptions, Lehmann (1988) and Bickel (2010) are multidimensional approaches from two fairly different angles. While Lehmann (1988) takes a lot of its inspiration from observations of grammaticalisation processes, he identifies an array of functional clines along which clause linkage phenomena may be situated, which each cline being situated between two opposite poles. Bickel (2010), on the other hand, is rather a statistical, and inductive evaluation of cross-linguistic clause linkage patterns, with multiple, independent dimensions which do not gradually move between opposite values, but rather diversify into measurable value clusters.

For the purposes of this thesis, it is worth pointing out that theories of clause linkage in the functional-typological literature have developed in a way quite similar to research on finiteness, in that a cross-linguistic concept was more and more expanded from a binary notion to a multidimensional conceptualisation. In fact, the following chapter intends to show how finiteness is a clausal property spanning across (at least) three areas of morphology, syntax and semantics, and how the examination of clausal finiteness can ultimately contribute to understanding clause linkage. This is because languages of the world show differences in clausal finiteness properties especially when two clauses are connected, similar to phenomena and processes that have been discussed in the clause linkage literature.

To bridge these two fields of studies, I will now go over to outlining the wider research on finiteness, resulting in the adoption of a multidimensional approach within the Canonical-Typological framework, proposed by Nikolaeva (2013).

3. Finiteness and Canonical Typology

The previous chapter has shown how research on clause linkage has grown from a binary distinction between coordination and subordination, to a conceptual decomposition into an array of multiple, theoretically independent dimensions (Bickel 2010). This can be seen as a result of the cross-linguistic variety of phenomena observed, which make it difficult to assume any preset correlations between conceptual properties that any a-priori categorisation implies (cf. Forker 2016, Haspelmath 2007).

I argue that, if clause linkage examines the phenomena and processes affecting clauses when they are connected with each other, we can examine the finiteness of clauses in clause linkage (cf. similar reasoning in Chamoreau and Estrada-Fernández 2016: 2). This is because finiteness in many approaches deals with the "conformity to the independent clause pattern" (Cristofaro 2007: 94), and as a clausal property, it is often understood as dealing with the various processes linked to the integration of a clause into another (Givón 1990, 2001). As a caveat however, I will later mention Nikolaeva (2007b) among others who assert that finiteness distinctions can also manifest in independent clauses, which is why clause linkage and finiteness only partially overlap.

Thus I now proceed to an overview of most important developments in the finiteness literature, with the guiding thought of explaining how a Canonical Typology (CT) approach to finiteness may be useful, and what criteria are relevant to the study of finiteness, adopting ideas from Nikolaeva (2013).

Section 3.1 will first give an overview on theoretical approaches to finiteness. In Section 3.2, I will present the analytic procedure more conventionally applied in what I call 'traditional typology' here.[1] Having identified the need for a Canonical Typology analysis, section 3.3 will present the most important aspects of Canonical-Typological methodology, also presenting Nikolaeva's (2013) ideas on how to examine finiteness from this perspective. Section 3.4 will then present a modified array of finiteness criteria relevant to this study, closing with a summary in section 3.5.

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[1] Corbett (2007: 9) refers to this as 'classical typology'.

3.1. Finiteness

Finiteness is a notion that is commonly used in grammatical descriptions and theoretical literature, yet belongs to those concepts which have received comparatively little attention in linguistics. It has its roots in the grammatical study of classical European languages of late antiquity, most particularly Latin. According to Nikolaeva (2007a: 1), "the term was first applied to personal pronouns (*pronomina finita*) and then to verbs expressing person and number", and over time, this notion came to be more closely associated with verbal inflection properties. Additionally, thinkers in Stoic logic are said to have contributed the equally influential perspective of finite verbs forming independent sentences (Luhtala 2000). In fact, these two perspectives on finiteness were incorporated much later in modern descriptive traditions of the Western world, where a finite verb inflects for agreement and tense (Huddleston 1988: 44; Hogg 1992: 541), and is a verb in a "simple declarative sentence" (Matthews 1997, also see Eide 2016: 3).

This inflectional-distributional characterisation of finiteness was based on earlier observations that in many European languages, verbs in independent utterances often inflect for agreement and tense features whereas non-finite verbs in dependent utterances do not. However, evidence from a wider range of languages has shown that in many cases, one will find that inflectional properties regarding a verb's morphology and its distributional properties in syntax do not necessarily correlate with each other. For example, imperatives exhibit a tendency to have reduced inflectional morphology although they are used in independent utterances (cf. Heine 2016), or in a range of languages, "arguably nonfinite forms with reduced tense and agreement can function as the only predicate in a clause" (Nikolaeva 2007a: 3). On a cross-linguistic level, researchers have noted that neither is it the case that finiteness oppositions in the world's languages affect the same categories, nor is the opposition visible in a consistent way, bundling characteristics neatly into two groups of set inter-criterial correlations that are implied by the binary distinction into 'finite' and 'non-finite' (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1994). Therefore, Nikolaeva (2007a: 3) concludes that "the traditional notion of finiteness" — a conceptualisation that reduces this notion to the mere correlation of verbal inflection properties and independent clausehood — "is ill-defined" (cf. Nikolaeva 2010).

This observation is in tune with the wider literature on finiteness, which I intend to outline in the following sections. I will first present ideas on finiteness as a discrete category emcompassing the treatment of this concept in Minimalist syntax (Eide 2016, McFadden and Sundaresan 2014, Adger 2007, Rizzi 1997

among others), as well as finiteness in non-transformational frameworks such as LFG (Sells 2007), in section 3.1.1. Section 3.1.2 will mainly summarise Givón's (1990, 2001) and Cristofaro's (2007) ideas on finiteness under functionalist perspectives, and close with a brief discussion of Bisang's (2007) contributions in this field.

3.1.1. Finiteness as a notion in generative frameworks

To begin with insights from generative schools of thought of the Chomskyan tradition, Adger (2007) explains how earlier approaches in Transformational Grammar of the 1970s did not resort to finiteness as a theoretical primitive, yet rather treated it as an epiphenomenon that arises from the interplay of various features. Based on observations traditionally made in European languages, the presence or absence of tense and agreement features on the clausal 'I' head was linked to the mechanism of subject licensing, which was then used to explain the seeming correlation between subject licensing and the presence or absence of tense or agreement inflection on a verb. However, soon enough, counter-examples would be found. Portuguese, for example, became well-known for its infinitives which take agreement markers (Raposo 1987), with the presence of an overt subject. The following example is taken from Adger (2007: 28):

(47) Portuguese agreeing infinitives, Adger (2007: 28)

    É correto nós   ignor-ar-mos   isto.
    is right   us.NOM ignore-INF-1PL this
    'It is right for us to ignore this.'

The discovery of agreement on Portuguese infinitives paired with overt subjects in the same clause not only showed that even in European languages infinitival clauses may exhibit overt subject licensing and agreement marking. Furthermore, this meant that tense and agreement were features which were not always crucial for manifestations of finiteness in conjunction, but either one could be decisive on a language-specific basis (cf. Eide 2016: 8).

Finiteness as a syntactic category came into play only much later after the framework had expanded much more following ideas such as Pollock's (1989), assuming that not only 'I' projects a phrase, but also its 'constituent features' (Adger 2007: 28) such as T (for 'tense') to TP, and Agr (for 'agreement') to AgrP. Advancing this idea of expanding the internal structure of clausal heads within phrase structure, Rizzi (1997) proposed a similar expansion of the CP layer into incorporating a multiplicity of phrasal projections within CP, all of which are

projections of the 'constituent features' above. This 'split-CP hypothesis' (Eide 2016: 14) laid much of the groundwork of the cartographic framework, which adds a multiplicity of functional heads in syntactic structure (for more on this, see Eide above or McFadden and Sundaresan 2014: 14ff.).[2] Commenting on this development in syntactic theory, Nikolaeva (2007a: 4) points out that "since in this syntactic tradition grammatical categories can only be defined if they occupy a place in the hierarchical phrase structure, finiteness has a structural corollary: it corresponds to a position on a tree from where it dominates the rest of the clause".[3]

(48)   Rizzi's (1997) expanded CP structure, from Adger (2007: 30)

```
                      ForceP
                     /      \
                 Force      TopicP
                           /      \
                     DP[topic]    Topic'
                                 /      \
                             Topic      FocusP
                                       /      \
                                 DP[Focus]    Focus'
                                             /      \
                                         Focus      TopicP
                                                   /      \
                                             DP[topic]    Topic'
                                                         /      \
                                                     Topic      FinP
                                                               /    \
                                                             Fin    IP
                                                                    /\
                                                                   . . .
```

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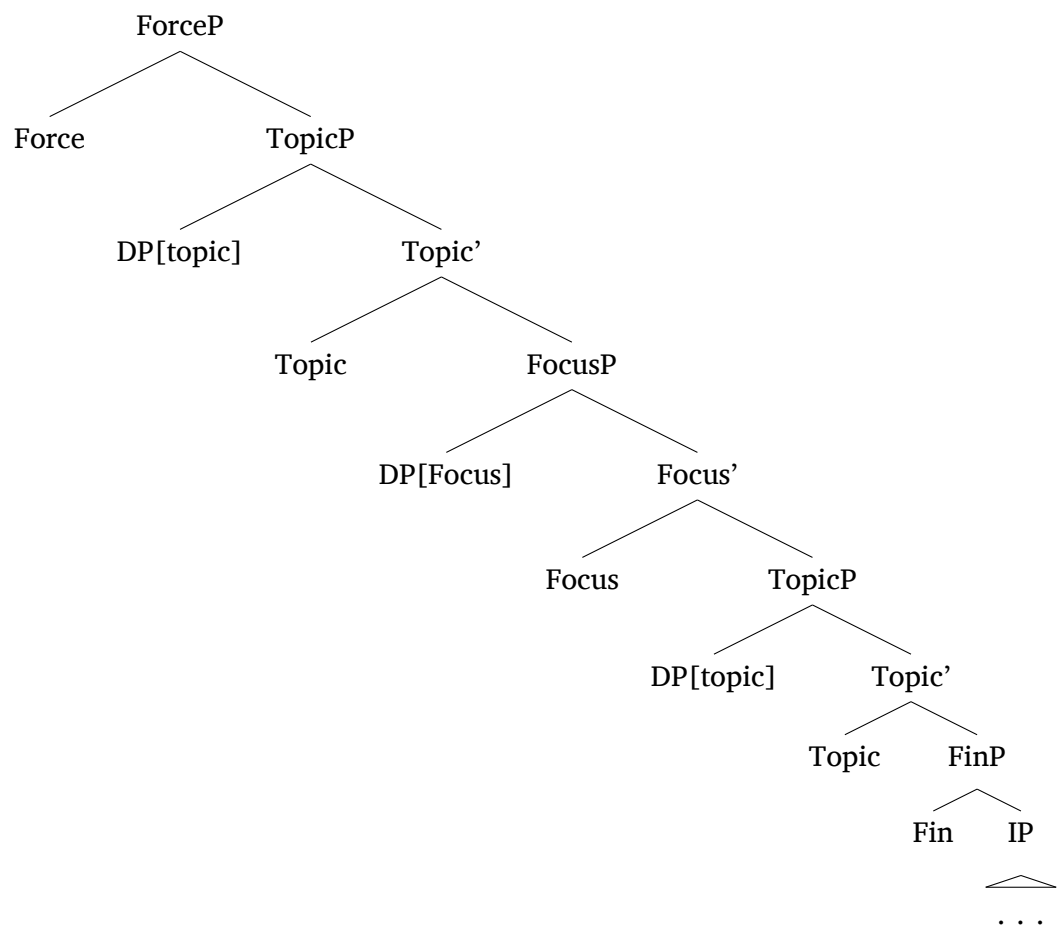
[2] Eide (2016: 14) explains that Speas and Tenny (2003) then took these ideas to propose that "different predicates select for different portions of the functional sequence", leading McFadden and Sundaresan (2014: 15) to suggest that this opens up the potential to introduce a gradual conceptualisation of finiteness in Chomskyan syntax. I will not delve further into this matter, yet work in this area such as Endo (2012) on Japanese adverbial clauses and main clause phenomena provides interesting inspirations (see Section 5.5).

[3] Note that there is some disagreement over which features (or whether all of them in principles) project in syntax. For example, De Vincenzi and Di Domenico (1999) conclude based on experimental data from Italian that number may justify having its own projection in syntax, whereas gender may be a feature that does not project. Thanks to Andrew Harvey for this remark.

Rizzi's (1997) argumentation is based on Italian evidence on the interaction between a phrasal topic and different types of complementisers. With the verb *credere che,* the complementiser would be preceding a topic phrase, whereas when this verb has the complementiser *di,* the topic phrase must precede the complementiser. Note that with *che* we have a finite clause, whereas with *di* there is an infinitival clause.

(49)   after Adger (2007: 30-31), based on Rizzi (1997: 288)

    a.   *Credo che,   il   tuo   libro, loro lo apprezzerebbero molto.*
         I.think that[+fin] the your book they it will.appreciate much

         'I think that, as for your book, they will appreciate it very much.'

    b.   * *Credo, il   tuo   libro, che   loro lo apprezzerebero molto.*
         I.think the your book that[+fin] they it will.appreciate much

         intended: 'I think that, as for your book, they will appreciate it very much.'

    c.   *Credo, il   tuo   libro, di   apprezzar-lo molto.*
         I.think the your book that[-fin] appreciate-it much

         'I think that, as for your book, they will appreciate it very much.'

    d.   * *Credo di,   il   tuo   libro, apprezzar-lo molto.*
         I.think that[-fin] the your book appreciate-it much

         intended: 'I think that, as for your book, they will appreciate it very much.'

Based on the Italian data above, Chomskyan syntacticians argue that *che* is realised in ForceP, and *di* in FinP. However, English predicates which can select for a similar range of complementisers do not allow for such topicalisation, and raising predicates seem to disallow it as well:

(50)   After Adger (2007: 31f.)

    a.   I decided that, your book, we should all read first.

    b.   * I decided, your book, to read first.

Adger (2007) explains how in the expanded CP model within the Minimalist framework, such evidence is accounted for by means of the mechanism of truncation, where all layers above the one that a predicate for is 'cut off'. English predicates with infinitival complements — *decide to,* for example — are said to select for Fin drectly, and that this is why no topic placement is possible. Even more so, on the basis of data from Scottish Gaelic, Adger (2007) continues to argue that in fact, such a truncation mechanism can even truncate below the level of T, which would be the head where tense features are located.

Regarding the semantic side of finiteness, Fin is modelled to bear an interpretable future [± finite], which would then make finiteness "a functional category in a position in the highest layer of clause structure which is associated with a particular kind of semantic force (essentially, whether it links anaphorically or deictically to the speech event)" (Adger 2007: 36), taking into account Bianchi's (2003) idea of the logophoric anchoring of a clause.[4]

As mentioned above, Transformational Grammar and its advancements establish an intimate theoretical link between the presence or absence of features which may (yet not have to) be linked to finiteness, that is for example, tense and agreement, and the licensing of a subject for a particular clause. Adger points out that it is not merely the interpretable feature [± finite] which instantiates subject licensing, but based on Landau (2004), he argues that it depends on a more complex "interplay of interpretable and uninterpretable features of tense, agreement, and referentiality. Unlike in earlier approaches, finiteness is not necessarily reduced to just tense and agreement, but just tense and agreement are relevant for the licensing of different kinds of subjects" (Adger 2007: 40).

More recent accounts of finiteness, however, acknowledge that the cross-linguistic diversity of finiteness manifestations is still higher than this model can capture (cf. McFadden and Sundaresan 2014: 9ff.):

> "Sundaresan and McFadden (2009) demonstrate that even [Landau's (2004)] complex machinery is not sufficient to account for the facts cross-linguistically, since in an array of languages (e.g., Tamil, Irish, Middle English) clauses that are demonstrably non-finite in every sense of the word will allow for overt, referentially independent subjects." (Eide 2016: 11)

Within such more elaborate developments described above, finiteness became either more associated with mechanisms of subject licensing (thus away from the focus on tense and agreement fatures), or the complex interaction of hierarchically ordered functional heads such as C, AgrS and T (Roberts and Roussou 2002). Essentially, formal grammars of the Chomskyan line of thought have their focus on agreement, tense and subject licensing as theoretical components; crucially, each of these can operate independently, and be present or absent depending on a particular language. Thus similarly, Eide (2016: 17/18; also see Grano 2017) remarks with respect to the logophoric anchoring of clauses:

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[4] Not only interpretable features are hosted by Fin in this framework. Evidence from Irish adverbial adjunction to complementisers inflecting for tense leads Adger (2007: 34/35) to assume that position for the complementiser is Fin, and that it can be checked for uninterpretable tense features.

"Obviously, this anchoring must also be allowed to exist and encoded without any such explicit morphological markers, since in Creole languages and many other languages like e.g. Chinese there are no obligatory morphological exponents of finiteness whatsoever, and a finite domain evidently may be signaled solely via the occurrence of an overt subject, or otherwise must licensed only by pragmatic-contextual means." Eide (2016: 17/18)

In other words: phenomena reated to finiteness such as tense, agreement or subject licensing have to be treated as separate theoretical dimensions which means that they can interact with each other, yet need not do necessarily. Moreover, these aspects of finiteness also interact with semantic factors such as the deictic/logophoric anchoring of a proposition. As an advantage of the model, the current Canonical Typology take on finiteness in Jejuan adverbial clauses (section 3.3) is capable of integrating theoretical contributions made by otherwise fundamentally different frameworks such as Functionalism or Minimalism, by means of assuming different, theoretically independent dimensions (section 3.4), yet joining them together in one theoretical space, our Canonical Base of finiteness.

Crucially, in Chomskyan frameworks, syntax takes primacy over other linguistic domains (e.g., Uriagereka 1998: xxxv), and this is how all these aspects of finiteness are tied into one, syntactic framework. Nikolaeva (2007a: 6) summarises how this conceptualisation of finiteness as a functional category in syntax has its ramifications in terms of its involvement in three major mechanisms:

"Finiteness [in transformational models of grammar] is a binary morphosyntactic category of the clause that (i) regulates tense and agreement on the verb (ii) controls the realization of the subject argument, and (iii) creates domains opaque for some syntactic rules" Nikolaeva (2007a: 6)

Whereas points (i) and (ii) have been explained above, the question of syntactic opacity/transparency deals with the observation that as opposed to non-finite clauses, finite clauses are often opaque to processes that apply in their immediate clausal environments.

For example, Eide (2016: 4) explains that "there are observable differences between finite sentences and non-finite sentences with respect to a range of syntactic processes such as the ability to act as "barriers" to the creation of syntactic dependencies", for example in antecedent-anaphor relations (also cf. Nikolaeva 2007a: 6, McFadden and Sundaresan 2014: 4):

(51) Eide (2016: 4) citing Chomsky's (1973: 238) "Tensed S-Condition" examples

    a.   Mary expected [herself to be the winner].

    b.   * Mary expected [that herself would be the winner].

To give another example, Nikolaeva (2013: 102) discusses Turkish complement clauses in the form of *I believe that X will do Y*, where the subject of the complement clause may either be marked for accusative case (as in *I believe him to do Y*) with no agreement on the subordinate verb, or be marked with nominative case (*I believe that he does Y*), with agreement inflection on the subordinate verb.

(52) Turkish (Kornfilt 2007: 310/312)

    a.   *[sen-i   sınav-ı   geç-ecek] san-ıyor-um*
        2SG-ACC test-ACC pass-FUT believe-PRS.PROG-1SG

        'I believe you will pass the test.'

    b.   *[sen   sınav-ı   geç-ecek-sin] san-ıyor-um*
        2SG.NOM test-ACC pass-FUT-2SG believe-PRS.PROG-1SG

        'I believe you will pass the test.'

As shown above, the accusative-subject complement clause, is syntactically transparent in that it is subject to matrix clause mechanisms (accusative case assignment by matrix clause predicate and blocking of agreement marking between subordinate subject and verb), whereas the nominative-subject complement clause maintains its own syntactic mechanisms applicable only to its own domain and independent of the matrix clause (assignment of nominative case and subject agreement by subordinate verb), which makes this clause syntactically opaque.

It is worth noting, however, that both of the above instantiations of Turkish complement clauses are syntactically dependent on their matrix clause, yet as shown above, this implies neither a unitary set of morphosyntactic corrolaries of finiteness, nor a mandatory correlation with a particular instantiation of syntactic opaqueness or transparency. Examples such as the Turkish complement clauses not only show that finiteness really cannot be reduced to a fixed correlation between the presence or absence of morphological and syntactic features, but also, they can be seen as pointers towards the fact that we are dealing with a number of finiteness dimensions that operate independently of each other.

To summarise, transformational frameworks have pointed towards a look at tense, agreement and subject licensing as theoretically independent phenomena,

yet when it comes to the relationship between morphology and syntax, the two are mechanically tied together since typically verbal features associated with morphological finiteness (tense and agreement) are hosted by the Fin position in the syntactic tree, and in turn instantiate the mechanism of subject licensing through Landau's (2004) [R] feature, which in turn plays a role in effectuating nominative marking on the subject.

Nontransformational approaches to finiteness "have as a necessary design feature the distinction between the surface form or position of a given morphosyntactic element and the grammatical information that that element expresses" (Sells 2007: 60), and as a result, such theories have contributed to research on finiteness with respect to the revelation that this notion may best be understood as having morphological, syntactic and semantic aspects which may not always correlate with each other.

To illustrate, I will now discuss Sells' (2007) ideas more in detail. Sells makes a featural distinction into 'FINITEness'and 'Finite'. The former is conceived of as an abstract, grammatical attribute understood to "be associated with clausal pragmatic functions such as making an assertion" (Sells 2007: 70).[5] Finiteness with only an initial capital refers solely to the morphological form of a verb. Based on ideas of Sadler and Spencer (2001), Sells (2007: 70) assumes that "the grammatical information [FINITE +] is expressed by [Form:Finite]" as a default case. What Sells shows is that such a default correlation, however, need not be obligatory.

To begin with, Sells (2007) compares the Japanese *koto-ni suru* control construction and the *koto-ga aru* raising construction, arguing that "morphological Finiteness need not be associated with a full clause syntactically" (Sells 2007: 75), and it need not be "exclusively associated with a given syntactic category such as IP or CP" either (Sells 2007: 72). This, then stands in contrast with Chomskyan approaches to finiteness, where it has a syntactic position in the expanded CP layer, and hence requires a full clause to be selected (unless some other mechanism such as truncation applies, as explained before).

Sells (2007: 75) analyses the *koto-ni suru* construction as a control construction which embeds a full clause, evidenced by two independent facts: for once, the embedded clause *tookyoo-ni ik-u,* Tokyo-to go-PRS, 'go to Tokyo', can have an overt anaphoric element *zibun,* 'self' occurring as a subject that is co-referent with the main clause subject *Taroo* (ex. (53a)).

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[5] Yet note that FINITEness is not seen as a semantic feature per se along the lines of the interpretable feature [± finite] in Minimalism, but rather as a more abstract grammatical feature of a clause (Sells 2007).

Additionally, he makes use of the *sika...na(i)* (roughly meaning 'only') construction: while in this construction the delimiter *sika* and the negational element *-(a)na* usually occur in the same clause as in ex. (53b), the negational element can also be suffixed to the higher clause verb as long as there is no subject intervening between the higher-clause subject and the embedded clause constituent where *-sika* is attached to. In fact, example (53d) is ungrammatical, which must mean that the embedded clause has a covert subject, and hence is a full clause.

(53) Japanese control constructions, Sells (2007: 72/73)

    a. ex. (16a/b) from Sells (2007: 72) combined

        taroo$_i$-wa   [(zibun$_i$-ga) tookyoo-ni ik-u]   koto-ni   sita
        Taroo-TOP self$_i$-NOM   Tokyo-to go-PRS fact-DAT do.PST
        'Taro$_i$ decided (optionally: 'for himself'$_i$) to go to Tokyo.'

    b. *taroo-wa   tookyoo-ni-**sika** ik-**ana**-katta*
        Taroo-TOP Tokyo-to-*sika*   go-NEG-PST
        'Taroo went only to Tokyo.'

    c. *taroo-wa   [tookyoo-ni-**sika** ik-**ana**-i]   koto-ni   sita*
        Taroo-TOP Tokyo-to-*sika*   go-NEG-PRS fact-DAT do.PST
        'Taroo decided to go only to Tokyo.'

    d. **taroo-wa [tookyoo-ni-**sika** ik-u]   koto-ni   si-**na**-katta*
        Taroo-TOP Tokyo-to-*sika*   go-PRS fact-DAT do-NEG-PST
        'Taroo decided to go only to Tokyo.'

In contrast, a *koto-ga aru* construction shows opposite characteristics:

(54) Sells (2007: 74/75)

    a. *taroo$_i$-wa   [(*zibun$_i$-ga) tyuugoku-ni itta]   koto-ga   ar-u*
        Taroo-TOP self$_i$-NOM   China-to   go.PST fact-NOM exist-PRS
        'Taroo has been to China.'

    b. *taroo$_i$-wa   [tyuugoku-ni-**sika** itta]   koto-ga   **na-i***
        Taroo$_i$-TOP China-to-*sika*   go.PST fact-NOM exist.NEG-PRS
        'Taroo has been only to China.'

In a *koto-ga aru* raising construction, the embedded constituent is shown not to have a subject position since the expression of *zibun* is not possible as in ex. (53a), and crucially, *sika...na(i)* can cross constituent boundaries even though the surface structures look the same as in (53d). Thus here, Sells (2007) concludes that the embedded constituents are not full clauses, but VPs. Note however, that in both control and raising constructions, the head verbs of the embedded constituents are inflected for tense, which Sells (2007) sees as a criterion for

morphological finiteness. The point is that in a non-transformational approach, morphological 'Finiteness' need not correlate with a syntactic position and/or a full clause, and moreover in these contexts, "the Finite marking carries none of the semantic clausal functions of FINITEness, for control and raising complements are neither (necessarily) declarative nor assertive" (Sells 2007: 75).

Now that Sells's (2007) ideas on making a conceptual separation between morphological finiteness and finiteness in syntax (associated with semantic-pragmatic properties of assertion) have been explained, I proceed to presenting his evidence on why a grammatical FINITEness attribute may be useful, independent in principle of morphosyntactic expression of a 'Finite' form.

(55)   Swedish, after Sells (2007: 80/81)[6]

    a.   *Han har   varit   sjuk.*
        He   have.PRS be.SPN sick

        'He has been sick.'

    b.   * *Han varit   sjuk.*
        He   be.SPN sick

        intended: 'He has been sick.'

    c.   *Han måste   ha   varit   sjuk.*
        He   must.PST have.BASE be.SPN sick

        'He must have been sick.'

    d.   *Han måste   varit   sjuk.*
        He   must.PST be.SPN sick

        'He must have been sick.'

In the above examples, Sells illustrates a phenomenon from Swedish referred to as '*Ha*-deletion', which involves situations where "past tense or perfective aspect" is expressed "in construction with a main verb in its Supine form [as in (55a)]" (Sells 2007: 80). He explains that "following a modal, nonfinite *ha* can be optionally present, but *har* cannot be absent when it is in second position in a main clause [...]" (Sells 2007: 80). Thus, he concludes that "*ha* must be present if it is the only candidate for marking finiteness in the second position in a V2 clause ([as in 55b]), but if something else is avalaible for this purpose, then *ha* can be absent [ex. (55d)]." This conclusion is supported by the observation that syntactic elements other than fully productive verbs (for example, the adverb

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[6] In order to illustrate the optionality of *ha*, the original examples have been split into ones with, and one without the auxiliary. Translations have been added following the source for ex. (55a) and (55b).

kanske which has lexicalised from a modal phrase[7] or the defective modal *måste* above) can occupy the V2 position which Sells deduces to a requirement for all V2 clauses to have a "formal marking feature [Form:Finite]" present in that position.

The V2 position in many Germanic languages, in turn, is widely regarded as having to do with the expression of assertion (see Sells 2007: 78f., Nikolaeva 2013: 110f., Eide 2016: 5 for references).

(56) German

    a. V2 assertion

      Er hat   heute keine Zeit.
      he have.3SG.PRS.IND today no   time
      'He has got no time today.'

    b. Clause above in embedded structure, no assertion

      Er sagt,   dass er heute keine Zeit habe.
      he say.3SG.PRS.IND that he today no   time have.3SG.PRS.SBJV
      'He says that he has no time today.'

As shown above from German, a V2 clause is asserted, with the verb inflected for tense and person-number agreement (ex. 56a), yet when the same clause appears in an embedded context which lacks assertion (also note the subjunctive form of the embedded verb), the verb is in clause-final position (56b).

Given such structures common to many Germanic languages, Sells argues that the finiteness information in Swedish is retrieved from *kanske* or *måste* occupying that position (cf. Sells 2001). However, even embedded clauses which are not subject to the V2 restriction show the same phenomenon:

(57) Swedish, after Sells (2007: 81)[8]

    Jag tror   att han   (har/hade)   varit   sjuk.
    I   think.PRS that he.NOM (have.PRS/have.PST) be.SPN sick
    'I think that he was/has/had been sick.'

The embedded clause is not asserted above, and also, without the tensed auxiliary, the clause would not have temporal anchoring in a sense that "the tense of the *ha-less* clause cannot be recovered" above in (57). However, Sells (2007: 81) states that in Swedish, only finite clauses can have nominative subjects, which is why he explains that "the fact that the clause is one that is finite is evident

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[7] To illustrate, a similar process has happened in Norwegian, cf. *Det kan skje, kanskje,* [də kʰɑn ˈʃe, ˈkʰɑnʃə], 'That can happen, maybe'.

[8] The past tense form of the auxiliary, as well as the nominative gloss on *han*, 'he', have been added here based on the prose explanation provided by Sells.

from other clues in the structure or context". In other words: different aspects pertaining to finiteness are in fact independent of each other.

To summarise, the association of the V2 position with an assertive speech act in Swedish (and other Germanic languages such as German and others) is connected to the presence of a Finite form feature, which shows the link between morphosyntax and semantics. However, in a finite embedded clause such as (57) without a *ha*-auxiliary, the finiteness information is not recoverable from morphological properties of an inflected head verb, but solely from syntactic cues such as the presence of a nominative subject. Thus the FINITEness attribute is assumed here as a mediating feature in the absence of a Finite form feature. Moreover, following Sells, the embedded clause is finite (with respect to the presence of a nominative subject and/or V2 syntax), yet it is not asserted, which is why finiteness must be regarded to involve independent, syntactic and semantic dimensions. As I will show later, in the Canonical Typology model of finiteness suggested by Nikolaeva (2013), finiteness is understood as a notion spanning the three, pricipally independent areas of morphology, syntax and semantics, based on ideas such as Sells's (2007).

3.1.2. Finiteness in functional approaches

As shown above, in the domain of language-internal theorisation, finiteness is often understood as being expressed by a number of properties such as tense, agreement, subject licensing etc. On the level of cross-linguistic comparison, which is the core area of functional-typological approaches, the question then arises which of those language-specific categories are cross-linguistically relevant for finiteness. This problem is summarised by Nikolaeva (2010) as follows:

> "Further complications arise because neither tense nor agreement is a universal category, so whichever is chosen will be absent in a number of languages. If agreement is taken to be the relevant category, languages like Japanese lack finiteness altogether. If tense is the decisive feature, the finite/non-finite opposition appears to be absent in languages like Lango, where verbs do not inflect for tense (Noonan 1992)."

In fact, many treatments of finiteness in transformational frameworks debate which categories are crucial for instantiating finiteness-related processes (e.g., McFadden and Sundaresan 2014: 5ff.). Functional approaches are said to have

"long recognized that properties involved in the definition of finiteness are not universal because finiteness has different morphosyntactic realizations across languages (Noonan 1985, Palmer 1986)" (Nikolaeva 2007a: 7). As typical for many functional-typological endeavours, the emphasis lies in the elaboration of finiteness on a conceptual-semantic level, as done by Givón (1990, 2001).

In Givón's functional framework, finiteness is seen as a "systematic grammatical means used to express the degree of integration of a clause into its immediate clausal environment" (Givón 1990: 853). This view is linked to the idea that finiteness has to do with "confirmity to the independent clause pattern" (Cristofaro 2007: 94), and is applied to contexts of clausal subordination.

In this perspective, a more or less iconic link is assumed between the semantic event relationship between multiple events and their syntactic manifestation in the form of linked clauses, for example, as "[t]he stronger the semantic bond between the two events, the more extensive will be the syntactic integration of the two clauses into a single clause" (Nikolaeva 2007a: 7), by which is meant that the verbal properties of a clause are lost in exchange of increasingly nominal properties. On the semantic level, Givón (1990, 2001) suggests that events may be dependent on others and therefore "are not conceptualized as independent processes and may possibly be conceptualized as component of main events" Nikolaeva (2007a: 7). This semantic dependence, that is, 'conceptual subordination' of one event under another, is seen as finding its corrolary in the syntactic dependence of a clause on another.

With regard to this link between the semantics of subordination, finiteness, and the various morphosyntactic manifestations observed, Cristofaro (2007) suggests that cross-linguistic tendencies can be explained by three major factors:

(58) Cristofaro's (2007) three factors on explaining finiteness manifestations

    a. The cognitive status of dependent state-of-affairs

    b. Information recoverability

    c. Semantic integration

The third factor, 'semantic integration' was discussed above with respect to Givón's (1990, 2001) ideas. Concerning the 'cognitive status of dependent state-of-affairs' (henceforth 'dependent states' in this section), Cristofaro (2007: 100) adopts Langacker's (1991) view where the notion of subordination is understood as "a cognitive situation whereby one of two linked states of affairs is construed in the perspective of another state of affairs (Langacker 1991: 346-347)". She argues that dependent states, which are typically non-finite or less finite, "lack

an autonomous profile" (Cristofaro 2007: 100), and that therefore they are processed differently from a cognitive perspective. Using Langacker's (1987b: 72) notion of 'sequential scanning' which refers to cognitive processing of events as a progression of "an indefinite number of component phases" (Cristofaro 2007: 93), she states that states-of-affairs with an autnomous profile[9] undergo sequential scanning, whereas one without "is construed holistically as a component of the profiled state of affairs" (Cristofaro 2007: 101). Thus in many functional views of finiteness, manifestations of finiteness distinctions may be seen as going back to such a cognitive dependency.

Many functional explanations refer to what is called the the principle of 'information recoverability'. Cristofaro (2007: 104) explains that languages tend not to mark the kind of information that is either ontologically recoverable (for example, verbal semantics or the semantics of specific clause linkages, e.g., purpose clauses), or they do not mark information that is recoverable from the immediate discourse context. Such an explanation is found in Givón (2001: 386) with respect to what he calls the "iconic *quantity principle*" [emphasis his]:

> "Information is left unmarked when it is either predictable or unimportant." Givón (2001: 386)

Similar to Cristofaro's and Givón ideas, Nikolaeva (2007b: 179) more generally relates the observed reduction of various kinds of morphosyntactic expression in less finite contexts as being subject to a "functional pressure for economy which regulates the relationship between form and function", and refers to it as 'Constructional Economy'.

As the semantic integration of one event in another may be gradual, it follows that finiteness itself becomes a gradual notion, which stands in contrast to the binary conceptualisation of transformational syntax where a clause is either finite or nonfinite. Since in Givón's functional approach, finiteness/non-finiteness are just two extremes on a gradual scale, many intermediate cases are possible, so any 'mismatches' between morphology and syntax do not pose big problems to functional theories. Thus Nikolaeva (2007a: 8) concludes:

> "The nature of the data shapes the conclusion: if finiteness is defined
> by a cluster of parameters, it is bound to be graduated given the range
> of cross-linguistic variations, so many functionalists view it as a scalar

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[9] Cf. Cristofaro (2007: 100): "By profile Langacker (1987a: 183-9) means that part of a scene that is obligatorily accessed, and accorded special cognitive prominence."

phenomenon. In this view, no decision is needed as to what features are crucial for finiteness." Nikolaeva (2007a: 8)

Note however, that binary views on finiteness as either finite or non-finite may potentially be maintained on a language-particular basis, depending on the presence or absence of observable phenomena (e.g., tense), which may as well instantiate binary categories in a particular language:

> "Since formal approaches focus on syntactic effects of properties or features, a scalar analysis is impossible — features are discrete and they are integrated into a binary system which determines whether a certain effect takes place or not." (Bisang 2007: 115)

Thus while this section has discussed finiteness as a gradual notion in functional perspectives, some functionalists regard finiteness as a binary concept on the level of "categories that can be morpho-syntactically expressed in independent vs. dependent clauses" (Bisang 2007: 115). I will later argue that in fact, the Canonical Typology approach provides an elegant synthesis of the advantages of both scalar and binary approaches to finiteness (see Section 5.3.1, and conclusions in Chapter 6).

To conclude, research on finiteness is largely based on the observation that throughout the world's languages, "there seem to be some cross-linguistically valid correlations between subject requirement, subject agreement, tense, syntactic opacity, and independent clausehood" (Nikolaeva 2007a: 10). While research on finiteness has attempted at connecting these linguistic processes and categories under one overarching concept, some researchers have called the validity of this category into question (Cristofaro 2007), suggesting a complete deconstruction into multiple form-function correlations. As shown however, the current Canonical Typology approach to finiteness will not only be able to combine contributions of different theoretical perspective under one roof, but also, the independence of criteria from each other (instead of implicational relations suggested in Cristofaro 2007) is motivated by empirical evidence presented in section 3.3.

3.2. Typological methodology and cross-linguistic comparability

The term 'typology' goes back to Gabelentz (1894, 1901[1891]), who was the among the first to separate "genealogical and typological classification" (Graffi

2011), and its objectives are often characterised as studying the "linguistic patterns that are found cross-linguistically", including those "that can be discovered solely by cross-linguistic comparison" (Croft 1990: 1, cf. Whaley 1997: 7-14).

According to Croft (1990: 3), both formal and functional-typological approaches have in common the exploration of the question of "What is possible in a language?" and the resulting hunt for universal constraints, yet differ in their emphasis on the kind of abstractions and explanations they resort to (Newmeyer 2005). Although formal and functional-typological approaches to languages are often seen to be opposed to each other, many researchers emphasise the complementary nature of these endeavours (Pensalfini et al. 2014, Polinsky 2011, Whaley 1997: 7 among others). In linguistic typology, cross-linguistic comparison is favoured over language-internal explanations. Croft (1990: 7/8) demonstrates this by naming the common features of identifying subjects in English.

(59) Criteria for subjecthood in English (after Croft 1990: 8)
- Nominative case marking
- Verbal agreement with corresponding subject NP
- Controlled element in embedded clauses of *want*
- Absence of NP in imperative constructions
- Ellipsis of shared NPs in sentential coordination

Croft points out that from the perspective of linguistic typology, more than the defining properties of English subjects themselves, what is of interest is the correlation between the factors that are observed in English, and to ask whether similar correlations can be observed cross-linguistically as well. What then naturally arises is the problem of cross-linguistic comparability which Stassen (2011: 90) phrases as follows:

> "How can we be sure that the data which we select from the languages in the sample form a coherent body of facts?" Stassen (2011: 90)

In Croft's (1990: 11) words, this problem is fundamental to any cross-linguistic enquiry:

> "The fundamental prerequisite for cross-linguistic comparison is cross-linguistic comparability, that is the ability to identify the "same" grammatical phenomenon across languages. One cannot make generalizations about subjects acoss languages without some confidence that one has correctly identified the category of "subject " in each language and compared subjects across languages." (Croft 1990: 11)

The conclusion in traditional linguistic typology is that in light of the sheer diversity of cross-linguistic manifestations of a concept of interest, one cannot base one's investigation on morphosyntactic definitions, but has to resort to semantic-pragmatic concepts which are believed to more or less universal (cf. the semantic definition on relative clauses in Keenan and Comrie's (1977: 63) well-known study). Croft (1990: 12) outlines this methodology as follows:

(60)   "Standard research strategy for the typological study of some grammatical phenomenon" (Croft 1990: 12)
  1. Determine the particular semantic(-pragmatic) structure or situation type that one is interested in studying.
  2. Examine the morphosyntactic construction(s) used to express that situation type.
  3. Search for dependencies between the construction(s) used for that situation and other linguistic factors — other structural features, other external functions expressed by the construction in question, or both.

Referring to basic notions common to many linguistic theories such as subject, object, head, modifier etc., Croft (1990: 13) claims that "[t]he problem of cross-linguistic dientification should not be overstated. In most cases it is not difficult to identify the basic grammatical categories on an intuitive basis".

While for notions such as relative clauses or more basic morphosyntactic categories, a rough semantic-pragmatic characterisation may be viable, for a more abstract concept such as finiteness this is less evident.[10] The notion of finiteness, as shown in the previous section, is related to many of what Croft (1990: 13) calls "fundamental grammatical categories", since in the current view of finiteness as a concept dealing with the integrational relationship of a clause with another, many of these notions have been shown to play a role in manifesting finiteness distinctions.

However, as Nikolaeva (2013: 99) remarks, "[f]initeness has no obvious semantico-pragmatic corollary and therefore cannot be usually equated across languages using this traditional procedure", which means that an alternative, typological approach may be recommended.

As I will show in the following section, typologists have increasingly been attending to the problem of cross-linguistic comparability (e.g., discussion papers in Plank 2016), and its ramifications have been addressed by the framework of

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[10] Also, Croft (1990: 16/17) admits that this procedure may indeed have its limits, for example when examining more structurally delimited categories such as subjunctive forms.

Canonical Typology (henceforth CT). An outlining of the problem, as well as the suggested solution of the Canonical Typology model and Nikolaeva's (2013) proposal on such an implementation for the concept of finiteness shall be the topic of discussion for the following section.

3.3. Canonical Typology

The previous sections have outlined how diverse the manifestations of finiteness are across the world's languages, and how research on finiteness has largely acknowledged that it does not only deal with the marking properties of a verb in correlation with the presence or absence of an overt subject, but that a) finiteness is related to phenomena across morphology, syntax and semantics, and b) there may be mismatches between these linguistic domains. The question, then, is how one can capture the diversity of finiteness manifestations in cross-linguistic comparison. While as shown above, 'traditional typology' has opted for the formulation of semantic definitions in order to ensure cross-linguistic applicability, I will now turn to the framework of Canonical Typology which addresses this problem from a different angle.

Canonical Typology (henceforth CT) as a typological methodology was born out of the standing challenge of analysing data from individual languages and comparing them with that of others (Corbett 2003, 2005, 2007, see also chapters in Brown et al. 2013 among others). As a rather recent line of typological research, it "addresses the issues of how cross-linguistic concepts can be accurately related to specific categories in a given language [...]" (Brown and Chumakina 2013: 3). As a model developed by Greville G. Corbett and associates, the 'Canonical Approach' is understood as "one that defines a principled point in the theoretical space and calibrates outwards from it" (Corbett 2007: 8). As such, it is a largely deductive approach, although as I will discuss in chapter 5, its emphasis on empirical data and its flexibility adds an inductive side to the methodology.

In a nutshell, the problem that every typologist encounters is that most often, the very language data that is used in a study will stem from a descriptive ontology tailored according to the individual peculiarities of a language's grammar. The question is, then, a) following which overarching criteria we can actually identify the phenomenon under investigation in a particular language, and b) how comparable categories and phenomena are, if, depending on the language, very different criteria are used to describe a particular phenomenon across different language descriptions. With respect to this, Corbett (2009) identifies two major

problems that are associated with typological endeavours: the *Analysis Problem*, and the *Correspondence Problem* (Corbett 2009).

The Analysis Problem is concerned with the postulation of a category and its subcategories (or values) that are under investigation, and their identification in particular languages. With respect to the analysis of morphosyntactic features in the world's languages, Corbett (2009: 133) states:

> "[W]e need to be able to justify the postulation of any feature. Since [...] features are an abbreviatory device, we have to ask persistently whether each is needed. This is essential for the typologist, since there is the danger of always finding the features we expect [...]." Corbett (2009: 133)

Essentially, the Analysis Problem is concerned with the postulation of a category within a theoretical framework, and its empirical validation through language data. Corbett (2009) remarks that with some features (for example, NUMBER), their postulation as an empirically valid category may be fairly straightforward, yet when it comes to values of a feature, it may be difficult to say how many values there are in a language due to the complexity of a system. For example, he mentions Bayso (Cushitic) which distinguishes four numbers on nouns, yet only three types of verbal agreement, intersecting with gender values (Corbett 2009: 138). Thus in this case, it is not clear what the actual values are that play a role grammatically for the feature of NUMBER.

The Correspondence Problem addresses the adequate comparison of grammatical categories cross-linguistically, as well as within one and the same language:

> "[A]s typologists we need to be able to justify treating features and their values as comparable across languages. This is not straightforward, and yet a good deal of typology, including enterprises such as the *World Atlas of Language Structures* (WALS), depends upon it." (Corbett 2009: 136)

To add to the above, concerning cross-linguistic comparisons, Brown and Chumakina (2013: 2) compare well-known IMPERFECTIVE-PERFECTIVE aspectual distinctions within Russian simple PAST in opposition to NON-PAST tense with Tigrinya grammar, where simple PAST only applies to resultative events, with a separate, stative past for other events (Dahl 1985: 115-120). Thus comparing Tigrinya and Russian, language-specific tense distinctions put the SIMPLE PAST tense of each language in a very different light, which is why one may ask how

comparable the category of PAST tense would be if we compared languages with such divergent properties.

On the level of language-internal analysis, Russian shows divergent agreement behaviour depending on the grammatical person: Third person pronouns are overtly marked for their gender and simple past forms on verbs agree with them, whereas first person pronouns are not overtly marked, yet trigger the same agreement behaviour on verbs (Brown and Chumakina 2013: 2). Thus agreement may feature in various ways within a single language, so that again, on the level of cross-linguistic comparison, one needs to make sure that the same categories are compared with one another.

Thus in light of the sheer diversity of the world's languages, one needs to decompose a notion and its defining dimensions in a way that it can capture these differences between languages adequately, yet still ensure that phenomena remain comparable. In order to do this, Canonical Typology strictly distinguishes between the conceptual notion that is of interest to a particular enquiry, and the dimensions that define this particular notion. This typological framework thus calls for a particular emphasis on the criteria applied to the identification and analysis of grammatical categories:

> "Canonical Typology [...] plac[es] emphasis on the criteria used to associate particular linguistic phenomena with cross-linguistic categories. It therefore demands greater detail and rigour in terms of description, because it requires the typologist to be clear about the basis on which a phenomenon might be considered an instance of a particular concept." (Brown and Chumakina 2013: 3)

In other words, by emphasising the criteria applied to identify specific phenomena, the Canonical Typology approach ensures that on the one hand, linguistic phenomena of a given language are actually identifiable as instances of a particular phenomenon under examination, and that language-internal differences between various instances of these phenomena are not glossed over, but recorded systematically, and its properties remain comparable to each other. Thus in this framework, the criteria are given great care and importance. They "are used to define these dimensions [pertaining to a particular concept], and they state which points represent the more canonical, and less canonical, instances along the dimension" (Brown and Chumakina 2013: 4). In this way, the authors state, "[c]riteria can be used to define a set of possibilities which account for the broad typological space covered by the base, and they allow us to determine where a

particular construction is located within this space" (Brown and Chumakina 2013: 5).

As the crucial element of this framework, Canonical Typology works with the concept of a Canonical Ideal which paints a picture of what an ideal case would look like. Corbett (2007: 9) describes the idea as follows:

> "The canonical approach means that I take definitions to their logical end point, enabling me to build theoretical spaces of possibilities. Unlike classical typology, only then does one ask how this space is populated with real instances. The canonical instances, that is, the best, clearest, indisputable (the ones closely matching the canon), are unlikely to be frequent. Rather, they are likely to be rare or even nonexistent." (Corbett 2007: 9)

Corbett argues that this approach "allows the linguist to handle gradient phenomena in a principled way" (Corbett 2007: 10), and that more importantly, "the criteria do not conflict; rather they converge" (Corbett 2007: 35) in the Canonical Ideal. This idea is important since it enables us to imagine typological models where properties do not stand in conflict with each other. Especially in the case of finiteness (Section 3.1), I have explained how in many traditional approaches, properties related with this notion conflict with each other, either within a single language, or across a set of languages. In chapter 5, I will show that despite numerous mismatches in Jejuan adverbial clause properties, a Canonical Typology approach does not run into such problems. At the same time, the logically rigorous convergence of all definitorial dimensions in the Canonical Ideal ensures that linguistic comparison will always have a *tertium comparationis* from which language-particular differences can be calibrated.

From the perspective of data from a single language feeding into a cross-linguistic study, the Canonical Typology approach can ensure that linguistic facts in a single language can be reliably situated within the typological space mapped out by theoretical dimensions. Thus in this sense, the current CT analysis of finiteness in Jejuan adverbial clauses is an attempt at situating the adverbial clauses of this language within the wider typological space of finiteness.

3.3.1. Key steps and terms of the canonical method

The goal of the so-called *canonical method* (Brown and Chumakina 2013: 3) is to "plot a multidimensional space in which particular linguistic objects differ in

terms of their proximity to a point of convergence which is the Canonical Ideal", comprising the steps below.

(61) The canonical method after Brown and Chumakina (2013)

1. Sketch out the theoretical space by defining the *base* of your canonical-typological investigation.
2. Starting from that base, identify theoretical dimensions, your *criteria*, to map out a theoretical space.
3. The point within the theoretical space where all criteria converge will be the *Canonical Ideal*.
4. With respect to a given instance of a particular phenomenon, see what criteria this particular instance fulfills.
5. Position instances within the theoretical space in terms of their distance from the ideal.

At the beginning of each canonical-typological investigation, a *base* will be defined which is taken to be the "notional starting point" for studying a particular phenomenon, also referred to as "first approximation" (Brown and Chumakina 2013: 3). Brown and Chumakina (2013: 4) summarise Bond's (2013: 25) recommendations for a canonical base as follows:

(62) A Canonical Base...

- ...should be broad in coverage so as to be inclusive.
- ...should provide a minimal description of the phenomenological domain.
- ...should contain sufficient information to determine whether the phenomenon exists in the languages under investigation.
- ...should be supported by empirical evidence from other linguistics sub-disciplines.

Defining the base is the very beginning of any investigation, where a particular linguistic phenomenon is selected and broadly outlined. It functions as the theoretical space which is then filled by theoretical dimensions which are constructed by empirical evidence as well as previous theoretical work. These theoretical dimensions are then formulated in the form of *criteria*.

In current Canonical Typology approaches, criteria are conceptualised as binary:

"In their simplest form criteria define dimensions for which there are two possible values: the canonical value and the non-canonical

value. [...] We can think of the dimensions defined by these two criteria as having two points associated with them. That is, they may or may not hold. In this simple case we have a dimension $<0,1>$." (Brown and Chumakina 2013: 5)

Brown and Chumakina (2013: 6) and Forker (2016: 81) mention that in principle, criteria may be formulated in gradient formats, allowing for multiple points along a particular dimension. However, current studies mostly resort to criteria which either do or do not hold. Assuming such binary values for the identification of certain criteria, the *Canonical Ideal* is understood to be a "linguistic object which is at the canonical end of every dimension" (Brown and Chumakina 2013: 6), that is, an instance where all criteria converge.

Figure 3.1.: A Boolean lattice of three criteria

Canonical Ideal: $\{C1, C2, C3\}$

$\{C2, C3\}$ $\{C1, C3\}$ $\{C1, C2\}$

$\{C3\}$ $\{C2\}$ $\{C1\}$

$\{\}$
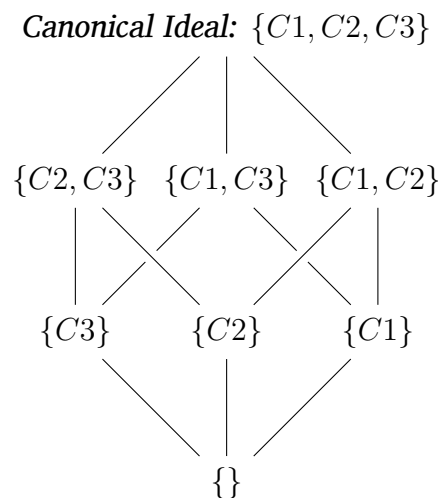
A theoretical space in canonical typology is illustrated by means of a Boolean lattice, which basically plays through all possible combinations of a given maximal set of elements which either can or cannot occur[11]. The order of an element within a set does not play a role. As shown above, if we have three criteria C1, C2, and C3, then the top of the lattice joins all three criteria in one, maximal set {C1/C2/C3}, whereas the lowest level would be one where the set is empty {}. Whereas the top node is the Canonical Ideal in this case, the bottom node is the furthest away from the Canonical Ideal. In between, we have all other possible

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[11] Note that for the sake of illustration, the current depiction of a Boolean lattice departs from a more mathematically rigorous format in which we would rather have the value specifications for criteria instead of the criteria itself, that is, $\{1_{C1}, 0_{C2}\}$, for example. Also, 'zero values' have been left out following illustrational practice in Brown and Chumakina (2013).

combinations except the above two (cf. Brown and Chumakina 2013: 6ff. for another explanation).

As mentioned, a hallmark of the Canonical-Typological method is its emphasis on the *Canonical Ideal*, which is the logical point of convergence of all criteria. This theoretical focus on the "point of convergence for logically consistent definitions" (Brown and Chumakina 2013: 12) make the concept of a Canonical Ideal different from a prototype, which, according to Brown and Chumakina (2013: 12), are more "associated with perceptual salience and are therefore natural categories from a cognitive perspective", tracing this idea back to the work of Rosch (1973, 1978). Similarly, the authors understand prototypes to be frequent instances of a certain phenomenon (and therefore relating frequency to perceptual salience above), whereas a canonically ideal instance may only rarely be attested among the world's languages (see also Siewierska and Bakker 2013).

To give an example, in a canonical inflectional class system, each cell in an inflectional paradigm would be occupied by a unique, morphological entity (among other properties, Corbett 2005: 33ff.), whereas Brown and Chumakina (2013: 9) remark that in the prototypical case, we would expect there to be paradigmatic syncretism. In a CT approach, on the other hand, syncretism would be seen as non-canonical (Corbett 2005: 34ff. and references therein), since it deviates from the ideal that results from the strict logical convergence of all criteria.

However, the CT approach is not an exclusively deductive methodology, since on the one hand, authors such as Brown and Chumakina (2013: 8) emphasise the importance of grounding criteria "in cross-linguistic observations about data", and seeing whether setting up certain criteria can actually be validated by cross-linguistic analyses. On the other hand, pursuing a CT perspective means that one always has a conceptual beacon represented by the Canonical Ideal, and that one can situate a particular instance of a construction within a given theoretical space in relation to that particular ideal.

Furthermore, the clear outlining of a Canonical Ideal and the criteria leading to this ideal ensure that "when we speak of one thing being less canonical than something else, this often has to be understood in relation to a particular dimension" (Brown and Chumakina 2013: 6). In this sense, the Canonical Ideal is much less an independently motivated entity than it may seem at first sight.

Having explained the main aspects of Canonical Typology, I now proceed to a brief overview of major principles that guide the design of a CT model, and then present the criteria for Canonical Finiteness suggested in Nikolaeva (2013).

3.3.2. Design principles of Canonical Typology

Brown and Chumakina (2013) suggest four principles that Canonical Typology approaches should bear in mind:

1. Recognisability Precept
2. Venus Precept
3. Precept of Independence
4. Recyclability

The first principle, the *Recognisability Precept*, considers the importance of an empirical base that supports the concept of a Canonical Ideal, regardless of whether there are actual examples to be found in the world's languages which fulfill all canonical properties:

> *Recognisability Precept*
> "A canonical ideal must be defined in such a way that it can be generally accepted. This is achievable, because the ideal is itself a combination of properties which individually can be observed in languages, so that we can recognize it, if we come across it." (Brown and Chumakina 2013: 9)

The above precept emphasises that canonical ideals must consist of properties which are based on empirically observable language data, since otherwise such an ideal may not be legitimisable as a conceptual entity.

The second principle is the *Venus Precept*. It emphasises the importance of differentiating between phenomena in the world's languages which are most widely known yet which may actually be further away from an ideal case, and those which most closely approximate the Canonical Ideal:

> *Venus Precept*
> "The most readily available examples and most commonly discussed instances of particular linguistic phenomena may not actually be the best examples." (Brown and Chumakina 2013: 9)

Brown and Chumakina (2013: 9) state that respecting the Venus Precept in Canonical Typology "naturally forces us to look beyond the most obvious examples, and it should remind us that the languages and families often cited as providing the best instances of a particular phenomenon could be blocking our view". Thus essentially, this precept is a more explicit formulation of what was discussed as distinctions between prototypes and Canonical Ideals above.

These criteria as representations of certain dimensions are independent of each other, which means that in the CT approach, one will not have interdependencies between different criteria. This is called the *Precept of Independence*:

> *Precept of Independence*
> "Define criteria so that the values of one dimension can be determined independently of the values of another." (Brown and Chumakina 2013: 11)

Brown and Chumakina (2013: 11) emphasise that "[i]n principle, we should be able to create canonical typologies where any combination of values along the defined dimensions is possible. Whether the particular combinations are actually to be found is another matter, of course". The Precept of Independence is aimed at enabling that free combination of values situated along different dimensions of enquiry.

As a last condition for a meaningful CT methodology, Brown and Chumakina (2013: 11) propose the principle of *Recyclability*.

> *Recyclability*
> "Criteria for one typology should be created with their recyclability for others in mind." (Brown and Chumakina 2013: 11)

The above condition highlights an important principle of typological work, which tries to create a theoretical space within which different phenomena are described under one ontology in a consistent manner. It then follows that ideally, one could use criteria in one particular area of interest which may be applied to other related phenomena as well. Therefore, observing the above Precepts and design recommendations encourage researchers to build a theoretical space for a single typological phenomenon, and to combine different typologies to a larger one, with increasing levels of comprehensiveness.

3.3.3. Canonical Finiteness

Nikolaeva (2013: 103), whose approach to finiteness in Canonical Typology will be taken on here as a model, assumes that "finiteness pertains to a clause", and draws upon a range of literature which conceptualises finiteness as having to do with various aspects related to the structure of a clause (see Section 3.1 above; cf. Anderson 1997, 2001, 2007; Adger 2007; Bisang 2007). Further inspirations are drawn from Lasser's (1997) and Klein's (1998) distinctions between 'M-finiteness'

(morphological finiteness) and 'S-finiteness' (semantic finiteness), where the former refers to inflectional marking properties of a verb, and the latter to what Nikolaeva (2013: 103) calls 'referential anchoring' and 'claim-making' (also see Maas 2004). Bringing together these different strands of research on finiteness, she concludes that a Canonical-Typological approach to finiteness needs to respect three essential domains (Nikolaeva 2013: 104), morphology, syntax and semantics. In the following I present a list of criteria suggested. Note that in the subsequent section, I will add a few criteria to the list. All criteria are numbered, and the 'X > Y' symbol simply indicates that 'X is understood to be more canonically finite than Y'.

(63) Nikolaeva's (2013) criteria for Canonical Finiteness
- Morphology
  - C-1: tense marking > no tense marking
  - C-2: subject agreement > no subject agreement
  - C-3: mood and/or illocutionary force marking > no mood and/or illocutionary force marking
  - C-4: politeness marking > no politeness marking
  - C-5: evidential marking > no evidential marking
  - C-6: no switch-reference marking > switch-reference marking
  - C-7: nominative subject > non-nominative subject
- Syntax
  - C-8: independent clause > dependent clause
  - C-9: subject licensing > no subject
  - C-10: morphosyntactic expression of information structure > no morphosyntactic expression of information structure
- Semantics
  - C-11: assertion > no assertion
  - C-12: independent temporal anchoring > no independent temporal anchoring
  - C-13: information structuring > no information structuring

As one can see above, for most of the canons, the fulfilment of a certain criterion, for example the presence of tense (C-1), agreement marking (C-2), or overtly licensed subject (C-9) is taken as an indicator for a higher degree of finiteness than its absence. In that respect, switch-reference marking (C-6) as a feature most typically available to dependent clauses behaves in the opposite direction: its absence will be seen as indicating higher Canonical Finiteness of a given clausal structure.

In Section 3.4, the above canons will be elaborated and modified to fit the study of Jejuan.

3.4. Canonical Finiteness criteria applied in this study

This section discusses the criteria suggested for finiteness in a Canonical Typology framework by Nikoleava (2013) in detail, introducing a few more criteria considered to be particularly apt for the study of finiteness in adverbial clauses. Some criteria suggested in Nikolaeva (2013) are not discussed in this section, since these phenomena do not surface in Jejuan grammar. As Jejuan grammar shows no evidence for morphological subject agreement, C-2 will play no role in the present investigation. Moreover, Jejuan does not have a paradigmatic switch-reference system in a strictly morphosyntactic sense (cf. Jendraschek 2016: 246ff.[12]), which is why C-6 on the presence or absence of switch-reference is not considered here either. Note that the rightward angled brackets merely serve as an abbreviation for saying 'more canonical than' (that is, 'more canonically finite' in this study).

(64) Canonical Finiteness criteria based on Nikolaeva (2013)
- Morphological criteria
  - C-1 tense marking > no tense marking
  - C-3 mood and/or illocutionary force marking > no mood and/or illocutionary force marking
  - C-4 politeness marking > no politeness marking
  - C-5 evidential marking > no evidential marking
  - C-7 nominative subject > non-nominative subject
- Syntactic criteria
  - C-8: independent clause > dependent clause
  - C-9: no syntactic embedding > syntactic embedding
  - C-10: independent subject licensing > no subject licensed
  - C-11: morphosyntactic expression of information structure > no morphosyntactic expression of information structure

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[12] Presumably, this is a common feature of Koreanic languages in general. Consider: "While all Iatmul converbs within the relevant paradigm are sensitive to switch reference, similar requirements in Turkish and Korean are specific to individual suffixes, and can be conclusively explained as a pragmatic consequence of their individual semantic functions. [...] In conclusion, Turkish and Korean converbs primarily express semantic relations between clauses of a complex sentence, often with subtle semantic nuances, whereas the primary function of the Iatmul system is participant tracking within and across sentences [...]" (Jendraschek 2016: 249). Also see Schmalz (2016) for a diverging opinion on switch-reference based on Yukaghir languages.

  – C-12: extraction blocked > extraction possible
- Semantic criteria
  – C-13: assertion > no assertion
  – C-14: independent temporal anchoring > no independent temporal anchoring
  – C-15: information structuring > no information structuring

Shown above is a list of the criteria that will be applied in this study, which diverges from suggestions made in Nikolaeva (2013) insofar as C-9 (status of syntactic embedding) and C-12 (extractability through relativisation) have been added. Given that this study is concerned with adverbial clause linkage in particular, Nikolaeva's (2013: 108) criterion C-8 on the syntactic independence of clauses has been enriched by the dimensions of syntactic dependence in a distributional sense, and syntactic status of embedding as an additional criterion. Furthermore, extractability through relativisation (C-12) has been added as this is a recurring dimension considered for clause linkage in various studies such as Bickel (2010).

In the following, I discuss morphological, syntactic and semantic criteria separately.

3.4.1. Morphological finiteness criteria

In the domain of morphology, the following criteria will be considered for the present study. Note that the numbering of the criteria has been kept consistent according to Nikolaeva (2013) in order to avoid confusion in case the criteria are applied to other languages and sets of varieties in the future.

- C-1 tense marking > no tense marking
- C-3 mood and/or illocutionary force marking > no mood and/or illocutionary force marking
- C-4 politeness marking > no politeness marking
- C-5 evidential marking > no evidential marking
- C-7 nominative subject > non-nominative subject

As mentioned, criterion C-2 (subject agreement) and C-6 (switch-reference marking) are not considered in this study. Furthermore, C-1 to C-5 are concerned with the morphological properties of verbal predicates, whereas C-7 deals with

nominal (and nominative) case marking on subject arguments. The morphological criteria suggested by Nikolaeva (2013) provide a good starting point to examine finiteness distinctions between clause types, since in fact in Chapter 1, ex. (1c), we saw that Jejuan final clause verbs can carry inflectional marking for C-1, C-3, C-4 and C-5 at the same time. We will see in chapter 4 that such complex inflection is not possible for converbs.

In studies following Chomskyan frameworks such as Lee K.-Y. (2009: 59ff.), the so-called Korean subject honorific suffix *-si* on verbs (see also Sohn H.-M. 1999: 414) is commonly taken as the expression of an Agr feature (even though this is not without problems, cf. Lee K.-Y. 2009: 61f.). Jejuan, however, does not regularly employ this suffix in spoken language — the only cases this suffix is attested is in records of shamanistic narratives (Hyeon Y.-J. 2007), or in the speech of younger, Jejuan speakers with greater influence from Korean. Since the speakers I worked with do not use this suffix in every-day Jejuan interactions, any kind of such suffixing which could be interpreted as some kind of agreement was deemed as being absent from Jejuan grammar[13].

As for C-1, the possibility of tense marking on a verb in a particular clause linkage type will be taken as an indicator for greater Canonical Finiteness, whereas a verb that is not inflected for tense will be seen as being less finite than one that has no restrictions on tense inflection. Take the German verb *wollen*, 'want' as an example: in same-subject contexts, one has a complement clause headed by an infinitive, whereas in different-subject contexts, one has a *dass*-complement clause where the verbal complement is inflected for tense (among other things). Thus the embedded clause in (65a) will be counted as being canonically less finite than (65b).

(65) German (colloquial)

    a. *[Ich wollte   [das schon   längst   machen.]]*
       1SG want.1SG.PST that already long_ago do:INF

       'I've been wanting to do that all along.'

    b. *[Ich will,   [dass du   jetzt gehst.]]*
       1SG want.1SG.NPST that you now go.2SG.NPST

       'I want you to leave now.'

---

[13] This is not to say that younger speakers of Jejuan do not use this honorific suffix when speaking Jejuan. However, with my language teachers, this suffix did not occur in Jejuan communication (that is, only when there was some significant prosodic or morphosyntactic mixing with Korean), in contexts where it would be considered mandatory to use it, for example in communication with socially higher-standing people.

Criterion C-3 states that clauses marked for illocutionary force and/or mood are more canonically finite than those which are not.

(66) Korean

    a. *[kɛ   na=hantʰe [musʰɨn il   iṣ̤-nja-ko]*
       3SG.DIST 1SG=DAT some   issue EXIST.COP-Q-COMP
      mulǝpo-tǝ-la]
      ask-EV.PST-DECL
      'He/she asked me whether I had a problem.'

    b. *[sʰǝŋu=nɨn mǝntɕ͡ǝ ka-(*-la)-ko],   [sʰumi=nɨn iṣtaka ka-kǝla]*
      Soungu=TOP first   go-(*-IMP)-CVB Sumi=TOP later go-IMP
      'Soung-U, you go first, and Sumi, you go later!'

As shown above, in Korean complement clauses as (66a), the complement verb may have interrogative marking, whereas in clauses linked by the generic converb *-ko*[14] in (66b), such mood and illocutionary force marking is not allowed on the dependent verb: here, only the final-clause verb may be marked for imperative mood. As I will show later, in Jejuan *-ko* converbs are in fact the only ones which allow for imperative mood marking (section 4.2.1), an important difference from Korean.

Criterion C-4 addresses politeness as another morphological indicator of finiteness. As cited in Nikolaeva (2013: 106), Bisang (2007: 129) shows that Japanese verbs in complement clauses may be marked for politeness, whereas verbs heading relative clauses cannot inflect for that category:

(67) Japanese (Bisang 2007: 129)

    a. *ringo o   tabe(-masi-)ta*
      apple ACC eat-POL-PST
      'He ate an apple.'

    b. *Hanako ga   ki(-masi)-ta   to*
      Hanako NOM come-POL-PST that
      'that Hanako came'

    c. *tabe(-*masi)-ta ringo*
      eat-POL-PST   apple
      'the apple he ate'

---

[14] Note that although formally identical, the converb in *-ko* and the complementiser *-ko* differ in their function, as the former is a generic, adverbial clause linker, and the latter is typically licensed by complements of verbs of saying, thinking and asking. Moreover, the complementiser *-ko* form attaches to a fully inflected verb, whereas a *-ko* converb has restricted inflectability. In fact, in Jejuan this difference between complement and adverbial clauses is more striking in that they are very different morphologically (see Section A.2.16.2).

Similarly, criterion C-5 says that the presence of evidential marking makes a clause more canonically finite, which is based on the observation that in many languages which morphologically mark evidentiality, "there are often considerable restrictions on their usage in dependent clauses" (Nikolaeva 2013: 106), giving an example from Kolyma Yukaghir:

(68) Kolyma Yukaghir (Nikolaeva 2013: 106)

    a. *[tet leŋdoː-l'əl-gənə]   tetul   lubogəš-tə-mə*
        you be.hungry-EV-DS you.ACC feed-FUT-1SG
        'If you are hungry (apparently), I will feed you.'

    b. *[Ø ningoː leg(-*l'əl)-ut] taː kude-tə-jək*
        much eat-EV-SS   so become-FUT-2SG
        'If you eat a lot (apparently), you will become like that.'

Nikolaeva (2013: 106) argues that accomodating evidential marking as a separate criterion may help determine the finiteness of certain clauses, such as the above examples (68a) and (68b) from Kolyma Yukaghir, where different-subject clauses allow for evidential marking on the dependent verb as opposed to same-subject clauses.

C-7 addresses cases where (in nominative-accusative case marking languages) usually nominative-marked subjects appear with non-nominative marking. The criterion stipulates that nominative-marked subjects are more canonically finite than non-nominative subjects:

(69) Turkish (Kornfilt 2007: 310/312)

    a. *[sen-i   sınav-ı   geç-ecek] san-ıyor-um*
        2SG-ACC test-ACC pass-FUT believe-PRS.PROG-1SG
        'I believe you will pass the test.'

    b. *[sen   sınav-ı   geç-ecek-sin]   san-ıyor-um*
        2SG.NOM test-ACC pass-FUT-2SG believe-PRS.PROG-1SG
        'I believe you will pass the test.'

Kornfilt (2007: 309) shows how in a simplex, transitive clause in Turkish we have a subject-object alignment with the usual pattern NOMINATIVE-ACCUSATIVE, identical to (69a). As discussed by Nikolaeva (2013: 102/107f.), however, Turkish complement clauses of cognitive verbs such as *san-*, 'believe' may have accusative-marked subjects, as shown above in (69a). Additionally, in the accusative-subject version clause (69a) there is no agreement marking on the embedded verb whereas in (69b), the presence of a nominative-subject goes in hand with agreement-marking on the complement clause predicate. As "the subject [in (69a) above]

participates in syntactic phenomena that belong to the matrix clause", Nikolaeva (2013: 107) concludes that the complement clause with the accusative-marked subject is syntactically transparent as opposed to the opaque clause in (69b). Higher syntactic opacity is thought to be more canonically finite than syntactic transparency. In this way, the presence of a non-nominative marked subject is seen as an indicator for lower canonical finiteness.

3.4.2. Syntactic finiteness criteria

Syntactic criteria address a clause's syntactic dependence/independence with respect to another clause in its immediate discourse context (based on Givón's 1990: 853 understanding), that is, in this thesis's terms, an adjacent final clause with which it builds a complex sentence.

- C-8: independent clause > dependent clause
- C-9: no syntactic embedding > syntactic embedding
- C-10: independent subject licensing > no independent subject licensed
- C-11: morphosyntactic expression of information structure > no morphosyntactic expression of information structure
- C-12: extraction blocked > extraction possible

The list presented above diverges somewhat from Nikolaeva's (2013: 108ff.) syntactic criteria for finiteness (cf. section 3.3.3), as criteria C-9 and C-12 have been added here.[15]

C-8 refers to the independence of a clause from the perspective of syntactic distribution, stating that a clause that occurs in syntactically independent distribution is more canonically finite than one occurring in dependent distribution, that is, in linkage with another clause. Thus this criterion picks up the idea that a canonically finite clause will be a main clause that can stand alone. Note that by virtue of looking at adverbial clauses in clause linkage, all clause types examined in this thesis will be syntactically dependent by definition. Thus in order to narrow down the scope, I am not considering (arguably numerous) cases in conversational interaction where a (morphologically) adverbial clause is used independently in discourse, or in an extraposed context following the final clause, possibly involving a long prosodic pause. For an example, consider the clause headed by a *-kətilaŋ* converb in ex. (222e) on page (344), or the following:

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[15] Also note that Nikolaeva's (2013: 109) C-9 (C-10 above in my numbering) has been slightly changed from 'subject licensing > no subject'.

(70) a. Dependent distribution, jeju0063-01-02, Pear Story, YSH1, FLEx 122/123

ɨ̃   t͡ɕɒpa teŋki-məŋ t͡ɕə kop-t͡ɕi-ə-msʰə,   mʷisʰɨkə
yes grab pull-CVB that hide-CAUS-STM-PROG.ILLOC something
'Yes, he's pulling something and hiding it, something.'

b. Extraposition, jeju0063-01-02, Pear Story, YSH1, FLEx 158/159

po-la,   t͡ɕusʰə nwa-msʰ-ie,   mɒn̪t̪ak [PAUSE] mon t͡ɕɒt͡ɕəntɕʰa
look-IMP pick_up put-PROG-CG all   all   bicycle
il-li-ə   sʰe-up-kok.
rise-CAUS-STM stand-CAUS-CVB
'Look they are picking it up and putting it in, all of it … all of it, and they are putting up the bike.'

In the first example above, the *-məŋ* clause occurs before the final clause in a contiguous prosodic unit, and such a context will be regarded as syntactically dependent. In the second example, the *-kok* clause[16] follows the morphologically finite clause, after a long prosodic interruption, similar to an afterthought. Such contexts, which I am broadly counting to belong to the domain of insubordination (Evans 2007, also 'desubordination' in Pellard 2012), will not be considered here.

Nikolaeva's (2013: 108) criterion C-8, 'an independent clause is canonically more finite than a dependent clause', has been enriched by the addition of C-9, which examines whether a clause is syntactically embedded in another, or not. C-9 indicates that a clause that shows no signs of syntactic embedding is canonically more finite than a clause that is syntactically embedded. The current concept of finiteness adopted here follows Nikolaeva's (2013: 100) functional-typological characterisation, which is largely guided by Givón's (1990, 2001) approach of approximating finiteness by means of examining the degree of syntactic integration of a clause in another. In order to show this, a diagnostic is used that is known as centre-embedding (Bickel 2010) or nesting (Rudnitskaya 1988). It has frequently been observed that some clause types may interrupt the continuity of a matrix clause, standing 'between' its constituents, and not at the left or right edge of the matrix clause (e.g., Haspelmath 1995). Syntactic tests which assess whether a particular clause type can be positioned in that way have therefore long served as an indicator for the syntactic integration of a clause in another, which in turn is seen as an important sign of existent syntactic embedding. To

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[16] While I am looking at Jejuan *-ko* clauses in this thesis, it is not sure whether this is a variant of a *-ko* converb, or whether it can be further analysed morphologically. As an impressionistic tendency, older speakers such as YSH1 (98 years old as of 2017) use *-kok* forms more frequently, whereas younger speakers often use *-ko* converbs in clause linkage, and *-kok* forms in some as yet not well understood, underlyingly periphrastic expressions.

give an example, in English subordinate clause linkages, it is possible to nest one clause in another, yet not with coordinate linkages:

(71)   Nesting of English *-ing* clauses

    a.   Max happily roamed around the streets of London while whistling his favourite song.

    b.   Max, while whistling his favourite song, happily roamed around the streets of London.

(72)   Nesting tests for English coordinate clauses

    a.   Max happily roamed around the streets of London and whistled his favourite song.

    b.   * Max, and whistled his favourite song, happily roamed around the streets of London.

Syntactic embedding may or may not correlate with various other criteria examined here, such as subject licensing (C-10) or information structural properties (C-11), or morphological marking of embedded clause constituents (C-7) and/or reduction of verbal inflection (C-1 to C-6).

As to C-10, it has been frequently observed that predicates in some non-final clause types allow for overt subject licensing independent of final clauses, whereas others do not.

(73)   Luiseño purpose clauses, Davis (1973: 236, 299)

    a. Same-subject with *-lut*

        Yaʔášpil ʔuwóʔa-qus│   má·kina sá·msa-lut
        man   work-PROG.PAST car   buy-PURP
        'The man was working in order to buy a car.'

    b. Different-subject with *-pi*

        Yaʔáš ŋ é·ŋ i   s│uŋ á·l kí·š   pu-wá·qi-pi
        man   leave/remote woman house(ACC) her-sweep-PURP
        'The man left in order for the woman to sweep the house'

As shown above from Luiseño (discussed in Thompson et al. 2007: 253), same-subject and different-subject purpose clauses resort to different verb forms. Niko-laeva (2013: 109) notes that "[c]anonically finite clauses take a referentially independent subject, while in canonical non-finite clauses the subject is not licensed, which gives rise to subject-related transparency/opacity effects such as reflexive binding, control and raising." While in this thesis, Jejuan data on such opacity effects is limited at present, I will briefly discuss for each clause type what

their inherent subject reference properties are. Clause types which allow for 'referentially independent subjects' will be seen as canonically more finite than those which have inherent same-subject reference.

Criterion C-11 stems from the frequent observation that depending on a particular clause type, there seem to be general restrictions imposed on whether the information structure of a clause can be morphosyntactically expressed or not.

(74) Topicalisation through argument fronting in English

  a. 'Central' adverbial clause (Haegeman 2010: 629)
   *While this paper I was revising last week, I thought of another analysis.

  b. 'Peripheral' adverbial clause (Haegeman 2003: 332), [small caps and italics hers]
   If *his* SYNTACTIC *analysis we can't criticise,* there is a lot to be said against the SEMANTICS of the paper.

The above examples demonstrate that in English, so-called 'central adverbial clauses' (Haegeman 2003, 2004, 2010), topicalisation through argument fronting is not possible, whereas 'peripheral' adverbial clauses admit topicalisation. In many languages, syntactically subordinate clauses seem to not allow for any information-structure expression, for example topicalisation of clause-internal constituents (Nikolaeva 2013: 109; cf. Aelbrecht et al. 2012, Komagata 2003). Thus as evidence for the morphosyntactic expression of information structure in Jejuan adverbial clauses, I shall carry out topicalisation tests. Whereas topics are morphologically marked by =*nin* or =*laŋ* and other variants, most typically, topicalisation is accompanied by a change of consituent order, where topics are rendered in clause-initial position. Due to the SOV order of Jejuan, subjects take such positions per default:

(75) Jejuan topicalisation

  a. jeju0157, HGS1, FLEx76

   nun=*təl*=*to*   *pʋlk-i-ta!*   *na*=*nin*   *sʰaŋ*=*ilaŋmalaŋ*
   eye=PL=ADD   be_bright-EP-DECL   1SG=TOP   table=let_alone
   amukəsʰ=*to*   *mot*=*poa-msʰ-t͡ɕə*
   anything=ADD   NEG.do=see-PROG-DECL

   'Bright are your eyes! When it comes to me, I can't see anything properly, let alone the table.'

b. jeju0157, HYJ1, FLEx187

$\widehat{tɕ}akɲən$ $\widehat{tɕ}əs^hil=e=nɨn$ $\widehat{tɕ^h}o\widehat{tɕ}əs^hil=poʈə$ *mak:*
last_year winter=LOC=TOP early_winter=SINCE very
$ələ-s^h\textrm{-}\widehat{tɕ}u=ke=í$ *[...]*
be_cold-PST-STN=DSC=RIGHT?

'Last year, of course, you know, it started getting cold in early winter, right?'

A Jejuan instance of an adverbial clause will be regarded as more canonically finite if this topicalisation is possible.

Furthermore, C-12 has been added since the possibility or impossibility of extraction out of a linked clause has frequently been observed as an important manifestation of syntactic opacity and transparency effects in clause linkage. As a classic example, with the formulation of Ross's (1967) Coordination Structure Constraint and its integration into syntactic models via the concept of syntactic islands, it has been shown that some clause types are transparent to relativisation of one of its constituents, whereas other types seem to be opaque to such processes.

(76) a.   After I had sold my house, I moved to a new place.

b.   The place that I moved to after I had sold my house, was much smaller.

c.   * The house which after I had sold it I moved to a new place...

As relativisation in clause linkage has been such a prominent test to show such effects in clause linkage research, it has been included in the current set of criteria. For example, as discussed in Section 2.4.3, Chechen in examples (32a) vs. (32c) was shown to ban relativisation out of non-final clauses. Similarly as shown in the above examples from English adverbial clauses, the matrix clause allows for relativisation of one of its constituents, whereas this is not possible in the embedded clause.

