Verbs lying stretched out
or do the Finnic grammars really need the "supine"?

Supine

Prone

"Grammatikat lüpsmas / Kielioppia lypsämässä"

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Supine denoting the *ma* infinitive: a linguistic *estonicum*

The supine was originally the verbal noun in the illative; its nominal character is preserved to date. It is possible to compound some other case forms from the supine, e.g., inessive *armastama-s* 'in the act of loving', elative *armastama-st* 'from the act of loving', and abessive *armastama-ta* 'without loving'. The supine which always ends in *-ma* is used, for instance, in connection with the verbs *pida-ma* 'must', *hakkama* 'begin', and *minema* 'go', e.g. *ma pean minema* 'I must go'.

(Sutrop 2015: 46)

SUPINE	Illativ	-mõ -m -õm
	Inessive	-mõs -õmõs
	Elative	-mõst -õmõst
	Abessive	-mõt -õmõt
	Instrumental	-mõks -õmõks
	Debitive	-mõst -õmõst

(Viitso 2014: 196)

The roots of the supine

- Benveniste, *Noms d'agent et noms d'action en indo-européen* (1948): "Le supin verbal est indifférent à la voix, au temps et au mode, par comparaison à l'attitude d'un homme nonchalamment couché." (< Glottopedia)

- In Latin grammar, supine 1 expresses the goal of the activity:

  *pater   venit   amicu-m   gratula-**tum***
  isa   tuli   sõpra   **õnnitlema** 'the father came **to congratulate** his friend'

  *Et quicumque   po-**tum**   dederit uni ex minimis istis* (…)

  Ja kes iganes ühele neist pisikestest annab **juua** (…) ['And whosoever shall give **to drink** unto one of these little ones'] (Matthew 10: 42)

  ○ (Supine 2 is a form used rarely and only of certain verbs, expressing perspective or relation to the activity: *horribile **dictu*** 'hirmus **öelda**' ['horrible **to say**'].)

"The goal of activity"

- "Supines" express "goals" (of activity or movement) in other grammar traditions as well.

  ◦ Supine in Tundra Nenets (Burkova 2022):
  pidʌrˠsʲitˠ   nʲadaŋko-**wʌn͡tsʲˠ**   wunʲʌ-sʲa-dˀm   soda-ʔ
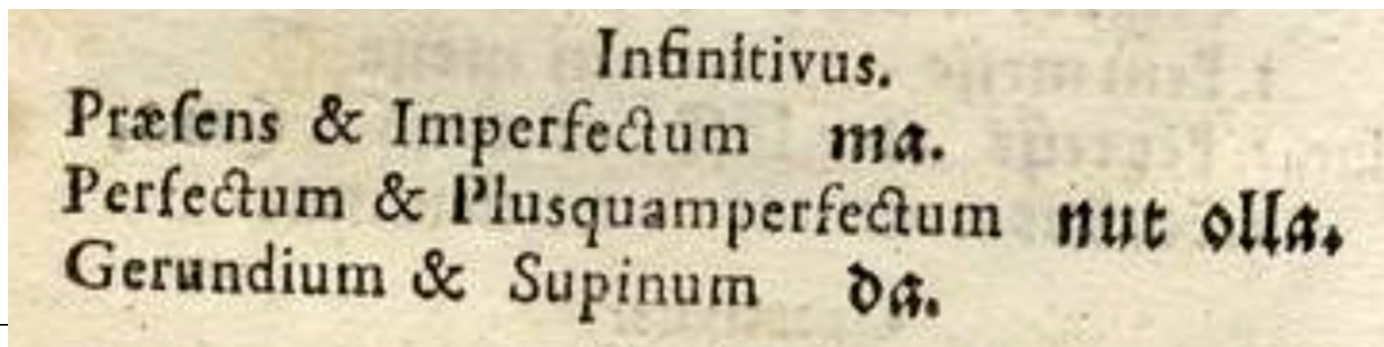 2SG 2SG-ACC   help-SPN   NEG.EMPH-DIP-SBC.1SG   take.with-CNG
  '(I) really didn't take you with me **to help** (me)'

  ◦ Supine or "prospective future" in Lule Saami (Ylikoski 2016: 222):
  *… tjoahkkij **gatjádittjat** gånnå Messias lij **riegádittjat**.*
  '… [he] convened [them] **in order to ask** where the Messiah **would be born**.'

