

## Differences of purposive markers in Tungusic from the perspective of areal linguistics<sup>\*</sup>

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### 1. Introduction

As shown in Map 1, Tungusic is a language family distributed across East Siberia, Amur River, Primorskii Krai, Sakhalin Island on Russian territories and Northeastern Province and Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region on Chinese territories. According to Ikegami (1974), Tungusic is genetically classified into four groups in accordance with phonological correspondences and grammatical features (cf. Figure 1).

The main objective of this paper is to examine differences of purposive markers in Tungusic from the perspective of areal linguistics and to show that the variations of purposive elements among Tungusic may be attributed to geographical distribution of each Tungusic language.

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Differences of purposive markers in Tungusic from the perspective of areal linguistics

**Map 1. Geographical distribution of Tungusic (underlined) and its neighboring languages (from Tsumagari (1997: 176) with some changes**



**Figure 1. Genetic classification of Tungusic (Ikegami 1974)**

- I: Evenki (Ek), Even (E), Negidal (N), Solon (S)
- II: Udihe (U), Orochi (Oc)
- III: Nanay (Nn), Ulcha (Ul), Uilta (Ut)
- IV: Manchu (M)

## 2. Previous literature and its limitation

In Section 2, I briefly introduce two previous studies on purposive elements in the Tungusic languages.

### 2.1. Benzing (1956)

Benzing (1956: 143) points out that the *-mə* in Manchu deviates from the ordinary semantic functions of converb in *\*-mi* in the other Tungusic languages, providing an example of a supine as illustrated below.

## Manchu (IV)

### · Supine

*ara-mə*                      *dosi-ka.*                      '[He] entered to write'  
write-IMPF.CVB    enter-PTCP.PST

(Benzing 1956: 143)

## 2.2. Pakendorf (2013)

Pakendorf (2013) discusses that Lamunxin Even (western dialect of Even) marks purposive clauses with the combination of purposive converb in *-dA-* (same form with hortative (regarded as a type of imperative in this paper)) and SAY converbs, and this phenomenon may have resulted from a language contact with adjacent Sakha language. Relevant examples are as below.

### Lamunxin Even (western dialect, Tungusic)

*tarit ilan korzina-j miltərə-mkən-də-j*  
then three basket.R-REF.SG become.full-CAUS-PURP.CVB-REF.SG

*goo-mi gurginwčī-wrə-n.*  
say-COND.CVB work-HAB.N.FUT-3SG

'...then he is working in order to fill his three baskets.'

(Pakendorf 2013: 268)

### Sakha (Turkic)

*mannik mah-inan baaj-ayin oχtu-ba-tin dien.*  
this.ADVR wood-INS tie-PRS.2SG fall-NEG-HORT.SG say.PFV.CVB

'... you tie a piece of wood like this so that s/he can't fall.'

(Pakendorf 2013: 264)

## 2.3. Limitation of previous literature

The author supposes that no specific comparative research concerning the distinctions of purposive markers in the Tungusic languages has been made

so far. Accordingly, this paper aims to show examples of purposive constructions in the Tungusic languages and figure out the differences of purposive markers among Tungusic from the viewpoint of areal linguistics.

### 3. Methodology

Figure 2. Typological parameters for purposives

(i) motion purposive
(English): motion verb + to-infinitive
a) He <u>went</u> to the library <u>to study linguistics</u> .
(ii) non-motion purposive
(English): non-motion verb + to-infinitive
b) He has <u>studied</u> French <u>to get a job</u> in France.
(iii) intentional purposive
(English): non-motion verb + to-infinitive
c) He <u>intends</u> <u>to get a job</u> in France.

Referring to textual materials and previous studies<sup>1</sup>, I concentrate on purposive markers to create the three types of purposive in the Tungusic languages. Specifically, Figure 2 illustrates that purposive constructions can be classified into two types, namely (i) motion purposive and (ii) non-motion purposive, depending on the appearance of motion verbs in the main clause. For instance, example sentence (a) indicates that English makes use of a

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<sup>1</sup> With regard to Even, Udihe and Solon, some of examples are from fieldwork data. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Prof. Dr. Brigitte Pakendorf for sharing her invaluable linguistic data of Even with me. Besides, transcriptions, gloss analysis and English translations of examples presented here are on my own, thus they may differ from originals sources.

motion verb and the to-infinitive to form a motion purposive structure. Besides, the non-motion purposive in English, without the use of a motion verb in the main clause, is also created by the to-infinitive (See (b)). In other words, either motion or non-motion purposive construction is formed by the to-infinitive verb in English. Furthermore, this study adds one more parameter (iii) to confirm whether either of purposive markers creating motion purposive or non-motion purposive can encode intentional purposive, as in (c).

