Tungusic converbs in -*mi* from the perspective of linguistic area[1]

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Abstract

A frequently used converbal suffix -*mi* in Tungusic shares common forms and similar semantic functions throughout the Tungusic languages. Thus, it is a general view that -*mi* originated from the Proto-Tungusic. Previous studies, however, have a tendency to give a rather different description to -*mi* in each Tungusic language according to classification and areal distribution. This paper aims to clarify the functional differences among converbal forms in -*mi* in accordance with Tungusic distribution (Russian/Chinese territories) by employing typological parameters of converbs (Nedjalkov, V.P. 1995). In addition, we also apply the same parameters to functionally corresponding imperfective converbs of Russian and Mongolian to examine the possibility that the functional differences in -*mi* among Tungusic languages arise as a result of making a linguistic area with the imperfective converbs of the neighboring languages. In conclusion, the Tungusic converb in -*mi* is revealed to display remarkable functional distinctions between Russian and Chinese Tungusic in the following respects: 1) morpho-syntactic parameters: number marking, auxiliary construction, quotative index and 2) semantic parameters: conditionality. Given that most of the differences above between the converbs in -*mi* in Russian and Chinese Tungusic (i.e. auxiliary construction, quotative index, conditionality) correspond with differences between imperfective converbs in Russian and Mongolian (in -*ja* and -*ǰ* respectively), the paper proposes that the functional differences among the -*mi* forms of different Tungusic languages occur because -*mi* forms a linguistic area with functionally corresponding imperfective converbs of Russian and Mongolian languages.

Keywords: converbal suffix -*mi*, Tungusic, Russian, Mongolian, linguistic area

Introduction

This study aims not only to specify the functional differences of the converbal suffix -*mi* according to the geographic distribution of Tungusic languages (Russian and Chinese territories),[2] but also to raise the possibility that most functional distinctions of -*mi* among Tungusic languages arise because -*mi* creates a linguistic area with the functionally corresponding imperfective gerund -*ja* and imperfective converb -*ǰ* in the neighboring Russian and Mongolian languages.

The Tungusic converbal suffix -*mi* presents common forms and similar semantic functions in all Tungusic languages. Therefore, the Tungusic -*mi* is generally considered a converbal form that stems from the Proto-Tungusic. Table 1 below summarizes existing descriptions of -*mi* in each Tungusic language. Firstly, the -*mi* form in the first group of Tungusic except Solon is mainly described as a conditional converb. However, this does not apply to Solon, which is spoken on the Chinese territory. As for the second and third group of Tungusic, the -*mi* in these languages is mostly defined as a simultaneous converbal form that connects two coincident events. Thirdly, the -*me* in Manchu (including Sibe), which is also distributed inside the Chinese border, is regarded as an imperfective or coordinative converbal form; in these characteristics, it bears similarities to Solon.

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[1] This paper is a revised and extended English version of Baek (2014). Additionally, transcriptions, glosses, and English translations in this paper are my own and can be different from the original references. Any errors, of course, are solely my responsibilities.

[2] Following Ikegami (1974) and Kazama (1996), the Tungusic languages in this study are classified as follows: I: Evenki (Ek), Even (E), Negidal (N), Solon (S), II: Udihe (U), Orochi (Oc), Hezhen (Hz), III: Nanay (Nn), Olcha (Ol), Uilta (Ut), IV: Manchu (M).

In sum, judging from the previous studies on the converbal suffix *-mi*, we can confirm that descriptions of *-mi* vary according to the Tungusic classification and distribution.