  ◦ Supine in Romanian:
  Această carte este **de citit**
  'This book is **for reading**'

Not just the "goal"

- In the Swedish grammar tradition, the supine is a form (almost, in some verb types completely) homonymous with the past participle, used in analytic past tenses:

  *jag har **skrivit** brevet*   *brevet är skrivet / ett skrivet brev*

  I have written the letter   the letter is (has been) written / a written letter (PCTP)

- Larjavaara (1995), following the Swedish model, uses "supine" for the essive form of the past participle, used in the Finnish Savo dialects in analytic and negated past tenses: *on **tullunna*** '(s/he) has come', *ei **tullunna*** '(s/he) didn't come'

- The -*do*-adverbs of Erzya Mordvin are called "supines" by Evsev'ev (Основы мордовской грамматики, 210), e.g. *ortaś **panža-do*** 'the gate (is) open' (Mägiste 1939: 77)

The supine in old Estonian grammars

- "The greatest diversity can be seen in the presentations of nominal ["case-inflected"] verb forms, in most grammars assigned to a specific "infinitive" mood. At first, grammarians attempt to provide counterparts for German and Latin non-finites, ending up with results which differ to some extent both from each other and from the present-day views. For instance, H. Stahl has a future participle *se sahp sahma*; H. Göseken calls the *da*-infinitive both "gerundive" and "supine"; J. Hornung uses "supine" for the *nud* [past active] participle, "gerundive" for the forms in *des, mas,* and *mata.* (…) Starting with the grammar of E. Ahrens, the forms in *mas, mast,* and *mata* are identified as case forms of the *ma* infinitive (…)" (Kilgi 2004: 181; my translation)

Göseken 1660

Simply two parallel "infinitives"

Stahl 1637:

> Infinit. Præf.
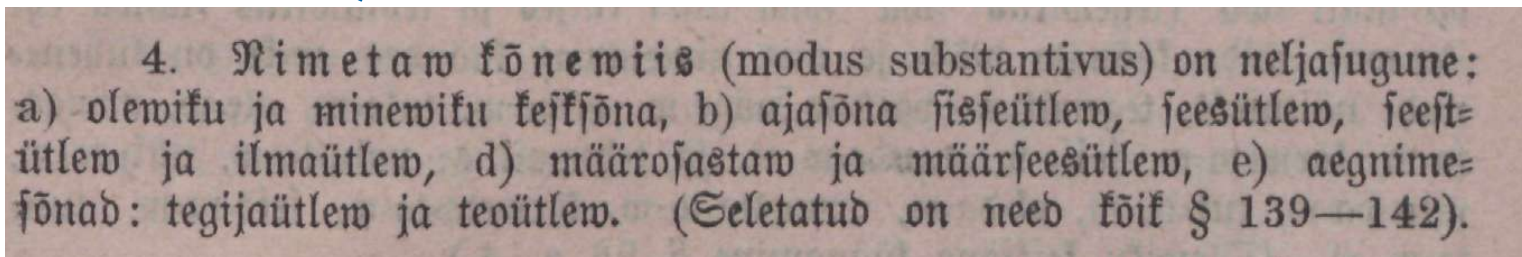> Ollema & olla / fein.

Anton Thor Helle 1732:

> §. 9. *Infinitivi* sind 2, der erste ist *radix* oder das Stamm-Wort, und endiget sich allezeit in ma. Der andere ist mancherley, und wird vom ersten *Infinitivo* gemacht, davon folgende Regeln zu mercken.

Ahrens 1853: "Infinitive" as a mood

4. Modus Infinitivus.

Indefinitivus:	„ da	+ w	gießen
Illativus:	„ ma		zum Gießen (gehen)
Inessivus:	„ mas		im Gießen (sein)
Elativus:	„ mast		vom Gießen (kommen)
Caritivus:	„ mata		ungegossen
Adverbialis:	„ des		beim Gießen (en versant).

K. A. Hermann 1884: "Nimetav kõneviis" (modus substantivus)

'4. The substantive ["naming"] mood (modus substantivus) comes in 4 types: (a) present and past participle, (b) illative, inessive, elative and abessive forms of the verb, (c) adverbial partitive and adverbial inessive, (d) verbal nouns: agent and action forms.'