Thus for Jejuan, a clause whose constituent may not be relativised will be regarded as more less canonically finite than one where this is possible. For Jejuan examples, I opted for testing cases where both non-final and final clause verbs are transitive (that is, with a subject and object; or at least bivalent). The crucial examples are those where object arguments were relativised, since in the case of same-subject clause linkages, subject relativisation may be interpreted as Across-The-Board relativisation, which would be a different matter altogether.

3.4.3. Semantic finiteness criteria

If, as mentioned before, the question of finiteness is related to the syntactic integration of a clause, then it is worth asking whether there are semantic correlates to that degree of syntactic integration. Therefore, as Nikolaeva (2013: 110) puts it, semantic criteria for finiteness describe the "conditions on the independent interpretation of a clause". Accordingly, the following semantic criteria have been applied to the data in this study:[17]

- C-13: assertion > no assertion
- C-14: independent temporal anchoring > no independent temporal anchoring
- C-15: information structuring > no information structuring

Criterion C-13 states that clauses which make an independent assertion are canonically more finite than those which lack one. This criterion is based on Nikolaeva's (2013: 113) observation that "non-fnite (uninflected) forms are more likely to be present in dependent clauses, which lack independent assertion", creating a link between morphosyntactic surface expressions and semantic-pragmatic corollaries[18]. Nikolaeva (2013) identifies three ways in which this notion is used in the literature:

First, 'assertion' is used in information structure research under the term 'pragmatic assertion' — the component conveying, roughly speaking, information new to an addressee as opposed to a presupposed part (cf. Lambrecht 1994). Second, 'assertion' is used in a more unusual way by researchers such as Klein (1998), who — alongside a less clearly elaborated, information-structural understanding (cf. Nikolaeva 2013: 111ff. for a detailed critique) — see assertion as being represented by a feature that indicates some kind of predicativity. Here, irrespective of the form of a verb, "all phrasal constructions containing a verb" are regarded finite (Nikolaeva 2013: 112, cf. Klein 1998: 237).

The third understanding of 'assertion' comes from Speech Act Theory (Searle 1969) where the assertive speech act refer to an utterance where the speaker commits to the truthfulness of a proposition. An interesting fact that Nikolaeva (2013: 113) points out is that this understanding of assertion helps elucidating the distribution of non-finite forms which occur in independent utterances: it is in fact non-assertive speech acts that these kinds of structures serve (cf. Nikolaeva

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[17] Note that in Nikolaeva's (2013: 113-117) version these can be found under C-11 to C-13

[18] Note that in a simplifying manner, I am subsuming pragmatic and semantic issues under 'semantics' here, following common practice in finiteness research. This is not to imply that these fields are thought to be the same.

2007b). Thus the idea behind criterion C-13 is most concisely summarised by the following:

> "An assertive utterance makes a statement about a certain time span by identifying a point on the time line in which the respective proposition is true. Canonically finite clauses are temporally independent and assert a proposition located in the past, present, or future with respect to the moment of speech." (Nikolaeva 2013: 113)

The above summary by Nikolaeva shows the close conceptual link between C-13 and C-14. The latter criterion states that a proposition which is independently anchored in space and time will be regarded more canonically finite than one which lacks temporal anchoring. The most obvious way of illustrating this anchoring would be the fact that in many languages of the world, non-finite verbs are not marked for tense or show reduced tense marking options, which is why at least in part, the temporal anchoring of the non-finite clause is not independent, yet relies on that of the matrix clause.

Still, Nikolaeva (2013: 114) remarks that the relationship between assertion and temporal anchoring is a unidirectional implication in a sense that "assertion implies independent temporal anchoring, but non-assertion does not imply the absence of temporal anchoring". This she shows by discussing the case of interrogatives where "[u]nder normal circumstances they presuppose an assertive answer", and where an "event is existentially bound and located in some point on the temporal axis" (Nikolaeva 2013: 114), which manifests in their ability to co-occur with tense marking. However, interrogatives are not assertive in that the proposition of interrogative utterances cannot be assigned a truth value. This is why assertion and temporal anchoring are seen as independent criteria.

Comparing C-1$_{\text{MORPHOLOGY}}$ (morphological tense marking) and C-14$_{\text{SEMANTICS}}$ (independent temporal anchoring), the question naturally arises in what other way an independent conceptualisation of these two criteria may be useful. Nikolaeva (2013: 114) points out that tense marking (that is, grammaticalised tense expressions) is independent of whether temporal relations of events can be expressed in a language (referring to Comrie 1985: 50-52), since on the one hand, languages such as Dyirbal or Burmese are said to rely on non-grammaticalised means of time reference such as time adverbials among others. Therefore, one needs to make a theoretical distinction between instances of grammaticalised tense marking in a particular language, and the existence of temporal anchoring of a proposition. Referring to McCawley's (1988) notion of *deep tense* which is understood to be

more or less the same as temporal anchoring, she shows that on the other hand, languages such as Japanese may have tense-inflected verbs in some subordinate clause types as the following, yet without independent temporal anchoring. This, then, would be an instance of "deep-tenseless surface-tensed" (Nikolaeva 2013: 114) clauses, meaning that despite morphosyntactic surface expression of tense, one finds no independent temporal anchoring of the embedded clause:

(77)　Japanese (Sells 2007: 72, cf. Nikolaeva 2013: 119)

Taroo-wa　[(zibun-ga) tookyoo-ni　ik-u]　koto-ni　sita
Taroo-TOP self-NOM　Toyko-DAT go-PRS fact-DAT do.PST
'Taroo decided (for himself to go to Tokyo).'

Above I re-cited example (53a) from Section 3.1. Japanese verbs in complement clauses of the kind shown in ex. (77) are headed by verbs which show morphological properties of finiteness manifested in tense marking, yet as Sells (2007: 75) concludes, the subordinate clause does not display semantic finiteness properties in terms of its assertiveness – while the matrix clause predicate *sita*, do:PST, is marked for PAST tense (and DECLARATIVE illocutionary force) and correlates with the assertability of the truh value of the entire proposition, the opposite is true for the subordinate clause.

For the Jejuan data analysis, assertion properties will be largely deduced from the meanings of elicited examples, focusing on what the assertion made in a Jejuan clause linkage is about, that is, whether the 'core' message, or the 'aboutness' of the message (based on studies such as Klein 1998, Maas 2004 or Grano 2017) has its scope over the final clause, both clauses or the non-final clause. Similarly, for the evaluation of C-14 (independent temporal anchoring), I resort to the inherent semantics of converbs and whether the semantics allow for independent reference points on the timeline. Where data is available (for example on *-taŋ* linkages in Section 4.6.3), I will look at possible tense inflection on converbs and see whether this affects the meaning of the clause in terms of its anchoring or not.

C-15 states that clauses that are informationally structured are more canonically finite than clauses which have no information structure. Paraphrasing Nikolaeva (2013: 116), roughly speaking information structure is understood as the 'structuring of propositions representing conceptual states of affairs', which results from "the interlocutors' assessment of the informational value of sentence elements and the contextual factors" (cf. Lambrecht 1994).

As a guideline, "clauses that cannot be neatly divided into presupposed topic and asserted focus are canonically less finite" (Nikolaeva 2013: 116). It follows from this that if a particular clause turns out to fail typical tests regarding infor-

mation structure as opposed to other clause types where these tests yield grammatical results, then this clause type lacks internal information structuring, and is therefore less finite.

As an example, Nikolaeva (2013: 117) discusses Tsakhur thetics, that is, sentence-focus where an entire utterance is new informations. As Kalinina and Sumbatova (2007: 226ff.) explain, in Tsakhur argument focus is possible by means of a *wo-* copula form (ex. (78a)). Thetics, by virtue of lacking internal information structuring, cannot apply such clause-internal, information-structural means: accordingly, no copula (here, **wo-d*) can be employed in ex. (78b). Thus ex. (78a) is more finite with respect to C-15 than (78b) since it can be shown to be informationally structured.

(78) Tsakhur, Nikolaeva 2013: 117; based on Kalinina and Sumbatova 2007: 226ff.

    a. Argument focus

      aˤli   a-r-y   wo-r
      ali.ABS M-come-PFV FOC-M

      (*as answer to:* 'What did Ali do?') 'Ali came'.

    b. Sentence focus (thetics)

      i-ni   zaˤʔf-ē   t'ufli-by qa-d-īm-my
      this-OBL woman-ERG shoe-PL NHUM.PL-bring.PFV-ATTR-PL
      (*wo-d)
      FOC-NHUM.PL

      (*as answer to:* 'What happened?') 'This woman brought the shoes!'

Thus for the purposes of the present study, C-15 will be explored in terms of the information structuring of a proposition expressed in an adverbial clause. As morphosyntactic indicators, topicalisation tests will be applied to see whether an adverbial clause is informationally structured. The assumption is that if overt topic marking on a noun phrase together with the positioning of a particular noun phrase in clause-initial position is not possible, this will be seen as evidence for the fact that a particular adverbial clause type is not informationally structured internally. Topicalisation tests are seen as reliable indicators since in a simplex, independent clause, the existence of internal information structuring correlates with the possibility of topicalising argument NPs of a clause predicate.

3.5. Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined the development of finiteness as a grammatical category, beginning with its ancient origins as a largely morphological notion. As shown, finiteness remained to be discussed very little in the theoretical literature, either being used to refer to some sort of morphological feature of verbs, mostly with reference to subordinate clauses, or treated as an epiphenomenal notion in early transformational grammar. While in this theory, finiteness was related with the interaction of the functional heads representing tense and agreement instantiating the licensing of nominative-marked subjects, what I aimed to show here is that if finiteness was to be part of any theory of language, it could not simply be regarded a purely morphological notion. Eventually, theories on expanded CP structures incorporated finiteness as heading its own phrasal projection, semantically related to some sort of temporal anchoring. Functional approaches in the line of Givón (1990, 2001), on the other hand, have conceptualised finiteness as having to do with the integration of a clause in another, and as such, it is seen as a gradual concept, breaking up binary understandings more common in transformational grammar.

But as Nikolaeva (2007a, 2007b, 2013) concludes, finiteness is neither appropriately described as a binary or gradual category, nor is it a property that solely has to do with clausal subordination per se. In other words, the cross-linguistic diversity of manifestations of finiteness suggests that we need a multidimensional model, similar to those approaches to clause linkage undertaken by Bickel (2010). A model that was thus proposed here is Canonical Typology (CT) which aims at capturing the diversity of instantiations of a cross-linguistically relevant concept such as finiteness. As opposed to more inductive approaches such as Bickel (2010), the CT method leads all defining criteria to a logical point of convergence which is the Canonical Ideal, and which can serve as a 'comparative beacon' for the typological comparison of the world's languages. Thus having discussed the finiteness criteria that Nikolaeva (2013) suggests, I now turn to a description of the properties of a selected set of Jejuan adverbial clauses relevant to the current analysis of finiteness in Chapter 4, and in Chapter 5, I will eventually discuss and evaluate the finiteness properties of these adverbial clauses from a CT point of view.

4. Morphosyntactic-semantic properties of selected adverbial clauses

In this section I present data on a selected set of adverbial clauses, following the various criteria outlined for the present study in chapter 3.4. Only for *-nan* clauses we see differences in morphology, syntax and semantics depending on semantic interpretation, which is why in the following list, I ordered the clause types simply according to the different converb types. Thus the 'converb' line specifies the converb that heads the selected clause type, 'meaning' gives a brief gloss ('IMM. SUCC.' meaning 'immediate succession'), and 'SUBJ ref.' refers to the subject reference properties (DS for 'different subject, SS for 'same subject').

Table 4.1.: List of clause types under examination

Different-subject and variable reference				
converb	*-ko*	*-ŋ*	*-nti*	*-kəni*	*-nan*
meaning	GENERIC	GENERIC	CONTRASTIVE	IMM. SUCC.	CAUSE/REASON TEMPORAL
SUBJ ref.	DS/SS	DS/SS	DS/SS	DS/SS	DS

Same-subject reference only	
converb	*-taŋ*	*-məŋ*
meaning	CHANGE	SIMULTANEITY
SUBJ ref.	SS	SS

As mentioned, the present study of finiteness has been narrowed down to the examination of a few adverbial clause types headed by converbs in order to keep the scope of investigation manageable. The selection of clause linkage types has been inspired by existing studies for Korean such as Rudnitskaya (1998) or Kwon and Polinsky (2008), which identified different semantic subtypes for the Korean *-ko* clause linkage. Additionally considering Jendraschek and Shin's (2011) study which slightly widens the scope to a number of semantically related clause linkage types, it was decided that the focus of this study would lie on clause linkage types of roughly generic, temporal and causal relationships, since in Jejuan, these clauses show polysemous characteristics similar to Korean *-ko* clauses. Thus some

morphologically homophonous Jejuan clause linkage types may show divergent morphosyntactic properties depending on their meaning interpretation. For some linkages such as *-ŋ* linkages, this may concern only one property such as subject reference (cf. section 4.4), whereas for others such as *-nan* linkages the differences manifest themselves in many different areas of enquiry, which may suggest that we are dealing with two discrete, yet homophonous and morphosyntactically similar linkage types. It is hoped that this may encourage future comparison with findings on Korean clause linkage (and hopefully, other Koreanic varieties in the future).

Each of the selected adverbial clause types will be treated separately, according to the following structure:

(79)   Structure of adverbial clause description
   1.   Brief explanation of meaning expressed by converbs
   2.   Morphological characteristics
       a)   inflectional range of converb
   3.   Syntactic characteristics
       a)   subject reference properties
       b)   status of syntactic embedding
       c)   morphosyntactic expression of information structure
       d)   extraction through relativisation
   4.   Semantic characteristics
       a)   assertion properties
       b)   independence of temporal anchoring
       c)   information structuring

As mentioned, the description of morphosyntactic and semantic properties of each of the above clause linkage types will follow the criteria laid out in Section 3.4, where I also explained the diagnostics applied in this thesis. Note that the present description makes an internal distinction when it comes to semantic properties: the general meaning of a clause linkage involving a particular converb will be expressed at the beginning of each section, yet the more specific semantic properties selected in Section 3.4.3 will be discussed after an analysis of morphological and syntactic properties. For a more general description of converb classes, see section A.2.17, and for a wider look at the inflectability of converbs, see section A.2.17.5 in Appendix A.

Note that in terms of terminology, I will use the terms '[converb name] clause linkage (type)' and '[converb name] linkage (type)', as well as just '[converb

name] clause (type)' in this chapter, understood to be largely equivalent. The abbreviation FC(C) means 'final clause (constituent)', and NFC(C) means 'non-final clause (constituent)'. 'TS' means 'tense-marking'.

4.1. -nti clauses

This section describes finiteness properties of *-nti* clause linkages. Converbs in *-nti* describe a contrast between two events or states of affairs.

(80) a. Hyun and Kang (2011: 30)

$\widehat{t\varphi}ile = n$ $k^h\dot{i}$-*nti* $momp^hi = n$ $k\upsilon n\dot{i}l$-*ta*
length = TOP be_big-CVB body_width = TOP be_slim-DECL

'Their bodies are slim, but they [lit. the body size] are tall.'

b. after Hyun and Kang (2011: 31)

$na = to$ $h\upsilon$-*nti* $n\dot{i}$ mus^ha $mos^h = h\upsilon$-$k^h\dot{i}$-*ni*?
1SG = ADD do-CVB 2SG why   NEG.POT = do-IRR-Q.CNT

'Why can't you do it although even I can?'

Example (80a) and (80b) show a typical *-nti* clause linkage, where a contrast between the non-final clause and the final clause events is expressed. In many cases, applying a *-ko* converb would be possible as well, although *-nti* converbs emphasise the contrast between two states-of-affairs.

4.1.1. Morphological characteristics

As shown in section A.2.17.5, *-nti* converbs inflect for past and present tense, as well as progressive aspect and evidential past (in the form of the allomorph *-nke*). Thus compared with other converbs it exhibits a greater inflectional range, and is the only converb that inflects for evidentiality, as well as the overt marking of present tense.

(81) a. EQ2015-12-23(24)/EN 2015-12-24, HGS1 and HYJ1, 17a)

$s^humi = ka$ $k\dot{i}l\dot{i}s^h$ s^his^h-$\widehat{t\varphi}i$-$\partial ms^h\dot{i}$-*nti,* $\widehat{t\varphi}^h\partial ls^hu = ka$
Sumi = NOM bowl wash-CAUS-PROG-CVB Cheolsu = NOM
$amuk\partial s^h = to$ $ani = he$-∂
anything = ADD NEG = do-DECL

'Sumi is washing the dishes, but Cheolsu is not doing anything.'

b. jeju0133, HGS1, 00:18:41.574

aiku t͡ɕə   000 = ne = nɨn   t͡ɕə   t͡ɕənpok = to   hana
oh   DEM.MED NAME = SOC = TOP DEM.MED abalone = ADD one
pak̚ = e   an = mək-əsʰ-t͡ɕ-eŋ   hə-nti   na = n   nɛ
apart_from = LOC NEG = eat-PST-DECL-QUOT do-CVB 1SG = TOP four
ke = na   mək-əsʰ-kətin
thing.CLF = EVEN eat-PST-YOU_KNOW
'Oh [name] said she only ate one abalone, but you know, I ate four
of them!'

Ex. (81a shows a *-nti* converb with progressive aspect marking. As the above
example (81b) shows, however, *-nti* converbs need not be obligatorily inflected.
Thus parallel to other converbs, inflection for tense-aspect is optional, although
overt tense inflection on *-nti* converbs seems to be more common than on other
converb types. Inflection did not have effects on syntactic properties, which is
why I will not consider tense-inflection as a factor in these sections (essentially,
pace Kwon and Polinsky 2008; Rudnitskaya 1998 among others for Korean).

Examples for evidential inflection are shown below. Note that similar to ev-
idential inflection in final clauses (section A.2.14.6), the evidential morpheme
itself is interpreted as past, imperfective, and additional suffixation with a past
tense suffix is possible, rendering pluperfect, or past perfective meaning. Interest-
ingly, evidential contexts trigger the allomorph *-nke* for this converb — no other
Jejuan converb shows such an allomorphy. Note that such an allomorphy is not
attested in Korean either:

(82)   EQ/EN 2015-11-23, HGS1 and HYJ1, 5b)

a. Jejuan, evidential allomorph

ət͡ɕe   ka-a-nke   onəl tola wa-sʰ-i-p-te-ta
yesterday go-EV.PST-CVB today turn come-PST-EP-POL-EV.PST-DECL
'I saw him leave yesterday but today he had returned.'

b. Jejuan, separate past marking

ət͡ɕe   ka-sʰ-ə-nke   onəl   tola
yesterday go-PST-EV.PST-CVB today turn
wa-sʰ-i-p-te-ta
come-PST-EP-POL-EV.PST-DECL
'I saw that he had left yesterday, but today he had returned.'

c. Jejuan, usually no evidential suffix possible with *-nti*

*?ət͡ɕe   ka-sʰ-ə-nti   onəl   tola
yesterday go-PST-EV.PST-CVB today turn
wa-sʰ-i-p-te-ta
come-PST-EP-POL-EV.PST-DECL

d. Korean *-nte* converb with evidential inflection

ə͡tɕe   ka-(ʂ̩)-tə-nte   onɨl   tola
yesterday go-(PST)-EV.PST-CVB today turn
wa-ʂ̩-tə-lako = jo
come-PST-EV.PST-MIR? = POL
'I saw that he (had) left yesterday, but today he had returned.'

The morph *-nke* above is seen as an allomorph on the basis that it only occurs with the evidential, past, imperfective suffix *-ə/-a,* and otherwise the meaning of this converb stays the same. It stands in complementary distribution with *-nti,* and hence, the *-nti* allomorph usually does not occur with the evidential marker. Through what may be a language contact effect with Korean however, sometimes speakers do use this converb in the context of an evidential suffix in spontaneous conversation, although this could not be confirmed in elicitation. Note, however, that in Korean a *-nti* always has to carry some kind of tense-aspect-mood inflection.

4.1.2. Syntactic characteristics

This section analyses the syntactic properties of *-nti* clauses.

4.1.2.1. Subject reference properties

-nti linkages occur with both different- and same-subject reference, as the following examples show.

(83) a. Different subject, jeju0166-12, HGS1, 01:00

sʰumi = ka   pap a͡tɕ-t͡ɕi-əsʰi-nti   jəŋhɨi = ka   kuksʰu
Sumi = NOM rice sit-CAUS-PST-CVB Yeonghi = NOM noodles
sʰɒlma-msʰə
boil-PROG
'Sumi put on some rice to cook, but Yeonghi is boiling noodles.'

b. Same subject, jeju0169-09, HYJ1, 01:20

pap = ɨl   t͡ɕal məkə-msʰi-nti toŋsʰu = ka   kuk = ɨl
rice = ACC well eat-PROG-CVB Dongsu = NOM soup = ACC
hɒk̩om = man kəliə-ŋ   məkə-msʰə
little = ONLY scoop-CVB eat-PROG
'Eating a lot of rice, Dongsu is eating only a bit of the soup.'

I now turn to the centre-embedding of *-nti* clauses. There, I show that there is no correlation between subject reference and the status of syntactic embedding.

4.1.2.2. Status of syntactic embedding

Regardless of subject reference, *-nti* clauses do not show signs of syntactic embedding in another clause. As shown below, centre-embedding an *-nti* clause leads to ungrammaticality:

(84)　a.　Different subject, jeju0166-12, HGS1, 01:12, nesting of (121a)

[jəŋhɨi=ka　　[sʰumi=ka　pap at͡ɕ-t͡ɕi-əsʰi-nti]　　kuksʰu
Yeonghi=NOM Sumi=NOM rice sit-CAUS-PST-CVB noodles
sʰɒlma-msʰə]
boil-PROG

intended: 'Yeonghi, although Sumi put on rice, is boiling noodles.'

　　b.　Different subject, jeju0166-12, HGS1, 02:35, nesting of (121a)

[jəŋhɨi=ka　　kuksʰu=lɨl　　[sʰumi=ka　pap at͡ɕ-t͡ɕi-əsʰi-nti]
Yeonghi=NOM noodles=ACC Sumi=NOM rice sit-CAUS-PST-CVB
sʰɒlma-msʰə]
boil-PROG

intended: 'Yeonghi, although Sumi put on rice, is boiling noodles.'

　　c.　Same subject, jeju0169-09, HYJ, 02:34, nesting of (121b)

[toŋsʰu=ka　　kuk=ɨl　　[pap=ɨl　t͡ɕal məkə-msʰi-nti]
Dongsu=NOM soup=ACC rice=ACC well eat-PROG-CVB
hɒk̚om=man məkə-msʰə]
little=ONLY eat-PROG

intended: 'Dongsu, while eating a lot of rice, is eating only a bit of the soup.'

In different-subject contexts, the impossibility of centre-embedding of *-nti* clauses is fairly evident, as shown in (122a) and (122b). In same-subject contexts, a bit of additional testing is required.

Similar to other linkage types, an alternative structure to (121b) is one where the subject NP is at the left edge of the whole clause linkage. Here, one may construe that subject NP to be a non-final clause constituent:

(85)   a. Alternative to (121b): subject as NFCC

?[toŋsʰu=ka   pap=il   t͡ɕal   məkə-msʰi-nti] [kuk=il
Dongsu=NOM rice=ACC well eat-PROG-CVB soup=ACC
hʋ̞k̚om=man kəliə-ŋ   məkə-msʰə]
little=ONLY scoop-CVB eat-PROG

'Eating a lot of rice, Dongsu is eating only a bit of the soup.'

   b. Alternative to (121b): subject as FCC

?[toŋsʰu=ka   [pap=il   t͡ɕal   məkə-msʰi-nti] kuk=il
Dongsu=NOM rice=ACC well eat-PROG-CVB soup=ACC
hʋ̞k̚om=man kəliə-ŋ   məkə-msʰə]
little=ONLY scoop-CVB eat-PROG

'Eating a lot of rice, Dongsu is eating only a bit of the soup.'

There are two arguments against an analysis which would treat the same sub-ject in (123a) as a final-clause constituent, and therefore the whole structure as a centre-embedded structure. Firstly, (122c) has already shown that embeddding a *-nti* clause between a FC object and the FC verb is not possible. Concluding that centre-embedding in the form of (123b) is not possible would neatly fit into a more general observation that *-nti* clauses are not embedded by virtue of lacking the ability to be centre-embedded at all. Secondly, as I will show in the next sec-tion, evidence from scrambling as a means of topicalising non-subject arguments in *-nti* clauses, shows that the only analysis possible in this case would be the one proposed in (123a).

4.1.2.3. Morphosyntactic expression of information structure

With respect to topicalisation tests, there are no asymmetries observed between non-final *-nti* clauses and their respective final clauses. Below I am providing evidence from topicalisation tests.

(86)   a. DS, topicalisation of NFC object, EN 2015-12-24, HGS1 and HYJ1

pap=in   sʰumi=ka   pəl̥ṣə   at͡ɕ-t͡ɕi-ə   noa-sʰi-nti
rice=TOP Sumi=NOM already sit-CAUS-CVB put-PST-CVB
jəŋhïi=ka   kuksʰu   sʰʋlma-msʰ-ə-la
Yeonghi=NOM noodles boil-PROG-EV.PST-DECL

'As for the rice, Sumi had already put it on, but Yeonghi was boiling the noodles.'

b. DS, topicalisation of FC object, EN 2015-12-24, HGS1 and HYJ1

s^h*umi* = *ka* *pap* *at͡ɕ-t͡ɕi-ə* *noa-s^hi-nti* *kuks^hu* = *nɨn*
Sumi = NOM rice sit-CAUS-CVB put-PST-CVB noodles = TOP
jəŋhɨi = *ka* *s^hɒlma-ms^h-ə-la*
Yeonghi = NOM boil-PROG-EV.PST-DECL

'Sumi put on the rice, but the noodles, Yeonghi was boiling them.'

c. SS, topicalisation of NFC object, jeju0169-09, HYJ1, 05:03

pap = *ɨn* *t͡ɕal* *məkə-ms^hi-nti* *toŋs^hu* = *ka* *kuk* = *ɨl*
rice = TOP well eat-PROG-CVB Dongsu = NOM soup = ACC
hɒk̚om = *man* *kəliə-ŋ* *məkə-ms^hə*
little = ONLY scoop-CVB eat-PROG

'The rice, [he_i] is eating a lot, but Dongsu_i is eating only a bit of the soup.'

d. SS, topicalisation of FC object, jeju0169-09, HYJ1, 05:03

pap = *ɨl* *t͡ɕal* *məkə-ms^hi-nti* *kuk* = *ɨn* *toŋs^hu* = *ka*
rice = ACC well eat-PROG-CVB soup = TOP Dongsu = NOM
hɒk̚om = *man* *t̚ə* *məkə-ms^hə*
little = ONLY scoop eat-PROG

'[He's]_i eating a lot of rice, but the soup, Dongsu_i only is eating a bit of it.'

The above examples show that both in different-subject and same-subject contexts, topicalisation of object arguments is possible. The reason that object topicalisation is shown here is that object topicalisation involves fronting of the object NP to clause-initial position, whereas subjects are topicalised in-situ, most typically by means of the topic particle = *nɨn*/ = *laŋ*.

As mentioned in section 4.4.2.2, this topicalisation can be used to show that in an alternative structure, the same subject in a *-nti* need not always be a final clause constituent as (124c) or (124d) may suggest, but it can also be realised as a non-final clause constituent. This is shown in the topicalisation example below.

(87) a. after EN2015-12-25, 10c)

toŋs^hu = *ka* *pap* = *ɨl* *t͡ɕal* *məkə-ms^hi-nti* *kuk* = *ɨn*
Dongsu = NOM rice = ACC well eat-PROG-CVB soup = TOP
t͡ɕok̚om = *man* *məkə-n*
little = ONLY eat-PST

'Dongsu is eating a lot of rice, but he's eaten only a bit of soup.'

b. jeju0169-09, HYJ1, after 05:40

pap = in   toŋsʰu = ka   t͡ɕal məkə-msʰi-nti kuk = il
rice = TOP Dongsu = NOM well eat-PROG-CVB soup = ACC
hɒkom = man tə   məkə-msʰə
little = ONLY scoop eat-PROG

'As for the rice, Dongsu is eating a lot, but he's eating only a bit of soup.'

Ex. (125b) clearly shows how the subject NP in a structure as in (125a) must be construed as a non-final clause constituent, since otherwise structures as in (125b) would not be possible, unless we assume that a) *pap = in*, rice = TOP is in some sentence-initial topic position outside the non-final clause itself, yet within the domain of a complex clause, and b) the *-nti* clause is nested between the same subject and the rest of the final clause.

If we assumed a topic position at the leftmost position of a complex sentence, yet structurally outside the domain of the non-final clause domain, it would imply that that very position is independent of the non-final or final clause domain (after all, *papin* above cannot be a final clause constituent since the verb already has its own object). If so, it should be possible to have not only the non-final clause object in this hypothetical position, but also the final clause object. Consultants however strongly objected to such examples:

(88) jeju0069-09, HYJ1, 06:31

*kuk = in   [pap = il   t͡ɕal məkə-msʰi-nti], [toŋsʰu = ka   ____
soup = TOP rice = ACC well eat-PROG-CVB Dongsu = NOM
hɒkom = man tə   məkə-msʰə]
little = ONLY scoop eat-PROG

intended: 'As for the soup_i, he's eating a lot of rice, but Dongsu is eating only a bit of it_i.'

Moreover, if there was a linkage-external topic position common to the whole complex sentence, one could have the whole linkage in a nested version and then the final clause object rendered in that sentence-initial position, but this does not seem to work either:

(89) HYJ1, jeju0069-09, 07:03

*[kuk = in   [toŋsʰu = ka   [pap = il   t͡ɕal məkə-msʰi-nti] ____
soup = TOP Dongsu = NOM rice = ACC well eat-PROG-CVB
hɒkom = man tə   məkə-msʰə]]]
little = ONLY scoop eat-PROG

intended: 'As for the soup_i, he's eating a lot of rice, but Dongsu is eating only a bit of it_i.'

As shown above in (127) however, there is no evidence to assume that in example (125b) the same subject is a final clause constituent, and that the non-final clause constituent *pap*, 'rice' stands at the left edge of the whole complex clause in some supposed topic position outside of both clauses. A much simpler way to explain structures such as (125b) would be to say that both the non-final and final clauses in a *-nti* linkage may be subject to information-structural processes such as topicalisation, and that in both clauses, the clause-initial position serves as the usual topic position. The important conclusion here is that each clause retains its own topic position, with no restriction regarding this in either clause.

Therefore, in (125b) the same-subject NP is clearly a non-final clause consituent. Thus returning to the question of syntactic embedding, topicalisation tests show us that both different-subject and same-subject *-nti* clauses do not show signs of syntactic embedding. This, then, is not surprising given that we otherwise do not see differences in properties between different-subject and same-subject contexts in *-nti* clauses. Moreover, based on the above evidence, I conclude that there are no non-final clause-specific restrictions on the morphosyntactic expression of information structure.

4.1.2.4. Extraction through relativisation

-nti clauses do not allow for extraction of one of their constituents through relativisation, whereas final clauses consistently do. This is independent of whether a *-nti* linkage has different-subject, or same-subject reference.

(90)   a.   Different subject, rel. of final-clause constituent, EN 2015-12-24

     [[kɨ   sʰumi＝ka   pap at͡ɕ-t͡ɕi-ə   noa-sʰi-nti
     DEM.DIST Sumi＝NOM rice sit-CAUS-CVB put-PST-CVB
     jəŋhii＝ka   ____ sʰɒlm-a   no-n]   kuksʰu＝nin]
     Yeonghi＝NOM   boil-CVB put-ADN noodle＝TOP
     nom＝antʰi   matʰ-in   kə＝la
     other_person＝DAT receive-ADN thing＝DECL

     'The noodles that Yeonghi boiled although Sumi had already put on the rice, they got it from someone else.'

   b.   Different subject, rel. of non-final clause constituent, EN 2015-12-24

     *[kɨ   [sʰumi＝ka   ____ at͡ɕ-t͡ɕi-ə   noa-sʰi-nti
     DEM.DIST Sumi＝NOM   sit-CAUS-CVB put-PST-CVB
     jəŋhii＝ka   kuksʰu   sʰɒlm-a   no-n]   pap＝i]   mak
     Yeonghi＝NOM noodles boil-CVB put-ADN rice＝NOM very
     sʰəl-ə-la
     be_uncooked-EV.PST-DECL

> *intended:* 'That rice that Sumi had put on, yet in spite of which Yeonghi had boiled noodles, was still uncooked.'

c. Same subject, rel. of FCC, jeju0169-10, HYJ1, 01:10

> *[[pap=ɨl t͡ɕal məkə-msʰi-nti toŋsʰu=ka   ____ hɒ̞ḵom=man*
> rice=ACC well eat-PROG-CVB Dongsu=NOM   little=ONLY
> *ṱə   mək-tan]   kuk=i]   nəmi t͡ɕa-t-en*
> scoop eat-ADN.EV.PST soup=NOM too be_salty-DECL-QUOT
> *kɒl-a-la*
> say-EV.PST-DECL
>
> 'The soup of which Dongsu only ate a bit although he ate a lot of rice, he said that it was too salty.'

d. Same subject, rel. of NFCC, jeju0169-10, HYJ1, 01:47

> **[[____ t͡ɕal məkə-msʰi-nti toŋsʰu=ka   kuk=ɨl   hɒ̞ḵom=man*
>   well eat-PROG-CVB Dongsu=NOM soup=ACC little=ONLY
> *ṱə   mək-tan]   pap=i]   mak*
> scoop eat-ADN.EV.PST rice=NOM very
> *sʰələ-sʰ-ə-l-en*
> be_uncooked-PST-EV.PST-DECL-QUOT
>
> *intended*: 'He says that she said the rice that Dongsu had eaten a lot although he ate only a bit of soup, was very uncooked.'

Ex. (128b) and (128d) show that as opposed to final clauses, *-nti* clauses do not allow for the relativisation of one of their constituents. As I will discuss later in section 5, *-nti* clauses are opaque to relativisation, although they are not syntactically embedded, which is interesting since opacity to processes such as relativisation is commonly believed to be linked to the presence of syntactic embedding, a crucial criterion for embedded clauses.

4.1.3. Semantic characteristics

This section addresses the semantic characteristics of *-nti* linkages.

4.1.3.1. Assertion properties

A *-nti* clause cannot be used independently of the final clause to make an assertion about the very event that is encoded in it. In other words, as shown by examples such as (81a), (81b) or (121a) and (121b), it is the content of the final clause that is asserted. Thus I conclude that *-nti* cannot be asserted in the speech act sense.

4.1.3.2. Independence of temporal anchoring

There is a certain bias in the evidence presented on *-nti* linkages here, as during elicitation I used examples where *-nti* converbs are tense marked, based on an earlier assumption that *-nti* linkages - as the only one among Jejuan clause linkages - obligatorily have to inflect for tense. This, however, turns out not to be true (see ex. (81b)), since looking at a corpus of spontaneous utterances, one will find examples without tense-inflection on *-nti* converbs, which sets Jejuan apart from Korean in this respect.

Thus we will find examples such as (121a) where events in *-nti* clauses with tense-inflected converbs are anchored on the timeline independently of their respective final clauses. Whether or not more specifically, untensed *-nti* converbs can appear in *-nti* clauses with independent temporal anchoring or not is a further, interesting question which remains to be elucidated, yet it is assumed here that there is no such fundamental difference of semantic properties between tensed and untensed *-nti* clauses.

Given that in the present study the question is not to what extent a particular clause can have independent temporal anchoring (that is, in Bickel's (2010) terms, whether tense scope is disjunct only or does allow for conjunct or extensible scoping as well), but rather whether a particular clause type permits independent temporal anchoring of an event at all with respect to the final clause, one can safely say that *-nti* clauses do show cases where their events are anchored independently of the temporal anchoring of final clause events.

4.1.3.3. Information structuring

As shown in section 4.4.2.3, Jejuan *-nti* linkages allow for the topicalisation of arguments in both the non-final, *-nti* clause as well as the respective matrix clause. This is taken as a basis to regard *-nti* linkages as having internal information structuring, since otherwise no morphosyntactic process modifying information-structural configurations such as topicalisation could take place.

4.1.4. Summary of characteristics

Similar to *-ko* clauses (Section 4.2), *-nti* clauses have flexible subject reference, and as I will show in Chapter 5, they belong to the Jejuan adverbial clause types with greater similarities to a canonically finite clause. This comprises the inflectability of the *-nti* converb — including its possibility to inflect for evidentiality which is

peculiar to this converb — the lack of syntactic embedding regardless of subject reference, the morphosyntactic expressibility of information structure and the existence of clause-internal information structuring, as well as independent temporal anchoring. This makes this clause type move closer towards the canonical finiteness ideal (chapter 5). At the same time, extraction-through-relativisation tests show that extractability is asymmetrical since only final-clause constituents can be relativised, and the *-nti* cannot be used to make an assertion, which makes them more similar to canonically non-finite clauses.

4.2. -ko clauses

This section describes finiteness properties of *-ko* clause linkages. The semantically least specific converb in Jejuan, it is similar to the Korean *-ko* linkage both in form and function. The reason to regard this converb as part of the Jejuan converb system is that its inflectional properties markedly diverge from Korean (cf. section A.2.17.5), and as a comparison of Korean data (Rudnitskaya 1998, Cho 2004, Kwon and Polinsky 2008 among others) may show, the syntactic properties of Jejuan *-ko* may turn out to be fairly different.

As widely acknowledged for its Korean counterpart already, a *-ko* converb is largely unspecified for the semantic relationship between the clauses it links.

(91) Frog Story, jeju0052-03, 28.1

i   nom-ɨ   kɒkepi=n əsʰ-ko   tʰʷiə na   pulə-n
this rascal-GEN frog=TOP NEG.EXIST-CVB jump move_out AUX.PERF-PST
'That rascal of a frog wasn't there and it had escaped!'

The reason for this converb to be termed a 'generic converb' is that its meaning does not seem to be as restricted as with other Jejuan converbs, as its semantic interpretation therefore ranges from a mere juxtaposition of facts (as above in (91)) or temporal, and reason relationships among others. In the following, I am showing two examples where a *-ko* converb indicates a relationship of temporal simultaneity or succession, similar to what has been described by Rudnitskaya (1998) for Korean:

(92) Temporal simultaneity, after jeju0138, 00:04:48

sʰumi = ka   paliⁱsʰkʰweki = lɨl t͡ɕaŋman həjə-msʰ-ko   jəŋhɨi = ka
Sumi = NOM fish = ACC   prepare do-PROG-CVB Yeonghi = NOM
t͡ɕilɨmt̬ək   t͡ɕit͡ɕə-msʰ-ə-la
rice_cake fry-PROG-EV.PST-DECL

'Sumi prepared the fish, and Yeonghi fried the rice cake.'

(93) Temporal succession, after jeju0147, 00:20:55, 00:21:02

jəŋhɨi = ka   s̬ɒlkɒlul = ɨl   kɒla o(a-sʰ)-ko   sʰumi = ka
Yeonghi = NOM rice_flour = ACC grind come-PST-CVB Sumi = NOM
t̬ək = ɨl   t͡ɕit͡ɕə-sʰ-t͡ɕə
rice_cake = ACC fry-PST-DECL

'Yeonghi brought rice flour and then Sumi made a rice cake.'

Example (92) above shows how events described by clauses linked with *-ko* converbs can be interpreted as happening simultaneously, whereas in (93), two events are interpreted as temporally successive. Still, the events in (93) may equally be interpreted as being temporally unrelated or simultaneous, as for example, the rice cake that Sumi steamed could be a different one, and Yeonghi at the same time is in town to buy flour in case their family run out of it. Additionally, depending on the context such a clause linkage may allow for a reason interpretation: for example, Sumi could be making rice cake *because* Yeonghi bought the rice flour and asked her to make one. The variety of meaning relationships that are construable from *-ko* clause linkages therefore justify treating the converb as a 'generic' one.

Note that in order to narrow down the scope and provide data for a future comparison with Rudnitskaya (1998) or Kwon and Polinsky (2008), I am largely focusing on the semantic relationships of temporal succession and simultaneity in this thesis.

4.2.1. Morphological characteristics

As shown in table A.43 in section A.2.17.5, *-ko* converbs belong to the class of inflectable converbs, and as such, they inflect for past tense, progressive aspect and a fused morpheme peculiar to this converb, an inflection for a progressive-imperative, aspect-mood combination. This kind of inflection is optional, and opposed to studies on Korean (Section 2.5), no correlation between converbal inflection and syntactic properties could be attested.

(94) a. Past tense marking

$s^humi=ka$ ṣɒlkɒlu̯l=il̯ s^ha-s^h-ko t͡ɕili̯mt̯ək
Sumi = NOM rice:powder = ACC buy-PST-CVB rice_cake
t͡ɕit͡ɕə-s^h-u-ta
fry-PST-POL-DECL

'Sumi bought the rice powder and fried the rice cake.'

b. Progressive-imperative marking, jeju0138, 00:05:45[1]

jəŋhii=laŋ t͡ɕili̯mt̯ək t͡ɕit͡ɕə-ms^hi-ko s^humi=laŋ palis͡ʰkʰweki
Yeonghi = TOP rice_cake fry-PROG.IMP-CVB Sumi = TOP fish
t͡ɕaŋman həjə-ms^hi-la
preparation do-PROG-IMP

'Yeonghi, you'll be frying the rice cake, and Sumi you'll be preparing the fish!'

For progressive marking on a *-ko* converb see ex. (92). Note that although *-ko* converbs show a greater degree of inflectability compared to uninflectable converbs, the range of inflections that a converb can receive is still restricted. For example, as opposed to morphologically finite verbs, it is not possible for this converb to be solely inflected for imperative mood. While *-nti* converbs (Section 4.1.1) inflect for evidentiality, *-ko* converbs do not. No such restriction is observable for final clause verbs which, depending on the contexts, can be marked for all kinds of possible categories of verbal inflection.

4.2.2. Syntactic characteristics

-ko clauses can license their own subjects yet do not necessarily have to, which is why they show variable subject reference. Interestingly, they show no signs of syntactic embedding evidenced by the impossibility of centre-embedding. Information structural properties and extractability depend on semantic interpretation and subject reference, which are factors that were identified for Korean as well (see Section 2.5).

Thus in the following, the properties outlined above will be illustrated with elicited data. Note that whereas for Korean, differences have been found for

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[1] On the surface, the *-ms^hi-*, PROG.IMP morpheme of the *-ko* converb, and the *-ms^hi-*, PROG suffix of the final clause verb look the same. The attentive reader may ask why then, the suffix on the converb is in fact IMPERATIVE-PROGRESSIVE, and not just PROGRESSIVE. One argument is that speakers interpret the two verb forms differently: the converb is understood to express a command. Without such meaning, the suffix would not be *-ms^hi-*, but just *-ms^h-*, as in ex. (92). Additionally, what I have not indicated here is that while the /i/ component of the imperative-progressive converb form in (94b) seems to be meaningful, the /i/ of the final verb is in fact a result of an epenthetic progress. See Section A.2.13 in the grammar sketch for more.

instances where converbs are inflected for tense and those where converbs are tenseless, no such differences could be reliably identified among Jejuan speakers.[2]

4.2.2.1. Subject reference properties

The Jejuan -*ko* clause linkage occurs with both same-subject and different-subject reference.

(95)   a. Different-subject, after jeju0140, 16:01

      sʰumi=ka   palisʰkʰweki=lil t͡ɕaŋman hə(jə-sʰ)-ko jəŋhii=ka
      Sumi=NOM fish=ACC   prepare do-CVB   Yeonghi=NOM
      ki   tʷitnal   t͡ɕilimtək=il   t͡ɕit͡ɕə-sʰ-u-ta
      that next.day rice_cake=ACC fry-PST-POL-DECL

      'Sumi had prepared the fish, and Yeonghi fried the rice cake the day after that.'

   b. -SUCC, after jeju0153, 01:14:19

      jəŋsʰu=nin   atəl=il   wənsʰəŋ hə(jə-sʰ)-ko   tɒl=il
      Yeongsu=TOP son=ACC blame   do(-PST)-CVB daughter=ACC
      akawa he-sʰ-t͡ɕə
      cherish do-PST-DECL

      'Yeongsu blamed his son and cherished his daughter.'

The subject licensing properties mentioned above are not restricted by the semantics of a -*ko* linkage, that is, for example, whether events are construed as being temporally successive or simultaneous. Thus with respect to C-9, the criterion on subject licensing is fulfilled in different-subject contexts, whereas it is not in same-subject contexts.

4.2.2.2. Syntactic status of embedding

Centre-embedding of -*ko* clauses leads to ungrammaticality, regardless of whether a construction has different-subject or same-subject reference or whether events described by verbs are interpreted as succesive or non-successive. This stands in contrast to Korean as discussed by Rudnitskaya (1998) among others, where centre-embedding a -*ko* clause is said to be grammtical in contexts where a -*ko*

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[2] Speakers do show a more or less consistent preference for generally untensed converbs, with some speakers identifying tensed converbs as a "Standard language" feature in some contexts. Arguably, however, speakers did not rigorously rule out the possibility of tense marking on converbs which is why this feature will be considered optional here. For interested readers, check out recording sessions jeju0138, jeju0140, jeju0167 and jeju0169 on the Jejuan on-line archive, `https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI971100` [retrieved 2017-12-10].

converb is not inflected for tense, and where events are interpreted to be temporally successive.[3] Note that in the following examples, optional tense marking is indicated, which in elicitation had no effects on syntactic properties.

(96) Different-subject

    a. +SUCC, re-citing (93), after jeju0147, 00:20:55, 00:21:02

        jəŋhɨi=ka   ṣɒlkɒlul=ɨl   kɒla o(a-sʰ)-ko   sʰumi=ka
        Yeonghi=NOM rice_flour=ACC grind come-PST-CVB Sumi=NOM
        ṭək=ɨl   t͡ɕit͡ɕə-sʰ-t͡ɕə
        rice_cake=ACC fry-PST-DECL

        'Yeonghi brought rice flour and then Sumi made a rice cake.'

    b. +SUCC, nested version of (96a), jeju0147, 00:30:32

        **sʰumi=ka [jəŋhɨi=ka   ṣɒlkɒlul=ɨl   kɒla o-ko]*
        Sumi=NOM Yeonghi=NOM rice.powder=ACC buy come-CVB
        ṭək=ɨl   t͡ɕit͡ɕə-sʰ-t͡ɕə
        rice_cake=ACC fry-PST-DECL

        intended: 'Sumi fried rice cake after Yeonghi had bought the rice flour.'

    c. -SUCC, after (95a)

        sʰumi=ka   palisʰkweki=lɨl t͡ɕaŋman   hə(jə-sʰ)-ko jəŋhɨi=ka
        Yeonghi=NOM Sumi=NOM   fish=ACC prepare   do(-PST)-CVB
        t͡ɕilɨmṭək=ɨl   t͡ɕit͡ɕə-sʰ-u-ta
        rice_cake=ACC fry-PST-POL-DECL

        'Sumi was preparing the fish, and Yeonghi was frying rice cake.'

    d. -SUCC, nested version of (96c), after jeju0135, 01:02:02

        **jəŋhɨi=ka   [sʰumi=ka   palisʰkweki=lɨl t͡ɕaŋman hə(jə-sʰ)-ko]*
        Yeonghi=NOM Sumi=NOM fish=ACC   prepare do(-PROG)-CVB
        t͡ɕilɨmṭək=ɨl   t͡ɕit͡ɕə-sʰ-u-ta
        rice_cake=ACC fry-PST-POL-DECL

        intended: 'Sumi was preparing the fish, and Yeonghi was frying rice cake.'

(97) Same-subject

    a. +SUCC, jeju0153, 00:04:42

        sʰəŋu=ka   naŋ=ɨl   at͡ɕ-əŋ   o(-asʰ)-ko
        Soungu=NOM wood=ACC take-CVB come(-PST)-CVB
        t͡ɕʰəlsʰu=jəŋ   hɒnti   kɛt͡ɕip=ɨl   t͡ɕisʰə-n
        Cheolsu=COM together dog.house=ACC build-PST

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[3] The following abbreviations are used in the next examples: 'DS' = 'different subject', 'SS' = same subject, -SUCC = 'simultaneous', '+SUCC = 'successive'.

'Soung-U brought some wood and built a dog house together with Cheolsu.'

b.   +SUCC, nested version of (97a), jeju0153, 00:17:55

sʰəŋu=ka   t͡ɕʰəlsʰu=jəŋ   hɒnti   kɛt͡ɕip=il
Soungu=NOM Cheolsu=COM together dog.house=ACC

[naŋ=il   at͡ɕ-əŋ   o(-asʰ)-ko]   t͡ɕisʰə-n
wood=ACC take-CVB come(-PST)-CVB build-PST

intended: 'Soung-U brought some wood and built a dog house together with Cheolsu.'

c.   -SUCC, nested version of (95b), jeju0153, 01:16:03

jəŋsʰu=nin   tɒl=il   [atəl=il   wənsʰəŋ hə-ko]
Yeongsu=TOP daughter=ACC son=ACC blame   do-CVB

akawa   he-sʰ-t͡ɕə
daughter=ACC cherish do-PST-DECL

intended: 'Yeongsu blamed his son and cherished his daughter.'

The above examples show that as opposed to what has been described for Korean *-ko* linkages, Jejuan *-ko* linkages do not permit centre-embedding irrespective of whether the *-ko* converb is inflected for tense or not, or whether the event relationships are construed as temporally sequential or not.

For same-subject contexts, one could argue that (97b) and (97c) are ungrammatical, not because of centre-embedding the *-ko* clause per se, but because of the syntactic level of embedding. Using Bickel's (2010) terms, here we may regard these instances hypothetical '*ad-V* attachments', which we may suppose is not possible for Jejuan *-ko* linkages. On the other hand, the question is whether we may then see examples (97a) and (95b) as actually centre-embedded structures, similar to the following, hypothetical examples. This would also mean that the common subject argument would be seen as a final clause constituent:

(98)   Hypothetical centre-embedding of same-subject *-ko* clauses

a.   ?? *[sʰəŋu=ka   [naŋ=il   at͡ɕ-əŋ   o(-asʰ)-ko]*
      Soungu=NOM wood=ACC take-CVB come(-PST)-CVB

      t͡ɕʰəlsʰu=jəŋ   hɒnti   kɛt͡ɕip=il   t͡ɕisʰə-n]
      Cheolsu=COM together dog.house=ACC build-PST

      'Soung-U brought some wood and built a dog house together with Cheolsu.'

b.   ?? *[jəŋsʰu=nin   [atəl=il   wənsʰəŋ hə(jə-sʰ)-ko]   tɒl=il*
      Yeongsu=TOP son=ACC blame   do(-PST)-CVB daughter=ACC

      akawa   he-sʰ-t͡ɕə]
      cherish do-PST-DECL

'Yeongsu blamed his son and cherished his daughter.'

If we assume structures as hypothesised on above, then we would presuppose that a) there exists a version of the complex clause with no centre-embedding, and b) deduce that based on that non-nested 'base' instance, we would diagnose structures as in (95b)/(98b) as centre-embedded, as the *-ko* clause seems to be standing between the supposed final-clause subject and the rest.

If so, it should be acceptable to have the subject NPs at the left edge of the final clause domain as in the following examples, since we would assume that these structures would be the 'non-nested' versions of (97a) and (95b). However, these kinds of examples were readily rejected by consultants:

(99)   a.   Subject at leftmost position, EQ2015-12-24/EN2015-12-25, HYJ1, 1a/b)

toŋsʰuka   naɲil   t͡ɕusʰəŋ   o(-asʰ)-ko   kɛt͡ɕip
Dongsu.NOM tree:ACC pick_up:CVB come(-PST)-CVB dog:house
t͡ɕisʰən
build:PST.DECL

'Dongsu brought wood and built a dog house.'

   b.   Subject at left edge of final clause, EQ2015-12-24/EN2015-12-25, HYJ1,

*[naɲil   t͡ɕusʰəŋ   o(-asʰ)-ko]   toŋsʰuka   kɛt͡ɕip
tree:ACC pick_up:CVB come(-PST)-CVB Dongsu.NOM dog:house
t͡ɕisʰən
build:PST.DECL

   c.   Subject at leftmost position, EQ2015-12-24/EN2015-12-25, HYJ1, 1e/d)

sʰumika   jɒmaŋt͡ɕi(-əsʰ)-ko   pɒlkasʰt͡ɕə
Sumi:NOM be_industrious(-PST)-CVB be_bright:PST:DECL

'Sumi was intelligent and hard-working.'

   d.   Subject at left edge of final clause, EQ2015-12-24/EN2015-12-25, HYJ1, 1e/d)

*[jɒmaŋt͡ɕi(-əsʰ)-ko]   sʰumika   pɒlkasʰt͡ɕə
be_industrious(-PST)-CVB Sumi:NOM be_bright:PST:DECL

If a same-subject *-ko* linkage as in (99a) or (99c) actually had a centre-embedded structure, then it should be deemed acceptable to have the subject arguments occurring at the beginning of a final clause, yet this is not so: in fact, utterances (99b) or (99d) are rejected by speakers, and the ones accepted are those with the subject NPs in what was linearly labelled as 'leftmost' above in (99a) and (99c).

Therefore, we conclude that the subject NPs are constituents of the non-final clause.

To conclude, centre-embedding is not possible for *-ko* clauses irrespective of their semantics, their tense marking or whether verbs refer to different, or one and the same subjects. The fact that nesting is not possible is one strong indicator for the lack of syntactic embedding of *-ko* clauses.

4.2.2.3. Morphosyntactic expression of information structure

As mentioned, the assumption here is that if topicalisation of the above kind is not possible for a clause in a clause linkage, then it will mean that a) there is a restriction on the morphosyntactic expression of information structure for a particular clause type, and that b) this is due to the fact that the clause is not informationally structured. Regarding this aspect, the examples below point towards a structural difference between different- and same-subject *-ko* clauses:

(100)   Different-subject

    a.   +SUCC, topicalisation of NFC object, jeju0147, 00:27:46

       t͡ɕɒpsɒlkɒlul=in   jəŋhïi=ka   kɒla o(a-sʰ)-ko   sʰumi=ka
       rice.powder=TOP Yeonghi=NOM grind come-PST-CVB Sumi=NOM
       ʈək=il   t͡ɕit͡ɕə-sʰ-t͡ɕə
       rice_cake=ACC fry-PST-DECL

       'As for the rice powder, Yeonghi bought it and Sumi fried the rice cake (made out of it).'

    b.   +SUCC, topicalisation of FC object

       jəŋhïi=ka   sɒlkɒlul=il   sʰa(-sʰ)-ko ʈək=in
       Yeonghi=NOM rice.powder=ACC buy-CVB   rice_cake=TOP
       sʰumi=ka   t͡ɕit͡ɕə-sʰ-t͡ɕə
       Sumi=NOM fry-PST-DECL

       'Yeonghi bought the rice powder, and as to the rice cake, Sumi fried it.'

    c.   -SUCC, topicalisation of NFC object

       palisʰkʰweki=nïn t͡ɕʰəlsʰu=ka   t͡ɕaŋman hə(jə-sʰ)-ko
       fish=TOP   Cheolsu=NOM prepare do(-PST)-CVB
       jəŋhïi=ka   t͡ɕilïmʈək=il   t͡ɕit͡ɕə-sʰ-ə-la
       Yeongh=NOM rice_cake=ACC fry-PST-EV.PST-DECL

       'As for the fish, Cheolsu cleaned it and Yeonghi had fried the rice cake.'

d. -SUCC, topicalisation of FC object

t͡ɕʰəlsʰu=ka   palisʰkʰweki=lil t͡ɕaŋman hə(jə-sʰ)-ko
Cheolsu=NOM fish=ACC   prepare do(-PST)-CVB
t͡ɕilimt̞ək=in   jəŋhii=ka   t͡ɕit͡ɕə-sʰ-ə-la
rice_cake=TOP Yeongh=NOM fry-PST-EV.PST-DECL

'Cheolsu cleaned the fish and as to the rice cake, Yeonghi had fried it.'

(101) Same-subject, EN2015-12-03

a. +SUCC

t͡ɕʰəlsʰu=ka   monjə sʰɒsʰnek̞i=lil k̞o(-asʰ)-ko
Cheolsu=NOM first   cord=ACC   braid(-PST)-CVB
s̞isʰmaŋtʰeŋi=lil   t͡ɕɒla-n
seed:basket=ACC weave-PST

'Cheolsu first braided the cord [which becomes the strap], and then wove the seed basket part.'

b. +SUCC, topicalisation of non-final clause object

*sʰɒsʰnek̞i=nin t͡ɕʰəlsʰu=ka   moŋə k̞o(-asʰ)-ko
cord=TOP   Cheolsu=NOM first   braid(-PST)-CVB
s̞isʰmaŋtʰeŋi=lil   t͡ɕɒla-n
seed:basket=ACC weave-PST

intended: 'As for the strap, Cheolsu braided it first and then wove the seed basket.'

c. -SUCC

t͡ɕʰəlsʰu=ka   atəl=il   wənsʰəŋ hə(jə-sʰ)-ko   tɒl=il
Cheolsu=NOM son=ACC blame   do(-PST)-CVB daughter=ACC
ak̚ap-a   hə-n-ta
cherish-CVB do-PRS-DECL

'Cheolsu blamed his son and cherished his daughter.'

d. -SUCC, topicalisation of non-final clause object

*atəl=in   t͡ɕʰəlsʰu=ka   wənsʰəŋ hə(jə-sʰ)-ko   tɒl=il
son=TOP Cheolsu=NOM blame   do(-PST)-CVB daughter=ACC
ak̚ap-a   hə-n-ta
cherish-CVB do-PRS-DECL

'Cheolsu blamed his son and cherished his daughter.'

Ex. (100a) and (100c) demonstrate how topicalisation is possible in *-ko* clause linkages with different-subject reference. Examples (101b) and (101d) show that in same-subject contexts, topicalisation of non-final clause constituents is not possible. Thus *-ko* linkages do not only show a difference in the morphosyntactic expressibility of information structure, but also, in Section 4.2.3 of this chapter I conclude that different-subject *-ko* clauses are informationally structured, whereas same-subject *-ko* clauses are not.

Note that for Korean morphosyntax, studies such as Kwon and Polinsky (2008) suggest that topicalisation depends on the semantic interpretation of a *-ko* linkage; when such a clause linakge is interpreted as narrating temporally sequential events, then topicalisation is possible, whereas non-sequential *-ko* linkages do not permit topicalisation. Should this be true, then the above data would imply that in Jejuan, the internal information structuring of *-ko* linkages differs from Korean in that it does not depend on the interpretation of event relationships, but on subject reference factors.

4.2.2.4. Extraction through relativisation

When it comes to extractability of constituents through relativisation in *-ko* linkages, the following facts can be observed:

1. extraction out of different-subject, non-sequential linkages is not possible at all
2. in same-subject, non-sequential linkages, only the subject can be relativised
3. in sequential linkages, relativisability is restricted to final-clause NPs

To start with contexts where events in a *-ko* linkage are interpreted as being successive, irrespective of the subject licensing of the clausal predicates, relativisation of a constituent is only accepted if that constituent forms part of the final clause, but not of the non-final clause.

(102)   Different subject, +SUCC, EQ/EN2015-11-16, HJG1

    a. *[jəŋhii=ka   ṣ̈plkplul=il   sʰa-ko] [sʰumi=ka*
        Yeonghi=NOM rice:powder=ACC buy-CVB Sumi=NOM
        ṭ̈ək=il   t͡ɕit͡ɕə-sʰ-t͡ɕə]
        rice_cake=ACC fry-PST-DECL

        'Yeonghi bought the rice powder and Sumi fried the rice cake.'

    b. relativisation of final clause object

        [jəŋhii=ka   ṣ̈plkplul=il   sʰa-ko sʰumi=ka   ___
        Yeonghi=NOM rice:powder=ACC buy-CVB Sumi=NOM
        t͡ɕit͡ɕ-in] ṭ̈ək
        fry   rice_cake

        'The rice cake that Sumi fried after Yeonghi bought the rice powder.'

    c. relativisation of non-final clause object

        *[jəŋhii=ka   ___ sʰa-ko sʰumi=ka ṭ̈ək=il
        Yeonghi=NOM   buy-CVB Sumi=NOM rice_cake=ACC
        t͡ɕit͡ɕ-in]   ṣ̈plkplul
        fry-PST.ADN rice:powder

        intended: 'The rice powder that Sumi fried rice cake [with] after Yeonghi bought [it].'

(103)   Same subject, +SUCC, EQ/EN2015-12-03, HJG1 and JOS1

    a. *sʰəŋu=ka   naŋ=il   at͡ɕəŋ   o-ko   kɛt͡ɕip=il*
        Soungu=NOM wood=ACC pick_up:CVB come-CVB dog:house=ACC
        t͡ɕisʰə-n
        build-PST

        'Soung-U brought some wood and built a dog house.'

    b. relat. of final clause object

        [sʰəŋu=ka   naŋ=il   at͡ɕəŋ   o-ko   ___ t͡ɕisʰ-in]
        Soungu=NOM wood=ACC pick_up:CVB come-CVB   build-ADN
        kɛt͡ɕip
        dog:house

        'The dog house that Soung-U brought wood for and built.'

    c. relat. of non-final clause object

        *[sʰəŋu=ka   ___ at͡ɕəŋ   o-ko   kɛt͡ɕip=il
        Soungu=NOM   pick_up:CVB come-CVB dog:house=ACC

$\widehat{tɕis^h}$*-in]*   *naŋ*
build-ADN tree

intended: 'The tree that Soung-U brought and built a dog house with.'

d. relat. of non-final clause subject

*[___ naŋ=il   *a͡tɕəŋ*   *o-ko*   *kɛt͡ɕip=il* $\widehat{tɕis^h}$*-in]*
       tree=ACC pick_up:CVB come-CVB dog:house=ACC build-ADN

s^həŋu
Soungu

intended: 'Soung-U, who brought the wood and built the dog house.'

Examples (102c) and (103d) show that the relativisation of non-final constituents is not possible in *-ko* clause linkages irrespective of their subject reference properties, whereas final clause constituents may be relativised, as (102b) and (102b) show. For these contexts, we can conclude that a *-ko* clause is opaque to the process of relativisation as opposed to their respective final clauses.

Interestingly, SS, -SUCC *-ko* linkages show a behaviour quite different from SS, +SUCC linkages, as the subject argument may be relativised in non-successive contexts, whereas in successive contexts, relativisation is not possible. Compare the subsequent examples with ex. (103d):

(104) unilateral relativisation in SS, -SUCC *-ko* constructions

a. *jəŋs^hu=nin*   *atəl=il*   *wəns^həŋ hə-ko*   *tɒl=il*   *ak̬awa*
Yeongsu=TOP son=ACC blame do-CVB daughter=ACC cherish
hə-n-ta
do-PRS-DECL

'Yeongsu blames his son and cherishes his daughter.'

b. *[___ atəl=il*   *wəns^həŋ hə-ko*   *tɒl=il*   *ak̬awa hə-nin]*
    son=ACC blame do-CVB daughter=ACC cherish do-ADN
jəŋs^hu
Yeongsu

'Yeongsu, who blames his son and cherishes his daughter'

c. ** [jəŋs^hu=ka*   ___ *wəns^həŋ hə-ko*   *tɒl=il*   *ak̬awa*
Yeongsu=NOM   blame do-CVB daughter=ACC cherish
hə-nin] atəl
do-ADN son

intended: 'the son who Yeongsu blames and cherishes his daughter'

d. ** [jəŋs^hu=ka*   *atəl=il*   *wəns^həŋ hə-ko*   ___ *ak̬apa hə-nin]*
Yeongsu=NOM son=ACC blame do-CVB   cherish do-ADN
tɒl
daughter

intended: 'the daughter who Yeongsu blames his son and cherishes'

In SS contexts, there is a difference between +SUCC and -SUCC constructions which is such that in the latter context, final-clause constituents such as the object in (104d) cannot be relativised. Thus while it was concluded for SS, +SUCC *-ko* linkages that the final clause is transparent to relativisation whereas the non-final clause is opaque to it, in SS, -SUCC contexts as in (104d), both clauses do not permit the relativisation of an object argument.

Here, it may make sense to see both clauses as syntactically opaque to relativisation, yet in SS, -SUCC contexts (ex. (104b)), *-ko* clauses in fact permit the relativisation of subject NPs. This characteristic sets SS, -SUCC *-ko* linkages apart from all other contexts mentioned above. In the section on centre-embedding properties of *-ko* clauses, it was suggested that the subject NPs are constituents of the *-ko* clauses (and not of the final clauses) as there is no evidence for embedding. At the same time, however, based on the relativisation tests, one cannot say that the subject and the *-ko* clause are members of a joint, clausal constituent, as object NPs, on the other hand, defy relativisation.

If we were to assume that on the basis of the centre-embedding tests above, the subject NP was a constituent of a *-ko* clause in a SS, -SUCC context, then we would need to introduce some additional mechanisms which treat subjects and objects differently — for example, mechanisms that ensure that subject functions are transparent to relativisation, whereas object functions are not. However, no other clause linkage type shows such behaviour, which is why one may ask whether introducing such an additional complexity to our model just for a particular instance of a clause linkage type would be justified.

However, if we assumed that in this particular case as shown in ex. (104a) we actually have a syntactic coordination of verb phrases, then no additional mechanism would be required, as this could neatly explain why it is only the subject which can be relativised here: as coordinated phrases are syntactic islands, no consituent inside such a phrase can be extracted, whereas the subject standing outside that phrase can. Still, whether in this particular case the *-ko* clause linkage should be treated as such or rather as a structurally very different instance of phrasal coordination (including the postulation of a verb phrase category), will be left open for different formal approaches to Jejuan syntax.

Finally, the only context where relativisation is not possible in either linked clause of a *-ko* linkage is that of DS, -SUCC *-ko* clause linkages.[4]

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[4] Note in the examples below, the -PROG-PST glossing of the non-final verb morphemes is preliminary. The reason is that in no other context in verbal inflection (not even in final-clause inflection) we find this succession of morphemes to be permissible, and that the speaker interviewed himself became unsure about the grammaticality and/or meaning of this form after

(105)   DS, -SUCC *-ko* linkages

   a. relat. of non-final clause OBJ, based on ex. (95a)

   [sʰumi = ka ___ t͡ɕaŋman həjə-msʰ-əsʰ-ko jəŋhii = ka
   Sumi = NOM   prepare do-PROG-PST-CVB Yeonghi = NOM
   t͡ɕilïmṭək = ïl t͡ɕit͡ɕ-tan] palisʰkʰweki
   rice_cake = ACC fry-ADN fish

   intended: 'The fish that Yeonghi fried the rice cake while Sumi prepared ___.'

   b. relat. of final clause OBJ, based on ex. (95a))

   [sʰumi = ka palisʰkʰweki t͡ɕaŋman həjə-msʰ-əsʰ-ko jəŋhii = ka
   Sumi = NOM fish   prepare do-PROG-PST-CVB Yeonghi = NOM
   ___ t͡ɕit͡ɕ-tan] t͡ɕilïmṭək
       fry-ADN rice_cake

   intended: 'The rice cake that Yeonghi fried ___ while Sumi prepared the fish.'

   c. *sʰumi = nïn t͡ɕʰəlsʰu = lïl sʰʋlaŋ hə-ko toŋsʰu = nïn*
   Sumi = TOP Cheolsu = ACC love   do-CVB Dongsu = TOP
   jəŋhii = lïl sʰʋlaŋ hə-n-ta
   Yeonghi = ACC love   do-PRS-DECL

   'Sumi loves Cheolsu and Dongsu loves Yeonghi.'

   d. relativisation of non-final clause OBJ

   [sʰumi = ka ___ sʰʋlaŋ hə-ko toŋsʰu = ka jəŋhii = lïl sʰʋlaŋ
   [Sumi = TOP   love   do-CVB Dongsu = TOP Yeonghi = ACC love
   hə-nïn] t͡ɕʰəlsʰu
   do-ADN] Cheolsu

   'Cheolsu who Sumi loves ___ and Dongsu loves Yeonghi.'

   e. relativisation of final clause OBJ

   [sʰumi = ka t͡ɕʰəlsʰu = lïl sʰʋlaŋ hə-ko toŋsʰu = ka ___ sʰʋlaŋ
   Sumi = NOM Cheolsu = ACC love   do-CVB Dongsu = TOP   love
   hə-nïn] jəŋhii
   do-ADN] Yeonghi

   'Yeonghi who Sumi loves Cheolsu and Dongsu loves ___.'

As shown above in (105b) and (105d), DS, -SUCC *-ko* linkages do not allow for the extraction of a constituent of any linked clause. Thus with respect to relativisation, this instance of a *-ko* linkage constitutes a syntactic island.

enquiry, and tended to just use a progressive suffix in this case. An additional reason is that this form was recorded in Sukkun by one speaker, yet no other speaker in Sukkun or Jimnyeong would be reproduce such a form or accept it. Thus as this particular verb form still remains a mystery, I decided not to include it in my morpological description, and will not further comment on it.

4.2.3. Semantic characteristics

This section deals with the semantic properties outlined in chapter 3.4, and will look at the assertion, temporal anchoring and information-structural properties of *-ko* clauses.

4.2.3.1. Assertion properties

Looking at (106a) and (106b) below, one wonders whether *-ko* clauses may actually be asserted. In (106a), the speaker is not only making an assertion about the fact that the frog escaped, but also that it is not there. Similarly, in (106b), it seems that the speaker asserts both events. If so, this case would be exceptional since there is still a morphological restriction in that the *-ko* converb itself allows no declarative marking. While this may suggest that *-ko* clauses may actually be asserted, what has not been attested yet is a case where a *-ko* clause is asserted independently of the final clause.

   Although the data is limited at present, what remains to be clarified is whether from a clause linkage perspective, a *-ko* clause linkage would permit disjunct assertion scope in a way that only the *-ko* clause is asserted, whereas the final clause is not. If this turns out not to be the case, this would mean that the assertion properties of the *-ko* clause are not independent of the final clause. For now, however, I take the examples below as evidence for the fact that independent assertion scope is not possible, yet as opposed to other clause types, *-ko* clauses are the only ones which can be included in the assertion scope of the final clause.

4.2.3.2. Independent temporal anchoring

Irrespective of whether a *-ko* converb is tensed or not, the temporal anchoring of a *-ko* clause can be independent, as shown in the following examples:

(106)   Temporal anchonring of *-ko* clauses

    a. Frog Story, jeju0052-03, 28.1

> *i   nom-ɨ   kɒkepi=n əsʰ-ko   tʰwi-ə   na*
> this rascal-GEN frog=TOP NEG.EXIST-CVB jump-CVB move_out
> *pulə-n*
> AUX.PERF-PST

'That rascal of a frog wasn't there and it has escaped!'

b. Pear Story, jeju0063-01-02, 75.1/76.1

t͡ɕʋt͡ɕənt͡ɕʰa = l nuk-t͡ɕi-ko   it͡ɕe t͡ɕəti   il   hə-le
bicycle = ACC lay-CAUS-CVB now DEM.MED:LOC work do-PURP.CVB
ka-msʰə
go-PROG
'He's put the bike down and now he's going to work.'

In the above examples, the temporal anchoring of *-ko* with respect to their final clauses is independent: in (106a), the *-ko* clause describes a stative event which is on-going at the time of utterance and co-incides with reference time (the time when the boy is looking at the glass). In the final clause, however, the verb carries past tense marking, and describes an event that happened at an unspecified time in the past prior to the frog's disappearance which happened during the time when the main protagonist was sleeping. Thus here, the event time and reference time both lie in the past. Similarly, in (106b), it is the *-ko* clause which describes an event that is completed (laying down the bike), and then the final clause event follows after that. Here, the verb is inflected for progressive aspect, which however does not extend its scope over the non-final clause.

4.2.3.3. Information structuring of *-ko* clauses

In section 4.2.2.3 it was shown how topicalisation is possible only in *-ko* linkages where each predicate licenses its own subject (examples (100a) amd (100c)), whereas in linkages with same-subject reference, topicalisation is not allowed (examples (101b) and (101d)). It is important to note that the possibility of topicalisation is not restricted in the same way in the respective final clauses.

We conclude from this that different-subject *-ko* clauses have internal information structuring, whereas in same-subject contexts, a *-ko* clause is not informationally structured, and that this is why topicalisation is not possible in this type of clauses.

4.2.4. Summary of characteristics

-ko clauses in Jejuan are among those adverbial clause types which show more characteristics that the literature usually associates with a finite clause. Accordingly, in chapter 5 it will be pointed out that in fact, *-ko* clauses (albeit more specifically in diferent-subject contexts) are closest to the Canonical Finiteness

Ideal. This clause type is morphologically inflectable — with its inflectional possibilities for tense-aspect and illocutionary force/mood peculiar to this converb — and has flexible subject reference, as opposed to *-nan* linkages (Section 4.3.2). *-ko* clauses are not syntactically embedded since centre-embedding tests failed in all cases, and are independently temporally anchored.

Subject reference seems to have an effect on the morphosyntactic properties of this clause type, similar (yet to a much smaller extent) to what has been reported on Korean (Rudnitskaya 1998, Kwon and Polinsky 2008): in DS contexts, topicalisation is possible whereas in SS it is not, which is why SS, *-ko* clauses are deemed not to have internal information structuring.

Moreover, similar to Korean, the semantic interpretation of a *-ko* clause may have some minor effects on syntactic properties as well, in interaction with subject reference. Thus DS, non-sequential linkages block extraction from both clauses whereas simultaneous linkages allow asymmetric extraction, evidenced by possible relativisation of a final-clause constituent.

Additionally, evidence suggests that both the non-final clause and the final clause can be within an assertion scope, since in these cases the speaker asserts both the final clause and non-final clause proposition. Should this be correct, this would make *-ko* clauses the only clause type that can be asserted, yet the limited nature of the data at present calls for a more thorough investigation. Eventually, this will be the reason why in table 5, Chapter 5, I will indicate this information with a question mark, and treat this aspect with some remaining scepticism.

4.3. -nan clauses

This section describes finiteness properties of *-nan* clause linkages. Converbs in *-nan* are interpreted in two major ways, depending on the context of usage. In one context, a clause headed by a *-nan* converb indicates the reason or cause for some event described in the subsequent clause, whereas in other contexts, a *-nan* clause linkage expresses a temporal relationship. Henceforth, the reason interpretations will be referred to as *causal -nan clauses* and the temporal interpretations as *temporal -nan clauses*.

If a *-nan* clause linkage is interpreted temporally, then by the time the event of the *-nan* clause happens or finishes, the final clause event steps in. As opposed to *-taŋ* linkages (Section 4.6), here the focus is not so much on the sudden and possibly unexpected change of situation, but a shift in narrative. Apart from their semantic content, due to their subject reference properties, *-nan* clauses also have

the function of shifting subjects in discourse.[5]

Anticipating examples (110c) and (111a) from Section 4.3.2, the following examples shall illustrate the two ways that *-nan* clauses are interpreted (cf. also Lee (1978: 90) for examples):

(107)   a. causal interpretation, EQ 2015-12-24/EN 2015-12-25, HYJ1

        t͡ɕʰəlsʰu＝ka   kamt͡ɕə＝lɨl   ani＝mək-inan   sʰumi＝ka
        Cheolsu＝NOM sweet_potato＝ACC NEG＝eat-CVB.RS Sumi＝NOM
        mɒn te̱k̟iə-piə-n
        all   throw-PERF-PST

        'Since Cheolsu didn't eat the potatoes, Sumi threw them all away.'

        *'In the moment when Cheolsu didn't eat the potatoes...'

    b. temporal interpretation, EQ 2015-12-24/EN 2015-12-25, HYJ1

        na＝ka   t͡ɕip＝i   ka-nan   asʰi＝ka
        1SG＝NOM house＝LOC go-CVB.TEMP younger_sister＝NOM
        naɭe   nələ-msʰ-ə-la
        drying_grains spread-PROG-EV.PST-DECL

        'When I got home, my younger sister was spreading out the grains for drying.'

        *'Because I came home, my younger sister was spreading out grains for drying.'

Example (117a) shows a causal *-nan* clause, whereas (117b) shows a temporally interpreted *-nan* clause. Causal and temporal *-nan* converbs show diverging morphosyntactic proeprties, which are described in the following section.

Note that converbs in *-nan* vary with *-nane* forms, similar to what has been described for *-taŋ* or *-ŋ* converbs. As they seem to be interchangeable in all contexts in elicitation, I will not treat this variation here.

4.3.1. Morphological characteristics

-nan converbs can be inflected depending on the semantic relationship between events expressed in a *-nan* linkage. In a temporal interpretation, converbs cannot be inflected, while in a reason interpretation they can:

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[5] Note that for some reason I have not been able to discern yet, *-nan* clauses do occur with what seems to be same-subject reference, yet in these contexts, we either do not find overt subjects, or what is the subject of a verb syntactically, semantically refers to a proposition, for example when we have a discourse-deictic expression *kʲəŋ tʷe-sʰ-t͡ɕə*, so become-PST-DECL, 'So it happened.' In this study, *-nan* converbs were deemed to have different-subject reference based on the metalinguistic judgments of language teachers in elicitation settings.

(108)   a. causal linkage, EQ 2015-12-17/EN 2015-12-21

        ai=ka   kamt͡ɕə=lɨl   mɒn mək(ə-sʰi)-nan əməŋ=i
        child=NOM sweet_potato=ACC all   eat-PST-CVB.RS mother=NOM
        t͡ɕɒpsʰi=lɨl t͡ɕʰip-an
        plate=ACC take_away-PST
        'The mother took the plate away, as her child had finished eating the potatos.'

      b. temporal linkage, EQ 2016-12-22, 9a

        sʰumi=ka   t͡ɕip=i   ka(*-sʰi)-nan   ai=təl=i   pɒls̯ə
        Sumi=NOM house=LOC go-PST-CVB.RS child=PL=NOM already
        pap   ta mək-əsʰ-ə-la
        meal all eat-PST-EV.PST-DECL
        'When Sumi got home, her kids had eaten their meal already.'

As shown in (108a), causal *-nan* linkages allow for the converb to inflect for past tense (and progressive aspect, cf. table A.43), whereas a temporal linkage of the sort shown in ex. (108b) does not allow for tense inflection. This morphological characteristic is one aspect of many differences that have been found between temporal and causal *-nan* linkages, as the following description will reveal.

4.3.2. Syntactic characteristics

This section discusses the subject reference, information structure and extractability-related properties of *-nan* clauses.

4.3.2.1. Subject reference properties

Jejuan *-nan* clause linkages are the only ones which can only have different-subject reference.

(109)   a. EQ/EN2015-11-21, HJG1 and JOS1, 5e)

        t͡ɕʰəlsʰu=ka   jɒlmɛ=lɨl tʰələt͡ɕi-p-nan pəllət͡ɕi-əsʰt͡ɕə
        Cheolsu=NOM fruit=ACC fall-CAUS-CVB crack-PST.DECL
        'The fruit cracked open, because Cheolsu threw it on the ground.'

      b. EQ/EN2015-11-21, HJG1 and JOS1, 5f)

        t͡ɕʰəlsʰu=ka   ɛki apʰ=isʰə   koŋ=il   tʰələt͡ɕi-p-nan mak
        Cheolsu=NOM baby front=LOC ball=ACC fall-CAUS-CVB very
        usʰ-ip-te-ta
        laugh-POL-EV.PST-DECL

'The baby (*Cheolsu) laughed because Cheolsu let it drop on the floor in front of him.'

Looking at (109a) only, one may suggest that *-nan* linkages do permit both different- and same-subject reference, and that here the different-subject reference is established on the basis of ontological knowledge: here it is most likely that it is a fruit which cracks open by being thrown, as opposed to a human being. However, (109b) shows that the different-subject reference is in fact an inherent property of a *-nan* linkage, since here we have two animate, human entities, and consultants automatically understand the baby to be laughing, and not Cheolsu who is the subject of the *-nan* clause.

4.3.2.2. Syntactic status of embedding

The nestability of clauses in *-nan* clause linkage depends on how the semantics of this linkage is construed. As mentioned above, a *-nan* converb can be interpreted as giving the reason for something, or as indicating a temporal connection between events. When interpreted as a reason relationship, a *-nan* clause can be centre-embedded, whereas in a temporal relationship, nesting is not possible.