#### 4. Tungusic<sup>2</sup>

In this study, the author divides Tungusic into three groups in accordance with geographical distribution of each language as follows: North Tungusic (Evenki (western dialect), Even (western dialect), Negidal), East Tungusic (Ulcha, Nanay, Orochi, Udihe, Uilta) and South Tungusic (Solon, Manchu, Sibe). Due to the limitation of space, relevant examples in the above-underlined Tungusic languages only will be presented below.

##### 4.1. North Tungusic

In Tungusic, Evenki, Even and Negidal commonly utilize conditional converb in *-mi*, mostly accompanied by directional-intentional suffix *-nA*, to form motion purposive in same subject, as in Table 1 and 1), 5). Besides, purposive converb in *-dAA* (*-dA* in Even) denoting either motion purposive (2), 6)) or non-motion purposive (3), 7)) is also confirmed in these Tungusic languages. Interestingly, its purposive form is consistent with that of distal

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<sup>2</sup> Note that the synthetic strategy of constituting a motion-purposive with the use of directional-intentional suffixes like *-nA*, *-ŋdA*, *-ndA* right after verb stem is not included in this study since such examples are available in all Tungusic languages.

imperative in each language. Purposive converb, known to appear both in same subject and in different subject, is marked by reflexive possessive suffix in same subject sentences, whereas a distinct personal suffix is taken in different subject sentences. As introduced in Section 1, Pakendorf (2013) points out that western dialect of Even has a purposive structure of co-using purposive converb in *-dA* and SAY converb. In terms of intentional purposive, they have in common that it is universally created by the combination of purposive converb and DO verbs in coreferential sentences (See 4) and 8)).

**Table 1. Purposive markers in North Tungusic (SS: same subject, VS: variable subject)**

	motion purposive	non-motion purposive	intentional purposive
<b>Ek (I)</b>	<i>(-nA)-mi</i> (SS) <i>-dAA-PERS</i> (VS)	<i>-dAA-PERS</i> (VS)	<i>-dAA-REF + nekə-‘do’</i> (SS)
<b>E (I)</b>	<i>-nA-mi</i> (SS) <i>-dA-PERS</i> (VS) <i>-dA-REF + SAY.CVB</i> (SS)	<i>-dA-PERS</i> (VS) <i>-dA-REF + SAY.CVB</i> (SS)	<i>-dA-REF + nək- ‘do’</i> (SS)
<b>N (I)</b>	<i>(-nA)-mi</i> (SS) <i>-dAA-PERS</i> (VS)	<i>-dAA-PERS</i> (VS)	<i>-dAA-REF + nixə-‘do’</i> (SS)

## Evenki (I)

### (a) motion purposive

· converb in *-mi* + motion verb

- 1) *ətyrkən suru-sin-ə-n sulaki-wa gələktə-mi.*  
 old.man go.away-SMLF-N.FUT-3SG fox-ACC look.for-COND.CVB  
 ‘The old man went to look for the fox’

(Nedjalkov 1997: 102)

· purposive converb in *-dAA-* + motion verb

- 2) *bi nuŋan-dula-n tuksa-čə-w*  
 1SG.NOM he-LOC-3SG run-PTCP.PST-1SG  
*dukuwun-ma-s buu-dəə-wi.*  
 letter-ACC-2SG give-PURP.CVB-REF.SG  
 ‘I ran to him to give him your letter’

(Nedjalkov 1997: 52)

(b) non-motion purposive

· purposive converb in -*dAA*-

- 3) *ǰəw-dəə-n*      *iri-čə-n.*  
 eat-PURP.CVB-3SG    cook-PTCP.PST-3SG  
 ‘She prepared meals for him to eat’

(Nedjalkov 1997: 52)

(c) intentional purposive

· purposive converb in -*dAA*- + *nekə*-‘do’

- 4) *ədu*      *xokto-wo*    *ol-da-wər*      *nekə-de-rə-w.*  
 this.DAT    road-ACC    make-PURP.CVB-REF.PL    do-IMPF-N.FUT-1PL.EXC  
 ‘We intend to make a road here’