> 4. **Nimetaw kõnewiis** (modus substantivus) on neljaſugune: a) olewiku ja minewiku keſkſõna, b) ajaſõna ſiſſeütlew, ſeeſütlew, ſeeſt-ütlew ja ilmaütlew, d) määroſastaw ja määrſeeſütlew, e) aegnime-ſõnad: tegijaütlew ja teoütlew. (Seletatud on need kõik § 139—142).

- In addition to the case-inflected *ma* forms (*neli kohtolulist muudet = casus loci verbales,* with a separate explanation that the simple -*ma* suffix has lost the original illative ending), also
  - two "adverbial cases" (*casus verbi adverbiales):* an "adverbial partitive" (*määrosastav, infinitivus verbalis),* the suffix (erroneously) identified with the partitive suffix, and "adverbial inessive" (*määrseesütlev, inessivus adverbialis verbi,* i.e. the "converb" in *des*)
  - two deverbal noun types: agent noun (*tegijaütlev, substantivum verbale actoris*) and action noun (*teoütlev, substantivum verbale agentis*)

Old Finnish grammars also distinguish non-finites as a separate mood, with three forms: Martinius 1689 (< Petraeus 1649)

De INFINITIVO, notandum est, quod habeat Tres Terminationes, quarum
PRIMA est a vel å/ ut: neuwoa/förmana/ adhortari. wahwista/bekräfta/confirmare. Kirjoita/skrifwa/scribere. tehdä göra/facere.
SECUNDA est Man vel mån/ ut: Kirjoittaman/ till at skrifwa/scriptum, scribere vel adscribendum. Wahwistaman/ till at bekräffta/ confirmatum, confirmare, vel ad confirmandum. Ahdistaman/ till at twinga ihoop/ coarctatum, coarctare, vel ad coarctandum. Tekemän/ till at göra/ facere, vel ad faciendum. Pitämän/ til at hålla/ tenere vel ad tenendum.

TERTIA est juxta personas tres:
PRIMAM, XEN/ut: Lukexen. e. g. minå otan kirian lukexen/ iag tager Booken mig til at låsa/ sumo librum mihi legendum.
SECUNDAM, XES/ ut: Lukexes/ e.g. Sinå otat kirian lukexes/ tu tager Booken tig til at låsa / sumis librum tibi legendum.
TERTIAM, XENS/ Lukexens/ e.g. Hän otta kirian lukexens / han tager Boken sig til at låsa/ sumit librum sibi legendum.
Nota: Infinitivus secundum duas priores terminationes a/ vel å/ & Man/vel Mån/ personas respuit; Juxta ultimam vero personas admittit tres, ideoq; personalis salutatur.

Stråhlman: *Finnische Sprachlehre* (1816) – four supines

Instead of location, the case-inflected forms are explained with aspect: "what is to be done", "the beginning of the action", "the action itself", "the completion of the action".

§. 86. Das Supinum hat vier Endungen: man, maan, massa, masta, oder die damit analogen= män, mään, mässä, mästä, mit welchen die 3te Person der gegenwärt. Zeit verlängert wird. *) Z. B.

1. Rakastaman, lieben; Tekemän, thun.
2. Rakastamaan, um zu lieben, Tekemään, um zu thun.
3. Rakastamassa, im Lieben, Tekemässä, im Thun.
4. Rakastamasta, vom Lieben, Tekemästä, v. Thun.

Die 1ste Endung zeigt an: was zu thun ist, Sinun pitä rakastaman, du sollst lieben; — Tekemän, thun.

Die 2te den Anfang der Handlung. Minä rupeen rakastamaan, ich fange an zu lieben, — Tekemään, — zu thun.

Die 3te. Die That selbst, Hän on Rakastamassa, er ist im Lieben begriffen, Tekemässä, im Thun.

Die 4te, Die Vollendung der Handlung, Minä tulen rakastamasta, ich komme vom Lieben, Tekemästä, vom Thun.