Below, we will first have a look at *-nan* clause linkages in cause/reason relationships:

(110)   Cause/reason-interpreted *-nan* clauses

    a. non-nested, EQ2015-10-23/EN2015-11-10, HJG1

        atəl=i   apʰa pu-nan   əməŋ=i   t͡ɕɒtila-msʰə
        son=NOM hurt AUX.PERF-CVB mother=NOM worry-PROG

        'The mother's worried, because her son got ill.'

        *'In the moment of her son falling ill,...'

    b. nested, EQ2015-10-23/EN2015-11-10, HJG1

        əməŋ=i   [atəl=i   apʰa pu-nan]   t͡ɕɒtila-msʰə
        mother=NOM son=NOM hurt AUX.PERF-CVB worry-PROG

        'The mother, since her son got ill, is worried.'

    c. non-nested, EQ2015-12-24/EN2015-12-25, HYJ1

        t͡ɕʰəlsʰu=ka   kamt͡ɕə=lil   ani=mək-inan sʰumi=ka   mɒn
        Cheolsu=NOM sweet_potato=ACC NEG=eat-CVB Sumi=NOM all
        teki̯ə pi̯ə-n
        throw AUX.PERF-PST

        'Since Cheolsu didn't eat the sweet potatoes, Sumi threw them all away.'

*'In the moment when Cheolsu didn't eat the sweet potatos...'

d. nested, EQ2015-12-24/EN2015-12-25, HYJ1

sʰumi=ka   [t͡ɕʰəlsʰu=ka   kamt͡ɕə=lɨl   ani=mək-inan] mɒn
Sumi=NOM Cheolsu=NOM sweet_potato=ACC NEG=eat-CVB all

teḳiə   piə-n
throw AUX.PERF-PST

'Sumi, since Cheolsu was not eating his sweet potatos, threw everything away.'

e. non-nested, EQ2015-12-24/EN2015-12-25, HYJ1

t͡ɕʰəlsʰu=ka   pap=il   mak ṭike   mək-inan sʰumi=ka
Cheolsu=NOM rice=ACC very slowly eat-CVB   Sumi=NOM

kilisʰ=il   mot=t͡ɕʰiwa-msʰə
bowl=ACC NEG.POT=take_away-PROG

'Sumi can't take the dishes away, because Cheolsu is eating his rfood really slowly.'

*'When Cheolsu was eating his rice really slowly...'

f. nested, EQ2015-12-24/EN2015-12-25, HYJ1

sʰumi=ka   [t͡ɕʰəlsʰu=ka   pap=il   mak ṭike   mək-inan]
Sumi=NOM Cheolsu=NOM rice=ACC very slowly eat-CVB

kilisʰ=il   mot=t͡ɕʰiwa-msʰə
bowl=ACC NEG.POT=take_away-PROG

'Sumi, since Cheolsu was eating his food so slowly, can't take away the dishes.'

As examples (110b), (110d) and (110f) above show, *-nan* clauses in reason interpretation can be nested in the final clause. As shown by the starred translations, the only interpretation available for these utterances is one of cause/reason.

Temporal *-nan* clauses usually cannot be nested in the final clause, as the following examples show:

(111) Temporal *-nan* clauses, EN2015-11-21, HJG1 and JOS1, 1a)

a. non-nested

na=ka   t͡ɕip=i   ka-nan   asʰi=ka
1SG=NOM house=LOC go-CVB.TEMP younger_sister=NOM

nalːe   nəl-əmsʰ-ə-la
drying_grains spread-PROG-EV.PST-DECL

'When I got home, my younger sister was spreading out the grains to dry.'

*'Because I got home, my younger sister...'

b. nested

*asʰi̱=ka [*na=ka* *t͡ɕip=i* *ka-nan*]
younger_sister=NOM 1SG=NOM house=LOC go-CVB.TEMP
nal:e *nəl-əmsʰ-ə-la*
drying_grains spread-PROG-EV.PST-DECL

intended: 'My sister, when I got home, was spreading out grains to dry.'

c. non-nested

sʰəŋu=ka *uli* *t͡ɕip=i* *o-nan* *pi=ka*
Soungu=NOM 1PL house=LOC come-CVB.TEMP rain=NOM
t͡ɕwakt͡ɕwak *nʋli-m* *sʰit͡ɕak hə-p-te-ta*
in_downpours come_down-NMLZ begin do-POL-EV.PST-DECL

'When Soung-U got home, suddenly the rain was pouring down.'

d. nested

*pi=ka [*sʰəŋu=ka* *uli* *t͡ɕip=i* *o-nan*]
rain=NOM Soungu=NOM 1PL house=LOC come-CVB.TEMP
t͡ɕwakt͡ɕwak *nʋli-m* *sʰit͡ɕak hə-p-te-ta*
in_downpours come_down-NMLZ begin do-POL-EV.PST.DECL

intended: 'The rain, in the moment when Soung-U got home, poured down suddenly.'

Example (111c) was first constructed by the author in order to create contexts where two events are not construed as being in some sort of causal relationship to each other[6]. Additionally, consultants suggested example (111a), where the event of somebody's arrival at a house is not construed as being the reason for the sister spreading out grains. For both of these examples nesting was not possible, as ex. (111b) and (111d) show.

To conclude, we see an interesting syntactic difference between temporal and causal *-nan* linkages.[7] Alongside the lack of inflectability, temporal linkages cannot be centre-embedded, which speaks for their lack of syntactic embedding, whereas causal linkages can, and are seen as syntactically embedded here.

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[6] This is not to say that the same utterance could be possibly put in a context where a reason relationship would be imaginable, such as in a magical fairy tale setting, where through a curse, somebody's presence at a place makes it rain, for example. As such a context was not given for elicitation, I am assuming here that there was no reason-related interpretation on the side of my language consultants.

[7] In Jejuan, differences between these temporal and causal *-nan* clauses reach through many of the examined finiteness. While authors such as Diessel and Hetterle (2011) observe that cross-linguistically, temporal clauses seem less independent than causal clauses, the Jejuan data tend to suggest the opposite. For reasons of space I cannot delve into this matter, yet it would be interesting to look for deeper reasons for why these differences exist on so many levels.

4.3.2.3. Morphological expression of information structure

As for the possibility of topicalisation in *-nan* linkages, temporal and causal linkage again show diverging behaviour. Whereas temporal *-nan* linkages allow for both constituents of the final and the non-final clause to be topicalised, in causal *-nan* linkages this is possible only for final clause constituents. In causal linkages, whether or not a *-nan* converb is tensed plays no role, although similar to *-ko* linkages, consultants uttered a general preference for untensed converbs.

(112) Causal *-nan* linkages

   a. Topicalisation of the final clause subject, jeju0156-05, 00:10:27

   [[ɛki=ka   kamt͡ɕə=lɨl   ta mək-ɨnan] [əməŋ=ɨn
   child=NOM sweet_potato=ACC all eat-CVB   mother=TOP

   kɨlisʰ=ɨl   t͡ɕʰiwa-n]]
   dish=ACC take_away-PST

   'Since the child ate all the sweet potatos, the mother (who we just talked about) took away the dish.'

   b. Topicalisation of the final clause object, EQ2015-12-17, HJG1 and JOS1, 12b)

   [ai=ka   kamt͡ɕə=lɨl   məkə-(sʰi)-nan] [t͡ɕɒpsʰi=nɨn
   child=NOM sweet_potato=ACC eat-PST-CVB   plate=TOP

   əməŋ=i   t͡ɕʰiwa-msʰə]
   mother=TOP take_away-PROG

   'Since the child has eaten all the sweet potatos, the mother is taking away that plate I mentioned.'

   c. Topicalisation of the non-final clause object, EQ2015-12-17, HJG1 and JOS1, 12a)

   *[kamt͡ɕə=nɨn   ai=ka   mɒn məkə(-sʰi)-nan] [əməŋ=i
   sweet_potato=TOP child=NOM all   eat(-PST)-CVB   mother=NOM

   t͡ɕɒpsʰi t͡ɕʰiwa-msʰə]
   plate   take_awa-PROG

   intended: 'As for the sweet potatos, since the child couldn't eat them, the mother took the plate away.'

As shown in ex. (112c), only constituents of the final clause can be topicalised, whereas constituents of the non-final clause are not topicalisable. Note that out of methodical reasons, it has not been successfully tested whether one can relativise the subject of the non-final clause as opposed to the object. As a matter of fact however, for temporal *-nan* linkages, there seems to be no difference in topicalisability between the non-final, and the final clause:

(113)   Temporal *-nan* linkages

    a. Topicalisation of final-clause subject, EQ2015-12-22, HGS1 and HYJ1, 9a)

        sʰumi=ka   t͡ɕip-i   ka-nan aitəl=in   pɒlʂə pap ta
        Sumi=NOM house-LOC go-CVB child=PL=TOP already rice all
        məkə-sʰ-ə-la
        eat-PST-EV.PST-DECL

        'When Sumi went home, her children had finished their meal already.'

    b. Topicalisation of final-clause object, EQ2015-12-22, HGS1 and HYJ1, 9b)

        sʰumi=ka   t͡ɕip-i   ka-nan pap=in   ai=təl=i   pɒlʂə
        Sumi=NOM house-LOC go-CVB rice=TOP child=PL=NOM already
        ta məkə-sʰ-ə-la
        all eat-PST-EV.PST-DECL

        'When Sumi went home, that meal, the children had eaten it already.'

    c. Topicalisation of non-final clause subject, EQ2015-12-22, HGS1 and HYJ1, 9c)

        sʰumi=nin t͡ɕip-i   ka-nan ai=təl=i   pap=il pɒlʂə ta
        Sumi=TOP house-LOC go-CVB child=PL=NOM already rice all
        məkə-sʰ-ə-la
        eat-PST-EV.PST-DECL

    d. Topicalisation of non-final clause object, EQ2015-12-22, HGS1 and HYJ1, 9e)

        pap=in   sʰumi=ka   ta mək-inan ai=təl=i   pɒlʂə tʰelepi
        rice=TOP sumi=NOM all eat-CVB   child=NOM already television
        pwa-msʰi-p-te-ta
        watch-PROG-POL-EV.PST-DECL

All of the four examples above were accepted, which shows that when compared to causal *-nan* linkages, *-nan* clause linkages in temporal interpretation allow for greater freedom in topicalising constituents.

4.3.2.4. Extraction through relativisation

With temporal *-nan* linkages relativisation of a constituent of any clause is not permitted. In a linkage of clauses with a transitive verb each, none of the the arguments of either predicate can be relativised:

(114) Temporal *-nan* clauses, EQ/EN2015-12-17, HJG1 and JOS1, 5a) - d)

    a. No relativisation

        sʰumi=ka   kaŋsʰeŋi=lil ʈɒli-nan olepi=ka
        Sumi=NOM dog=ACC   hit-CVB younger_brother=NOM
        əməŋ=il   pulːə-ə-la
        mother=ACC call-EV.PST-DECL

        'The moment when Sumi hit the dog, her younger brother called their mother.'

    b. Relativisation of final-clause subject

        *[[[sʰumi=ka kaŋsʰeŋi=lil ʈɒli=nan ___ əməŋ=il   pulː-in]
          Sumi=NOM dog=ACC   hit-CVB   mother=ACC call-ADN
        olepi=ka]   mak weə-msʰ-ə-la]
        younger_brother=NOM very cry-PROG-EV.PST-DECL

        intended: 'The little brother of Sumi's, who called out for their mother when Sumi hit their dog, was yelling very loudly.'

    c. Relativisation of final-clause object

        *[[[sʰumi=ka kaŋsʰeŋi=lil ʈɒli=nan olepi=ka   ___
          Sumi=NOM dog=ACC   hit-CVB   younger_brother=NOM
        pulː-in]   əməŋ=in]   təŋʈɕʰi=ka   mak kʰə-ə-la]
        call-ADN mother=TOP build=NOM very be_big-EV.PST-DECL

        intended: 'The mother, who the little brother of Sumi's called out for when she hit his dog, had a very big build.'

    d. Relativisation of non-final clause subject

        *[[[___ kasʰeŋi=lil ʈɒli=nan olepi=ka   əməŋ=il
               dog=ACC hit-CVB   younger_brother=NOM mother=ACC
        pulː-in]   sʰumi=nin] mak miwa-a-la]
        call-ADN Sumi=TOP very be_despicableEV.PST-DECL

        intended: 'Sumi, who when she it the dog, her brother immediately called their mother, was a very despicable person.'

    e. Relativisation of non-final clause object

        *[[[sʰumi=ka ___ ʈɒli=nan olepi=ka   əməŋ=il
          Sumi=NOM   hit-CVB   younger_brother=NOM mother=ACC
        pulː-in]   kaŋsʰeŋi=nin mak ʈɕukə-msʰ-ə-la]
        call-ADN dog=TOP   very bark-PROG-EV.PST-DECL

        intended: 'The dog, who when Sumi hit it, her brother called their mother for, was barking a lot.'

As shown above in ex. (114b) to (114e), relativisation is not possible in temporal *-nan* linkages.

By contrast, in causal *-nan* clause linkages, final clause constituents can be relativised, as the examples below show:

(115)   Causal *-nan* clauses, EQ2015-12-18/21, EN2015-12-21, HYJ1 and HGS1, 4c) - e)

    a.   Causal *-nan* clause linkage, after ex. (110e)

aɨ=ka   pap=ɨl   mak ţike   mək-inan əməŋ=i
child=NOM rice=ACC very slowly eat-CVB   mother=NOM
kɨlisʰ=ɨl   mot=t͡ɕʰiwa-msʰə
dish=ACC NEG.POT=take_away-PROG

'As the child is eating his meal very slowly, his mother cannot take away the dishes.'

    b.   Relativisation of subject of final clause

[[[aɨ=ka   pap=ɨl   mak ţike   mək-inan ____ kɨlisʰ=ɨl
  child=NOM rice=ACC very slowly eat-CVB   dish=ACC
mot=t͡ɕʰip-nɨn]   əməŋ=ɨn]   mak walimən
NEG.POT=take_away-ADN mother=TOP very hurry:CVB
tɛŋkiə-msʰi-p-te-ta
roam_around-PROG-POL-EV.PST-DECL

'The mother who couldn't take away the dishes as her child was eating so slowly, was roaming around in a hurry.'

    c.   Relativisation of object of final clause

[[[aɨ=ka   pap=ɨl   mak ţike   mək-inan əməŋ=i   ____
  child=NOM rice=ACC very slowly eat-CVB   mother=NOM
mot=t͡ɕʰip-nɨn]   kɨlisʰ=ɨn] kɒtik-in   ɲaŋ
NEG.POT=take_away-ADN dish=TOP be_full-ADN in_the_state_of
isʰ-ə-la]
EXIST.COP-EV.PST-DECL

'The dish that the mother could not take away as her child was eating so slowly, was there still practically full.'

Examples (115b) and (115c) show that the relativisation of final clause constituents is possible as opposed to temporal *-nan* clauses where such relativisation is banned.

As for the relativisation of non-final clause constituents, the following examples show that causal *-nan* linkages do not permit the relaitivisation of NFC NPs in object function.

(116)   Causal *-nan* clauses

    a.   Relativisation of object of non-final clause, EN2015-12-21

      *[[[ai̠=ka   ____   mak t̞ike   mək-inan əməŋ=i   kilisʰ=i̠l

        child=NOM   very slowly eat-CVB mother=NOM dish=ACC

      mot=t͡ɕʰip-nin]   pap=in]   …]

      NEG.POT=take_away-ADN rice=TOP

      intended: 'The rice that the mother couldn't take away the dish as the child was eating it so slowly...'

    b.   Relativisation of object of non-final clause, EQ/EN2015-12-17, 17c)

      *[[[ai=ka   ____   mɒn mək(-əsʰi)-nan] əməŋ=i   t͡ɕɒpsʰi

        child=NOM   all   eat(-PST)-CVB mother=NOM plate

      t͡ɕʰiu-n]   kamt͡ɕə=ka   mak masʰ

      take_away-ADN sweet_potato=NOM very taste

      t͡ɕo-a-la]

      be_good-EV.PST-DECL

      intended: 'The sweet potatos that the mother took away the plates because the child didn't want to eat them, were really tasty.'

Note that tense marking on converbs does not have an effect on the grammaticality of the above examples. Therefore, the presence or absence of tense marking does not seem to stand in close correlation with syntactic processes, quite in contrast to what has been frequently reported for Korean (e.g., in Rudnitskaya 1998).

4.3.3. Semantic characteristics

This section discusses the semantic properties of Jejuan *-nan* clauses.

4.3.3.1. Assertion properties

-nan clauses lack assertion in the speech act sense, since it is not through a *-nan* clause that an assertion is made, but rather through the final clause. In ex. (108a) and (108b), a *-nan* clause provides background information to the statement that is made in a final clause, independent of whether the speaker commits to its truthfulness or not. Thus from a morphological perspective, it is no surprise that declarative inflection is possible only in final-clause verb forms, yet not in the non-final clause.

4.3.3.2. Independence of temporal anchoring

As with previous morphosyntactic and semantic properties, Jejuan *-nan* clauses show a difference in temporal anchoring properties according to whether they are interpreted in a causal, or a temporal relationship.

(117) a. Causal *-nan* clause, Pear Story, jeju0060-05, HSH2, FLEx9

> *ani ani uli＝n   po-m＝tu   i＝kə   i*
> NEG NEG 1SG＝TOP see-NMLZ＝ADD DEM.PROX＝thing DEM.PROX
>
> *haksʰeŋ o-nan   i＝kə   sʰinki   hə-ke*
> student come-CVB DEM.PROX＝thing fascination do-CVB
>
> *poa-msʰ-t͡ɕu, poa po-n   t͡ɕək əsʰ-ta*
> see-PROG-STN see try-ADN TIME NEG.EXIST
>
> 'No no, we're seeing that being all amazed because of the student having come here, I've never watched such a thing before.'

b. Temporal *-nan* clause, Frog Story, jeju0052-03, HJG1, FLEx49

> *nat͡ɕuŋ＝e koke tɨlɨ-nan tə   ai＝pa   t͡ɕiə-n*
> later＝LOC head lift-CVB more NEG＝pull_out AUX.MOD-PST
>
> 'Later when it [i.e., the dog] lifted its head, it would even be harder to pull out [of the bottle].'

In ex. (117a) above we have a causal *-nan* linkage, and in (117b) a temporal linkage. In (117a), the final clause ending in the predicate *poa-msʰ-t͡ɕu*, see-PROG-STN, 'of course [we] see it'[8], has its anchoring in the present as it describes the speaker's watching the Pear Story for the first time at the moment of utterance. The *-nan* clause has no overt tense marking, yet the event of the student (that is, the author) coming to Jeju Island is interpreted to temporally precede the final clause event. So as opposed to the final clause event, the *-nan* clause event can be temporally located in the past with respect to utterance time, and crucially, independently of the final clause event. This is taken as evidence for the fact that causal *-nan* clauses may have independent temporal anchoring.

Although due to the ontology of reason-consequence semantics, the *-nan* clause event describing a reason often temporally precedes the consequence event, yet this does not mean that the reason event could not be ongoing alongside the consequence event: In (110e), we have a *-nan* clause event which runs all along the time that the final clause event is ongoing: Sumi cannot take away the dish as long as Cheolsu is eating. Here the temporal anchoring of the *-nan* is not independent, as it is interpreted within the scope of the event time of the final clause

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[8] The following clause after the comma is just a separate finite clause, and has been shown here to aid contextualisation.

event. Thus we see that the temporal anchoring of causal *-nan* clauses is not always independent, yet depending on the context it may be.

Temporal *-nan* clauses, by contrast, are never independently anchored. If we look at (111a), (111c) and (117b) above, the event time of the *-nan* clause event always depends on the final clause event time: the inherent semantics of a temporal *-nan* linkage give rise to a dependence of temporal reference, since in the moment the 'temporal *-nan* event' happens, the final clause event sets in, or has been ongoing in the background and is now being brought into the discourse.[9] The temporal location of the *-nan* clause event, however, depends on the tense-aspect encoding of the final clause verb. If the final clause verb is inflected for any kind of past tense, then the temporal *-nan* event will lie in the past, and if the final clause verb is anchored in the present, the *-nan* event will have its anchoring in the present, too.

Since temporal *-nan* clauses always have dependent temporal anchoring, whereas causal *-nan* clauses can potentially be independently anchored (even without morphological inflection as in ex. (117a)), in table 5, Chapter 5 I am counting causal *-nan* clauses as permitting independent temporal anchoring, whereas this is not given for temporal *-nan* clauses.

4.3.3.3. Information structuring

Parallel to the findings explained in section 4.3.2.3, I conclude that there is a difference in information structuring between *-nan* clauses in temporal and causal interpretation, namely that a *-nan* clause with temporal meaning has internal information structuring, whereas a *-nan* in a causal linkage does not. As shown in (113c) and (113d), this is indicated by the fact that a *-nan* clause in temporal interpretation admits topicalisation, whereas topicalisation is not possible in causally interpreted *-nan* clauses (ex. (112c)).

4.3.4. Summary of chracteristics

Jejuan *-nan* clauses show a few characteristics that set them apart from all other clause types. First of all, they are the only clause type attested so far which exclusively seem to have different-subject reference, while other different-subject clause types can also have same-subject reference. Moreover, *-nan* clauses can be

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[9] In other words, another paraphrase for such a dependent state of affairs may thus be, using (111a): 'at the time when my younger sister was spreading out the grains to dry, that's when I arrived at home'.

interpreted as describing reasons or causes, or as describing a temporal relationship that has to do with the change of narrative.

Except for subject reference and assertion properties, this is the only clause type where semantic interpretation correlates with differences on all levels examined here: temporal *-nan* clauses cannot be headed by inflected converbs, show no signs of syntactic embedding, can express information structure and admit no extraction through relativisation, showing no independent temporal anchoring.

Causal *-nan* are on the opposite side: they are inflectable, can be centre-embedded, do not express information structure morphosyntactically and are therefore seen as not having internal information structuring. Final clause constituents can be relativised, yet adverbial clause constituents cannot, and the adverbial clause can have its independent temporal anchoring. Thus similar to studies on Korean *-ko* clauses, we see that what seems to be the same converb on the surface can actually have divergent morphosyntactic properties depending on semantic interpretation.

Already at this point of the data description we see mismatches between properties that are traditionally thought to match in 'non-finite' and 'finite' clauses. For example, causal *-nan* clauses are syntactically embedded, and their internal constituent order (and morphological marking) is opaque to information-structural processes, shown here through the impossibility of topicalisation. Moreover, I have shown that extractability behaviour is asymmetric, which is expected from tradtional cases of 'clausal subordination' as opposed to 'coordination'. Although these properties are expected in case we are looking for typical signs of 'non-finiteness', causal *-nan* clauses license their own subject independently, can exhibit overt tense marking and can be independently anchored in time. On the contrary, temporal *-nan* clauses cannot be embedded, blocking of extraction is symmetric, and the clause permits syntactic topicalisation and its morphosyntactic manifestations. While these characteristics would be more typical of 'finite clauses', this clause type shows no independent temporal anchoring, and its head verb cannot be inflected. Thus we already see that there are mismatches between the finiteness properties examined on multiple levels, which will be discussed on a more general level in chapter 5.

4.4. -ŋ clauses

Converbs in *-ŋ* clauses describe a wide range of meanings similar to *-ko* converbs, and are among the most important narrative devices to link clauses. Occasionally

occurring in semantically unrelated, asyndetic function, this clause type mainly describes relationships of temporal succession obtaining between events, reason relationships, or the manner of actions. Given the fairly wide range of meaning, this converb is ubiquitous in Jejuan speech, as the examples below show.

(118) a. jeju0048, YYU1

   tɨlɨ=e=man   sʰiə-ŋ   kɨ=kə   pekʰetʰːiməŋ=e ṭə
   wild=LOC=ONLY EXIST.COP-CVB that=thing wall_gap=LOC scoop

   ka-ŋ   ṣi   tʰələtɕi-min   motulaki   na-mʲən
   go-CVB seed fall-CVB.COND in_bunches appear-CVB.COND

   oḳosʰ   tɨlə   sʰə-kine...
   in_no_time enter stand-CVB

   'So it [Allium monanthum, Korean Wild Chive] exists only in the wild and if you take it and put into your garden wall and the seeds fall out, when it grows into bundles it reaches up like this in no time and...'

   b. SYU1, jeju0048

   əṭən   halɨpaŋ, t͡ɕil   ejəm=e atɕa-ŋ, kɨ   ḳʷəŋmanoŋ
   which old_man street side-LOC sit-CVB that Allium_monanthum

   peŋtoŋkolːak peŋtoŋkolːak t͡ɕɒpsʰi=e noa-ŋ,   jolokʰe   noa-kineŋe
   round   round   plate-LOC put-CVB this_way put-CVB

   [...] pʰɒla
       sell

   'There is an old man, he sits on the side of the street, puts the Korean Wild Chive on round plates, puts them like this on plates [circling gesture] and sells them.'

   c. YYU1, jeju0048

   kenti nəmi pənt͡ɕiə   pulə-ŋ   an=tʷeə
   but   too get_weakly AUX.PERF-CVB NEG=become

   'But [growing Allium monanthum indoors] does not work because they get too weakly.'

In (118a), the first *-ŋ* converb, *sʰiə-ŋ*, EXIST.COP-CVB, is used to juxtapose information, whereas the following *-ŋ* linkage headed by the serial verb *ṭə ka-ŋ*, scoop go-CVB, expresses the temporal sequence of digging out a plant, putting it somewhere, and it growing on the new spot.

The first converb of (118b), *atɕa-ŋ*, sit-CVB, shows how this converb can also be used to depict the manner of the action described in the final clause, which here would be the act of selling plants. Here, it is specified that the man sold the plants from a sitting posture. The second converb, *noa-ŋ*, put-CVB heads a clause which describes the action of putting the plants on plates, and here, the event of

the following clause is understood to be succeeding this event. The placement of the plants along the rim of the metal plates (described by the speaker with circling gestures) shown in the clause headed by *noa-kineŋe*, put-CVB, specifies the way in which the plants are arranged for sale, which brings them close the description of manner.

Finally, in (118c), the clause headed by the complex predicate *pən͡tɕiə pulə-ŋ*, get_weakly AUX.PERF-CVB, describes the reason for why keeping these plants indoors would not work, which is a judgment given in the final clause. Thus the three examples above already show a variety of meanings that this converb can express.

As I will explain in Section 4.4.2, the variety of meaning interpretations of *-ŋ* converbs relates to subject reference properties insofar as this converb predominantly occurs in same-subject reference contexts, yet when a converb is interpreted in a cause/reason relation, different-subject reference is found as well (see Section 4.4.2 for more). However, as different semantic interpretations do not seem to have an effect on the morphosyntax of this clause linkage, I will confine myself to a discussion of different-subject, causal, *-ŋ* clauses, and same-subject *-ŋ* with mainly temporally sequential meaning interpretation.

4.4.1. Morphological characteristics

-ŋ do not inflect like other inflectable converbs in a sense that the regular tense-aspect-mood suffixes are agglutinated to the verb. In this sense, *-ŋ* converbs are not inflectable, and are treated as such in this thesis. Similar to *-taŋ* converbs, they show a multiplicity of morphemic variants which seem largely interchangeable (at least in controlled elicitation). As attested so far, there are about six variants for this converb, *-ŋ, -n, -ne, -kin, -kine* and *-kineŋe/-kineŋa*. While *-kine* (e.g., ex. (118a)) and *-kineŋe*[10] generally seem to be exchangeable with any variant of *-ŋ*, the variants *-n* and *-ne* tend not to occur when the final clause verb inflects for an irrealis category.

Thus part of the variation seems to be due to interaction with the morphology that the final-clause verb inflects for. Roughly spoken, whenever a final-clause verb inflects for imperative illocutionary force (that is, morphological imperative, or hortative) or for irrealis mood (that is, irrealis, volitonal or intentional inflec-

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[10] The speaker HYJ1 who previously lived in a village to the East of Jimnyeong (Gimnyeong, Gujwa-Eup) uses the form *-kineŋa*, a village that is closer to Cheongsan (Seongsan, Seongsan-Eup) at the Eastern tip of Jeju Island, where this form was informally noted as well. These two are therefore considered dialectal variants.

tion), the variants *-n* and *-ne* are usually rejected by speakers during elicitation, and *-ŋ* becomes the only option[11].

(119) a. EN2015-11-10, HJG1 and JOS1, 1.1)

> *na=n   əti   ka-ŋ/*-n il   poa-ŋ/*-n o-kʰi-ə*
> 1SG=TOP somewhere go-CVB   errand see-CVB   come-IRR-DECL

> 'I'll go somewhere, take care of something and come back!'

> 'I would go somewhere, take care of something and come back!'

   b. EN2015-11-13, HGS1, 1c)

> *sʰumi=ja,   tɛt͡ɕʰukpuleki sʰɒlma-ŋ/*-n asʰi-t͡ɕʰip=i*
> Sumi=VOC, corn   steam-CVB   younger_sister-house=LOC
> *ka-la*
> go-IMP

> 'Sumi, steam some corn and go to your younger sister's place!'

   c. Pear Story, YSH2, jeju0063-01-02, FLEx 92

> *jəlme tʰa-n   sʰik̚-ə   at͡ɕə-n   ka-msʰ-ə*
> fruit pick-CVB load-CVB take-CVB go-PROG-DECL

> 'They are picking the fruit and taking it away loaded [on a bike].'

   d. Pear Story, YSH2, jeju0063-01-02, FLEx 10

> *uli pəsʰ   he-ŋ   ka-ke!*
> 1PL friends do-CVB go-HORT

> 'Let's go as friends!'

   e. Pear Story, YSH2, jeju0063-01-02, FLEx 296

> *ikə   jəŋ   hea-ŋ ni=ne   kohʲaŋ   at͡ɕə-ŋ   ka-lkə?*
> DEM.PROX like_this do-CVB 2SG=SOC homestead take-CVB go-INT

> 'Do you intend to intend to take this with you to your home after you're done?'

However, looking at spontaneous utterances, there are still a few cases when the above conclusion does not seem to hold:

(120) a. jeju0040, HYJ1, 09:57

> *ikə jɒla-ŋ   ələ-ŋ   mosʰ   t͡ɕa-p-ne-ta*
> this open-CVB be_cold-CVB NEG.POT sleep-POL-PRS-DECL

> 'Opening this, I can't sleep since I get cold.'

---

[11] That is, alongside *-kine* and *-kineŋe* whose occurrence does not seem to be conditioned by the matrix clause verb morphology.

b. jeju0169-10, HYJ1, 02:45

ehʲu pap = i   sʰələ-n   mot   mək-kʰi-ə
oh   rice = NOM be_raw-CVB NEG.POT eat-IRR-DECL
'Oh, I can't eat the rice because it's half-cooked.'

In (120a), the matrix clause verb *mək-* is inflected for present tense. This context is similar to (119c) where the final-clause verb has present tense reference (yet here, only progressive aspect is overtly marked), yet in (120a) we find *-ŋ* marking on the non-final clause verb, as opposed to *-n* marking on the non-final clause verb in (119c). The latter case would be expected if we count present tense as belonging to a 'realis mood' category. Still, as (120b) shows, although consultants reject examples in elicitation where irrealis marking on the final-clause verb and *-n* marking on the non-final clause verb co-occur, in a few cases this occurrence is attestable in spontaneous utterances.

The above evidence shows that despite a tendency for *-ŋ* to occur only when the final-clause verb is inflected for irrealis mood or non-declarative illocutionary force such as imperative, there must be something beyond the properties of the final clause that plays a role in the distribution of the *-ŋ/-n* marking. Clearly, there is not much evidence to assume that in Jejuan the tense-aspect system is subject to a realis-irrealis opposition. This question, however, will not be pursued further in this thesis, and be left open for future investigations (cf. Song S.-J. 2011, Hong J.-R. 2001). Thus for the purposes of this thesis, in chapter 5, *-ŋ* clause linkages will be seen as uninflectable with respect to the criteria C-3 to C-6 presented in section 3.4.

4.4.2. Syntactic characteristics

This section analyses the syntactic properties of *-nti* clauses.

4.4.2.1. Subject reference properties

-nti linkages occur with both different- and same-subject reference, as the following examples show.

(121)   a.   Different subject, jeju0166-12, HGS1, 01:00

sʰumi = ka   pap atɕ͡-tɕi-əsʰi-nti   jəŋhɨi = ka   kuksʰu
Sumi = NOM rice sit-CAUS-PST-CVB Yeonghi = NOM noodles
sʰɒlma-msʰə
boil-PROG

'Sumi put on some rice to cook, but Yeonghi is boiling noodles.'

b. Same subject, jeju0169-09, HYJ1, 01:20

pap = ɨl   t͡ɕal məkə-msʰi-nti toŋsʰu = ka   kuk = ɨl
rice = ACC well eat-PROG-CVB Dongsu = NOM soup = ACC

hɒ̞kom = man kəliə-ŋ   məkə-msʰə
little = ONLY scoop-CVB eat-PROG

'Eating a lot of rice, Dongsu is eating only a bit of the soup.'

I now turn to the centre-embedding of *-nti* clauses. There, I show that there is no correlation between subject reference and the status of syntactic embedding.

4.4.2.2. Status of syntactic embedding

Regardless of subject reference, *-nti* clauses do not show signs of syntactic embedding in another clause. As shown below, centre-embedding an *-nti* clause leads to ungrammaticality:

(122) a. Different subject, jeju0166-12, HGS1, 01:12, nesting of (121a)

*[jəŋhɨi = ka   [sʰumi = ka pap at͡ɕ-t͡ɕi-əsʰi-nti]   kuksʰu
Yeonghi = NOM Sumi = NOM rice sit-CAUS-PST-CVB noodles

sʰɒlma-msʰə]
boil-PROG

intended: 'Yeonghi, although Sumi put on rice, is boiling noodles.'

b. Different subject, jeju0166-12, HGS1, 02:35, nesting of (121a)

*[jəŋhɨi = ka   kuksʰu = lɨl   [sʰumi = ka pap at͡ɕ-t͡ɕi-əsʰi-nti]
Yeonghi = NOM noodles = ACC Sumi = NOM rice sit-CAUS-PST-CVB

sʰɒlma-msʰə]
boil-PROG

intended: 'Yeonghi, although Sumi put on rice, is boiling noodles.'

c. Same subject, jeju0169-09, HYJ, 02:34, nesting of (121b)

*[toŋsʰu = ka   kuk = ɨl   [pap = ɨl   t͡ɕal məkə-msʰi-nti]
Dongsu = NOM soup = ACC rice = ACC well eat-PROG-CVB

hɒ̞kom = man məkə-msʰə]
little = ONLY eat-PROG

intended: 'Dongsu, while eating a lot of rice, is eating only a bit of the soup.'

In different-subject contexts, the impossibility of centre-embedding of *-nti* clauses is fairly evident, as shown in (122a) and (122b). In same-subject contexts, a bit of additional testing is required.

Similar to other linkage types, an alternative structure to (121b) is one where the subject NP is at the left edge of the whole clause linkage. Here, one may construe that subject NP to be a non-final clause constituent:

(123) a. Alternative to (121b): subject as NFCC

    ?[toŋsʰu＝ka   pap＝il   t͡ɕal məkə-msʰi-nti] [kuk＝il
    Dongsu＝NOM rice＝ACC well eat-PROG-CVB soup＝ACC
    hɒ̥kom＝man kəliə-ŋ   məkə-msʰə]
    little＝ONLY scoop-CVB eat-PROG

    'Eating a lot of rice, Dongsu is eating only a bit of the soup.'

   b. Alternative to (121b): subject as FCC

    ?[toŋsʰu＝ka   [pap＝il   t͡ɕal məkə-msʰi-nti] kuk＝il
    Dongsu＝NOM rice＝ACC well eat-PROG-CVB soup＝ACC
    hɒ̥kom＝man kəliə-ŋ   məkə-msʰə]
    little＝ONLY scoop-CVB eat-PROG

    'Eating a lot of rice, Dongsu is eating only a bit of the soup.'

There are two arguments against an analysis which would treat the same subject in (123a) as a final-clause constituent, and therefore the whole structure as a centre-embedded structure. Firstly, (122c) has already shown that embeddding a *-nti* clause between a FC object and the FC verb is not possible. Concluding that centre-embedding in the form of (123b) is not possible would neatly fit into a more general observation that *-nti* clauses are not embedded by virtue of lacking the ability to be centre-embedded at all. Secondly, as I will show in the next section, evidence from scrambling as a means of topicalising non-subject arguments in *-nti* clauses, shows that the only analysis possible in this case would be the one proposed in (123a).

4.4.2.3. Morphosyntactic expression of information structure

With respect to topicalisation tests, there are no asymmetries observed between non-final *-nti* clauses and their respective final clauses. Below I am providing evidence from topicalisation tests.

(124) a. DS, topicalisation of NFC object, EN 2015-12-24, HGS1 and HYJ1

    pap＝in   sʰumi＝ka pəl̥ʂə at͡ɕ-t͡ɕi-ə   noa-sʰi-nti
    rice＝TOP Sumi＝NOM already sit-CAUS-CVB put-PST-CVB
    jəŋhïi＝ka   kuksʰu sʰɒlma-msʰ-ə-la
    Yeonghi＝NOM noodles boil-PROG-EV.PST-DECL

    'As for the rice, Sumi had already put it on, but Yeonghi was boiling the noodles.'

b. DS, topicalisation of FC object, EN 2015-12-24, HGS1 and HYJ1

> *sʰumi=ka   pap at͡ɕ-t͡ɕi-ə   noa-sʰi-nti   kuksʰu=nin*
> Sumi=NOM rice sit-CAUS-CVB put-PST-CVB noodles=TOP
> *jəŋhɨi=ka   sʰɒlma-msʰ-ə-la*
> Yeonghi=NOM boil-PROG-EV.PST-DECL

'Sumi put on the rice, but the noodles, Yeonghi was boiling them.'

c. SS, topicalisation of NFC object, jeju0169-09, HYJ1, 05:03

> *pap=ɨn   t͡ɕal məkə-msʰi-nti toŋsʰu=ka   kuk=ɨl*
> rice=TOP well eat-PROG-CVB Dongsu=NOM soup=ACC
> *hɒk̚om=man kəliə-ŋ   məkə-msʰə*
> little=ONLY scoop-CVB eat-PROG

'The rice, [heᵢ] is eating a lot, but Dongsuᵢ is eating only a bit of the soup.'

d. SS, topicalisation of FC object, jeju0169-09, HYJ1, 05:03

> *pap=ɨl   t͡ɕal məkə-msʰi-nti kuk=ɨn   toŋsʰu=ka*
> rice=ACC well eat-PROG-CVB soup=TOP Dongsu=NOM
> *hɒk̚om=man t̚ə   məkə-msʰə*
> little=ONLY scoop eat-PROG

'[He's]ᵢ eating a lot of rice, but the soup, Dongsuᵢ only is eating a bit of it.'

The above examples show that both in different-subject and same-subject contexts, topicalisation of object arguments is possible. The reason that object topicalisation is shown here is that object topicalisation involves fronting of the object NP to clause-initial position, whereas subjects are topicalised in-situ, most typically by means of the topic particle =*nɨn*/=*laŋ*.

As mentioned in section 4.4.2.2, this topicalisation can be used to show that in an alternative structure, the same subject in a -*nti* need not always be a final clause constituent as (124c) or (124d) may suggest, but it can also be realised as a non-final clause constituent. This is shown in the topicalisation example below.

(125) a. after EN2015-12-25, 10c)

> *toŋsʰu=ka   pap=ɨl   t͡ɕal məkə-msʰi-nti kuk=ɨn*
> Dongsu=NOM rice=ACC well eat-PROG-CVB soup=TOP
> *t͡ɕok̚om=man məkə-n*
> little=ONLY eat-PST

'Dongsu is eating a lot of rice, but he's eaten only a bit of soup.'

b. jeju0169-09, HYJ1, after 05:40

pap=ɨn   toŋsʰu=ka   t͡ɕal məkə-msʰi-nti kuk=ɨl
rice=TOP Dongsu=NOM well eat-PROG-CVB soup=ACC

hɒ̟kom=man t̬ə   məkə-msʰə
little=ONLY scoop eat-PROG

'As for the rice, Dongsu is eating a lot, but he's eating only a bit of soup.'

Ex. (125b) clearly shows how the subject NP in a structure as in (125a) must be construed as a non-final clause constituent, since otherwise structures as in (125b) would not be possible, unless we assume that a) *pap=ɨn*, rice=TOP is in some sentence-initial topic position outside the non-final clause itself, yet within the domain of a complex clause, and b) the *-nti* clause is nested between the same subject and the rest of the final clause.

If we assumed a topic position at the leftmost position of a complex sentence, yet structurally outside the domain of the non-final clause domain, it would imply that that very position is independent of the non-final or final clause domain (after all, *papɨn* above cannot be a final clause constituent since the verb already has its own object). If so, it should be possible to have not only the non-final clause object in this hypothetical position, but also the final clause object. Consultants however strongly objected to such examples:

(126) jeju0069-09, HYJ1, 06:31

*kuk=ɨn   [pap=ɨl   t͡ɕal məkə-msʰi-nti], [toŋsʰu=ka   ____
soup=TOP rice=ACC well eat-PROG-CVB Dongsu=NOM

hɒ̟kom=man t̬ə   məkə-msʰə]
little=ONLY scoop eat-PROG

intended: 'As for the soup_i, he's eating a lot of rice, but Dongsu is eating only a bit of it_i.'

Moreover, if there was a linkage-external topic position common to the whole complex sentence, one could have the whole linkage in a nested version and then the final clause object rendered in that sentence-initial position, but this does not seem to work either:

(127) HYJ1, jeju0069-09, 07:03

*[kuk=ɨn   [toŋsʰu=ka   [pap=ɨl   t͡ɕal məkə-msʰi-nti] ____
soup=TOP Dongsu=NOM rice=ACC well eat-PROG-CVB

hɒ̟kom=man t̬ə   məkə-msʰə]]]
little=ONLY scoop eat-PROG

intended: 'As for the soup_i, he's eating a lot of rice, but Dongsu is eating only a bit of it_i.'

As shown above in (127) however, there is no evidence to assume that in example (125b) the same subject is a final clause constituent, and that the non-final clause constituent *pap*, 'rice' stands at the left edge of the whole complex clause in some supposed topic position outside of both clauses. A much simpler way to explain structures such as (125b) would be to say that both the non-final and final clauses in a -*nti* linkage may be subject to information-structural processes such as topicalisation, and that in both clauses, the clause-initial position serves as the usual topic position. The important conclusion here is that each clause retains its own topic position, with no restriction regarding this in either clause.

Therefore, in (125b) the same-subject NP is clearly a non-final clause constituent. Thus returning to the question of syntactic embedding, topicalisation tests show us that both different-subject and same-subject -*nti* clauses do not show signs of syntactic embedding. This, then, is not surprising given that we otherwise do not see differences in properties between different-subject and same-subject contexts in -*nti* clauses. Moreover, based on the above evidence, I conclude that there are no non-final clause-specific restrictions on the morphosyntactic expression of information structure.

4.4.2.4. Extraction through relativisation

-*nti* clauses do not allow for extraction of one of their constituents through relativisation, whereas final clauses consistently do. This is independent of whether a -*nti* linkage has different-subject, or same-subject reference.

(128) a. Different subject, rel. of final-clause constituent, EN 2015-12-24

    [[kɨ   sʰumi=ka   pap at͡ɕ-t͡ɕi-ə   noa-sʰi-nti
    DEM.DIST Sumi=NOM rice sit-CAUS-CVB put-PST-CVB
    jəŋhii=ka   ____ sʰɒlm-a no-n]   kuksʰu=nɨn]
    Yeonghi=NOM   boil-CVB put-ADN noodle=TOP
    nom=antʰi   matʰ-in   kə=la
    other_person=DAT receive-ADN thing=DECL

    'The noodles that Yeonghi boiled although Sumi had already put on the rice, they got it from someone else.'

    b. Different subject, rel. of non-final clause constituent, EN 2015-12-24

    *[kɨ   [sʰumi=ka ____ at͡ɕ-t͡ɕi-ə   noa-sʰi-nti
    DEM.DIST Sumi=NOM   sit-CAUS-CVB put-PST-CVB
    jəŋhii=ka   kuksʰu sʰɒlm-a no-n]   pap=i]   mak
    Yeonghi=NOM noodles boil-CVB put-ADN rice=NOM very
    sʰəl-ə-la
    be_uncooked-EV.PST-DECL

intended: 'That rice that Sumi had put on, yet in spite of which Yeonghi had boiled noodles, was still uncooked.'

c. Same subject, rel. of FCC, jeju0169-10, HYJ1, 01:10

[[pap = ɨl t͡ɕal məkə-msʰi-nti toŋsʰu = ka ___ hɒk̚om = man
rice = ACC well eat-PROG-CVB Dongsu = NOM little = ONLY

t̚ə mək-tan] kuk = i] nəmi t͡ɕa-t-en
scoop eat-ADN.EV.PST soup = NOM too be_salty-DECL-QUOT

kɒl-a-la
say-EV.PST-DECL

'The soup of which Dongsu only ate a bit although he ate a lot of rice, he said that it was too salty.'

d. Same subject, rel. of NFCC, jeju0169-10, HYJ1, 01:47

*[[___ t͡ɕal məkə-msʰi-nti toŋsʰu = ka kuk = ɨl hɒk̚om = man
well eat-PROG-CVB Dongsu = NOM soup = ACC little = ONLY

t̚ə mək-tan] pap = i] mak
scoop eat-ADN.EV.PST rice = NOM very

sʰələ-sʰ-ə-l-en
be_uncooked-PST-EV.PST-DECL-QUOT

intended: 'He says that she said the rice that Dongsu had eaten a lot although he ate only a bit of soup, was very uncooked.'

Ex. (128b) and (128d) show that as opposed to final clauses, *-nti* clauses do not allow for the relativisation of one of their constituents. As I will discuss later in section 5, *-nti* clauses are opaque to relativisation, although they are not syntactically embedded, which is interesting since opacity to processes such as relativisation is commonly believed to be linked to the presence of syntactic embedding, a crucial criterion for embedded clauses.

4.4.3. Semantic characteristics

This section addresses the semantic properties of *-ŋ* clauses.

4.4.3.1. Assertion

With respect to the assertive speech act, an *-ŋ* clause is not asserted, as the speaker does not commit to the truth of a proposition encoded by such as clause, but rather to the truth of the final clause proposition:

(129)   jeju0040, HGS1, 09:22

    aiko na=nɨn   ít͡ɕʰuluk ʈeə-ŋ=ɨn=:i   sʰal-t͡ɕi   mosʰ
    oh   1SG=TOP like_this heat-CVB=TOP=right? live-COMP NEG.POT
    hə-n-ta
    do-PRS-DECL
    'Oh you know, I myself cannot live like this, heating up [a room].'

What the speaker asserts in (129) above is not the fact that the room is heated as described by the -*ŋ* clause, but rather that she cannot live in such a room. In the conversation that HGS1 maintains with her friend HYJ1 who likes well-heated floors, both participants are well aware of HYJ1's propensity for over-engaged heating, which HGS1 is referring to. In this sense, the proposition realised by -*ŋ* is not asserted, and whether or not the speaker commits to its truthfulness or not, is not part of the grammatical information conveyed by a -*ŋ* clause.

4.4.3.2. Independence of temporal anchoring

Even though -*ŋ* clauses are not overtly marked for tense, their semantics allows for independent temporal anchoring, as the following example shows (additionally, consider ex. (119c) from section 4.4.1) :

(130)   jeju0052-03, Frog Story, HJG1, FLEx161

    kɒkepi t͡ɕʰɒt͡ɕ-t͡ɕi   mot   heə-n   kɨnjaŋ kɒkepi=ka ít͡ɕe=n
    frog   find-COMP NEG.POT do-CVB.REAL just   frog=NOM now=TOP
    tu   mɒli=ka   isʰə-n
    two animal.CLF=NOM EXIST.COP-PST
    'Not having been able to find the frog before, now there were two frogs!'

In ex. (118b) above, the two events of looking for the frog and discovering two frogs are clearly located on different points on the timeline.[12] While the event of searching for the frog lies in the past, resulting in the abandonement of this activity, the event of discovering the frog again in company of another clearly lies in the present, indicated by the topic-marked time adverbial *ít͡ɕe=n,* now=TOP. Similarly, in ex. (119c) on page 172, the event of picking fruit lies in the past, yet the event of carrying away the fruit on a bike is clearly anchored in the present.

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[12] Note that we have a case of morphological homophony here where the final clause verb inflects for past tense which looks the same as the -*n* variant of the -*ŋ* converb. However, the distribution of these morphemes differs from each other, and also, from a prosodic perspective, the past tense -*n* shows a steeply falling intonation which is typical for the end of a declarative, final clause. See Ko Y.-L. (2009).

4.4.3.3. Information structuring

In section **??** topicalisation was shown to be possible in different-subject and same-subject *-ŋ* linkages. The evidence for same-subject linkages was less clear, since the examples found which allow for topicalisation have a meaning relationship similar to inconsequential linkages (cf. ex. (**??**)), and it is not clear whether this particular meaning relationship yields any syntactic properties which set it apart from others with same-subject reference.

In any case, this does show that information structural processes operate independently of subject reference, and that more particularly, topicalisation is possible in *-ŋ* linkages. I conclude that therefore, *-ŋ* clauses must have internal information structuring just as a fully finite, final clause does, since without that internal information structuring processes such as topicalisation would not be realisable.

4.4.4. Summary of characteristics

-ŋ clauses can appear in both different-subject (DS) and same-subject (SS) contexts, although there are only minor morphosyntactic differences in finiteness between these contexts. Different-subject contexts obviously allow for independent subject licensing, yet their status of syntactic embedding is not entirely clear. Since differences in embeddability may be due to some yet unknown semantic factors, they have been classified as syntactically embedded in this thesis, although this should be taken with a grain of salt.

Similarly, same-subject *-ŋ* clauses cannot be unanimously said to be embedded or not, but rather, this depends on whether the same subject is a non-final clause constituent or final constituent. While the standard assumption for clausal embedding is that the subject is a constituent of the final clause (which in turn enables the conclusions drawn from centre-embedding), various scoping tests have shown that the subject can be a *-ŋ* clause constituent, too. In these cases, the *-ŋ* clause cannot be shown to be embedded.

With respect to the subject licensing criterion, however, I explained in Section 3.4 that with respect to finiteness, it is *independent* subject licensing that is crucial for the current study, and that this is why DS contexts are still seen to be more canonically finite than SS contexts.

4.5. -kəni clauses

Clauses linked by *-kəni* converbs describe events that follow immediately after one another:

(131) a. Jejuan, EQ/EN2015-11-13, HGS1, 5a), after Kang (2007: 73)

   hɛ t͡ɕi-kəni tɒl tʰɨ-n-ta
   sun set-CVB.IMM moon rise-PRS-DECL
   'Right after the sun has set, the moon rises.'

  b. Korean

   t͡ɕip-e tot͡ɕʰak ha-t͡ɕamat͡ɕa t͡ɕa-lə ka-s̤-ə=jo
   home-LOC arrival do-CVB.IMM sleep-CVB go-PST-ILLOC-POL
   'We went to bed right after arriving home.'

As in example (131a), the moon is perceived to rise directly after the sun has set. In Korean, there is a similar morpheme *-t͡ɕamat͡ɕa*, shown in (131b).

As opposed to other converbs described here, *-kəni* converbs occur fairly rarely, and speakers estimate that they do not get to use or hear this converb very often. Interestingly, this converbs only occurs once in a row, while others such as *-nti* or *-ŋ* can occur multiple times in a row. The reasons for this observation remain to be explored.

4.5.1. Morphological characteristics

-kəni converbs belong to the class of uniflectable converbs. As such, they do not inflect for any of the tense-aspect-mood categories shown to be possible in section A.2.17.5. The example below takes (131a) from the previous section to show that no inflection is possible:

(132) EQ/EN2015-11-14, HYJ1 and HGS1, 1a)

  *hɛ=ka *t͡ɕiə-sʰ-kəni/*t͡ɕiə-msʰ-kəni tʰɒl=i*
  sun=NOM set-PST-CVB.IMM/set-PROG-CVB.IMM moon=NOM
  tʰɨ-n-ta
  rise-PRS-DECL

As shown above in ex. (132), *-kəni* converbs belong to the group of uninflectable converbs, yet as one of the points made in this thesis (see Chapter 6), the possibility of impossibility of morphological inflection does not predict correlations with syntactic-semantic properties in ways valid for all Jejuan converbs.

4.5.2. Syntactic characteristics

This section deals with the syntactic properties of *-kəni* linkages.

4.5.2.1. Subject reference properties

-kəni converbs can license their own subjects independent of a final clause, which is why this linkage type occurs with both different-subject and same-subject reference.

(133) a. Same-subject, EQ/EN 2015-12-30, HYJ1 and HGS1, 5b)

meŋtʰeŋi t͡ɕɒl-kəni toŋsʰu=ka pasʰ=ti
seed_basket weave-CVB.IMM Dongsu=NOM field=LOC
ka-p-te-ta
go-POL-EV.PST-DECL
'As soon as Dongsu had finished weaving his little seed basket, he went out to the field.'

An example for different-subject reference has been shown in ex. (131a).

4.5.2.2. Syntactic status of embedding

Evidence suggests that *-kəni* linkages are nestable regardless of whether they have different-subject or same-subject reference, yet this does not imply that in the case of same-subject reference, the subject cannot be rendered as a constituent of the *-kəni* clause, that is, there is no structural ban on a *-kəni* clause maintaining a subject position.

(134) a. Different-subject, non-nested, EQ/EN 2015-12-30, HGS1 and HYJ1, 8a), jeju0173-04, 11:00

sʰumi=ka uju=lil masʰi-kəni əməŋ=i t͡ɕan=il
Sumi=NOM milk=ACC drink-CVB.IMM mother=NOM glass=ACC
t͡ɕʰiwa pul-p-te-ta
take_away AUX-POL-EV.PST-DECL
'As soon as Sumi had finished drinking her milk, her mother took away her glass.'

b. Different-subject, nested, EQ/EN 2015-12-30, HGS1 and HYJ1, 8b), jeju0173-05, 03:30

[əməŋ=i [sʰumi=ka uju=lil masʰi-kəni] t͡ɕan=il
mother=NOM Sumi=NOM milk=ACC drink-CVB.IMM glass=ACC
t͡ɕʰiwa pul-p-te-ta]
take_away AUX-POL-EV.PST-DECL

'Her mother, as soon as Sumi had finished drinking her milk, took away Sumi's glass.'

When in a *-kəni* clause each predicate occurs with its own, overt subject NP, it is clear that syntactic embedding of a *-kəni* clause is possible in principle.

In same-subject contexts, if we take (133a) as the base of our syntactic argumentation, we may see the following example as a centre-embedded version:

(135) Same-subject, nested version of (133a) above, EQ/EN2015-12-30, HYJ1 and HGS1, 5a)

[toŋsʰu=ka   [meŋtʰeŋi   t͡ɕɒl-kəni]   pasʰ=ti   ka-p-te-ta]
Dongsu=NOM seed_basket weave-CVB.IMM field=LOC go-POL-EV-DECL
'Dongsu, as soon as he had finished weaving the little basket, went out on the field.'

In order for the above to qualify as a centre-embedded version, we require the subject to be clearly identifiable as a constituent of the final clause. As such, for example, a constituent of the non-final clause and the subject as a final-clause constituent could not be scrambled, yet that does not seem to be true:

(136) Scrambling of subject and non-final clause object based on (135), EQ/EN2015-12-30, HYJ1 and HGS1, 5d)

[meŋtʰeŋi=lɨl   toŋsʰu=ka   t͡ɕɒl-kəni]   [pasʰ=ti
seed_basket=ACC Dongsu=NOM weave-CVB.IMM field=LOC
ka-p-te-ta]
go-POL-EV-DECL

The above example was accepted by consultants HYJ1 and HGS1, which indicates that a subject NP can actually be a non-final clause constituent, since otherwise scrambling as above would not be possible. In these cases, a *-kəni* clause cannot be centre-embedded in the final clause:

(137) Subject as NFCC, no centre-embedding possible, 05_TEN_III_HGS120170906, 1g)

*pasʰ-ti   [meŋtʰeŋi=lɨl   toŋsʰu=ka   t͡ɕɒl-kəni]   ka-sʰ-u-ta
field-LOC seed_basket=ACC Dongsu=NOM weave-CVB go-PST-POL-DECL
intended: 'To the field, Dongsu as soon as he had woven the seed basket, he went.'

On the other hand, this does not mean that the syntactic embedding of *-kəni* is not possible at all, as the following example shows:

(138)   Same-subject, nested version of (133a), EQ/EN 2015-12-30, HYJ1 and
        HGS1, 5c)

[toŋsʰu = ka   pasʰ = ti   [meŋtʰeɲi t͡ɕɒl-kəni]   ka-p-te-ta]
Dongsu = NOM field = LOC seed_basket weave-CVB.IMM go-POL-EV-DECL
'Dongsu, as soon as he had finished weaving the little basket, went out
on the field.'

Considering the grammaticality of ex. (138) above, we conclude that a subject
NP in a *-kəni* linkage can be realised as a constituent of either the non-final, or the
final clause. If the subject in a NP in a same-subject context could only be a non-
final clause constituent, then examples such as ex. (138) would be impossible, yet
that does not seem to be the case. Furthermore it seems that similar to *-ŋ* clauses,
in case the subject NP is rendered as non-final clause constituent, the *-kəni* clause
cannot be embedded.

Note that for different-subject, *-kəni* linkages there is an additional, somewhat
mysterious restriction on the embedding of a non-final clause:

(139)   a. Different-subject, non-nested, EQ/EN 2015-11-14, HYJ1 and HGS1,
            1d)

        sʰənsʰa = ka   sʰəul = e   tot͡ɕʰak hə-kəni   sʰont͡ɕi = ka
        present = NOM Seoul = LOC arrival do-CVB.IMM grandchild = NOM
        na = sʰinti jənlak   hə-p-te-ta
        1SG = DAT contact do-POL-EV.PST.DECL
        'As soon as the gift had arrived in Seoul, my grandson called me.'

        b. Different-subject, nested, EQ/EN 2015-11-14, HYJ1 and HGS1, 1d)

        **sʰont͡ɕi = ka   na = sʰinti [sʰənsʰa = ka   sʰəul = e   tot͡ɕʰak*
        grandchild = NOM 1SG = DAT present = NOM Seoul = LOC arrival
        hə-kəni]   jənlak   hə-p-te-ta
        do-CVB.IMM contact do-POL-EV.PST.DECL

As shown above in (139b), a different-subject *-kəni* clause may not be embed-
ded on a deeper position than that between subject and non-subject arguments.
While this is reminiscent of so-called '*ad-VP* and *ad-V* attachment' restrictions
mentioned by Bickel (2010), the above example poses some interesting questions
about phrasal constituency valid in Jejuan syntax. As shown in the grammat-
ical overview section A.3.1, scrambling tests show no evidence for a syntactic
constituent that forms a unit out of a verb and an object at the exclusion of the
subject. Although not relevant for the present investigation, this piece of data has
been included here as it is hoped that future studies may explore what structural
(or possibly, extra-linguistic) differences could account for a difference between
(138) and (139b).

For the purposes of this study, however, what matters is that *-kəni* linkages can be shown to be embeddable in another clause. In same-subject contexts, the subject can be a final-clause constituent (ex. (138)). For such an instance, subject licensing would be deemed impossible for a *-kəni* clause. Interestingly however, this does not seem to imply that subject licensing of a *-kəni* clause is impossible in general. Structures such as (136) show that *-kəni* clauses can license their own subject in same-subject reference. In this case, a *-kəni* clause cannot be shown to be embedded in the final clause (137).

4.5.2.3. Morphosyntactic expression of information structure

In DS *-kəni* linkages, topicalisation in one linked clause only is permissible for both non-final and final clause NPs.

(140)   Topicalisation in DS, -kəni linkages

    a.   No topicalisation, EQ/EN2015-11-14, 1h)

       pəsʰ=i   sʰəul=esʰə ṭəna-kəni   sʰujəŋi=ka   na=sʰinti
       friend=NOM Seoul=ABL leave-CVB.IMM Suyeong=NOM 1SG=DAT
       jənlak he-la
       call   do-EV.PST:DECL
       'When her friend had left her, Suyeong called me straight away.'

    b.   No topicalisation, after (134b), EQ/EN2015-12-30, 8), jeju0173-04

       sʰumi=ka   uju=lɨl   mək-kəni   əməŋ=i   t͡ɕan=il
       Sumi=NOM milk=ACC eat-CVB.IMM mother=NOM glass=ACC
       t͡ɕʰiwa   pu-p-te-ta
       take_away AUX-POL-EV.PST-DECL
       'As soon as Sumi had finished drinking her milk, her mother took away her glass.'

    c.   Topicalisation of final clause subject, EQ/EN2015-11-14, 1), jeju0146-01, 08:30

       pəsʰ=i   sʰəul=esʰə ṭəna-kəni   sʰujəŋi=nɨn   na=sʰinti
       friend=NOM Seoul=ABL leave-CVB.IMM Suyeong=TOP 1SG=DAT
       jənlak he-la
       call   do-EV.PST:DECL
       'As for Suyeong, she called me right after her friend had left.'

    d.   Topicalisation of non-final clause subject, EQ/EN2015-11-14, 1j)

       pəsʰ=ɨn   sʰəul=esʰə ṭəna-kəni   sʰujəŋi=ka   na=sʰinti
       friend=TOP Seoul=ABL leave-CVB.IMM Suyeong=NOM 1SG=DAT
       jənlak he-la
       call   do-EV.PST:DECL

'As for her friend, Sumi called me right after his departure.'

e. Topicalisation of final clause object, EQ/EN2015-12-30, 8d), jeju0173-04

sʰumi=ka   uju=lil   mək-kəni   t͡ɕan=in   əməŋ=i
Sumi=NOM milk=ACC eat-CVB.IMM glass=TOP mother=NOM
t͡ɕʰiwa   pul-p-te-ta
take_away AUX-POL-EV.PST-DECL

'As for the glass, Sumi's mother took it away as soon as she had finished drinking the milk.'

f. Topicalisation of non-final clause object, EQ/EN2015-12-30, 8c), jeju0173-04

uju=nin   sʰumi=ka   mək-kəni   əməŋ=i   t͡ɕan=il
milk=TOP Sumi=NOM eat-CVB.IMM mother=NOM glass=ACC
t͡ɕʰiwa   pul-p-te-ta
take_away AUX-POL-EV.PST-DECL

'As for the milk, Sumi's mother took the glass away as soon as Sumi had finished it.'

As illustrated above in (140c) to (140f), topicalisation can apply to both non-final and final clause subject and object arguments.

In same-subject contexts, topicalisation tests result in ungrammatical examples:

(141)   Topicalisation in same-subject contexts

a. Subject as FCC, 05_TEN_III_HGS120170906, 1d)

*[meŋtʰeŋi=nin   t͡ɕɒl-kəni]   toŋsʰu=ka   pasʰ-ti
seed_basket=TOP weave-CVB Dongsu=NOM field=LOC
ka-sʰ-u-ta
go-PST-POL-DECL

intended: 'The seed basket, as soon as he had woven it, Dongsu went out on the field.'

b. Subject as NFCC, 05_TEN_III_HGS120170906, 1g)

*[meŋtʰeŋi=nin   toŋsʰu=ka   t͡ɕɒl-kəni]   pasʰ-ti
seed_basket=TOP Dongsu=NOM weave-CVB field=LOC
ka-sʰ-u-ta
go-PST-POL-DECL

intended: 'The seed basket, as soon as he had woven it, Dongsu went out on the field.'

The above examples demonstrate that *-kəni* linkages permit no topicalisation of non-final clause constituents. Surprisingly, this is regardless of whether the

subject is rendered as a non-final clause, or final-clause constituent. Moreover, while in scrambling NPs within a clause it is assumed that the clause-initial position is the usual position for topics, we see a contrast between (136) and (141b): the former was accepted by consultants, whereas the latter was not. The only difference is the accusative/topic marking. The puzzling aspect is that an object NP in such a position would be expected to be interpreted as a topic regardless of morphological marking, yet in (141b) the consultant insisted that *meŋtʰeŋi=lil*, seed_basket=ACC as in (136) would render the example acceptable. This evidence points towards a more complex relationship between scrambling and information structure, which however I am not able to delve into at this moment, since the data is limited.

For the purposes of this analysis, I am assuming that while subject NPs can in fact be rendered as NFCC constituents, same-subject contexts do not permit the morphosyntactic expression of information structure.

4.5.2.4. Extraction through relativisation

As to relativisation in *-kəni* linkages, there seem to be tendencies towards an asymmetry between the non-final clause and final clause:

(142)   a.   DS, no relativisation, jeju0146-02, 00:26

  sʰəŋu=ka ṭəna-kəni pəsʰ=i na=l
  Soungu=NOM leave-CVB.IMM friend=NOM 1SG=ACC
  manːa-sʰ-t͡ɕə
  meet-PST-DECL
  'As soon as Soung-U had left, his friend went to see me.'

 b.   DS, relativisation of final-clause subject, EQ/EN2015-11-14, 1m)

  [[sʰəŋu=ka ṭəna-kəni] [____ na=l manːna-n]] pəsʰ
  Soungu=NOM leave-CVB.IMM   1SG=ACC meet-ADN friend
  'The friend who met me as soon as Soung-U had left'

 c.   DS, relativisation of non-final clause subject, jeju0146-02, 01:35

  *[[____ ṭəna-kəni] [pəsʰ=i na=l manːan]]
    leave-CVB.IMM friend=NOM 1SG=ACC meet-ADN
  sʰəŋu
  Soungu=NOM
  intended: 'Soung-U, of whom the friend met me as soon as he had left'

    d.   DS, relativisation of final clause subject, EQ/EN2015-12-30, 8g)

[[sʰumi = ka uju mək-kəni]   [____ t͡ɕan = il   t͡ɕʰiu-n]]
Sumi = NOM milk eat-CVB.IMM   glass = ACC take_away-ADN
əməŋ = i   mak waliə-msʰi-p-te-ta
mother = NOM very hurry-PROG-POL-EV.PST-DECL

'The mother who took away the glass as soon as Sumi had finished drinking her milk, was hurrying around a lot.'

    e.   DS, relativisation of non-final clause subject, EQ/EN2015-12-30, HYJ1 and HGS1, 8f), jeju0173-05, HGS1, 05:30

**[[____ uju mək-kəni]   [əməŋ = i   t͡ɕan = il*
          milk eat-CVB.IMM mother = NOM glass = ACC
t͡ɕʰiu-n]]   sʰumi = nin...
take_away-CVB.IMM Sumi = TOP

intended: 'As for Sumi, who as soon as she had finished drinking the milk, her mother took away the glass, ...'

    f.   DS, relativisation of non-final clause object, EQ/EN2015-12-30, 8e)

?[[sʰumi = ka ____ mək-kəni]   [əməŋ = i   t͡ɕan = il*
Sumi = NOM   eat-CVB.IMM mother = NOM glass = ACC
t͡ɕʰiu-n]]   uju = nin piṣna-n   kə = la
take_away-ADN milk = TOP expensive_be-ADN thing = COP.DECL

'The milk of which the mother took away the glass as soon as Sumi had finished it, is a really expensive type of milk.'

As shown in (142b) and (142d) for different-subject *-kəni* linkages, the relativisation of only a final clause constituent, here a subject argument, is possible, whereas non-final clause arguments may not be relativised. Similarly, relativisation is possible in SS, *-kəni* linkages only in the final clause:

(143)   a.   Non-relativised, SS *-kəni* linkage, EQ/EN2015-11-14, 1p)

t͡ɕə sʰalim o-kəni   ṭəna-sʰ-t͡ɕə
that person come-CVB.IMM leave-PST-DECL

'That person left as soon as he had arrived.'

    b.   Relativisation of subject argument, EQ/EN2015-11-14, 1p)

o-kəni   ṭəna-n t͡ɕə sʰalim
come-CVB.IMM leave-ADN that person

'That person who left as soon as he had arrived.'

Whereas consultants reacted strongly against examples such as (142e) where the subject of a non-final clause is relativised, consultants had mixed opinions

about (142f), although all of them would agree that they are not entirely acceptable[13]. Based on this, it is likely that relativisation is restricted to final clause constituents.

4.5.3. Semantic characteristics

This section addresses the semantic properties of *-kəni* clauses.

4.5.3.1. Assertion

A *-kəni* clause is not asserted, which means that by means of using a *-kəni* clause, a speaker has no means to express their commitment to the truthfulness of its proposition. Regardless of whether a particular instance of a *-kəni* linkage has different- or same-subject reference, in (133a) or (134a) no *-kəni* clase is asserted in a speech act sense, yet the respective final clauses are, as the speaker commits to what is being said in the final clause in the form of statement. Accordingly, one can see how the final clause verbs are inflected for declarative illocutionary force, yet the non-final verbs are not.

4.5.3.2. Independent temporal anchoring

A *-kəni* clause is never independently anchored with respect to its final clause. This is due to its semantics, according to which the final event begins as soon as the *-kəni* clause event ends. However, it is the final clause verb which is inflected for tense-aspect categories, which is why the point on the timeline on which the *-kəni* event ends always depends on the temporal anchoring of the final clause event.

    For example, the final clause event in (134a), Sumi's mother taking Sumi's milk glass away, happened in the past, which is why the *-kəni* event will be anchored in the past in relation to the final clause event, in a way that when Sumi's action of drinking the milk finished, the event of Sumi's mother taking away the glass began. On the other hand, in (131a), the final clause verb is inflected for

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[13] Some consultants would say that the example sounds complicated, yet may be possible. At the same time they then simplify the example, for instance by leaving out the entire final clause in (142f) and building a relative clause out of the non-final clause, which means that they probably did not have the whole clause linkage in their minds when making their grammaticality judgment. Others may say at the beginning that the example could be said despite its 'unnecessary complexity', yet upon repeating the example to them, they would conclude that 'something is not quite right about it'.

generic present tense, which means that the proposition is regarded true at speech time, will be true in the future, and has been true in past times as well. In this case, the anchoring of the-*kəni* clause event depends on the 'generic validity' expressed in the final clause. Thus in no case can the anchoring of a *-kəni* clause event be seen separately from that of the final clause event.

4.5.3.3. Information structuring

It has been found that different-subject *-kəni* linkages allow for the topicalisation of non-final clause constituents, as shown in examples (140c) to (140f). Without internal information structuring, topicalisation of a constituent within a *-kəni* clause would not be possible, which is why I conclude that *-kəni* clauses are informationally structured. In same-subject contexts, however, topicalisation is not possible (examples (141a) and (141b)), which is why I am regarding *-kəni* clauses in these contexts as not having internal information structuring.

4.5.4. Summary of characteristics

-kəni clauses occur with different-subject and same-subject reference, and mostly show signs of syntactic embedding. Whereas this clearly seems to be the case in DS contexts, in SS contexts, we see a possibility similar to *-ŋ* clauses where the subject can either be realised as a final clause, or non-final clause constituent. Furthermore, similar to *-ŋ* clauses, *-kəni* converbs are not inflectable, extractability is asymmetric, and the clauses lack assertion. As opposed to *-ŋ* clauses, however, due to their semantics of describing an event as immediately succeeded by the subsequent clause event, *-kəni* clauses cannot be independently anchored.

Moreover, when it comes to internal information structuring, and the morphosyntactic expression thereof, *-kəni* clauses show diverging behaviour according to subject reference: DS *-kəni* clauses allow for topicalisation which is seen as a sign of internal information structuring, whereas this is not possible in SS clauses. This difference has not been attested for *-ŋ* clauses (Section 4.4). While similar to *-ko* clauses (Section 4.2) we may again assume a correlation between independent subject licensing of the adverbial clause and information structuring, *-ŋ* clauses show that this is not a consistent, and generally valid correlation.

Also, while focusing on *-kəni* clauses may suggest that syntactic embedding has an impact on the presence or absence of information structuring in an adverbial clause, the possibility of having same-subject clauses with subjects as non-final clause constituents with absence of syntactic embedding and internal information

structuring, as well as evidence from *-ŋ* clauses shows that this is just a tendency, yet cannot be generalised onto all Jejuan adverbial clauses.

4.6. -taŋ clauses

This section describes the finiteness properties of *-taŋ* clause linkages. Clauses linked by a *-taŋ* converb describe a sudden, abrupt or largely unexpected change of events, or a change of situation that comes into effect instantaneously. Similar to what was described in section 4.4.1 on *-ŋ* converbs, these converbs show a similar variation between *-tan, -tane* when the final clause verb is inflected for realis categories, and *-taŋ, -takɨn, -takɨne, -takɨneŋe* when the final verb inflects for irrealis, imperative or any other inflection where the truth value of a proposition cannot be confirmed (cf. Song S.-J. 2011; see Section 4.6.1).[14] Parallel to *-ŋ* converbs, however, this is not a generalisation that holds across all contexts, as the following examples show.

(144) [IPA rendering mine]

    a. Kang (2007: 71)

        pi o-taŋ   pɒlɨm pul-kok pɒlɨm pul-taŋ   pi o-kok
        rain come-CVB wind blow-CVB wind blow-CVB rain come-CVB
        hɒ-p-ne-ta
        do-POL-PRS-DECL

        'Normally, rain falls and then the wind blows, and then again the wind blows and the rain falls.'

    b. Hyun and Kang (2011: 45)

        ai=təl=ɨn   ṣap-taŋ=to   kot t͡ɕoha t͡ɕi-n-ta
        child=PL=TOP fight-CVB=ADD soon be_good become-PRS-DECL

        'As for children, sometimes they fight, and then all of a sudden they're good with each other again.'

When *-taŋ* is employed to link clauses, the non-final clause event is thought to have gone on for a while before it abruptly ceases, with the final clause event stepping in immediately. As the semantics of this converb deal with abrupt (and possibly, unexpected) change of a situation, as opposed to *-ŋ* converbs, this converb often connects events that are considered to represent semantic oppositions,

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[14] Similar to what I mentioned for *-ŋ* converbs, *-takɨneŋe* has a regional variant *-takɨneŋa* which is found in further Eastern parts of Jeju Island. A further morphological analysis into recurrent parts ?-*kɨ*- or ?-*ne* etc. has not been done here, since speakers generally do not indentify semantic differences between variants, and no more specific meaning can be identified.

as shown in (144a). Korean shows a similar converb *-taka*, however without the variants described above (cf. Yeon and Brown 2011: 294ff.). Note that in Korean, when used in irrealis contexts, this converb may be interpreted as having conditional semantics, yet no data on corresponding facts are available on Jejuan so far.

4.6.1. Morphological characteristics

-taŋ converbs can be inflected for past tense, yet as opposed to other inflectable converbs, this is the only option available. Due to the semantics of the converb which always creates an inherently durative, atelic event, the past tense inflection is used whenever an event described is telic:

(145) a. after Pear Story, jeju0060-05, FLEx75, uninflected

    t̪o   ka-taŋ piwa   pu-lkə
    again go-CVB be_empty:CAUS AUX-IRR

    'They are probably going to empty it on their way.' (*lit.*: 'Going there...')

  b. Pear Story, jeju0060-05, FLEx75, with PST inflection

    t̪o   ka-sʰ-taŋ   piwa   pu-lkə
    again go-PST-CVB be_empty.CAUS AUX-IRR

    'They are probably going to go there and empty it [i.e., the basket] again.' (*lit.*: 'Having gone there...')

In a *-taŋ* clause without tense inflection as in (146b), the final clause event happens while the *-taŋ* clause event is ongoing, whereas in a clause with past tense inflection, the *-taŋ* clause event will be interpreted as completed (146a). Thus although *-sʰ* has been presented as a past tense marker here, when suffixed to a *-taŋ* converb, it functions much more like a perfective aspect suffix. This particular behaviour will be of significance when talking about the independence of temporal anchoring of *-taŋ* clauses (see section 4.6.3).

Similarly to what has been described for *-ŋ* converbs in section 4.4.1, *-taŋ* converbs are subject to a high degree of morphological variation that seems to be independent of the morphosyntactic environment. Similar to *-ŋ* converbs, however, part of the distribution of the variants seems to be influenced by the morphological marking of the final clause verb:[15]

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[15] Note that while Lee (1978: 85) mentions *-tan* and *-taŋ*, the information in angled brackets stems from my own knowledge, and is confirmed in Hyun and Kang (2011: 42-44). Interestingly, Hyun and Kang (2011) identify the suffixes *-taŋkin* etc. which could not be attested in

(146)   Variation of *-t̪aŋ* converb [bracket content mine]

   a.   Lee (1978: 85)

   il   hʋ-taŋ[/-takɨn/-takɨne/-takɨneŋe] ka-ltʰi-a?
   work do-CVB   go-INT-Q.PLR
   'You have been working and now you suddenly intend to leave?'

   b.   Lee (1978: 85)

   il   hʋ-tan[/-tane] t͡ɕuk-əsʰ-t͡ɕə
   work do-CVB   die-PST-DECL
   'He was working and then he suddenly died.'

For *-taŋ* converbs, *-taŋ/-takɨn/-takɨne* or *-takɨneŋe* occur whenever there is some kind of irrealis mood marking (in (146a) in the form of the intentional suffix) on the final clause verb, and *-tan/-tane* when the final clause is inflected for what could be seen as realis mood categories. This variation is not entirely predictable and still poorly understood, yet as a matter of fact, in elicitation sessions the variants are largely interchangeable apart from what I am tentatively regarding as some sort of realis/irrealis distinction here.[16] Apart from the difference in final clause mood and its consequences for the overall meaning of a complex sentence, no complementary or otherwise contrastive distribution of these morphs to each other has been found. For more details, I refer to Section 4.4.1, yet for the purposes of this thesis, I am treating all variants as one lexeme.

To sum up, *-taŋ* converbs can be inflected and suffixed with the suffix *-sʰ*, which on other verb forms normally indicates past tense reference, yet possibly due to the semantics of a *-taŋ* converb leads to some perfective aspect reading. No other inflection is possible for this converb, while other Jejuan, inflectable converbs usually inflect for at least PAST tense and PROGRESSIVE aspect.

4.6.2. Syntactic characteristics

In this section, I analyse the syntactic properties of *-taŋ* clauses.

Jimnyeong. Given that for *-ŋ* converbs, *-kɨne* occasionally occurs as *-ŋine* as well, and given that we have a third possibility, */-ŋk-/* as in *-ŋkine* (Lee 1978: 143), I am inclined to draw a diachronic parallel to the development of Middle Korean *namk-*, 'tree' into *namu* in Korean, and regiolectally *naŋ, nam* or *naŋk-* in Jejuan (the third variant occurs suppletively in some regions in nominal case inflection; cf. Hyun and Kang 2011: 21/22).

[16] As I mentioned in Section 4.4.1 however, I doubt that we can assume a consistent realis/irrealis distinction in Jejuan, for which I do not have enough data at present.

4.6.2.1. Subject reference properties

-taŋ clause linkage types show inherent same-subject reference:

(147)   FN2015-11-21, HJG1 and JOS1/EN2016-01-02, HGS1 and HYJ1

   a.   *kaŋsʰeŋi = ka t͡ɕolːi tol-tan   t͡ɕip = i   ola-n   t͡ɕukə-sʰ-t͡ɕə*
        dog = NOM   stray turn-CVB   house = LOC come-CVB die-PST-DECL

        'The dog roamed around, then came home unexpectedly and died.'

   b.   *kaŋsʰeŋi = ka t͡ɕolːi tol-tane/-takin/-takine/-takineŋe t͡ɕip = i*
        dog = NOM   stray turn-CVB   house = LOC

        ola-n   t͡ɕukə-sʰ-t͡ɕə
        come-CVB die-PST-DECL

        'The dog roamed around, then came home unexpectedly and died.'

   c.   *t͡ɕʰəlsʰu = ka   hakkʲo ka-tan tol = e   pal t͡ɕʰa-n*
        Cheolsu = NOM school go-CVB   stone = LOC foot kick-CVB

        pʰutət͡ɕiə-n
        fall-PST

        'When Cheolsu was walking to school, he suddenly fell over by
        getting caught on a rock.'

   d.   * *sʰumi = ka   hɒkkʲo ka-tan   toŋsʰu = ka   pal*
        Sumi = NOM school go-CVB.CHNG Dongsu = NOM foot

        kəlːiə-n   pʰutət͡ɕiə-n
        hang:PASS-CVB.SEQ.REAL fall-PST

        intended: 'When Sumi was going to school, Dongsu suddenly got
        caugh on a stone.'

   e.   * *t͡ɕʰəlsʰu = ka   hakkʲo ka-tan jəŋhɨi = ka   tʷi = esʰə*
        Cheolsu = NOM school go-CVB Yeonghi = NOM behind = ABL

        pulːə-ə-la
        call-EV.PST-DECL

        intended: ' I saw that when Cheolsu was going to school, Yeonghi
        called him from behind.'

   f.   * *t͡ɕʰəlsʰu = ka   hakkʲo ka-tan nun = i   nɒli-m   sʰit͡ɕak*
        Cheolsu = NOM school go-CVB snow = NOM fall-NMLZ begin

        heə-n
        do-PST

        intended: ' When Cheolsu was walking to school, it began snowing.'