Table 1. Description of converbal suffix *-mi* in previous literature

I	**Ek**	temporal-conditional converb (Konstantinova 1968: *-mī*, Nedjalkov, I. V. 1995: *-mi*), conditional converb (Bulatova & Grenoble 1999: *-mī*)
	E	temporal converb? (Benzing 1955: *-mi*), temporal-conditional converb (Novikova 1968: *-mɪ*), conditional converb (Malchukov 1995: *-mi*, Kazama 2003 / Kim 2011: *-mɪ*)
	N	temporal-conditional converb (Kolesnikova & Konstantinova 1968: *-mi*), conditional converb (Cincius 1982: *-mī*, Kazama 2002: *-mi*)
	S	imperfective converb (Poppe 1931: *-mi*), coordinative converb (Chaoke et al. 1991: *-m*) , coordinative converb (Tsumagari 2009a: *-mi*)
II	**U**	present-tense converb (Shnejder 1936 / Girfanova 2002: *-mi*), infinitive (Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001: *-mi*), simultaneous converb (Girfanova 2002 / Kazama 2010a: *-mi*)
	Oc	simultaneous converb (Avrorin & Boldyrev 2001: *-mi*)
	Hz	coordinative converb (An 1986 / Li 2006: *-mi*), simultaneous converb (Tamura 2008: *-mi*)
III	**Nn**	simultaneous converb (Avrorin 1961: *-mi*, Kazama 2010b: *-mɪ*)
	Ol	simultaneous converb (Sunik 1985: *-mɪ*, Kazama 2010c: *-mɪ*)
	Ut	simultaneous converb (Petrova 1967: *-mi*), temporal-conditional converb ? [Ikegami 2001 (1959): *-mi*], coordinative converb (Tsumagari 2009b: *-mi*)
IV	**M**	present-tense converb (Zakharov 1879: *-me*), imperfective converb (Sung 1968 / Li 2000 / Gorelova 2002: *-me*), simultaneous converb (Avrorin 2000: *-me*), infinitive (Tsumagari 2002: *-me*)
	Sb	coordinative converb (Li & Chong 1986: *-me*), imperfective converb (Norman 1974:*-me*)

Previous Studies

There are two previous studies (Benzing 1956, Kazama 2003, 2010a, 2010b) on the functional differences of the converbal suffix *-mi* among the Tungusic languages. Benzing (1956) points out that the semantic function of *-me* in Manchu deviates from the ordinary semantic functions of *-mi* in the other Tungusic languages, providing an example of motion purposive interpretation.

1)   ***ara-me***   *dosi-ka.*
        write-CVB enter-PTCP.PST
        "He entered to write."

(Benzing 1956: 143)

In addition, Kazama (2003, 2010a, 2010b) states that the converbal suffix *-mi* slightly differs in functions among the Tungusic languages, observing that the *-mi* in the first group of Tungusic does not have alternative forms by number, unlike the third group of Tungusic, and generally conveys conditional meaning. However, both studies briefly mention the functional differences of *-mi* without elaborating on the cause of them.

Approach

Referring to the previous accounts and textual materials (see Appendix 1) of Tungusic, this study applies the typological parameters of converbs listed in Figure 1 to determine the functional differences of *-mi* by areal distribution. These parameters are mostly based on Nedjalkov, V.P. (1995). However, some of the parameters, such as number-marking, auxiliary construction, and quotative index, are my own.

Moreover, in order to specify the functional distinctions of *-mi* by distribution (Russian vs. Chinese territories), this paper adopts Tsumagari's (1997) division by language territory and divides Tungusic into two groups: Russian Tungusic and Chinese Tungusic. In this study, we examine Evenki (I), Nanay (III) and Udihe (II) from Russian Tungusic, while Solon (I), Hezhen (II), Manchu (IV) are chosen from Chinese Tungusic (the Roman numerals in parentheses represent Tungusic classification in Table 1).

Figure 1 Typological parameters of converbs (based on Nedjalkov, V.P. 1995)

1. Morpho-syntactic parameters	2. Semantic parameters
a. person marking	a. simultaneity
b. number marking	b. anteriority
c. corefentiality	c. causality
d. auxiliary construction	d. purpose
e. quotative index	e. conditionality

Tungusic

Morpho-Syntactic Parameters

Person marking

In all Tungusic converbs in *-mi*, the person marker is not attached to the converbal form.

Number marking

The converbal form in *-mi* in Russian Tungusic can be marked by the number of the subject in the subordinate clause, as shown in Examples 2 and 3. However, there is a difference in marking plurality in *-mi* converbs between Evenki on the one hand and Nanay, Udihe on the other. Evenki uses the nominal plural suffix *-l* to express plurality, while Nanay and Udihe have alternative forms of *-mi* in accordance with number. The use of different forms of *-mi* according to number is common in the second and third groups of Tungusic except Hezhen in the Chinese territories. Regarding Chinese Tungusic, only *-mi* is used regardless of subject number in the antecedent clause, as Example 4 indicates.

Evenki
2)   *ǰu-la-wer*   **eme-mi-l,**   *ǰep-čo-tin.*
      house-DIR-REF.PL   come-CVB-PL   eat-PST-3PL
      "Having come home, [they] ate."