… and four (partly very strange) gerunds

§. 87. Das Gerundium hat eben so vier En= Endungen: mallaa, maldaa, mata, winä, oder mallää, mäldää, mätä, winä, die gleichfalls zu der 3ten Person der gegenw. Z. zugelegt werden:

1. Rakastamallaa, heißt: auf dem Punkt zu lie= ben; Tekemallää, zu thun. Franz. au point d'aimer, de faire.

2. Rakastamaldaa, nach eben gepflogenem Lieben, Tekemäldää, nach eben verrichteter That. Fr. après avoir aimé, — fait.

3. Rakastamata, ohne zu lieben. Tekemätä, zu thun. Fr. sans aimer, faire.

4. Rakastawina, sich anstellend zu lieben; Teke= winä, zu thun. Fr. Faire semblant d'aimer, de faire.

The forms in –*mallaa* and –*maldaa,* unknown to today's Finnish, remain an enigma. It is not clear how they have been formed (should the long –*aa* represent a possessive suffix, i.e. with an irregularly lost –*n*?) and what they actually mean. (See Järventausta 2013.)

Stråhlman's "supine" is forgotten in latter-day grammars

- Already Eurén (1852) provides the system established in 20th-century school grammars of Finnish: numbered infinitives ("sianto") inflected in cases (e.g. *osanto* 'partitive', *asunto* 'inessive')

- However, "supine" makes a brief appearance in the grammar table of Koranteri (Corander) (1859)

More than one infinitive

- Both Estonian and Finnish grammars have to deal with the fact that the "infinitive" "mood" (unlike Latin) has many different forms

- Alongside "infinitive", terms like "supine" or "gerund" are used, but the choice of terms is not reflected upon nor explained

- In the 19th century, the case-inflected forms of "infinitives" receive a morphological analysis, the grammars attempt to present the complete system of non-finites (for Stråhlman's grammar, see Järventausta 2013: 139)

The return of the supine to Estonian grammars

- Valgma & Remmel, *Eesti keele grammatika* 1968: "*ma*-tegevusnimi (I infinitiiv)"

- ÕS 1976: **supiinum** 'eesmärki väljendav verbivorm ladina ja mõnes muus keeles' [a form expressing the goal in Latin and some other languages]

- Viks 1980: 19: "Infiniitsete vormide hulka kuuluvad infinitiiv, gerundium, partitsiibid ja **supiinumivormid**." [non-finite forms include the infinitive, the gerund, the participles and the supine forms]

- EKG I 1995: *ta*-infinitiiv, gerundiiv (*tes*-vorm), **supiin** (*ma*-tegevusnimi [*ma* infinitive]), oleviku ja mineviku kesksõnad [present and past participles]

- Viitso 1998: 113: "Supines are verbal adverbs, formed by means of the suffix *-mA- plus a case suffix (...)"

- ÕS 1999: **supiin** '*ma*-tegevusnimi, nt *sööma, söömas, söömast, söömata, söömaks*'

- Estonian linguists use the term *supiin* also for *ma* non-finites in other Finnic languages

"Two infinitives?"

- "The Estonian language has two infinitives – the *ma* infinitive and the *da* infinitive (e.g. *kandma* and *kanda*). Most surrounding languages get along with just one infinitive (...) In the languages of the world, non-finite forms of verbs are wide-spread, but the infinitive with its specific uses is typical of Indo-European languages in particular." (Lindström 2020, my translation)

- The Estonian *ma*-"infinitive" is used (unlike Finnish) also as an argument of the modal verb *pidama* 'must' > easy to identify with the infinitives of German or Latin
  - NB: The purported illative ending of the *-ma*-form has been completely eroded (and can just be questioned: cf. Finnish (archaic) *pitää syö-mä-n* [gen./instr.?]). The Estonian system differs from Finnish, where all local-case endings are still visible (Est. *söö-**ma** : söö-ma-s : söö-ma-st* – Fi. *syö-**mä-än** : syö-mä-ssä : syö-mä-stä*)
  - NB: In Old Literary Finnish, *-mAAn* forms were more frequent than today (Forsman Svensson 1996)

What is an "infinitive"?