Examples (147a) and (147c) show how clauses linked by *-taŋ* have same-subject reference. In ex. (147a), the predicates *tol-*, 'turn' and *t͡ɕuk-*, 'die' have to refer to the same subject (*kaŋsʰeŋi*, 'dog'), with the same subject reference restriction obtaining in ex. (147c).

Ex. (147b) shows how in elicitation sessions replacing *-taŋ* with *-tane/-takin/-takine/-takineŋe* all seemed to create the same meaning, which is why they have preliminarily been listed here as free variants as explained in Section 4.6.1. Whenever this same-subject reference condition is violated as in ex. (147d), the whole utterance structure becomes ungrammatical.

4.6.2.2. Syntactic status of embedding

As shown below, *-taŋ* clauses can be embedded.

(148)   Embeddability of *-taŋ* linkages

    a.   non-nested, EQ2015-12-24/EN2015-12-25

      [pɛk̟it̪i=sʰə   mɛŋtʰeŋi t͡ɕɒl-tan]   [sʰumi=ka palis̪ʰkʰweki=l̟il
      outside=LOC basket   weave-CVB Sumi=NOM fish=ACC
      mɒn̪t̪ak kʰewa   piə-n]
      all   burn:CAUS AUX.PERF-PST.DECL
      'Sumi had been weaving her basket outside when she realised she had burnt all the fish [cooking inside].'

    b.   non-nested, EQ2015-12-24/EN2015-12-25

      [mɛŋtʰeŋi t͡ɕɒl-tan]   [sʰumi=ka sʰon tat͡ɕʰiə-n]
      basket   weave-CVB Sumi=NOM hand hurt-PST
      'Sumi was weaving her basket when she hurt her hand.'

    c.   ex. (148a) nested, EQ2015-12-24/EN2015-12-25

      [sʰumi=ka [pɛk̟it̪i=sʰə   mɛŋtʰeŋi t͡ɕɒl-tan]   palis̪ʰkʰweki=l̟il
      Sumi=NOM outside=LOC basket   weave-CVB fish=ACC
      mɒn̪t̪ak kʰewa   piə-n]
      all   burn:CAUS AUX.PERF-PST.DECL
      'Sumi, when she realised she had burnt all the fish [cooking inside], had been weaving her basket outside.'

    d.   ex. (148b) nested, EQ2015-12-24/EN2015-12-25

      [sʰumi=ka sʰon=il   [meŋteŋi t͡ɕɒl-tan]   tat͡ɕʰiə-n]
      Sumi=NOM hand=ACC basket   weave-CVB hurt-PST
      'Sumi was weaving her basket when she hurt her hand.'

Examples (148c) and (148d) above show how non-final clauses headed by converbs in *-taŋ* can be embedded in their respective final clauses.

4.6.2.3. Morphosyntactic expression of information structure

Topicalisation is possible in -*taŋ* clause linkages, yet is restricted to the final clause.

(149)   Topicalisation of final-clause constituents

    a.   Non-topicalised -*taŋ* linkage, after EQ2015-12-24/EN2015-12-25

      olepi   *t͡ɕip-i*   *ka-sʰ-tan*   *sʰumi=ka*   *hentip͡ʰon ilːə*
      younger_brother house-LOC go-PST-CVB Sumi=NOM mobile   lose
      məkə-sʰ-u-ta
      eat-PST-POL-DECL

      'Having gone to her younger brother's home, Sumi lost her phone [somewhere around there].'

    b.   Topicalisation of non-final clause subject, EQ2015-12-24/EN2015-12-25

      olepi   *t͡ɕip-i*   *ka-sʰ-tan*   *sʰumi=nin* *hentip͡ʰon ilːə*
      younger_brother house-LOC go-PST-CVB Sumi=TOP mobile   lose
      məkə-sʰ-u-ta
      eat-PST-POL-DECL

      'As for Sumi, she lost her phone when she had gone to her younger brother's place.'

    c.   Topicalisation of non-final clause object, after (148a), EQ2015-12-24/EN2015-12-25

      mɛŋt͡ʰeɲi=lil t͡ɕɒl-tan   *palisʰkʰweki=nin sʰumi=ka*
      basket=ACC weave-CVB fish=TOP   Sumi=NOM
      kʰewa-n
      burn.CAUS-PST

      'As for the fish, Sumi burnt it while weaving a basket.'

Ex. (149b) and (149c) show how constituents — here, subject and object of a transitive verb heading the final clause — can be topicalised. This type of topicalisation is not possible for non-final clause constituents:

(150)   Topicalisation of non-final clause constituents, EQ2015-12-24/EN2015-12-25, HYJ1

    a.   * *mɛŋt͡ʰeɲi=nin t͡ɕɒl-tan*   *sʰumi=ka*   *palisʰkʰweki=lil kʰewa*
      basket=TOP   weave-CVB Sumi=NOM fish=ACC   burn.CAUS
      piə-n
      AUX.PERF-PST.DECL

      'As for the basket, Sumi burnt the fish while she was making it.'

    b.   * *olepi*   *t͡ɕip-i=nɨn*   *ka-sʰ-tan*   *sʰumi=ka*
        younger_brother house-LOC=TOP go-PST-CVB Sumi=NOM
        hentɨpʰon *iłə*   *məkə-sʰ-u-ta*
        mobile   lose eat-PST-POL-DECL
        'As for her younger brother's home, Sumi had lost her phone when she had gone there.'

As ex. (150a) and (150b) show, topicalisation is restricted to final clause consituents, since non-final clause consituents cannot be topicalised. Furthermore, whether or not a *-taŋ* converb is tensed or not (cf. (149b) and (149c)) has no effect on topicalisation properties.

4.6.2.4. Extraction through relativisation

Similar to topicalisation behaviour described above, only constituents of a final clause are relativisable, whereas the relativisation of a non-final clause constituent leads to ungrammaticality:

(151)   Relativisation of final-clause constituents

    a.   Relativisation of final-clause subject, EQ 2015-12-24/EN 2015-12-25, 8b), HYJ1

       [[meŋtʰeŋi t͡ɕɒl-tan]   *[____ palisʰkʰweki kʰewa*   *pu-n]]*
       basket   weave-CVB   fish   burn:CAUS AUX.PERF-ADN
       sʰumi=nɨn mak pue   *na-p-te-t-en*
       Sumi=TOP very anger arise-POL-EV.PST-DECL-QUOT
       kɒl-a-la
       say-EV.PST-DECL
       'Sumi, who burnt the fish when she was weaving the basket, said that she was very upset about it.'

    b.   Relativisation of final-clause object, EQ 2015-12-24/EN 2015-12-25, 8a), HYJ1

       [[meŋtʰeŋi t͡ɕɒl-tan]   *[sʰumi=ka*   ____   *kʰeu-n]]*
       basket   weave-CVB Sumi=NOM   burn.CAUS-ADN
       palisʰkʰweki=ka mak a̰kawa-a-la=ke
       fish=NOM   very be_pity-EV.PST-DECL=DSC
       'The fish that Sumi had burnt when she was weaving the basket was too valuable to be wasted like this, you know.'

The above examples show that both the subject (151a) and the object (151b) of the transitive, causativised verb *kʰe-p-*, 'burn-CAUS-' heading the final clause can be relativised. Non-final clause constituents may not be relativised, however:

(152)　Relativisation of non-final-clause constituents

    a.　Relativisation of non-final clause object

       [[_____ t͡ɕɒl-tan]　[sʰumi＝ka　palisʰkʰweki kʰewa
            weave-CVB Sumi＝NOM fish   burn:CAUS
       pu-n]]　　　　meŋtʰeŋi＝nɨn mak hɒk̥ilːak hela
       AUX.PERF-ADN basket＝TOP　very tiny　　do:EV.PST:DECL

       intended: 'The basket that Sumi burnt a fish when she weaving it, was
       very small.'

    b.　Relativisation of non-final clause adjunct, after (149a)

       [[_____ ka-sʰ-tan　　sʰumi＝ka　　hentɨpʰon ilːə məkɨ-n]]
            go-PST-CVB Sumi＝NOM mobile　lose eat-ADN
       olepi　　　　　t͡ɕʰipɨn　　　mak nəlːwa-a-la
       younger_brother house＝TOP very be_spacious-EV.PST-DECL

       intended: 'The younger brother's home, where Sumi lost her phone
       after she had gone there, was very spacious.'

In (152a), the object of the non-final clause predicate has been relativised. In (152b), it is the locative adjunct of the non-final clause predicate *ka-*, 'go' that has been relativised. Such relativisation of a non-final clause constituent is not possible, and hence these examples are ungrammatical.

4.6.3.　Semantic characteristics

This section discusses the semantic properties of *-taŋ* clauses.

4.6.3.1.　Assertion properties

Similar to all other adverbial clause types (maybe except *-ko* clauses, see section 4.2.3), *-taŋ* clauses are not asserted. In a *-taŋ* clause linkage, an assertion can be made only in the final clause, yet not through a *-taŋ* clause itself. For example, what the speaker in (148a) commits to is not the truth of the of *-taŋ* clause proposition, but rather the truthfulness of what is being said in the final clause, namely that Sumi burnt the fish.

4.6.3.2.　Independent temporal anchoring

A *-taŋ* clause cannot be independently anchored in time, since its location on the timeline —- regardless of the tense inflection on the *-taŋ* clause verb — depends on the temporal anchoring of the final clause event. To illustrate, a fused version

of (146a) and (146b) has been slightly modified below according to the tense inflection of the final clause verb. Two translations have been provided below for each example, one if a converb is not inflected (-TS), and the other in case it is inflected (+TS), to illustrate changes in meaning:

(153)   Pear Story, after jeju0060-05, FLEx75

    a.   *ţo   ka(-sʰ)-taŋ piwa   pu-lkə*
         again go-PST-CVB be_empty:CAUS AUX-IRR

         -TS: 'They are probably going to empty it again on their way.' (*lit.*: 'Going there...')

         +TS: 'They are going to go there and empty it [i.e., the basket] again.' (*lit.*: 'Having gone there...')

    b.   *ţo   ka(-sʰ)-taŋ piwa   pulə-msʰə*
         again go-PST-CVB be_empty:CAUS AUX-PROG

         -TS: 'While going there, they are emptying it again.'

         +TS: 'They got there and are emptying it again.'

    c.   *ţo   ka(-sʰ)-taŋ piwa   pulə-sʰ-t͡ɕə*
         again go-PST-CVB be_empty:CAUS AUX-PST-DECL

         -TS: 'While going there they emptied it.'

         +TS: 'They went there and emptied it.'

    d.   * *isʰip   ɲən t͡ɕən:e   ka-sʰ-taŋ   piwa   pu-lkə*
         twenty years before.LOC go-PST-CVB be_empty:CAUS AUX-IRR

         intended: 'They went there twenty years ago and are going to empt it now.'

-*sʰ* suffixation of a -*taŋ* converb does create a change in meaning in that the event time of the -*taŋ* event precedes the reference time indicated by the final verb, and in this sense it is similar to the regular use of past tense, yet when applied to -*taŋ* converbs, its function becomes more similar to an aspectual marker which indicates whether there is an end boundary to the event or not.

More crucially, as shown in (153a) to (153c) the anchoring of the -*taŋ* event time with respect to *utterance time* can never be independent of the anchoring of the final clause event (not even in 'tense-marked' clauses, cf. (153d)), which shows that -*taŋ* clause events are not independently anchored.

4.6.3.3.   Information structuring

As shown in (150a) and (150b) in section 4.6.3, topicalisation of consituents of a -*taŋ* clause is not possible, which is taken as an indicator for the fact that such

a clause does not have internal information structuring. As I will discuss later in chapter 5, the lack of information structuring in *-taŋ* clauses correlates with many other factors such as syntactic embedding, and the inability to license their own subjects.

4.6.4. Summary of characteristics

-taŋ clauses pattern together with *-məŋ* clauses (see subsequent Section 4.7) in that they show many properties of what is commonly associated with (prototypical) non-finiteness: they are syntactically embedded, do not license their own subjects, cannot express information structure morphosyntactically and therefore have no internal information structure, show asymmetrical extraction patterns when it comes to relativisation, cannot be asserted and have no independent temporal anchoring. The only difference is that morphologically, *-taŋ* converbs inflect for tense (yet the only option is a past tense suffix), yet as shown in section 4.6.3, the semantics of this inflection is less reminiscent of true tense (which may in turn enable independent temporal anchoring of the *-taŋ* event), but more of aspect. Since *-məŋ* clauses show almost identical behaviour — a fact that is otherwise not observed among Jejuan adverbial clauses — further conclusions will be discussed in section 4.7.4.

4.7. -məŋ clauses

This section describes finiteness properties of *-məŋ* clause linkages. A non-final clause headed by a *-məŋ* converb describes an event that happens at the same time as the final clause event:

(154)   Kang (2007: 71)

    mən olːe-lo   ai-ka   ul-məŋ ka-msʰə
    far   alley-DIR child-NOM cry-CVB go-PROG
    'A child is going to a faraway alley, crying.'

The *-məŋ* converb in (154) above further specifies the event described by the verb *ka-* 'go', saying that the event was accompanied by the action of crying. As opposed to manner adverbials however, this type of converb does not specify the action of going itself, but rather expresses what happens at the same time as the main verb event.

4.7.1. Morphological characteristics

-məŋ converbs belong to the group of non-inflectable converbs, and as such, they do not occur with any overt morphological marking of tense-aspect, mood, evidentiality etc. However, their semantics is of a temporal nature since they indicate simultaneity. As we will see, has an effect on the temporal anchoring of a *-məŋ* clause (see section 4.7.3).

As opposed to *-taŋ* (Section 4.6.1), the inherent meaning of *-məŋ* does not seem to include an aspectual component in a sense that the internal structure of a *-məŋ* event is not specified, as the following example shows:

(155)   Kang (2007: 71)

    nol-məŋ   hɒ-la
    be_idle-CVB do-IMP
    'Do it while relaxing from time to time.'

As (155) shows, the event of the non-final clause is not necessarily understood to be carried out throughout the duration of the final clause event, but what is meant here is that somebody should do something, interrupting an action from timte to time in order to relax and regenerate. Thus the non-final event may happen within the temporal boundaries of the final clause event, yet the duration and frequency of the event itself is left implicit.

Note that this converb does not show the [-ŋ/-kɨne etc.] variation described earlier for *-ŋ* (Section 4.4.1) or *-taŋ* converbs (Section 4.6.1). Hyun and Kang (2011: 137) do list a form *-məŋɨn*, yet looking at *-ŋ* or *-taŋ*, the formal features of this variation are different since the sole 'variant' is *-məŋɨn*. However, a look at the Korean counterpart suggests that this form may in fact be a converb with a topic particle attached it to it. In the following, I am showing both the Jejuan original and Hyun and Kang's translation into Korean:

(156)   Hyun and Kang (2011: 137)

    a. Jejuan

        t͡ɕil ka-məŋ꞊in   t͡ɕɛk mot꞊po-n-ta
        way walk-CVB꞊TOP book NEG.POT꞊see-PRS-DECL
        'While walking along the road you can't read a book.'

    b. Korean

        kil   ka-mʲənsʰə꞊nɨn t͡ɕʰɛk mot꞊po-n-ta
        way walk-CVB꞊TOP book NEG.POT꞊see-PRS-DECL
        'While walking along the road you can't read a book.'

In the above examples, it seems that the entire adverbial clause functions as a topic, which is indicated by the topic particle. The ability for some adverbial clause types to take on topic markers (and thus function as sentential topics) has occasionally been mentioned in the clause linkage literature (cf. MacDonald 1988 on Tauya). For the current analysis of clausal finiteness properties, however, this is less relevant and will not be treated further.

4.7.2. Syntactic characteristics

This section elaborates on the syntactic properties of *-məŋ* clause linkages.

4.7.2.1. Subject reference properties

A converb in *-məŋ* is always interpreted to have same-subject reference:

(157)   EQ/EN2015-11-21, HJG1 and JOS1, 5)

    a.   *t͡ɕʰəlsʰu=ka   ɛki apʰ=isʰə koŋ=il tʰələt͡ɕi-u-məŋ   mak*
            Cheolsu=NOM baby front=LOC ball=ACC fall-CAUS-CONV very
            usʰ-ip-te-ta
            laugh-POL-EV.PST-DECL
            'I saw that Cheolsu (*the baby) laughed a lot while letting the ball drop in front of the baby.'

    b.   *t͡ɕəlsʰu=ka   nolːe pulɨ-məŋ   lamʲən*
            Cheolsu=NOM song sing-CONV ramen
            ki̥l-li-əmsʰ-ip-te-ta
            boil-CAUS-PROG-POL-EV.PST-DECL
            'I saw that Cheolsu was singing songs while he cooked noodle soup.'

    c.   * *t͡ɕʰəlsʰu=ka   nolːe pulɨ-məŋ sʰumi=ka   lamʲən*
            Cheolsu=NOM song sing-CONV Sumi=NOM ramen
            ki̥l-li-əmsʰ-ip-te-ta
            boil-CAUS-PROG-POL-EV.PST-DECL
            'I saw that Cheolsu was singing songs while Sumi was cooking noodle soup.'

In terms of subject reference, ex. (157a) above contrasts with (109b) which shows an almost identical case, yet with a *-nan* clause. While it was shown that with a *-nan* clause the subject of the final-clause verb *usʰ-*, 'laugh' would be understood to be the baby, here it is *Cheolsu*. Similarly, (157c) is ungrammatical since we have two subjects present in a *-məŋ* linkage.

4.7.2.2. Status of syntactic embedding

A *-məŋ* clause can be nested in the final clause, as the following example shows:

(158) a. EQ 2015-12-22/EN 2015-12-23, 1), HYJ1 and HGS1, 1a-d)

      [meŋkʲəŋ pɒle-məŋ] [toŋsʰu＝ka   tʰələk
      mirror   watch-CVB Dongsu＝NOM hair
      pɒpa-msʰ-ə-la]
      pull_out-PROG-EV.PST-DECL
      'Watching the mirror, Dongsu pulled out some hair.'

  b. *[toŋsʰu＝ka   [meŋkʲəŋ po-məŋ]   tʰələk*
      Dongsu＝NOM mirror   watch-CVB hair
      pɒpa-msʰ-ə-la]
      pull_out-PROG-EV.PST-DECL
      'Dongsu, watching the mirror, pulled out some hair.'

  c. *[toŋsʰu＝ka   tʰələk＝ɨl [meŋkʲəŋ＝ɨl po-məŋ]*
      Dongsu＝NOM hair＝ACC mirror＝ACC watch-CVB
      pɒpa-msʰ-ə-la]
      pull_out-PROG-EV.PST-DECL
      'Dongsu pulled out some hair watching the mirror.'

Example (158b) is a centre-embedded version of (158a). In this particular case, one might suggest as an alternative that *toŋsʰu＝ka* may as well be a constituent of the non-final clause, and that the subject NP of the final clause has been dropped. If that was true, we would see no sign of syntactic embedding in this regard. There are two arguments against this.

First of all, as shown in (158c), the *-məŋ* clause can be nested between the predicate of the final clause and its object NP *tʰələk*, which would not be possible if we assumed that the subject NP was a NFCC. Second of all, if the nominative NP *toŋsʰu＝ka* indeed belonged to the non-final clause, scrambling the object NP and the subject NP should be possible. In fact, this is not the case.

(159) EQ 2015-12-22/EN 2015-12-23, 1), HYJ1 and HGS1, 1e/f)

  a. *t͡ɕʰəlsʰu＝ka   tʰelepi   po-məŋ kamt͡ɕə*
      Cheolsu＝NOM television see-CVB sweet_potato
      məkə-msʰ-ə-la
      eat-PROG-EV.PST-DECL
      'Cheolsu was eating sweet potatos while watching TV.

  b. * *tʰelepilɨl   t͡ɕʰəlsʰu＝ka   po-məŋ kamt͡ɕə*
      television＝ACC Cheolsu＝NOM see-CVB sweet_potato
      məkə-msʰ-ə-la
      eat-PROG-EV.PST-DECL

'Cheolsu was eating sweet potatos while watching TV.

Ex. (159b) shows that $\widehat{tɕ^hɐ}ls^hu = ka$, Cheolsu = NOM and t^helepi cannot switch position, which is due to the fact that they belong to separate clausal domains. As opposed to same-subject *-ŋ* clauses (see section 4.4.2), there seems to be no alternative structure available where the subject NP is a non-final clause constituent, suggesting that *-mɐŋ* clauses cannot license an independent subject. Therefore, I conclude that *-mɐŋ* clauses are syntactically embedded.

4.7.2.3. Morphosyntactic expression of information structure

-mɐŋ clauses do not permit topicalisation of clause-internal constituents, as opposed to the final clause:

(160)   EQ 2015-12-22/EN 2015-12-23

    a.   Topicalisation of final-clause subject, 2a), HYJ1 and HGS1

        meŋkʲɐŋ palɛ-mɐŋ   sʰumi = nɨn tʰɐlək pɒpa-msʰ-ə-la
        mirror watch-CVB Sumi = TOP hair pull_out-PROG-EV.PST-DECL

        'Watching the mirror, Sumi, who I just mentioned, was removing some hair.'

    b.   Topicalisation of final-clause object only, EQ 2015-12-22/EN 2015-12-23, 2b), HYJ1 and HGS1[17]

        meŋkʲɐŋ palɛ-mɐŋ   tʰɐlək = ɨn sʰumi = ka
        mirror watch-CVB hair = TOP Sumi = NOM

        pɒpa-msʰ-ə-la
        pull_out-PROG-EV.PST-DECL

        'As to the hair, Sumi removed it looking at a mirror.'

    c.   Topicalisation of non-final object

        *meŋkʲɐŋ = ɨn palɛ-mɐŋ   sʰumi = ka   tʰɐlək = ɨl
        mirror = TOP watch-CVB Sumi = NOM hair = ACC

        pɒpa-msʰ-ə-la
        pull_out-PROG-EV.PST-DECL

        'As to the hair, Sumi removed it looking at a mirror.'

Examples (160a) and (160b) show how both subject and object of the final-clause predicate can be topicalised in a *-mɐŋ* clause linkage, as opposed to a *-mɐŋ* clause constituent in (160c).

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[17] Although not relevant for the present investigation, note that consultants remarked on this example that the meaning changes slightly from (160a). Here, it is understood that Sumi did not remove her own hair, but that she removed someone else's. Thus this shows not only the clause-initial topic position, yet also the typically pre-verbal focus position (in this case contrastive focus).

4.7.2.4. Extraction through relativisation

-məŋ clauses in a clause linkage do not allow for any constituent to be relativised, which contrasts with the final clause where relativisation is possible.

(161)   EQ2015-12-22/EN2015-12-23

    a.   Relativisation of final-clause subject, 3a), HYJ1 and HGS1

       [[tʰelepi   po-məŋ]   [____ kam͡tɕə=man   mək-tan]]
       television watch-CVB   sweet_potato=only eat-ADN.EV.PST
       t͡ɕʰəlsʰu=nɨn   mak kansʰe   he na-sʰ-t͡ɕə=ke
       Cheolsu=TOP very laziness do AUX.HAB-PST-DECL=DSC

       'Cheolsu, who used to eat sweet potatos while watching TV, was a very lazy person.'

    b.   Relativisation of final-clause object, 3b), HYJ1 and HGS1

       [[tʰelepi   po-məŋ]   [t͡ɕʰəlsʰu=ka   ____ mək-tan]]
       television watch-CVB Cheolsu=NOM   eat-ADN.EV.PST
       kam͡tɕə=ka   kʲəŋ masʰ t͡ɕo-a-la=ke
       sweet_potato=NOM so   taste be_good-EV.PST-DECL=DSC

       'The sweet potato that Cheolsu used to eat while watching TV tasted so good!'

    c.   Relativisation of non-final clause object, 3d), HYJ1 and HGS1

       *[[____ po-məŋ]   [t͡ɕʰəlsʰu=ka   kam͡tɕə   mək-tan]]
            watch-CVB Cheolsu=NOM sweet_potato eat-ADN.EV.PST
       tʰelepi=nɨn mak kʰɨ-n kə=la-la
       television   very big   thing=EV.PST.COP-DECL

       intended: 'The television that Cheolsu used to eat sweet potatos while watching it was a very big one.'

In (161a) and (161b), the subject and object of the final clause have been relativised, which is grammatical. As opposed to this, the non-final clause object cannot be relativised. This is illustrated in (161c). Therefore, there is an asymmetry between the non-final and final clause in that only constituents of the final clause may be relativised, whereas non-final clause constituents permit no relativisation.

4.7.3. Semantic characteristics

This section discusses the semantic characteristics of *-məŋ* clauses.

4.7.3.1. Assertion properties

In (158a), a speaker witnessed the situation of Dongsu pulling hair while looking inside a mirror and reports it to someone else. However the core of the message conveyed (and committed to by a speaker) is not the fact that Dongsu watched the mirror (which may as well be true), yet that Dongsu was removing hair. Therefore, I conclude that *-məŋ* clauses lack assertion.

4.7.3.2. Independence of temporal anchoring

Due to its semantics, a *-məŋ* clause event is never anchored in time independently of the final clause event. A *-məŋ* converb cannot be inflected for tense, and its semantics are temporally simultaneous, which is why the reference time of a *-məŋ* clause event is always determined by the final clause semantics, namely in such a way that a *-məŋ* clause event will always be interpreted to be simultaneous with the event of the final clause, whose reference time serves as an anchor for both the non-final and final clause events.

4.7.3.3. Information structuring

As shown in (160c) in section 4.7.2.3, topicalisation is not possible in *-məŋ* clauses as opposed to the respective final clauses. This is therefore taken as evidence to see *-məŋ* clauses as having no internal information-structural organisation, since if there was such internal organisation, the morphosyntactic expression of a clause-internal topic should be part of it. As we will see in the evaluation chapter 5, the lack of internal information structuring of a *-məŋ* clause correlates with a lot of other properties, such as the presence of syntactic embedding or opacity towards extraction among others.

4.7.4. Summary of characteristics

As mentioned, the properties of *-məŋ* clauses are almost identical to those of *-taŋ* clauses (section 4.6): no tense inflection is possible, the clause is syntactically embedded, it cannot license an independent subject, morphosyntactic expression of information strucutre is not possible which means that the clause does not have internal information structuring, extraction tests show asymmetric extractability, no assertion can be made through this clause, and the clause is not independently anchored in time.

   With respect to the Canonical-Typological analysis in chapter 5, I will conclude that *-məŋ* and *-taŋ* clauses constitute a (possibly larger) class of adverbial

clauses which show properties of what I will refer to as 'canonically opposite' or 'canonically non-finite clauses' (Section 6.1.1), by which I mean the logical opposite of what we identified as the Canonical Ideal on the boolean lattice of possible finiteness instances (Section 3.4). Thus -*taŋ* and -*məŋ* clauses are interesting since we do seem to find adverbial clause types in Jejuan which are on the exact opposite side of what our criteria define as a Canonical Finiteness Ideal, yet in fact we do not find adverbial clauses which are canonically finite in all dimensions.

4.8. Chapter conclusion

This chapter has pointed towards the fact that except for the type of clauses which I have prelimnarily identified as 'canonically non-finite clauses', the properties of the Jejuan adverbial clauses selected here are heterogenous and not neatly categorisable into a few clause types (or even just a unitary class of 'Jejuan adverbial clause'). Moreover, coming from the perspective of Korean clause linkage, the results may be surprising to some readers since existing studies such as Rudnitskaya (1998) and Kwon and Polinsky (2008) have suggested that we are in fact able to establish clear classes of patterns, a 'coordinate' pattern and a 'subordinate' pattern, which is instantiated by whether a Korean *-ko* clause linkage is interpreted as simultaneous or sequential.

At least from the perspective of finiteness, for no Jejuan adverbial clause there was such a clear split of properties according to semantic interpretation. Jejuan *-ko* clauses always show the same properties except for information structuring, which differs depending on the subject reference of the clause linkage, yet not on semantic interpretation. *-nan* clauses exhibit distinct behaviour according to whether the semantics are interpreted as temporal or causal, yet not in the way that studies on Korean *-ko* clauses would predict: for example, tense marking is impossible in contexts which are syntactically less dependent (temporal *-nan* clauses), and tense marking is optionally possible in syntactically embedded contexts (causal *-nan* clauses). In all other cases examined here (*-nti* and *-ko* clauses), tense marking was always optional, regardless of semantic interpretation or subject reference. Similarly, different-subject *-ŋ* clauses were shown to be syntactically embedded, yet for same-subject *-ŋ* clauses, the *-ŋ* clauses could only be reliably shown to be embedded if the common subject was rendered as a final clause constituent.

I now proceed to a data analysis following the Canonical Typology approach, situating the Jejuan adverbial clause types described here within the typological space mapped out by our finiteness criteria laid out in sections 3.4.1 to 3.4.3. The CT analysis will show that Jejuan adverbial clauses exhibit properties which cannot be easily generalised into a few, consistent finiteness distinctions, although in fact a 'canonically non-finite' core will emerge. Additionally, no clause type examined in this thesis ever exhibits all properties of Canonical Finiteness.

5. Finiteness in Jejuan clause linkage: a CT evaluation

As explained in Section 1.3, a goal of this study was to learn more about the finiteness of Jejuan adverbial clauses, situating them within the typological space of Canonical Finiteness outlined in Section 3.4. The previous chapter 4 has described the properties of a selected set of Jejuan adverbial clauses in detail, following the finiteness criteria laid out in sections 3.4.1 to 3.4.3.

I now turn to an evaluation of that data under a Canonical Typology perspective. There are three dimensions to the present analysis of finiteness patterns, which are elaborated in the following, yet only the latter two will be discussed in detail:

1. Horizontal comparison

   - With respect to one criterion, how do different adverbial clause types compare to each other with respect to the canonical ideal?

2. Vertical comparison

   - With respect to one linguistic domain, how do different criteria pattern within one and the same instance of an adverbial clause type, with respect to the canonical ideal?

3. Cross-sectional comparison

   - Looking at a wider perspective, how does each adverbial clause type compare to our Canonical Ideal?

The aspect of 'horizontal' comparison, that is, a discussion of patterns with respect to each single criterion will not be treated in detail since for once, it is visible in table 5 below, and the main interest of this chapter is to examine whether there are wider finiteness patterns to be observed, either within each linguistic domain of morphology, syntax or semantics, or between these linguistic domains. Thus I will only focus on some general observations, in section 5.1 below. After that, in section 5.2, I will examine inter-criterial relationships within a domain of enquiry, e.g., syntax. Then I will discuss a cross-sectional perspective

(section 5.3), where I elucidate the relationship between actual patternings and our Canonical Ideal.

The values that the data analysis has produced have been brought together in table 5 on the following page. It abstracts from the description of each Jejuan adverbial clause type examined in Chapter 4 and sorts it according to the CT finiteness criteria explained in Section 3.4[1], comparing them to two theoretical poles: on the one hand, we have the 'IDEAL' column that represents the convergence of all finiteness criteria, as explained in section 3.3. On the other hand, we have what I am calling the canonical 'OPPOSITE' here which is the logical opposite of the canonical ideal. Instantiated by Jejuan *-mǝŋ* clauses, its role will be discussed more in detail in this and the following chapter. The seven adverbial clause types have been arranged roughly according to their distance away from the canonical ideal. Whereas the theoretical situation of *-mǝŋ* clauses is fairly straightforward as the least canonically finite clause type, it becomes more difficult to 'rank' the canonical finiteness 'degree' of clause types closer to the Canonical Ideal due to the heterogeneity of types that I address in this chapter. Thus note that the little arrows on top of the table indicating 'most finite' and 'least finite' are not scalar end points, but only orientation aids.

Furthermore, the data description in Chapter 4 frequently dealt with a range of sub-factors found for each clause linkage type. Thus for clause types which allow varying subject reference, there are two columns per clause linkage type in order to compare the results according to DS, 'diferent-subject' and SS, 'same subject'. *-nan* clauses were shown to have different-subject reference only, yet their properties differ greatly according to whether they are interpreted temporally or causally, which has been accounted for in table 5. The cell for criterion C-12 (extraction through relativisation) under *-ko* linkages additionally considers simultaneity and sequentiality of events — these have not surfaced anywhere else as differentiating factors.[2] Note that the cells for C-2 (subject agreement) and C-6 (switch reference) are empty since they are not relevant in the analysis of Jejuan data (see Section 3.4.2). I now briefly turn to some conspicuous points that shine though an an intra-criterial analysis of the CT finiteness criteria, visible in table 5.

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[1] For reasons of space, for some criteria abbreviations were employed. While I assume that most of them are easily identifiable, 'IS expressibility' refers to the 'morphosyntactic expression of information structure'.

[2] 'fin' means 'extraction possible only in final clause', whereas 'n' means 'extraction impossible in any linked clause', and 'subj' means 'extraction only possible for subject'. In all other cells, 'y' means that the particular criterion has been met, and 'n' means that the criterion is not met, with 'y/n' constituting ambiguous cases that I will discuss below.

MOST FINITE → ... LEAST FINITE →

Morphology

CRITERION	ID	IDEAL	-nti DS	-nti SS	-ko DS	-ko SS	-nan TEMP	-nan CAUS	-keni DS	-keni SS	-ŋ DS	-ŋ SS	-taŋ SS	-meŋ SS	OPPOSITE
TENSE	C-1	y	y	y	y	y	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n
(SUBJECT AGR.)	(C-2)	y	-	y	-	n	-	-	-	-	-	-	y	-	n
ILLOC.-FORCE/MOOD	C-3	y	n	n	y	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
POLITENESS	C-4	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
EVIDENTIAL	C-5	y	y	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
(SWITCH-REF.)	(C-6)	n	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	y
NOMINATIVE SUBJ	C-7	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y/n	y	y/n	n	n	n

Syntax

CRITERION	ID	IDEAL	-nti DS	-nti SS	-ko DS	-ko SS	-nan TEMP	-nan CAUS	-keni DS	-keni SS	-ŋ DS	-ŋ SS	-taŋ SS	-meŋ SS	OPPOSITE
INDEPENDENCE	C-8	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
EMBEDDABILITY	C-9	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	y/n	y	y/n	y	y	y
SUBJ LICENSING	C-10	y	y	y/n	y	y	y	y	y	y/n	y	y/n	y	y	n
IS EXPRESSIBILITY	C-11	y	y	y	y	n	y	n	y	n	y	y	n	n	n
EXTRACTABILITY	C-12	y	fin	fin	SIM n / SEQ fin	SIM subj / SEQ fin	n	fin	fin	fin	fin	fin	fin	fin	n

Semantics

CRITERION	ID	IDEAL	-nti DS	-nti SS	-ko DS	-ko SS	-nan TEMP	-nan CAUS	-keni DS	-keni SS	-ŋ DS	-ŋ SS	-taŋ SS	-meŋ SS	OPPOSITE
ASSERTION	C-13	y	n	n	y	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
TEMP. ANCHORING	C-14	y	y	y	y	y	n	y	n	n	y	y	n	n	n
INF. STRUCTURING	C-15	y	y	y	y	n	y	n	y	n	y	y	n	n	n

Table 5.1.: A Canonical Typology analysis of finiteness in Jejuan adverbial clauses

5.1. Some remarks on the horizontal level of analysis

Although the horizontal level of comparison mentioned above will not find much discussion at this place, I intend to give a few general remarks and observations, based on table 5. The table shows that for a few criteria, Jejuan shows uniform behaviour which can be traced back to general traits of the language.

As mentioned in chapter 3.4, C-2 (subject agreement) and C-6 (switch-reference) were deemed irrelevant for the present investigation. This is because there is no subject agreement in Jejuan (in contrast to Korean, cf. Gerdts and Youn 2002, Yeon 2003), and there is no genuine switch-reference in that non-final verbs would be indicating whether subjects are co-referent or not through separate inflection. Although clause linkage types such as *-nan* clauses (see Section 4.3) sometimes do seem to have default subject reference properties, the distribution of same-subject and different-subject non-final verb forms across different linkage semantics is not paradigmatic and therefore, we cannot say that switch-reference is part of Jejuan grammar. Similarly, Jendraschek (2016: 249) in his study of switch-reference in Iatmul (Ndu, Sepik, Papua New Guinea), resumes that "Turkish and Korean converbs primarily express semantic relations between clauses [...], whereas the primary function of the Iatmul system is participant tracking [...]".

Leaving the generally non-applicable criteria C-2 (subject agreement) and C-6 (switch-reference) aside, C-7 (nominative subject) turns out to have only little relevance to the current study since no other form of morphological subject marking has been attested so far in Jejuan.

The results for C-8 (syntactic independence) reflect the fact that all clauses examined here are (distributionally) dependent clauses by definition. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, this thesis has its focus on the finiteness properties of adverbial clauses in biclausal contexts, that is, contexts where we have a non-final converb clause, and a final clause. Since I am not looking at cases which involve insubordination or extraposition of adverbial clauses, all adverbial clause types studied here are syntactically dependent, at least from a distributional perspective. Insubordinate contexts, on the other hand, were not considered in this thesis as this was deemed suitable for a separate investigation (cf. Evans 2007, Pellard 2012). Needless to say, syntactic independence (C-8) is a frequently mentioned trait of a (canonically) finite clause, and has been included in the Canonical Ideal column in table 5. This criterion is one of those which contribute to the fact that despite cross-sectional differences between adverbial clause types, none of the clause types examined ever show all of the properties of a canonically finite

clause.

A crucial criterion is C-13, where almost all clause types seem to defy the possibility for speech act assertion. Considering that we are talking about morphosyntactically dependent, adverbial clauses, their general lack of assertional possibilities is not surprising. The only case where one may suggest that an adverbial clause is asserted is with *-ko* clauses (see section 4.2.3), which again is not a surprise given that below, *-ko* clauses will often come to the fore as having more canonically finite properties than other clause types.

5.2. Domain-based criteria evaluation

Let us now look at how the results pattern within the respective domains of morphology (C-1 to C-7), syntax (C-8 to C-12) and semantics (C-13 to C-15).

5.2.1. Patterns within morphology

Based on our canonical ideal, we would expect that a canonically finite verb can potentially be inflected for tense (C-1), illocutionary force/mood (C-3), politeness (C-4), evidentiality (C-5), and subcategorise for a nominative-marked subject (C-7). It also would canonically inflect for subject agreement (C-2) for those languages which employ such devices, and it could not be marked for switch-reference marking (C-6) which is seen to be a typical feature of non-final clause verbs.

As shown in table A.43 in section A.43, converbs as syntactic heads of adverbial clauses all show a reduction of their inflectional potential . More specifically, the table clearly shows that converbs split up into two classes: on the one side, we have a class of uninflectable converbs which cannot take on more suffixes than the converbal suffix itself (*-kəni, -ŋ* and *-məŋ* and many other Jejuan converbs, cf. section A.2.17.5). On the other side, we have the class of inflectable converbs, where none of the converbs can inflect for *all* of the categories that would be available to a Jejuan verb that is used in a final clause. So it is important to note that even if a given converb is inflectable, no verb heading an adverbial clause can ever have the same inflectional range available to it as one heading a canonically finite clause.

The group of inflectable converbs is heterogenous, both with respect to the semantic class of a converb, as well as wich categories it inflects for. Interestingly, all inflectable converbs inflect for PAST and PROGRESSIVE. *-taŋ* converbs are the

only ones which can only take on a PAST suffix, however, whast seems like tense inflection has been identified to be rather similar to aspectual marking in this particular case (see Section 4.6.1). In fact, this converb is the only one which solely inflects for PAST.

-ko converbs have the possibility of being affixed with a progressive-imperative suffix, and are unique in this regard. Another unique converb type is a *-nti* converb which can inflect for evidentiality[3], as well as overtly exhibit present tense marking as the sole converb. Thus *-ko* and *-nti* converbs can be seen as having a somewhat greater range of inflection than all other converbs, yet compared to our Canonical Ideal, it is not the case that they allow for a dramatically wider range of categories to be expressed on them, but are quite restricted in their inflectional range.

Interestingly, no converb (at least in spoken language, see section 3.4) can inflect for politeness. In a way, given that a) languages such as Jejuan and Korean do not inflect for person, yet b) the politeness system typically aids in distinguishing participants pragmatically by virtue of the inherent nature of speaker-addressee or third-party honorifics, it is interesting to see that while Jejuan does not mark person on verbs, it does have a device to help identifying various participants in a particular communicative setting (cf. Kim J.-B. 2016: 318ff.). In this respect, the semantics-pragmatics of politeness and person reference (albeit admittedly vaguely) show similarities on the functional level. Thus the inability to express politeness on Jejuan non-finite (or less canonically finite) verbs of the type considered in this thesis, shows some parallels to the widespread restriction on person-number agreement on less canonically finite verbs in non-final clauses.

Additionally, no illocutionary force marking whatsoever is possible on converbs, except for the imperative marking on *-ko* converbs which is fused with progressive, aspectual meaning. Besides that, no converb can inflect for interrogative illocutionary force, and more crucially, declarative illocutionary force. Given that politeness and illocutionary force inflection intersect in Jejuan (see section A.2.14.3), it is no surprise that for almost all converbs, these two categories are not expressible.

It is worth noting that even the imperative marking on *-ko* converbs applies to [-POLITE] contexts, which is why the significance of a *-ko* converb's ability to inflect for this category is even smaller than it may seem at first sight. The

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[3] Notethat in evidential contexts, a *-nti* converb exhibits an *-nke* allomorph. Although the evidential suffix *-ə/-a* itself has inherent past tense, imperfective aspect semantics (similar to Korean *-tə-*, cf. Song J.-M. (2005), it can still be additionally suffixed with tense-aspect markers, which is the same for *-nti* converbs. See section A.2.14.6 for more.

question is how to integrate this information into the present framework. Do we want to emphasise the fact that a *-ko* converb can inflect for illocutionary force at all as opposed to all other converbs? Or do we rather want to take the fact into account that the applicability of this imperative marker, due to its fusion with tense-aspect meaning, as well as the lack of politeness contrasts, is extremely restricted?

In the current thesis, the former option has been chosen, since the inflectability of *-ko* converbs for illocutionary force is a crucial difference from other converbs, and as I will show later, it may play out nicely with what seems to be a greater degree of syntactic and semantic independence, and therefore a higher degree of finiteness of *-ko* clauses.

For now, let us summarise that no converb examined here (and no converb in general, as shown in section A.2.17.5), will ever show the inflectional range of a canonically finite verb which appears in canonically finite clauses in Jejuan. Therefore, from a morphological perspective, all converbs are markedly less finite than Canonically Finite verbs.

5.2.2. Patterns within syntax

With respect to syntactic properties, canonically finite clauses are syntactically independent from others (C-8), cannot be embedded in another clause (C-9), license their own subjects (C-10), and various configurations of their information structure can be expressed (C-11). As observed in clause linkage studies, the extraction patterns showing in the relativisation of clausal consituents (C-12) is asymmetrical, which in our case means that the final clause will allow for extraction, whereas the non-final clause does not.

As the clearest pattern emerging, we start at the 'opposite' end of our Boolean lattice of possible finiteness instances, seen from the point of the Canonical Ideal. *-taŋ* and *-məŋ* clauses show the exactly opposite behaviour of a canonically finite clause, since they are syntactically dependent (C-8) and can be centre-embedded in their matrix clauses (C-9), do not license their own subjects independent of the final clause (C-10), and no morphosyntactic device can be applied to express any kind of internal, information-structural configuration (C-11) which, ultimately, points towards the lack thereof (C-15). Furthermore, they have been shown to block relativisation of its internal constituents, whereas their matrix clauses allow for relativisation (C-12). Thus among the clause types examined, these can be seen as maximally non-finite instances of possible adverbial clause types. While

for *-taŋ* and *-məŋ* clauses the results may be fairly uniform, for all others, the syntactic patterning is more complex, with some moving closer towards the Canonical Finiteness Ideal, and others less so.

In the patterning closest to our canonical ideal, *-nti* linkages cannot be centre-embedded, they can license their own subject, and they can express their internal information structuring morphosyntactically. Whereas *-nti* linkages confirm to the ideal regardless of semantic interpretation or subject reference, for all other types with 'intermediate' finiteness properties, the patterns are far less uniform. Thus DS *-ko* linkages and temporal *-nan* linkages follow the pattern of *-nti* linkages, with the exception that extraction is blocked in both clauses of the clause linkage — a phenomenon that is only indirectly relevant to finiteness matters. Analogous to the morphological characteristics (Section 4.3.1), *-nan* clauses split into two separate patterns according to whether their semantics is temporal or causal (Section 4.3.2), and for *-ko* clauses, it is subject reference which seems to make the difference. Together with SS *-ko* linkages, for these clause types, no evidence could be found for syntactic embedding, which renders them closer to our canonical ideal in this respect. However, SS *-ko* linkages differ from *-nti,* DS *-ko* and temporal *-nan* linkages since they cannot express information structure morphosyntactically (Section 4.2.2).

In yet another tendency visible, DS *-kəni* and *-ŋ* linkages allow for centre-embedding, subject licensing in the non-final clause, and expression of information structure. As shown for different-subject *-ŋ* linkages (Section 4.4.2), some examples have been shown to allow for centre-embedding, while others do not. At present, the data is limited which is why no definitive answer can be given, although impressionistically it seems that such non-embeddable examples are few.

In same-subject *-ŋ* linkages, however, it turned out that the common subject may either be rendered as a final-clause constituent, in which case centre-embedding the *-ŋ* clause is possible and the clause can therefore be seen as embedded. Alternatively, through various tests such as scrambling, negational or temporal adverbial scoping (ex. (**??**) to (**??**)), it was shown that the subject NP can be a constituent of the non-final clause as well. In this case, the non-final clause is not embedded in the final clause. This would mean that Jejuan *-ŋ* linkages can show different properties depending on which clause the subject NP is a constituent of. Thus while one can clearly show that the non-final clause may license its own subject, *-ŋ* clauses allow two possibilities for their status of embedding.

In another tendency comprising causal *-nan* and same-subject *-kəni* linkages,

centre-embedding is possible, the non-final clause can license their own subject, and topicalisation is not possible. Similar to same-subject *-ŋ* linkages, same-subject *-kəni* linkages also show that the non-final clause can license a subject, yet then, it seems that the *-kəni* is not embedded in the final clause.

All in all, there seems to be no syntactic factor that instantiates others, universally true for the finitenes of Jejuan adverbial clauses. For example, it is not the case that the presence or absence of subject licensing would instantiate a clause type to be embedded or not, or express information structure morphosyntactically or not: in a different-subject *-nti* clause linkage, the *-nti* is not embedded, yet in a DS *-kəni* linkage, centre-embedding is possible. Moreover, DS, *-ko*, *-nti* and *-kəni* clauses allow for topicalisation, whereas in *-nan* clauses (which are always DS), only temporal *-nan* clauses allow for topicalisation. For a few clause linkage types such as *-məŋ* or *-taŋ* linkages, one can indeed see a clear bundling of multiple properties, yet for many others, the combination of individual properties of syntactic finiteness are numerous.

From the perspective of clause likage, one cannot apply a unitary concept of 'subordinate' (and 'coordinate') clause to the syntax of Jejuan clause linkage, as depending on the linkage type, dimensions are instantiated diversely. Similarly, from the perspective of Canonical Finiteness, our CT criteria are independent of each other and converge towards the Canonical Ideal. Therefore, these facts do not stand in conflict with each other, although in some other approaches to finiteness they may do so.

5.2.3. Patterns within semantics

A canonically finite clause from a semantic point of view is asserted in a speech act sense (C-13), has temporal anchoring (C-14) independent of the immediate clausal environment, and is informationally structured (C-15).

Within the semantic domain of finiteness, three kinds of patterning have been identified.

The first type of patterning tendencies involves *-ko, -nan, -nti* and *-ŋ* clauses. Here, only for *-ko* clauses, examples have been found which show that the non-final clause can be included in an assertion made in the final clause (example (106a) on page 154). No other clause type allows for their usage in asserted contexts. In other clause types, *-ŋ* and *-ko* clauses can have independent temporal anchoring and show signs of internal information structuring. *-ko* clauses only show such signs of information structuring in different-subject contexts, however.

-nan clauses again are special in that their properties neatly divide into whether their semantics are interpreted as being causal, or temporal, analogous to this clause type's morphological and syntactic properties. Temporal clauses have no independent anchoring, whereas causal clauses do. By contrast, temporal clauses show signs of internal information structuring, whereas causal clauses do not.

As the second tendency, *-taŋ* and *-məŋ* clauses on the other hand, do not show any of the semantic properties commonly associated with Canonical Finiteness: they cannot be asserted, they do not have independent temporal anchoring, and they show no signs of internal information structuring as clause-internal topical-isation is not possible. In the third grouping, *-kəni* clauses are somewhat in the middle between the first two, as they do not allow assertive speech act usage, or independent temporal anchoring, whereas they do seem to be informationally structured in DS contexts.

Comparing the linkage types under examination with our Canonical Ideal, we can see that except for DS, *-ko* clauses, no other clause clause type/instance shows the full range of properties associated with canonical finiteness from a se-mantic angle. At the same time, clause types examined differ individually in the way they exhibit semantic finiteness properties, except for *-məŋ* and *-taŋ* clauses, which show a consistently 'Canonically Non-Finite' pattern. Still, the fact that different-subject *-ko* clauses actually qualify for all of the semantic criteria under discussion shows that we need to be wary of the fact that just because a clause is morphosyntactically less finite, it does not imply that semantically, the clause types will be less finite in the same fashion. Since our current CT model of finite-ness is able to clearly capture this, I will argue that it Canonical Typology is particularly suited for the analysis of heterogenous categories such as finiteness. I now turn to a discussion of possible correlations and mismatches across criterial domains.

5.3. Patterns across morphology, syntax and semantics

For the cross-sectional comparison of the finiteness properties of Jejuan adverbial clauses, I will first identify those patterns where the criteria values are closest to the canonical ideal, or furthests away from it. This way, we can create a virtual space within which we can locate the 'side pillars' of the range of linguistic instances that we can find in this language. Thus we gradually move away from our 'empirical extremes' to see what kind of intermediate cases we find. Any such case is expected to be interesting for further theorisation, since it may provide us

with a stronger empirical basis to argue for the fact that finiteness (and relatedly, adverbial clause) properties cannot be neatly subsumed under just two opposing categories, and thus provide valuable insights into theories of finiteness, clause linkage and Canonical Typology. See the next Chapter 6 for a summary of these main insights.

When we compare our results for the different adverbial clauses to our canonical ideal, then the clearest pattern emerges right on the other side of what we expect in a canonically finite case. Thus *-taŋ* and *-məŋ* linkages show values on the opposite side of our finiteness space, that is, for none of the finiteness properties examined, the values coincide with the ideal.[4] While further below I will show that other clause types examined in this study are more ecclectic in their properties, this means that this is not true for all adverbial clauses in Jejuan. Thus in this clause type, converbs are uninflectable (C-1 to C-5), do not license independent subjects (C-10), are in syntactically dependent distribution (C-8), syntactically embedded (C-9) and opaque to relativisation (C-12), and lack assertion properties (C-13), temporal anchoring (C-14) and internal information structuring (C-15).

The existence of this pattern is relevant in a sense that a Canonical Typology approach logically determines what could be a *possible* instance within the combinatorial matrix of our fifteen finiteness dimensions, yet obviously, it does not necessarily say anything about what would be a *likely* instance — although this may well be part of the assumptions and expectations that a linguist brings into the study of a language.The fact that we actually find an instance of a Jejuan adverbial clause which shows none of the properties of the Canonical Finiteness Ideal is, from a somewhat more traditional, *prototypical* viewpoint, not very surprising given that similar cases have frequently been found in other languages, yet from a *canonical* (typological) perspective, it is still interesting since there were no a-priori assumptions about what properties linked clauses in Jejuan *should* have. What emerges in this study, is therefore an empirical basis for a 'canonically opposite' concept, namely 'Canonical Nonfiniteness', which is characterised by all properties which are on the opposite of our ideal of Canonical Finiteness. If, as Corbett (2005: 26) states, a canonical instance may "be extremely rare, or even non-existent", the same may be said about the 'canonically opposite' instance, yet in Jejuan, we find this instance empirically represented by the *-məŋ* and *-taŋ* (and possibly other) clause types in Jejuan.

I now turn to the opposite side of the lattice of attested Canonical Finiteness

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[4] Setting aside the fact that *-taŋ* converbs do inflect for tense, but there the tense suffixation seems more reminiscent of aspect marking. See Section 4.6.1.

instances. When it comes to the adverbial clause properties most similar to the canonical finiteness ideal, this turns out to be a more difficult question, as there is no group of adverbial clauses which groups into a natural class as neatly as *-taŋ* and *-məŋ* clauses do.

To begin with, among the adverbial clause types closest to our canonical ideal are different-subject, *-ko* clauses. These clauses are not syntactically embedded (C-9), license their own, nominative-marked subjects (C- 7 and C-10), show signs of internal information structuring (C-11 and C-15), block extraction out of both clauses (C-12), and examples can be found which show that this clause type can be asserted (C-13), and be independently anchored in time and space (C-14). The converb heading these clauses is inflectable in principle. All this makes them fairly similar to canonically finite clauses from a syntactic and semantic perspective, although morphologically, they are clearly restricted in the range of grammatical categories that their head verbs can inflect for. Moreover, such a *-ko* clause still stands in syntactically dependent distribution (C-8), as opposed to a Canonically Finite clause.

Another clause type which exhibits more canonically finite properties is the *-nti* clause. It is not syntactically embedded in its final clause (C-9), it licenses its own subject (C-10), information structure is morphosyntactically expressible (C-11) based on the fact that it has internal information structuring (C-15) and it can be independently temporally anchored (C-14). Yet similar to DS *-ko* clauses, note the reduced range of inflectability of such converbs, their syntactic dependence (C-8) and the lack of assertion (C-13).

Thus both *-ko* and *-nti* clauses are closer to the canonical ideal than any other adverbial clause type, yet their properties are not *identical* to each other, similar to the patterning of *-taŋ* and *-məŋ* clauses. The difference between *-nti* and *-ko* clauses is that whereas *-nti* clauses permit topicalisation regardless of subject reference, only DS *-ko* clauses allow for topicalisation, and therefore it is only DS contexts in which *-ko* can be seen as having internal information structuring. Moreover, *-ko* and *-nti* converbs do not inflect for the same range of morphological categories (see table 5). Therefore, even here these clause types differ in their individual properties and do not form a natural class. More importantly, neither of them is congruent with what is expected in a canonically finite case across all finiteness dimensions: they are still syntactically dependent clauses (C-8).

The next case are temporal *-nan* clauses. As mentioned, *-nan* clauses show inherent different-subject reference (ex. (109b)), and the semantics of this clause linkage are either temporal or causal. The initial expectation was that they would

show common properties at least on some dimensions. However, this is not the case: there is a clear difference between temporal and causal *-nan* clauses throughout all examined criteria.

Temporal *-nan* clauses are fairly close to *-ko* and *-nti* clauses with respect to their syntactic properties: they do not permit centre-embedding (C-9), they license their own subject (C-10), they allow for clause-internal topicalisation (C-11) and block extraction (C-12). Similar to DS, simultaneous *-ko* clauses, both the *-nan* clause and its final clause constitute an opaque domain when it comes to relativisation (C-12). Semantically, temporal *-nan* clauses cannot be asserted (C-13), but are informationally structured (C-15), which again is similar to what has been found for different-subject *-ko* and *-nti* clauses. As opposed to these, however, temporal *-nan* clauses show no independent temporal anchoring and *-nan* converbs in such temporally interpreted contexts permit no inflection. Compared to the Canonical Ideal, we see mismatches between several criteria: these clauses do license their own subject, show no signs of syntactic embedding and show internal information structuring which would suggest a greater degree of (tradtional) finiteness. Still, they are syntactically dependent and not temporally anchored. As assumed for Korean, we would assume there to be a correlation between the lack of syntactic embedding, the licensing of a subject and morphological inflection, but no such correlation exists here either.

Causal *-nan* clauses are markedly different from temporal *-nan* clauses, and show similar mismatches. They can be inflected for tense (yet no other category; C-1), and they are syntactically embedded (C-9) and license their own subject (C-10). As opposed to temporal *-nan* clauses, these clauses cannot express information structure morphosyntactically (C-12), and the extractability is confined to the final clause domain. Whereas causal *-nan* clauses lack assertion, they can be independently temporally anchored, but lack internal information structuring. Again, on the syntactic level, mismatches lie between criteria C-10 and C-9/C-12, and on the semantic level, between criteria C-14 and C-13/C-15.

With respect to our Canonical Ideal, both temporal and causal *-nan* have some more canonically finite properties in one area, whereas in another they may be more canonically non-finite. In the morphological sense, causal *-nan* clauses are closer to the canonical ideal since they are inflectable, whereas temporal *-nan* clauses are not, and are therefore canonically less finite. From a syntactic perspective, however, the finiteness of these clauses goes in opposite directions: here, it is temporal clauses which show more canonically finite properties, and causal clauses which show less finite properties. Then again, on the semantic level,

causal clauses are independently temporally anchored whereas temporal clauses are not. On the other hand, causal clauses have no internal information structuring, whereas temporal clauses do seem to have it, based on the fact that topicalisation is possible in such a clause. Thus while we have our Canonical Finiteness Ideal, and have presented evidence for instances of 'Canonical Nonfiniteness', *-nan* clauses constitute of intermediate cases which are not congruent with either, theoretically possible extreme. As I will discuss in the subsequent section, a multidimensional model such as CT can capture not only such intermediate cases, yet precisely capture *differences between other intermediate* instances by virtue of having the independent criteria, and not scales or implicational hierarchies.

The next group of clauses with neither canonically finite, nor 'canonically non-finite' patternings are *-kəni* and *-ŋ* clauses. Neither of these converbs are inflectable. In different-subject contexts, both clauses license their own subject and the clauses are embedded (C-9 and C-10). When it comes to information structure, *-ŋ* clauses behave uniformly in the expressibility of information-structural processes (C-11 and C-15), whereas *-kəni* clauses allow for the expression of information structure only in different-subject contexts. Again, however, despite the commonalities, these two clause types show individual differences: *-kəni* clauses are less canonically finite than *-ŋ* clauses on the semantic level, since they are never independently anchored. Additionally, same-subject *-kəni* clauses are less canonically finite than *-ŋ* clauses due to their lack of internal information structuring.

Both clause types show an interesting phenomenon: different-subject contexts more or less clearly show that the non-final clause can be centre-embedded in the final clause (C-9). This makes us assume that same-subject contexts will not be much different syntactically, because there we would assume that we have a final clause which has an overt subject, and a non-final clause whith no independent subject licensing. This, then would be the opposite case of what we observed for *-ko* and *-nti* clauses, where C-9 (syntactic status of embedding) and C-10 (subject licensing) seem to correlate.

However, as opposed to different-subject contexts where we can clearly identify the non-final and final clause domains by means of looking at the positions of the two subject NPs[5], this would be the basis to argue that if we do have the common subject at the left edge of the whole complex sentence, then this must be a case of centre-embedding (see discussions surrounding example (**??**) on page **??**) and following in section 4.4.2).

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[5] Of course, by this I am not implying that *spontaneous* Jejuan speech would look like this all the time, since such examples where I manipulated variables were constructed in elicitation.

What I have shown, however, is that the common subject in same-subject *-ŋ* and *-kəni* linkages can either be rendered as final clause constituents, in which case the adverbial clauses are syntactically embedded (see ex. (**??**) on page **??** for example), or they can be shown to be non-final clause constituents, in which case the adverbial clauses are not embedded (ex. (**??**), (**??**), (**??**) on page **??**). In other words, we find two different structural types for same-subject *-ŋ* and *-kəni* linkages.

As a result, we have to assume different structural instances of one and the same morphological-semantic clause type, that is: for same-subject *-kəni* and *-ŋ* clauses, we have a) cases where the non-final clause head licenses a subject. In such cases, centre-embedding a non-final clause is not possible, which is why we cannot regard the non-final clause as being syntactically embedded. In other cases b), the non-final clause can appear between object and verb of the final clause, which clearly shows that the non-final clause is syntactically embedded. Then, the common subject may not be rendered as a non-final clause constituent, and subject licensing of the non-final clause is therefore not possible. In a way, this correlation between subject licensing and syntactic embedding is observed fairly commonly, which would fit into what we expect by looking at the Canonical Finiteness Ideal. Still, recall that in different-subject contexts, *-kəni* and *-ŋ* show signs of embedding, which means that we cannot generalise onto the entirety of Jejuan averbial clause linkage.

Evidence such as the above raise the question of what we refer to when we talk about '*-kəni*' or '*-ko*' as 'adverbial clause types'. While morphologically and with respect to most other syntactic-semantic criteria, these clauses show consistent properties, it is within a subcontext of particular subject reference, namely within the context of same-subject reference that we see the above syntactic differences emerging. If we strictly based our categorial decisions on empirical grounds, we would have to assume that the 'syntactically non-embedded, same-subject' instance of the *-kəni* linkage is a canonically more finite instance than the 'syntactically embedded, same-subject' instance. In this view, we would basically follow the view on distinguishing between surface and underlying representations: there are multiple *-kəni* clauses, that is *-kəni*$_{1: \text{ DS}}$, *-kəni*$_{2: \text{ SS, SUBJECT-LICENSING}}$, *-kəni*$_{3: \text{ SS, NO-SUBJECT}}$. Whereas this conclusion would logically follow from what we see in the data (given that in the current framework we do not assume any processes of syntactic transformation), this seems counter-intuitive, given that on all other dimensions we will not find such a three-fold division.

The data presented here may be implemented in a fairly divergent fashion

according to an individual theoretical framework. The CT framework applied in this thesis does not delve into such problems of categorial distinctions since no matter whether we are talking about a particular instance of a specific, morphologically determinable 'adverbial clause type', or about that type itself, we can look at the patterns between dimensions, and situate each instance within the typological space of possibilities.

To bring this CT evaluation of Jejuan adverbial clause properties to a close, I now proceed to a summary of the main findings of this section.

Firstly, no adverbial clause in a syntactically dependent context ever congrues with all the values which constitute the ideal of Canonical Finiteness. Although we can identify different-subject *-nti* clauses to be closest to the canonical ideal, it is important to note that none of them actually shows all the morphological, syntactic and semantic properties of a finite clause. In fact, it is interesting to see that no Jejuan converb ever is inflectable for all the categories seen to be possible for a canonically finite verb. On the other hand, there is evidence to assume that from a morphological perspective Jejuan shows verb forms which congrue with our Canonical Finiteness Ideal, re-citing ex. (1c) from Chapter 1:

(162)   Hyun and Kang (2011: 189)

    a. *je, jamt͡ɕən   hɐ-ke at͡ɕa-n t͡ɕʰɛk*
         yes well_behaved do-CVB sit-CVB book
         poa-msʰɨ-kʰɨ-p-te-ta
         see-PROG-IRR-POL-EV.PST-DECL
         'Yes, from what I saw, [that child], sitting there well-behaved, should be reading books.'

    b. after (162a), final clause without non-final clauses
         je, t͡ɕʰɛk poa-msʰɨ-kʰɨ-p-te-ta
         yes book see-PROG-IRR-POL-EV.PST-DECL
         'Yes, from what I saw, [that child], should be reading books.'

A Jejuan instance of an independent clause such as above, with the verb inflected for progressive aspect (which intersects with present tense reference), irrealis mood, evidentiality, politeness and declarative illlocutionary force would come fairly close to a morphologically, canonically finite clause instantiated in a particular language.

More importantly, I have shown that as opposed to our Canonical Ideal, no adverbial clause is syntactically independent even though it may show individual variation according to its status of syntactic embedding, or subject licensing. Furthermore, Jejuan adverbial clauses always block relativisation of one of its con-

stituents (regardless of whether this applies to the final clause as well or not), and no adverbial clause — with the exception of *-ko* clauses, perhaps — is asserted. Thus the analysis carried out in this chapter reveals some interesting correlations that may support researchers in their search for deeper theoretical explanations.

Secondly, we have identified instances of adverbial clauses which confirm with the exact opposite of the Canonical Ideal. While we do not find an instance of an adverbial exhibiting all properties of a canonically finite clause, we do find evidence for a 'canonically non-finite' possibility. If we enrich the typological space of Canonical Finiteness with that opposite extreme, we see that *-ko, -nan, -nti, -kəni* and *-ŋ* clauses are not only incongruent with the Canonical Ideal, they are in fact situated in an 'intermediate' fashion between two extremes, yet none of them pairs up neatly with one another. Thus the theoretical space of Canonical Finiteness somehow does incorporate aspects of the traditional view that we are dealing with a (canonically) finite vs. non-finite opposition, yet this does not mean that all constructions of a particular language only fall into either category.

Thirdly, we see that there do seem to be some weak tendencies observable when it comes to the correlations between finiteness dimensions. We can see that non-embedded clauses all license their own subject, yet the implication does not work the other way around. Arguably, the relationship between finiteness and subject licensing has theoretically been of high relevance in research (e.g., see papers in McFadden and Sundaresan 2014; or Grano 2017), yet research has shown that subject licensing does not imply the syntactic independence of a clause (Raposo 1987). Moreover, we see that some clause types in which the converbs are inflectable, show higher degrees of semantic and/or syntactic independence (e.g., *-ko* or *-nti* clauses), yet again, there are clause types which show similar properties, yet are morphologically uninflectable. To summarise, as for dimensions other than C-8, C-12 and C-13, we will always find exceptions to an assumed correlation between criteria.

Lastly, to a limited degree, the patterns allow us to draw connections back to the area of clause linkage, as the current study has looked at similar aspects considered in Korean clause linkage studies such as (Jendraschek and Shin 2011, Kwon and Polinsky 2008, Cho S.-Y. 2004, Rudnitskaya 1988). Contrary to what has been assumed by some researchers on Korean (e.g., Kwon and Polinsky 2008), we do not find a 'all-or-nothing' situation for Jejuan adverbial clauses (see Section 2.5), as there is no generally valid, binary distinction between clause types that emerges from the data.

In multiple places in this chapter, I have briefly mentioned how the applica-

tion of the CT model of finiteness can capture the Jejuan data in a non-conflicting manner. In fact, there are several benefits to such a typological approach to finiteness that I wish to discuss in the following section.

5.4. Canonical Typology: a critical appraisal

In this section, I would like to spend a couple of sections on a broader evaluation of merits and problems that were encountered during the analysis. It is hoped that in doing so, a more nuanced elucidation of the present, Canonical-Typological examination will emerge, both concerning the particular benefits of applying this framework, as well as pointing out issues for further advancement.

5.4.1. Advantages of a Canonical Typology approach

This section presents some thoughts on why the Canonical-Typological approach has proven to be useful in analysing the finiteness of Jejuan adverbial clauses, and in what ways it turned out to be an adequate framework for analysing the data presented. The following list is a summary of the points to be discussed in this section:

(163)   Advantages of a Canonical Typology approach
1. Systematic, empirically based grid of criteria
2. No dominance or hierarchy of grammatical domains or criteria
3. Multidimensionality, and flexibility of the theoretical space
4. Relevance of dimensions in wider ontology
5. Possible combination with statistical approaches
6. Construction of an ideal concept as point of comparison

Each of the above points will be briefly addressed.

5.4.1.1. Employment of empirically based, systematic grid of criteria

The criteria selected within the canonical base are a systematic array of definitorial dimensions. The systematicity of the approach may be nothing new in terms of typological methodology, yet Canonical Typology puts an emphasis on the comprehensive analysis and evaluation of data to an elaborate set of multiple criteria. The nature of the criteria themselves varies depending on the theoretical

aspects considered relevant for a concept in the wider literature, as well as the empirically observable facts associated with it:

> "The canonical approach to typology does not set any a priori restrictions on how fine tuned the criteria relating to a given construction or phenomenon should be. This needs to be established empirically." (Siewierska and Bakker 2013: 155)

While a Canonical Typological model of setting up criteria and the Canonical Ideal is based on deductive reasoning, studies in this field of research tend to emphasise the importance of an empirical basis for different criteria (e.g., Brown and Chumakina 2013: 8). Moreover, criteria themselves are often taken from a wide range of theoretically divergent frameworks, which means that the construction of a Canonical Ideal, while serving the goals of linguistic typology, benefits from a rich array of contributions from many perspectives on Language (cf. the various frameworks considered in Everaert 2013, or Spencer and Luís 2013).

Any phenomenon under examination (here for example, a particular adverbial clause type) will be put under scrutiny following the same set of criteria, in conjunction with the comparison to the logically consistent Canonical Ideal. In this way, the CT methodology enables a rigorous exploration of cross-linguistically relevant topics in a given set of languages.

5.4.1.2. No dominance or hierarchy of grammatical domains and criteria

In this study, many contributions made by syntactic theories on finiteness were taken into account in Nikolaeva's (2013) model. In some theories such as Chomskyan, Minimalist syntax and its expansions, the syntactic module is the central component of grammar, often incorporating phenomena that are traditionally convered by the domain of morphology. A few criteria deployed here such as tense, subject licensing and nominative case marking are seen to be mechanically dependent. Nikolaeva (2010) has pointed out that in cross-linguistic approaches, such a conceptualisation of criteria would quickly lead to the question of having to ask which or whether some feature is crucial, eventually calling the validity, or cross-linguistic applicability of finiteness into question (see for example, discussions on the validity of Tense or other features for finiteness in Chinese in Grano 2017).

Many approaches in more traditional typology seek to explain phenomena by means of implicational relationships between different phenomena arriving at

various scales and hierarchies (cf. Bisang 2007 for examples in the field of clause linkage or finiteness). In fact, researchers such as Cristofaro (2007) argue that phenomena related to finiteness can be captured by such implicational hierarchies, and that therefore, assuming a cross-linguistic category such as 'finiteness' is rather epiphenomenal (Cristofaro 2007: 92). Regarding such views, Nikolaeva (2010: 1180) discusses Vincent's (1998) research where it is suggested that "for all languages, if person and/or number and/or tense are marked on the dependent forms, then they are also marked on the independent forms (Vincent 1998:147, 151)." However, Nikolaeva (2013: 102) points out that "correlations have numerous 'exceptions' because various features do not always come together as predicted by the theory". Thus in an earlier paper, Nikolaeva (2010: 1181) points out that "[a]ccording to Gruzdeva (2001), the indicative exhibits subject agreement in number but not in person, while modal independent forms (interrogative, realis and irrealis) have no agreement at all". As shown below, however, Nivkh converbs obligatorily mark for person and number (see Gruzdeva 2001: 73 for more), which would violate Vincent's (1998) implication. This morphological condition may be fairly rare, yet it has been noted elsewhere as well: Bickel (2010: 66f.) explains how "[i]n Wambule [...], tense marking is allowed exclusively on chained, dependent clauses. Main clauses, by contrast, cannot be marked for tense." The following examples illustrate this phenomenon:

(164)   a. Nivkh (isolate), Gruzdeva (2001: 73)

       Jaŋ   *ţʻo⸺xu-rŏř*
       he-[NOM] fish-[SG-NOM]⸺kill-CONV:TEMP:3SG:NFUT
       kʻə⸺γe-ř   *vi-d.*
       axe-[SG-NOM]⸺take-CONV:MAN:3SG:NFUT go-IND-[SG]
       ''After catching fish, taking the axe, he went.'

    b. Wambule (Sino-Tibetan: Kiranti), Bickel (2010) from Opgenort (2004)

       saiso   *am kam pa-si tum-nu-ma-kho*   *lwa-nu-mei.*
       yesterday DEM work do-INF finish-2S-PST-SEQ go-2S-ASS
       'You finished doing this work yesterday and you went.'

Canonical Typology addresses such a problem by not assuming implicational or hierarchical relationships between criteria. In fact, the Precept of Independence in the Canonical Typology framework (see Section 3.3.2) ensures that criteria are looked at independent of each other, and that no grammatical domain is more important than others.

With respect to the current analysis of Jejuan, not having an a-priori hierarchy of criteria, or assuming implicational relationships as in Cristofaro (2007) allows for a language-specific pattern to emerge within the space defined by the Canonical Finiteness dimensions. CT constructs Canonical Ideals as a logical consequence of leading all criteria together, yet it does not make a judgment on whether a category distinction *should or should not* exist. The Canonical Ideal itself arises from its criteria, and since the criteria themselves were selected to fill a well-defined theoretical base (for example, "finiteness"), questioning (and ultimately discarding) that base itself is probably only considered necessary if there is no emprical evidence to assume any of the defining dimensions which would then render that very base theoretically 'empty'. This, however, may be highly unlikely if we set out to define our Canonical base based on evidence, following what has been outlined in the Recognisability Precept explained in Section 3.3.2.

5.4.1.3. Multidimensionality, and flexibility of the theoretical space

As explained, in Canonical Typology, 'comparative concepts' (Haspelmath 2010) such as 'finiteness' in this study are decomposed into an array of independent criteria. This makes such a model open for expansion and modification, and clearly highlights empirical mismatches in the data without letting the analytical framework run into the problem of conflicting properties.

I have shown in Section 5.3 that for a number of Jejuan adverbial clause types, we will find mismatches between various finiteness criteria, both within a clause

type in comparison to the Canonical Finiteness Ideal, as well as when comparing one clause type with another. For example, *-nti* clauses show many properties of a canonically finite clause since their converbs are inflectable, the clauses can license their own subjects, are not embedded, have internal information structuring and are temporally anchored. However, compared to the Canonical Ideal, we see nicely how on some dimensions, a *-nti* clause still shows some crucial differences from Canonical Finiteness: a *-nti* converb does not inflect for all categories available to a Jejuan verb, and its clause is syntactically dependent and lacks assertion. As mentioned, mismatches were shown between clause types as well, so for example, a look at *-nti* clauses would suggest that subject licensing may correlate with syntactic embedding, yet *-ŋ* and *-kəni* clauses show that a clause can be embedded yet license its own subject.

Scalar approaches to finiteness such as Givón's (1990, 2001) are welcome since their gradual understanding allows for such mismatches in principle. Yet when bridging the gap between the collection of data from a single language, and an examination of cross-linguistic patterns across a large dataset, such an approach risks providing only vague means of bridging that very gap: In Givón's model of the relationship between finiteness and syntactic integration of a clause, syntactic embedding would be taken as an important sign of syntactic integration. At the same time, subject licensing is an additional, important factor indicative of the degree of syntactic integration, yet a case such as Jejuan, DS *-ŋ* clauses raises the question of whether then a clause would be 'more or less' integrated (absence of syntactic embedding, yet presence of non-final subject), and ultimately, what that says about the finiteness of the clause. In a CT approach, by referring to the exact and independent criteria, we can precisely say in what point a given phenomenon converges or diverges with the ideal, and situate a particular instance within the theoretical space. A similar view is shared by Brown and Chumakina (2013: 6):

> "While we can recognize and instance which is totally canonical (i.e.
> a linguistic object which is at the canonical end of every dimension),
> when we speak of one things being less canonical than something else,
> this often has to be understood in relation to a particular dimension."
> (Brown and Chumakina 2013: 6)

Thus a multidimensional approach to typology with analytical dimensions independent of each other are not only beneficial for the identification of incongruences, but also do they give us more rigorous and exact means of pinpointing those differences.

Regarding the flexibility of the theoretical space, a Canonical Typology framework gives us the means to expand or otherwise modify the canonical space in case we wish to enrich it with additional, empirical input. For example, Nikolaeva (2013) lists thirteen criteria, yet the current investigation has been slightly expanded to fifteen. The list of criteria that may be added is possibly endless, although it will be subject to the researcher's personal judgment (in accordance with the literature) to see how many dimensions are considered to fill a base, and more practical restrictions such as time and the nature of linguistic data collection. In principle however, there is nothing that would speak against the expansion of a canonical base by gradual addition of dimension as one's typological research progresses. For example, several researchers such as Sells (2007) or Amritavalli and Jayaseelan (2008) have noticed that finiteness may be related to negational properties of a clause as well. Following such insights, the current investigation of finiteness in Jejuan may be expanded to include negation as a criterion in the future.

5.4.1.4. Relevance of dimensions in wider ontology

Another advantage and promising potential of the Canonical-Typological model is the possibility of criteria to be used for another Canonical Base. For example, the criterion on the morphosyntactic expressibility of information structure (C-11) could also be used for an area related more specifically to information structure itself. Or otherwise, the criterion on nominative subjects (C-7) may be applicable to studies specifically dealing with issues surrounding valency and argument structure.

Since we are talking about a methodological framework for linguistic typology, one could imagine a database where one has an array of criteria for which the values are indicated for all the languages where such information is available, not unlike typological databases such as WALS[6] , APiCS[7], or ValPal[8]. One could then approach one's own Canonical-Typological question by 'compiling' a set of criteria, letting the Canonical Ideal emerge from that list of criteria, and comparing particular instances with a particular Canonical Ideal.

One such database incorporating CT principles, yet focusing on one Canonical Base, has been realised by the Surrey Database of Agreement[9], which is discussed

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[6] Accessible under `http://wals.info/` [retrieved 2017-12-06]

[7] Accessible under `http://apics-online.info/` [retrieved 2017-12-06]

[8] Accessible under `http://valpal.info/` [retrieved 2017-12-06]

[9] Accessible under `http://www.smg.surrey.ac.uk/agreement/` [retrieved 2017-12-06]

in Corbett (2005: 31ff). As a relatively young framework, however, such an approach where criteria applied for different Canonical Bases are brought together in one database has not been extensively discussed yet.

5.4.1.5. Possible combination with statistical approaches

Moreover, the CT approach taken here is similar to the multivariate analysis that Bickel (2010) has done on clause linkage. The similarity of these approaches has been mentioned in Brown and Chumakina (2013: 14) and Forker (2016) already, yet at present I know of no approach which tries to combine statistical measurements with the CT approach. Brown and Chumakina (2013: 8) remark in a similar vein:

> "Indeed the natural thing to do would be to determine whether particular values for certain dimensions predict other ones, and this may well mean that, when it comes to the actual cross-linguistic reality, certain dimensions, as defined by the criteria, are more important that others." Brown and Chumakina (2013: 8)

Combining a CT approach with a multivariate analysis could enable the research to approach the problem of cross-linguistic comparability from two novel angles: On the one hand we have the largely deductive approach of compiling a set of criteria and constructing a Canonical Ideal as a point of comparison, which then lets us embark on the journey to collect data according to the criteria. On the other hand, we have the possibility of looking for a set of data and observing correlations and patternings within it through statistical measurements. What both multivariate approaches and Canonical Typology have in common is the employment of a multidimensional approach to conceptualisation.

5.4.1.6. Construction of an ideal concept as point of comparison

One of this thesis' objective was to show that the Canonical Ideal is not some theoretical construct that is not evidenced for in any way, but that through the logically consistent congruence of all finiteness criteria, one could use that model of a 'canonically finite clause' to imagine 'what could be a possible instance' within the space of Canonical Finiteness, and then to situate 'real-life' instances from Jejuan adverbial clauses into that space to compare it with the ideal. Especially in

Section 5.3, it was the employment of the Canonical Ideal which enabled us to position the properties of Jejuan adverbial clauses within the Canonical Finiteness space, even though we are looking at a single language.

On the one hand, the current model of Canonical Finiteness makes it possible to highlight numerous mismatches between criteria. Moreover, the comparison of Jejuan data patterns with the Canonical Ideal also highlighted something that may seem expected at first sight, yet which is still interesting: The analysis has identified a group of clause types which show none of the criteria values of the Canonical Ideal, and confirms that at least for a few adverbial clause types in Jejuan we may find clause types with properties that can be called 'canonically non-finite'. This is similar to what Corbett (2005: 25) states, namely that a CT approach may help addressing the problems of 'premature statistics' in typological analysis:

> "The [...] danger is that something which is frequently found may be treated as uninteresting, whereas there are linguistic phenomena which are common yet which, I believe, should surprise us." Corbett (2005: 25)

In a way, the fact that we identified a group of 'canonically non-finite clauses' may not surprise us, since when it comes to the domain of 'non-finite clauses' or 'subordinate clauses', the properties exhibited by *-taŋ* or *-məŋ* are pretty much what we usually think of such clauses to be like. Still, since hardly any study so far has looked at Jejuan (and with regard to finiteness, other Koreanic languages) adverbial clauses from such a multidimensional, cross-clause-type angle, it is interesting to see that we find both clauses with maximally non-finite properties *and* a number of types with ecclectic properties. The comparison with the Canonical Ideal has greatly facilitated this endeavour.