(Boldyrev 2000: 386)

**Even (I)**

(a) motion purposive

· directional-intentional -*nA*-converb in -*mi* + motion verb

- 5) *taduk*    *ǰapkan*    *stadal*      *örmər*  
 that.ABL    eight      herd.R.PL    reindeer.REF.PL  
*it-nə-mi*      *əm-ni-tnə.*  
 see-DIT-COND.CVB    come-PTCP.PST-3PL  
 ‘From there the people of the eighth brigade came to look after their reindeer’

(BP field data)

· purposive converb in -*dA*- + motion verb

- 6) *nadan*    *stadala*    *hor-də-j...*  
 seven    herd.R.LOC    go-PURP.CVB-REF.SG  
*ılan*    *stadalı*      *horriw*      *nadan*    *stadala.*  
 three    herd.R.PROL    go.PST.1SG    seven    herd.R.LOC  
 ‘In order to go to the seventh brigade...I went via the third brigade to the seventh brigade’

(BP field data)

(b) non-motion purposive

· purposive converb in -dA-

- 7) *tiami bi bəj-u dayani*  
 therefore 1SG.NOM self.Y-1SG even.Y  
*domŋəkki nahaa kuruk hor-də-j məkuk-kəṛə-rə-m.*  
 taiga.DIR very.Y always.Y go-PURP.CVB-REF.SG thrash.around-HAB-N.FUT-1SG  
 ‘Therefore, I myself always strive hard to go to the taiga’  
 (BP field data)

(c) intentional purposive

· purposive converb in -dA- + *nək*- ‘do’

- 8) *tiik bi öppöska-j ga-rɨj, tiik ərbəčən probləma-t*  
 now 1SG.NOM holidays-REF.SG take-ANT.CVB now such problem-INS  
*gurgəwčī-də-j nək-ə-d-də-m.*  
 work-PURP.CVB-REF.SG do-E-PROG.N.FUT-1SG  
 ‘Now I have taken leave, I plan to work on such a problem’  
 (BP field data)

## 4.2. East Tungusic

Coinciding with those of Evenki, Even and Negidal, the converbal form \*-*mi* in East Tungusic also serves as an essential element to make motion-purposive in same subject sentences (See Table 2 and examples 9), (13), (17)). It is frequently attested that directional-intentional suffixes (-*nA*, -*ndA*, -*ŋdA*) are inserted between verb stem and converb in \*-*mi*. In addition, the possession of purposive converbal endings used to express motion purposive (10), (14), (18)) and non-motion purposive (11), (15), (19)), regardless of switch-reference, is another similarity between North and East Tungusic languages. As in Nanay (Kazama (2010a: 246), (16)), Udihe (Kazama (2010b: 228), (12)) and Uilta (20)), they can also form analytic intentional purposive structures in combination with DO verbs in most East Tungusic languages. However, it should be mentioned that the morphological forms of purposive converbs in East Tungusic are considered to slightly differ from those of Evenki, Even

Differences of purposive markers in Tungusic from the perspective of areal linguistics

and Negidal (i.e., *-dA(A)-*). In this regard, Avrorin & Boldyrev (2001: 118) on Orochi and Kazama (2010a: 246) on Nanay speculate that the purposive converb in each language may stem from a combination of a nominalizer and designative case.

Table 2. Purposive markers in East Tungusic (SS: same subject, DS: different subject, VS: variable subject)

	motion purposive	non-motion purposive	intentional purposive
Ul (III)	<i>(-ŋdA)-mɪ</i> (SS) <i>-bdɪ</i> (SS) <i>-bdA-PERS</i> (DS)	<i>-bdɪ</i> (SS) <i>-bdA-PERS</i> (DS)	?
Nn (III)	<i>-ndA-mɪ</i> (SS) <i>-(pO)gO-PERS</i> (VS)	<i>-(pO)gO-PERS</i> (VS)	<i>-(pO)gO-REF + ta-</i> ‘do’ (SS)
Oc (II)	<i>(-nA)-mɪ</i> (SS) <i>-(A)lA(k)A-PERS</i> (VS)	<i>-(A)lA(k)A-PERS</i> (VS)	?
Ut (III)	<i>-ŋdA-mɪ</i> (SS) <i>-bujji</i> (SS) <i>-buddo-PERS</i> (DS)	<i>-bujji</i> (SS) <i>-buddo-PERS</i> (DS)	<i>-bujji-REF to-</i> ‘do’ (SS)
U (II)	<i>-nA-mɪ</i> (SS) <i>-lAgA-PERS</i> (VS)	<i>-lAgA-PERS</i> (VS)	<i>-lAgA-REF + nixə-</i> ‘do’ (SS)