- "the realities of Uralic verb morphology fit the Eurocentric grammatical tradition better than most other languages across the globe" (Ylikoski 2022: 936)

	English	German	Hungarian	
participle	*There's a **singing** bird.*	*Da ist ein **singender** Vogel.*	*Ott van egy **éneklő** madár.*	***laulev** lind*
verbal adverb / gerund(ive) / converb	*The bird flew off **singing**.*	*Der Vogel flog **singend** weg.*	*A madár **énekelve** elrepült.*	*lind lendas **lauldes** ära*
infinitive	*The bird started **singing**.*	*Der Vogel fing an zu **singen**.*	*A madár **énekelni** kezdett.*	*lind hakkas **laulma*** *lind tahtis **laulda** / lind pidi **laulma***
deverbal noun	*The **singing** of the birds makes me happy.*	*Das **Singen** der Vögel macht mich glücklich.*	*A madarak **éneklése** boldoggá tesz.*	*lindude **laulmine***

(Laakso 2022 < Ylikoski 2003: 187)

How to name and classify non-finites?

- Morphology (the Finnish tradition)

- Part of speech

- Syntax

- Semantics?

- Substance

- NB: Derived nouns are usually excluded from the systems of (inflectional) non-finites, as their syntax is nominal: *raamatut* [partitive/object case] *lugev* ['(who is) reading a book'] ~ *lugeda* ~ *lugema* ['to read (a book)'], but *raamatu* [gen.] *lugemine* ~ *lugeja* ['the reading/reader of a book']

Classification by morphology (the Finnish tradition)

- complete case paradigm: **participle**

- only a few case forms or no case inflection: **infinitive**
  - infinitives are either numbered or named by substance (MA / TA / TE), cases are distinguished ("abessive case of the 3rd infinitive / the MA infinitive")

- **Problem**:
  - "infinitive" is not a valid description for this large and diverse group of non-finites
  - grammaticalized chains of participle and other suffixes only have *ad hoc* names (*nippuinfiniitti* 'bundle non-finite', *referatiivirakenne* [participle + genitive, as in *näin hänen tule-va-n* 'I saw him/her come'], *kvasirakenne* [participle + plural + essive + possessive suffix, as in *hän on nukku-v-i-na-an* 's/he pretends to sleep'])

'Non-finite forms fall into three groups based on their syntactic uses: (a) noun-like infinitives [*tegevusnimi,* lit. 'action name']: the *da* infinitive, the *vat* infinitive, the *ma* infinitive, (b) adjective-like participles [*kesksõna,* lit. 'middle word'], and (c) the adverb-like *des* form or the converb.' (Erelt & al. 2020: 231, my translation)

Classification by part of speech

- **Problem**: Unlike participles and converbs, infinitives cannot be identified with a certain part of speech (nouns):
  - infinitives are used in noun-like roles (subject, object, nominal predicate) only in a small, restricted group of sentence types or expressions, i.e. only as arguments of certain verb (type)s *(mõtelda on mõnus* 'to think is nice' – **mõtelda teeb targaks* 'to think makes you wise'; *ta armastab laulda* 's/he loves to sing' – **ta vihkab / harjutab / kuulab laulda* 's/he hates / practises / listens to sing')
  - unlike nouns, infinitives cannot form noun phrases with a genitive or adjective modifier: *ta armastab valjusti ~ rahvalaule ~ *lapse laulda* 's/he loves to sing loudly ~ folk songs ~ *of a child'; *vabalt ~ *vaba mõtelda on mõnus* 'to think freely ~ *to free think is nice'
- The same problem has been identified in the Hungarian grammar tradition (where, actually, infinitives are regarded as a distinct part of speech!): "nominal verb name" *(főnévi igenév)* would be better suited as a term for (productive) deverbal (action) nouns (Kálmán & Molnár 2009: 108)