5.4.2. Points of discussion and continuing issues

In the data description (Chapter 4), subsequent analysis and the discussion of the results above, there were a few recurrent issues that are currently unresolved in Canonical-Typological, or merit some more attention for the future.

(165)   Questions raised for Canonical-Typological methodology
   1.   Selection, number and exhaustiveness of criteria
   2.   Nature and internal structure of criteria
   3.   Logical construction and abstractness of the Canonical Ideal

A great deal of the issues raised here is concerned with setting up the criteria for a CT approach and their methodical validation, as well as the contentious issue of cross-linguistic investigations and their relationships to language-specific phenomena and properties. Similar to section 5.4.1, I will briefly elaborate on each of the points listed above.

5.4.2.1. Selection, number and exhaustiveness of criteria

In the CT framework, selection and formulation of criteria are deemed to be "[a] particular challenge", especially when it comes to "determining the number and nature of different dimensions" (Brown and Chumakina 2013: 5). Similarly, Bond (2013: 20, footnote 2) notes that "the question of which property is canonical and which is not also remains unclear to a large extent". He continues explaining that "criteria can only be proposed where cross-linguistic or language internal variation provides evidence for differences across a single parameter" (Bond 2013: 20, footnote 2), yet researchers seem to wonder about how a particular dimension defining a certain concept can be regarded as constituting the Canonical Ideal (Forker 2016: 79). Moreover, related to this is the question of how many criteria may be 'enough', so to speak, so that the Canonical Ideal is regarded exhaustive in a sense that it can capture the cross-linguistic diversity of phenomena that fall within a Canonical Base.

Both concerns refer to issues of exhaustiveness and validity of a typological approach, yet they are not specific to the nature of CT. After all, the CT methodology does not impose any numeral conditions or restrictions on the criteria applied within some base, nor does it seem that there are restrictions on the nature of criteria, as shown by the quotation given above by Siewerska and Bakker (2013). Rather, criteria selection and formulation is most crucially informed by the existence of (preferably) cross-linguistic research and the existence of theoretical literature. In this way, the array of criteria considered crucial for a particular investigation is not set in stone, yet multiple factors play into their selection.

As Nikolaeva (2013) mentions, the thirteen criteria selected in her study are not exhaustive to the study of finiteness, nor is that a judgment on the relevance or value of each of those criteria. Similarly criteria selection in other CT studies such as Corbett (2003) or Evans (2013) have been thoroughly informed by wider literature on a subject. As one simple factor, the researcher and their research outcome are clearly limited by very practical concerns such as time, space, data, scope etc. This does not mean that emerging data from a particular language may

not propose changes or additions to a given set of criteria. Thus using the notion of 'canonical' should not be confused with the more common understanding as "what is perceived to be a norm or standard", since in Canonical Typology, "[a] canonical instance of a phenomenon is not nevessarily associated with what is usual, normal, frequent or unmarked" (Siewierska and Bakker 2013: 152).

Instead, what is canonical is solely the convergence of all criteria in one logical endpoint — given this, we may conclude that the question of 'which property is canonical' is rather secondary, as long as a criterion contributes to adding an empirically grounded dimension to the picture of the Canonical Ideal. However, Forker (2016: 80) asks "how it is possible to investigate rare phenomena or to discover new phenomena of which we can hardly have a canonical ideal in mind", since the Canonical Base and its dimensions crucially rely on existing research and dimensions identified. Given that such a CT approach to typology may "help us understand how different comparative concepts used by different linguists relate to each other" (Haspelmath 2010: 677), Haspelmath speaks of Canonical Typology as a kind of 'metatypology'[10] (Haspelmath 2010: 678).

While the CT methodology may lead us to think that 'we can only look at something based on what we already know' — referring to the deductive nature of CT reasoning — I do not think that the CT methodology per se is unable to deal with newly discovered phenomena. This is because dimensions first and foremost rely on empirical evidence, so as soon as we have evidence on a particular phenomenon that we can abstract from in a particular language, we may as well start from that (potentially, however small the array of criteria may be), and continue or research by adding other languages to the sample, just as in any other typological investigation. Regarding Forker's (2016: 79) question, it is not so much whether we have 'a Canonical Ideal in mind' or not, since this ideal does not exist independently of the criteria (which again are based on evidence), but rather, emerges from it. Thus Forker (2016: 79) herself admits, "Brown and Chumakina (2013[:] 8) state that Canonical Typology is grounded in data and this might mean that inductive definitions are also admissible."

5.4.2.2. The nature and internal structure of criteria

Based on all studies carried out within the CT framework so far, criteria have been formulated in binary ways in a sense that for each criterion we have two

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[10] Corbett (2007: 9) explains that "differences in use of terms" could be elucidated by means of referring to how remote a term is from what he calls a "canonical core". However, note that this is by no means the sole purpose for which the CT framework was created.

options. It seems that this is based on two reasons, one pertaining to the deductive reasoning within CT, and the other (possibly) to the phenomenological nature of linguistic facts.

Regarding the first reason, Brown and Chumakina (2013: 6) explain that as the logic behind a CT framework and the construction of a Canonical Ideal is shown through "a Boolean lattice, a criterion either holds or does not hold". This means that criteria are formulated in a way that they relate to observable (or otherwise attestable) phenomena such as 'tense marking' or 'syntactic embedding'. Regarding this, Forker (2016: 81) writes:

> "Within Canonical Typology, the complete list of criteria with the possible values is used for the typological enterprise and can thus be interpreted as a concept used for cross-linguistic comparison. Specific values of criteria can be interpreted as language-specific concepts." Forker (2016: 81)

Canonical Ideals are comparable to 'comparative concepts' as discussed by Haspelmath (2010), and as such, they are comparative beacons which are applied to a set of languages in an identical fashion. Criteria as defining dimensions of such ideal concepts, are then formulated in a way that they can capture language-specific instantiations of those criteria[11]. The binary design of criteria is largely in line with voices such as Bisang (2007: 121) who states:

> "This leads to the question of whether scalarity matters if one looks at individual languages. If finiteness is defined in terms of the categories that are to be morphologically or syntactically expressed in independent vs. dependent clauses of individual languages, it turns out that finiteness is a discrete or binary phenomenon." Bisang (2007: 121)

Thus to a large degree, the binary formulation of criteria as describing phenomena that are instantiated or not, was suitable for the investigation of Canonical Finiteness. In this sense, we can say that the CT approach elegantly bridges the gap between cross-linguistic and language-particular analysis.

However it seems that criteria values do not have to be discrete but can be gradient as well (Forker 2016: 81). Moreover, in this study, I employed privative

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[11] Although note that in Haspelmath's (2010) strict sense of language-particular concepts, the typological level of conceptualisation would never be reconcilable with the language-particular level, in a sense that typological investigations can only capture 'part' of the language-specific phenomenon. This, then, means that approaches such as CT do not consider these levels of enquiry in such strictly separate terms. See Forker (2016: 81) for more.

criteria values in the case of C-12 (extractability through relativisation). While I may have chosen to use binary values indicating whether relativisation is possible in a Jejuan adverbial clause or not, the intention in table 5 was to leave richer information than that: although not immediately relevant to finiteness studies, it was considered valuable information for readers to know not only whether extraction is possible out of an adverbial clause, but also whether in the case of impossibility, this 'ban on relativisation' (cf. Bickel 2010) affects both the non-final and final clause (as in 'coordinate' linkages, cf. Ross' 1967 CSC), or the non-final clause only (as in asymmetric, 'subordinate' linkages). Thus for the former I chose the label 'no', for the latter the label 'FIN', and for the Canonical Ideal 'yes', which means that in the canonical case, an independent, canonically finite clause would allow for such extraction. While this kind of criteria value formulation does not seem to be most adequate from a mathematical perspective, FIN was interpreted as a privative criteria value indicating that extraction is possible out of the final clause, yet not out of the non-final clause. Thus a compromise was made between truthfulness to conventions arising from theoretical reflections, and the possible danger of impoverishing information.

5.4.2.3. Logical construction and abstractness of the Canonical Ideal

No matter how rigorously the CT framework is applied to the world's languages, the construction of the Canonical Ideal and its dependence on the criteria will ultimately subject it to the researcher's subjectivity in selecting the base and the criteria, and 'filtering' the grammatical information from a particular language under study. The question is, then, how much sense it makes to develop a framework where such an ideal is created and given a meaningful theoretical role in the first place.

This touches upon a more general question on a philosophical level, since Canonical Typology assumes that an actual instance of a phenomenon that confirms with the Canonical Ideal may be unlikely to be found in reality. But does this mean that this ideal actually exists? What are we saying about the Canonical Ideal as an entity?[12]

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[12] Forker (2016: 80) raises the following problem: "The (at least theoretical) possibility of non-existent canonical ideals is also problematic because, in principle, it allows us to define arbitrary linguistic concepts that lack grounding in real data and linguistics is brought back to philosophy." I am not considering this problem here since from what I understood, it is difficult to 'define arbitrary linguistic concepts', since the Recognisability Precept (and partly, the Venus Precept) ensure that the criteria are empirically motivated, and the ideals are constructed strictly emerging from those criteria. Although the philosophical side has not been

At present, literature on Canonical Typology largely circumnavigates this philosophical question. Presumably, this is because the construction of a Canonical Ideal is said to logically follow from the set of the criteria, and the usage of this ideal is expected to help addressing the Correspondence Problem. In this sense, the emphasis rather seems to lie in the usability of the Canonical Ideal in a pragmatic sense for linguistic typology research, and whether or not this implies that the Canonical Ideal 'exists or does not exist' in a philosophical sense is regarded an issue relevant to that particular research.

In the future, however, the nature of this Canonical Ideal and its relevance will need to be addressed, since there are comparable approaches such as Bickel (2010) which take a multivariate (that is, multidimensional) approach to typological concepts, yet get by without the employment of a Canonical Ideal. Bickel (2010) identifies a so-called 'prototype' for clausal subordination, which is a statistically motivated cluster of a range of properties which seem to be typical for subordinate clauses in a range of languages. Yet such a prototype has been identified on the basis of 'what is', and does not necessarily talk about 'what could be possible' (cf. Brown and Chumakina 2013: 14), since its characteristics will depend on the particular set of languages selected and its size. Still, imagining what could be 'maximally' possible when talking about finiteness was useful when situating Jejuan adverbial clauses in the typological space, as done in this chapter. Especially this language-internal, 'cross-clause-linkage' comparison has benefited from the employment from a Canonical Ideal.

5.5. Contextualising the findings

Now that the details of the CT analysis results have been discussed, I would like to spend a few moments reflecting on the contextualisation of the results. Essentially, this section is thought as a brief recap of the research questions outlined in Section 1.3 on page 23. Recall that the first group of questions dealt with a largely language-independent enquiry, and the second with a language-particular one. Chapters 4 and 5 (and the converb type section in the grammar sketch appendix, Section A.2.17) have described the relevant finiteness properties of selected Jejuan adverbial clauses in detail, summarising what kinds of patterns emerge from the data. Thus the second area of research questions has been discussed thoroughly.

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considered much in this thesis, I personally regard it a welcome, and not problematic step to go back to more general, philosophical reflection.

Within the first area of research questions, question 1a) asked whether we "can find a way to study such a concept cross-linguistically with a typological model that can deal with mismatches, rather than problematising them". Given the preceding discussion of the benefits of a CT approach which is designed to address this very issue, I will now focus on aspects of questions 1b) and 1c). First I will try to show how the CT analysis results can be contextualised by comparing them to research on other languages. Then, I will make some tentative suggestions on how theoretical approaches to finiteness (and clause linkage) could benefit from the present findings. Given the limits of this thesis I will not be able to go into great detail, yet I intend to make suggestions for these two areas of contextualisation and further research.

5.5.1. A tentative comparison with Korean

Given that the CT finiteness criteria outlined in Section 3.4 all derive from a large and theoretically diverse body of research on various aspects relating to finiteness summarised in Nikolaeva (2013), it is no surprise that the Jejuan findings will be comparable at least to a limited degree with those for other languages. As the most closely related language, it would surely be most interesting to see how the findings compare with finiteness in Korean. Instead of discussing Korean language data exclusively based on my own introspection, Kwon and Polinsky's (2008) and Rudnitskaya's (1998) findings previously discussed in Section 2.5 provide a welcome set of data which can be looked at from a CT angle, even though their research do not deal with finiteness per se. For this, I especially recommend revisiting table 2.5 on page 82, and table 2.1 on page 78. Note, however, that this subsection is not intended to comprehensively compare the Jejuan findings with Korean data, the aim rather is to demonstrate that one indeed *can* compare Jejuan data with data from other languages in a rigorous manner, in particular with reference to the Canonical Ideal and Canonical Opposite 'logically provided' by the CT framework.

While Rudnitskaya looks at the inter-relationship between the semantic interpretation, inter-clausal subject reference and presence or absence of tense marking with a Korean *-ko* linkage, Kwon and Polinsky put their focus on exploring the cruciality of semantic interpretation. Taken together, their data provide us information on various CT finiteness criteria examined in this thesis. Rudnitskaya (1998) observes that Korean *-ko* linkages can have both different-subject and same-subject reference, which gives us information on criteria C-7 (nominative-

marked subject) and C-10 (subject licensing). Focusing on the dimensions relevant in this section, Kwon and Polinsky state that in non-sequentially interpreted *-ko* linkages, *-ko* converbs can inflect for tense (C-1), cannot be centre-embedded and are therefore not syntactically embedded (C-9), topicalisation is possible in the case of across-the-board topicalisation[13] (C-11), and relativisation is possible in neither of the clauses (C-12). Not only does the information we obtain from these authors' works pertain to morphological and syntactic finiteness criteria only, but also, we can deduce some semantic factors from them. For non-sequential *-ko* linkages, we see that they can have independent temporal anchoring[14] (C-14) and information structuring (C-15) based on their tense-inflectional and information structure expression properties.

Furthermore, as mentioned in Section 3.4.1, the presence of the subject honorifc suffix *-s^{h}i-* has led to theorisations where it is understood to be a syntactic agreement marker. If so, one could understand the possibility to take on such a suffix to be a sign of subject agreement[15] (C-2). Also, note that studies on Korean clause linkage mostly focus on what seems to be the literary, written variety of Standard Korean. Especially in such varieties, one can find *-ko* converbs which are inflected for irrealis mood, or politeness:

(166)   a.   Mood marking on Korean *-ko* converbs[16]

taiət^{h}i=nin **hɛ-ja-keṣ-ko,**   *s^{h}ultɕali=e=nin*
Diet=TOP do-MOD_MUST-IRR-CVB alcohol_socialising=LOC=TOP
patɕi-l   s^{h}u   əps^h-ta?
evade-ADN POT NEG.EXIST-DECL

'On the one hand you ought to be on a diet, on the other hand you can't evade drinking alcohol with others?'

   b.   Politeness marking on Korean *-ko* converbs in literary language

tɕəkpjəŋ=til=i   s^{h}ajoŋ ha-tɕi   mos^h ha-tolok
enemy_troop=PL=NOM usage do-COMP NEG.POT do-CVB
ha-s^{h}i-op-ko,   *[...]*
do-HON-POL-CVB

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[13] As I mentioned in Section 2.5, focusing on the properties of the Korean *-ko* clause I take this as evidence for the fact that in this case, topicalisation *within* the adverbial clause is in fact possible.

[14] Although admittedly, one should look at whether past tense inflection on Korean *-ko* converbs in fact is an expression of 'deep tense' mentioned in Section 3.1.

[15] Although note that *any* non-final verb form in Korean can take this suffix, which would then make this criterion redundant.

[16] Taken from a website searching for -겠고, *-keṣ-ko*, -IRR-CVB, on Google: `http://www.talmo.com/home/bbs/board.php?bo_table=inform_diet&wr_id=15480&page=`, [retrieved 2018-08-20].

'Ensuring [lit. doing it so] that enemy troops cannot make use of it, ...'

Thus focusing on literary varieties of Korean[17], one could say that *-ko* converbs in non-sequential linkages come quite close to our canonical ideal, which would be positively specified for all finiteness criteria except for switch-reference (C-6, irrelevant here) and syntactic embedding (C-9). With respect to Korean clause linkage research, Korean *-ko* clauses are then to be situated at a theoretical point very close to canonically finite clauses. In a similar vein, Jejuan, different-subject *-ko* clauses discussed above are situated closer towards the Canonical Finiteness Ideal, yet given the fact that they cannot inflect for politeness, their morphological finiteness is to be seen as slightly more distant from the Canonical Ideal than (literary) Korean. In this way, the CT criteria grid makes it possible for us to determine very subtle differences between two closely related languages as Jejuan and Korean. As briefly mentioned in Section 2.5, Kwon and Polinsky's (2008) or Rudnitskaya's (1998) classification of non-sequential, different-subject *-ko* linkages as 'coordinate' may suggest that *-ko* clauses belong to the same category as non-sequential, English coordinate clauses; yet the CT criteria clearly show that syntactically, *-ko* clauses are nevertheless distributionally dependent (C-8), regardless of whether they are syntactically embedded or not. Thus English (presumably different-subject, non-sequential, cf. Culicover and Jackendoff 1997) coordinate clauses would turn out to be even closer to the Canonical Ideal with respect to C-8.

As explained, for sequentially interpreted contexts, authors of this, more traditional approach to clause linkage have found that the properties of the Korean *-ko* linkage lie exactly on the opposite side: no tense marking is possible (C-1), centre-embedding is possible (C-9), sequential interpretations tend to have (yet not are not exclusive to) same-subject reference (thus no positive specification for C-7 and C-10 in most cases), relativisation is possible only out of one clause (C-12) and topicalisation is possible in the final clause, and presumably not in the *-ko* clause[18] (C-11), we have no independent temporal anchoring (C-14), and no internal information structuring (C-15). If we take this to be true, then we would situate Korean, sequential, same-subject *-ko* clauses (since different-subject con-

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17 The above example has been taken from an online query post by the National Institute for Korean Language, citing from Park Chong-Hwa's famous novel 임진왜란, *Imjinwaeran*, 'The Japanese Invasion', published successively in a Chosun Ilbo newspaper series beginning in 1959. See `http://www.korean.go.kr/front/onlineQna/onlineQnaView.do?mn_id=61&qna_seq=37080` [retrieved 2018-08-20].

18 Note that the authors do not specify in particular whether topicalisation is possible or impossible in Korean *-ko* clauses, which is a shortcoming from the perspective taken in this thesis.

texts allow for a *-ko* clauses to license a referentially independent subject) on the 'canonically opposite' end of our theoretical space, similar to what was described for Jejuan *-məŋ* clauses. A CT finiteness criteria-based comparison between Korean, sequential, same-subject *-ko* clauses and Jejuan, same-subject *-ko* clauses would then clearly reveal the differences between the two languages: whereas Korean *-ko* clauses of such a type would be situated at the canonically opposite end, Jejuan *-ko* clauses would still be more finite, given that they are not syntactically embedded (C-9) and can be asserted (C-13).[19] Furthermore, note that whereas studies on Korean *-ko* linkages have attested an impossibility for sequential contexts to be tense-marked, Jejuan *-ko* converbs can be inflected for tense irrespective of semantic interpretation (cf. Section 4.2.2).

These few paragraphs are not intended to provide a thorough comparison between Jejuan and Korean (also given that research on the finiteness of Korean adverbial clauses is greatly limited at present), yet I hope to have demonstrated how the existence of a Canonical Ideal (and its logical opposite), and the application of multiple, theoretically independent criteria to the data can enable a rigorous and thorough means to compare different languages reliably with each other. This brief comparison between Jejuan and Korean *-ko* clauses has shown how despite great similarities between the two languages, there are some crucial differences which can only be observed through a fine-grained distinction between different theoretical dimensions. Imagining how in a CT approach one would collect relevant data criterion by criterion, instance by instance and language by language, one can see how data is translated from a language-specific, to an eventually cross-linguistic comparison.

5.5.2. Inspirations for finiteness research

At this point, I also wish to spend a few paragraphs on suggesting in what ways the current findings could be relevant for finiteness research, and in limited respects for clause linkage research as well. I first discuss inspirations for approaches which look for 'crucial' finiteness features based on largely morphological properties of clausal head verbs. Then I turn to approaches which try to derive a series of functional projections from the inflectability of non-final verbs, closing with a brief look at Minimalist approaches to finiteness in syntax.

One way that the current thesis may provide inspiration for further research

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[19] Although strictly spoken, clause linkage studies on Korean do not say much about the assertion properties of *-ko* clauses. If we left out this criterion, then the sole difference would be the status of syntactic embedding, which I still deem to be fairly significant.

is looking at the relationship between morphological finiteness and other finiteness manifestations. As explained in Section 3.1, the current array of finiteness criteria has been crucially informed by those Chomskyan approaches which try to model mechanical relationships between different finiteness dimensions in order to explain frequently observed correlations between the inflectional-distributional properties of a verb, and the presence or absence of overt clausal subjects, as well as their nominative case assignment, and other syntactic manifestations. Also, I have explained that in many versions of such a formal grammar, the presence or absence of tense is crucial for instantiating a whole range of finiteness-related properties (e.g., Grano 2017 for Chinese). More specifically, environments which are syntactically 'subordinate' often correlate with other finiteness dimensions in ways that have led to the simple assumption 'subordinate = non-finite = no tense possible'. Given this context, seeing how Korean *-ko* converbs may in fact be inflected for past tense has led to the search for an alternative feature crucial for instantiating finiteness distinctions, leading to conclusions such as Weisser's (2015, footnote 48, p. 89):

> "Even though the [*-ko* con-]verb in (i) can be marked for tense, it is still justified to assume that it is nonfinite since work on Korean agrees that the relevant feature for finiteness in Korean is mood (see discussion in Rudnitskaya (1998); Kwon and Polinsky (2008))." [addition in brackets mine] (Weisser 2015: footnote 48, p. 89)

Weisser is not alone in applying such a logic, as other studies such as Lee K.-Y. (2009: 58ff.) on finite control in Korean conclude that mood must in fact be the crucial feature for finiteness. With respect to the finiteness criteria outlined in Section 3.4, however, this would mean that MOOD would be crucial for the existence of possible finiteness distinctions. While of course, for Korean such a comprehensive study is yet to be done, for Jejuan it would be difficult to arrive at a similar conclusion. There are several reasons for this. For once, among inflectable converbs, except for politeness (which, in some high registers of Jejuan, *-ko* converbs can inflect for), inflectable converbs inflect for at least one of the verbal inflection criteria (C-1 to C-5) shown in table 5. Although Jejuan *-ko* converbs seem identical to Korean on the surface, one crucial difference is that they can inflect for imperative mood (fused with progressive aspect meaning, which is somewhat curious), thus positively qualifying for C-3 on illocutionary force/mood specification. This would mean that politeness could be a candidate for the crucial 'finiteness feature', yet even that would be problematic: if we only

had a clear, binary opposition between Jejuan clausal finiteness distinctions crucially depending on whether or not verbs can be inflected for politeness or not, we may in fact posit such a mechanism. As another aspect to consider, however, neither is it the case that all inflectable converbs head clauses with the same properties throughout, nor does it mean that uninflectable converbs are consistently less finite than those which do inflect for certain categories.

For example, both *-məŋ* clauses and *-ŋ* in Jejuan have been shown to be uninflectable[20], yet they do not have identical finiteness properties: whenever the common subject in a same-subject *-ŋ* linkage can be shown to be a non-final clause constituent, the clause does not show signs of embedding (C-9). At the same time, *-ŋ* clauses permit topicalisation of non-final clause constituents (C-11). *-məŋ* clauses (in temporal interpretation, see previous footnote), on the other hand, lack these properties, although these converbs, too, are not inflected for tense. More interestingly, among *-nan* clauses, temporally interpreted *-nan* clauses have been shown to be uninflectable as opposed to causal *-nan* clauses which inflect for progressive aspect or past tense — their relationship to syntactic properties, however, is often somewhat diametrically opposed: we would expect temporal *-nan* clauses to be those with a lesser degree of canonical finiteness given the lack of inflection on converbs, yet the opposite is true. While clauses headed by uninflectable, temporally interpreted *-nan* converbs are not embedded (C-9) and can have clause-internal topicalisation (C-11), inflectable *-nan* converbs head clauses which are syntactically embedded and do not allow for clause-internal topicalisation. Thus the Jejuan data defy a theorisation where a morphological finiteness feature can be reliably brought into mechanical correlation with other, syntactic-semantic finiteness manifestations.

On the border to clause linkage studies, the current findings from Jejuan may also provide further inspiration for work along the lines of Endo (2012). Following the framework of Cartographic Syntax that developed out of the proliferation and differentiation of functional heads as described in Section 3.1 (cf. Rizzi 1997; of course this is an over-simplification — I refer to Cinque 1999, 2002, 2004 among many others), Endo looks at different types of Japanese adverbial clauses. In this framework, each morpheme of an inflected verb projects its own phrase, which means that in (prototypical) agglutinative languages, one will end up with a chain of funtional projections that corresponds with the morphosyntactic categories that a word can inflect for.

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[20] As I will mention later, there are a few cases of *-məŋ* clauses with seemingly concessive meaning where the converbs are inflected for tense, yet given their different semantics and the lack of sufficient data, I will not delve into this any further here.

(167) Japanese, Endo (2012: 366)

> ... *narabe- rare- tei- na- kat- ta-*
>   arrange- Passive- Aspect- Negation- Tense- Speaker's_Mood-
> *soo   -yo*
> Interpersonal- Mood
>
> '(Things) do not seem to have been arranged, do they?'

(168) Derived 'hierarchical ordering of functional heads' for Japanese (*ibid.*):
VOICE < ASPECT < POLARITY < TENSE < SPEAKER'S MOOD < INTER-PERSONAL MOOD

Leaving aside the specific meanings of the functional categories Endo stipulates, Endo (2012: 368) present's Noda's (2001) ideas which group Japanese adverbial clauses into six classes, depending on the number of functional projections present in them. According to these ideas, Japanese adverbial clause classes can be ordered in a way that the number of functional heads present in a clause (and therefore, on a verb as well) increases successively from class to class. Crucially, in this view, the chain of functional categories projected into clausal structure is always contiguous. The following list presents the six classes that Endo (2012) discusses. Note that the morphemes in italics are verbal particles which represent that particular adverbial clause class:[21]

class	VOICE	< ASP	< POL	< T	< MOOD	< SPEECH-ACT
Group A: *nagara* 'while'	yes	no	no	no	no	no
Group B: *zuni* 'without'	yes	yes	no	no	no	no
Group C: *ba* 'if'	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no
Group D: *toki* 'when'	yes	yes	yes	y/n	no	no
Group E: *node* 'because'	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no
Group F: *ga* 'though'	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no

Table 5.2.: Endo (2012: 368) presenting Noda's (2001) findings

What is interesting in Endo's (2012) work from a finiteness perspective is that in Japanese we see a gradual increase in morphological complexity, and therefore morphological finiteness, which is then mirrored syntactically by clauses licensing for an increasing number of functional heads. As mentioned in a footnote in Section 3.1.1, Eide (2016: 14) and McFadden & Sundaresan (2014: 15) discuss Speas and Tenny's (2003) ideas, through which they suggest that Cartographic Syntax could capture the gradual nature of finiteness in this way.

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[21] In table 5.5.2, POL refers to polarity, although anywhere else in this thesis this is the abbreviation used for POLITENESS.

While for Japanese, Endo (2012) assumes that the hierarchy of functional projections will be the same irrespective of whether we are talking about final clauses or non-final clauses, the Jejuan data call this into question. Abstracting from the Jejuan ex. (162a) of a verb maximally inflected for the categories relevant in this thesis, we could postulate the following hierarchy of functional heads, which is markedly different from Japanese. Note that for now, polarity and voice are being left out since the above example does not include these inflections:

(169)   Tentative, Jejuan hierarchy of functional heads à la Endo (2012) based on ex. (162a)

T-ASP < MOOD < POL < EVIDENTIAL < SPEECH ACT

Note that the types of functional heads rather closely follow morphological realities of Jejuan inflection, and is only loosely based on categories discussed in Cinque (1999)[22] and Speas (2004). To ensure uniformity of syntactic structure, one may want to assume the same structure for Jejuan adverbial clauses, yet such a uniformity condition quickly runs into problems. Below, I attempt a classification of Jejuan adverbial clauses into types according to the range of categories their head verbs inflect for, applying a similar table format as Endo (2012). Note that I am adding conditional *-min* converbs (see Section A.2.17.2 in Appendix) to the list since they can inflect for irrealis mood, a category available to none of the converbs selected in Chapter 4.

If we assumed a series of functional heads to follow from the morphematic order of verbal suffixes in ex. (162a), and if we assumed that order of functional heads to be uniform for all clauses, then a look at the inflectional range of Jejuan converbs and its correspondence to that assumed hierarchy of funtional heads shows some interesting facts. One is the observation that all clauses where the converb can inflect for a category on a higher hierarchical level than TENSE-ASPECT[23], can in fact inflect for TENSE-ASPECT in principle. However, following

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[22] Interestingly, Cinque (1999: 53f.) discusses the hierarchical order of functional heads and its similarity to AdverbP ordering referring to the morphological structure of Korean verbs. Note that for some reason, he understands the Korean irrealis morpheme *-keş-* (corresponding to Jejuan *-kʰ-* in the above mood position) as a morpheme expressing epistemic modality, and the politeness morpheme *-(sʰ)̈i)p-* corresponding to the Jejuan politeness morpheme *-p-* (in the politeness head postulated above) as agreement, which is why his hierarchy turns out to be slightly different. All in all, the rough order of functional heads he proposes corresponds to that preliminarily proposed for Jejuan above. Categorisation issues aside, the problem that I wish to discuss here would pertain in any case.

[23] I describe in Sections A.2.14.1 and A.2.14.3 of the grammar sketch how tense and aspect marking intersect in Jejuan. Morphologically, they take the same suffix position and therefore cannot occur at the same time.

class	T-ASP	MOOD	POL	EV	SPEECH ACT
-ko	yes	no	no	no	yes
-nti	yes	no	no	yes	no
-min	yes	yes	no	no	no
-nan	yes	no	no	no	no
-taŋ	yes	no	no	no	no
-ŋ	no	no	no	no	no
-məŋ	no	no	no	no	no

Table 5.3.: Endo's (2012) functional heads analysis applied to Jejuan

the above, 'Cinquesian' hierarchy posited for Jejuan, we would expect an *-nti* clause to inflect for mood and politeness since these functional heads take intermediate positions between tense-aspect and evidential heads. The 'gap' gets even bigger for *-ko* clauses where I have shown how in spoken Jejuan, its converbs inflect for tense-aspect or speech act (namely imperative-progressive) only. As all inflectable converbs inflect for tense, yet only for one other inflectional category, one may instead assume a simplified set of separate, clausal structures without requiring other mechanisms to arrive at that ordering of functional heads, that is: a structure with T-ASP only (for *-nan* and *-taŋ* clauses, for example), another structure with two functional heads T-ASP and MOOD to account for *-min* clauses, another with T-ASP and EVIDENTIAL to account for *-nti* clauses, and so forth.

As a syntactic abstraction, the above postulated hierarchy of functional heads would also ignore the fact that on the one hand, some converbs such as *-nti* inflect for more tense-aspect categories than others (it is the only converb that inflects for present tense), while *-taŋ* converbs can only inflect for past tense. On the other hand, Koreanic evidential morphemes not only express evidentiality, but also tense-aspect meaning (namely past imperfective, cf. Section A.2.14.6 in grammar sketch), and what has been classified as a 'speech act' functional projection is actually a combination of speech act expression (imperative illocutionary force) and tense-aspect (progressive).

The point is that while for Japanese, the data presents a neat integration of Japanese adverbial clause data into theorisation along the lines of Cartographic Syntax, the Jejuan data are more difficult to account for since we do not seem to find the same structure between the adverbial clauses and non-final clauses, at least not in an as straightforward way as in Japanese, and not without assuming additional mechanisms to derive the surface structure. In this way, the Jejuan data could contribute in valuable ways to revisiting models proposed to account for adverbial clause, and finiteness-related structure.

The inspirations that the Jejuan findings can provide do not pertain to this particular area of Cartographic research alone, but also may affect more general areas of Minimalist syntax that was discussed in Section 3.1. For example, I have shown how Jejuan *-ŋ* clauses allow for clause-internal topicalisation (C-11, cf. Section 4.4.2), which in turn was interpreted as a sign of internal information structuring (cf. Section 4.4.3). Frey (2012), in his discussion of different adverbial clause types in German, recapitulates Rizzi's (1997) thoughts, according to which topicalisation (which in this research is subsumed under so-called *main clause phenomena*) is conditioned by the existence of a Force head. As far as I understand, however, the domain of Force, Topic heads etc. is that of the CP layer of a clause, whereas the pofileration of functional heads à la Cinque deal with the IP layer (see Cinque 1999: 84, for example).

Now, given that *-ŋ* clauses have been shown not to be asserted (C-13) and generally do not carry illocutionary force independent of the final clause, one may apply truncation mechanisms discussed by Adger (2007) and Endo (2012) which would do away with all CP layer projections above the Topic phrase. Such a mechanism cannot apply here, however, since due to the chained structure of Chomskyan syntax all layers above the projection for the converbal suffix would be cut off, therefore eliminating the possibility of clause-internal topicalisation for *-ŋ* clauses, which however, *is* in fact possible. If the order of functional heads assumed for table 5.5.2 should be part of the IP layer by default, it would mean that without truncaton all these functional heads would still be there. This would be strange, since *-ŋ* converbs do not inflect. Thus I believe that the Jejuan data point towards some necessary modifications to such existing theoretical models.

Given the limitations and different focus of the present thesis, I prefer not to continue with any further speculation on how the findings on finiteness in Jejuan adverbial clauses could feed back into relevant theoretical approaches. Importantly, the Jejuan data can provide some interesting challenges to relevant research areas, precisely because of the heterogeneity of patterns which is always difficult to account for in grammatical models that strive for maximum uniformity, coherence and consistency. What I hope to have demonstrated, however, is the fact that although the CT analysis is primarily aimed at building a cross-linguistic dataset for typological comparison, the current description of finiteness properties of Jejuan adverbial clauses has the potential to inspire a number of different approaches to the morphosyntax of finiteness and clause linkage.

5.6. Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, the data presented in chapter 4 was distilled into the current, Canonical-Typological analysis of finiteness. The patterns emerging from the data were described at first beginning with inter-categorial comparisons within a linguistic domain (Sections 5.2.1 to 5.2.2), and then an analysis of cross-categorial patternings in comparison with the Canonical Ideal (Section 5.3). In light of that analysis, then, the benefits (Sections 5.4.1) and problems (Section 5.4.2) associated with a CT approach were highlighted.

The Canonical-Typological framework applied was useful since it made a clear and explicit distinction between different dimensions of analysing finiteness, based on a synthesis of aspects provided by various theoretical approaches proposed in Nikolaeva (2007a, 2010, 2013) and elsewhere. The analysis of finiteness in Jejuan adverbial clauses according to this model has demonstrated the richness of patternings according to clause type. We see that finiteness properties are not always in line with each other: in the area of morphology, no clause type is canonically finite, as even inflectable converbs have a restricted range of inflectability. Compared to that, in the areas of syntax and semantics, clause types show varying degrees of finiteness. While all clause types examined here are syntactically dependent from the perspective of their syntactic distribution, they differ with regards to other factors. Some clauses show a greater degree of syntactic dependence in that they are syntactically embedded, do not license a subject and cannot express information structural configurations morphosyntactically. Others are much more ecclectic in that they do not show signs of syntactic embedding, yet this does not mean that they always license their own subjects or express information structure.

While it seems that there is a weak correlation between the lack of syntactic embedding and the licensing of a subject of the adverbial clause, the correlations between syntactic finiteness dimensions are not predictable when it comes to the analysis of Jejuan adverbial clause properties. Patternings of semantic properties behave similarly unpredictably. Whereas no adverbial clause seems to be assertible in the speech act sense, whether or not a clause type has both independent temporal anchoring and information structuring is individual to each adverbial clause type. In other words, the finiteness properties of Jejuan adverbial clauses are so diverse that they were meaningfully captured by a model such as CT which works on the basis multiple, independent dimensions, yet does not assume pre-established categories which represent preset 'bundles' of sets of criteria, yet at the same time enables comparison with a logically consistent ideal.

6. Conclusion: Finiteness in Jejuan adverbial clause linkage

In this thesis, I have attempted to bring together the concepts of adverbial clause linkage and finiteness under a Canonical Typology perspective. Both notions have been intensely debated in the literature as the diversity of language-specific manifestations of either clause linkage or finiteness-related matters has resulted in difficulties of finding a simple set of categorial distinctions, for example 'finite' and 'non-finite' clauses.

Problems frequently go back to the very nature of tensions arising between the language-specific characteristics relating to a certain phenomenon, and the cross-linguistic comparison of such phenomena: if a particular language shows its very individual properties and manifestations of a certain concept, how can then one phenomenon in a particular language be adequately compared to another believed to instantiate the same phenomenon? Moreover, from the perspective of a single language, how can the data be rigorously captured by a cross-linguistic investigation, and thus the language itself be situated within a typological space for a given concept, in a way that we can in fact ensure that we are 'comparing like with like'?

Thus a Canonical Typology model suggested by Nikolaeva (2013) was applied to a selected set of Jejuan adverbial clauses in order to situate the language in the typological space of finiteness, and address the problem of cross-linguistic comparison from the perspective of collecting data from a single language. The data was collected mainly through elicitation using a qualitative, monolingual data collection method bringing together ideas from more standard approaches to linguistic fielwork (Crowley 2009), as well as language documentation (Gippert et al. 2006).

A summary of chapters was given in Chapter 1, Section 1.6. Section 6.1 will give summaries on the results and conclusions made in this thesis. Section 6.2 will outline the contributions that this thesis has made on several levels, and section 6.3 will point out some limitations of this study, and suggestions for further research.

6.1. Results and conclusions

By applying Nikolaeva's (2013) Canonical Typology model to the analysis of finiteness in Jejuan adverbial clauses, this study has come to four major conclusions outlined below. For a look into the finiteness criteria applied in this study, see Sections 3.4.1 to 3.4.3. A detailed analysis of patterns was done in chapter 5, with an overview in table 5.

(170)   1.   **The study has identified a 'canonically non-finite' pattern in comparison to our ideal.** With two clause types (*-taŋ* and *-məŋ* clauses), we have properties which are on the logically opposite side, seen from the perspective of the Canonical Ideal within our space of Canonical Finiteness.

       2.   **For the rest of the clause types examined, there is no predictable regularity of patterns.** Not only are there mismatches across clause types, but also, morphological, syntactic and semantic properties show mismatches within one and the same clause type. Thus some clause types are closer to the Canonical Ideal, whereas others are further away.

       3.   **No clause type examined exhibits all Canonical Finiteness properties.** That is, all Jejuan adverbial clauses are less finite than a canonically finite clause at least in some of its aspects.

       4.   **Differences in finiteness between Jejuan adverbial clauses pertain not only to the morphology of head verbs alone**, but involve the areas of morphology, syntax and semantics.

     Each of the above points will be briefly elaborated below.

6.1.1. 'Canonically Non-finite clauses'

Two clause types, *-taŋ* and *-məŋ* clauses, were shown to exhibit all properties on the opposite side of the Canonical Ideal, that is: no properties that these clause types espouse confirm with the canonical endpoint in our Boolean lattice of Canonical Finiteness possibilities. Thus within the theoretical space of finiteness, both *-taŋ* clauses and *-məŋ* occupy a space maximally remote from the Canonical Ideal, and are 'empty' of all the criteria specifications that one would require for a clause to be Canonically Finite.

     While the initial analysis of patterns among the Jejuan adverbial clause types focused on their comparison with the Canonical Ideal to see which ones are closer

to it, and which ones further away, cases such as *-taŋ* and *-məŋ* clauses point towards an interesting fact: not only is it the case that we are positioning Jejuan adverbial clauses in a theoretical space starting from the point of Canonical Finiteness; it is in fact a space of theoretical possibilities that spans between two Canonical Ideals, one ideal of 'Canonically Non-finite' clauses, and the other our established ideal of Canonical Finiteness.

Corbett (2007: 10) makes a similar observation regarding the theoretical potential of the Canonical-Typological space. With respect to suppletion in inflectional paradigms, he explains that in the canonical case of inflectional morphology, we would expect that each paradigm cell would be characterised by a unique way of encoding a unique intersection of features (for example, 'first person plural' vs. 'second person plural'), whilst a lexical stem inflected through the paradigm would remain exactly the same throughout. The case of suppletion, then (roughly, same lexical meaning paired with no common phonological content across paradigm cells), would be the opposite of the canonical case:

> "Given the sketch of inflectional morphology, it is evident that suppletion is noncanonical, since in the canonical situation the lexical material within a lexeme's paradigm remains the same. This offers a typology where both end points are fixed. That is, *in addition to having a canonical point, with the less and less canonical instances radiating outward to approach other phenomena, we have a situation where the least canonical end points can also be fixed.*" Corbett (2007: 10) [emphasis mine]

Thus similar to the case of suppletion described by Corbett above, our theoretical space of Canonical Finiteness maps out all the possibilities between a complete set of all criteria met by a particular instance (the Canonical Finiteness Ideal), and a set maximally void of these criteria specifications (the Canonically Non-Finite Ideal).

Thus conceptualising our theoretical space of Canonical Finiteness as a space that unfolds between two logically consistent ideals would be a welcome synthesis and typological representation of the different approaches to finiteness discussed in Section 3.1: The theoretical approaches contributed various formal and functional explanations in relation to a multiplicity of morphological, syntactic and semantic factors which all differ in many ways, ranging from their most basic premises to the theoretical and explanatory apparatus that they make use of. In a way, however, the current space of Canonical Finiteness provided by the architecture of the Canonical Typology framework incorporates various aspects in

one model — aspects that are generally thought of to be incompatible, or at least incommensurable (by virtue of diverging objectives, cf. Newmeyer 2005).

One idea incorporated is the 'binarity' that is reflected in some aspects of the CT framework. On the one hand, the criteria themselves have been formulated in a binary way, as they talk about the particular properties that one will be looking for in a typological study (cf. Brown and Chumakina's 2013: 5 quote in Section 3.3). The assumption is that with respect to a certain phenomenon, for example politeness marking in Jejuan, a particular instance will be marked for this category or not, yet nothing in between (also see Bisang's 2001: 121 quote in Section 5.4.2).

As mentioned in Section 3.1, gradual conceptualisations in scalar approaches have the advantage of allowing mismatches between aspects pertaining to finiteness, yet at the same time, it is difficult to precisely determine a point on a scale that a particular instance in a language could occupy (of course this issue is more complex than this, cf. the 'gradience trap' and 'grammatical indeterminacy' in Aarts 2007). The CT framework, then, incorporates one insight from scalar approaches by enabling the possibility of criterial mismatches, letting different dimensions be independent of, and equal to, each other, and letting them 'converge, not conflict', to paraphrase Corbett (2007: 35). The binary configuration of criteria makes it possible to calibrate a more exact, and better comparable position within the theoretical space than a scalar one, yet the equality of the many defining dimensions enables a (logically) free combination of properties. Thus, as Corbett (2007: 9) resumes, the "canonical approach allows the linguist to handle gradient phenomena in a principled way." Of course, however, it is not the Canonical Typology framework itself which prohibits any other formulation of criteria than binary ones (Forker 2016: 81, also Section 5.4.2).

With respect to finiteness theory, and the results of finiteness in Jejuan adverbial clauses, the fact that instances of 'Canonically Non-Finite' clauses have been identified is, on the one hand, expected from a traditional viewpoint on (non-)finiteness, yet it is interesting since it is reminiscent of the common, binary distinction of 'finite' vs. 'non-finite' as a more general, conceptual opposition (see Chapter 5). The Jejuan data show that such a broad distinction may still have some grain of truth in it, indirectly questioning whether a complete deconstruction of the concept of 'finiteness' suggested by researchers such as Cristofaro (2007) is really an inevitable consequence of the great diversity of cross-linguistic manifestations of this category.

Still, this study acknowledges that a more conservative and stronger claim

that all clauses in Jejuan (and essentially, in any language) are either finite or non-finite on whatever grounds is difficult to maintain. This study, then, stands in line with recent research on finiteness that increasingly moves away from an entirely binary conceptualisation, in light of the now well-known diversity of finiteness manifestations in the world's languages, (cf. papers in McFadden and Sundaresan 2014, Eide 2016).

6.1.2. Heterogeneity of finiteness properties

The fact that clause types other than *-taŋ* or *-məŋ* clauses are heterogenous with respect to their finiteness properties has been mentioned a few times in this thesis. In clause linkage research, it is now well-known that adverbial clauses tend to be a heterogenous class, either across (Diessel 2013 among others) or within languages (e.g., Haegeman 2004), which is why this term was chosen rather as a working notion at the outset of this thesis (similar to other researchers such as Haspelmath 1995 or Hetterle 2015). Both from the angle of cross-linguistic research on finiteness, as well as from the angle of clause linkage research on Koreanic languages, however, the results of this study are somewhat unexpected.

While especially the current, Canonical-Typology model of finiteness was designed to be able to accomodate linguistic instances where dimensions diverge (especially taking Nikolaeva 2010, 2013 and Sells 2007 into account), discussions on the category-internal heterogeneity of finiteness properties have — given that we are dealing with cross-linguistic studies here — often focused on showing that different languages exhibit finiteness properties conflicting with one another. The current study on Jejuan adverbial clauses shows that even within one language and within a class of clauses which share the structural property of being headed by converbs as a clause linking device, finiteness properties may diverge quite drastically from each other (see Chapter 5). Thus in line with this analysis, researchers such as Cristofaro (2007: 91) have remarked that "the various properties that are regarded as distinctive for finiteness and nonfiniteness do not always combine with the same properties from one construction to another". Jejuan certainly is no exception to this observation, and this study is hoped to contribute to research which points out such language-internal heterogeneity. The important point is that while cross-linguistically, the heterogeneity of properties associated to 'finiteness' and 'non-finiteness' are now fairly well-known and led to proposals in Canonical Typology such as Nikolaeva's (2013), not many studies have so far been carried out which show to what extent in a single language (and a partic-

ular construction type within that language) properties of finiteness converge or diverge.

In fact, if we were to look for consistent correlations between the finiteness properties examined here, it would be the abovementioned, 'Canonically Non-Finite' group of clauses which show a clear correlation between properties, namely one where none of them confirms with the Canonical Ideal. However, it is not possible to predict which converbs head clauses that espouse these characteristics prior to a thorough analysis. Except for criteria C-8, C-10 and C-13 (see subsequent section), clause types other than *-taŋ* or *-məŋ* clauses (*-ko, -nan, -nti, -ŋ* and *-kəni* clauses) are so heterogenous in their properties that it is not possible to choose one value for a particular criterion and then be able to predict correlations with others.

As I mentioned in Section 4.8 and Chapter 5, this may have some indirect implications for research on clause linkage in Koreanic languages, since the same data do not necessarily support a strong claim suggesting that in Korean(-ic) clause linkage we are dealing with a case of 'all-or-nothing', that is, either subordinate or coordinate structures, yet nothing to be found 'in between' (see Kwon and Polinsky 2008). In our model of Canonical Finiteness, the 'all' represents the Canonical Finitess Ideal, and the 'nothing' the 'Canonical Opposite' identified above, instantiated by the properties of *-taŋ* and *-məŋ* clauses. All other clause types, instantiate 'something in between', properties that the clause linkage approaches à la Kwon and Polinsky (2008) have yet to account for.

Thus researchers such as Kwon and Polinsky (2008) argue for a binary distinction between subordination and coordination based on Korean *-ko* linkage data. Their argumentation partly overlaps with what could be seen as an asymmetry in finiteness between these two clause types, that is, 'subordinate' *-ko* and 'coordinate' *-ko* clauses: 'subordinate' *-ko* clauses do not show tense marking and are syntactically embedded, and the extraction properties are asymmetric (among other characteristics; cf. also Weisser 2015: 88). 'Coordinate' *-ko* clauses show the opposite behaviour. If we leave out the very fact that *-ko* clauses are distributionally dependent and show a restricted range on inflection with respect to different inflectional categories (something that does not play a role in such more traditional analyses), the subordinate type is less finite than the coordinate type.

The Jejuan data, then, contrast with Korean data, despite the fact that some of the converbs are fairly similar in their morphology and semantics, including the Jejuan *-ko* clause. More importantly, in binarily modelled theories of grammar, categories which do not allow for a straightforward distinction into the consistent

presence or absence of a bundle of features will always pose challenges to theorisation in case the model does not have the appropriate means to incorporate these facts (see papers in Eide 2016; and McFadden and Sundaresan 2014). Although I am not attempting any theorisation in terms of a formal grammar approach here, what I do wish to emphasise that in the case of Jejuan adverbial clauses and their properties, there probably is no 'easy way out' in a sense that one could create some neat, intermediate category such as 'cosubordination' as done for clause linkage in some Role-and-Reference-Grammar approaches (Van Valin 1984, Van Valin and LaPolla 1997, cf. criticism in Bickel 2010), since the finiteness-related 'intermediacy' of Jejuan *-ko, -nan, -nti, -ŋ* and *-kəni* clauses itself does not follow consistent patterns.

From a typological perspective, on the other hand, the present situation of finiteness properties of Jejuan adverbial clauses within the theoretical space of Canonical Finiteness enables us to capture this heterogeneity by making it possible to calibrate the distance of each instance (for example, a causal *-nan* clause) from the Canonical Ideal, without requiring to delimit 'concept-internal' divisions, that is, categorial delimitations within the canonical space. In light of the heterogeneity of the finiteness properties of Jejuan adverbial clauses, bringing this together with research on similar cases (Diessel 2013, Thompson et. al. 2007, Haegeman 2004 among others), I would certainly argue for a model such as the present, Canonical Typology framework which does not require any a-priori intra-categorial distinctions, other than the logically emerging extremes of the Canonical Ideal and its 'Canonical Opposite'.

6.1.3. No clause type examined is canonically finite

In chapter 5, I pointed out that while *-taŋ* and *-məŋ* clauses exhibit no properties of the Canonical Finiteness Ideal (also discussed above in Section 6.1.1), other clauses are either closer to the Canonical Ideal, and others are more remote from it.

The analysis as in table 5 then shows us that *-nti* clauses or DS *-ko* clauses are among those clause types closest to the canonical ideal. Quite unexpected from a 'non-finite' clause in the traditional, 'inflectional-distributional' sense explained in chapter 3.1, such clause types show properties which are prototypically associated with finite clauses. As mentioned in the previous section, in clause linkage studies on Korean *-ko* linkages, such properties have been interpreted as a manifestation of syntactically coordinate properties. This is related to the idea that

coordinate clauses link finite clauses with each other, whereas in clausal subordination we will often, but not exclusively, find clauses that are traditionally called 'non-finite'.

If we look at the properties of the above adverbial clauses from the current, Canonical-Typology perspective on finiteness, however, we can see that such analyses miss out on some crucial differences between a Canonically Finite clause, and the adverbial clause types examined in this study: while indeed some clause types are closer to the Canonical Ideal, no clause type shows all the properties of a Canonically Finite clause. Unless an independent clause occurs in less canonically finite contexts itself (such as in imperative contexts, Nikolaeva 2007b), adverbial clauses all are less finite in some respect. For example, even *-nti* clauses or DS *-ko* clauses which have been shown to be closer to the Canonical Finiteness Ideal than other clause types, do not exhibit all features of the ideal. Morphologically, although both of these converbs inflect for cross-linguistically unusual features such as imperative-mood/progressive-aspect inflection on *-ko* converbs, or evidential inflection on *-nti* converbs, no Jejuan converb shown in table A.43, Section A.2.17.5, ever exhibits the full inflectional range and complexity possible for a final clause verb, as in (162a) above.

Thus criteria values in table 5 are more or less consistently opposed to the Canonical Finiteness Ideal across all clause types. No converb examined here is inflectable for politeness, no clause is syntactically independent from a distributional perspective, no clause allows for extraction through relativisation, and practically no clause type can be asserted — if we take into account the fact that the seemingly asserted example for *-ko* clauses is not one where a *-ko* clause is asserted independent of the final clause. As another general point, all clauses which license subjects allow for nominative subject marking.

Not all of these generally valid properties seems to stand in correlation to each other, however, or is truly consistent across the entirety of Jejuan grammar. For example, *-ko* linkages can be found to have politeness marking in higher Jejuan registers, for example shamanistic narratives. Since this is not found in spoken Jejuan, this fact has been excluded from the present analysis. Other properties can be explained through the structure of Jejuan in general: all adverbial clauses examined here, by definition, are syntactically dependent from a distributional perspective, and therefore for C-8, all values are positively specified for all clause types. Additionally, the fact that all clauses which license subjects (C-10) mark them with nominative case (C-7) is simply due to the fact that Jejuan exhibits no other marking behaviour for subject arguments (as opposed to Korean where

dative subjects have been reported, cf. Yeon 2003).

The fact that practically no clause can be asserted independently (C-13) — with *-ko* clauses being a partial exception in that they can be included in the assertion scope of the final clause — is not suprising. It is well-known that usually, dependent clauses are not asserted as opposed to independent clauses, so at least between C-8 (clausal independence) and C-13 (assertion) one may find some interesting correlation as widely mentioned in the literature. That said, however, the ability of having independent assertion does not appear to be restricted to independent or matrix clauses entirely, as authors such as Diessel (2013: 349) point out that in some languages such as German, dependent clauses may retain assertion under certain conditions:

(171) German (Diessel 2013: 349)

Ich möchte gehen, weil   es ist schon   spät.
I   want   go   because it is already late

'I want to leave — it's late already.'

The German example above is interesting, since the retention of assertiveness appears to correlate with the typical V2 syntax discussed in Section 3.1. Note that other factors may as well point to a higher degree of independence (or, finiteness in this thesis) of clauses of the above type; for example, we see from the English translation that the usual backgrounding-foregrounding nature of subordinate-main clause semantics is less strong in this case.

Furthermore, extraction through relativisation is 'banned' in an adverbial clause in all cases (to use Bickel's 2010 terminology), yet allowed in final clauses.[1] Given that this characteristic correlates with the consistent lack of assertion of almost all clause types and syntactic dependency from a distributional standpoint, it may be interesting to look for formal and/or functional explantions for this in the future.

The fact that no Jejuan adverbial clause confirms with the Canonical Ideal, in itself, is not surprising, as researchers in Canonical Typology have emphasised that the Canonical Ideal may be fairly rare, or not attested, as stated by Corbett (2007: 9) among others (see Section 3.3). Yet as shown in chapter 5, this does not mean that languages do not have particular structures which may instantiate all the characteristics of a Canonically Finite clause. Morphologically, for example, I have shown in ex. (162a) on page 226 that Jejuan verbs in independent clauses

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[1] As mentioned, in a few cases they constitute a syntactic island together with the final clause (DS, simultaneous *-ko* clauses, and temporal *-nan* clauses).

can inflect for categories indicated in C-1 to C-6 (of course, in such clauses, nominative marking on subjects would be possible, too). Theoretically, we may in fact find adverbial clause types (as improbable as it is based on our areal knowledge of agglutinative, East Asian languages) which do show all or almost all properties of the Canonical Ideal across all linguistic domains investigated, yet this does not turn out to be the case. This is interesting from an empirical perspective, and could further serve to feed into explanatory endeavours such as functional perspectives à la Cristofaro (2007), Nikolaeva (2007b) or Hetterle (2015) in the future.

6.1.4. Finiteness encompasses morphology, syntax and semantics

On the one hand, this point is a reiteration of ideas that have recently been emerging in finiteness studies, relating to evidence for mismatches between the three areas of morphology, syntax and semantics attested cross-linguistically on a synchronic basis (Nikolaeva 2010), as well as diachronically (Ledgeway 2007) and during the process of L1/L2 language acquisition (Gretsch and Perdue 2007). At the same time, this is meant to be an important conclusion made in this study, supported by the data on Jejuan adverbial clauses analysed according to the Canonical Typology framework (Chapter 5). Also, this fourth conclusion is one that somewhat draws a 'higher-level conclusion' from the other points made above, in that it summarises a key point in the kind of finiteness theory argued for in this thesis: ultimately, finiteness has to do with clausal phenomena spanning the three linguistic areas of morphology, syntax and semantics.

Up to very recent studies, finiteness in many studies has been understood in a more traditional fashion, with a bias towards verbal morphology (cf. Chamoreau and Estrada-Fernández 2016: 2). This usage of 'finiteness' as a notion is apparent in Bickel (2010), and a core part of reasoning in Minimalist approaches which often focus on the relationship between tense/agreement and subject licensing/nominative case assignment — see studies in Eide (2016), and Sells' (2007: 62) comment on the relationship between FinP and morphological information[2]. However, comparing the Canonical Finiteness Ideal in table 5 with adverbial clause properties, I hope to have demonstrated that a look at finiteness solely from a morphological perspective would only tell us part of the story.

Looking at table 5 on page 212 differences from the Canonical Ideal are more

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[2] Of course, however, I doubt that from a Minimalist perspective this would actually be seen as a *morphological* issue per se, due to the integrative, or syntactico-centric, architecture of this framework.

far-reaching than morphology alone, and thus encompass a wide range of phenomena in syntax and semantics. More importantly, while differences between Canonical Finiteness and the adverbial clause properties are not uniform with respect to morphology, more consistent differences emerge in the area of syntax and semantics. In syntax, these would be the syntactic dependence (C-8) of adverbial clauses and the consistent opacity of adverbial clauses towards relativisation of clausal constituents (C-12). In the area of semantics, no adverbial clause can be asserted (C-13) independently (while *-ko* clauses can be included in ther assertion scope of the final clause). Thus some crucial differences between a Canonically Finite clause and adverbial clause properties would be left out of the picture if we did not take more areas than morphology into account.[3]

Therefore, one major conclusion drawn from the study is that if we assume finiteness to be a clausal notion, and if we acknowledge that finiteness deals with more than just the morphology of clausal heads, then we should look at finiteness from a more holistic perspective when it comes to cross-linguistic comparison. In this respect, this conclusion goes back to the initial assumptions behind the conceptualisation of finiteness in Nikolaeva's (2013) CT model.

If finiteness is a clausal property which in some approaches has to do with the integration of a clause in another (Givón 1990, 2001), and if these varying states of integration (including a state of 'maximum independence' represented by the Canonical Ideal) are attestable through the phenomena pertaining to various aspects of a clause, then our investigation on finiteness will inevitably deal with (at least) the domains of morphology, syntax and semantics. This is because in languages such as Jejuan with rich morphology, aspects of clausal structure are expressed in all of these three areas. The Canonical Typology model applied in this framework enables a rigorous, and consistent analysis of a wide range of finiteness-related phenomena without discrimnation or some hierarchical design. Thus ideally, we would resort to a multi-dimensional, non-hierarchical model such as the present, CT one, as otherwise we will quickly run into problems of having to decide 'what finiteness is, and what it is not'.

In fact, a Canonical-Typological perspective is that such questions are not of primary importance in typological research in general, and in Canonical Typology

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[3] Of course, such a hypothesis only works if a particular theory of grammar itself assumes that there are independent levels of grammatical representation. For example, as discussed by Weisser (2015) on Minimalist syntax in clause linkage commenting on the syntax-semantics mismatch hypothesis of Culicover and Jackendoff (1997), a central tenet of Minimalism is that semantic interpretation is 'read off' syntactic structure. Similarly, morphological processes especially regarding phenomena related to finiteness have been shown to be conceptualised as a syntactic process of feature checking and other syntactic operations (Adger 2007).

in particular. A similar point is raised in Corbett (2005: 31) who says about the notion of agreement:

> "[T]he question of 'drawing the line' between agreement and other phenomena appears secondary. It is more important to understand agreement and its related phenomena than to draw a precise line at which we might claim agreement 'stops' and some other phenomenon begins." (Corbett 2005: 31)

Thus for the purposes of situating Jejuan within the theoretical space of Canonical Finiteness, it is less important to see which features (or whether any features at all) are crucial or not to some theory-specific mechanism related to finiteness. What is more important is the fact that by means of applying a model such as the current one, we can systematically synthesize the contributions of various strands of finiteness research in a single, theoretical space, in order to gain comprehensive, and rigorously comparable knowledge on finiteness on the cross-linguistic level. While some researchers judge it to be rather 'meta-typological' in nature (Haspelmath 2010), I argue that this makes Canonical Typology an unusual, yet very useful approach to typological research.

6.2. Contributions made in this thesis

Contributions made in this thesis are characterised by four different areas to which this thesis has aimed at contributing:

1. Research on Jejuan
2. Research on Koreanic languages
3. Research on finiteness, especially with regard to clause linkage
4. Research on Canonical Typology, and the problem of cross-linguistic comparison

Each of the four aspects listed above will be elucidated in the following subsections.

6.2.1. Contributions to research on Jejuan

As mentioned in the introduction, research on Jejuan has so far largely focused on the (morpho-)phonology and phonetics (e.g., Kim W.-B. 1999, Ko Y.-L. 2009) or morphology (e.g., Lee 1978) of the language.

Only one study focuses on the morphology of clause-linking devices (Song S.-J. 2011), and only one comparative syntax study applies Chomskyan models of formal grammar to Jejuan (Kim G.-C. 2011).[4] Thus while a few studies have dealt with some limited aspects of clause linkage in Jejuan (Song S.-J. 2011 mentioned above, or Hong 2001 on the */-ŋ/,/-n/* alternation in *-ŋ* converbs), no study has looked at Jejuan clause linkage by incorporating knowledge from linguistic research outside Korea.

More importantly, no study so far has examined finiteness in Jejuan as a topic in general, or more particularly in adverbial clauses, and therefore this thesis has attempted at making initial attempts at exploring uncharted waters. Needless to say, since Canonical Typology is a comparatively young framework more commonly applied in Europe, this study is the first to connect this framework to Jejuan, and to the context of East Asian languages. Thus the current study has produced valuable knowledge on Jejuan grammar in general, and on the finiteness of adverbial clauses in particular by situating the language's finiteness properties in a wider, theoretical space of (Canonical) finiteness.

As a further, methodological, contribution, this is the first study which has approached research on a Koreanic language incorporating ideas from both field linguistics (Crowley 2007, Newman and Ratliff 2001 among others) and language documentation (Gippert et al. 2006). Since almost all studies on Jejuan are done within Korean dialectology[5] the research methodology is more tailored towards the objectives and interests of Korean dialectologists rather than those of international linguistics. From this perspective, outlined in sources such as Pangenyenkwuhoe (2001), the current study is unusual and novel for a number of reasons: firstly, I apply a mixture between elicited, and spontaneous language data which is explicitly indicated as such, and therefore strive for greater transparency regarding methods of data collection (which is visible only in a few studies such as Ko Y.-L. 2009) and presentation. Awareness and/or transparency about possible, regional variation of data is still not very common, and neither is the conscious deliberation on the issue of code and lexeme choice in fieldwork interaction which was explained in section 1.5. Regarding the Jejuan language corpus, curating and developing an accessible language documentation corpus of

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[4] Most of this study deals with Korean and then translates the Korean syntax more or less directly into Jejuan. The models presented are more reminiscent of earlier Transformational Grammar approaches such as Radford's (1988).

[5] Research efforts made by Changyong Yang, Jeju National University and Se-Jung Yang and William O'Grady, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, as well as Moira Saltzman, University of Michigan shall be mentioned at this place as notable exceptions. I share with them a lot of my passion, and their work shall be gratefully acknowledged. The interested reader is advised to consult `https://sites.google.com/a/hawaii.edu/jejueo/` [retrieved 2017-12-12].

multi-modal data is also a novel outcome within the field of Korean dialectology and linguistics.[6]

6.2.2. Contributions to research on Koreanic languages

Contributing to the research on Jejuan grammar is, of course, intimately connected to a more general contribution to research on Koreanic languages. So far, only a few construction types in Korean have been studied more in depth, and with an overwhelming majority, researchers have focused on the *-ko* clause within Chomskyan syntax approaches (Rudnitskaya 1998, Kwon and Polinsky 2008, Cho 2004, Lee 2014). The only finiteness study known to me is Lee K.-Y.'s (2009) study on finite control in Korean also from a Chomskyan perspective, which is a study that focuses on control relations into morphologically finite, embedded clauses. Due to the architecture of this framework, however, not all fifteen dimensions examined here play a role in that study, and in this way, a description and analysis of Jejuan data according to the wider array of finiteness criteria relevant to Nikolaeva (2013) is seen as a major contribution to knowledge on Koreanic languages.

On the one hand, this study on Jejuan provides novel data which may be compared to results on Korean clause linkage to gain a wider understanding of clause linkage in this language family. Thus while the Jejuan grammar of clause linkage shows some commonalities with Korean in that the two languages have similar converbs, and in that in both languages we see interesting cases of converbal polysemy, the results are fairly different from what has been described for Korean in Rudnitskaya (1998) or Kwon and Polinsky (2008). On the other hand, this study is novel within research on Koreanic languages, in that it examines a wider range of clause types than in other studies carried out so far (comparable, yet very different in the analysis are Jendraschek and Shin 2011). Research on clause linkage in Koreanic languages is generally very scarce, and to the best of my knowledge, no study has so far addressed the topic of finiteness in adverbial clauses in any Koreanic language. Thus it is hoped that inspirations for further research on this matter will be provided through this thesis.

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[6] Accessible under `https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI971100` [retrieved 2017-12-12]. Sign-up required.

6.2.3. Contributions to research on finiteness

Contributions with regard to research on finiteness are meant specifically in conceptual relation to clause linkage. While Nikolaeva (2013) has drawn her model of finiteness in Canonical Typology from a wide range of perspectives inspired by decades of research on this notion, no study has so far applied that model to a particular clause type in a particular language (or group of languages, for that matter). As mentioned above, research on finiteness in East Asian languages is fairly scarce (cf. Grano 2017 for Chinese, and Kawai 1998 for Japanese). It is hoped that the present study will be of use to a range of research endeavours, or at least provide pointers for further research.

Furthermore, many clause linkage studies such as Haiman and Thompson (1984) or Bickel (2010) conceive of finiteness as having to do with some formal property of clausal head verbs. This study on Jejuan, by contrast, takes a different approach to finiteness, acknowledging the growing body of research which suggests that finiteness as a clausal property has to do not only with morphological, but also syntactic and semantic properties (see Nikolaeva 2007a, and Section 3.1). The finiteness criteria in the CT model of Canonical Finiteness converge in a Canonical Ideal, and in relation to that ideal, it was shown that the set of Jejuan adverbial clauses selected here never confirms with it entirely, but that each adverbial clause type is less canonically finite at least in some respect. Furthermore, it was shown that while some clauses group in a pattern that confirms to 'Canonically Non-Finite' behaviour, other clauses are largely unpredictable in their patterning. Thus I argued that although we do see one 'neat' finiteness pattern when it comes to Jejuan adverbial clauses, formal theorisation on the basis of Jejuan grammar would have to take into account the fact that a number of clause types shows quite individual patternings. An advantage of the present, CT framework is thus summarised by Nikolaeva (2013: 122):

> "[C]anonical typology does not rely on a unitary core meaning of a category. That is, it does not require strict definitions of the form 'X is Y', which would be very difficult to come up with for finiteness and can make category-assignment very controversial. As I hope has become clear from the chapter, I do not have a uniform dimension called 'finiteness'. Instead, the relevant category (if it is a category) is sensitive to different kinds of cross-cutting information and each of them can vary independently." Nikolaeva (2013: 122)

Thus in the current CT analysis, the attestation of different shades of less

canonical and/or non-canonical cases of finiteness is precisely describable by reference to clear criteria, and at the same time, it does not lead to conceptual problems since these mismatches are expected to happen in this multidimensional approach. As a matter of fact, however, for clause linkage studies, this means that a binary distinction between 'clausal coordination' and 'clausal subordination' will be difficult to maintain, or at least, will require a lot of additional argumentation (for example, along the lines of Weisser 2015 for clause-chaining in Minimalism) in order to take into account the great heterogeneity of the Jejuan data.

6.2.4. Contributions to research on Canonical Typology

In chapter 3, I described the problem of cross-linguistic comparability, also known as the Correspondence Problem (Corbett 2009, Brown and Chumakina 2013: 1).

Typologists have met this problem in different ways. The more traditional approach would be to rely on 'universal semantic concepts' (Nikolaeva 2013: 99), for which Croft (1990: 11ff.) coined the term 'external criteria' to include typological studies which deal with pragmatic or phonological topics (Stassen 2011: 94). This practice is said to go back to early typological studies and mentioned explicitly in studies such as Greenberg (1996):

> "It is here assumed, among other things, that all languages have subject-predicate constructions, differentiated word classes, and genitive constructions, to mention but a few. I fully realize that in identifying such phenomena in languages of differing structure, one is basically employing semantic criteria[...]."(Greenberg 1966: 74, quoted in Stassen 2011: 92)

Although such external criteria are important for typological research, they may not be enough to delimit a potentially vast theoretical space. Thus Stassen (2011: 95) remarks:

> "Typologists generally agree that external criteria form a *necessary* part of cross-linguistic domain definitions. At the same time, however, hardly any author thinks that external criteria are *sufficient* for the definition of a workable cross-linguistic domain." (Stassen 2011: 95)

Stassen (2011: 96) argues that "[e]xternal criteria alone usually define a domain that is too broad", which is why many researchers resort to definitions that he calls 'mixed domain', or 'mixed functional-formal' definitions. As mentioned in

section 3.2, finiteness is difficult to define in "external" or 'semantico-pragmatic' terms due to its abstract nature (Nikolaeva 2013: 99), and thus a more traditional typology encounters the problems that have led some researchers to call for a deconstruction of this notion (Cristofaro 2007).

However, Daniel (2011: 51) states that "one way to overcome" the problem of cross-linguistic comparability is to "treat lexical and grammatical categories observed in individual languages not as simplex phenomena, but as clusters of elementary meanings and functions." Taking these views together, then, typologists increasingly seem to be reaching the conclusion that the definitorial base of a typological enquiry should be as broad as possible and applicable to as many languages as possible, yet at the same time be more precise in the kind of definitorial dimensions, as well as the data that is relevant to a certain notion. It was one of the objectives of this thesis to show that in fact, applying the Canonical-Typological framework could provide an elegant solution to the problem of cross-linguistic comparability, as it incorporates many of the ideas presented above.

A Canonical Typology model is similar to a 'mixed formal-functional definition' of a concept, since it starts with identifying a broad conceptual field as the Canonical Base, which was identified as the field of finiteness. In relation to the topic of this thesis, finiteness was roughly understood as having to do with the integration of a clause in another, following functional understandings such as Givón's (1990, 2001). The 'formal' part of such a definition, then, finds its correspondence in the multiplicity of criteria mapping out the different dimensions of our theoretical space of Canonical Finiteness.

However, a CT model also goes further than just a 'mixed domain definition', since on the one hand, the criterial dimensions themselves can also be 'comparative concepts' (Haspelmath 2010) of their own and could thus build their own theoretical spaces breaking up into further dimensions. On the other hand, the criteria 'naturally' give rise to the Canonical Ideal as a logical point of convergence, which then individual instances in a language can be compared against. In other words, while suggestions such as Stassen's (2011) call for the joint application of a broad definition of a concept and concrete formal aspects instantiated in languages, Forker (2016) remarks that there are multiple conceptual levels in Canonical Typology. While not all criteria have to be applicable to all languages, this model "crucially allows us to handle fuzzy categories without appealing to (functionally motivated) hierarchies or scales, which are notoriously vague" (Nikolavea 2013: 122). As Corbett (2007: 9) resumes, "[t]he canonical approach allows the linguist to handle gradient phenomena in a principled way",

and it is by this principled and rigorous way of comparison that the application of this framework to Jejuan is hoped to contribute to the exploration of a complex and diverse notion such as finiteness.

The array of dimensions seen to be relevant to the notion of finiteness in this thesis, map out a theoretical space that defines a set of possibilities, each case representing a unique combination of the criteria, starting from the most, and down to the least canonical case. If the array of criteria is freely expandable and can be provided from a wide range of theoretical perspectives, and if none of the criteria or criterial domains (for example, morphological or syntactic domains of finiteness) are assigned primacy over others, then it means that the data can be useful to a wide range of functional, or formal explanations. Thus although 'formal' and 'functional-typological' approaches are sometimes seen as representing opposing epistemologies, researchers emphasise (also cf. Croft 1990: 3):

> "Following Chomsky's suggestion, we should aim to define the notion 'possible human language'." (Corbett 2005: 25)

Daniel (2011: 66) states that if it is one of the goals of linguistics to explore "the limits and constraints on cross-linguistic variation", then "our data should represent the linguistic diversity of the world as fully as possible." If so, we will require a sophisticated typological model that is capable of exactly that, and through the present study of finiteness in Jejuan adverbial clauses, I hope to have demonstrated that a Canonical Typology approach can be one way to address this problem in a reliable manner.

6.3. Limitations of findings, and potential for further research

In this section, I wish to bring this thesis to a close by pointing out potential limitations of the current findings, and pointing towards some avenues for further research. I first discuss such issues with respect to the data description done in chapter 4. Then I proceed to a few suggestions for further research on finiteness, and possible inspirations for research on clause linkage.

To begin with the description of data on adverbial clauses, I broadly identified the meanings of the converbs relevant to the analysis as shown in table 5 (page 212). I observed that for some converbs, there seemed to be a difference between the broad meaning it exhibited, and particular properties. For example, a *-ŋ* converb was shown to occur in different-subject contexts only when the meaning relationship is one of reason or cause. A distinction between 'temporal' and

'causal' was similarly identified for *-nan* converbs, and for *-ko* converbs, I identified meaning relationships of simultaneity vs. sequentiality based on studies such as Rudnitskaya (1998) or Kwon and Polinsky (2008). While the identification of these broader meanings was interesting in terms of its potential comparison with results in Korean clause linkage, a question remains whether we may in fact be dealing with much more fine-grained semantic distinctions. Moreover, based on my own knowledge, Korean *-mʲənsʰə* converbs, as counterparts to the Jejuan *-məŋ* converbs, are not only interpreted as temporally simultaneous converbs, but in some contexts also as exhibiting concessive or inconsequential meaning. Thus more research is needed on Jejuan to gain a clearer understanding of meaning relationships in Jejuan adverbial clauses.

As a more obvious suggestion, it may of course be worth analysing an even wider array of converbs and adverbial clause types according to the same (or more) finiteness criteria used in this study. As described in section **??** in Appendix A, not all adverbial clauses are headed by converbs, by a number of types are more reminiscent of grammaticalised adnominal constructions. Therefore, describing their finiteness properties to gain an even wider picture of Jejuan adverbial clauses would allow us to make more significant generalisations on finiteness patterns.

Moreover, due to the limited scope of this thesis, only one 'diagnostic tendency' (Forker 2016) each was identified for the finiteness criteria, which is why for example for criterion C-11 (expression of information structure), only data on topicalisation was gathered, although arguably, a more thorough examination of information-structural properties of Jejuan adverbial clauses could consider more factors than this. This, however, was done in line with existing research on Korean clause linkage as in Rudnitskaya (1998). Having a greater array of tests mentioned elsewhere (e.g., Bickel 2010 or Nikolaeva 2013: 110 on focus marking within, or on a dependent clause) would certainly provide a more differentiated picture for each of the finiteness criteria considered here.

As for the limitations and recommendations on the findings on finiteness, my thoughts revolve around the number of finiteness criteria, the scope of interest and empirical validation of some of the claims made in this thesis.

In this thesis, I examined a total of fifteen finiteness criteria, almost all of which were proposed by Nikolaeva (2013). However, of course, the list of criteria applied to the Jejuan data is by no means exhaustive. For example, more recent research on finiteness has dealt with negation properties of clauses in relation to other finiteness properties such as tense-aspect interpretation (Amritavalli and

Jayaseelan 2008), yet this aspect has not been considered in this thesis due to limits in size. Obviously, as no previous study has applied Nikolaeva's (2013) criteria to a language, or a group of languages, the criteria suggested by her were the most prioritised. In some respects, considering an extended array of criteria may make the analysis of finiteness in adverbial clause more comparable to clause linkage studies, for example Bickel (2010), who includes a parameter on negation.

It would be interesting to extend the study of finiteness in Jejuan adverbial clauses to cases where such clauses do not occur in a syntactically dependent distribution, that is, in extraposed contexts following the final clause (which impressionistically differ in the types of clauses occurring in such contexts, and the prosodic phrasing), or in fully insubordinate contexts, as discussed by Evans (2007), and investigated in studies such as Pellard (2012) on Ogami language (Ryukyuan, Japonic). More importantly, neither is the matter of finiteness restricted to adverbial clauses per se (consider Lee K.-Y.'s 2009 study on finite control in Korean complement clauses), and nor is finiteness restricted to the study of non-final clauses, as Nikolaeva (2007b) among others has amply demonstrated. Thus I see a lot of space for further research on finiteness, either in Jejuan or Koreanic languages in general in these directions.

Some semantic criteria were conceived of as being more or less directly connected to morphosyntax. Criterion C-11 on morphosyntactic expression of information structure was seen to be a fairly direct consequence of a clause having internal information structuring (C-15). While this is logically understandable and seemingly widely accepted in the literature (cf. Komagata 2003 on Japanese; and Haegeman 2004), a future study may want to explore the relationship between the morphosyntax and semantics of information structure in Jejuan adverbial clauses (and other non-final clause types) more in detail.

Moreover, Canonical Typology is first and foremost a model created for the objectives of linguistic typology, which implies that it is primarily designed for cross-linguistic comparison. Based on existing studies which situate single languages within a wider typological space following the CT approach (Seifart 2005, Suthar 2006, Forker 2014), I embarked on a similar endevaour for Jejuan. The logical, next step in a Canonical Typology approach would therefore be the examination of the finiteness properties of a wider range of languages, preferably expanding the circle to related languages such as Korean (for lack of knowledge on this matter), then to other, structurally similar or different, unrelated languages of the region (Japonic or Mongolic languages, Ainu, or Sinitic languages etc.). Ideally, of course, a recommendable study would be one where a large sample of

genetically unrelated languages is examined under this approach to learn more about finiteness-related phenomena. Following large-scale, multidimensional approaches to clause linkage such as Bickel (2010), one could then combine a CT approach with a statistical evaluation, since as mentioned in section 5 and by other researchers such as Forker (2016), the similarly multidimensional approach taken in Canonical Typology provides welcome grounds for methodological triangulation.

Appendix A:
A Jejuan Grammar sketch

A. A Jejuan grammar sketch

In the following, I present an overview of selected issues in Jejuan phonology, morphology and syntax. Note that this is an on-going project. In this appendix, I focus largely on the presentation of morphological paradigms for nouns and verbs, and the discussion of relative clauses and converb clauses. Section A.1 deals with Jejuan phonology. Section A.2 deals with selected morphological topics, and Section A.3 will discuss a few syntactic issues.

A.1. Phonology

Jejuan phonology shares many similarities with Korean, not least because of common ancestry and long-established contact between speakers, as well as the on-going language shift towards the national language. However, the existence of a separate ethnicity on the island (known as *Tamna/Tamla/Tammora* chiefdom/kingdom) prior to complete incorporation into mainland powers in the 15th century[1], and subsequent, century-long geo-political isolation[2] led to numerous differences in lexis and grammar, some of which I intend to elucidate in this thesis.

   Beginning with phonology, differences between the two languages can be identified in the vowel system, where front, rounded vowels, vowel harmony (see Section A.2.13) and length distinctions described for Korean are absent. On

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[1] Tamna is known to have entred into tributary relationships with mainland kingdoms in the 5th century, starting with Baekje in the Southwest, then with Silla, and then taken over by Goryeo, culminating in its annexation in the 12th century. In the 15th century it eventually lost its autonomoy altogether and was directly governed by the Joseon dynasty, under which it became a place of exile. What I am writing here should be taken rather cautiously, since evidence on the language of this group is extremely scarce, together with evidence on the surrounding contact languages. Limitations in phonetically more transparent language material is a standing challenge for historical linguistics of this area, although there is some thorough and hotly debated work available. See Vovin (2009), for example.