(Nedjalkov, I. V. 1995: 445)

Nanay
3)   *em modan=tanii*   **xupi-meeri=tenii,**   *enin-či-ji*   *ǰiǰu-xe-či.*
      one time=CLT   play-CVB.PL=CLT   mother-DIR-REF.SG   return-PTCP.PST-3PL
      "One time playing around, [They] returned to one's mother."

(Kazama 2010b: 142)

Hezhen
4)   *tigurun xofur xofur* **sokutu-mi**   *omi-xe-ti.*
      they   OMTP   get.drunk-CVB   drink-PTCP.PST-3PL
      "[They] drank while getting drunk."

(Tamura 2008: 43)

Coreferentiality

Nedjalkov, V. P. (1995) mentions that converbs can be classified into three types (same-subject converbs, different-subject converbs, and varying-subject converbs) according to whether the subjects in the subordinate and main clauses are coreferential or not. In principle, the converbal suffix *-mi* in both areas of Tungusic is used in the same-subject situation. This is considered to be closely related to the fact that person is not marked in *-mi* converbs.

Auxiliary construction

Auxiliary construction in this paper is defined as follows: verb 2 that follows verb 1 marked by *-mi* loses its original lexical meaning and functions as a grammatical element (expressing tense-aspect-mood characteristics). In this study, we examine the following four auxiliary constructions:

a) progressive: V_1-*mi* + V_2 'be'

b) attempt: V_1-*mi* + V_2 'see'

c) benefactive: V_1-*mi* + V_2 'give'

d) perfective: V_1-*mi* + V_2 'put'

Auxiliary construction with *-mi* is confirmed to be relatively restricted in Russian Tungusic, whereas it is highly developed in Chinese Tungusic, as Table 2 and Examples 5-15 demonstrate. Kazama (2014) also states that there are a lot of auxiliary constructions in Solon, Manchu, and Sibe that had or still have contact with Mongolian and/or Chinese, whereas such constructions have not developed in most Tungusic.

Table 2. Auxiliary constructions with converbal suffix *-mi*[3]

	Russian			Chinese		
	Ek	Nn	U	S	Hz	M
progressive: V_1-*mi* + V_2 'be'	-	+	+	+	+	+
attempt: V_1-*mi* + V_2 'see'	-	-	-	+	+	+
benefactive: V_1-*mi* + V_2 'give'	-	-	-	-	+	+
perfective: V_1-*mi* + V_2 'put'	-	-	-	-	-	+
Total	0	1	1	2	3	4

Nanay 1: progressive (V_1-*mi* + V_2 'be')
5)   *xai*   ***ta-mi***   ***bi-i-si?***
      what   do-CVB be-PTCP.PRS-2SG
      "What are [you] doing?"

(Kazama 2008b: 89)

Udihe 1: progressive (V_1-*mi* + V_2 'be')
6)   *uti   etete-ne-mi,   jeu   **diga-mi**   **bi-i-ti**.*
      that work-DIRINT-CVB   what eat-CVB   be-PTCP.PRS-3PL
      "Coming to work, what are [they] eating?"

(Kazama 2004: 383)

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[3] In this paper, the Tungusic and neighboring languages will be compared in terms of their degree of auxiliary construction as follows. If a language forms all four auxiliary constructions described above, its degree of auxiliary construction is four; if it only forms one of those auxiliary constructions, its degree of auxiliary construction is one, and so on.

Hezhen 1: progressive (V₁-*mi* + V₂ 'be')
7) *su   arki-we   **omi-mi   bi-yi-su**?*
    you.PL.NOM liquor-ACC   drink-CVB   be-PTCP.NPST-2PL
    "Are you drinking liquor?"

(Li 2006: 58)

Hezhen 2: attempt (V₁-*mi* + V₂ 'see')
8) *bi edin-me   **gele-m-ičie-ø-mi**.*
    I   wind-ACC seek-CVB-see-PTCP.PRS-1SG
    "I try to seek wind."

(Tamura 2008: 46)

Solon 1: progressive (V₁-*mi* + V₂ 'be')
9) ***aasi-mi   bi-see**.*
    sleep-CVB   be-PST
    "[He] was sleeping."