### Nanay (III)

#### (a) motion purposive

· directional-intentional *-ndA-*converb in *-mɪ* + motion verb

- 9) *sogdata-wa bota-nda-mi ənə-i nii ənə-i.*  
 fish-ACC catch-DIT-SIM.CVB go-PTCP.PRS person go-PTCP.PRS  
 ‘A person who goes to catch fish goes’

(Kazama 2008: 92)

· purposive converb in *-(pO)gO-* + motion verb

- 10) *sii*            *təim-pugu-i*            *ǰək-čǰi-i*            *ənu-ru.*  
 2SG.NOM    take.a.rest-PURP.CVB-REF.SG    house-DIR-REF.SG    go.back-IMP.2SG  
 ‘Go to your house to take a rest’

(Avrorin 1968: 144)

(b) non-motion purposive

· purposive converb in *-(pO)gO-*

- 11) *nǰəni*            *daŋsa-wa*            *xola-go-i = wa*            *buu-xə-ni.*  
 3SG.NOM    book-ACC            read-PURP.CVB-1SG = CLT    give-PTCP.PST-3SG  
 ‘He gave a book for me to read’

(Avrorin 1968: 144)

(c) intentional purposive

· purposive converb in *-(pO)gO-* + *ta-* ‘do’

- 12) *xaosɪ*            *ənə-gu-ji*            *ta-i-sɪ.*  
 where    go-PURP.CVB-REF.SG            do-PRS.PTCP-2SG  
 ‘Where do you intend to go?’

(Kazama 2010a: 246)

## Udihe (II)

(a) motion purposive

· directional-intentional *-nA-*converb in *-mi* + motion verb

- 13) *nuani*            *škola-tigi*            *tatusi-na-mi*            *ŋənə-i-ni.*  
 3SG.NOM    school-DIR            study-DIT-SIM.CVB            go-PTCP.PRS-3SG  
 ‘(S)he goes to school to study’

(field data)

· purposive converb in *-lAgA-* + motion verb

- 14) *bii*            *xunja-ǰi-ji*            *mamaasala-laga-mi*            *əmə-jə.*  
 1SG.NOM    younger.sister-INS-1SG    marry-PURP.CVB-REF.SG    come-IMP.2SG  
 ‘Come to marry my younger sister’

(Kazama 2004: 174)

(b) non-motion purposive

· purposive converb in *-lAgA-*

- 15) *ulə-wə-ni*      *diga-laa-fi*      *waa-ja-fi*.  
 meat-ACC-3SG    eat-PURP.CVB-REF.PL    kill-FUT-1PL.INCL  
 ‘We will hunt [it] to eat its meat’

(Kazama 2004: 62)

(c) intentional purposive

· purposive converb in *-lAgA-* + *nixə-* ‘do’

- 16) *bii*      *lasi*      *aa-mu-i,*      *ɲua-laga-mi*      *nixə-ø-mi*.  
 1SG.NOM    very      sleep-NEC-PRS.PTCP    sleep-PURP.CVB-REF.SG    do-PRS-1SG  
 ‘As I really want to sleep, I intend to sleep’

(Kazama 2010b: 228)

### Uilta (III)

(a) motion purposive

· directional-intentional *-ndA-*converb in *-mi* + motion verb

- 17) *itə-ndə-mi*    *ɲənə-xə-ni*.  
 see-DIT-CVB      go-PTCP.PST-3SG  
 ‘[He] went to see [it]’

(Ikegami 2002: 20)

· purposive converb in *-buɟfi/-buddo-* + motion verb

- 18) *bii*      *ɲənnē-wi*      *waa-buɟfi*.  
 1SG.NOM    go + PTCP.IMPV-1SG    kill-PURP.CVB.REF.SG  
 ‘I go to hunt’

(Yamada 2013: 219)

(b) non-motion purposive

· purposive converb in *-buɟfi/-buddo-*

- 19) *mauree*      *andu-buɟfi*      *miinəpuri*.  
 dried.fish + ACC    make-PURP.CVB.REF.SG    cut.IPSN.PTCP.IMPV  
 ‘One cuts [it] to make dried fish’