[2] Yet probably, regarding socio-demographic factors, there must have been a difference between lower classes who for a long time were banned from leaving the island (Kim S.-N. 2004; many probably could not afford it either, except maybe for merchants and boat owners), and higher classes which often came to Jeju Island for political exile.

the other hand, Jejuan possesses a low to mid-low, back, rounded vowel [ɒ][3] that is untypical for languages spoken in East Asia, and is emblematic of the conservativeness of this idiom within the Koreanic language family (see page 278 in Section A.1.2).

Other differences from Korean can be found in the higher frequency of aspirate consonants in CC clusters, as well as their involvement in morphonological process such as word compounding. While in Korean, lax consonants can only become tensed in CC clusters, tensification often competes with aspiration in Jejuan to the extent that one and the same speaker may resort to both processes for one and the same lexeme. It is hoped that this may be of interest to sociolinguistic and contact-linguistic studies.

Mentionable features shared with Korean include a threefold distinction of stop consonants into lax, tense and aspirate phonation types. Depending on the analysis, all stops and fricatives may have labialised counterparts[4]. Furthermore, Jejuan shows a distinction into voiceless, tense (/s̩/) and voiceless, lax, aspirate alveolar fricatives (/s^h/) which may be typical for Koreanic languages (cf. Chang C. 2013).[5]

Stress consistently falls on the first syllable of a word. Syllables allow all structures up to CVC, where only stops, nasals and laterals can occupy the coda, with a weak tendency towards CV structures, sometimes rendered through nucleus epenthesis into CC sequences, especially in the area of verbal inflection (see Section A.2.13).[6]

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[3] Note that some scholars such as Lee (1978) resort to [ɔ] as a grapheme, with a small hook diacritic underneath to symbolise the lower height than this character conventionally denotes.

[4] Evidence for palatalised consonants is less clear, which is why this will not be discussed at this point. One may find some minimal pairs such as *naŋ*, 'tree' and *ɲaŋ*, a weak nominal disscused in section A.3.6, yet in many cases, the minimal pairs arise from pairings of Sino-Jejuan words and Jejuan words, that is, the palatalised consonants are likely to arise from loanword phonology. Other cases where one finds phonetically 'palatalised stops' is where we have a contraction of frequently used words, such as *kiə-ŋ*, a defective, deictic converb, to *[kʲəŋ]*. Whether to use such cases for establishing minimal pairs will depend on one's theoretical assumptions on phonology and phonetics. As the nasal stop example shows, there is a possibility that more unmistakable evidence for other stops can be found as well.

[5] At present, this distinction has only been evidenced for Korean, yet at least the existence of the aspirate, alveolar fricative is known all over the Korean peninsula. Southeastern varieties, for example, such as those spoken in the Gyeongsang provinces, are well-known to conflate /s^h/ and /s̩/ into /s^h/, although there are not many empirical studies on this matter.

[6] There are underlying CVCC verb roots such as *talm-*, *[tam]*, 'seem/be similar', yet on the surface, one of the consonants gets deleted in case of a consonantal onset in the next syllable, or the second consonant gets syllabified as the onset of the next syllable, as in *talm-a*, seem-STEM, *[talma]*.

A.1.1. Consonants

Jejuan exhibits a moderate number of phonemes with a diverse array of stop consonants, and other manners of articulation finding weaker representation:

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveo-Palatal	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p p̬ pʰ pʷ	t t̬ tʰ tʷ t̬ʷ tʰʷ	t͡ɕ t̬͡ɕ t͡ɕʰ t͡ɕʷ t͡ɕʰʷ		k k̬ kʰ kʷ k̬ʷ kʰʷ	
Nasals	m mʷ	n nʷ			ŋ	
Fricatives		s̬ sʰ				h
Approx.	w			j		
Laterals		l				

Table A.1.: Jejuan consonant phonemes

The table above shows preliminary, phonemic distinctions identified for Jejuan consonants. It is not clear whether the approximants [w] and [j] should be classified as consonants, although in the minimal pairs below they appear in the same environment, that is, to the left of a nucleus in a syllable. Following Jejuan syllable phonotactics, this would be the onset, which in turn can only be occupied by a consonant. The minimal pair in the second example below (ex. (172b)) may support this hypothesis:[7]

(172)   a.   */jali-/*   */wali-/*
           'be weak/bleak'   'hurry'

    b.   */kɒlme/*   */jɒlme/*
           'seagull'   'fruit'

As one can see in table A.1, Jejuan is similar to Korean (cf. Sohn 1999: 153) in that it exhibits a regular threefold phonation distinction among its voiceless stop consonants:

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[7] Assuming no separate glide category as in much of Korean linguistics affects views on Jejuan phonology, inasmuch as for cases where vowels change to glides in VV sequences, our understanding of syllabification processes change significantly in an autosegmental understanding. For example, *jəŋ*, 'this way', may be analysed as a deictic converb with the proximal, demonstrative root *i-* which inflects as a verb, with stem augment *-ə* and the converbal suffix *-ŋ*, thus *i-ə-ŋ*, DEM.PROX.ROOT-STEM-CVB, 'this way'. In a glide category analysis, the high-front vowel /i/ just remains associated with a V node in autosegmental representation and it could be an interaction between phonetics and phonology that creates the glide on the surface. In those approaches which assume empty 'CG' onsets that are always present, the /i/ segment could just delink with the V node and relink with the G node. Given that Jejuan, as opposed to Korean, disallows long vowels and VV sequences in a single syllable (and taking into account the non-analysable lexemes with initial glides), it may make sense to assume no special category for glides, but think of a relinking process from V to C following pressures of syllabification, thus /i$_V$.-ə$_V$-ŋ$_C$/ syllabifying simply into *jəŋ*, a mxaimal, CVC structure.

(173) /tɒl/ /t̥ɒl/ /tʰɒl/
       'moon' 'daughter' 'thicket at foot of mountains'

As above, voiceless biliabial, alveolar and velar stops all occur in lax, tense and aspirate phonation types which contributes to the proportionally much higher number of voiceless stops in Jejuan. Palato-alveolar affricates behave the same way in that they show the same, threefold distinction.

Alveolar fricatives, however, show a two-way distinction: tense and what has impressionistically been identified as lax-aspirate. This phenomenon has been debated and examined in detail for Korean (see Chang 2012), and following the findings of that research, I suspect that the Jejuan consonantal opposition is similar to Korean:

(174) /s̥ɒl/ /sʰɒl/
       'rice' 'age'

Note that while the IPA has separate diacritics for lenis segments, I just use <sʰ> for matters of simplicity.

Whereas bilabial and alveolar nasals may occur at the beginning of a syllable, velar nasals can occur only in syllable-final position. Nonetheless, minimal pairs with respect to that syllable position can be found:

(175) a. /bukbuk/ /buŋbuŋ/
           'rubbing intensely' 'chuntering/mumbling'

       b. /naŋ/ /nan/
           'tree' '1SG:TOP'

The above minimal pairs show that the velar nasal is a phoneme despite the positional restriction. *[ŋ]* as an allophone does in fact exist, however, this is restricted to phonemic, nasal alveolar stops which are articulated in the environment of following, oral velar stops.[8]

A lot of minimal pairs have been found where stops and affricates have labialised counterparts:

(176) kʷi=la kʰʷi=la k̥ʷi-la
       ear=COP sea_urchin=COP make_dough-IMP

       'It is an ear.' 'It is a sea urchin.' 'Make the dough!'

(177) /k̥e/ /k̥ʷe/
       'rope' 'quite'

---

[8] Diachronically speaking, this is in fact where the /ŋ/ in *naŋ*, 'tree' is said to have originated from: a historical form of this lexeme is seen to be *namk*, and in fact, in some Jejuan (and other Koreanic) varieties, one will find *naŋk* stems whenever case particles adhere to the noun.

(178) /ki/ /kʷi/
'force, Chi' 'ear'

(179) /t͡ɕakt͡ɕak/ /t͡ɕʷakt͡ɕʷak/
'sound of tearing' 'move incessantly'

(180) /t͡ɕʰe/ /t͡ɕʰʷe/
'pretense' 'traditional shoe size unit'

(181) /teta/ /tʷeta/
'burn oneself' 'become'

(182) /t̚i/ /t̚ʷi/
'belt' 'blady grass'

(183) /tʰe/ /tʰʷe/
'herd' 'Syllables added to Classical Chinese phrases'

(184) /peta/ /pʷeta/
'cut' 'see.PASS'

(185) /mesʰil/ /mʷesʰil/
'green plum' 'serve.ADN'

(186) /nɛt͡ɕʰita/ /nʷet͡ɕʰita/
'feel like doing' 'miss'

In Korean, there is an on-going scholarly debate on how to treat labio-velar (and palatal) approximants, with most researchers stipulating a fluid 'glide' category separate from consonants and vowels, yet which forms diphthongs together with vowels (cf. Sohn 1999: 158-160). Accordingly, most approaches do not suggest a phonemic distinction into plain and labialised consonants, yet treat the labio-velar articulation as part of a diphthong together with the subsequent vowel. As discussed in an earlier footnote on (phonetically) palatal glides, palatal(-ised) consonants and autosegmental representation, assuming a labialised (or palatalised) row of consonants may fit better into a simpler, CVC syllable structure representation, although it complicates the analysis of such phonetically palatalised and labialised consonants which arise from resyllabification and weakening of vowels in VV sequences.

A.1.2. Vowels

Jejuan vowels cover almost the entire periphery of the cardinal vowel space (as described in Davenport and Hannahs 2010: 41). If one looks at the vowel chart

below, one will see that almost all cardinal vowels along its rim are present in Jejuan (1-5, 7, 8 and 17), with exception of the schwa-like vowel represented here as [ə].
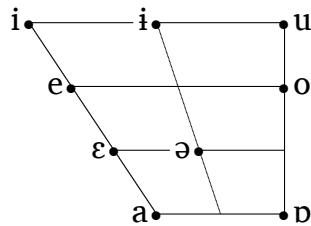
Table A.2.: Jejuan vowel phonemes

The present analysis of vowel phonemes is of course preliminary, and based on largely impressionistic evidence than a thorough phonetic study. Looking at Cho et al.'s (2000) study on Jejuan vowels, the height of what is represented by [ɒ] here differs considerably: from what it seems, this vowel lies much higher and is not rounded, and accordingly the authors use the representation [ʌ].[9] This is interesting especially regarding the roundedness of this vowel, which scholars such as Lee (1978; NB: this is not a phonetic study!) describe as [ɔ] with an additional diacritic to indicate that it seems slightly lower.

More interestingly, Cho T.-H. et al. (2000) examined differences between five rural and three urban speakers (age 55, 61, 68), all of which are male, literate and "above average in their socio-economic status" (Cho T.-H. et al. 2000: 3), meaning that they generally are more likely to have contact with spoken and written Korean. With urban speakers, the distinction was found to be more one of backness between [o] and (what they chose to be represented by the symbol) [ʌ], whereas crucially, among rural speakers the difference seems to lie in a significant height difference (Cho T.-H. et al. 2000: 6). This height difference may have been somewhat over-represented by choosing [o] and [ɒ] as symbols in this description, but it is nevertheless there.

From my experiences made in Jimnyeong and Sukkun in the North of Jeju Island, literacy and age (and possibly gender) also play a significant difference: highly literate people[10] tended to take on 'more Korean' features in their phonology, and older people tended towards a 'more Jejuan' pronunciation — the issue

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[9] Note that they explicitly mention that still, "its exact phonetic values in the vowel space may not correspond to those of [ʌ] in the IPA vowel chart" (Cho T.-H. et al. 2000: 2). Furthermore, what is represented by [ɛ] here is represented by [æ] in their work, admitting that in the literature, people tend to use either symbol. In fact, I have the impression that the actual value may lie somehwere in between.

[10] Of course, I have no information on whether literacy correlates with other factors such as

may be quite complex since of course, age does correlate with literacy, schooling and work exposure to Korean, and close contact with South Korean mainlanders.[11] While this is an issue that exceeds the scope of this brief overview, I do wonder whether an age difference of 20 years does have significant effects on the phonology of a speaker (thus in interaction with the 'urban-rural' and other factors) — at least impressionistically, the features of a seventy year old speaker could differ significantly from that of an eighty-five year old.

In any case, this section presents minimal oppositions for the vowel phonemes, bearing the above caveats in mind:

(187) /musʰa/   /musʰu/
       'why'   'radish'

(188) /ķʷaŋ/   /ķʷəŋ/
       'bone'   'pheasant'

(189) /t͡ɕisʰil/   /t͡ɕəsʰil/   /kɒsʰil/
       'potato'   'winter'   'autumn'

(190) /hɒķom/   /hɛ̤ķom/   /kɛķɨm/
       'a bit'   'a tiny bit'   'foam'

Compared to what is widely accepted as the vowel system of Standard Korean (cf. Sohn 1999: 156-157), Jejuan shows a much lower quantity of vowel phonemes, due to the fact that length distinctions and /y/ and /ø/ stipulated for Korean do not exist. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that whereas in Korean, the Middle Korean vowel called 'arae-a' (written by a dot, with unclear sound value, cf. Sohn 1999: 45) has merged with /o/ or /a/, this merger has only partially occurred in Jejuan, with most words retaining a separate vowel phoneme /ɒ/. The existence of this vowel has in fact become emblematic of the uniqueness and conservativity of Jejuan among living Koreanic languages, although it needs to be mentioned that neither has it been well-researched what the sound value of the Middle Korean counterpart was, nor does it seem that Jejuan grammar is as markedly consevative as Korean dialectologists may want to believe.

Note that some elderly speakers use [ʌ] instead of [ə] in stressed positions, whereas numerous 'younger' speakers (approx. below the age of 65, which is

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higher awareness of 'deviation' from Standard and/or Literary Korean, and resultingly, more negative, status-related attitudes towards Jejuan and more positive attitudes towards Korean.

[11] Recall that nationwide, and cross-stratal state-led schooling was only rigorously implemented during the Japanese colonial rule, during which Japanese was taught. Standard South Korean schooling began to be established only after liberation in 1945, and heavily increased exchange with the mainland began after that as well.

roughly the current parental generation) resort to the usage of [ʌ] only. Impressionistically, it seems that it is related (note that Cho et al. 2000 draw similar conclusions) to the additional merger of [ɒ] with [o], which has largely happened among the parental generation and younger, and which often can be found with elderly speakers who use the [ʌ] vowel mentioned above. This is not surprising, given that [ʌ] and [o] are typical of what is considered as an 'ideal image of Seoulite speech', and that the usage of [ə] is marked as 'provincial accent' (let alone the usage of [ɒ]), which many speakers try to avoid in any context outside family interactions. The exact representation of younger people's Jejuan phonology, and its relationship to language shift to Korean is still open to investigation.

A.1.3. Phonological processes and allophonic variation

Jejuan phonemes are involved in numerous phonological processes. These will be explained separately for those involving consonants and vowels.

A.1.3.1. Phonological processes affecting consonants

In the following I present phonological processes affecting consonants, namely the intervocalic voicing of obstruents, nasal place assimilation, and the palatalisation of stops and fricatives.

A.1.3.1.1 Obstruent voicing

Voiceless, lax, inaspirate stops and affricates in Jejuan become voiced whenever they are in between voiced sounds. It is not relevant whether the sounds to the left and the right of the above type of obstruents are a vowel, or a consonant:

(191) a. */ikə/* ⟶ *[igə]*
       'this'

      b. */pituŋpituŋ/* ⟶ *[pʲiduŋbʲiduŋ]*
       'similar'

      c. */tompɛ/* ⟶ *[tombɛ]*
       'chopping board'

      d. */t͡ɕip-i/* ⟶ *[t͡ɕibʲi]*
       'house-NOM'

      e. */nɒmpi/* ⟶ *[nɒmpʲi]*
       'radish'

f. /t͡ɕimt͡ɕʰi/ ⟶ [t͡ɕimt͡ɕʰi]
'Kimtchi'

Above one can see examples for obstruent voicing in Jejuan. As examples (191e) and (191f) show, obstruent voicing does apply to tense, voiceless stops and neither does it apply to aspirate, voiceless stops.

A.1.3.1.2 Allophonic variation of /l/

Similar to Korean, for the Jejuan alveolar, lateral approximant /l/, there are several allophones which stand in complimentary distribution (the palatalisation of /l/ is explained in Section A.1.3.2):

(192) a. /mɒl/ ⟶ [mɒɭ]
'horse'

b. /t͡ɕil/ ⟶ [t͡ɕil]
'way'

c. /mɒli/ ⟶ [mɒɾʲi]
'horse:NOM'

d. /t͡ɕili/ ⟶ [t͡ɕiɾʲi]
'way:NOM'

In a syllable coda, /l/ is realised as [l] following front vowels, whereas after back vowels, it becomes retroflex, as shown in [mɒɭ], 'horse'. In between vowels, as in [mɒɾʲi], 'horse:NOM' and [məɾʲi], 'head', it becomes an alveolar flap.

Jejuan also shows geminate [lː] sounds intervocalically. They either occur in lexical items, or arise through phonological processes such as glottal deletion. The next example only shows the former case, with the latter being discussed in the next Section (A.1.3.1.3):

(193) Geminate laterals in lexical items

a. [pilːe]; [piɾe]
flat_rock; chop:PURP

b. [molːa]; *[moɾa]
not_know

The mysteriousness of this phenomenon is twofold: on the one hand, intervocalically, a lateral approximant always occurs as a geminate [lː]. If we assume that all geminate consonants autosegmentally arise from the linkage of a consonantal segment with two C positions, then this has wide reaching consequences for the structural representation of all cases where this geminate lateral occurs.

Furthermore, since we sometimes see how tense stops are pronounced as voiceless, geminate stops in intervocalic position, one may posit that these geminate laterals are actually 'tense' laterals, although I assume that phonetically, there will be very little evidence for that. Moreover, this would alter our understanding of Koreanic phonology since then we would no longer restrict the tenseness feature to obstruents only. On the other hand, we see that the geminate [lː] seems to stand in meaningful opposition to [ɾ]. If so, then we do not have a complementary distribution and therefore we cannot see [lː] to be some kind of allophonic realisation of /l/, but some kind of 'phoneme' (either the geminate, or the 'tense lateral' from above). Maybe more phonetic research is needed in order to gain more insight into what phonological conclusions should be drawn; yet at present this phenomenon is difficult to analyse.

Evidence for /l/ at the beginning of Jejuan words is difficult to find, which is why it is unclear which phonetic shape it would take in such a position. Sino-Korean words such as /lamʲən/, '(instant) noodle soup', tend to be pronounced [ɾamʲən], with a flap realisation. As this parallels the situation in Korean grammar, I refer to discussions such a in Sohn (1999: 155).

A.1.3.1.3 Deletion of glottal fricatives

One slight difference from Korean is the behaviour of the glottal consonant /h/. Similar to Korean, there are three major ways that glottals behave: there is no deletion, or deletion with 'phonation traces' on preceding consonants, or there is deletion altogether. However, there is also one additional behaviour where /h/ gets deleted after laterals, but leaving an 'autosegmental trace', as I will discuss below.

In the first case, /h/ occupies the initial position of a phonological word and is pronounced:

(194) */hetːai/* ⟶ *[hetːai]*
        'young_child'

Within the domain of a phonological word, a glottal fricative following an oral, unaspirated stop results in the deletion of the glottal. Here, however, the aspiration of the glottal fricative remains as a trace on the aspirate phonation of the preceding, normally unaspirated stop (for example, when a vowel follows):

(195) Glottal deletion with 'phonation trace'

     a. *[nat] (/nat͡ɕ/ underlyingly)* + *[hut͡ɕe]*   ⟶ *[natʰːut͡ɕe]*
         'late_day'   'after:LOC'   'afternoon'

b. /t͡ɕoh-/ + /-ta/ ⟶ [t͡ɕotʰːa]
'be_good' 'DECL' 'It's good'

Not only do the phonetic properties of the glottal fricative seem to leave their trace on the preceding oral stop, but also from an autosegmental perspective, in all cases with such glottal deletion, one can see how we end up the previous consonant being geminate — one may thus deduce this to be a delinking of the glottal consonant segment with an autosegmental C position, and a relinking of that position with the segment of the preceding consonant, thus yielding a geminate articulation.

Such an 'autosegmental trace' is often the only clue for glottal deletion in the case of laterals. The following example shows this both for a diachronic case of lexicalisation of a nominal phrase, and the synchronic case of such deletion in the case of light verb phrases:

(196)   Glottal deletion with 'autosegmental', gemination trace

a. Diachronic: lexicalisation[12]

o-l   + <*hɒi*> ⟶ [*olːi*]
'come-ADN, coming'   'year'   'next year'

b. Synchronic: phonological word building in light verbs

/mal/   + /heə/   ⟶ [malːeə]
'speech'   'do:STEM'   'speak'

c. Korean counterparts (written form in angled brackets)

<*olhɛ*>, [*orɛ*]; <*maːlhɛ*>, [*maːɾɛ*]
'this_year';   'speak'

For preceding, syllable-final nasals it is not sure whether the same phenomenon occurs. In between vowels, just as in Korean, the glottal fricative entirely elides:

(197)   Complete, intervocalic glottal elision

a. /t͡ɕoh-/   + /-a/   ⟶ [t͡ɕoa]
'be_good'   'STEM'   'It's good'

---

[12] Note that in this diachronic example I am running the risk of mixing up representations of different diachronic stages, and moreover, there are not many to no clear, pre-modern, Jejuan sources available. Thus I am largely relying on our knowledge of Middle Korean (here of the 15th century). The potentially problematic nature of this example is the fact that the irrealis adnominal suffix *-l* of a verb often occurs in older sources with a now obsolete, subsequent consonant grapheme that bears resemblance with that of the glottal fricative. This former presence of that second consonant in the suffix has left its traces in Jejuan grammar, where suffixes arising from former ADNOMINAL FORM + WEAK NOMINAL (see Section A.3.6 for more) constructions have aspirate initial consonants, thus *-kʰ-* which has mostly likely arisen from *-l<C> kə*, -ADN WEAK_NOM (see Jung S.-C. 2013). Here I am somewhat riskily showing it as /-l/, which is probably not the diachronically accurate suffix form. For the second word, I looked up the Middle Korean form of *hɛ*, 'sun/year', accessible under `https://ko.dict.naver.com/detail.nhn?docid=41804000` [retrieved 2018-08-13].

Note that in case a /h/ is pronounced, various regressive assimilation phenomena may apply, which are discussed in Section A.1.3.1.4. Moreover, some Jejuan sources such as Lee S.-R. (1978), Kang Y.-B. (2007), Jung S.-C. (2013) discuss the claim that Jejuan (as opposed to Korean, so the story goes) possesses an intervocalic, voiced allophone of /h/, thus [ɦ]. This could not be attested with the limited phonetic resources in this research, which is why I will not address this here.

A.1.3.1.4 Regressive assimilation of nasals and glottals

The alveolar nasal /n/ assimilates shows place assimilation to that of a subsequent consonant:

(198)   a. */sʰon/* + */tiŋ/* ⟶ *[sʰon̪t̪iŋ]*
            'hand'   'back'   'back of one's hand'

        b. */sʰon/* + */kʰop/* ⟶ *[sʰoŋkʰop̚   ]*
            'hand'   'nail'   'nail (of hand)'

        c. */sʰon/* + */patak/* ⟶ *[sʰompadak̚]*
            'hand'   'ground'   'palm'

Similarly, the glottal fricative /h/ shows allophonic variation with [ɸ], [x], [ç] and [h], depending on which vowel follows it:

(199)   a. */halɨpaŋ/* ⟶ *[harɨbaŋ]*
            'old man'

        b. */hulkta/* ⟶ *[ɸʷukt̪a]*
            'be thick'

        c. */hɨlaŋ/* ⟶ *[xɨraŋ]*
            'be chewy'

        d. */hɒna/* ⟶ *[ħɒna]?*
            'one'

Note that the last example in the above list is more impressionistic than anything, as the exact vowel qualities of [ɒ] have not been researched yet. However, it seems to me that in the environent before this vowel, the glottal fricative gains a slightly pharygeal quality. An example for the change from /h/ to [ç] has been given in Section A.1.3.2.

A.1.3.2. Regressive palatalisation

All consonants palatalise when followed by the front, high vowel /i/.

The following shows examples for the palatalisation of stop consonants:

(200) a. /t͡ɕip/ + /=i/ ⟶ [t͡ɕibʲi]
'house'   DIR   'towards home'

b. /sʰon/ + /=i/ ⟶ [sʰoɲi]
'hand'   NOM   'hand.NOM'

Examples (200a) and (200b) show how stops become palatalised in front of the front, high vowel [i]. Alveo-palatal affricates are palatal by definition, which is why they are not affected by this process.

Palatalisation of fricatives does not only affect the secondary articulation of a consonant, but changes the place of articulation of the consonant in a whole.

Voiceless, glottal fricatives change to voiceless, palatal fricatives when followed by a high, front vowel:

(201) a. /həta/   ⟶ [həda]
'do.DECL'   'to do'

b. /hita/   ⟶ [çida]
'swim.DECL'   'to swim'

The palatalisation of alveolar fricatives is similar to the above process, although the difference is that palatalisation of these consonants happens not only preceding an [i], but also when preceding the vowels [ɛ] and [e]. This is in difference to Korean, as I mention below. The last three examples below demonstrate that this process is productive on a synchronic level, for example in verbal inflection.

(202) a. /musʰa/ ⟶ [musʰa]
'why'

b. /musʰin/ ⟶ [muɕʰin]
'which'

c. /josʰɛ/   ⟶ [joɕʰɛ]
'nowadays'

d. /sʰɛ̝ki/   ⟶ [ɕʰɛ̝ki]
'offspring'

e. /s̝ɒl/ ⟶ [s̝ɒl]
'rice'

f. /s̝il/   ⟶ [ɕil]
'thread'

g. /hɛmsʰə/   ⟶ [hɛmsʰə]
do.PRS.PROG   'is doing'

h. /hɛmsʰini/   ⟶ [hɛmɕʰiɲi]
do.PRS.PROG.Q   'is someone doing something?'

    i.   */hɛmsʰe/*   ⟶ *[hɛmɕʰe]*
         do.PRS.PROG   'you and I see that someone is doing something!'

Example (202a) shows how the phoneme /sʰ/ surfaces as [sʰ] when followed by a vowel that is [+low], yet when the following vowel is [-low] as in (202b) and (202c), /sʰ/ surfaces as [ɕʰ]. Example (202d) is presented in order to show that this process is not exclusive to intervocalic contexts. Examples (202g) to (202i) are shown here to suggest that this phonological process seems to be productive, as verbal inflection involves regular phonological changes.

In Korean, palatalisation of alveolar fricatives only happens before the front, high vowel [i], yet not lower vowels. In Jejuan however, the palatalisation of fricatives often applies to all front vowels which are [-low]. In that respect, it is worth mentioning that due to recent language shift to Korean, consultants pronounce one and the same word either with, or without palatalisation of alveolar fricatives before [e] and [ɛ], thus showing both [joɕʰe] and [josʰe], 'nowadays', depending on the context and occasion. This seemingly free [sʰ/ɕʰ] alternation, however, does not occur before [i].

This variation does not hold in contexts before the vowel [i] (as the same process exists in Korean), and has not been found in the verbal inflection either.

The labio-velar approximant /w/ palatalises to the labio-palatal approximant [ɥ] in front of [i]:

(203)   */wi/*   ⟶ *[ɥi]*
        stomach

In the following, I will explain phonological processes applying to vowels.

A.1.3.3. Phonological processes affecting vowels

This section illustrates phonological processes involving vowels, with vowel devoicing and vowel rounding in particular.

A.1.3.3.1 Vowel devoicing

Vowels between two voiceless consonants become devoiced. It is worth mentioning though that this devoicing does not happen in syllables where there is a syllable-final, unreleased stop, but it only happens in contexts where both consonants to the left and the right of the vowel are pronounced with an audible release:

(204)   a. */həkʰuk̚ʷa/*   ⟶ *[həkʰu̥k̚ʷa]*
          'do.IRR.POL.Q'   'would you do it?'

    b.   */hɛmsʰuk̞ʷa/*   ⟶ *[hɛmsʰu̥k̞ʷa]*
        do.PRS.PROG.POL.Q   'are you doing it?'

    c.   */hɛmsʰïkʰa/*   ⟶ *[hɛmɕʰḭ̥kʰa]*
        do.PROG.IRR.Q   'is he maybe doing it already?'

Examples (204a) and (204b) show how between two voiceless consonants a vowel loses its voicing. Example (204c) shows that this process does not exclusively apply to high, back, rounded vowels. What still remains to be find out is whether this process only applies to unstressed syllables, and whether this is restricted to certain classes of vowels.

A.1.3.3.2 Vowel rounding

The high, central vowel vowel [ï] seems to change to its rounded counterpart [ʉ] in the environment of rounded vowels and consonants:

(205)   a.   */kɒl-/*   + */-ïmnɛka/* ⟶ *[kʷɒrʉmnɛ̥ka]*
        'speak (/l-/stem)'   POL.Q   'do you speak?'

    b.   */pʰɒl/* + */-ïl/* ⟶ *[pʰʷɒrʉl]*
        'arm'   ACC   'arm.ACC'

    c.   */talm-/* + */-ïuta/*   ⟶ *[talmʉuda]*
        'seem'   POL.DECL   'it seems'

The evidence is problematic from several perspectives. For once, the process of vowel rounding seems to apply to the high, central vowel [ï] only. Example (205c) shows how this process happens when [ï] is adjacent to a high, back, rounded vowel [u]. Yet this process does not only occur in the case of adjacent vowels, but happens across syllables as well. Therefore, it seems as though the roundedness of a vowel spreads to the vowel position where there is a [ï]. This spreading does not seem to be restricted to a particular direction, although it seems to happen only within a phonological word.

Moreover, some speakers tend to pronounce /ï/ as [u] altogether in the above contexts, which is why sources on Jejuan lexicography (such as Kang et al. 2009) may end up recording forms with written <ï> in the environment of rounded vowels or [+round] consonants (following the principles of the deep, Hangeul orthography), or as <u>. This is an issue that remains to be looked at more in detail.

A.1.3.4. Jejuan morphophonology

This section on morphonology is concerned with those phonological processes which do not happen throughout the language, but which accompany morphological operations. In particular, I will discuss consonantal aspiration processes happen through morphosyntactic compounding.

A.1.3.5. Aspiration of stops in noun compounding

When two nouns are joined together and the second noun begins with a stop or affricate, that word-initial consonant will become aspirate.

(206)   Aspiration in Jejuan nominal compounding

    a. */han/* + */t͡ɕip/* ⟶ *[hant͡ɕʰip]*
        'surname Han'   'house'   'the Han family'

    b. */t͡ɕaŋ/* + */kʰuk/* ⟶ *[t͡ɕaŋkʰuk]*
        'Miso'   'soup'   'Miso soup'

    c. */ma/* + */pɒlɨm/* ⟶ *[mapʰɒrɨm]*
        '?'   'wind'   'southern wind'

As Korean regularly shows tensification of stop consonants in this context, through language contact and shift, it has been increasingly marginalising aspiration as a regular process, with all speakers frequently alternating between the 'Jejuan-type' aspiration, and the 'Korean-type' tensification.

Aspiration exists in Korean as well, although it does not seem to be productive, and restricted to a few cases:

(207)   Rare cases of aspiration in Korean lexicalised nominal compounding

    a. */am/* + */kəsʰ/* ⟶ *[amkʰət]*
        'female'   'thing'   'the Han family'

    b. */ma/* + */palam/* ⟶ *[mapʰalam]*
        '?'   'wind'   'southern wind'

Morphophonological aspiration is distributed more widely in Jejuan. The next section shall give another example.

A.1.3.6. Aspiration of stops after plural particles

The same aspiration process described above happens to particles that cliticise to the plural particle *=təl*.

(208) a. /aɨ=təl/ + /=kɒla/ ⟶ [aɨdə[kʰʷɒɾa]
child=PL =DAT 'to the children'

b. /aɨ=təl/ + /=tu/ ⟶ [aɨdə[tʰu]
child=PL =ADD 'the children, too'

The aspiration of particle-initial consonants has been classified as a process separate from that happening on nouns in noun compounding, since as one can see in both examples above, the dental stop at the onset of the plural particle =*təl*, does not become aspirate (but voiced), although it cliticises to a noun. Here, it rather seems to depend on the /l/ environment of the plural particle that triggers this process.

A.1.3.7. Phonotactics, autosegmental analyses and syllable structure

The analysis of Jejuan pohonotactics and syllable structure calls for an autosegmental representation that posits the existence of syllable structure categories such as onset and rhyme (including nucleus and coda), as well a distinction in consonants and vowels. As a problematic subtype of consonants, an additional category of glides is in discussion.

Jejuan has a moderately complex syllable structure of CVC(C) syllables, with the '(C)' as a second consonantal position that creates a complex coda, and only surfaces if it can get resyllabified as the onset of a subsequent syllable with an empty onset position.

(209) a. /talm-/, 'seem'

talm-ta [tamˌt̚a], talma-msʰə [ta[mamsʰə]
seem-DECL seem-PROG
'It seems'

The assumption of a complex coda crucially depends on whether one assumes one underlying phonological representation for one and the same lexeme, or whether one assumes two different phonological forms associated with a lexical entry.

In verbal inflection, Jejuan shows a tendency to avoid CC clusters at syllable boundaries.

(210) a. jeju0169-09, HYJ1, 01:53

pel t͡ɕʰai əsʰ-i-n kə talm-ɨ-ta,
particular difference NEG.EXIST-EP-ADN thing seem-EP-DECL,
kɨ=kə=nɨn
DEM.DIST=thing=TOP

'I don't think there is much difference, that.'

b. jeju0162, HYJ1, 02:54

i   ***mək-ɨ-n-ɨ-n***   *kə꞊ke!*
DEM.PROX eat-EP-PRS-EP-ADN thing꞊DSC

'You know, the thing that I mentioned, to eat.'

c. jeju0174, HGS1, 29:51

kɨ꞊[k]ə꞊nɨn   *t͡ɕə,*   *t͡ɕike hə-l*   *ṭe꞊na*
DEM.DIST꞊thing꞊TOP DEM.MED stew do-ADN moment꞊OR

mək-ɨ-t͡ɕu
eat-EP-STN

'Of course you eat such things when you make stews or so.'

The above examples show how CC clusters at syllable boundaries seem to be avoided by means of inserting a nucleus, around which possible cluster consonants can be syllabified into a CV pattern. This process, however, is no longer stable as elderly speakers tend to supplant the Jejuan phonotactics with Korean ones where CC clusters at syllable are allowed, thus */məknɨn/*, and not (in Korean, ungrammatical) */məkɨnɨn/*. Such epenthesis is only rarely observed among speakers below the age of approx. 80.

A.2. Morphology

This is the main section of this appendix, where I wish to present various areas of Jejuan morphology, mostly in order to provide background knowledge to the issue of Jejuan clause linkage, and to aid the understanding of interlinearised examples used throughout these thesis.

Jejuan morphology is predominantly agglutinative, which means that usually, one morph is the exponent of a single grammatical feature, for example, number. Especially when it comes to the intersection between politeness and illocutionary force expression in verbal morphology, there may be a slightly higher degree of syntheticity of Jejuan morphology versus that of Korean. While Korean tends to have the syllable as a phonological basis for morphemic structure, especially in verbal morphology, Jejuan shows a strong tendency towards segment-based exponency. This in turn has led to the widespread folk perception that Jejuan words 'seem much shorter' than Korean ones, then in turn interpreted as being a sign of being gruff, and lacking eloquence among others (see Kim S.-U 2013).

Unsurprisingly for an SOV language, Jejuan is almost exclusively suffixing, with only a few proclitics attaching to the left of a word. Also, this language is

typical for predominantly agglutinative languages of East Asia (that is, the Korean peninsula and surrounding islands, as well as the Japanese archipelago) when it comes to grammatical categories and their morphosyntactic distribution: the verbal complex indicates tense-aspect-mood-modality, politeness and illocutionary force information among others, and the nominal complex reflects information on predicate-argument relationships and the participants of an event. Thus second-position clitics or nouns inflecting for verbal categories such as tense are not found, however, in vowel-final stems we find the phenomenon of copula cliticisation where there is no phonological realisation of the copula itself.[13]

A particularity of Jejuan grammar is that the state of knowledge of participants finds its morphosyntactic reflection on a much wider area than in Korean, especially in morphology. Here, we have inflectional patterns absent in Korean which indicate an expected sharedness of information among participants and its evocation, or inflection that refers to the speaker only (discussed here under egophoricity, a remnant of Middle Korean).

The verbal system is highly complex and splits up into (morphologically) finite and non-finite inflectional patterns, as well as inflectionally delineable groups that are traditional called 'stative' and 'dynamic'. The elaborateness of verbal inflection is not surprising given that in discourse, it is verbs which carry most of the informational load of an utterance. All other elements such as a verb's argument are frequently dropped. The importance of the verb in Jejuan grammar is reflected in the fact that adjectives in the Indo-European sense are not attested (even though Korean language grammarians tend to use this term), and comparable adnominal modifiers make up a closed class of only a few words which cannot be identified as belonging to any other syntactic category. All other, productive kinds of adnominal modification is done by means of adnominal verb forms similar to participles (which however cannot be used in predicative function).

Nouns behave markedly different from verbs in a morphological sense. While verbal inflection moves through set paradigms of (mostly bound) suffixes which can only be affixed to certain stem forms and in a particular order, nouns are not 'inflected' in the canonical sense. Whereas Korean grammarians have so far described Korean nominals as inflecting for number and case, very much similar to and influenced by the largely Eurocentric grammatical ontology of the (colonial) Japanese descriptive tradition, the Jejuan data suggests that what seems reminis-

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[13] I do not assume any null morphemes in this thesis. However, it is difficult to account for this phenomenon without assuming complex mechanisms of post-morphological copula elision by phonology. Assuming a null-copula here which, by virtue of its phonological weakness, attaches to the preceding host phrase, would simplify the analysis considerably. I leave this question open for further investigation.

cent of 'nominal inflection' is rather a syntactically complex set of nominal clitics that adhere to syntactic phrases. Consequently, typically nominal inflection categories such as number and case are expressed through what is somewhat referred to as 'particles' here (following the Koreanist traditon), and marking them is often optional, as opposed to many synthetically case-marking languages. Other commonly found features such as noun class/gender do not exist in Jejuan. Definiteness is indicated by means of demonstrative determiners, although their main semantics have more to do with spatial and discourse-referential deixis.

At the border between phonology and morphology, Jejuan shows a regular process of vowel epenthesis which is nevertheless morphologically conditioned since it is not entirely predictable from a phonological perspective. Given that (Standard) Korean does not apply this process as regularly as in Jejuan, it may be that the effects of language shift have instantiated an attrition of this regular process to the extent that one will often find two competing forms - one with an epenthetic vowel and one without - uttered by the same speaker within a short span of time, with otherwise unchanged grammatical contexts (that is, the code chosen by a speaker). Moreover, prosody becomes important when it comes to distinguishing illocutionary force categories, as there is a number of verb forms which distinguishes these categories (declarative vs. imperative vs. interrogative) only by intonation — this, however will only be tangentially discussed here.

As opposed to inflectional morphology, Jejuan does no longer employ derivational morphology productively to a large scale, as most derivational morphology seems to be fossilised to a large degree. There are some morphological remnants of adverbialisation and nominalisation of verbs: nominalisation is evident from fixed expressions, verbal complementation as well as the grammaticalisation of nominalised verbs.[14] Often, instead of purely morphological devices, Jejuan grammar resorts to the aid of syntax in order to achieve similar effects: nominals are verbalised through light verb constructions, and nominalisation of verbs is much more productive by means of what is formally an adnominal clause construction involving a weak nominal.

A.2.1. Nouns and nominals

Nouns, as explained in Luraghi and Parodi (2008: 147), are characterised among other things by the fact that they "may inflect for number and case and be or-

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[14] There is a semi-productive *-ki* nominalisation of verbs as well, yet it again applies only to certain meanings and contexts, and is largely identified as Korean (that is, 'mainland speech') by speakers.

ganized in noun classes (or genders); they prototypically indicate static entities, such as concrete objects or living beings, and are prototypically referential; their most frequent syntactic function is to serve as arguments of predicates and to head constituents".

Jejuan nouns do not inflect for number or case in the synthetic sense, yet plural number can be indicated optionally by a plural particle, and semantic roles can — yet depending on the case not necessarily need be — indicated by case particles (see section A.2.10). There is no grammatical gender.

Nouns head phrases which can function as the morphosyntactic expression of a predicate's arguments, and as heads of such nominal phrases, they can take on a range of various modifiers which are discussed in sections A.2.12 and A.3.6.

Whereas Korean has a separate set of honorific nouns, a similar set of suppletive politeness morphology for nouns has not been attested (except for *niksʰinːe*, 'elderly people'). Politeness tends to be expressed through verbal inflection and through attachment of the politeness particle *=ja(ŋ)/=je* on any phrase pragmatically relevant in discourse. Note that however, as in Korean, Jejuan has the option of suffixing nouns with the politeness suffix *-nim* in case of polite address.

A.2.2. Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns exist only for first and second person singular, and first person plural. As for all pronominals, there is no separate 'particle inflection pattern', but rather, they constitute a sub-class of nominals in this respect.

person	SG	PL
1	na	uli
2	nɨ/ni/nə	ni=ne(=təl)

Table A.3.: Jejuan personal pronouns

As shown in table A.3, it is not sure whether an individual, second-person plural pronoun exists, as it does for Korean with *nəhi*[15]. Similar to colloquial Korean, consultants indicate *ni=ne*, 2SG=SOC, *ni=təl*, 2SG=PL, or *ni=ne=təl*, 2SG=SOC=PL as possibilities to express second-person plural, which is a second-person singular pronoun affixed with sociative and/or plural particles. There are

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[15] Note that Korean writes this pronoun as <*nəhɨi*>$_{\text{IPA}}$/<*nehuy*>$_{\text{YALE}}$, although in spoken language the [ɨi] has merged to [i] in colloquial speech

no separate third-person pronouns, but instead, demontrative pronominals are used. See section A.2.3 for this.

A.2.3. Demonstrative pronominals

Jejuan shows a three-way distinction in its demonstrative pronominals into PROX-IMAL, MEDIAL and DISTAL. They consist of either one of these determiners *i/t͡ɕ̬ə/kɨ*, and a nominal that denotes a generic animate, inanimate, locational, time-related entity or quantity. As mentioned, Jejuan does not have separate third-person pronouns, which is why these demonstratives are used instead.

	Animate	Inanimate	Location	Time	Quantity
PROXIMAL	i = aɨ	i = kə(sʰ)	i = ti	i = ṭe	i = mani
	jo = aɨ	jo = kə(sʰ)	jo = ti	jo = ṭe	jo = mani
MEDIAL	t͡ɕ̬ = aɨ	t͡ɕ̬ə = kə(sʰ)	t͡ɕ̬ə = ti	?t͡ɕ̬ə = ṭe	t͡ɕ̬ə = mani
	?t͡ɕ̬ = aɨ	t͡ɕ̬ə = kə(sʰ)	t͡ɕ̬ə = ti		
DISTAL	k = aɨ	kɨ = kə(sʰ)	kɨ = ti	kɨ = ṭe	kɨ = mani
		kə			

Table A.4.: Jejuan demonstratives (Sukkun/Sinchon)

Note that speakers alternate between using *jo=* and *i=* as PROXIMAL determiners, and that the inanimate, DISTAL demonstrative often gets shortened to *kə*.[16] In the animate row above, the determiners lose their vowel and syllabify into one unit, thus pronounced *[jai]*, *[t͡ɕ̬ai]* and *[kai]*.[17].

(211) a. Jimnyeong, HYJ1, jeju0025-01, 00:00:10.606

t͡ɕ̬ə   kiɲaŋ nɛbulːiə-n t͡ɕ̬ə = kə   koṭak   hə-ko
DEM.MED just   leave-CVB DEM.MED = thing beautiful do-CVB
i = kə = n   sʰisʰ-t͡ɕ̬i-ə   t͡ɕ̬u-t͡ɕ̬i = tu
DEM.PROX = thing = TOP wash-CAUS-LNK give-COMP = ADD

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[16] Note that one cannot just simply assume that the distal determiner *kɨ* has been omitted here, as *kə* can never occur as a stand-alone noun.

[17] Note that although the variety in focus that is described here is that of Northeast Jejuan spoken around the area of Jimnyeong (김녕, Gimnyeong), the table shows forms recorded in Sukkun (신촌, Sinchon), which lies closer to the North-Central region. They differ from Jimnyeong in that Sukkun *aɨ*, 'child' would be *ai* in Jimnyeong which identical to Korean *ai*. Furthermore, for MEDIAL demonstratives the Jimnyeong variety shows tense affricates, which are shown in the second row.

> *ani＝heə-n   kɒsʰɛ   tɨl-ku   oa-ŋ   k̬ak̬-a   pul-ku   he*
> NEG＝do-CVB scissors carry-CVB come-CVB trim-LNK AUX-CVB do
> *pu-nane*
> AUX-CVB
>
> 'That one [i.e., a dog] is just left alone, that one over there is all
> pretty, but this one here she doesn't even clean, but brings scissors
> and trims it, you know, that's why…'

Above in ex. (211) one can see how *i＝kə*, 'this one here', and *t͡ɕə＝kə*, 'that one over there' are used. The above example also shows that in some yet undetermined circumstances, demonstratives can occur without the nominal element *kə(sʰ)*.

It is not sure to what extent these pronominals actually have been lexicalised into genuine demonstrative pronominals, or whether they should rather be analysed as noun phrases. On the one hand, what speaks for the latter option is the fact that an animate demonstrative such as *k＝ai*, DEM.DIST＝child, 'that child/that younger person', may not be used to refer to all animate beings. Possibly due to the original meaning of *ai*, 'child', it cannot be used by speakers to refer to socially higher-standing persons. Moreover, speakers often break up forms such as *k＝ai* into *kɨ ai*, DEM.DIST＝child, when repeating them in an elicitation session, which may suggest that speakers are still aware of the components. Additionally, for animate reference, speakers often use a noun phrase *i/t͡ɕə/kɨ sʰalɨm*, 'this/that person', which shows that these demonstrative pronominals are not used exclusively.

On the other hand, the fact that with medial and distal forms, the ellision of the demonstrative's vowel and forming of a phonological word occurs only in this particular case, is indicative of a higher degree of lexicalisation. While with the full determiner forms, one can have an additional modifer between a determiner and (dummy) noun, this does not work with the contracted forms above. Additionally, as mentioned the distal pronominal tends to further shorten to *kə* in fast discourse, which may suggest that Jejuan demonstrative pronominals show varying degrees of lexicalisation.

A.2.4. Indefinite pronominals

Similar to demonstratives, indefinite pronominals consist of a part, which, similar to English indefinites, can be further analysed into an indefinite element *amu* and the actual content word:

Indefinite pronominal	
amu(= kai)	'anybody'
amu = kə	'anything'
amu = ti/amoti	'anywhere'
amu = t̨e	'anytime'

Table A.5.: Jejuan indefinite pronouns

Jejuan indefinite expressions are largely identical to Korean, except for *amu = kai*, 'anybody' and *amoti* 'anywhere'. The latter have been recorded by other researchers such as Kang et al. (2009), yet in Jimnyeong, only *amukai* was identified as known to speakers, whereas *amoti* could not be attested.

Indefinites are often suffixed with has been preliminarily identified as an indeterminative suffix = *na*. Similar to demonstratives, some indefinite expressions tend more towards syntactic wordhood, whereas others are more similar to phrases. For example, as opposed to genuine noun phrases, it is not clear whether in the above indefinite expressions in table A.5, *amu* and the nominal could be separated from each other. Moreover, for animate entities, *amu* can stand on its own and does not rely on another element to build a syntactic constituent. On the other hand, the nominal elements in indefinite expressions are not necessarily restricted to the above, so that *amu* can appear as a modifier to any noun, so for example *amu sʰalam*, 'any type of person', or *amu mʋil*, 'any village'.

Note that interrogative expressions may be used with indefinite meaning, yet as opposed to indefinites proper, their denotation refers to an unknown, specific entity. See section A.2.6 for more.

A.2.5. Logophoric pronouns

Jejuan possesses a set of logophoric pronouns which, unlike anaphoric pronouns from languages such as English, are not locally bound yet may refer to a discourse context wider than the immediate clausal domain. Additionally, they tend to refer to back to NPs in subject function, yet this is not an obligatory property. Below we have a table of the two Jejuan logophoric pronouns:

As shown above, elicitation results in the attestation of two different forms which somewhat morphologically parallel paradigms observed in other pronoun-like domains such as demonstratives. Formally, we seem to have a similar distinc-

Deixis	Logophoric pronoun
PROX?	iɲək
MED/DIST?	t͡ɕiɲək

Table A.6.: Jejuan logoporic pronouns

tion into different levels of deixis, yet however, logophoric pronouns show only a twofold distinction into what is reminiscent of 'proximal' and 'medial' forms in demonstrative pronominals (Section A.2.3). The problem is that the 'medial' form either hardly ever occurs in actual spoken discourse, or the Korean form t͡ɕi or t͡ɕaki is used, and the Jejuan forms avoided straight away.[18] If any, from an anecdotal perspective it seems as though *iɲək* is often the only form which is still actively used among speakers.

Moreover, a difference from Korean is that when asking consultants on the meaning of *iɲək*, they may reply that it refers to either themselves - that is, first person - or the addressee or otherwise relevant speech participant, often pointing at an interlocutor. Using the Korean pronominal t͡ɕaki in this way is by far not as frequent as in Jejuan[19], and therefore it seems that the usage of this pronominal and its syntax-semantic-pragmatics interaction is a matter that requires to be researched more thoroughly.

A.2.6. Interrogative pronominals

Similar to demonstratives, Jejuan interrogative pronominals distinguish between animate entities, inanimate entities, location, time and quantity.

Overall, the degree of lexicalisation of interrogative words seems to be higher, although for inanimate entities and locations, there are variants which are structurally similar to demonstratives and indefinites. For 'what' we both find *musʰikə* (and even more reduced forms such as *misʰikə* or *msʰikə*[20]), as well as *musʰin=kə*[21],

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[18] Thus HJG1 from Sukkun (Sinchon, Jocheon-Eup) taught me the form t͡ɕiɲək, saying that one does not hear this form often nowadays, compared to *iɲək* which is still used. For the 'distal' form, he proposed t͡ɕɒki, which is similar to Korean t͡ɕaki, yet again, one rather rarely comes across this form in spoken Jejuan. In fact, speakers from Jimnyeong (Gimnyeong, Gujwa-Eup) do not confirm the existence of this form in their variety.

[19] I would even say that in my Korean idiolect it is not possible.

[20] [msʰ] is actually not a licit, word-initial consonant cluster in Jejuan, which is why this has to be regarded an 'epiphonological', phonetically induced phenomenon. However, I am in fact mentioning this since this is the only case where such frequency-related phonetic reduction has been observed, somewhat untypically for a modern Koreanic language.

[21] This form is frequently mentioned in other sources such as Kang et al. 2009: 381, and for seome

Animate	Inanimate	Location	Direction	Time	Quantity
nuke	*musʰikə*	*əti(=sʰə)*	*ətile*	*əni=t͡ɕe*	*əmani*
nʷike	*m(i)sʰikə*		*əti(=lːu)*	*ənt͡ɕe*	*əlma*
	musʰin=kə				
	əni=kə				
'who'	'what'	'where'	'where to'	'when'	'how much'
	'which one'				

Table A.7.: Jejuan interrogative pronominals

both of which are based on the adnominal question word *musʰin*, 'of what kind' and the weak nominal *kə*, which cannot occur without an adnominal modifier. A similar phenomenon is visible in *əni=kə*, 'which one of several', and *əni=t͡ɕe*, where *əni=* means 'which' and *t͡ɕe* is a noun that now only occurs in these bound contexts standing for 'time', thus 'when': here, we have a contracted form *ənt͡ɕe* as a frequent alternative. Still, more tests are needed to see how strong the degree of contitguity is between the adnominal modifiers and the weak nominals in order to find out whether they should be treated as single items (and therefore justifying their classification as nominals), or nominal phrases.

Needless to say, typically Jejuan interrogatives face severe competition with Korean forms, as speakers tend to use forms which are more similar to Korean, or replace Jejuan forms altogether. Therefore, it is not sure whether *ənt͡ɕe* — identical to the Korean form — is a contraction of *əni=t͡ɕe* (which is not found in Korean), or rather a dominant-language influence, with similar questions surrounding *əmani* and *əlma*, only the latter of which exists in Korean.[22]

The formal distinction between *əti* and *əti=sʰə*, 'where' and where=LOC, parallels the distribution of the LOCATIVE case particles *-i* and *-isʰə*, where *əti* is used for directions and existential events, and *ətisʰə* for durative and dynamic events happening at a certain location.

With the exception of *əmani*, 'how much', any of the interrogative pronominals

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reason is taught as typically Jejuan, although in the Northeastern region of Jeju Island *musʰin kə* is not used as a general 'question word', but as an interrogative phrase that specifically asks for the qualities of the entity asked about, and *musʰikə* is used as the counterpart of 'what'.

[22] Of course, a more plausible answer may be that *əni=t͡ɕe* is a continuation of a Middle Korean, phrasal form which in Korean became contracted and intransparently lexicalised to *ənt͡ɕe*. However, the same logic cannot be consistently applied to *əmani* and *əlma*, which is why this diachronic argumentationmay need to be further dissected or contested.

can be used as indefinite expressions in case they are used in non-interrogative speech acts. As opposed to indefinites involving *amu=*, 'any=' (section A.2.4), interrogative pronomoinals used as indefinites denote an unknown, yet specific entity, thus 'somebody' or 'sometime'.

A.2.7. Pronominals and negation

Jejuan grammar does not possess a separate set of negative pronominals such as German *nichts*, 'nothing' or *niemand*, 'nobody'. Instead, interrogative pronouns and indefinite expressions are affixed with an additive particle *=tu/=to*, and the predicate of the respective clause is negated. Thus unspecific, indefinite expressions presented in section A.2.4 function as negative polarity items (NPI), which are only interpreted as such in case they stand in the scope of a negational operator marked on the predicate of one and the same clausal domain.

A.2.8. Classifiers

Typically for an East Asian language, one must employ classifiers when counting objects in Jejuan. As the only group of nominals, classifiers modify countable nouns via their own classifier phrase, yet post-nominally.[23] Different classifiers are chosen depending on the noun that is to be counted, that is, whether it is an animal, a human, or depending on the shape or material of an object.

A few classifiers seem to be genuinely Jejuan, such as *pati*[24], 'time.CLF/place.CLF', *kulːe*, 'mouthful.CLF' or $\widehat{tɕik}/\widehat{tɕiks^hi}_{\text{NORTHEAST}}/\widehat{tɕaks^hi}_{\text{SOUTHWEST}}$, 'bit.of.food.CLF', to give a non-exhaustive list.

Other classifiers have gone through diachronic changes different from Korean, and nowadays stand in competition with them, so for example $p^heŋ_{\text{JEJ}}$ vs. $p^jəŋ_{\text{KOR}}$, 'bottle.CLF' or $mɒli_{\text{JEJ}}$ vs. $mali_{\text{KOR}}$, 'animal.CLF', with Korean counterparts clearly in favour in most speakers' language use. In fact, most classifiers in use are identical to Korean nowadays, and it is not known whether the number of distinctly

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[23] Whether classifier phrases are a constituent of the nominal phrase of the noun that they modify is a question that is open for investigation. See Section A.3.4 for further details.

[24] Sources such as Kang et al. (2009) write this word $<pasti_{\text{YALE}}>/<\text{pas}^h\text{ti}_{\text{IPA}}>$, which can be further analysed into $pas^h\text{-}ti$, 'field-LOC'. This type of orthographic representation is suggestive of a grammaticalisation process from an ordinarily inflected noun meaning 'on the field' to a classifier denoting a number of places where an event happened, or the number of repetitions of an event. However, there is no separate evidence which would support this claim other than speculation due to lack of historical sources of written Jejuan. Accordingly, here the classifier is represented following its pronunciation, and whether to further analyse this form in diachronic terms is an issue that remains to be resolved.

Jejuan classifiers used to be higher in the past. Classifiers identical to Korean include the generic classifier *kɛ/ke,* which is often used instead of the more semantically specific ones, or whenever a speaker does not specify the particular classifier that goes together with a noun.

Many classifiers are not restricted to their usage in classifier function alone, but can be used as independent nouns as well. Thus almost all classifiers presented above can only be used as such, yet words such as *pʰeŋ/pʲəŋ* above can also refer to bottles without counting them.

A.2.9. Postpositions

Jejuan postpositions typically describe locational configurations relative to an object, and therefore tend to have relational meaning. As the syntactic head of a phrase, they take the rightmost position. Note that all vowel-intial postpositions may trigger consonant gemination if the nominal whose meaning they modify end in a stop consonant (this has been noted elsewhere, see Jung S.-C. 2013 for example). In case postpositions are affixed with locative particles, *an,* 'inside', *apʰ,* 'in front', *t͡ɕən,* 'before' and *eəm,* 'next to/at the rim of' may geminate their coda consonant[25]. In the following, I present a non-exhaustive list of examples.

front	behind	up	down	inside	outside	before
apʰ	*tu*	*u*	*al*	*an* ̥ *s̥okop*	*pɛk̬it/pɛk̬it*	*t͡ɕən*

after	next to	at the rim	behind	between	close by	opposite
hu	*eəm* *jɒpʰ*	*eəm*	*tɨk̬ʷaŋ*	*sʰai/sʰɒi* *t͡ɕuŋkan* *tʰɨməŋ*	*t͡ɕɒk̬it*	*palːa*

Table A.8.: Jejuan postpositions

tɨk̬ʷaŋ above is interesting since it literally means 'back' as a body part, yet when describing locations of buildings, this may be used in order indicate the backside of a building. With no other word for a body part such a metaphorical trasfer has been noted, and the Korean counterpart *tʷi* does not have such meaning.

The difference in usage between *an,* 'inside' and *s̥okop,* 'inside' is unclear, as in some cases they may not be used interchangeably, for example *kot͡ɕ s̥okop,* 'inside

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[25] Note that *eəm* frequently shortens to *em* in fast speech. It is often in this short form that the geminate coda is found

the forest' vs. *$\widehat{kot\varsigma}$ an*, and *$\widehat{t\varsigma ip}$: an*, 'inside the house' vs. *$\widehat{t\varsigma ip}$ ṣokop*, yet in others both of them are acceptable: *pʰeŋ ṣokop* or *pʰeŋ an* for 'inside the bottle'.

jɒpʰ, 'next' is similar to Korean *jɒpʰ*, 'next', whereas *eəm* seems to be genuinely Jejuan. The latter may be a metaphorical transfer from a broader meaning which denotes the surrounding or the rim/circumference of an entity, as consultants vary to the extent they describe the meaning of this expression: some speakers emphasise the meaning of this word as referring to the rim of something, and others use it when referring to a place next to an object. Almost all postpositions have Koreanic roots, yet *$\widehat{t\varsigma ə n}$*, 'before' (前) and *hu* 'after' (後) can be identified Sino-Jejuan.[26]

A.2.10. Case particles

Jejuan nominals can take on a range of particles with various functions. This section will present a list of nominal particles which are traditionally conceived of as having case-marking function. The list follows terminology applied to Koreanic case particles applied elsewhere, such as Sohn (1999: 326ff.). Similar to Korean, Jejuan case marking may differ according to the animacy of referent, and consonant-final and vowel-final nominals show different allomorphs depending on the individual particle:

Table A.9.: Nominal case particles

	ANIMATE C-final	V-final		INANIMATE C-final	V-final
NOM	=*i*	=*ka*	NOM	=*i*	=*ka*
GEN		=*i̵*/=*i*	GEN		=*i̵*/=*i*
ACC	=*i̵l*	=*l*, =*l̵il*	ACC	=*i̵l*	=*l*, =*l̵il*
COM	=*ijəŋ*, =*kʷaŋ*	=*jəŋ*, =*(l)kʷaŋ*	COM	=*ijəŋ*, =*kʷaŋ*	=*jəŋ*, =*(l)kʷaŋ*
INSTR	?		INSTR	=*i̵lu*/=*i̵lo*	=*lu*/=*lo*
			LOC.STAT	=*i̵*/=*e*	
DAT	=*sʰinti*, =*antʰi*, =*anpi*, =*apʰi*, =*(l)kɒla*		LOC.DYN	=*isʰə*/=*esʰə*	
ABL	=*sʰinti(sʰə)*, =*antʰi(sʰə)*		ABL	see LOC.DYN	
DIR	see DAT except =*(l)kɒla*; =*sʰintile*		DIR	see LOC.STAT; =*(t)ile*, =*təle*	

As shown in table A.9, for nominative, genitive, accusative and comitative case there is no difference in marking between animate and inanimate nouns. Below the dividing line, we have instrumental, dative, locative, ablative and di-

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[26] *$\widehat{t\varsigma ə n}$*, 'before' (前) and *hu* 'after' (後) are formally identical to Sino-Korean counterparts, yet in Jejuan the former triggers the abovementioned consonantal gemination — a phenomenon absent from Korean — and the latter has an unpredictable, locative form *hu*=*$\widehat{t\varsigma e}$*, that likely arises from an older stem form *$\widehat{hut\varsigma}$*= that now only remains in locative contexts.

rectional case marking whose distribution may depend on the animacy of the noun.

Animate nouns take dative case marking, which shows a number of variants, $=s^hinti$, $=ant^hi$, $=anpi$, $=ap^hi$, $=(l)kɒla$. $=ant^hi$ additionally alternates with $=an$-ṭi with seemingly no constraint (one and the same speaker may use both), and is the marker most similar to the Korean dative particle $=hant^he$.

Whereas the first four Jejuan dative markers all stand in more or less free variation, $=kɒla$ usually occurs as the recipient of speech. Moreover, in vowel-final contexts it also occurs as $=lkɒla$, $=[lg^wɒɾa]$. It is probable that this particle grammaticalised from a former clausal expression, given that other scholars such as Kang et al. (2009: 120) attest the existence of a similar form, $=kɒlan$. If we consider the fact that this marker itself bears resemblance to the verb *kɒt-/kɒl-*, (root and stem group 3/4, see A.2.13), the /n/ in the lexeme attested by Kang et al. (2009: 120) probably constitutes a former realis converbal suffix *-n* discussed in this thesis. The /l/ that surfaces in vowel-final contexts, then, could be seen as a former accusative particle, which in Jejuan also attaches to vowel-final contexts in its $=l$ form. In other words, evidence points towards the fact that $=(l)kɒla$ as a particle probably originates from a phonological reduction, contraction and reanalysis of an adverbial clause *NOUN=l kɒla-n*, =ACC say-CVB, 'telling me', to the present $=kɒla/=lkɒla$, 'SPEECH_RECIPIENT particle'. A reason not to see this as a syntactic phrase any longer is that this particle now takes part in aspiration processes which are triggered on particles, by preceding particles. This phenomenon was discussed in Section A.1.3.6. Note that below, $=(l)kɒla$ has been simply glossed as DAT.

(212) a. Hyun and Kang (2011: 24) [optionality indication mine]

    na=(l)kɒla kiəŋ   kɒl-a-la
    1SG=DAT   that_way say-EV.PST-DECL

    'He said that to me like that.'

  b. Hyun and Kang (2011: 333), aspiration after plural particle

    t͡ɕ=aii=təl=k^hɒla   tilə po-la
    DEM.DIST=child=PL=DAT hear see-IMP

    'Ask those people!'

In Korean, a very similar development has happened where a *-ko* form of the verb *po-*, 'see' has developed into a dative particle $=(l)poko$ occuring in a comparable context. While it is interesting to see fairly parallel grammaticalisation phenomena in both languages, one can observe how the semantic source of grammaticalisation differs greatly.

Not shown in the above table is the fact that Jejuan shows greater variation in locative case marking, which may partly be due to diachronic factors:

Table A.10.: Variation of locative case particles

case ending	word form	case ending	word form
=i	$\widehat{tɕ}ip=i$ 'house=LOC'	=ti	$pa\underset{..}{k}et=ti$ 'outside=LOC'
=e	$em=e$ 'next=LOC'		$\widehat{tɕ}ʋ\underset{..}{k}it=ti$ 'near=LOC'
	$tu=e$ 'behind=LOC'		$i=ti$ DEM.PROX=LOC
=$\widehat{tɕ}e$	$hu=\widehat{tɕ}e$ 'behind=LOC'	=tʰi	$u=tʰi$ 'top=LOC'
=le	$hʋlu=le$ 'one_day=LOC'		

It is not possible to predict which noun will take which locative particle, although it seems that particles as shown above are fairly restricted in usage. While this may be a synchronic analysis, from a diachronic perspective, regarding the above phenomenon of an unpredictable variation of locative particles may seem shallow. As Jung S.-C. (2013) remarks, it may rather have been the case that the actual stem of *hu*, 'after/behind' and *hʋlu*, 'one_day' may have been *$\widehat{hutɕ}$ and (*)*hʋlul*. In fact, elderly speakers may still use the form *hʋlul* in independent contexts. Such a diachronic analysis may explain why there are no other nouns which take a =*le* or =$\widehat{tɕ}e$ variant of the locative particle.

A.2.11. Other particles

Jejuan also has a number of particles that express spatial relationships, are used in comparisons, or have quantifying function.

until	like	than	every	each
$=\underset{..}{k}$ʋ͡t͡ɕaŋ	$=$kot͡ɕʰuluk	$=$potaŋ	$=$mata	$=\underset{..}{s}$ək
$=\underset{..}{k}$ʋt͡ɕi	$=$kʋt͡ɕʰiluk	$=$potam		
	$=$kʋtʰi			

Table A.11.: Spatial, comparative and 'quantifying' particles

How the properties of the above particles differ from case particles and post-positions is a matter that remains to be explored.

A.2.12. Determiners

Another word class is that of determiners, which all have the function of modifying nominals and nominal phrases. Jejuan distinguishes the following types of determiners:

- demonstrative determiners
- quantifiers
- interrogative determiners

Demonstrative determiners show a threefold decitic distinction, and numbers play an important role in their usage in classifiers.

A.2.12.1. Demonstratives

Jejuan demonstrative modifiers show a three-way distinction into PROXIMAL, MEDIAL and DISTAL.

	Demonstrative
PROX	i/jo
MED	t͡ɕə/t͡ɕə
DIST	kɨ

Table A.12.: Jejuan demonstratives

The above distinction of demonstratives into three different deictic categories should be seen as preliminary, since it may partly be informed through my knowledge of the Korean linguistics tradition which employs the same categorisation.

However, it has not been explored in detail for Jejuan which are the conditions that trigger their usage, and whether there are cases where they can be used interchangeably, or where a subset tends to group together, whereas one of them is used for a different meaning or function.

On a more observational note, however, it seems that for proximal and medial forms, the choice of demonstrative may focus on the distance of an entity to a speaker, and not necessarily the addressee. DISTAL demonstratives tend to be used for things not present, or mentioned in prior discourse. Although Sohn (1999: 210) mentions for Korean that DISTAL demonstratives are used for entities in proximity to the addressee, for Jejuan this remains to be confirmed. Also note that the usage of deictic distinctions in demonstratives is not bound to concrete objects, but may also occur with abstract entities, yet it is not known whether here the semantic distribution of demonstratives would differ.

A.2.12.2. Quantifiers

In terms of quantitative modifiers, Jejuan resorts to a small set of autochtonous expressions, or uses numbers, interrogative modifiers or both, or employs quantifiers used in Korean (cf. Sohn 1999: 211).

Only a few expressions seem to be peculiar to Jejuan, which are *hakan*, 'many different kinds', and *jʋla*, 'several', with the former typically used in reference to inanimate entities, and the latter with animate entities. However, *hakan* also occurs own its own, whereas *jʋla* only occurs as an adnominal modifier:

(213) a. Pear Story, jeju0060-05, HSH1, FLEx32

jʋla   sʰalɨm   ola-ŋ = in   sʰat͡ɕin t͡ɕʰi-ə
many_different person come-CVB = TOP photo hit-CVB
t͡ɕi-nɨ-nia
AUX-PRS-Q.PLR

'Do you think you could take pictures with so many people?'

b. Pear Story, jeju0060-05, HSH1, FLEx2

jaŋ = tu   isʰ-ku   hakan   tɨlʲːəkʰ = e   t͡ɕʋmit͡ɕi-ə-nke
goat = ADD EXIST-CVB several_kinds wild = LOC be_fun-EV.PST-CVB
it͡ɕe = n
now = TOP

'There was a goat and many other things out in the wild, it was funny, but now...'

Quantification in Jejuan is realised differently from European languages in a sense that quantifying operators such as 'several' and 'all' are only expressed as

adnominal modifiers in the above two cases, and are otherwise distributed across different morphosyntactic categories. So 'each' and 'every' is expressed through postnominal particles =ṣək, 'each' or =mata, 'every', and 'all' would be expressed through adverbials such as *mɒn, mɒnṭak* or *ta* (all meaning 'everyone/everything'). Furthermore, impressionistically it does not seem possible to have multiple occurrences of one and the same quantifying expression in a sentence (in the sense of 'everyone likes someone'). It remains to be explored whether in Jejuan it is possible to morphosyntactically encode broad and narrow scoping options in quantification, or whether this is something that is a matter of pragmatic interpretation.

A.2.12.3. Interrogative and indefinite modifiers

Another type of determiners are interrogative modifiers. Consisting of three different expressions, *musʰin*, 'what kind of' asks for the quality of an entity, where *əni*, 'which' asks for a particular entity out of a selection known to both speaker and addressee. The third type of modifier, *metʰ*, 'how many' asks for the quantity of something.

Similar to *əniʨe*, 'when' mentioned in section A.2.6, *metʰ* has contributed to the development of new lexemes, for example in *metʰil*, 'how many days' which could be seen as consisting of *metʰ* and *il*, with *il* meaning 'day'.

Furthermore, all interrogative modifiers can be interpreted as indefinite determiners in case they are used in assertive utterances.

The only genuinely indefinite determiner is *amu* or *ami*, as shown in the example above. The difference between the indefinitely used interrogative determiners and the indefinite modifiers is one of specificity: *amu* denotes an indefinite, unspecific entity, whereas *əni* or *metʰ* refers to particular, unknown entities. Unsurprisingly, *əni* often occurs together with the modifying numeral *hɒn* in a noun phrase to emphasise the specificity of the indefinite entity.

A.2.13. Verbs: roots and stems

All Jejuan verb suffixes select for one of two possible stem forms. One stem form, henceforth called the 'root' of a verb, is either directly suffixed in the case of vowel-final roots, or in case of consonant-final roots, a process of vowel epenthesis is applied.[27].

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[27] Note that in the phonology section I suggested that this process is more adequately seen as 'syllable' epenthesis than plain vowel epenthesis, as the entire structure is then re-syllabified

In another stem form, henceforth called the 'stem', a partially predictable vowel (/a/ or /ə/) attaches to the root regardless of whether it ends in a consonant or a vowel, yet depending on the final-syllable vowel of the root. As opposed to the vowel epenthesis above, this process can probably be traced back to some kind of vowel harmony which once existed in an older, Koreanic speech form such as Middle Korean. See Jang H. (2017) on Korean, or Kim W.-B. (1999) on Jejuan, who both suggest that Middle Korean had a retracted-tongue-root (RTR) harmony. While in Korean, the /ə/ vowel has been taking over all contexts and hence levelling the vowel harmony pattern, Jejuan is more consistent in the application of the root‿vowel-stem‿vowel correspondences. I will show, however, that this is not productive any longer either.

In the following, I will discuss five patterns relevant to root and stem suffixing. In the first group, no change happens to the verb root, while in groups two to five the verb root changes in only partially phonologically predictable ways, largely depending on the sonority of the suffix-initial segment. Note that the current analysis of root and stem forms highly diverges from conventional analyses of Koreanic verb morphology, since in Korean both what I call 'root' and 'stem' suffixing here is rather seen as a suffix allomorphy. While this may make sense for Korean, for Jejuan I will show that the grammar works differently: in one case we have a case of epenthesis much more wide-spread than in Korean with predictable allomorphy, and in the other, root suffixation with alternating vowels that are not entirely predictable.

I first discuss a table of the first group of verb roots in order to explain the patterns behind root and stem suffixing. In this group of verbs, no change of the root is observable (see table A.13 on page 309).

The table reads as follows. The morphological behaviour of suffixes in the above root and stem group 1 depends on whether the root is consonant-final or vowel-final ('stem-final' column). In vowel-final roots, only with 'stem forms' a vowel is added to the root which then serves as a morphological base for further inflection, whereas for 'root forms', the root is suffixed directly in the case of vowel-final roots. With root suffixation in (some) consonant-final roots, however, we see a process of epenthesis of either /i/ or /ɨ/, depending on whether the root-final consonants is continuant or not[28]. While the 'vowel augment' in stem forms is obligatory and may result in changes of the root itself, with root forms, the

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to fit a CV pattern. See Section A.1.

[28] Note that this allomorphy is not observed in all Jejuan varieties. Many sources on Jejuan only indicate /ɨ/ as the sole epenthetic vowel. This allomorphy has been observed in all Northeastern regions of Jeju Island including the Eastern parts of the Seongnae (Jeju City) region, yet it seems that Southern regions, for example, do not show this allomorphy.

Table A.13.: Root and stem group 1: no changes to root

GROUP 1:	Default pattern			
ROOT-FINAL	VERB FORM	FORM	SUFFIX-INITIAL	EXAMPLE
C	*mək-* 'eat'	ROOT	[-son]	*mək-ɨ-t͡ɕu* eat-EP-STN
			[+son]	*mək-ɨ-min* eat-EP-CVB
		STEM	[+son]	*mək-ə-n* eat-V-PST
V	*kʷe-* 'arise'	ROOT	[-son]	*kʷe-t͡ɕu* arise-STN
			[+son]	*kʷe-min* arise-CVB
		STEM	[+son]	*kʷe-ə-n* arise-V-PST

epenthetic vowel is not always obligatory. The 'suffix-initial' column indicates whether there is a particular segment or feature pertaining to the suffix-initial position, which could play a role in the instantiation of a phenomenon. Note that the sonority of the initial segment of a suffix does not play a role in group 1 shown above. Yet since it does for all other groups, this column has been included here as well.

In the following, I present a table of epenthesis allomorphy mentioned above. This allormorphy is found only on verb roots — when particles attach to nominals, the epenthetic vowel will always be /ɨ/. In this sense, this epenthesis cannot be said to be a purely phonological process.

Table A.14.: Epenthesis allomorphy in root suffixing

ROOT-FINAL SEGMENT	EXAMPLE	EPENTHETIC	ROOT SUFFIX
$[+cons, +cont]$	t͡ɕisʰ-, 'build'	*-ɨ-*	*-min*
$[+cons, -cont]$	tək̚-, 'cover'	*-ɨ-*	*-min*

Stem forms are built by means of a partially predictable vowel addition to the root:

As mentioned while some researchers assume that once there was a regular vowel harmony underlying all Middle Korean words, the above data shows that the vowel harmony must have lexicalised to some degree in Jejuan, since one will find verbs which technically would have to build a stem form with a particular

Table A.15.: Vowel correspondences in stem formation

LAST ROOT VOWEL	EXAMPLE	STEM VOWEL	SUFFIX	FORM
ə	mək-, 'eat'	ə	-n	məkən
ɨ	tʰɨt-, 'pull_off'			tʰɨtən
i	t͡ɕisʰ-, 'build'			t͡ɕisʰən
ɛ	nɛ-, 'move_out'			nɛən
e	pe-, 'be_heavy'			peən
u	kut͡ɕ-, 'be_bad'			kut͡ɕən
a	at͡ɕ-, 'pick_up'			at͡ɕən
o	tol-, 'turn'	a	-n	tolan
ɒ	kɒm-, 'wrap'			kɒman
a	at͡ɕ-, 'sit'			at͡ɕan
p?/w?	t͡ɕʰep-, 'fill'			t͡ɕʰewan

vowel (for example, at͡ɕ-, 'pick up' which 'should' build a form *at͡ɕa), yet take the vowel from the opposite class. Similarly, as I will show later, we have a group of Jejuan verbs where a /p/ consonant seems to undergo lenition inter-vocalically to a labiovelar glide, and no matter what the last root vowel is, the stem form vowel is /a/ (although if the glide was to be interpreted as /u/, the stem vowel should be /ə/).

There is a number of differences that justify a distinction into root and stem forms. A stem form need not be followed by a suffix, it is obligatory to all verbs regardless of their final segment, and which vowel will be affixed to a root is not as predictable as for the case of epenthesis above. In an auxiliary verb construction, the stem form would be used for the preceding verbs in a succession of two or more verbs, and only the last verb is inflected. Furthermore, it is formally identical with (present tense) 'unmarked forms' (Section A.2.14.4), which may suggest some diachronic relationship between the two forms. A present tense, unmarked form phonologically identical to a stem, can be the sole, overt constituent of an independent clause, and has illocutionary force.

A root form is always bound, that is, it always must be suffixed (even if the 'suffix' is the above stem formation). The epenthesis is only triggered on verbs with a consonant-final root, and its allomorphy is predictable. Furthermore, as its occurrence is bound to the two conditions (the context of a particular suffix, and the final segment of a root) above, it does not find a phonologically identical counterpart which can potentially constitute an independent, morphosyntactic unit as with stem forms.

As a general point applying to both root and stem forms, however, it is not

predictable which suffix of which morphological category will require a root or a stem. Moreover, the distribution of stem and root forms is not identical to Korean. For example, while Korean verbs require stem forms for imperatives, Jejuan imperative suffixes are suffixed to a root:

(214) Imperative suffixation

    a. Jejuan

        mək-ɨ-la,   t͡ɕisʰ-ɨ-la,   o-la
        eat-EP-IMP, build-EP-IMP, come-IMP

        'Eat!; Build!; Come!'

    b. Korean

        mək-ə-la,   o-a-la
        eat-STM-IMP, come-STM-IMP

        'Eat!; Come!'

I now proceed to a discussion of the second root and stem formation group:

Table A.16.: Group 2: deletion of root-final cons. in [+son] contexts

STEM-FINAL	FORM	SUFFIX-INITIAL	VERB FORM	EXAMPLE
C	ROOT	[−son]	nuk-, 'lie_down' ṭap-, 'braid' noh-, 'put'	*nuk-t͡ɕu* →[nukt͡ɕu] *ṭap-t͡ɕu* →[ṭapt͡ɕu] *noh-t͡ɕu* →[not͡ɕʰu]
V		[+son]	*nu-* *ṭa-* *no-*	*nu-min* *ṭa-min* *no(h-ɨ-)min*
	STEM	[+son]	*nu-* *ṭa-* *no-*	*nu-ə-n* ṭa-a-n →[ṭan] *no-a-n* →[nwan]

In root and stem group 2, we are solely dealing with roots which are consonant-final. Whereas for group 1, differences come down to whether epenthesis happens with consonant-final roots or not, in group 2, its main feature is the change from consonant-final to vowel-final roots in case the suffix-initial segment is [+sonorant]. Thus in [−sonorant] environments, we observe regular processes that apply in CC clusters: with stop-final roots and stop/affricate-initial suffixes, the suffix-initial stop/affricate undergoes tensification. When the root-final consonant is an aspirate, glottal consonant, it disappears yet leaves its trace through the aspiration of the suffix-initial consonant, therefore yielding */noh-/ + /-t͡ɕu/* →*[not͡ɕʰu]*.

In [+sonorant] environments, the final consonant gets deleted and therefore we have direct root suffixation in the case of *t̬a-min*, braid-CVB, [t̬amin], without epenthesis. In fact, with /h/-final roots, it seems to depend on the particular lexeme, the speaker, the speed of speech, as well as particular contexts of emphasis (and possibly, code-switching with Korean) whether in the case of [+sonorant], consonant-initial root suffixes, the /h/ gets deleted or not.[29] Thus we tend to find /*noh-*/ + /*-min*/ →[nomin] instead of [nohɨmin], although the latter does occur. With items such as *t͡ɕoh-*, 'be_good', however, it seems that we only find [t͡ɕomin] in very fast speech, whereas usually the form occurring seems to be [t͡ɕohɨmin].[30]

The next group of root and stem forms is group 3, which is characterised by a root alternation between root-final /-t/ and /-l/. In this group, we find no change of roots between consonant-final and vowel-final structures.

