

Adverbial Clauses in Modern Korean from the Perspective of Finiteness
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Abstract

The Korean language has many inflected verb forms that mainly function as adverbial modifiers. Such verb forms are called converbs. A number of studies of converbs in Korean have focused on their syntactic features and meaning, but have not dealt with other issues associated with converbs, particularly the predicates of converbs, converbs with focus particles, converbs with tense, aspect, and mood (TAM) markers, and insubordination (independent use), in much detail. The aim of this study is to describe these issues and show the relationships between converbs in modern Korean from the perspective of finiteness. Finiteness here is defined by how many grammatical categories are marked on a predicate. The object of the research is 11 converbs that are frequently used in modern Korean. The analysis of this study shows that there is a correlation between finiteness and the issues mentioned above. In summary, the results indicate that an adverbial clause with a high degree of finiteness has no restrictions on the possibility of co-occurrence with predicates (verbs, adjectives, or copular verbs) or with TAM markers, and may appear as a finite clause with little change of meaning, while it is subject to restrictions on co-occurrence with focus particles, and vice versa. This thesis comprises seven chapters. The main part of the thesis, the second to the sixth chapters, is arranged according to the degree of subordination of the respective converb: from the status of V1 of a compound verb (Chapter 2) to insubordination (Chapter 6).

Some converb forms in Korean are grammaticalized, and do not function as adverbial modifiers, while other converb forms are lexicalized as adverbs. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the continuum of converb forms and other grammatical or lexical forms. A continuum is found from V1 of a compound verb, V1 with an auxiliary verb, (analytic) particle, complementizer, adverb, and conjunctive adverb. We then limited this study to converbs with an adverbial modifier function.

A converb suffix can be combined with not only a verb, but also an adjective and a copular verb in Korean. Chapter 3 describes possible combinations of converbs and predicates. Research shows that there is a correlation between the degree of finiteness of an adverbial clause and its predicate, i.e., an adverbial clause with a lower degree of finiteness is subject to stronger restrictions on its co-occurrence with adjectives and copula verbs. In addition to the parts of speech, the converb suffix *-key* (manner) correlates with the distinction between verbs and adjectives, the converb suffixes *-myense* (simultaneous) and *-taka* (discontinuous) correlate with the aspectuality of a verb, and the converb suffixes *-ko* and *-(a/e)se* (sequential) correlate with the transitivity of a verb.

Modern Korean has many focus particles such as *=nun/=un* (topic/contrast) and *=to* (additive). Chapter 4 shows the possible combinations of converbs and focus particles and describes each usage of the combined forms. Previous studies only showed possible combinations based on native speakers' judgments; however, we found through corpus research the restrictions on or preferences for a verb or an adjective with a converb suffix, and concluded that a converb with a high degree of finiteness is subject to restrictions on its co-occurrence with focus particles. Furthermore, we investigate the case in which a temporal converb with the focus particle *=nun/=un* or *=to* expresses a conditional meaning. This analysis makes clear that a temporal converb with a focus particle conveys a conditional meaning when the temporal converb is interpreted as having a causal relationship with the following clause. In this case, the focus particle *=nun/=un* signals contrastive meaning and *=to* signals extremes.

Converbs in modern Korean can contain TAM markers. Chapter 5 analyzes the meanings of TAM markers and converbs in combination with each other. This study focuses especially on the interpretation of the past tense marker *-(a/e)ss-*, analyzes whether it indicates absolute tense or relative tense, and discusses the restrictions on the meaning and the agent of perception of the three mood markers [ADN *kes kath-*] (semblative), *-keyss-* (probability), and *-l kes=i-* (speculative). A past tense marker has relative time reference when it is combined with a converb with a low degree of finiteness; however, a past tense marker tends to be interpreted as indicating absolute tense when it is combined with a converb with a high degree of finiteness. A mood marker [ADN *kes kath-*] has a preference for combination with a converb, but shows little restriction on its meaning and the agent of perception. Contrariwise, *-keyss-* and *-l kes=i-* have the restrictions on both meaning and the agent of perception of the mood markers. In terms of meaning, these two mood markers show a strong restriction on meaning when they are affixed to a converb with a low degree of finiteness. With regard to the agent of perception, the agent tends to be first person when a mood marker occurs with a converb with a high degree of finiteness, but second person when combined with a converb with a low degree of finiteness due to interaction with the illocutionary force of the main clause.

Adverbial clauses in modern Korean also have an independent use, which is referred to as "insubordination" (Evans 2007). Chapter 6 discusses insubordination in terms of tense and politeness in relation to the morphological features of finiteness. We categorize the independent use of an adverbial clause that is not allowed to appear with the politeness marker *=yo* as an emotive modality. A clause with a high degree of finiteness can appear without any change of the original meaning and is not restricted from occurring with a politeness marker. In addition, such a clause tends not to express an emotive modality, and even if it has an emotive modality, it is not a productive use.