Classification by syntax

- Deverbal nouns and adjective-like participles are defined by their part of speech, whereas converbs and infinitives are defined by their roles in the sentence (cf. Ylikoski 2022: 944–947):
  - a converb is a free modifier of a verb *(läks **lauldes** '(s/he) went singing')* or the predicate of a non-finite dependent clause, often expressing the relation between the situations expressed by the main and the dependent clause: *seda **nähes** (= kui ta seda nägi) läksid tal jalad nõrgaks* ('seeing it [= as s/he saw it], his/her feet gave way'), *kui hakkad seadeldist kasutama ilma juhendit **lugemata** (= nii et sa juhendit ei loe)* ['if you start using the application without reading the instruction = so that you don't read the instruction']
  - an infinitive is an obligatory complement of a verb (often: phasal or modal verb, *verbum sentiendi et dicendi*) (Ylikoski: "Infinitives can, in principle, be distinguished from converbs by virtue of obligatoriness in a sentence"): *ma nägin teda **tulevat*** ['I saw him/her come'], *ma palusin tal **tulla*** ['I asked him/her to come'], *ta tahtis homme **tulla*** ['s/he wanted to come tomorrow'], *ta peaks homme **tulema*** ['s/he should come tomorrow'], *ta jääb **tulemata*** ['s/he won't come']
  - the border between converbs and infinitives (or complements and free modifiers) can be difficult to draw (cf. Ylikoski 2022: 946–947; purposive converbs can develop into infinitives proper, Haspelmath 1995: 28)

- **Problem**: Non-finites have been defined on the basis of syntax (subordination, "desententionalization") or morphology; actually, finiteness is more of a cline (cf e.g. Nikolaeva 2010)

Classification by semantics

- The meaning of an infinitive (complement) is conditioned by the finite verb ("a more general grammatical meaning"), converbs have diverse meanings i

- **Problem**:
  - infinitives have also converb-like functions: goal, purpose…
    Fi. *Pekka meni baariin **juomaan ~ juodakseen** olutta*
    Est. *Pekka läks baari õlut **jooma*** 'P. went to the bar to drink beer'
  - … or absentivity (cf. Tamm 2011):
    *Ta on **töötamas** ~ Er ist **arbeiten*** ['he is working (and therefore, he's not here at the moment']
    (compare with the progressive aspect: *Er ist am Arbeiten*)

Pekka teki rikoksen …
[P. committed a crime]

***juomalla** olutta* ('by drinking beer': MANNER)

***juomatta** olutta* ('without drinking beer': NEGATION)

***juodessaan** olutta* ('while drinking beer': POINT OF TIME)

***juoden** olutta* ('drinking beer': CONCOMITANCE)

***juodakseen** olutta* ('in order to drink beer': PURPOSE)

***juotuaan** olutta* ('after drinking beer': PRECEDENCE)

(Nikanne 1997: 338 > Ylikoski 2003: 203–204.)

Classification by substance

- Christian Lehmann (LINGTYP 23.4.2024, on the term for non-finites in *klä* in Cabecar):
  - "If English grammarians call the construction a for-to infinitive, then I might call the Cabecar construction a *-klä* infinitive. This however, would imply a bankruptcy declaration of linguistic analysis and would, moreover, not solve the problem of the interlinear gloss for *-klä.*"

        Yís te ayĕ́ kjuắ tju̱-ä́ ijé yő-n-a̱-klä.
        1.sg erg book buy-pfv [3.ps form-mid-vsn-fin]
        'I bought the book for him to study.'

Pöördsõnal on ka üldisema grammatilise tähendusega vormid:

- **tegevusnimed** (väljendavad tegevust üldiselt, kasutatakse tavaliselt koos teiste verbidega):
  - *ma*-tegevusnimi ja selle vormid: *mas-*, *mast-*, *maks-* ja *mata*-vorm (nt h`akkan `**õppima**, k`äin **ujumas**, tulin **söömast**, j`ätsin **tegemata**)
  - *da*-tegevusnimi (nt tahab **magada**)
  - *des*-vorm (nt `ütles **n`aerdes**)
- **kesksõnad** (= pöördsõna ja käändsõna tunnustega vormid):
  - *v*-kesksõna (nt **t`öötav** masin), käändub nagu omadussõna
  - *tav*-kesksõna (nt **s`öödav** t`aim), käändub nagu omadussõna
  - *nud*-kesksõna (nt **puhanud**), kasutatakse kas mitmest sõnast koosnevates tegusõna vormides (nt **oleks puhanud**) või nagu omadussõnu (nt **puhanud** lapsed)
  - *tud*-kesksõna (nt **m`üüdud**), kasutatakse kas mitmest sõnast koosnevates tegusõna vormides (nt **on m`üüdud**) või nagu omadussõnu (nt **m`üüdud** auto)

https://www.eki.ee/dict/psv/grammatikatabelid.pdf

Do we really need the "supine"?