Table A.17.: Root and stem group 3: 'Weak /-t/' forms

FINAL SEG.	FORM	SUFFIX-INITIAL	VERB FORM	EXAMPLE
C	ROOT	[-son]	kɒt-, 'say'	*kɒt-t͡ɕu*
			tɨt-, 'hear'	*tɨt-t͡ɕu*
			kət-, 'walk'	*kət-t͡ɕu*
		[-son]	*kɒl-*	*kɒl-t͡ɕu*
			tɨl-	*tɨl-t͡ɕu*
			kəl-	*kəl-t͡ɕu*
		[+son]	*kɒl-*	*kɒl-(ɨ)-min*
			tɨl-	*tɨl-(ɨ)-min*
			kəl-	*kəl-(ɨ)-min*
	STEM	[+son]	*kɒl-*	*kɒl-a-n*
			tɨl-	*tɨl-ə-n*
			kəl-	*kəl-ə-n*

This group solely pertains to verb roots ending in /-t/, which, in the context of [+sonorant] of the suffix-initial segment changes to /-l/. However, it seems that

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[29] This is actually somewhat of a contradiction to the observation made in Section A.1.3.1.3 that glottal fricatives are deleted intervocalically, although at present, I am unable to provide more data and discussion on this matter.

[30] However, note that this may be a language shift effect towards Korean, since in Korean this form is the exclusive one. In fact, in informal conversations with Jejuan shamans (who tend to be among the people with the highest degrees of Jejuan fluency), the author came across a joke based on a word play: the little lake on the summit of Hallaksan (kor. Hallasan) is locally known as *t͡ɕonmul*, [t͡ɕomːul], which is understood to be *t͡ɕo-n mul*, be_good-ADN water, 'good water', yet which sounds the same as the surface form of underlying *t͡ɕo-sʰ-mul*, which is humorously identified as the vulgar term vagina-INTF-water, 'vaginal excretion'. As the adnominaliser *-n* is a root suffix, this joke would be impossible if the Jejuan, adnominal form of *t͡ɕoh-*, 'be_good' was *t͡ɕoh-ɨ-n*, be_good-EP-ADN, 'that which is good.'

verb roots in this group are undergoing a generalisation of the /-l/ root forms onto other contexts where they are not expected to appear according to the sonority condition mentioned above. Thus one will find both *kɒt-t͡ɕu*, say-STN, and *kɒl-t͡ɕu* with no change in meaning. Interestingly, one and the same speaker may use either root form. In Korean, a similar /t/-/l/ alternation exists in verb roots, yet the Korean counterpart *tit-* of Jejuan *tit-* is only identical on the surface, and inflects differently: in Korean we have *tit-t͡ɕi*, hear-STN, *til-imʲən*, hear-CVB (yet *til-mʲən), *til-ə-sʰə*, hear-STM-CVB, so the /t/ changes to /l/ only in intervocalic environments. In Jejuan, however, it is rather the sonority than the 'vocality' of the environment that is crucial: thus we find both *kɒl-i-min* and *kɒl-min*. In Korean, only the former form would be acceptable.

This root and stem group interacts with the next group, which concerns only roots that end in a liquid:

Table A.18.: Group 4: 'Weak /-l/' forms

STEM-FINAL	SUFFIX-INITIAL	VERB FORM	EXAMPLE
C	elsewhere	nol-, 'play'	*nol-t͡ɕu* *nol-min* *nol-a-n*
		kɒl-, 'say'	*kɒl-t͡ɕu* *kɒl-min* *kɒl-a-n*
V	__/n/	kɒ- no-	*kɒ-nan* *no-nan*

In this group, roots ending in /-l/ delete their root-final consonant in the environment of an alveolar nasal. Although similar to group 2, group 4 deletes the /l/ only before an alveolar nasal, and not before other sonorants. This group of verbs is interesting, as it provides further evidence for the fact that /-l/-final forms of /-t/ roots from group 3 generally behave as though they were /-l/ roots. This is why *kɒt-*, 'say' from group 3 behaves the same way as *nol-*, 'play' from group 4 in its *kɒl-* form. Thus one will find both the forms *kɒl-i-nan* (but not *kɒl-nan* as opposed to *kɒl-i-min* and *kɒl-min* in table A.17) and *kɒ-nan*: with *kɒl-i-nan*, we find an inflectional behaviour following the group 3 pattern, whereas with *kɒ-nan* the same verb follows the group 4 pattern. Thus according to the former, the underlying root form would be *kɒt-*, whereas according to the latter, it would be *kɒl-*.

The last group presented in this section is similar to a Korean phenomenon, yet

it is more widespread in Jejuan, and its internal workings slightly differ, providing more evidence for the unpredictability of any supposed 'vowel harmony' than in Korean:

Table A.19.: Group 5: 'Vocalic /p/' forms

FINAL SEG.	FORM	SUFFIX-INITIAL	VERB FORM	EXAMPLE
C	ROOT	[-son]	ʈ̥olp-, 'be_perforated'	ʈ̥olp-ɨ-t͡ɕu
			top-, 'help'	top-t͡ɕu
			t͡ɕʰep-, 'fill'	t͡ɕʰep-t͡ɕu
			pʰep-, 'spread'	pʰep-t͡ɕu
		[+son]	ʈ̥olp-, 'be_perforated'	ʈ̥olːu-min
			top-, 'help'	tou-min
			t͡ɕʰep-, 'fill'	t͡ɕʰeu-min
			pʰep-, 'spread'	pʰeu-min
	STEM	[+son]	ʈ̥olp-, 'be_perforated'	ʈ̥olːu-a-n →*[ʈ̥olʷːan]*
			top-, 'help'	tou-a-n →*[towan]*
			t͡ɕʰep-, 'fill'	t͡ɕʰeu-a-n →*[t͡ɕʰewan]*
			pʰep-, 'spread'	pʰeu-a-n →*[pʰewan]*

In Korean, verbs such as *top-*, 'help' and *kup-*, 'bake/fry' alternate with roots where the /p/ turns into a /u/, thus rendering *tou-* and *kuu-*.[31] Group 5 verb roots in Jejuan behave in a similar way, and in fact we find similar verbs from both languages in this group (see Jejuan *top-* 'help' in table A.19 above). The crucial difference is that a wider range of verb roots undergoes this change, since there is a group of causative verbs (see Section A.2.13.1 hereafter) whose roots end in /p/. In Korean, all these causative verb roots end in a /u/ vowel, which is why they behave similar to default, Jejuan group 1 root patterns.[32]

Similar to other root and stem groups, root changes in this group depend on the sonority of the initial segment of the suffix attached. Thus before [−sonorant], suffix-initial segments, verb roots employ the /-p/ form, whereas in [+sonorant] environments, verb roots change to /-u/ forms. Thus regardless of whether the verb is morphologically inchoative or causative, we see a change from *top-t͡ɕu*, help-STN; *pʰe-p-t͡ɕu*, spread-CAUS-STN to *tou-min*, help-CVB; *pʰeu-min*, spread.CAUS-CVB. In [−sonorant] environments, some verbs apply epenthesis of -ɨ-/-i-, pre-

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[31] This form would be pronounced with a long vowel. Jejuan does not have vowel distinctions, which is why in any identical VV sequence, the vowel will be shortened.

[32] Note that unsuprisingly, looking at the usage of these verb roots is often a helpful indicator of how much or how at all language shift and attrition has affected a speaker's indiolectal grammar. Thus more fluent speakers of Jejuan will tend to retain this root alternation in causative verbs, whereas younger speakers usually tend to use the Korean pattern.

sumably in order to repair illicit consonant clusters such as in *ṭolp-i-t͡ɕu*, have_hole-EP-STN, 'of course there is a hole'.

For stem formation in group 5, roots change to /-u/ forms since the initial (and sole) segment of the stem formation suffix *-a/-ə* is a vowel, and hence [+sonorant]. In a case where we have a triple vowel sequence V-{/u/,/i/}-V, the vowels /u/ or /i/ change to glides which are then resyllabified as onset consonats of the syllable consituted by the second V-nucleus. Therefore we find the surface forms *[towan]* and *[pʰewan]*. With *[ṭolʷːan]* we see a common phenomenon in Jejuan as there are a number of verbs whose roots end in /-lVp/, of which the vowel is either a /i/, /ɨ/ or /u/, and which then changes to [-lːiu] or [-lːu] (a result of identical vowel clashes in /lɨ-u/, /lu-u/). It is suggested that in autosegmental representation, the geminate /l/ is associated with both a sylable-final and syllable-initial consonant position, and therefore the vowel /u/ cannot change to a glide and resyllabify as a consonant. Instead, what we have is a phonetically and phonologically still mysterious, complex consonant which has been auditorily identified as a geminate[33], alveolar, lateral approximant which is labialised. Since this phonological phenomenon is not found in Korean, it deserves more attention.

I will close this section now with a few words on how this discussion of root and stem suffixation patterns also contributes to determining whether Jejuan continues some sort of Middle Korean, 'RTR harmony' or not. While researchers such as Kim W.-B. (1999) suggest that the language in fact does so (which would not be surprising given its many conservative traits), the data shown above cast doubt on such a claim.

First of all, as shown in table A.15 on page 310, the stem vowel of a verb is not always predictable, as one and the same root-final vowel may combine with a different suffix vowel. Thus in the variety of Jejuan of the Sukkun area (North-Central), *at͡ɕ-ə-n* means pick_up-STEM-PST, 'someone picked it up', and *at͡ɕ-a-n*, sit-STEM-PST, 'someone sat down'. The same, root-final vowel combines with different stem vowels here. The same is true for varieties of the Jimnyeong area (Northeast), where we have *at͡ɕ-a-n*, sit-STEM-PST and *asʰ-ə-n*, pick_up-STEM-PST. In the Seogwipo area (South-Central), we have a *ɒt͡ɕ-ə-n*, pick_up-STEM-PST and *kɒm-a-n*, wrap-STEM-PST, where in both verbs we have a root-final vowel /ɒ/, yet both stem vowels can be found. Since all of these examples deal with an opposition between a verb and a regional form of the a verb with the meaning

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[33] Any lateral approximant which is not geminate and in intervocalic position will surface as a flap [ɾ]. Since this is not the case will all intervocalic [lː] cases, it is assumed that in autosegmental representation this consonant is a geminate associated with two consonant positions.

PICK_UP, one may see this as a phonological exception.

However, the second reason[34] for assuming that Jejuan does no longer show productive vowel harmony is that verbs with a 'vocalic /p/' in their root (group 5 above) do neither follow the rule of looking at the final vowel of the root, nor can the /-u/ alternant vowel be seen as the trigger for the stem form, which in these cases always is /a/ (table A.19). If the 'vowel harmony' followed the 'last-root-vowel' pattern, *t͡ɕʰewan* should not be possible, but rather the correct form should be **t͡ɕʰewən*. If we followed the /-u/ vocalisation of /p/, then the stem vowel should be /ə/ (which is in fact the case in Korean), yet in Jejuan, the stem vowel is /a/ in these cases. Thus we cannot assume there to be a predictable, harmonic pattern of suffixation, unless we wish to introduce a number of significant exceptions.

A.2.13.1. Causative and passive root formation

Similar to Korean (cf. Yeon 2003), Jejuan has two ways of expressing causation on verbs. One way is building a periphrastic causative construction by means of an auxiliary verb *hɒ-*, 'do' and the semantic head verb in a converbal form suffixed with *-ke*. Another way is to suffix a verb root directly, and to alter a verb's valency in this way. This section will discuss the second, morphological causative formation on verbs. The Jejuan morphological causative is, very much similar to Korean, restricted to a certain number of verbs[35], and does not exist for all Jejuan verbs. A verb root takes a largely unpredictable causative suffix out of a number of different options. Moreover, the causative root may build stem forms following patterns different from the inchoative root (see group 5, Section A.2.13). The morphological causative is mostly found with monosyllabic verbs, and applies only to intransitive and transitive verbs — no morphological causative has been attested for ditransitive verbs. It can be built only from verbs of Koreanic origin, which is why complex predicates involving Sino-Koreanic ('bare') nouns and light verbs such as *hɒ-*, 'do', have to resort to the periphrastic causative. Furthermore, complex predicates (including light verb constructions of Koreanic origin and idiomatic expressions) generally build the causative periphrastically, with fossilised complex predicates involving the verb *ji-* being a notable exception (this is an important difference from Korean, see the third class of causative suffixation below).

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[34] I am naming only two reasons in this section, although it is likely that there are more reasons to be found, for example in the phonological structure of loanwords.

[35] A thorough study is left to be done yet; yet it is probable that the number of verbs taking part in this type of valency alternation is limited to a couple of hundred, as described for Korean.

All these reasons are why it is assumed here that the morphological causative in Jejuan has been fully lexicalised. Therefore, patterns described in this section are not entirely synchronic.

The morphological causative formation splits up into several classes, which are listed here:

1. suffixation with a (C)V syllabic morpheme
2. suffixation with *-lip-*, which can be further analysed as a syllabic morpheme plus *-p*
3. suffixation with *-p* only
4. root vowel change and suffixation with *-p*
5. covert causative relationships

As opposed to Korean, Jejuan patterns found in the morphological causative formation of verbs are much more complex. Korean only resorts to (C)V-pattern causatives and ambitransitives which do not show any morphological change from inchoative to causative.

In this section, I will discuss only classes I to IV above.

A.2.13.1.1 Class I: suffixation with (C)V morpheme

This class applies to a great many of verbs which can form morphological causatives. With these verbs, a verb root is suffixed with a (C)V syllable, which is a pattern well-known from Korean. Although I will not discuss it in detail here, the table below shows how causative formation affects a verb's argument structure:[36]

A number of verbs in this class have lost their original causative meaning, and adopted an idiomatic meaning instead. A classic example given often used for Korean as well is *pat-*, 'receive', which changes to *pat-hi-*, receive-CAUS-, and has a metaphorical meaning 'sacrifice/dedicate to'. This supports the hypothesis that morphological causative verbs in Jejuan are lexicalised, and not productive anymore.

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[36] The term 'coding frame' in table A.20 has been taken from the terminology of the Leipzig Valency Classes Project (see `valpal.info`), and refers to the semantic-role pattern that a verb assigns to its syntactic arguments. This table only shows the syntactic-semantic role schemes used in the above database. The letters were mnemonically chosen to represent arguments of a verb (represented by the V), and admittedly are an amalgamation of grammatical functions (A stands for the most agent-like argument of a transitive verb, P for the most patient-like argument of a transitive verb, and S for the sole argument of an intransitive verb, R stands for an argument with the semantic role of recipient, T for theme, and L for location (Martin Haspelmath, p.c.), and is used here to illustrate the increase of valency through causativisation.

Table A.20.: Jejuan (C)V syllable morphemes

ROOT	Meaning	Coding frame	CAUS	ROOT-CAUS	Coding frame	Meaning
nuk-	'lie down'	S V	-t͡ɕi-	nuk-t͡ɕi-	A P V	'lay'
at͡ɕ-	'sit down'	S V		at͡ɕ-t͡ɕi-	A P V	'put sitting; put on'
kop-	'hide'	S V		kop-t͡ɕi-	A P V	'hide so.'
sʰisʰ-	'wash oneself'	S V		sʰisʰ-t͡ɕi-	A P V	'wash sth.'
sʰim-	'grab'	A P V		sʰim-t͡ɕi-	A T R V	'hand over'
kɒm-	'wash oneself'	A P V		kɒm-t͡ɕi-	A T R V	'wash so.'
tol-	'turn'	S V	-li-	tol-li-	A P V	'turn so. around'
nɒl-	'fly'	S V		nɒl-li-	A P V	'throw sth. to fly'
nopʰ-	'be high'	S V	-hi-	nopʰ-hi-	A P V	'raise height'
pat-	'receive'	R T V		pat-hi-	A T R V	'dedicate sth.'
tɨl-	'enter'	A L V	-i-	tɨl-i-	A P L V	'push so. in/bring in so.'
mat͡ɕ-	'be exposed to'	A P V	-hu-	mat͡ɕ-hu-	A L P V	'expose sth. to sth.'
an-	'hug'	A P V	-ki-	an-ki-	A T R V	'inflict sth.'

Table A.20 is an non-exhaustive list of verbs which are suffixed with differ-ent (C)V causative morphemes. A great number of verbs builds the morpholog-ical causative form using the morph *-t͡ɕi-*.[37] The above table shows six different causative morphemes, although it is probable that there are more which have (C)V as their phonological structure. Except for *-hu-*, all suffixes involve the vowel *[i]*, with *-i-* being the only suffix which consists of a vowel only.

The distribution of particular causative morphemes is only partly predictable in that for example, verb roots that end in a *[l]* will have *-li-* as the causative morpheme. Note that causative roots formed through (C)V suffixation inflect as group 1 verbs (Section A.2.13), whereas roots formed through any type of suffixation of a morph ending in /p/ will follow the group 5 pattern, where the /p/ behaves 'vocalically'.

A.2.13.1.2 Class II: suffixation with *-lip-*

This small sub-class of verbs consists of roots which end in a *[l]*.

(215) Causative formation with *-lip-*

    a. *kəl-*   +   *-lip-*   →*kel-lip-*
        walk-   CAUS   walk-CAUS-

        'walk' vs. 'make so. walk next to oneself'

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[37] Note that many verbs correspond to Korean forms with *-ki-* as the causative morpheme. As described in the phonology section, it might be that the high number of verbs building their morphological causative might arise from a formerly regular palatalisation process of */-ki-/* to *[t͡ɕi]*, which may have become unproductive only quite recently. For example, see *an-ki-*, hug-CAUS-, which should probably have *-t͡ɕi-* as a (pre-mainland-Korean shift?) causative suffix, if we were to assume that the velar stop palatalisation was a regular process.

b. *kəl-lip-ta*
walk-CAUS-DECL
citation form of above verb

c. *kəl-liu-min*
walk-CAUS-CONV.COND
'if you let so. walk'

Note that these verbs behave as group 5 verbs (Section A.2.13).

A.2.13.1.3 Class III: suffixation with *-p-* only

Some verbs take only a *-p-* as a causative suffix.

(216) Causative formation with *-p-*

a. *tʰələt͡ɕi-* + *-p-* →*tʰələt͡ɕi-p-*
fall-   CAUS   fall-CAUS-
'fall' vs. 'drop sth.'

b. EQ/EN2015-11-21, HJG1 and JOS1, 5e)
t͡ɕʰəlsʰu=ka   jɒlmɛ=lil   tʰələt͡ɕi-u-nan   tʰət͡ɕiə-sʰ-t͡ɕə
Cheolsu=NOM fruit=ACC fall-CAUS-CVB burst-PST-DECL
'The fruit burst because Cheolsu dropped it.'

A suffixation with *-p-* only with no change to the root vowel has also been attested with verbs with *t͡ɕi-* as a component. These verbs are peculiar since formally one may analyse them as complex predicates with a semantic head verb in its stem form, and a morphosyntactic head verb *t͡ɕi-* which has semantically bleakened. Yeon (2003) mentions that this verb once meant 'fall', and in Korean it has evolved to be used as a passive (or middle) voice auxiliary. For Jejuan, it is not sure whether such verbs can be seen as complex predicates, since the meaning of the 'second' verb *t͡ɕi-* is no longer recoverable as would be the case in other complex predicates, and moreover, if we assume that morphological causative formation to morphological words only, a verb such as above would need to be seen as a contiguous word. I leave this question open for further theorisation.

A.2.13.1.4 Class IV: root vowel change and *-p* suffixation

This group of verbs comprises a mostly monosyllabic class of causative roots whose inchoative counterparts can only traced back on a diachronic basis, since I will show that the vowel change is probably the result of a diachronic process of vowel coalescence stemming from a formerly productive causative suffixation

with *-ip-* (or maybe, a diachronically 'double' suffixation with first *-i-*, and then additionally *-p-*).

(217) Causative formation with *-p-* and root vowel change

    a. $\widehat{tɕ^{h}}a$-   + *-*ip-*   → $\widehat{tɕ^{h}}ɛ$-*p*- → $\widehat{tɕ^{h}}ep$-
        get_full-   *CAUS   fill.CAUS-
        'get_full' vs. 'fill'

    b. $s^{h}a$-   + *-*ip-*   → $s^{h}ɛ$-*p*- → $s^{h}ep$-
        stand-   *CAUS   stand.CAUS-
        'stand' vs. 'put up'

    c. jeju0063-01-02, Pear Story, YSH2, FLEx71
        $\widehat{tɕ}ɒ\widehat{tɕ}ənt\widehat{ɕ^{h}}a$ *t^{h}a*-*n*   *pas^{h}*-*ti* *ka*-*n* *pas^{h}*-*ti* *ka*-*n*
        bicycle   get_on-CVB field-LOC go-CVB field-LOC go-CVB
        $\widehat{itɕ}e$=*nɨn*   ... *s^{h}ewa*-*ms^{h}*-*ə*
        now=TOP   stand.CAUS-PROG-ILLOC
        'So he rides out to the fields on a bike and now ... he puts it up there.'

In Korean, the morphological causative of $\widehat{tɕ^{h}}a$- 'get_full' is $\widehat{tɕ^{h}}ɛ$-*u*-, get_full-CAUS-, which shows a similar change alongside causative suffixation. In Korean orthgraphy, the causative form is written with the vowel < ㅐ >, [ɛ]. Historically, this vowel is a combination of < 아 >, /a/ and < 이 >, /i/, and it is well-known that during the time of the creation of the Korean alphabet, this vowel must have been pronounced as a diphtong /ai/. We also know observe in Jejuan that very recently, the vowel [ɛ] has been undergoing a merger with [e] especially in prosodically less prominent positions. Based on this knowledge, we may assume that a causative form *s^{h}ep*- in fact used to be *s^{h}ɛ*-*p*- which in itself may have resulted from a vowel coalescence of hypothetical **s^{h}aip*- or the like. While more research on this matter is needed, this was just an attempt to put the synchronically related inchoative and causative forms of this kind into meaningful relation to each other.

As for passive voice morphology, not enough data is available at present. Impressionistically, it seems that in Jejuan interaction, passive verb forms and passive structures in syntax are largely avoided. However, it does seem that Jejuan has a set of passive suffixes which differ from Korean, as examples (243a) to (243c) tentatively demonstrate. At the same time, it is likely that part of the causative suffixes presented in table A.20 are formally identical to passive suffixes. As Yeon (2003) among others have demonstrated, there seems to be some diachronic link between causative and passive morphology in Korean.

A.2.14. Verbal final-clause morphology

A.2.14.1. Tense-aspect morphology

This section lists the set of tense-aspect suffixes in Jejuan.

Table A.21.: Jejuan tense aspect markers

TENSE-ASPECT	MORPH
PST	$-s^h$
PROG	$-ms^h$
PRS	$-n_{plain}$, $-ne_{polite}$
PRS.GEN	*-me, -men, -mieŋ*

The tense-aspect system in Jejuan is markedly different from Korean in many respects. While in Korean, the present tense suffix *-n* affixes only to dynmaic verbs, in Jejuan it affixes to all verbs. Additionally, Jejuan employs a synthetic means to express progressive aspect, and has separate generic, present tense inflection. Aspect and tense intersects, since progressive aspect marking may occur on stative verbs to indicate present tense, whereas on dynamic verbs it is usually interpreted as progressive aspect. Especially for Korean tense there is now a large body of work which cannot discuss in its depth in this section. For more on this matter, I refer to Chung K.-S. (2012).

A.2.14.2. Realis and irrealis mood

Whereas Jejuan has morphological tense-aspect distinctions regarding events of which the truth value can be determined (that is, in more simplistic terms, are verifiable since they happen or have happened in the 'real world'), any state of affairs of which the truth is not verifiable is expressed through a marker that I am preliminary calling IRREALIS here.

Table A.22.: 'Realis' and irrealis mood markers

REALIS	MORPH		IRREALIS	MORPH
PST	$-s^h$		IRR	$-k^h$
PROG	$-ms^h$			
PRS	$-n_{plain}$, $-ne_{polite}$			
PRS.GEN	*-me, -men, -mieŋ*			

The irrealis marker occurs in various functions, indicating all kinds of future or hypothetical events. Although the above table is arranged in a way that is

suggestive of a morphological realis-irrealis distinction as well as of tense-aspect markers expressing some kind of 'realis' category, its sole purpose is to contrast the richness of morphological tense-aspect distinctions for 'real world' states of affairs, whereas for any such state after or beyond the point of utterance is expressed through the irrealis marker. Moreover, the 'irrealis' and 'realis' markers are not in complementary distribution in a sense that the tense-aspect suffixes can co-occur with the irrealis marker, specifying a reference time in either a future point in time, or a possible world. For examples of such verb forms, see section A.2.14.6.

Thus I do not intend to make any theoretical suggestions as to how to construe the domain of realis-irrealis semantics as done in studies such as Matić and Nikolaeva (2014), and see this as a mere observational ordering here. However, note that there are in fact two related phenomena which may suggest that Jejuan may indeed have a realis-irrealis opposition. When it comes to the variation in converb marking illustrated in sections 4.4.1 and 4.6.1, as well as the variation of topic markers, one can see that what partially determines the occurrence of such variants is the mood marking on the final clause verb — for example, in elicitation with speakers the variants *-n, ne* of *-ŋ* converbs were only deemed grammatical whenever the final clause verb is not inflected for irrealis, that is, when it is suffixed with any of the 'realis' suffixes from table A.22 above.

A.2.14.3. Politeness and illocutionary force

This section presents information on Jejuan politeness and illocutionary force marking. As in polite registers the expression of politeness and illocutionary force is often fused or co-dependent on each other, the two categories will be discussed in a joint section.

Speakers make only a distinction into situations of speaking to socially superior, or inferior interlocutors when being invited to reflect on their metalinguistic knowledge. Consequently, the current, strictly synchronic analysis of Jejuan politeness and illocutionary force inflection makes a simplified distinction into two politeness levels, POLITE and PLAIN. This is in contrast to traditional analyses where Jejuan is analysed to have three morphological politeness levels (Lee S.-R. 1978), based on largely formal distinctions and stipulating socio-pragmatic splits into HIGH (formal situations), MID (equals) and PLAIN (inferiors), which could not be confirmed during fieldwork. See the table below for an example:

In fact, note that the three-way formal distinction supposedly found in declar-

Table A.23.: Lee's (1978: 52-55) analysis of Jejuan declarative force, politeness
        levels

Level	T-A	Form
尊稱 - HIGH	PROG	*ka-msʰ-sʰu-ta*
	PST	*ka-sʰ-sʰu-ta*
中稱 - MID	PROG	*ka-msʰ-sʰə*
	PST	?
平稱 - PLAIN	PROG	*ka-msʰ-t͡ɕə*
	PST	*ka-sʰ-t͡ɕə (t͡ɕə)* [sic]

ative contexts largely disappears in interrogative and imperative contexts among
others, although Lee S.-R. (1978) tends to amalgamate a) forms with unrelated
meaning into a paradigm to fit the three-way politeness model, or b) forms which
are actually not marked for the illocutionary force (but more precisely, for stance,
see Section **??**) under discussion which is why no more than two politeness levels
are assumed at present.

Thus in the current analysis, Lee S.-R.'s (1978) HIGH politeness level has been
maintained, yet MID and LOW have been dealt with in two major ways: in some
cases, forms which Lee includes in a paradigm were either identified not to be
marked for the category it was ascribed to (for example the unmarked forms
above), or turned out to have very different semantics[38]. In other cases, the two
levels have been merged, as there seems to be no clear semantic evidence for a
distinction, as evidenced by the metalinguistic knowledge of speakers, and the use
of these forms. Admittedly, this means that for the aggregation of 'plain' register
suffixes shown below for declarative and interrogative, other factors determining
the formal variation remain to be identified:

In the following, I will present paradigms on declarative, interrogative and
imperative verb forms. As dynamic and stative verbs sometimes shows different
inflectional patterns, each paradigm will have separate columns for these verb
classes. The verb forms will be shown inflected for the array of morphological
tense-aspect-mood suffixes, yet including (analytic) *na-* verb serialisation for sta-
tive verbs, and excluding tense-aspect combinations with the irrealis mood suffix
-Kʰ.

Let us begin with the declarative verb paradigms. This is the paradigm of
polite declarative verb forms:

It is not sure whether there are progressive aspect forms for stative verbs, since

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[38] For example, the stance marker *-t͡ɕu* was classified by Lee as a MID-level, hortative marker with
    no example provided

Table A.24.: Jejuan politeness and illocutionary force markers

POLITE			PLAIN		
gloss	DECLARATIVE	INTERROG.	**gloss**	DECLARATIVE	INTERROG.
POL-PRS-ILLOC	*-p-ne-ta*	*-p-ne-k̬a*	PRS	*-n-ta/?-ə*	*-ni/-nko*
POL-ILLOC.POL	*-(sʰ)u-ta*	*-(sʰ)u-k̬ʷa*	PST	*-sʰ-ə/-t͡ɕə*	*-i/-nko*
ILLOC.POL	-	*-k̬ʷa*	PROG	*-msʰ-ə/-t͡ɕə*	*-i/-ti/-nko*
			IRR	*-kʰi-ə*	*-o/-a*
	IMPERATIVE			IMPERATIVE	
IMP.POL	*-psʰə*		IMP	*-la*	
PROG-IMP.POL	*-msʰi-psʰə*		PROG-IMP	*-msʰi-la*	
HORT=POL	*-ke=mas̬im*		HORT	*-ke*	
	-ke=ja(ŋ)				

Table A.25.: Polite, declarative verb paradigm

Root:	DYNAMIC *tək̬-*, 'cover'	STATIVE *ha-*, 'be much'
POL-PRS-ILLOC	*tək̬-ip-ne-ta*	*ha-p-ne-ta*
POL-ILLOC	-	*ha-u-ta*
PROG-POL-ILLOC	*tək̬ə-msʰ-u-ta*	-
PST-POL-ILLOC	*tək̬ə-sʰ-u-ta*	*ha-a na-sʰ-u-ta*
IRR-POL-ILLOC	*tək̬-ikʰ-u-ta*	*?ha-kʰ-u-ta*

they occasionally occur spontaneously, yet the moments these forms were registered were outside of a recording setting, and therefore data on this gap is lacking at present. Therefore, the cell has been left empty above. Note that there are two options for stative verbs in present tense, declarative and interrogative inflection, one which stands in morphological opposition to polite evidential forms, and another which does not have a (morphological) evidential counterpart. It is unclear which stative, present tense form occurs in which context, yet note that the one which is in formal opposition to evidential forms *-p-te-ta*, -POL-EV.PST.IPF-DECL follows a pattern that exists in Korean in an almost identical fashion, whereas the '-*u*- suffix inflection' pattern is not found in (modern colloquial) Korean.

In plain, declarative inflection we also observe a few differences between dynamic and stative verbs. This we would expect from our knowledge of Korean, yet the differences lie in places different from the corresponding, Korean paradigm. For example, Korean verbs cannot take on a *-n-* present tense suffix for stative verbs, while dynamic verbs can. This is not unrelated to the semantics of this suffix which emphasises the procedural aspect of an event. In Jejuan, however, the *-n-* suffix has generic present tense meaning (which in Korean in plain forms is covered by unmarked forms), and it is surprising that it applies both to dynamic

Table A.26.: Plain declarative forms

	DYNAMIC mək-, 'eat'	STATIVE ha-, 'be much'
PRS-DECL	*mək-ɨn-ta*	*ha-n-ta*
	selected verbs:	*selected verbs:*
PRS_DECL	*mək-na*	*əsʰ-na*, NEG.EXIST-PRS_DECL
PROG-DECL	*məkə-msʰ-t͡ɕə*	*ʔha-msʰ-t͡ɕə*
PST-DECL	*məkə-sʰ-t͡ɕə*	*ha-a nasʰ-t͡ɕə*
IRR-DECL	*mək-ɨkʰɨ-la*	*ha-kʰɨ-la*
	mək-ɨkʰɨ-ə	*ha-kʰɨ-ə*

and stative verbs. For progressive aspect, it is not sure whether the suffix *-msʰ-* can attach to stative verbs productively, although impressionistically, I did come across spontaneous utterances with such cases. In any case, then, the meaning of this suffix tends to diverge: on dynamic verbs, it is interpreted as progressive meaning, and in the rare cases on stative verbs, the presence of this suffix just seemed to indicate present tense. Moreover, while for past tense, dynamic verbs take on the past suffix *-sʰ-* directly, with stative verbs, it seems more common to put a stative verb into a serial verb construction with *na-*, a second verb in a series indicating habituality and repetition, which is then inflected for past tense. This, however, needs to be empirically validated.

Another peculiarity is the fact that there are two irrealis forms, between which the difference has not been clearly elucidated yet. Given that authors such as Jung S.-C. (2013) suggest that the *-kʰɨ-ə* form indeed arose from a {clause with verb in adnominal form *-l* } + {weak nominal *kə*} construction which then reqires the copula *=la,* the *-kʰɨla* form may indeed be a competing (or just co-existent), suffix that grammaticalised from a complex, analytic construction.[39]

Also, a somewhat unusual suffix is *-na* which only occurs on consonantal roots, and is restricted to a few, frequently used suffix (its productivity may have been greater). Although typically for an agglutinative language, Jejuan may tend to have a one-to-one exponence of morphosyntactic feature variables, this suffix is one example for the fact that this language tends towards greater syntheticity in its verbal morphology: it is usually interpreted as a plain, declarative, generic present tense form. All verbs which can take on the *-na* suffix also can take on the 'more typically agglutinative' *-n-ta,* -PRS-DECL suffix series, which is why one and the same speaker may use both options, with a tendency towards using the

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[39] In fact, note that some authors in Jejuan linguistics indicate a variant to be *-kʰəla,* which is even more similar to the supposed source of grammaticalisation.

second possibility. Whether this depends on age, gender and/or region has not been examined yet.

We now come to the discussion of interrogative paradigms, beginning with the polite, interrogative inflection:

Table A.27.: Polite interrogative paradigm

Root:	DYNAMIC *tə̰k̰-, 'cover'*	STATIVE *ha-, 'be much'*
POL-PRS-ILLOC	*tə̰k̰-ɨp-ne-k̰a*	*ha-p-ne-k̰a*
(POL)-ILLOC		*ha(-u)-k̰ʷa(ŋ)/-k(ʷ)a(ŋ)*
PROG-POL-ILLOC	*tə̰k̰ə-msʰ-u-k̰ʷa(ŋ)/-k(ʷ)a(ŋ)*	-
PST-POL-ILLOC	*tə̰k̰ə-sʰ-u-k̰ʷa(ŋ)/-k(ʷ)a(ŋ)*	*ha-a na-sʰ-u-k̰ʷa(ŋ)/-k(ʷ)a(ŋ)*
		ha-a na-p-te-ka
IRR-POL-ILLOC	*tə̰k̰-ɨkʰ-u-k̰ʷa(ŋ)/-k(ʷ)a(ŋ)*	*?ha-kʰ-u-k̰ʷa(ŋ)/-k(ʷ)a(ŋ)*

In present tense, interrogative contexts, the polite suffix *-u* on stative verbs generally seems to be optional, although in a number of yet undetermined contexts, such as in the typically Jejuan greeting *pʰenan hɒ(*-u)-k̰ʷa?*, comfort do(*-POL)-POL.INT, 'Are you well?', it is impossible. Impressionistically, it seems that speakers tend to avoid this suffix in the context of present tense of stative verbs. Also, no such *-u* suffix form has been attested for dynamic verbs in present tense so far, although it does surface in other tense-aspect-mood forms.

Furthermore, note that the *-u* in parentheses refers to the general optionality (including unclarities in the distribution of this form as described above) of this suffix, whereas the parentheses around parts of the interrogative suffix in *-u*-inflection rows indicates that this suffix is found in six variants *-k̰ʷa, -k̰ʷaŋ, -kʷa, -kʷaŋ, -ka, -kaŋ*, which, impressionistically, lie at the complex intersection of regiolectal variation (as far as such a stable variable can be assumed), intergenerational differences, and register.

Concerning the first variable, regiolectal variation, the form encountered in Jimnyeong (Gimnyeong, Gujwa-Eup) almost exclusively was *-k̰ʷa*. This form was encountered by the author along the entire Northeastern coastline of Jeju Island up to Jeju City itself, yet when speakers mimic islanders from the West, they tend to use *-kʷa* or *-ka*.[40] The nasal-final forms are especially often found in

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[40] This is part of an interesting, intra-regional language-ideological, language attitude-related discourse where people from the West, *sʰə̂t͡ɕʰunsʰalɨm* are considered softer, slower and less coarse as those from the East. Thus when speakers from the current field sites in the Northeast of Jeju Island mimic 'Westeners', they also tend to portray them in a 'softer' way linguistically, using suffixes involving nasals (the generic, present tense suffixes shown in table A.21, which interestingly are ascribed to speakers of Western and Southern regions, yet ubiquitously used

higher registers, such as shamanistic narratives. Especially the tense, labialised form tends to occur in presentational contexts when a younger speaker of Jejuan wishes to emphasise differences between Korean and Jejuan, for example when the author was on his fieldwork for his Masters thesis on Jeju language attitudes (Kim 2013). The non-labialised, lax forms without the nasal are often used by speakers in their 40s, regardless of the region.

As opposed to polite interrogatives, plain interrogative forms overtly mark whether a questions is a polar, or content question, using the following suffixes. Note that the content question form *-o* varies with *-u* in an as yet indeterminable fashion:

Table A.28.: Polar and content questions

	Q.PLR	Q.CNT
FORM I	*-ia*	*-i*
FORM II	*-a*	*-o*

Thus below I present the plain interrogative paradigm (in polar question forms), which is arranged into four columns of formal distinctions for dynamic verbs, and three for stative verbs. The *-ia/-i* correspondence between content and polar forms applies to all forms which end in *-ia* below, whereas polar question forms that only end in *-a* change to *-o* in content questions.

While it is not sure what distinguishes these forms from each other in detail, what has been labelled FORM III differs from others since in these contexts, a speaker addresses the question more towards herself, in the sense of 'I wonder whether...'. Accordingly, in soliloquy, a speaker would not use the other interrogative forms.

The exclamation mark in front of the existential copula *is^h-/s^{h}i-* indicates that it is the only verb with a FORM I, present tense interrogative form; all other verbs do not show this possibility.[41] Note that predicative copulas have their own plain interrogative forms folliwng the *-a/-o* pattern, namely in *-ka/-ko*, COP.Q.PLR/COP.Q.CNT, with present tense reference, yet no such marking. Furthermore, the modal suffixes *-li*, expressing a kind of subjective obligation ('should I?'), and *-lt^h-*, expressing probability or firm intent, take part in the subparadigm of content-polar question inflecion, yet since a) these occur only in the FORM I cell and b) they can

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all over the island), or lax stops instead of tense stops in interrogative suffixes. See session jeju0116 on the on-line, Jejuan archive, where speakers from Sukkun (Sinchon, Jocheon-Eup) discuss such differences.

[41] Thus in a way, this is similar to the absence of *-u*, politeness suffix forms in the present tense with dynamic, and many stative verbs.

Table A.29.: Plain interrogative inflection

DYNAMIC *tək̰-*, 'cover'				
	FORM I	FORM II	FORM III	FORM IV
PRS	-	*tək̰-ini-nia*	*tək̰-ini-nka*	-
PROG	*tək̰ə-ms^h-ia*	*tək̰ə-ms^{h}i-nia*	*tək̰ə-ms^{h}i-nka*	*tək̰ə-m-tia*
PST	*tək̰ə-s^h-ia*	*tək̰ə-s^{h}i-nia*	*tək̰ə-s^{h}i-nka*	*tək̰ə-n-tia*
IRR	*tək̰-ik^h-a*	*tək̰-ik^{h}ɨ-nia*	*tək̰-ik^{h}ɨ-nka*	-

STATIVE *is^h-*, NEG.EXIST			
	FORM I	FORM II	FORM III
PRS	*-/!is^h-ia*	*is^h-ini-nia*	*is^h-inka*
PROG	*ʔis^{h}ə-ms^h-ia*	*ʔis^{h}ə-ms^{h}i-nia*	*ʔis^{h}ə-ms^{h}i-nka*
PST	*ʔis^{h}ə-s^h-ia*	*ʔis^{h}ə-s^{h}i-nia*	*ʔis^{h}ə-s^{h}i-nka*
IRR	*is^h-ik^h-a*	*is^h-ik^{h}ɨ-nia*	*is^h-ik^{h}ɨ-nka*

only be used in interrogative contexts, they have not been included in the table, yet will be discussed in other sections. See Section A.2.14.5 for more, and the discussion of 'irrealis relaitves' in Section A.3.6.

Next, we have imperative forms. As one can see, there are no imperative forms for stative verbs:

Table A.30.: Polite and plain imperative inflection

POLITE		
	DYNAMIC	STATIVE
IMP	*mək-ɨps^{h}ə*	-
IMP.PROG	*mməkə-ms^h-ips^{h}ə*	-
HORT=POL	*mək-ke=maṣim/=ja(ŋ)*	-

PLAIN		
	DYNAMIC	STATIVE
IMP	*mək-ɨla*	-
IMP.PROG	*məkə-ms^h-ila*	-
HORT	*mək-ke*	-

Apart from the difference visible in the greater number of polite imperative forms in Korean (cf. Sohn 1999: 270/271), Jejuan shows a curiosity in that imperative forms can be inflected for progressive aspect, in both plain and polite inflection. There is only one, synthetic hortative form in plain inflection, yet one

can use the politeness particles =*maṣim/*=*maṣim* or =*ja(ŋ)* in polite address.

A.2.14.4. Forms unmarked for illocutionary force

For PAST and PRESENT tense and PROGRESSIVE aspect, we observe a few forms which are not marked for illocutionary force or politeness. Thus it is by prosody alone which distinguishes the illocutionary force of a clause which is headed by these verb forms.

Table A.31.: Forms unmarked for illocutionary force and politeness

T-A	DYNAMIC	STATIVE
PROG	*məkə-msʰə*	*ʔha-msʰə*
PST	*məkə-sʰə*	*ha-a na-sʰə*
PST	*məkə-n*	*ha-a na-n*
PRS	*məkə*	*ha*

Note that Korean shows a similar range of forms which are unmarked for illocutionary force or politeness. Many researchers such as Sohn (1999: 436/437) do not observe this particular fact, yet just assume sort of a syncretism of these forms, equally placing them into the wider paradigm of inflections according to illocutionary force. What such researchers do not usually remark is that these unmarked forms are the only ones which are not morphologically specified for this category, which was taken as an important reason to place these forms outside the 'regular' paradigm of Jejuan verbal inflection.

As a difference not necessarily visible at first sight between Jejuan and Korean is the fact that the *-ə/-a* stem forms differ in Korean from other unmarked forms in that they are used for declarative, interrogative and imperative illocutionary force, whereas other unmarked can only be used for the former two categories. In Jejuan, the applicability of unmarked forms is not uniform across all illocutionary force categories, that is, the stem form is not regularly used for imperative contexts.[42]

Note that at present, an analytical problem persists for the final vowels of unmarked PAST and PROGRESSIVE forms. For forms such as *məkə* it has been assumed that this form is just a verb stem which, should we not assume any null-morphemes, is interpreted as having default present tense reference[43]. However,

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[42] Although through language contact and shift (and as one moves through younger generations of speakers), this particular feature has been changing more towards Korean.

[43] Although it is not sure at all whether this is the *sole* interpretative possibility open to this form.

it would have far-reaching consequences for the theory of Jejuan verb stem morphology if we classified *məkəsʰə* or *məkəmsʰə* as supposed, 'PAST and PROGRESSIVE' stems. Such an analysis is not plausible given that in other paradigms, the past and progressive markers appear without the /ə/ vowel, whereas the stem *məkə* is distributed across all inflectional paradigm cells which take on stem suffixes and not what has been called 'root suffixes' in this grammar.

However, the /ə/ vowel as a putative suffix cannot be associated with illocutionary force or politeness. While argumentation for the former has been shown, consider the following examples for arguments against identifying /ə/ to carry information on politeness:

(218)   the verb *mək-* suffixed with politeness particles

    a.   *məkə = maṣim*
        eat = POL

    b.   *məkə-sʰ-ə = maṣim*
        eat-PST-? = POL

    c.   *məkə-msʰ-ə = maṣim*
        eat-PROG-? = POL

An unmarked verb is only interpreted as polite in case politeness particles attach to a verb, which shows that the /ə/ vowel cannot be seen to be associated with such a meaning. Hence in this thesis, I will simply assume that the unmarked morphemes are *-sʰə* or *-msʰə*, although certainly, an analysis that can deduce the verb forms uniformly to the past morphemes *-sʰ* or *-msʰ* would be much more consistent.

A.2.14.5. Expression of modality

This section lists the set of modality expressions in Jejuan.

A.2.14.6. Evidentiality

Evidentiality is expressed through verbal inflection. In Jejuan, evidential marking on a verb indicates that the event was audio-visually witnessed by the speaker, with no involvement of the speaker itself. Therefore, the particular inflection presented here is seen as a type of sensory evidentiality. Inferentiality or reporting hearsay are either expressed through paraphrasing means, or this function is taken over by quotative forms.

Table A.32.: Jejuan modality expressions

	VOLITION	DESIRE	SPECULATION		
form	*-t͡ɕə*	*-kut͡ɕaŋ hʋ-*	*-n sʰeŋ i-*	*-n mʷeŋ i-*	*-n kə talm-*
syntax	final clause	complex pred.	relative	relative	phrasal expr.
inflection?	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
negation	VERBAL NEG.?	VERBAL NEG.	cf. *-n kə talm-*	cf. *-n kə talm-*	VERBAL NEG.
	'MIRATIVE'		POTENTIAL		INABILITY
form	*-nke*	*-l(ː)oko*	*-l sʰu sʰi-*	*-ə t͡ɕi-*	*mot=*
syntax	final clause	final clause	relative	serial verb	negative part.
inflection?	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
negation	VERBAL NEG.	VERBAL NEG.	NEG.EXIST.COP	VERBAL NEG.	-
	PROBABILITY	OPTATIVE	OBLIGATION		PERMISSION
form	*-lkə*	*-lkəl*	*-sʰa (hʋ-)*	*-sʰa-kʰ-*	*-to tʷe-*
syntax	relative	relative	compl. pred.	final clause	complex pred.
inflection?	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
negation	VERBAL NEG.	VERBAL NEG.	cf. PROHIB.	cf. PROHIB.	cf. PROHIB.
	SCEPTICISM	UNCERTAINTY	PROHIBITION		
form	*-l li sʰi-*	*-mt͡ɕik hʋ-*	*-min ani=tʷe-*	*-ŋ=in ani=tʷe-*	
syntax	relative	complex pred.	phrasal expr.	phrasal expr.	
inflection?	yes	yes	yes	yes	
negation	NEG.EXIST.COP	VERBAL NEG.	-	-	

In this section, only non-speaker evidentials will be discussed, and in a later section, I will attempt at a wider look at Jejuan verb inflection as being embedded in a system of egophoricity, where I will discuss evidential markers which specifically refer to a speaker only (or, in some cases, the speaker or second-person addressee).

Evidential forms exist for declarative and interrogative illocutionary force. Given that Jejuan evidential forms talk about visual experiences of a speaker about something or somebody else, it becomes clear why no imperative forms exist: one can only report on one's visual experience, or ask an addresse to report on hers, yet one cannot demand that somebody experience something visually.

Thus in the following, we will begin with examining a declarative evidential paradigm:

Although not shown above, note that this evidential inflection applies to dynamic and stative verbs equally.

Although the evidential inflection resorts to morphemes found in the 'non-evidential' paradigms above, evidential inflection and its interpretation works in a different fashion from verbs forms in the above paradigms. The reason for this is that the evidential morphemes *-te* and *-ə* do not purely express evidentiality, but anchor an utterance at a reference point prior to the utterance point (thus

Table A.33.: Evidential, declarative inflection on $\widehat{t\varepsilon^{h}}$ɒlːi-, 'prepare'

POL

stem	T-A	IRR	POL	EV.PST.IPF	ILLOC
tʰɒlːi			*-p*	*-te*	*-ta*
tʰɒlːiə	*-msʰi*		*-p*	*-te*	*-ta*
tʰɒlːiə	*-msʰi*	*-kʰɨ*	*-p*	*-te*	*-ta*

PLAIN

stem	T-A	IRR	EV.PST.IPF	ILLOC
tʰɒlːi			*-ə*	*-la*
tʰɒlːiə	*-msʰ*		*-ə*	*-la*
	-msʰi	*-kʰɨ*	*-la*	*-la*

PAST TENSE), and additionally, as ongoing and incomplete during the moment that particular experience was made by a speaker (thus IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT).

However, the tense-aspect related semantics of the evidential marker do not keep a verb from being inflected for regular tense-aspect, and additionally, irrealis mood. Thus the combination of the evidential inflection with tense-aspect inflection leads to interesting forms: if a verb in evidential inflection is inflected for past tense additionally, thus $\widehat{t\varepsilon^{h}}$ɒlːliə-sʰ-ə-la, prepare-PST-EV.PST.IPF-DECL, 'I saw that he/she had prepared', then the event time lies before a reference point, which in turn lies before utterance time, thus pluperfect. Whereas Jejuan, as opposed to Korean, does not have synthetic means to express pluperfect tense (in Korean, the past tense marker -ṣ is doubled, whereas in Jejuan one can use a seemingly analytic auxiliary *na-* with remote, habitual meaning), in evidential contexts pluperfect semantics can be expressed this way.

Moreover, when a verb in evidential form is inflected for progressive aspect, some redundancy occurs since the meaning is the same as one without the progressive aspect suffix. Thus $\widehat{t\varepsilon^{h}}$ɒlːi-ə-la, prepare-EV.PST.IPF-DECL is largely interpreted as the same as $\widehat{t\varepsilon^{h}}$ɒlːiə-msʰə-la, prepare-PROG-EV.PST.IPF-DECL. However, more thorough research on this matter is required. See also Song J.-M. (2005) on a similar phenomenon in Korean.

Next is an interrogtative evidential paradigm.

As shown, only the illocutionary suffix differs from declarative evidential contexts. The reason for assuming a separate evidential paradigm is that — at least in polite evidential inflection — the interrogative suffix *-ka* and its supposedly regiolectal variant *-kaŋ* is unique to the evidential context, and contrasts with non-evidential interrogative *-ḳa*. As mentioned, however, this contrast between

Table A.34.: Interrogative evidential forms

POL					
stem	T-A	IRR	POL	EV.PST.IPF	ILLOC
t͡ɕʰɒlːi			-p	-te	-ka(ŋ)
t͡ɕʰɒlːiə	-msʰi		-p	-te	-ka(ŋ)
t͡ɕʰɒlːiə	-msʰi	-kʰɨ	-p	-te	-ka(ŋ)

PLAIN				
stem	T-A	IRR	EV.PST.IPF	ILLOC
t͡ɕʰɒlːi			-ə	-nia
t͡ɕʰɒlːiə	-msʰ		-ə	-nia
	-msʰi	-kʰɨ	-la	-nia

-ka̧ and *-ka* in non-evidential vs. evidential contexts has been observed specifically in the Northeastern region of Jeju Island, which is why this may not be true for other regiolects of Jejuan.

A.2.14.7. Epistemological stance and information structure

Jejuan shows a stance marker *-t͡ɕu* which may only be used in statements, which makes it similar to declarative suffixes. Also, it occurs last in a row of suffixes, just as the declarative suffix does, and the only following element within the phonological word domain may be a discourse particle such as =*ke* for emphasis on common ground of knowledge, which is quite common. However, this stance marker has not been classified as a regular illocutionary force marker as done above, since the inflectional paradigm of a verb suffixed with *-t͡ɕu* differs in important ways, and thus the two suffixes are not interchangeable in all morphological environments. Compare table A.26 with the following:

Table A.35.: Stance marking and TAM inflection

	PLAIN	POLITE
PRS	ka-t͡ɕu	ka-p-t͡ɕu
	*ka-n-t͡ɕu	*ka-u-t͡ɕu
PROG	ka-msʰ-t͡ɕu	ka-msʰi-p-t͡ɕu
PST	ka-sʰ-t͡ɕu	ka-sʰi-p-t͡ɕu
IRR	?	?

Moreover, Jejuan shows an unusual inflection which is not attested in Korean. While the verb forms are formed clearly on the basis of content interrogative

forms, it seems that a speaker resorts to these forms whenever she wishes to invoke the common ground of knowledge and/or experience that she shares with an interlocutor.

Table A.36.: Inflection for 'invocation of common ground of knowledge'

Q.CNT	CG	optional: additional CG particle
-ni	*-nʲe [ɲe]*	*=ke*
-sʰi	*-sʰʲe [ɕʰe]*	*=ke*
-msʰi	*-msʰʲe [mɕʰe]*	*=ke*
-k̚a	*-k̚e*	*=ke*

For some reason, the existence of this inflectional pattern is not often discussed in existing grammatical descriptions, possibly, because these tend to be especially frequent in conversational interaction, yet not in other text types such as oral history, or procedural narratives. This is likely because the usage of this inflection presupposes the addressing of an actively involved interlocutor with whom the invocation of shared experience is negotiated.

(219)   a.   YSH1, Pear Story, jeju0063, 00:08:18.145

     sʰon=ɨlo   jəŋ   motɕil   he-msʰ-ie
     hand=DIR this_way touch_around do-PROG-CG

     'He's grabbing it all over, like this, you see?'

   b.   HSH2, jeju0085-02-04, 00:19:24.405

     "iəto   əla"   kəŋ   he-n   t̚o   nolːe pulːə ka-ni-nie
     SINGING SINGING that_way do-CVB again song sing go-PRS-CG

     'So again, you would sing going *"iəto əla"*, like that, you know, like I taught you before?'

   c.   HYJ1, jeju0168-01, 00:00:53.440

     kɨmɨn mak tʷetɕi mək-kuk he na-sʰ-ie=ke
     if_so very pig   eat-CVB do AUX.HAB-PST-CG=CG

     'You know, then, the pigs would eat that [the feces that I just mentioned].'

Little is known about the discourse-pragmatic, and information structure related function of this verbal inflection pattern, especially regarding the interaction with the particle *=ke,* which often exhibits similar meaning and function. For some initial information, I refer to Yang and Kim (2013), although they do not extensively talk about this inflection pattern.

A.2.15. Egophoric marking

In this section I suggest that Jejuan morphology justifies a category which resembles what is known as egophoricity (cf. Knuchel 2015 for references). An egophoric marking system is caracheterised by marking that semantically refers to the speaker in statements, yet to an addressee in a question. Additionally, it may not refer to a third person. It intersects with the rest of the Jejuan tense-aspect-mood and modality system, yet is restricted to the contexts shown below. Moreover, note that almost all types of egophoric marking are restricted to plain levels, and are thus not found in polite registers. The generic present tense marker *-m i-* is an exception to this, as it is an analytic construction which consists of a nominaliser *-m*, and a predicative copula *i-*, which can inflect for both polite and plain registers (table A.38 below shows a polite form). This kind of more extensive egophoric marking is not found in Korean, although the Korean irrealis morpheme *-keṣ̌* shows some semantic similarities.

Jejuan will be shown to have three types of egophoric marking, all pertaining to verbal inflection: a category which I refer to as 'narrow egophoric' marking which can only refer to the speaker, and for which no corresponding interrogative forms exist, a category which I label 'broad egophoric' marking which can be used for the speaker in statements and to the addressee in questions, and a marking type that may not be regarded egophoric marking per se, yet deals with interrogative forms which contrast with regular interrogative forms in that 'egophoric interrogatives' are questions directed towards the speaker herself.

I begin with the description of 'narrow egophoric' marking:

Table A.37.: 'Narrow' egophoric marking: only declarative forms possible

	EGOPHORIC	QUOTATIVE
EGO.IPF	*-no-la*	*-no-l-en*
EGO.PF	*-ko/-kʷa-la*	*-ko/kʷa-l-en*
VOL	*-t͡ɕə*	*-t͡ɕ-en*
?MIR	*-nke*	
	-ːoko	

Note that a presumably regiolectal variant of the perfective egophoric marker *-kʷa* is *-ko*. Only the latter is found in the speech of younger speakers below the age of 55 to 60, and there it rarely occurs in the forms labelled 'declarative' above.

'Broad egophoric marking' refers to the speaker in declarative statements, yet can be used towards addressee's in questions:

A third category is a 'quasi-egophoric' marking which is used in questions

Table A.38.: 'Broad' egophoric marking

	EGOPHORIC	INTERROGATIVE	QUOTATIVE
IRR	*-kʰɨ-ə*	*-kʰɨ-nia*	*-kʰ-en*
PRS.GEN	*-m i-ə*	*-m i-kʷa*	*-m i-en*

that a speaker directs towards herself. It differs from the other types of egophoric marking above since the question is directed towards oneself, yet the agent/theme of the verb may be someone other than the speaker. Also, note that they divide into 'realis' and 'irrealis': 'realis' markers may occur together with PAST tense or PROGRESSIVE aspect markers, whereas the 'irrealis' markers is restricted to IRREALIS contexts. In the table below, the marking is contrasted with the plain interrogative suffixes (called 'addressee-interrogatives' here) shown in table A.29.

Table A.39.: 'Quasi-egophoric' interrogatives

REALIS	EGOPHORIC INTERROGATIVE	ADDRESSE INTERROGATIVE
POLAR	-nka	-ia/-tia/-nia
CONTENT	-nko	-i/-ti/-ni
IRREALIS		
POLAR	-kʰ-a	-kʰɨ-ni-a
CONTENT	-kʰ-o	-kʰɨ-ni

Note that the suffix *-kʰo* is sometimes found as *-kʰu* as well, with as yet unknown reasons for this variation.

A.2.16. Verbs: adnominal and quotative forms

Jejuan non-final clause inflection can be categorised into three formal types:

- adnominal inflection
- quotative inflection
- converb inflection

As we are talking about inflectional categories here, another type of non-final marking, nominalisation, has not been included in this section. At present, little is known about a) the more general difference between inflection and derivation in Jejuan, and b) how similar the forms are to nouns which I am somewhat vaguely referring to as 'nominalised' in this overview.

All three inflectional types above have been named arbitrarily as a mixture between terminological borrowings from the wider literature, referral to an exclusive characterising feature, as well as most characteristic form-function correspondence.

Adnominal verb forms are most typically used in adnominal clauses, hence their name. Quotative verb forms are used when speech is reported and/or quoted by a speaker. Converbs, which are part of the main interest of this thesis, are most tpically used as head verbs of clauses in adverbial function. Thus this section will give particular attention to the morphological characteristics of converbs, and provide an overview of the most common converb classes.

A.2.16.1. Adnominal inflection

This section presents the paradigm of Jejuan adnominal verb forms. Adnominal verbs forms are required in all syntactic contexts where verbs head clauses that modify a nominal (including grammaticalised adnominal clause constructions, see section A.3.6).

Table A.40.: Adnominal forms

	REALIS			IRREALIS
	DEFAULT/PF	PRS.IPF	EV.PST.IPF	IRR
DYNAMIC	mək-ɨn	mək-ɨn-ɨn	mək-tan	mək-ɨl
STATIVE	t͡ɕoh-ɨn	-	t͡ɕoh-tan	t͡ɕoh-ɨl

A particularity of Koreanic, adnominal verb inflection patterns is that they do not only inflect for tense-aspect-mood, but also, they have evidential forms (which are interpreted as past imperfective, see Song J.-M. 2005 for Korean). As it is only for dynamic verbs which can take on present tense suffixes in adnominal inflection, one may regard the adnominal suffix *-n* itself rather as a non-evidential, default form, than having perfective, aspectual content.

A.2.16.2. Quotative inflection

This section presents the paradigm of Jejuan quotative verb forms. Quotative verb forms are mainly used to express quotations of utterances, typically as complements of verbs of saying and other types of utterances.

The quotative form of the volitional modality suffix *-t͡ɕə* is so often used without a verb of saying that one may suggest that it has further grammaticalised into

a non-egophoric volitional suffix. Note that especially among younger (that is, no longer fluent) speakers of Jejuan, the egophoric volitional suffix is not used, yet only the the non-egophoric (that is, the morphologically quotative) counterpart of the volitional suffix has survived.

Table A.41.: Quotative formation from ɪʟʟᴏᴄ. ꜰᴏʀᴄᴇ/ᴍᴏᴏᴅ suffixes

Suffix	Final clause	QUOTATIVE
DECL	*-ta/-la*	*-t-en*
DECL	*-t͡ɕə*	*-t͡ɕ-en*
DECL_PRS	*-na*	*-n-en*
IRR	*-kʰiə*	*-kʰ-en*
Q.PLR	*-nia*	*-ni-en [-ɲen]*
Q.CNT	*-ni*	*-ni-en [-ɲen]*
Q.POL	*-k̬ʷa*	*-k̬ʷ-en*
Q.POL	*-k̬a*	*-k̬-en*
IMP.POL	*-psʰə*	*-psʰ-en*
IMP	*-la*	*-l-en*
VOL	*-t͡ɕə*	*-t͡ɕ-en*

When in their canonical function of quoting speech, they often occur with a verb *hɒ-/hə-*, 'do' that stands for the act of saying, or *kɒt-/kɒl-*, 'say'. Thus here, the quoted bit can be seen as a sentential complement of these verbs.

Very often, these structures occur without any 'higher-clause' verb, which is why one may suggest that beginning from a dependent, complement clause form, these quotative verb forms may have evolved to independent verb forms indicating hearsay and reported knowledge, thus, as part of the Jejuan evidential system.

A.2.17. Converb inflection

This section presents the major semantic classes of Jejuan converbs, and discusses their inflectional range. Jejuan shows an unusually high number of converbs, which is a feature shared among different Koreanic languages (see Jendraschek and Shin 2011, and Sohn H.-M. 2009). More unusually, Jejuan converbs split up into non-inflectable and inflectable converbs which can mark for various categories such as tense-aspect, mood or evidentiality. Identifying these morphological properties is one of the primary goals of this section.

Haspelmath (1995: 46) explains that the term 'converb' was coined by Gustaf John Ramstedt (1903: 55), which then found wide application in the study of

Turkic and Mongolic languages in particular (see also Bergelson and Kibrik 1995: 375, Nedjalkov 1995: 98f.). There has been some debate on the precise definition and cross-linguistic validity of the category of a converb (Bickel 1998, Zúñiga 1998). Because of spatial limitations in this section, I will only discuss a few definitions and then proceed to the description of Jejuan data.

To give two classical definitions, Haspelmath (1995: 3) understands converbs as "a non-finite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination". While this definition is fairly narrow and resorts to the problematic concepts of subordination and (mainly morphological) finiteness (cf. Tikkanen 2001), Nedjalkov (1995: 97) defines them as "a verb form which depends syntactically on another verb form, but is not its syntactic actant, i.e. does not realize its semantic valencies". Thus Nedjalkov does not includes morphosyntactic finiteness properties or the syntactic status of the clauses headed by a converb in his definition. At the same time, he tries to find a definition which excludes other non-final function such as in complement clauses, restricting the definition of a converb to adverbial contexts.

For Jejuan, both definitions are problematic since converbs are involved both in syntactically embedded and morphologically-semantically dependent contexts, as well as in more loosely embedded contexts which rather resembles coordination, and has been widely recognised as clause-chaining constructions in languages such as Turkish (Johanson 1995). Moreover, one will frequently find clauses headed by such forms in insubordinate contexts (cf. Evans 2007), which puts the question of syntactic dependency of converbs in a problematic light. Additionally, converbs play an important role in verb serialisation, and thus can be involved in monoclausal contexts as well. In these cases, the verb bearing the converb marking is not only morphosyntactically-semantically dependent, but shares a lot of the properties with the morphosyntactic head verb, such as negational scope or passive/active semantics.

In the following we have a table of the converbs under discussion:

For the current overview of Jejuan converbs, I will therefore adopt a rough working definition which puts the clause-linking function of converbs in its centre: converbs in this section are all those verb forms with reduced inflectional potential which head clauses that may be linked with final clauses where verbs do not show these properties. These non-final clauses can be typically found in a function similar to that of adverbial adjuncts, and hence modify entire clauses or predicates. This working definition has been adopted to exclude non-final clause types such as complement clauses, as well as clauses modifying nouns such as

generic	temporal	causal	purpose	conditional
-ko	-taŋ	-nan	-le	-mɨn/-min
-ŋ	-kəni		-ke	-kən
	-məŋ		-kesʰili	-kətɨn
			-kekʰɨlɨm	=to
			-tolok(i)	

contrastive	disjunctive	comparison
-nti	-kəna	-tɨsʰ(i)
		-takt͡ɕi
		-mt͡ɕiki

Table A.42.: Jejuan converbs attested so far

relative clauses, from the present discussion. Moreover, the present definitions attempts at providing a broader reference than to merely *adverbial* (adjunctive) clause linkage, since I will show that a few generic converbs have a more general function of linking clauses without specifying a particular semantic relationship. Moreover, this working definition implies that converbal marking found in serial verbs is seen as a diachronic, not a synchronic, constructional link, and will hence not be discussed further in this section.

The converbs and clause types relevant to the analysis, that is, *-ko, -nti, -nan, -kəni, -taŋ* and *-məŋ* converbs, have been described in Chapter 4. In this section, I will briefly describe the rest of the converb classes listed in table A.42 above. Section A.2.17.5 provides information on the inflectional range of converbs presented in this section. Note that as a caveat, the list presented in this section is non-exhaustive, and more research is needed in order to delimit the exact number of Jejuan converbs.

A.2.17.1. Purpose converbs

Jejuan has a number of converbs through which various kinds of intentions and purpose is expressed. In this section, I present *-le, -ke and -kesʰili,* and *-toloki* as the types of purpose converbs attested so far. While I will briefly mention some differences between *-le* and *-ke(sʰili)* after the examples, note that the detailed differences between the different converb types remains to be explored.

(220)   Jejuan purpose converbs [IPA transliteration mine]

   a.   Kang (2007: 58)

əməŋ   apaŋ=in   kiŋi t͡ɕap-ile   kɛsʰkɒt=tɨi
mother father-TOP crab catch-CVB.PURP mudflatLOC
ka-sʰ-u-ta
go-PST-POL-DECL

'Mother and father went to the mudflat to catch crabs.'

b. Jeju, (Kang 2007: 63)

ɛki t͡ɕola-msʰi-nan   t͡ɕə   ɛkikutək=təle sʰɒl   hɒ-ke
baby doze_off-PROG-CVB DEM.MED cradle=DIR   gentle do-CVB
nukt͡ɕi-la
lie_down.CAUS-IMP

'The baby is dozing off, so put it gently into the cradle.'

c. jeju0168-01, HYJ1, 05:54.915

tol=lu   ta kaliə-kineŋa sʰalam=il   an=poi-kekʰilɨm
stone=INSTR all shield-CVB   people=ACC NEG=see.PASS-CVB
jəŋ   kam-tewa
this_way wrap-encircle

'They shielded it off and it's built around people so that they can't be seen.'

d. EQ2015-12-23/EN2015-12-24, HYJ1 and HGS1, 1a)

olhi   ton   hajəŋ pəl-kesʰili jəŋhɨi=ka   sʰin=ɹapʰi   kito
this_year money   much earn-CVB Yeongheui=NOM spirit=DAT pray
he-msʰ-ə-la
do-PROG-EV.PST-DECL

'I saw Yeonghi pray to the gods so that she would earn a lot of money this year.'

e. EQ2015-12-23/EN2015-12-24, HYJ1 and HGS1, 1b)

olhi   ton   hajəŋ pəl-toloki jəŋhɨi=ka   sʰin=ɹapʰi   kito
this_year money   much earn-CVB Yeongheui=NOM spirit=DAT pray
he-msʰ-ə-la
do-PROG-EV.PST-DECL

'I saw Yeonghi pray to the gods so that she would earn a lot of money this year.'

f. EQ2015-12-23/EN2015-12-24, HYJ1 and HGS1, 1d)

olhi   manoŋ=i   hajəŋ na-o-kesʰili   jəŋhɨi=ka
this_year garlic=NOM much arise-come-CVB Yeongheui=NOM
sʰin=ɹapʰi   kito he-msʰ-ə-la
spirit=DAT pray do-PROG-EV.PST-DECL

'I saw Yeongheui pray to the gods so that this year the garlic would be growing abundantly.'

The differences between -*ke* and -*kesʰili* converbs is not clear. Although the two are structurally similar, it could not be shown that the /*sʰili*/ part of this converb denotes meaning of its own[44], and thus both converbs are treated separately here. Moreover, in the Jejuan counterpart of what is known in Korean as a 'periphrastic causative' (cf. Yeon 2003 or Song 2005), only the -*ke* converb occurs, yet not the -*kesʰili* converb.

A major difference between -*le* clauses and -*kesʰili* clauses is that the former seem to have obligatory same-subject reference (ex. (220a)), whereas the latter can also have different-subject reference (220f). A further difference is that -*le* converbs can only be interpreted with purpose semantics, whereas -*kesʰili* converbs and the like also describe manner. In fact, using these converbs seems to be a common way of productively building constituents where the sole member of the embedded clause is a -*kesʰili* (or -*ke*, -*kekʰilïm*) converb, and hence is used as an adverb (ex. (220b) and (220c)).

A.2.17.2. Conditional converbs

A number of converbs have been identified which, broadly spoken, seem to have some sort of conditional semantics. Data on five formally different converbs will be presented in this section, -*mïn/-min, -kən/-kətïn, -kotena* and -*to* converbs.

Following Thompson et al.'s (2007: 256ff.) characterisation of different semantic subtypes of conditionals, we can distinguish three broad semantic types, namely realis, irrealis and concessive conditionals. Realis conditionals further diversify into present, past and generic/habitual conditionals, and irrealis conditionals into 'imaginative' (hypothetical and counterfactual), and 'predictive conditionals'.

At this place, I will restrict myself to making some broad characterisations of Jejuan conditional converbs. What we can see is that the most important conditional converb is a -*mïn/-min* converb. It has been noted that despite geographic proximity, in Sukkun (Sinchon, Jocheon-Eup) the -*min* form prevails, and in Jimnyeong (Gimnyeong, Gujwa-Eup) and further eastwards, the -*mïn* form is used. While speakers in Sukkun were not noted to alternate between forms, some speakers such as HYJ1 from the Jimnyeong area mainly use -*mïn*, yet occasionally use -*min* as well. The reasons for such variation have not been discerned yet. In Korean, a similar converb is -*mʲən*, which occasionally occurs in examples from sponteaneous utterances used in this thesis.

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[44] Note however that based on the authors limited knowledge of the Gyeongsang varieties (South-East South Korea), there are -*sʰili* converbs in these varieties

Thus a *-min* converb is used for all kinds of realis and irrealis conditional meanings, yet except for concessive conditionals. Although non-exhaustive, a few examples are given below:

(221)   a. Present conditional, Kang (2007: 49)

> *molːa-msʰi-min   amukai＝antʰi ka-ŋ   tilə   po-la*
> not_know-PROG-CVB anyone-DAT   go-CVB hear see-IMP
> 'If you don't know, go ask anybody.'

   b. Generic conditional, Kang (2007: 60)

> *t͡ɕʰɒ-n   mul＝to   katua-ŋ   olɛ   pesʰ*
> be_salty-ADN water＝ADD accumulate-CVB long_time sunlight
> *mat͡ɕ-hu-min   sʰokom＝ilo pen-hɒjə*
> hit-CAUS-CVB sal＝DIR   change-do
> 'If you accumulate water and let the sun shine on it, it changes to salt.'

   c. Predictive conditional, Kang (2007: 48)

> *ni＝ka   ka-min pilːiə t͡ɕu-l   kə＝iə*
> 2SG＝NOM go-CVB lend give-ADN thing＝COP
> 'If you go, they will lend it to you.'

   d. Hypothetical conditional, Kang (2007: 67)

> *i＝pən-i＝to   pulakt͡ɕaŋ   matʰa   t͡ɕuə-sʰi-min*
> this＝time-LOC＝ADD village_head take_on give-PST-CVB
> *t͡ɕoh-kʰiə*
> be_good-IRR
> 'It would be nice if he agreed to be the village head for us this time around, too.'

Note that in hypothetical conditionals, the converb will be inflected for past tense. As said, this converb has a similar counterpart in spoken Korean.

In another group of what has been identified as conditional converbs, we have two different forms *-kən* and *-kətin*. Each of these converbs seems to alternate in a very similar fashion to *-ŋ* and *-taŋ* converbs, as they have a number of variants: *-kən* varies with *-kəl(ː)aŋ, -kəl(ː)akine* and *-kəl(ː)akineŋa*, and *-kətin* with *-kətil(ː)aŋ, -kətil(ː)akine* and *-kətil(ː)akineŋa*. Similar to *-ŋ* and *-taŋ* converbs (and *-nan* converbs which show a twofold variation), the reasons for this variation have not been discerned yet:

(222)   *-kən* and *-kətin* conditional converbs and variants

   a. Hyun and Kang (2011: 11)

> *nɨ   mʋɨm=e   tɨl-kən   kʋt͡ɕ-i-la*
> 2SG heart=LOC enter-CVB keep-EP-IMP
>
> 'In case you like it, keep it.'

b. Hyun and Kang (2011: 11)

> *t͡ɕip=ɨi   ka-kətɨn kiə-ŋ   kʋl-ɨ-la*
> house=LOC go-CVB that_way-CVB say-EP-IMP
>
> 'In case you're going home, tell them like I told you.'

c. Kang (2007: 59)

> *t͡ɕiŋsʰim məkə   t͡ɕi-kəlːaŋ   uli pasʰ=təle nəmə   o-psʰə!*
> lunch   eat-CVB AUX.MOD-CVB we field-DIR   cross-CVB come-IMP
>
> 'If you happen to have some time to eat, come over to our field.'

d. Kang (2007: 50)

> *tə   mosʰ=t͡ɕʰʋt͡ɕ-kəlaŋ   ki=kə=lato   ʋt͡ɕə-ŋ*
> more NEG.POT=find-CVB DEM.DIST=thing-at_least take-CVB
> *o-la*
> come-IMP
>
> 'If you can't find any more, then at least bring those ones.'

e. jeju0025-06, 01:15, HGS1

> *a   kiə-kən   po-ki   musʰikə   hə-kʰənte pama=to   ka-kine*
> oh that_way-CVB see-NMLZ something do-SINCE perm=ADD go-CVB
> *t͡ɕetɛlo   t͡ɕal he-ŋ   ola-kɨn   heə! [...] pon t͡ɕʰolːiə-ŋ*
> properly well do-CVB come-CVB do   looks scrub_up-CVB
> *hə-kʰətilaŋ*
> do-CVB.IRR
>
> 'Well if it's so that it's a bit 'not'-ish how you look as you say, go get a proper perm and such [...] if you really want to scrub up.'

This group of converbs is exceptional not only from the perspective of the morphological variation, but also given that their meaning seems mostly restricted to realis conditionals, and they always seem to co-occur with a main clause with imperative illocutionary force. Moreover this converb has an irrealis mood variant as shown in ex. (222e), which looks as though it is a diachronic fusion between an irrealis marker *-kʰ* and the initial, velar stop of the converb. This converb is particular since no other TAM inflection has been attested.

Stem forms of verbs can also be suffixed with what seems formally identical to additive particles, yet expresses some kind of focus. Thus while the suffix =*to* has been classified as a converb form here, it may be that it is more properly analysed as a focus marker that attaches to an entire clause:

(223)   a. EQ2017-12-05, HYJ1, 1a)

[s^humi=ka   joli=lɨl   kiəŋ t͡ɕal həjə]=to s^alɨm=təl=i
[Sumi=NOM cooking=ACC that well do]=FOC person=PL=NOM
s^iktaŋ=e   t͡ɕal ani=o-n-ta=ke
restaurant=LOC well NEG=come-PRS-DECL=CG

'Even if Sumi cooks so well, the customers won't come to her restaurant a lot.'

    b. Hyun and Kang (2011: 209)

[mapʋlɨm   pulə]=to   pi=n   ani=ola-ms^-t͡ɕə
Southern_wind blow=FOC rain=TOP NEG=come-PROG-DECL

'Even though the Southern wind is blowing, there is no rain.'

    c. Hyun and Kang (2011: 49)

onʋl   an=t^we-min   nɨil=to   t͡ɕoh-ta
today NEG=work-CVB tomorrow=FOC be_good-DECL

'If it doesn't work today, it's fine tomorrow, too.' (or: '...even if it was tomorrow')

    d. Hyun and Kang (2011: 49)

kɨ   s^alɨm=ɨn   t͡ɕip=to   is^-ta
that person=TOP house=FOC NEG.EXIST-DECL

'That person doesn't even have a house.'

The above examples show that =*to* may in fact be seen as a focus marker, as when this particle attaches to NPs as in the two latter examples, the meaning that this particle contributes is still similar. Jejuan descriptions, however, make a distinction between a verb form where this particle attaches to, and all other phrases. One difference, however, is that when =*to* attaches to an entire clause, the meaning becomes somewhat similar to a concessive conditional, which is why this particular construction is discussed in this section. Cross-linguistically, this relationship between additive, focus and concessive conditional marking does not seem to be uncommon (König 1991, cf. Matsui 2009).

A.2.17.3. Disjunctive converbs

Studies on Korean clause linkage such as Jendraschek and Shin (2011) list -*kəna* as a typically disjunctive converb that proposes alternative events:

(224) Korean disjunctive -*kəna* converb, Jendracshek and Shin (2011: 3)

    s^ant͡ɕ^ɛk=il ha-**kəna** untoŋ=il   ha-s^e-jo
    walk=ACC do-OR   sports=ACC do-IMP.POL

    'Go for a walk or do some exercise!'

When it comes to Jejuan grammar, however, it is not quite sure whether this converb would be used in a typically Jejuan interaction between two local, elderly speakers. Second of all, while some sources do record this verb form, the structural context of a Jejuan *-kəna* seems to differ from Korean. Consider the examples from other sources first:

(225) Jejuan *-kəna* forms

    a. Hyun and Kang (2011: 9)

       kɨ   sʰalɨm, ka-kəna mal-kəna   nɛpul-t͡ɕu
       DEM.DIST person go-OR   NEG.do-OR give_up-STN
       'Of course, that guy you just leave him do — whether he goes or not.'

    b. Song S.-J. (2011: 568)

       t͡ɕʰəlsʰu=n   pasʰ-ti   ka-ŋ   pasʰ=ɨl   kal-kəna   kəmt͡ɕil=ɨl
       Cheolsu=TOP field-LOC go-CVB field=ACC plough-OR weed=ACC
       me-kəna hʋ-n-ta
       cut-OR   do-PRS-DECL
       'Cheolsu goes out to the field, and he either plows the field or weeds out plants.'

    c. Song S.-J. (2011: 568)

       t͡ɕʰəlsʰu=n   pasʰ-ti   ka-ŋ   pasʰ=ɨl   kal-kəna   kəmt͡ɕil=ɨl
       Cheolsu=TOP field-LOC go-CVB field=ACC plough-OR weed=ACC
       me-n-ta
       cut-PRS-DECL
       'Cheolsu goes out to the field, and he either plows the field or weeds out plants.'

In (225a) above, the *-kəna* form occurs in a fixed expression which is found both in Korean, similar to the English expression 'whether X does Y or not'. Here, the actual content verb comes first with affirmative polarity, suffixed with *-kəna*, and then one usually finds an antonymic verb, or the general, inherently negative verb *mal-*, 'not do'. The expression can either stand alone like this (at least in Korean), or as in (225a), another clause follows which expresses some kind of indifferent attitude of the speaker. Additionally, Song S.-J. (2011: 568) shows that a *-kəna* may occur in a similarly 'repetitive' construction, with a semantically 'empty' verb *hʋ-*, 'do' heading what looks like a minimal, final clause (ex. (225b)).

Although Song claims that a *-kəna* form also occurs in a similar structure to (224) in ex. (225c), it is not sure whether this example was elicited, or whether it was constructed by the author.[45] When looking at a corpus of more naturalistic

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[45] It seems unlikely that this is a naturalistic utterance, as the name Cheolsu [t͡ɕʰəlʂu] occurs, which is a popular, generic name frequently used for linguistic elicitations (as done in this

utterances, one can see that it is rather a *-na* form that is used in conversation, albeit extremely rarely, and not exclusively on verbs. While arguably, the frequency of a particular suffix does not say anything about whether it is part of a language or not, an example of the following kind has been attested only once so far.

(226) jeju0060-05_stimsync, Pear Story HSH2, 00:05:37.060

$\widehat{tc}i$=*ne* *mək-ɨl* *#-nɨn pusʰik*=*i-na* ... *ke ai*=*min*
themselves=SOC eat-ADN ERROR snack-EP-OR that NEG=CVB

jak$\widehat{tc}$e=*lo* *tilə ka*=*na*=*í,* *kʲəŋ* *hə-ni-n*
medicine=DIR enter go-OR=RIGHT? that_way do-PRS-ADN

kə=*la*
thing=COP.DECL

[the fruit will be used aptly] , either for snack they eat ... or if not, it'll go into medicine, right? That's how they do it.'