(Yamada 2011: 223)

(c) intentional purposive

· purposive converb in *-buɟfi* + *to-* ‘do’

- 20) *xamarree-la ga-bujji to-ila-mi.*  
 back-LOC buy-PURP.CVB.REF.SG do-FUT-1SG  
 ‘I intend to buy [it] later’

(Ikegami 1997: 207)

### 4.3. South Tungusic

Like the converb in *\*-mi* in North and East Tungusic languages on the Russian side, corresponding converbal forms in South Tungusic are also utilized to form motion purposive, as exemplified in 21), 25) and 31). It should be mentioned that the use of directional-intentional suffixes between verb stem and the *-ma* is not that frequent in Manchu and Sibe in comparison with other Tungusic languages. Besides, we can witness examples in which the *-ma* in Manchu and Sibe also serves as a purposive marker to convey non-motion purposive (See Tsumagari (1981: 154-155), 27), 28), 33)). Moreover, it attracts attention that, unlike North and East Tungusic languages, there is no corresponding purposive converbal form in Solon (I), M (IV) and Sibe (IV)<sup>3</sup>. Instead, they commonly possess purposive postpositions like *ǰarm*, *ǰalin*<sup>4</sup>, which can be used to mark motion purposive and non-motion purposive in same or different subject sentences (examples: 22), 23), 26), 29), 32),

<sup>3</sup> Note that the purposive converbal form *-dAA-* exists in Orochen, a dialect of Evenki, spoken in most northern part of China.

<sup>4</sup> In addition to the possession of the purposive converb, purposive postposition *ǰaalm* is also confirmed in Orochen. Interestingly, as presented below, we can witness the co-use of purposive converb in *-dAA-* and purposive postposition *ǰaalm* in a purposive sentence in Orochen. Baek (2017) deals with the unusual co-use of two purposive markers at a sentence in Orochen language, which can be understood to retain both linguistic features of the first group of Tungusic in Russia and South Tungusic in China.

Differences of purposive markers in Tungusic from the perspective of areal linguistics

34)). In terms of intentional purposive, examples (24), 35)) creating corresponding effect in combination of converb in \*-*mi* and SAY verb are verified in Solon and Sibe, whereas optative and SAY verb are co-used in Manchu (30)).

Table 3. Purposive markers in South Tungusic (SS: same subject, VS: variable subject)

	motion purposive	non-motion purposive	intentional purposive
<b>S (I)</b>	<i>(-nA)-m(i)</i> (SS) <i>ǰarm</i> (VS)	<i>ǰarm</i> (VS)	<i>-m(i)</i> + <i>ǰun-</i> 'say' (SS)
<b>M (IV)</b>	<i>(-nA)-mə</i> (SS) <i>ǰalin</i> (VS)	<i>-mə</i> (SS) <i>ǰalin</i> (VS)	<i>-ki sə-</i> 'say' (SS)
<b>Sb (IV)</b>	<i>-m(ə)</i> (SS) <i>ǰalin</i> (VS)	<i>-m(ə)</i> (SS) <i>ǰalin</i> (VS)	<i>-m(ə)</i> + <i>zə-</i> 'say' (SS)

## Solon (I)

### (a) motion purposive

· directional-intentional *-nA*-converb in *-m(i)* + motion verb

21) *bii ədu əən ǰələə(-nə)-m əm-su.*  
1SG.NOM this.DAT medicine seek-DIT-IMPV.CVB come-PTCP.PST.1SG  
'I came here to seek a medicine'

(field data)

· purposive postposition *ǰarm* + motion verb

22) *bii ədu sinǰi baxaldı-r-nı ǰarm əm-su.*

*bii ǰunǰi bi-dəə-wi ǰaalin, ə-ši-m jabu-muna.*  
1SG.NOM 2PL.INS be-PURP.CVB-REF.SG PURP.P NEG-PTCP-1SG go-NEC.PTCP  
'In order to be with you, I do not want to go' (Hu 1986: 101)

Purposive postposition (*ǰələč*) is reported in the description of Hezhen, another Tungusic language in China (cf. An 1986: 63).