- "Supine", like "infinitive", refers to the "non-definiteness" and non-verb-like characteristics of non-finites in general – a terminological garbage category or an emergency solution?

- The "semantic baggage" of the Latin term is not very clearly definable, many "supines" do not express the goal or purpose of an action…

- … whereas infinitives proper are also often used for expressing goal or purpose: *andis talle vett* **juua** 'gave him/her water to drink', *püüdis* **magada** 'tried to sleep', *läks* **magama** 'went to bed [to sleep]'; Fi. *alkoi* **tehdä** ~ **tekemään** 'began to do', *meni* **maata** ~ **makaamaan** 'went to bed [to lie down]'

Finnish "infinitive", Estonian "supine"?

- Many MA "infinitive" forms in Finnish are no infinitives in the European sense of the word. But:
  - is "supine" a better term in this respect?
  - … especially considering its numerous case-inflected forms ("the supine elative or the -mast-form" etc.)…
  - … and the fact that "supines" also occur in "true infinitive" functions: *peab sööma* 'must eat'*, sunnib sööma* 'forces to eat'*, hakkab sööma* 'begins to eat'*, keeldub söömast* 'refuses to eat'?
  - In any case, there are more than one infinitive, especially if the "*vat* infinitive" is also included
  - Does the Estonian (Livonian, Votic…) "supine" differ from the Finnish "MA infinitive" (enough to justify a different terminological solution)? Wouldn't it make more sense to use the same term for etymologically and functionally related forms? ("Estonian has a supine, Finnish doesn't have…")

The ultimate problem…

- The terminology for non-finites in the European grammar tradition is too poor for Finnic

- Non-finites are situated at the border of verbal and nominal morphology, grammaticalized or lexicalized in many historical layers – and one suffix can have many uses. If "supine" is just the term for non-finites in *ma*, are all of these "supines" (and if not, where to draw the border)?
  - derived noun: *Maistoin kulauksen Pekan* **juomasta**. ['I tasted a sip from Pekka's drink.']
  - lexicalized adverb: *See on* **ütlemata** *hea*. ['It's good beyond words ("without saying").']
  - converb: *Ta lahkus kodust seda kellelegi* **ütlemata**. ['S/he left home without telling anybody.'] *Pekka tuli baarista olutta* **juomasta**. ['Pekka came from the bar where he had been ["from"] drinking beer.']
  - participle: **Ütlemata** *sõnad on kõige ilusamad.* ['Words left unsaid are the most beautiful words.'] *Maistoin kulauksen Pekan* **juomasta** *oluesta.* ['I tasted a sip from the beer drunk by Pekka.']
  - infinitive: *Kielsin Pekkaa* **juomasta** *olutta.* ['I forbade Pekka to drink beer.'] *See jäi tal* **ütlemata**. ['S/he left it unsaid ~ failed to say it.']

… that cannot be solved by introducing a new term

- The diverse semantics of non-finites (converbs in particular) resembles that of derived verbs:
  - many different, partly overlapping functions – cf. e.g. "frequentative" derivatives (*hyppelee* ['jumps many times/continuously', frequentative], *opettelee* ['studies', reflexive], *tappelee* ['fights', reciprocal], *katselee* ['looks', low transitivity?]…) – lexicalization, idiomaticization
  - colourful and idiosyncratic (pseudo-)Latinate terminology. Cf. Lehmann (LINGTYP): "final" (for many Europeans today, not associated with 'goal' or 'purpose') or "purposive" (not proper Latin)?
- Do we really need a huge number of inevitably idiosyncratic terms just for glossing (also in languages in which there can be, for instance, up to 25 different converbs, as in Buryat; Skribnik 2003: 116)?
  - A modest proposal: glossing simply with INF or NONF, the substance (e.g. *ma*) is visible anyway, the function can be conjectured from the idiomatic translation.

What to do with the "supine"?

- The "cognitive ergonomy" of grammar terminology (cf. Kok 2012) would require
  ○ internal logic,
  ○ coherence with terminologies in other languages.
- "Supine" as a term does not fulfil either of these requirements – but it is difficult to find a satisfying solution.

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