It is not sure whether =*na* is really a verbal suffix, or more general some sort of information-structural particle, considering the following examples:

(227) Hyun and Kang (2011: 31)

a. *ikə*=*na* *$\widehat{tc}$əkə*=*na amukə*=*na* *kɒ$\widehat{tc}$ə ka-la*
this=OR that=OR anything=OR take go-IMP
'This, or that, or anything, take it with you.'

b. *kɨkə*=*l* *jəl kɛ*=*na* *sʰa-ŋ mʷə hɒ-$\widehat{tc}$-en?*
that=ACC ten thing.CLF=EVEN buy-CVB what do-VOL-QUOT
'What do you want to do, buying even ten of them?'

c. *$\widehat{tc}$u-l* *kəsʰ*=*to isʰ-ko* *ikə*=*na*
give-ADN thing=ADD NEG.EXIST-CVB this=AT_LEAST
$\widehat{tc}$u-kʰ-a?
give-IRR-Q.PLR
'I've got nothing to give you, should I give you at least this?'

It seems that =*na* occurs predominantly on nominals, and used multiply it seems to express some semantically disjunctive meaning, yet exhibiting a syntactically possibly coordinate structure (227a). In (227b), it expresses some kind of additive meaning, which is different from the additive marker =*to* in that the speaker questions the necessity of a certain entity or event. In (227c), it expresses some delimiting meaning similar to an additive one. One may speculate that therefore, a =*na* form is not necessarily a verb form (and therefore not a

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thesis), and all NPs that the verbs subcategorise for are overtly expressed — moreover, note that (225b) and (225c) are almost identical.

converb, similar to *=to* above), but rather has some meaning related to focus, or more generally, the delimitation of a limited number of entities out of a larger set of alternatives. Thus more research is needed to see whether Jejuan has some other device similar to Korean, disjunctive converbs.

A.2.17.4. Comparative converbs

In this section, I briefly present data on three types of comparative converbs, *-takt͡ɕi*, *-tisʰ(i)* and *-mt͡ɕiki*.

The suffix *-tisʰ(i)* occurs with or without the *-i*, and it has the meaning of comparing the non-final clause event metaphorically with the final clause event.

(228)   a.   non-nested, SS, EQ/EN2015-12-04, HGS1 and HYJ1, 3b)

pul kʰa-tisʰi   momteŋi=ka jəl   na-n
fire burn-CVB body=NOM   heat arise-PST

'He had a fever as though his body was burning with fire.'

b.   nested, SS, EQ/EN2015-12-04, HGS1 and HYJ1, 3b)

momteŋi=ka pul kʰa-tisʰi   jəl   na-n
body=NOM   fire burn-CVB heat arise-PST

'He had a fever as though his body was burning with fire.'

c.   non-nested, DS, EQ/EN2015-12-04, HGS1 and HYJ1, 3f)

pəm=i   sʰʷe=lil   t͡ɕapa mək-tisʰi toŋsʰu=ka   kʷeki=lil
tiger=NOM cow=ACC catch eat-CVB Dongsu=NOM meat=ACC
ip=ilo   tʰitə   te-p-te-ta
mouth=INSTR bite_off touch-POL-EV.PST-DECL

'I saw how Dongsu was gnawing on the meat as though a tiger had caught a cow.'

d.   nested, DS, EQ/EN2015-12-04, HGS1 and HYJ1, 3g)

toŋsʰu=ka   kʷeki=lil   pəm=i   sʰʷe=lil   t͡ɕapa mək-tisʰi
Dongsu=NOM meat=ACC tiger=NOM cow=ACC catch eat-CVB
ip=ilo   tʰitə   te-p-te-ta
mouth=INSTR bite_off touch-POL-EV.PST-DECL

'I saw how Dongsu was gnawing on the meat as though a tiger had caught a cow.'

While the above converb exists in Korean as well, we find that the suffix itself can be directly affixed to a verb root (in which case it is seen as a converb), and alternatively, we have a 'weak nominal' construction involving an adnominal clause, where the weak nominal is *tisʰ*. This relative construction has not been attested in Jejuan so far.

-takt͡ɕi is peculiar in that it describes a parallel, proportional increase of the final clause event compared to the non-final clause event. This is why this converb was classified under the category of comparative converbs. Thus it roughly approximates the meaning of an English "the more X, the more Y" construction.

(229) a. Jeju (Kang 2007: 73)

      pəsʰ=kʷaŋ   sʰul=ɨn   olɛ-takt͡ɕi   t͡ɕoh-a
      friend=COM alcohol=TOP last_long-CVB be_good-PRS

      'Friendship and alcohol are better the older they get.'

   b. Korean, translation of (229a) above

      chingu-wa   sul-eun   orae-l   surog   joh-a
      friend=COM alcohol=TOP last_long-ADN COMPR be_good-PRS

      'Friends and alcohol are better the older they get.'

   c. non-nested, Jejuan, EN2015-12-04, HGS1 and HYJ1, 7a)

      sʰalɨm=təl=i   ha-takt͡ɕi   s̬ileki=to   hajəŋ
      person=PL=NOM be_many-CVB rubbish=ADD a_lot
      sʰɛŋki-n-ta=ke
      arise-PRS-DECL

      'The more people there are, the more rubbish accumulates as well, in masses.'

   d. nested, Jejuan, EN2015-12-04, HGS1 and HYJ1, 7b)

      s̬ileki=tu   sʰalɨm=təl=i   ha-takt͡ɕi   hajəŋ
      rubbish=ADD person=PL=NOM be_many-CVB a_lot
      sʰɛŋki-n-ta=ke
      arise-PRS-DECL

      'The more people there are, the more rubbish accumulates as well, in masses.'

-mt͡ɕiki expresses a mixture of subjective perception of the speaker, and a speculation about what could happen based on sensory evidence. In fact, this converb is found either in this form in clause linkage, or in a complex predicate context (without the *-i* part), and is used as a modal expression to express that subjective, sensory conjecture.

(230) a. in complex predicate, SS, EQ/EN2015-12-04, HGS1 and HYJ1, 5b)

      ai=ka   pɒlɨm=e   pulːiə   na-mt͡ɕik   hə-ta
      child=NOM wind=LOC blow:PASS move_out-CVB? do-DECL

      'It seems the child is about to get blown away in the wind.'

   b. non-nested, SS, EQ/EN2015-12-04, HGS1 and HYJ1, 5c)

    pɒlɨm=e   nɒla na-mt͡ɕiki   ai=ka   t͡ɕun kə=kʷaŋ...
    wind=LOC fly move_out-CVB child=NOM thin thing=COM

    'Oh dear, with this child looks so thin that it may fly away in the wind...'

c. nested, SS, EQ/EN2015-12-04, HGS1 and HYJ1, 5b)

    jai=ka   pɒlɨm pul-min   nɒla na-mt͡ɕiki   mak
    this:child=NOM wind blow-CVB fly move_out-CVB very

    t͡ɕun-t͡ɕun   heə
    thin-REDUP do

    'This child looks so thin that if there's wind it may fly away.'

In Korean, we find the *-mt͡ɕik* suffix as well, yet it is no longer productive, and is found in fixed expressions such as *mək-imt͡ɕik ha-*, eat-? do-, 'worth earthing/tasty'. In Jejuan, it seems combinable with any verb, can is used in two ways: one is in a complex predicate that functions as a modal expression of sensory speculation (ex. (230a)). The other are cases such as (230b), where the suffix *-mt͡ɕik* has an additional *-i* (similar to *-tisʰi*), and the verb form functions as a clause linking device. This does not exist in Korean.

A.2.17.5. Converb classes and inflectional range

Non-finite verb froms in adverbial function — which will be referred to as converbs following the wider literature (Haspelmath 1995) — show a varying range of inflectional possibilities depending on the individual morpheme. Below, the inflectional properties of about twenty-three converbs are listed (table A.43). This is the range of converbs attested so far which — except for *-to* and *-tisʰ* — are morphologically different from Korean.

    In this thesis, special attention will be dedicated to an analysis of the finiteness of clauses headed by *-ko, -ŋ, -kəni, -taŋ, -məŋ, -le* and *-nan* converbs, which is why the reader is referred to chapters 4 and 5 for further details.

    As mentioned, this section is dedicated to the inflectional range of converbs only, as adnominal verb forms and complement verb forms are markedly different from converbs.

    Adnominal verb forms distinguish between irrealis, realis past, realis present and evidential past, yet in only four, single morphemes which always express information of these categories (cf. section A.2.16.1).[46]. Complement verb forms

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[46] Accordingly, constructions which resort to an adnominal verb form modifying a nominal with grammatical function are excluded from the discussion here. See section A.3.6

semantic class	converbs	gloss	PST	PROG	PROG.IMP	PRS	IRR	EV
generic	*-ko*	CVB	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-
	-ŋ	CVB	-	-	-	-	-	-
sequential	*-kəni*	CVB.IMM	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-taŋ	CVB.ABR	✓	-	-	-	-	-
	-nan	CVB.CHNG	-	-	-	-	-	-
simultaneous	*-məŋ*	CVB.SIM	-	-	-	-	-	-
causal	*-nan*	CVB.CAUS	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
	-kʷante	CVB.CAUS	-	-	-	-	-	-
purpose	*-le*	CVB.PURP	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-kesʰili	CVB.PURP	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-toloki	CVB.PURP	-	-	-	-	-	-
conditional	-min/-mɨn	CVB.COND	✓	✓	-	-	✓	-
	-kən	CVB.COND	✓	✓	-	-	✓	-
	-kətɨn	CVB.COND	✓	✓	-	-	✓	-
	-kotena	CVB.COND	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-to	CVB.COND	-	-	-	-	-	-
disjunctive	*-kəna*	CVB.DISJ	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
contrastive	*-nti*	CVB.CNTR	✓	✓	-	✓	-	*-nke*
concessive	*-məŋ*	CVB.CONC	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
comparative	*-tisʰ(i)*	CVB.COMP	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-mt͡ɕiki	CVB.COMP	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-takt͡ɕi	CVB.PROP	-	-	-	-	-	-
assertive	*-me*	CVB.ASRT	✓	✓	-	-	✓	-

Table A.43.: Inflectional range of selected Jejuan converbs

show very different, morphological finiteness properties in that a verb can exhibit the full range of final clause forms including politeness and illocutionary force marking, something that is available to neither adnominal verb forms nor converbs. Converbs lie somewhat in between the two since depending on the converb, tense-aspect-mood information is expressed though separate exponency, yet the possibility of this TAM expression is heavily restricted.

As a general observation, one can see that converbs do not seem to inflect for any other category than the ones listed in table A.43, which are restricted to tense-aspect-mood and evidentiality. Other categories such as illocutionary force or politeness cannot be marked on converbs[47], and possible combinations of tense-aspect-mood morphemes do not occur.

For example, morphologically finite verbs may combine the progressive suffix *-ms^h* with the evidential past marker *-ə* or the irrealis marker *-k^h*, yet this sort of suffix agglutination is not possible even for those converbs which allow for progressive aspect or irrealis mood marking. Thus this shows how morphologically non-finite verbs not only are restricted in the range of morphological categories they inflect for, but also, the combination of different morphological exponents is restricted as well.

Not least, no converb ever inflects for all possible tense-aspect-mood and evidentiality categories outline in table A.43, which adds another aspect to the restrictedness of converb morphology.

Many converbs are not inflectable at all, which stands in the greatest contrast to morphologically finite verbs. In terms of a correlation between complete lack on inflection and semantic classes, only purposive and comparative converbs seem to uniformly defy any type of inflection, whereas in other groups such as conditional or converbs of temporal succession, inflectability is individual to a converb type.

In terms of inflectional patterns for converbs, the assertive converb and conditional converbs inflect for past tense, progressive aspect or irrealis mood. Another pattern seems to be inflectability for past tense and progressive aspect only. In other words, there is no converb which inflects for progressive aspect or irrealis mood only at the exclusion of all other categories.

-taŋ converbs inflection for past tense only, whereas *-ko* converbs can inflect for past tense, progressive aspect and, uniquely to this converb type, take on a suffix that has been identified by consultants as denoting a combination of

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[47] Note that texts recorded from ceremonies for indigenous gods (Hyun Y.-J. 2007) do show *-ko* converbs with politeness marking, yet this seems to be restricted to the now largely defunct, religious speech register and is never found in colloquial language

progressive aspect and imperative mood. It is only this converb which can be bear imperative marking.

-nti converbs are the only type of converb which can mark for progressive aspect, past and present tense, and stand in complementary distribution with *-nke* suffixes, the sole difference being that *-nke* occurs in evidential past contexts only. Thus among converbs, *-nti* is the only one which inflects for evidentiality (that is, evidential past).

A.3. Syntax

Jejuan syntax is characterised by a strict asymmetry between heads and non-heads, as the head of a syntactic phrase always takes the final position, whereas the positioning of non-heads (complements and adjuncts alike) is fairly free and regulated by information structure and wider discourse factors. The basic constituent order may be identified as (S)(O)V, although the arguments of a verb are frequently dropped as long as they are recoverable with the wider discourse context. Moreover, dropping of syntactic heads is more marked than dropping its complements, which is why one will often find utterances with a verb as the sole constituent, whereas it is less common to come across utterances which drop the head verb, alongside the full occurrence of its arguments.

Jejuan nominals are not organised in noun classes/grammatical genders, and there is no agreement between heads and complements. Whereas Korean may show S/A pivot politeness reference in the form of the honorific verbal suffix *-sʰi-* which is sometimes suggested to be a form of subject agreement, this suffix is not used in spoken Jejuan.[48]

As to phrasal structures, there is ample evidence to assume the existence of clausal constituents, nominal phrases and adverbial phrases, yet the existence of verb phrases and adjectival phrases stands on shakier grounds. Given the freedom of scrambling in ditransitive clauses — assuming no movement-merger operations and more abstract phrases such as vPs — similar to Korean (cf. Yu-Cho and Hong 1988), there is less evidence for a verb phrase, at least not in a way that the verb and its object would form a constituent at the exclusion of the subject. As

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[48] On the side, note that this has further ramifications than within the linguistic system, as within the societal dynamics of language shift, the lack of this honorific suffix is part of the discourse on the lack of polite speech in Jejuan communication, and the resulting need to resort to Korean grammar, cf. Kim (2013). Younger speakers of Jejuan often use the Korean honorific suffix in conjunction with Jejuan polite suffixes, so e.g., *-sʰi-psʰə*, -HON-IMP.POL, instead of just *-psʰə*, -HON, since the latter may be interpreted as lacking appropriate levels of politeness

to adjectival phrases, the problem is that the Jejuan class of adjectives is closed and syntactically restricted to an adnominal modifier position. Most expressions that correspond to European adjectives are covered by the verbal system, and others rather resembling Sino-Jejuan nominals. As the 'adjective-like' meanings mostly correspond to fully inflectable stative verbs, there is no formal distinction between these 'adjectival' uses of verbs and adnominal (that is, relative) clauses.

Jejuan nominal phrases can be extremely complex since they can include whole complex clauses, multiple determiners, classifier phrases and possessor phrases, all of which can be scrambled as long as the head noun of the phrase stays in its final position. The flexibility of non-head consituents within an NP raises some interesting parallels between IP-internal and NP-internal structure.

When used with numerals, nominal phrases are accompanied by classifier phrases which most typically occur post-nominally. This may suggest an exception to head-final syntax, yet as evidence suggests, classifiers project phrases of their own and are not part of the NP complex.

Complex predicates and complex clauses are extremely common. Among complex predicates, some are more of a morphological nature (compound verbs, for example), while others such as light verb constructions and serial verbs are clearly syntactically complex predicates with no obligatory, syntactic contiguity. Their syntactic phrasing is, similar to verb phrases, a matter that remains to be explored beyond the scope of this thesis. Complex clauses split up into a multiplicity of formal distinctions, and are not always neatly assignable to syntactic functions. Among the functional class of adverbial clauses, converb clauses are the most common type, and very unusually from a cross-linguistic perspective, yet quite common for Koreanic languages (cf. Sohn 2009), Jejuan employs an extremely high number of converbs of more or less specialised meanings.

Jejuan is a nominative-accusative language with S/A alignment. Grammatical roles may optionally indicated by particles which may intersect with information-structural and semantic role marking. In this overview, following the Korean linguistics tradition, these particles have been variously classified into (structural and spatial) case, information structure, politeness particles and postpositions, although the syntactic classification of these elements still await a more thorough, possibly less euro-centric examination. As a matter of fact, however, 'case' marking in Jejuan is a less reliable indicator of grammatical roles than in Korean, since firstly, the semantic role and/or information-structural function may take precedence over the indication of a grammatical role, and secondly, these particles tend to occur less on argument and adjunct NPs in general (a feature that

Jejuan may possibly share with colloquial Korean). In this sense, 'case' is to be understood in a way fairly different from our Western understanding.

The valency of predicates[49] diversifies into that of intransitive, transitive and ambitransitive verbs. Due to PRO-drop, however, the valency of a predicate, as well as the distinction between an argument and adjuncts is difficult to determine. Furthermore, Jejuan differs from Korean in the relationship between the form of a verb and its argument encoding in a number of ways: first, dative-experiencer marking and so-called double-accusative marking has not been attested yet[50]. Second, we occasionally come across cases where NOMINATIVE-ACCUSATIVE marking occurs with a passive verb form, raising questions about the nature of passive constructions in Jejuan.

Nevertheless, as in Korean, Jejuan shows a distinction into lexical and periphrastic causatives and passives. While lexical causative and passive and periphrastic causatives occur frequently, periphrastic passives involving the auxiliary $\widehat{tɕ}i$- may be a more complex matter, since very often we find no evidence for a canonical passive alignment, yet the whole construction is more reminiscent of a modal construction.

Also, Jejuan as its sister Korean shows non-canonical anaphoric binding which may be more adequately described as discourse-pragmatic reference than strict anaphoric binding. Alongside elements such as $\widehat{tɕ}ɒki$ which are more similar to Korean ones ($\widehat{tɕ}aki$), distinct logophoric elements $iɲək$ and $\widehat{tɕ}iɲək$ are frequently attested, yet their properties are not clear yet.

Having given an overview of the more general features of Jejuan syntax, the following section will present evidence more in detail. Sections W to X will deal with monoclausal phenomena, whereas sections Y to Z will discuss multiclausal and cross-clausal topics.

A.3.1. Basic constituent order

Jejuan is a SOV language, usually with no element obligatory other than the main predicate of an utterance, including the verb.

(231) from jeju0128 and jeju0129

    a. *ki s^ham$\widehat{tɕ}^h$un=i na=s^hinti tɛ$\widehat{tɕ}^h$ukpuleki=lɨl $\widehat{tɕ}$u-p-te-ta*
        that person-NOM 1SG-DAT corn-ACC   give-POL-EV.PST-DECL

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[49] Note that I am more or less deliberately leaving out the discussion of nominal valency here, since there is not enough data on this matter

[50] Judging on the authors experience, the former does not regularly exist in Jejuan, while the second phenomenon may be occasionally attestable.

'That person gave me some corn.'

b. *kɨ sʰamt͡ɕʰun=i tɛt͡ɕʰukpuleki=lɨl na=sʰinti t͡ɕupteta*
   that person-NOM corn-ACC   1SG-DAT gave

c. *na=sʰinti kɨ sʰamt͡ɕʰun=i tɛt͡ɕʰukpuleki=lɨl t͡ɕupteta*
   1SG-DAT that person-NOM corn-ACC   gave

d. *tɛt͡ɕʰukpuleki=lɨl kɨ sʰamt͡ɕʰun=i na=sʰinti t͡ɕupteta*
   corn-ACC   that person-NOM 1SG-DAT gave

e. *na=sʰinti tɛt͡ɕʰukpuleki=lɨl kɨ sʰamt͡ɕʰun=i t͡ɕupteta*
   1SG-DAT corn-ACC   that person-NOM gave

f. *tɛt͡ɕʰukpuleki=lɨl na=sʰinti kɨ sʰamt͡ɕʰun=i t͡ɕupteta*
   corn-ACC   1SG-DAT that person-NOM gave

Although any of the above constituent orders were accepted by consultants in isolated elicitation contexts, the question remains what relationship such scrambling has with information-structural configurations. . Also note that in spontaneous utterances one will do find orders where the verb comes first and then an argument follows it, yet a) prosodically, the argument phrase has its prosodic phrasing of its own, and b) here, one does not find an occurrence of all arguments in case of a ditransitive verb (let alone the above orders). Thus such cases are deemed to be echoing constructions and a matter of discourse pragmatics rather than syntax.

A.3.2. Properties of a clausal domain

There are multiple arguments to assume that there a clausal constituent in Jejuan. Most of the arguments are concerned with the semantic and syntactic contiguity of a clause's internal constituents. A non-exhaustive list of those arguments is presented below.

1. a clause can be headed by only one (simplex or complex) predicate, with its arguments expressed within one and the same clausal domain
2. a predicate's argument structure modfication will affect the syntax of argument expression within that clausal domain
3. the scope of pre-verbal negation cannot cross clausal boundaries
4. the scrambling of constituents may only happen within the boundaries of one and the same clausal domain
5. different values which verb's tense-aspect-mood-illocutionary_force-politeness morphology is specified for may occur only once in a clause

Upon identifying a clause, one can see that the arguments that predicate sub-categorises for are constituents of that same clausal domain. For example, (at least in Jejuan) in case of a complex, linked clause, one will not find a case where we the arguments selected by a particular predicate are distributed across multiple clauses of the clause linkage. Examples for the fact that this is possible is presented in the section on serial verbs and their monoclausality.

Secondly, any changes to that basic argument structure configuration, for example through passives or applicatives, affect the constituent structure of one and the same clausal domain. In other words, we will not find cases in Jejuan where passivisation will promote a syntactic object formerly placed in a non-final clause to the subject function of a final clause, and similarly, we will not find cases where the subject of a final-clause, active verb will be demoted to become a dative adjunct in some lower, non-final clause domain.

Similarly, as shown in the section on negative scope behaviour and mono-clausality in the serial verbs section, a predicate being negated will have the negational scope reaching over the clause that this predicate is a constituent of, yet not of some other clause in its vicinity without any effects on itself[51].

Similarly, scrambling and its related modifications of information structural configurations, for example topicalisation of non-object focus, applies to constituents of one and the same clausal domain, meaning that when an argument is displaced, this displacement may not cross clausal boundaries. In the case of two linked clauses, a possible counter-argument could be to show that there is a topic position outside both clausal domains (for example at the left edge) where then NPs from either clause can be topicalised, yet evidence as such from *-kəni* linkages (section 4.5.2) does not suggest such a position. Thus for now, it is assumed that such a process is confined to the domain of a clause.

On a semantic level, what we also observe is that due to the clause being headed by a single (yet structurally, possibly complex) predicate, the specification of this predicate for tense-aspect-mood values etc. is restricted to one of each category. Although somewhat common-sensical, for the definition of a clausal domain, it is important to note that within one and the same clause we will not find a case where the tense is PAST and PRESENT at the same time, or the mood REALIS *and* IRREALIS, and this is because there are constraints that apply to the unit of a clause.

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[51] A possible problem may be found with cases of so-called 'transported scope' effects mentioned in Bickel (2010), which exists in cases such as *I think that X is not Y* vs. *I don't think that X is Y*, which on the propositional level may be seen as being equivalent as far as the complement clause is concerned

As the evidence for the existence of nominal phrases is much clearer, I will proceed to discussing their internal structure.

A.3.3. Nominal phrases

Jejuan nominal phrases (NPs) minimally consist of a nominal that is the head of that phrase. The internal structure of an NP can be fairly complex.

(232) a. jeju0157, HYJ1, FLEx52

*t͡ɕi kɒt͡ɕi   nuə-sʰ-i-nti   **kɨ   uli t͡ɕokɨn***
self together lie-PST-EPTH-CVB.BUT DEM.DIST 1PL be_little:ADN

ɛkine   apaŋ=ɨn   ani=mul-ku   na=man   mulə-ŋ
child:SOC father=TOP NEG=bite-CVB 1SG=ONLY bite-CVB

kəŋ   hə-men
that.way do-PRS

'He was lying there with me but it wouldn't bite my youngest child's father but only me, that's how it was.'

b. jeju0060-05ₛtimsync, HSH2, FLEx136

t͡ɕə   misʰin nala   i-ə
DEM.MED SOME country COP-DECL

'It's that, some, country (that I forgot the name of).'

c. jeju0040, HGS1, 00:09:38.793

kʲəŋ   hə-mʲən=ɨn   i   paŋ=i   olɛtʰolok
that.way do-CVB.COND=TOP DEM.PROX room=LOC long_time

kɨ   i   t̪ɒt̪ɒsʰ   hə-n   kəsʰ=i   isʰi-t͡ɕu=ke
DEM.DIST DEM.PROX be_warm do-ADN thing=NOM EXIST-STN=DC

'Like that, in this room this warmth stays on for a long time, of course.'

Similar to what was observed for consitutents within a clause, the consituents of an NP can occur in variable positions as long as the head nominal stands at the end of the phrase. Whether the possibility of scrambling within an NP is subject to NP-internal, information-structural factors is up for further exploration.

(233) jeju0133, conversation excerpt between SUK1 and HYJ1

a. SUK1, 00:05:41.995

musʰikə tola-n   mak   na   ka?
what   run-CVB really move_out go

'What do you mean 'they were like running all out'?'

b. HYJ1, 00:05:43.570 (.070?)

> *kɨm* *t͡ɕə*   *musʰikə kɨ*   *malatʰon ha-nɨn*
> well DEM.MED what   DEM.DIST marathon do-ADN
> *ai=təl=i*
> child=PL=NOM
> 'Well, I mean thingy, the guys who were doing the marathon.'

In the spontaneous response to the author's question given in (233b), the speaker answers with a nominal phrase to which a plural and a nominative particle attach. A characteristic of Jejuan particles is that they can only attach to the edge of a phrase, which is why we will not find them anywhere within the domain of the NP, that is *[t͡ɕə...ai]*. Within it, we find multiple determiners (*t͡ɕə* and *kɨ*), and an adnominal clause which consists of a light verb construction *malatʰon ha-*, 'run in a marathon'.

We may argue that the second demonstrative *kɨ* above modifies the bare nominal *malatʰon*, and that therefore the NP structure is similar to an English one where only one article is allowed to modify a nominal in each phrase. Similarly, we may conclude that it is the leftmost position of the NP which such demonstratives usually take, yet the following example shows the contrary:

(234)   a.   jeju0162, HYJ1, 00:30:16

> *ja*   *kɨ*   *mont͡ɕə əsʰət͡ɕi-n*   *hentipʰon*   *isʰi-l*
> POL DEM.DIST first   disappear-ADN mobile_phone exist-ADN
> *t̬e=to*
> moment=ADD
> 'Even when I had that phone that disappeared first...'

b.   jeju0133, HGS1, 00:31:50

> *sʰit͡ɕaŋ=e=təl*   *pʰɐ-nɨn kɨ*   *kʰɨ-n*   *keŋi*
> market=LOC=PL sell-ADN DEM.DIST be_big-ADN crab
> 'The big crabs that they sell at the market.'

In (233b) above, we had the constituent order [DEM FILLER DEM IP NP_{HEAD}], whereas in (234b) we have the order [IP DEM IP NP_{HEAD}]. This shows how one can not only have multiple adnominal phrases within one nominal phrase, but also multiple determiner phrases within a nominal phrase (cf. also (232c)).

Although the position of the different constituents of a Jejuan NP seems to be variable, it seems that demonstratives cannot take the immediate, pre-nominal position in case there are multiple modifiers:

(235)   after jeju0133, HGS1, 00:31:50, (234b) above

> a.   *kɨ*   *sʰit͡ɕaŋ=e=təl*   *pʰɐ-nɨn kʰɨ-n*   *keŋi*
>   DEM.DIST market=LOC=PL sell-ADN be_big-ADN crab

‘The big crabs that they sell at the market.’

b.   *kʰɨ-n*   *kɨ*   *sʰit͡ɕaŋ=e=təl*   *pʰɒ-nin*   *keŋi*
      be_big-ADN DEM.DIST market=LOC=PL sell-ADN crab

‘The big crabs that they sell at the market.’

c.   ? *sʰit͡ɕaŋ=e=təl*   *pʰɒ-nin*   *kʰɨ-n*   *kɨ*   *keŋi*
      market=LOC=PL sell-ADN be_big-ADN DEM.DIST crab

‘The big crabs that they sell at the market.’

Note that data on more complex structures such as coordinate NPs and their properties is limited at present, and thus will not be discussed here.

A.3.4. Classifiers and syntactic constituency

Classifiers build their own classifier phrases, and as expected, these phrases are head-final with the classifier always being at the rightmost position. As a consituent, the syntactic elements that make up a classifier phrase may not be disparate. In the most simple version, we would often see the noun that a classifier phrase modifies coming first, followed by the phrase which consists of a number on the left, and classifier head on the right:

(236)   HSH1, jeju0060-05, FLEx62.1

     jaŋ   *hɒn mɒli*
     goat one animal.CLF
     ‘one goat (*lit.* one goat animal)’

Classifiers resemble nouns in that they are partly denotational (above, for example, the classifier *mɒli* refers to any type of animal), and within their phrase, they function as the head of their own classifier phrase and can be modified as shown above.

As opposed to regular nouns, however, classifiers are restricted in the number and kind of modifiers they can take on, and the optionality of modification. Whereas nouns usually can take any modifier including relative clauses, classifiers can only be modified by a number, indefinites or quantifiers. Moreover, a classifier obligatorily has to occur together with a modifier, whereas for nouns, adnominal modification is optional. Classifier phrases are more restricted in their internal complexity, as they can only have one modifier, whereas the number of modifiers a noun can take is not restricted.

More importantly, data of the kind shown below in (237a) or (237b) raise the question of the constituency of a noun with a classifier phrase. In both exam-

ples, the noun that a classifier modifies, and the classifier phrase are syntactically disparate, and both phrases have a case particle.

(237)   a. HJG1, jeju0052-03, Frog Story, FLEx 161.1

kɒkepi t͡ɕʰɒt͡ɕ-t͡ɕi   mot   heə-n   kinjaŋ kɒkepi=ka
frog   find-COMP NEG.POT do-CVB.REAL just   frog=NOM

it͡ɕe=n   tu   mɒli=ka   isʰə-n
now=TOP two animal.CLF=NOM EXIST.COP-PST

'He couldn't find it all along, and now there were two of them!'

b. HJG1, jeju0052-03, Frog Story, FLEx 163.1

kɨ   t͡ɕɒkːit-ti   po-nan   t̥o   nun=i
DEM.DIST close_by-LOC see-CVB.TEMP again eye=NOM

hʷituŋkəli-ə   t͡ɕi-n   ke   kinjaŋ sʰɛk̥i=t̥il=i
eyes_in_shock-LNK ?-ADN thing.NOM just   offspring=PL=NOM

kinjaŋ met   məli=ka   isʰə-n
just   several animal.CLF=NOM EXIST.COP-PST

'So when he looks at their surrounding he opens his eyes wide in shock and there were a couple of baby frogs!'

Since Jejuan has no agreement, a phrasal analysis of the noun and the classifier phrase as a single nominal phrase would have to consider which is the head of the complex phrase, and how we could have case marking within a complex phrase, although case particles always seem to attach at phrasal boundaries on the highest level, and not within them.

In the examples above, the nouns and their classifier phrases are interrupted by an intervening filler element, *it͡ɕe=n*, now=TOP in (237a) and *kinjaŋ*, 'just', in (237b). If a noun and a classifier phrase were to be seen as a contiguous, complex nominal phrase or similar, then we would have to introduce a structural position for such fillers, yet within nominal phrases, such fillers cannot occur between the head nominal and whatever modifier. Furthermore, note that we have nominative marking on both what we assumed to be the head noun, and the classifier itself. Particles, however, have been identified as attaching to the right edge of phrases right after the phrasal head. This would mean that in (237b), we may have to assume that classifiers a) project their own nominal phrases, and b) these phrases are syntactically independent of each other.

To sum up, as the classifier and its modifier always have to be contiguous, it is evident that they make up a constituent, which is why the notion of a classifier phrase is being used in this section. However, whether Jejuan syntax would meaningfully accomodate a separate projection of a classifier phrase instead of a

nominal phrase with particular constraints on its internal structure and compositionality, and whether it is plausible to think of a noun and its classifier as a contiguous syntactic unit will be left open for further exploration.

A.3.5. Form and function of non-final clauses

If we relate the inflectional patterns of non-final clause verbs (section A.2.16) with the three common functions of a adverbial, complement and relative clause, we can see that the formal properties and the functions of a clause do not match up one-to-one:

	FUNCTION		
FORM	**adverbial**	**complement**	**relative**
adnominal	✓	✓	✓
quotative	✓	✓	-
converb	✓	-	-

Table A.44.: Non-final clauses: form and function

Adnominal forms occur in non-final clauses with adverbial, complement and relative function, and quotative forms are found in clauses with adverbial and complement function. Converbs are found only in adverbial clauses. Strictly speaking, adnominal forms involved in 'complement clause formation' in fact take part in constructions which consist of a relative clause and a grammaticalised nominal which may be analysed as a NP rather than a clausal unit, although I will show that for some of these special constructions, reanalysis to complement clauses seem to be on-going.

Note that complement clauses will not be discussed in detail, other than the 'complement relative' constructions in the relative clause section. Moreover, as shown above and mentioned in Chapter 1, Jejuan adverbial clauses resort to relative clauses and converb clauses (and complement clauses, on which I do not have enough data). Thus the next section will focus on clauses with head verbs in adnominal form.

A.3.6. Adnominal clauses

Jejuan relative clauses are externally headed, and as the only strategy available, they make use of filler-gap relationships. The head verb of a relative clause,

however, is in its adnominal form, which may inflect for tense-aspect-mood and evidentiality (see section A.2.16.1):

(238) a. no relativisation of SUBJ, jeju0157, HYJ1, FLEx199

$\widehat{tɕ}ə$ əl$\dot{i}$n=sʰa   ṣi-$\widehat{tɕ}$u=ke
that adult=FOC   write-STN=DSC
'Of course, she [lit. 'that respectable superior'] writes [Korean script].'

b. SUBJ relativised , jeju0157, HYJ1, FLEx199

[___ k$\dot{i}$l $\widehat{tɕ}$al ṣi-ni-n]   əl$\dot{i}$n i-nan
writing well write-PRS-ADN adult COP-CVB
'Since she is a good writer [lit. 'a person who knows to write well'].'

Since Jejuan has only a closed class of what may be comparable to adjectives in Western languages, this language extensively resorts to the usage of relative clause to express similar concepts. Thus given that Jejuan is a 'zero-anaphora'[52] language, what may correspond to an English adjectives is almost always a relative clause of which the sole constituent is a verb in its adnominalised form, with no other overt arguments in the relative clause.

(239) a. jeju0157, HYJ1, FLEx188

[___ muk-$\dot{i}$-n]   hɛ=ka $\widehat{tɕ}$ə $\underset{̥}{t}$ɒsʰa
pass-EPTH-ADN year=NOM FILLER be_warm
pul-min   sʰɛ hɛ   na-ŋ   mak: ələ
AUX.PERF-CVB.COND new year arise-CVB very be_cold
'If the past year happens to be warm, it gets very cold in the new year.'

b. jeju0060-05_stimsync, HSH1, FLEx20

[___ mək-ni-n]   kə=la,   jəlmɛ=ka
eat-PRS-ADN thing=COP.DECL fruit=NOM
'It's edible [lit. 'something you eat'], the fruit.'

In (239a) above, we see the difference between *muk$\dot{i}$n hɛ*, 'past year', and *sʰɛ hɛ*, 'new year'. Whereas in English both phrases are structurally identical, in Jejuan *muk$\dot{i}$n hɛ* is a NP with *muk-* 'pass' in its adnominal form and heading its own relative clause as the only consituent thereof, whereas *sʰɛ hɛ* is a NP with *sʰɛ* being an underivable adjective. Thus whereas we find *muk-* in other inflected forms, *sʰɛ* occurs only in adnominal position. Moreover, comparing *muk$\dot{i}$n hɛ* above with *məkn$\dot{i}$n kə* in (239b), one can see that there is no structural difference between the

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[52] This is a terminological reference to a commonly used way to label this phenomenon, yet I am not assuming any null-structures here.

two relative clauses, other than the differences arising from the different valency of the predicates.

A.3.6.0.1 Relativisability of grammatical functions

Whereas the current description has no specific data on differences between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses or more complex structures such as double relatives, the data shows some interesting facts on the relativisability of different types of grammatical functions in a clause. In order to give a typological orientation of the patterns of relativisable functions in Jejuan, I am indirectly referring to the well-known Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy by Keenan and Comrie (1977: 66) shown below:

(240)   Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy, Keenan and Comrie (1977: 66)
        SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP

The range of relativisable functions confirms with the hierarchy on the upper levels, yet the relativisability of NPs on functions lower on the hierarchy diverges from that cross-linguistic tendency.

(241)   EN2016-01-02, 13a), HGS1 and HYJ1

   a. Base example

      halmaŋ=i   sʰontɕi=apʰi   ton   tɕuə-n
      grandmother=NOM grandson=DAT money give-PST

      'The grandmother gave her grandson money.'

   b. SUBJ relativised

      sʰontɕi=apʰi   ton   tɕu-n   halmaŋ=i   tɕɒnsʰem
      grandson=DAT money give-ADN grandmother=NOM good_heart
      tɕoha
      be_good

      'The grandmother who gave the grandson money, is good-hearted.'

   c. OBJ relativised

      halmaŋ=i   sʰontɕi=apʰi   tɕu-n   ton=i   mak
      grandmother=NOM grandson=DAT give-ADN money=NOM very
      ha-a-la
      be_much-EV.PST-DECL

      'The money that the grandmother gave to her grandson was worth a lot.'

   d. OBJ2 relativised

> *halmaŋ=i*   *ton*   *t͡ɕu-n*   *sʰont͡ɕi=ka*   *mak*
> grandmother=NOM money give-ADN grandson=NOM very
> *t͡ɕik̚ət͡ɕiə-n*
> be_happy-PST
> 'The grandson who the grandmother gave money to, got really happy.'

As shown above, the core grammatical functions of subject, primary object and secondary object (corresponding to SU, DO and IO in Keenan and Comrie's Hierarchy) can all be relativised. When it comes to oblique functions, the results are more differentiated than Keenan and Comries (1977) hierarchy permits.

(242) EN2015-12-29, HGS1 and HYJ1, 7)

     a. Base example

> *Cheolsu=ka*   *i*   *pulak=esʰə*   *sʰala na-sʰ-u-ta*
> Cheolsu=NOM this viallge=LOC live AUX-PST-POL-DECL
> 'Cheolsu used to live in this village.'

     b. OBL_{LOC} relativised

> *t͡ɕʰəlsʰu=ka*   *sʰala na-n*   *pulak=i*
> Cheolsu=NOM live AUX-ADN village=NOM
> *iti=u-ta*
> DEM.PROX:LOC=POL-DECL
> 'This is the village that Cheolsu used to live in.'

     c. Base example

> *t͡ɕʰəlsʰu=ka*   *t͡ɕip=təle*   *ka-n*
> Cheolsu=NOM house=DIR go-PST
> 'Cheolsu went home.'

     d. OBL_{DIR} relativised

> *t͡ɕip=təle*   *ka-n*   *t͡ɕʰəlsʰu*
> house=DIR go-ADN Cheolsu
> 'Cheolsu who went home'

     e. Base example

> *t͡ɕʰəlsʰu=ka*   *kʰal=lu*   *we=lil*   *k̚it͡ɕʰa-n*
> Cheolsu=NOM knife=INSTR cucumber=ACC cut-CVB
> *mək-i-p-te-ta*
> eat-EPTH-POL-EV.PST-DECL
> 'Cheolsu cut and ate a cucumber with a knife.'

     f. OBL_{INSTR} relativised

> **t͡ɕʰəlsʰu=ka*   *we=lil*   *k̚it͡ɕʰa-n mək-i-n*   *kʰal*
> Cheolsu=NOM cucumber=ACC cut-CVB eat-EPTH-ADN knife
> *intended:* 'The knife that Cheolsu cut and ate a cucumber with'

g. Base example

$\widehat{tɕ^{h}}əls^{h}u$ $əməŋ=i$ $s^{h}əns^{h}eŋ$-nil he-ms^{h}-ə
Cheolsu mother=NOM teacher-job do-PROG-DECL

'Cheolsu's mother is working as a teacher.'

h. OBL$_{POSS}$ relativised

*$əməŋ=i$ $s^{h}əns^{h}eŋ$-nil hə-n$ɨ$-n $\widehat{tɕ^{h}}əls^{h}u$
mother=NOM teacher-job do-PRS-ADN Cheolsu

'Cheolsu whose mother is working as a teacher'

i. Base example

$\widehat{tɕ^{h}}əls^{h}u=ka$ $toŋs^{h}u=potaŋ$ (tə) $k^{h}ɨ$-n-ta
Cheolsu=NOM Dongsu=COMPR more be_big-PRS-DECL

'Cheolsu is bigger than Dongsu.'

j. OBL$_{COMPR}$ relativised

*$\widehat{tɕ^{h}}əls^{h}u=ka$ (tə) $k^{h}ɨ$-n $toŋs^{h}u$
Cheolsu=NOM more be_big-ADN Dongsu

intended: 'Dongsu who Cheolsu is bigger than'

The above examples show that depending on the type of oblique argument, Jejuan permits relativisation. While what Keenan and Comrie (1977) call 'genitive' and 'object of comparison' are not relativisable in Jejuan (OBL$_{POSS}$ and OBL$_{COMPR}$) and hence may not provide any interesting objections to the Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy, ex. (242b) to (242f) show that not all oblique arguments are relativisable. Whereas locative and directional obliques (which sometimes functionally coincide in the particle =*i*) permit relativisation, instrumental obliques do not. More interestingly, dative-marked, oblique agent arguments in passives are not relativisable, although morphologically the same particle adheres to the NP.

(243)   EN2016-01-02, HGS1 and HYJ1, 13a)

a. Base example

$s^{h}unk^{j}əŋ=i$ $totɨknom=ɨl$ $s^{h}imə$-n
policeman=NOM thief=ACC   catch-PST

'The policeman caught the thief.'

b. Passive

$totɨknom=i$ $s^{h}unk^{j}əŋ=s^{h}inti$ $s^{h}im\widehat{tɕ}iə$-n
thief=NOM policeman=DAT catch:PASS-PST

'The thief got caught by the policeman.'

c. SUBJ$_{<PATIENT>}$ relativised

$s^hunk^jəŋ = s^hinti$ $s^himt\widehat{ɕ}i\text{-}n$ $totuknom = i\ mak$
policeman = DAT catch:PASS-ADN thief = NOM very
$nɒt\widehat{ɕ}\text{-}i\text{-}n$ $nom\ i\text{-}ə = ke$
be_bad-EPTH-ADN guy COP-DECL = DSC

'The thief caught by the policeman is a really bad guy, you know.'

d. OBJ$_{<\mathrm{AGENT}>}$ relativised

$*totuknom = i\ s^himt\widehat{ɕ}i\text{-}n$ $s^hunk^jəŋ$
thief = NOM   catch:PASS-ADN policeman

intended: 'The policeman the thief got caught by.'

The above example shows that not all obliques in Jejuan behave the same way towards relativisation, and moreover, that in fact, dative-marked secondary objects are syntactically different from dative-marked oblique agents in passive constructions, which suggests that they are homophonous, yet functionally different particles.

Relative clauses are also involved in the formation of modal constructions, constructions with function as nominal complements of verbs, as well as constructions with function as temporal adverbials. These three special, grammaticalised relative clause types will be explained below.

A.3.6.0.2 Adnominal clause constructions with weak nominals

Jejuan grammar resorts to the employment of relative clause + weak nominal constructions which show varying degrees of grammaticalisation or lexicalisation, partly occuring only in collocation with particular predicates (henceforth 'adnominal constructions'). Although formally similar to relative clauses modifying regular nouns, these structures differ in a number of ways. The following is a summary of observations that distinguish these adnominal constructions from regular relative clauses. Note that these properties do not apply to all cases, as will be shown in the subsequent discussion:

(244) Characteristics of Jejuan adnominal constructions

1. Phonology

    a) reduced phonological structure of weak nominals

    b) no stress assignment on weak nominals

2. Morphology

    a) restrictions on possible variety of adnominal forms

    b) separate, predicative tense marking on adnominal form

    c) illocutionary force and stance marking on weak nominals

3. Syntax
    a) no extraction out of relative clause
    b) no independent distribution of weak nominals
    c) no other possible modification of weak nominals
    d) possibly restrictive selection by predicates
4. Semantics
    a) reduced degree of semantic compositionality
    b) no weak nominal is fully referential

As to the phonological characteristics, weak nominals in these constructions tend to be phonologically reduced in structure (tending towards monosyllabic CV(C) structures), and cannot be stressed.

Morphologically, there may be a restriction on which adnominal form is allowed to occur with the weak nominal. As opposed to adnominal forms in regular relative clauses, some adnominal forms can be separately inflected for tense. In this case, the suffixes are those usually found in predicative inflection, and at the same time, no evidential form of the adnominal inflection is possible. Moreover, some weak nominals may occur affixed with interrogative or stance marking.

On the syntactic level, a crucial difference is that despite the formal 'relative clause' structure, these constructions show no evidence for a gap in the adnominal clause. In other words, no constituent is extracted from the adnominal clause as in regular relative clauses. Moreover, regarding the weak nominals themselves, they show no independent syntactic distribution and always have to occur with a relative clause (at least when the weak nominal shows the specific meaning indicated below). They may not be modified by any other structure than one adnominal clause (note that regular nouns allow for multiple relative clauses to modify them), and often occur in collocation with a particular predicate, most often the predicative or existential copula. As a result of these collocations, some weak nominals may not take on the full range of case particles as possible for a regular noun.

Semantically, no weak nominal is fully referential, and the relative construction tends to exhibit reduced degrees of semantic compositionality. In some cases there is some lexical meaning attributable to the weak nominal, whereas in others, the denotational meaning of the weak nominal has fully bleakened (which in turn is related to their inability to occur on their own).

In the following, I will discuss four major groups of adnominal constructions in greater detail, in a somewhat increasing order of grammaticalisation tendencies:

(245) Types of relative clauses under discussion:

1. ADJUNCT
2. MODAL
3. COMPLEMENT
4. IRREALIS

In the types that I refer to as 'adjunct' and 'complement' here, the weak nominals head constructions which are either adjunct constituents of a larger clause, or complements selected by verbs of knowing. In this way, they are more similar to other types of non-final clauses presented in this this thesis. 'Modal' and 'irrealis' constructions either occur in set collocations involving existential and predicative copulas, or can stand independently without what would be a main clause predicate (if one was to analyse a weak nominal as a constituent of a clause higher than the relative clause). Thus many of these constructions may be seen as being part of the inflectional repertoire of final clause verbs.

Beginning with adjunct adnominal constructions, we have an array of constructions headed by weak nominals which have a range of adjunct-related, or adverbial meanings (henceforth 'adjunct relatives', cf. 'relative complex predicates' in Sohn 1999: 378f. for Korean):

Table A.45.: Adjunct relatives

TEMPORAL

	ṭe/ṭeki "when"	t͡ɕimən "exactly when"	t͡ɕe/t͡ɕək "back when(ever)"	tot͡ɕuŋ "while"
selectable by	unrestricted	unrestricted	unrestricted	unrestricted
FORCE/STANCE	no	no	no	no
TENSE/ASPECT	no?	no	no	no
ADN_FORM				
-*tan*_{EV.PST}	yes?	?	no	?
-*nin*_{PRS}	no	yes	no	yes
-*n*_{PERF}	yes	no	yes	no
-*l*_{IRR}	yes	no	yes	no
	EXPERIENCE	STATE/MANNER	DELIMITING	PLACE

	tole "ever"	ɲaŋ₁ "in the way of"	ɲaŋ₂ "only"	ti "where"
selectable by	unrestricted	unrestricted	unrestricted	unrestricted
FORCE/STANCE	no	no	no	no
TENSE/ASPECT	no	no	no	no
ADN_FORM				
-*tan*_{EV.PST}	?	yes	no	yes
-*nin*_{PRS}	?	yes	no	yes
-*n*_{PERF}	yes	yes	yes	yes
-*l*_{IRR}	no	yes	no	yes

This group of adnominal constructions has meanings typical for clausal adjuncts. For example, *ţe*, one of the few nominals in this group which do occur in contexts with referential denotation, usually refers to a 'meal' or a 'moment'. In a temporal adnominal construction as shown below, it has more the function of indicating meaning similar to an temporal adverbial clause in the sense of 'when...'.

(246)   a.   after jeju0078, HGS1, 01:25

ĩ   mot = t͡ɕənti(*-nɨ)-n   ţe   "kʰaːk" jəŋ jəŋ he-kɨne
yeah NEG.POT = endure(*-PRS)-ADN moment INTERJ so so do-CVB

hə-l   ţe,   ĩ   koḳi-n-ta   hə-nɨ-n   kə-t͡ɕu
do-ADN moment yeah suffocate-PRS-DECL do-PRS-ADN thing-STN

'When it's really painful and when you do this choking sound like this, you say *koḳinta*'

b.   after jeju0168-01, HYJ1, 00:06:07.170

əţə-n   ti = nin   jəŋ t͡ɕip iṣ-nɨ-n   ti   hə-min
be_how-ADN place = TOP so house EXIST-PRS-ADN place do-CVB

 it͡ɕe pi   o-l   ţeki = nin   pi   an = mat͡ɕa = to
now rain o-ADN moment = TOP rain NEG = get_hit = ADD

'In certain places, where there are houses, say, when it rains you wouldn't get wet, but...'

Whereas for *ɲaŋ*₁ or *ti* all adnominal forms are admissible on the adnominal clause head verb, all other types of adjunct relatives admit only a restricted set of adnominal forms to modify the weak nominal. As shown for *ţe* and *ţeki* above, in these adnominal constructions one will find adnominal forms in *-l* or *-n*, but present tense adnominal forms *-nɨ-n* or evidential past forms *-tan* are impossible[53]. Partly, one may relate this to the individual meaning of the adnominal constructions, as shown in the following examples:

(247)   a.   Frog Story, jeju0052-03, HJG1, 00:04:18.552

olpemi = ka kɨnjaŋ pʰɐloloŋ hə-ke   na   wa-n   [...] kɨnjaŋ
owl = NOM just   fluttering do-CVB move_out come-CVB   just

na   o-nɨ-n   t͡ɕiməŋ = e   ai = n
come_out come-PRS-ADN moment = LOC child = TOP

noleə-n   kɨnjaŋ ţaŋ = təle   tʰələt͡ɕi-ko
get_shocked-CVB just   ground = DIR fall-CVB

'When an owl suddenly comes out flattering its wings, because of the owl flying out, the boy being frightened, falls down to the ground...'

---

[53] See session jeju0078 on the Jejuan on-line archive `https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/ MPI971100` [retrieved 2017-10-24].

b. Pear Story, jeju0060-05_stimsync, HYJ1, 00:00:14.960[54]

#sʰəŋnim   t͡ɕəkə   məkə po-n   t͡ɕək isʰə?
older_relative DEM.MED eat   try-ADN time EXIST
'Have you ever tried eating that?'

Adjunct relatives headed by *t͡ɕiməŋ* describe a simultaneous connection between two events, and *t͡ɕək/t͡ɕe* describe a time in the past. Unsurprisingly, the former permits only a present-tense (and imperfective) adnominal form, whereas the latter only permits an adnominal form which on dynamic verbs in regular relative clauses is typically interpreted as past tense (and/or perfective aspect). There are also cases where one and the same weak nominal has lexicalised into two different adjunct relative types, shown for *ɲaŋ* clauses which are not found in Korean:

(248) a. jeju0085-02-04, HSH2, 00:25:06.145

kɒs̬a   hə-n   kə   t̬ak   heə noa-ŋ   hɒn pən na
just_now do-ADN thing exactly do put-CVB one time move_out
o-nɨ-n   ɲaŋ   t͡ɕɒka t͡ɕi-na   kɨkə=l
come-PRS-ADN manner write AUX.MOD-OR DEM.DIST=ACC
nɨ=ka   wewa-ŋ   hə-l   t̬e=mɨn
2SG=NOM learn-CVB do-ADN moment=CVB

'So as soon as you are able to do the song that I just did, learning it by heart or writing it down the way it is sung, doing it exactly like this...'

b. jeju0040, HGS1, 00:02:03.489

met͡ɕʰɨl=man   an=ka-sʰ-ia?   kɨ t̬ɛ   nɨ=jəŋ   ka
few_days=ONLY NEG=go-PST-Q.PLR that time 2SG=COM go
o-n   ɲaŋ ani=ka?
come-ADN only NEG=Q.PLR

'You haven't been there only for a few days, you say? Isn't it just the one time back then when I went [exercising] with you?'

c. jeju0078, HGS1, EN2015-07-06, C)

kʰəpʰi hɒn t͡ɕan(=man)   mək-ɨn/-nɨn/*-l/*-tan ɲaŋ*
coffee one cup.CLF=ONLY eat-ADN   only
i-u-ta
COP-POL-DECL

'I only drank one cup of coffee.'

---

[54] The hash signs mean that there were two syllables which are not audible enough to be clearly transcribed.

As shown in (250b), an adjunct relative with *ɲaŋ* that describes a manner of doing something occurs with adnominal forms inflected for tense/aspect/evidentiality, whereas one that delimits the reference of an event (250c) or one of the participants of an event (249c) can only occur with the *-n* form. As opposed to weak nominals such as *t̬e*, the meaning of *ɲaŋ* cannot be recovered any longer, as it is not used as an independent nominal.

So far, I have described how adjunct adnominal constructions differ from regular relative clauses with respect to the varying degrees of bleakened meaning of the weak nominal, as well as the restriction of permitted adnominal forms, depending on the individual weak nominal. All of them have in common that they describe a clausal meaning that is comparable to the usage of English adverbial clauses. This usage of formally adnominal constructions as adverbial clauses has been observed in the wider literature, see Thompson et al. (2007: 246f.).

I now proceed to the description of adnominal constructions which show greater degrees of grammaticalisation. Beginning with modal constructions, via complement constructions, up to irrealis constructions, we see an increasing grammaticalisation from a syntactically embedded adnominal construction to a verbal affix that can receive illocutionary force.

Table A.46.: Modal relatives

	MODAL			
	s^hu	li	s^heŋ/m^weŋ	kə
	ABILITY	SCEPTICISM	SPECULATION	FACTUALITY?
selectable by	EXIST	EXIST	COP	COP/none
FORCE/STANCE	no	no	no	stance only
TENSE/ASPECT	no	no?	no	no
ADN_FORM				
*-tan*_{EV.PST}	no	no	no	no
*-nin*_{PRS}	no	no	yes	yes
*-n*_{PERF}	no	no	yes	yes
*-l*_{IRR}	yes	yes	yes	no

As shown before, weak nominals in adjunct relatives have often bleakened semantically, and the whole construction has acquired a constructional meaning similar to adverbial clauses. These clauses can occur with any predicate in the matrix clause. With what has been termed 'modal relatives' above, the same bleakening of meaning has happened with the weak nominals, yet the new meaning acquired seems to be modal in nature, and hence more grammatical. Moreover, *s^hu, li* and *s^heŋ/m^weŋ* can only occur in fixed collocations with either a predicative, or existential copula (yet never both). Note that while each construction differs

in the range of permissible adnominal forms (just as in adjunct relatives above), no construction allows for an evidential adnominal form, which is the same for more grammaticalised, complement and irrealis constructions that I will discuss after this.

(249)   Modal adnominal constructions

      a. jeju0157, HGS1, FLEx196

        uli = to   jəŋə   kiləhke   ṣi-l   sʰu
        1PL = ADD English like_this write-ADN MOD
        əsʰ-i-kʰ-a?
        NEG.EXIST-EPTH-IRR-Q.PLR

        'Do you think we could use English like this, too?'

      b. jeju0078, HGS1, EN2015-07-06, C)

        sʰamt͡ɕʰun ikə   mək-i-l/*-nin/*-n sʰu   sʰi-u-k̞ʷa?
        Samchun DEM.PROX eat-EPTH-ADN   MOD EXIST-POL-Q.POL

        'Can you eat this?'

      c. jeju0078, HGS1, EN2015-07-06, C)

        na = ka   kikə = lil   mək-i-l/*-nin/*-n li = ka
        1SG = NOM DEM.DIST = ACC eat-EPTH-ADN   MOD = NOM
        isʰ-ə?
        EXIST-DECL

        'I can't imagine/could it ever be that I'd ever eat that.'

Example (249a) shows an adnominal construction with *sʰu*, which indicates somebody's ability or possibility to do something. This weak nominal only admits an irrealis adnominal form. The same is true for a construction with *li* through which one expresses scepticism.

Constructions with *sʰeŋ* and *mʷeŋ* (a contraction of *mojaŋ/moɲaŋ* 'form'), modals of speculation through sensory evidence, allow for all three possibilites of adnominal marking (ex. (250a) to (250c) below).

(250)   a. jeju0162, HGS1, 00:24:01

        na = ka   pe   kopʰ-i-n   sʰeŋ i-ə
        1SG = NOM belly be_hungry-EPTH-ADN MOD COP-DECL

        'It seems I'm hungry.'

      b. jeju0078, HGS1, EN2015-07-06, C)

        jai   ka-n/-l sʰeŋ i-loko
        DEM.PROX:child go-ADN MOD COP-MIR

        'Ah so it seems the child has gone/will go!'

      c. jeju0078, HGS1, EN2015-07-06, C)

> *oilʨaŋ=e*   *ka-nɨ-n*   *sʰeŋ*   *i-ə*
> five_day_market=LOC go-PRS-ADN MOD COP-DECL
> 'It seems they are going/go to the five-day market.'

d. jeju0052-03, HJG1, FLEx 51

> *i*   *kɨ=man*   *hə-mɨn*   *ai=ka*   *kɨɲaŋ*
> DEM.PROX DEM.DIST=AS_MUCH do-CVB child=NOM just
> *mɥsʰɨkə*   *sʰoli*   *ʨilːɨ-nɨ-n*   *mʷeŋ* *i-ə*
> something sound cry-PRS-ADN MOD COP-DECL
> 'Given this, it seems that the child is shouting something.'

As mentioned, particular adnominal construction often can occur only with a particular predicate. For example, a adnominal construction with *sʰeŋ/mʷeŋ* is only selectable by the predicative copula (250a), and *sʰu* ad *li* by an existential copula (ex. (249a) and (249c)).

An interesting case are constructions involving the weak nominal *kə*, which is a shortened form of *kəsʰ*, 'thing, fact'. Korean shows a similar weak nominal that is involved in a variety of grammaticalised constructions ranging from nominalisation of verbs via complement clauses to internally headed relative clauses (Lee J.-R. 2006, Jhang S.-E. 1994). While the scope of this grammar sketch and the nature of the data is too limited to draw as wide a picture as the researchers have done, I would like to show that in contrast to Korean, Jejuan has gone further in grammaticalising this adnominal construction to a TAM marker.

For the present discussion, the *kə* relative construction under discussion has been classified under the expression of some sort of factuality, although one may as well analyse this as expressing an intersection between tense/aspect, mood and illocutionary force.

(251)   a. jeju0162, HYJ1, 00:00:21.993

> *ə*   *iʨe*   *əmani*   *nam-ɨn*   *kə?*
> ah now how_much remain-ADN thing
> 'Ah so how much is left now?'

b. after (251a)

> *iʨe* *əmani*   *nama-n?*
> now how_much remain-PST
> 'Ah so how much is left now?'

c. jeju0168-01, HYJ1, 00:04:37.725

> *kɨlən* *te*   *ka-ŋ*   *po-n*   *kə?*
> such place go-CVB see-ADN thing
> ' You went to such places?

    d. after (251c)

kɨlən te   ka-ŋ   poa-n?
such place go-CVB see-PST
' You went to such places?

This construction frequently occurs in declarative contexts as well, yet does not occur in any other speech act. In this sense, this construction is very similar (and almost identical in meaning) to (251b) and (251d), although it seems that by means of this construction, the speaker is asking for the factuality of a states of affairs, putting an emphasis on the truth of a proposition (that is, along the lines of 'is it really true that...').

While the semantic-pragmatic nature of this phenomenon remains to be looked in greater detail, the difference between Korean and Jejuan here is that in Korean we require a copula after *kə*, whereas in Jejuan this construction often occurs without one. Moreover, a look at Korean shows us that these constructions are reminiscent of cleft constructions:

(252)   a. (251a) in Korean

        it͡ɕe əlma   nam-in   kə*(=i-a)
        now how_much be_left-ADN thing*(=COP-DECL)
        'How much is it that's left now?'

    b. (251c) in Korean

        #kɨlən te   ka-sʰə po-n   kə*(=i-a)
        such   place go-CVB see-ADN thing*(=COP-DECL)
        'Is it *to such places* that you went to see it?'

For content questions as in (252a), it would not be unreasonable to think of them as cleft constructions, given that content questions involve focus on the question word, and focusing is a typical function of cleft constructions. However, in a case such as (251c), a translation into Korean shown in (252b) results in an odd expression, in a sense that the Korean version would not be used for an unmarked question, but puts a (contrastive) focus on the specific place of the event, requesting an answer on whether it was that particular place, or another one. In the Jejuan context of (251c), however, the author explained to the speaker that he had gone to the open-air museum in Pyoseon (Southeast Jeju) to look at historical objects. Given that there is only one such place on Jeju Island, the speaker already knows that there is no alternative to be asked for, so clearly, the polar question has its scope over the entire proposition. Thus it is not sure whether we are dealing with a focus construction here, which in turn raises the question whether in Jejuan we have a genuine cleft construction as in Korean.

Also, note that in none of the above Korean examples, the copula is optional, but is obligatory. This particular contrast between Jejuan and Korean becomes noticeable especially in younger people's usage (including speakers below the age of 30 of what may be more adequately called the 'Jeju dialect of Korean'), where this construction appears in places where one would expect the usual, synthetic TAM marking, in a similar vein to (251c) and (251d). Thus impressionistically, it seems that we see signs of reanalysis into a modal or tense marker.

Of course, more thorough and informed research is needed on this matter, which is why for now, I would like to proceed to discussing adnominal constructions with complement function (henceforth complement relatives), continuing the thread on the on-going grammaticalisation of adnominal constructions to verbal suffixes.

Table A.47.: Complement relatives

	COMPLEMENT			NOMINALISER
	ti/tʰi	t͡ɕuŋ	t͡ɕʰuŋ	kə
selectable by?	'knowing' verbs	'knowing' verbs	'knowing' verbs	any verb
FORCE/STANCE?	no	no	no	no
	yes			
TENSE-ASPECT?	(only with -*n*)	no	no	no
ADN_FORM				
-*tan*EV.PST	no	no	no	no?
-*nin*PRS	yes	yes	no	yes
-*n*PERF	yes	yes	no	yes
-*l*IRR	yes	yes	yes	yes

As shown above, only constructions involving *ti* are separately inflectable for tense. The variation shown above between *ti* and *tʰi* is an allomorphy triggered by whether the adnominal form is *-l* or not, which is most probably due to historical features of an ealier language form such as Middle Korean (note that this allomorphy is not consistent, and one and the same speaker may resort to such forms or not; also see aspiration effects in word compounding and other contexts in Lee and Ramsey 2011). Separate tense inflection is only possible if the adnominal form is *-n*. This already shows that the acquisition of predicative inflectional properties excludes the inflection according to adnominal patterns:

(253) a. after jeju0078, HGS1, EN2015-07-06, C)

o-l   tʰi/ti ma-l   tʰi/ti molɨ-kʰi-ə
come-ADN COMP not_do-ADN COMP not_know-IRR-DECL

'I can't possibly know whether they will come or not.'

   b. jeju0040, HGS1, 00:13:39.079

ki   t͡ɕʰo = ka   t͡ɕip   t͡ɕʰənt͡ɕi na-sʰ-ie,   musʰin t͡ɕʰo
DEM.DIST candle = NOM house heaps   arise-PST-CG, which candle
sʰa-ko   kʲəŋ   hə-məŋ tani-nɨ-n   ti
buy-CVB like_that do-CVB roam_around-PRS-ADN COMP
molɨ-kʰɨ-la
not_known-IRR-DECL

'Our house was hit by a candle bomb, I don't know what he's going around buying candles for.'

c. jeju0040, HYJ1, 00:11:49.391

pak̬esʰ-ti   pʋlɨm = sʰa   pulə-msʰi-nti   pi = sʰa
outside-LOC wind = FOC? blow-PROG-COMP rain = FOC?
oa-msʰi-nti   tot͡ɕəhi   molːa
come-PROG-COMP absolutely not_know

'You don't know whether there is the wind blowing outside, or rain is falling, not a bit.'

As shown above, a clause headed by *ti* functions as a complement to a verb of knowing, yet retains formal properties of an adnominal clause. Parallel to the irrealis construction I will discuss below, the restriction of possible adnominal forms as well as the possibility to inflect for predicative tense will be seen as a sign of reanalysis of this particular adnominal form + weak nominal construction to a non-final, complementiser inflection, that is, from a syntactically analytic structure to a verbal suffix. Note that interestingly, the range of possible, predicative inflection on the complementiser form is PAST or PROGRESSIVE yet not IRREALIS, for example, which in turn is very similar to the patterns observed for other non-final verb inflections such as converbs (see section A.2.17.5).

Complement clauses licensed by verbs of knowing can be headed by two other types of weak nominals. As another difference from Korean, Jejuan distinguishes between a construction functioning as a complement of a verb of knowing with reference to the truth of an embedded proposition (similar to English 'knowing whether' or 'think that'), and into constructions functioning as complements of the same type of verbs, yet denoting the ability of carrying out an event described by the embedded proposition (similar to 'knowing how to'). They are phonologically similar in structure which is why one may speculate whether they share a common diachronic origin.

(254)   a. jeju0162, HGS1, 00:19:21.618

jaŋpan = i   t͡ɕənːa he-sʰ-t-eŋ   hə-nɨ-nti   k̬um
old_hag = NOM phone do-PST-DECL-QUOT do-PRS-CVB dream
i-n   t͡ɕuŋ   ala-m-tia
COP-ADN COMP know-PROG-Q.CNT

‘Look at this old hag: he just said he called but you though that it was in a dream?’

b. Korean translation of (254a)

ɲaŋpan=i   t͡ɕənhʷa hɛ-sʰ-ta-ko   ha-nin-nte   ku̥m   i-n
old_hag=NOM phone   do-PST-DECL-QUOT do-PRS-CVB dream i-ADN
t͡ɕu=l   ala?
COMP=ACC know

c. jeju0162, HYJ1, 00:31:21

hə-l   t͡ɕʰuŋ=il   ala=sʰa   s̥i-t͡ɕu
do-ADN COMP=ACC know=FOC use-STN

‘Well you can only use it if you know how to!’

d. Korean translation of (254c)

ha-l   t͡ɕu=li̥l   ala=ja   s̥i-t͡ɕi
do-ADN COMP=ACC know=ONLY_IF use-STN

e. jeju0133, HGS1, 00:30:40

aiku, keɲi=tu   t͡ɕap-i-l   t͡ɕuŋ=il   ala-sʰa-t͡ɕu
oh   crab=ADD catch-EPTH-ADN MOD=ACC know-MOD-STN

‘Of course, those crabs, you have to know how to catch them.’

Note that in fact, speakers such as HGS1 sometimes use the non-aspirated form for an 'ability complement' clause as well (ex. (254e) whereas HYJ1 and many other speakers make a clear distinction between these two complement clause form-meaning correspondences. It is not known whether this levelling effect is due to code-switching into Korean (where this complementiser is *t͡ɕu* in all meanings), or whether we are in fact dealing with a historically conditioned allomorphy/variation similar to the one between *ti* and *tʰi*. As a matter of fact, however, the aspirate form never occurs in a 'whether' clause.[55]

Another type of a formal adnominal construction involving *kə* has been listed in table A.47 above. Although formally similar to the ones described in table A.46, this construction appears in argument function similar to that of the above complement relatives. A crucial difference — similar to English *-ing* nominalisations — is that these clauses can function as arguments of an verb (as long as semantically plausible), and in any grammatical function. Complement relatives of the kind above however, can only function as complements of verbs of knowing (and are partly grammaticalised into verbal complementiser inflections), and they can never occur as any other argument than a clausal complement of a verb of knowing, that is, the subject argument, for example:

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[55] As an additional point, the pronunciation of the weak nominal is [t͡ɕuŋ] after an *-l* adnominal form. As an idiolectal feature, HGS1 tends to pronounce tense consonants in place of aspirate ones, which may suggest that the same phenomenon is happening here.

(255) a. jeju0168-01, HYJ1, 00:00:17.580

   [kə   nɨ   tʷe͡tɕisʰeḳi na-n   kə] pa pa-n? pokɨlpokɨl
   DEM.DIST 2SG piglet   be_born-ADN thing see try-PST one_by_one
   na-l   ṭɛ?
   be_born-ADN time

   'Have you ever seen piglets getting born? When they drop out, one by one?'

   b. after jeju0162, HYJ1, 00:02:50.605 [copula addition mine]

   [ilil   ihwe   i-en   hə-n   kə=n] [tu pən
   one_day two_times COP-QUOT do-ADN thing   two times
   məkɨ-l-en   hə-nɨ-n   kə] (i-ə)
   eat-IMP-QUOT do-PRS-ADN thing COP-DECL

   'Saying 'twice per day' [in Sino-Korean] is the same as saying that you're supposed to eat it two times.'

As above in (255a), a clause headed by *kə* functions as the object of the verb *po-*, 'see'. These clauses are neither restricted in which verb they can function as the argument of, or which argument function they have. In (255b), two such clauses can play both argument roles of a copula construction, structurally identical to a nominal predication. This is why I will regard these cases simply as clausal nominalisations, different from grammaticalisation into complementisers as previously discussed; yet whether this particular construction should be seen as having developed into a nominalising suffix is not an issue that I will address here.

The *kə* adnominal construction serves so many functions that it also plays a crucial role in what seems to be the clearest case of grammaticalisation of adnominal constructions to verbal suffixing. The next case I will examine are so-called 'irrealis constructions' which — as opposed to complement relatives — occur only in a final clause, and are relevant to this thesis in that they are part of marking asymmetries observed between non-final and final clauses.

As shown above, only three types of adnominal constructions show signs of being grammaticalised to something very close to verbal inflectional markers.[56] Given this, it is not surprising that the group of lexicalised adnominal constructions is much larger than the ones which shows signs of grammaticalisation.

(256) a. Pear Story, jeju0063, YSH1, FLEx296

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[56] Note that the variation between *tʰe/tʰɨ* largely depends on the illocutionary force, with *tʰe* found in declarative contexts, and *tʰɨ* in interrogative contexts. Note that in some regions, however, *tʰɨ* seems to be the sole or major form used in both contexts.

Table A.48.: Irrealis relatives

| | IRREALIS | | |
| | kə | tʰe/tʰi | kəl |
	PROBABILITY	PROBABILITY	OPTATIVE
selectable by	COP/none	none	none
FORCE/STANCE	stance only	yes	no
TENSE/ASPECT	yes	yes	yes
ADN_FORM			
-*tan*EV.PST	no	no	no
-*nin*PRS	no	no	no
-*n*PERF	no	no	no
-*l*IRR	yes	yes	yes

ikə   jəŋ   heə-ŋ   ni=ne   kohʲaŋ at͡ɕə-ŋ ka-l   kə?
DEM.PROX like_this do-CVB 2SG=SOC home pick_up go-ADN thing

'So you'll do it like this and take it home with you?'

b. Pear Story, jeju0060-05_stimsync, HSH1, FLEx75

t̥o   ka-sʰ-taŋ   piwa pu-l   kə
again go-PST-CVB empty AUX-ADN thing

'They'll probably go there and empty it again.'

c. jeju0157, HGS1, FLEx98

t͡ɕəti   kələ t͡ɕiə-sʰi-l   kə   (i-ə)
DEM.MED.LOC hang AUX.PASS-PST-ADN thing (COP-DECL)
pak̥e
outside.LOC

'It'll probably have been hung outside somewhere.'

d. jeju0162, HGS1, 00:28:31.549

ta mot=mək-kən   nwa tuə-ŋ   isʰ-taŋ   mək-ko
all NEG.POT=eat-CVB put leave-CVB EXIST-CVB eat-CVB
twe-l   tʰe-t͡ɕu
become-ADN ?-STN

'If you can't eat it all, it'll probably be fine to leave and eat it later.'

e. jeju0133, HYJ1, 00:27:28.806

kilən sʰalam=man   manːa-min=in   ki
such person=ONLY meet-CVB=TOP DEM.DIST
wekukmal=lo=man   he-msʰi-l   tʰe-t͡ɕu=ke
foreign_language=INSTR=ONLY do-PROG-ADN ?-STN=DSC

'I guess when he meets such people he will probably only speak in foregin tongues, you know.'

All of these constructions have some sort of irrealis meaning, dealing with probability or expressing wishes. A common trait is that they only admit an irrealis adnominal form in *-l* and can inflect for predicative tense inflection, as shown in (256c) and (256e). Except for only *kə* irrealis constructions one can have an optional copula, whereas this is not possible for the two others. This is a first sign for the fact that these constructions have further grammaticalised into verbal suffixes. Both *kə* and *tʰe/tʰi* occur together with stance marking (ex. (256d)). While declarative/interrogative sentence types in *kə* constructions are distinguished by prosody as shown in (256a) and (256b), *tʰe/tʰi* has acquired its own content and polar interrogative forms, in the same vein as other overt interrogative forms:

(257)   [IPA transliteration mine]

    a. Polar question, Hyeon and Kang (2011: 59)

        nɨ i͡tɕe ka-ltʰ-ia?
        2SG now go-IRR-Q.PLR

        'Will you be leaving now?'

    b. Content question, Hyeon and Kang (2011: 59)

        pi=na   o-min   ət̯əŋ hɒ-ltʰ-i?
        rain=OR come-CVB how do-IRR-Q.CNT

        'What would you/are you going to do in case it rains or so?'

    c. Polar question, Hyeon and Kang (2011: 162)

        ai=təl   ta ola-sʰ-ia?
        child=PL all come-PST-Q.PLR

        'Did the children arrive?'

    d. Content question, Hyeon and Kang (2011: 167)

        k=ai   əti   ka-sʰ-i?
        DEM.DIST=child where go-PST-Q.CNT

        'Where did that child go?'

The evidence presented here suggests that *-l tʰe/tʰi* must have been reanalysed into a verbal suffix, given that it can occur with predicative tense inflection, be suffixed with a stance marker (which in predicative inflection stands in complementary distribution with declarative suffixes) and also takes part in interrogative inflection patterns. Thus henceforth, this particular form will be analysed and glossed as a verbal suffix, and not as an adnominal construction. The same will be applied to forms involving *kə* whenever there is no subsequent copula.

Reanalysis into verbal suffixes seems to be on-going, since many crucial properties of verbal inflection cannot be applied to these forms. For example, no

politeness inflection has been attested for these forms, and evidential inflection is not possible either. Moreover, quotative formation shows that these constructions still maintain their constructional origins:

(258) Quotative formation

    a. *t͡ɕal mək-na*
       well eat-PRS.DECL

       'I eat well.'

    b. *t͡ɕal mək-n-en*   *kɒla-ms^h-ə*
       well eat-PRS.DECL-QUOT say-PROG-DECL

       'He says that I eat well.'

    c. jeju0080, HGS1, 08:08

       nel=ilato   *t͡ɕə*   *mus^hikə hə-min kiɲaŋ ka*
       tomorrow=AT_LEAST DEM.MED what   do-CVB just go
       pul   *kə*   *i-en*
       AUX.PRF-ADN thing COP-QUOT

       'She said that if something happens tomorrow at least, she'll just leave.'

While verbal suffixes in final position usually delete their nucleus vowel and syllabify together with the subsequent *-en/-eŋ* quotative suffix (258b), the same process is not observable for adnominal constructions. As shown in (258c), in such contexts we have the copula which appears in its quotative form.[57] This shows that reanalysis to a suffix is not complete.

An additional, interesting reanalysis of adnominal constructions can be observed with *-lkəl*, an optative suffix that expresses desires or hindsight.

(259) a. Pear Story, jeju0060-05_stimsync, HSH1, FLEx92

       o pun=to   *ai=ka-ŋ*   *p^hak*   *əptət͡ɕiə pu-lkəl*
       five minute=ADD NEG=go-CVB suddenly fall_over AUX.PRF-IRR

       '[They should have known that] probably not even five minutes they'll make it without falling over.'

    b. supposed analysis as relative construction

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[57] The quotative form of the copula in this context arises from its declarative inflection, *i-ə*, COP-DECL, where the declarative suffix consists of a nucleus which gets deleted when the quotative suffix combines with the declarative copula. Furthermore, note that in (258c), the pronunciation of *kə i-en* is [kəjen]. Between a hiatus of [+front] and [-front] vowels, we often see a palatal glide epenthesis, which is why one may even argue that in (258c), the quotative suffix attaches to a reanalysed *-lkə* suffix directly. However, this is less plausible since the deletion of the nucleus of the pre-quotative suffix is regular, and I see no reason why in this case *-lkə* would be treated differently.

> *o   pun=to   ai=ka-ŋ   pʰak   əptət͡ɕiə pu-l*
> five minute=ADD NEG=go-CVB suddenly fall_over AUX.PRF-ADN
> *kə=l   [sʰeŋkak=to   mot=he-msʰi-nka?]*
> thing=ACC [thought=ADD NEG.POT=do-PROG-Q.PLR?]
> 'Are they not even considering the fact that they could fall over, not even having gone five minutes?'

As shown above, one may suggest that *-lkəl* is a reanalysis of a *kə* adnominal construction functioning as the complement of a cognitive verb, marked with an accusative particle. In the reanalysed form however, this suffix occurs without any other subsequent material at the end of an utterance, and it can be inflected for predicative tense inflection as well. No additional stance marking or illocutionary force marking is possible.

Evidence shows that this particular suffix has even further grammaticalised into a suffix, shown by phonological elision of the former adnominal marker, and an aspiration trace on the subsequent consonant:

(260) jeju0117, SYO1, 17:57

> *hɒk̚om nit͡ɕə-ŋ=il   na-na,   hɒk̚om int͡ɕʰik̚=il*
> a_bit   be_late-CVB=ACC give_birth-OR a_bit   early=ACC
> *na-ŋ   kʰə   pu-na   he-sʰi-min   hə-kʰəl kiɲaŋ ...*
> give_birth-CVB be_big AUX.PRF-OR do-PST-CVB do-IRR just
> 'Maybe I should have given birth to them a bit later, or maybe if I had given birth to them earlier and they would have grown up by then, if only I had done it that way, then...'

Note that above, the *-kʰəl* suffix is shown in a collocation, which commonly involves the event wished for as a condition (the conditional converb *-min* above), and the suffixation of *hɒ-/hə-*, 'do', with *-kʰəl*, resulting in a meaning roughly as 'if only I/you/she etc. had'.

Bringing this section to a close, the above discussion has attempted to sketch out how Jejuan adnominal clauses are involved the grammaticalisation of verbal suffixes. Weak nominals modified by relative clauses show varying degrees of grammaticalisation, beginning with the very basic fact that these constructions differ from regular relative clauses in that no constituent is extracted from the adnominal clause, and many weak nominals have ceased to be used as independent, fully referential nominals. Some weak nominals, then, may only be modified by a restricted set of adnominal forms. This was shown to be true for many adjunct relatives. Modal relatives show similar restrictions, yet here, the function of the weak nominals is to express modality. Typically, they are only

selectable by either an existential or predicative copula. Complement relatives show the next level of grammaticalisation where the adnominal form modifying a weak nominal can be inflected for predicative tense-aspect, in which case the usual adnominal tense-aspect inflection is not applicable. However, as heading complement clauses, they should be regarded as a special type of non-final clause marking.

What was then presented as 'irrealis adnominal constructions' shows properties of predicative verbal inflection, being inflectable for predicative tense and allowing for no adnominal inflection, and in the case of t^he/t^hi, having developed interrogative forms. No copula is needed, which shows that the formerly embedded adnominal construction has lost that structural property, effectively leading to these forms having grammaticalised as final clause inflectional suffixes. In fact, this type of inflection is not observable in non-final clauses, which would not be surprising from the perspective of morphological finiteness.

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