1SG.NOM this.DAT 2SG.INS meet-PTCP.IMPF-GEN PURP.P. come-PTCP.PST.1SG  
 ‘I came here to meet you’

(field data)

(b) non-motion purposive

· purposive postposition *ǰarm*

23) *nuxun-bəl* *sɔtan-da* *ii-r-nii* *ǰarm*  
 younger.brother-1SG school-DAT enter-PTCP.IMPF-GEN PURP.P  
*baraan bitigii* *əəri-ǰi-rən.*  
 a.lot book.IND.ACC read-PROG-N.PST.3  
 ‘My younger brother is reading a lot of books to enter a university’

(field data)

(c) intentional purposive

· converb in *-m(ɪ)* + *gun-* ‘say’

24) *bii* *tɪmaasin* *sɔtan-da* *ninə-m* *gun-ǰi-m.*  
 1SG.NOM tomorrow school-DAT go-IMPF.CVB say-PROG-N.PST.1SG  
 ‘I intend to go to school tomorrow’

(field data)

**Manchu (IV)**

(a) motion purposive

· converb in *-mə* + motion verb

25) *bi* *booha* *uda-mə* *gənə-rə.*  
 1SG.NOM snack buy-IMPF.CVB go-PTCP.IMPF  
 ‘I will go to buy a snack (for drinking)’

(Tsumagari 1981: 154)

· purposive postposition *ǰalin* + motion verb

26) *min’i* *ama i* *ǰakadə* *miau niru-rə* *ǰalin*  
 1SG.GEN father GEN for.the.sake.of oratory paint-PTCP.IMPF PURP.P.  
*ši abka gənə.*  
 2SG.NOM heaven go.IMP  
 ‘You should go to heaven in order to paint the oratory for the sake of my father’

(Gorelova 2002: 350)

(b) non-motion purposive

· converb in *-mə*

27) *sain kooli bə ala-bu-mə baitala-ki.*

good example ACC notify-CAUS-IMPF.CVB use-OPT.1

‘I want to use [it] to notify a good example’

(Tsumagari 1981: 155)

28) *səʃən kalka faida-fi, bira bə*

car shield arrange-ANT.CVB river ACC

*si-mə wəilə-bu-rə də.*

block-IMPF.CVB work-CAUS-PTCP.IMPF DAT

‘When making [someone] arrange a car shield to block a river’

(Tsumagari 1981: 155)

· purposive postposition *ʃalin*

29) *waliʃa-ha usin bə suksala-bu-rə bə*

abandon-PTCP.PST field ACC cultivate-CAUS-PTCP.IMPF ACC

*həsə-i yabubu-rə ʃalin.*

order-GEN carry.out-PTCP.IMPF PURP.P

‘In order to carry out the order to cultivate the abandoned fields’

(Zakharov 1875: 967)

(c) intentional purposive

· optative *-ki + sə* ‘say’

30) *anda si ərə morin bə unča-ki sə-mbi-o.*

friend 2SG.NOM this horse ACC sell-OPT say-IMPF-Q

‘Friend, do you intend to sell this horse?’

(Tsumagari 2002: 103)

## Sibe (IV)

(a) motion purposive

· converb in *-m(ə)* + motion verb

31) *aʃig ərin-t gum təvat iw-m gənə-m.*

small time-DAT all there play-IMPF.CVB go-IMPF

‘In our childhood, we all were going there to play’

(Zikmundová 2013: 59)

· purposive postposition *ʃalin* + motion verb

32) *bitxə ʃula-r ʃalin bo bəiʃiŋ-d gənə-m.*

book read-IMPF.PTCP PURP.P. 1PL.EXC.NOM Beijing-DAT go-IMPF

‘We go to Beijing to read books’

(Li & Zhong 1986: 107)

(b) non-motion purposive

· converb in *-m(ə)*

- 33) *bo*                      *ju*    *anthəw*                      *jamushun*    *bəda*    *uluwu-m*  
 1PLE.EXC.NOM    two    guest.ACC                      evening                      meal    treat-IMPF.CVB  
*ʂælih*                      *bi-hə-ŋə*.  
 invite.PTCP.PFV                      be-PTCP.PFV-NMLZ  
 ‘We had invited two guests to treat them to dinner’

(Chaoke 2006: 301)

· purposive postposition *jalín*

- 34) *tər*    *ərinb*    *duləwə-r*                      *jalín*    *gaŋčín*    *fithə-m*.  
 that    time.ACC    spend-PTCP.IMPF                      PURP.P    piano                      play-IMPF  
 ‘He plays the piano to spend time’

(Chaoke 2006: 367)

(c) intentional purposive

· converb in *-m(ə)* + *zə-* ‘say’

- 35) *ainə-m*                      *zə-məye?*.  
 do.what-IMPF.CVB                      say-PROG  
 ‘What are you going to do?’

(Zikmundová 2013: 167)

## 5. Conclusion

Taking three typological parameters of purposive (i.e., motion purposive, non-motion purposive, intentional purposive) into consideration, I have examined purposive markers in each Tungusic language and summarized them in Table 4.

Differences of purposive markers in Tungusic from the perspective of areal linguistics

Table 4. Purposive markers in Tungusic

(N: North Tungusic, E: East Tungusic, S: South Tungusic)

	motion purposive	non-motion purposive	intentional purposive
<b>Ek (I)</b>	<i>(-nA)-mi</i> (SS) <i>-dAA-PERS</i> (VS)	<i>-dAA-PERS</i> (VS)	<i>-dAA-REF+ nekə</i> ‘do’ (SS)
<b>N E (I)</b>	<i>-nA-mi</i> (SS) <i>-dA-PERS</i> (VS) <i>-dA-REF + SAY.CVB</i> (SS)	<i>-dA-PERS</i> (VS) <i>-dA-REF + SAY.CVB</i> (SS)	<i>-dA-REF+ nək-</i> ‘do’ (SS)
<b>N (I)</b>	<i>(-nA)-mi</i> (SS) <i>-dAA-PERS</i> (VS)	<i>-dAA-PERS</i> (VS)	<i>-dAA-REF+ nixə</i> ‘do’ (SS)
<b>Ul (III)</b>	<i>(-ŋdA)-mɪ</i> (SS) <i>-bdɪ</i> (SS) <i>-bdA-PERS</i> (DS)	<i>-bdɪ</i> (SS) <i>-bdA-PERS</i> (DS)	?
<b>Nn (III)</b>	<i>-ndA-mɪ</i> (SS) <i>-(pO)gO-PERS</i> (VS)	<i>-(pO)gO-PERS</i> (VS)	<i>-(pO)gO-REF + tɬ-</i> ‘do’(SS)
<b>E Oc (II)</b>	<i>(-nA)-mi</i> (SS) <i>-(A)lA(k)A-PERS</i> (VS)	<i>-(A)lA(k)A-PERS</i> (VS)	?
<b>Ut (III)</b>	<i>-ŋdA-mi</i> (SS) <i>-buŋŋi</i> (SS) <i>-buddo-PERS</i> (DS)	<i>-buŋŋi</i> (SS) <i>-buddo-PERS</i> (DS)	<i>-buŋŋi + to-</i> ‘do’ (SS)
<b>U (II)</b>	<i>-nA-mi</i> (SS) <i>-lAgA-PERS</i> (VS)	<i>-lAgA-PERS</i> (VS)	<i>-lAgA-REF+ nixə</i> ‘do’ (SS)
<b>S (I)</b>	<i>(-nA)-m(ɪ)</i> (SS) <i>ʃarm</i> (VS)	<i>ʃarm</i> (VS)	<i>-m(ɪ) + gun-</i> ‘say’ (SS)
<b>S M (IV)</b>	<i>(-nA)-mə</i> (SS) <i>ʃalin</i> (VS)	<i>-mə</i> (SS) <i>ʃalin</i> (VS)	<i>-ki sə-</i> ‘say’ (SS)
<b>Sb (IV)</b>	<i>-m(ə)</i> (SS) <i>ʃalin</i> (VS)	<i>-m(ə)</i> (SS) <i>ʃalin</i> (VS)	<i>-m(ə) + zə-</i> ‘say’ (SS)

Consequently, the author concludes as follows:

- (1) All Tungusic languages adopt the converb in *\*-mi* + motion verb to create motion purposive in same subject sentences. It is noteworthy that corresponding converbal element *-mə* in Manchu and Sibe is utilized to non-motion purposive as well;
- (2) Tungusic on Russian territories commonly retains specific purposive verbs, whereas such a converbal form does not exist in South Tungusic (Solon, Manchu, Sibe) in China. In addition, it should be noted that there is a distinction in the forms of purposive converbs between North and East Tungusic languages;
- (3) Instead, South Tungusic on the Chinese side has purposive postpositions (e.g., *ǰarm, ǰalin*) to convey either motion purposive or non-motion purposive in SS and DS sentences;
- (4) Interestingly, as discussed in footnote 5, the combination of purposive converb in *-dAA-* and purposive postposition *ǰaalm* is verified in Orochen, a dialect of Evenki, and this is considered to co-share linguistic features of the first group of Tungusic in Russia and South Tungusic (Solon, Manchu, Sibe) in China;
- (5) Intentional purposive is formed by purposive converb plus DO verbs in Tungusic on the Russian side, whereas the expression of *\*-mi* plus SAY verb can convey intentional purposive in Solon and Sibe among South Tungusic languages. In Manchu, optative plus SAY verb is used for this semantic function.

Based on these results, the author raises the possibility that the variations of purposive markers among Tungusic are strongly related to the geographical distribution.

However, this study has the following limitations. Firstly, further study on the dialectal distinctions of individual Tungusic language, e.g., Evenki and Even, in the use of purposive markers is indispensable. Secondly, due to the shortage of textual materials, the examination on some Tungusic languages like Orochi and Ulcha was not made enough. Last but not least, the

focus has to be extended to purposive elements in genetically non-related adjoining languages such as Yukaghir, Turkic, Mongolic, Chinese to consider a possibility of language contact.

## Abbreviations

1, 2, 3: 1st person, 2nd person, 3rd person, ABL: ablative, ACC: accusative, ADV: adverbializer, ANT.CVB: anterior converb, CAUS: causative, CLT: clitic, COND.CVB: conditional converb, DAT: dative, DIR: directive, DIT: directional-intentional, DS: different subject, E: epenthesis vowel, EXC: exclusive, FUT: future, GEN: genitive, HAB: habitual, IND.ACC: indefinite accusative, HORT: hortative, indefinite accusative, IMP: imperative, IMPF: imperfective, IMPF.CVB: imperfective converb, INCL: inclusive, IPSN: impersonal, LOC: locative, NEC: necessitative, NEG: negative, N.FUT: non-future, NMLZ: nominalizer, NOM: nominative, N.PST: non-past, OPT: optative, PERS: personal suffix, PFV: perfective, PL: plural, POSS: possessive, PROG: progressive, PROL: prolative, PRS: present, PST: past, PTCP: participle, PURP.CVB: purposive converb, PURP.P: purposive postposition, Q: question, R.: Russian copy, REF: reflexive, SG: singular, SIM.CVB: simultaneous converb, SMLF: semelfactive, SS: same subject, VS: variable subject, Y: Sakha copy, -: suffix boundary, +: fusion, =: clitic boundary.

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## ABSTRACT

# Differences of purposive markers in Tungusic from the perspective of areal linguistics

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The main objective of this study is to clarify the variations of purposive markers in Tungusic from the perspective of areal linguistics. This research adopts three parameters for purposives as follows: a) motion purposive, b) non-motion purposive and c) intentional purposive. Utilizing these three parameters, I concentrate on the distinctions of morpho-syntactic forms encoding purposives among the Tungusic languages.

Referring to descriptive grammars and textual materials in Tungusic, the author makes arguments as follows:

i) Converb in *\*-mi* is confirmed to function as a motion purposive marker in all Tungusic languages. In Manchu and Sibe, both motion purposive and non-motion purposive can be marked by the converbal ending *-mə*;

ii) Tungusic in Russia commonly possesses specific purposive converbs, whereas such converbal endings oriented for purposive constructions do not exist in Solon, Manchu, Sibe on the Chinese side. In addition, it deserves to mention that there is a difference in the forms of purposive converbs between North and East Tungusic languages;

iii) In contrast to Tungusic in Russia, South Tungusic does not retain purposive converbs and, in lieu of them, shares purposive postpositions;

iv) Combined use of purposive converb in *-dAA-* and purposive postposition *jaalm* is verified in Orochen, which can be interpreted to retain both linguistic features of the first group of Tungusic in Russia and South Tungusic in China;

v) In regard to intentional purposive, an analytic structure of purposive converb + DO verb is adopted in North and East Tungusic, whereas the converb in *\*-mi* + SAY verb is used in Solon and Sibe. In Manchu, optative is in combination with SAY verb to create corresponding purposive.

In conclusion, this study asserts that areal factor may be attributed to the variations of purposive elements among the Tungusic languages.