(Tsumagari 2009a: 10)

Solon 2: attempt (V₁-*mi* + V₂ 'see')
10) *ǰege-we-n   **teŋteri-m   iččee**   gunen.*
    chin-ACC-3   stroke-CVB   see.PTCP.PST   say
    "[They] say that [he] tried to stroke his chin."

(Kazama 2008c: 49)

Solon 3: benefactive (V₁-*mi* + V₂ 'give')
11) *aggɪ   **sɪbbaa-m   buu-se**   gunen.*
    wisdom   give-CVB   give-PTCP.PST   say
    "[They] say that [she] gave wisdom [for me]."

(Kazama 2008c: 21)

Manchu 1: progressive (V₁-*me* + V₂ 'be')
12) *hūwang ǰoo ba be   **tuwakiya-me bi-he**   se-me   ala-mbi.*
    Hwangcaoba   ACC watch-CVB   be-PTCP.PST say-CVB   say-IMPF
    "[They] say that [they] were watching over Hwangcaoba."

(Choi et al. 2012b: 111)

Manchu 2: attempt (V₁-*me* + V₂ 'see')
13) *siyanseng   **leole-me   tuwa-ø**.*
    teacher   think-CVB   see-IMP
    "Teacher, try to think."

(Sung 1968: 78)

Manchu 3: benefactive (V1-*me* + V2 'give')
14) *hahai   ǰaka   be   haha   de   **faksala-me   bu-fi**   unggi-ø.*
    man.GEN   thing   ACC   man   DAT   divide-CVB   give-ANT.CVB   send-IMP
    "Give this man his share and see him off."

(Sung 1968: 79)

*Manchu 4: p*erfective (V1-*me* + verb 'put')
15) *gemu saikan boo-de   **dosim-bu-me**   sinda-ø**.*
    all   well   house-DAT   enter-CAUS-CVB   put-IMP
    "Let them all enter the house."

(Choi et al. 2012a: 403)

Quotative index

A speech verb in the converbal form cross-linguistically functions as a quotative or complement index. In Evenki, however, we cannot verify that a speech verb with -*mi* grammatically serves as a quotative index. According to Avrorin (1961), Nanay uses the clitic =*(A)m* as a quotative marker, as shown in Example 16. He speculates that this clitic originated from the speech verb *un*-'say' plus -*mi*. Nevertheless, we do not consider it as a speech verb in -*mi* since the clitic no longer retains its original formation. As for Udihe, Nikolaeva and Tolskaya (2001) say that the particle *gumu* (< *gune*- + -*u*: say+PAS?) is used to mark a quotative or complement clause (see Example 17). On the other hand, a speech verb in the converbal form -*mi* functions as a quotative or complement index in most of Chinese Tungusic. Hezhen and Manchu use speech verbs with converbal suffixes -*mi* and -*me* respectively, for example, *ne-mi*: say-CVB (Hz), *se-me*: say-CVB (M), to mark quotation or complement, as shown in Examples 19-20. However, Solon does not utilize a speech verb with -*mi*, instead the particle *guŋken* (< speech verb *gun*-'say' plus fossilized simultaneous converbal suffix -*nAkAn*) is frequently used to introduce a quotation or complement clause (see Example 18). These facts are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3. Speech verbs plus converbal suffix -*mi* as quotative index

	Russian				**Chinese**	
	Ek	Nn	U	S	Hz	M
quotative index	-	=*(A)m* (clitic)	*gumu* (particle)	*guŋken* (particle)	*ne-mi* (say-CVB)	*se-me* (say-CVB)
result	-	-	-	-	+	+

Nanay
16) *ča-do   nee-mi   aja   bi-ǰeree=**m**   un-dii-ni.*
     that-DAT put-CVB good be-FUT=CLT say-PTCP.PRS-3SG
     "[He] says: It will be good to put [it] there."

(Kazama 2010b: 259)

Udihe
17) *nuani diaŋ-ka   eniŋe-tigi-i   magaǰina-tigi ŋene-ǰeŋe-i   **gumu**.*
     he   say-PST mother-DIR-REF.SG shop-DIR   go-PTCP.FUT-1SG QUOT
     "He said to his mother: I will go to shop."

(Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001: 668)

Solon
18) *sii ilee   nenendi   **guŋken** minii   exinbel   aŋʊʊ-saa.*
     you where go.PRS.2SG QUOT   I.GEN older sister ask-PST
     "My sister asked: Where do you go?"

(Kazama 2011b: 164)

Hezhen
19) *esi   eme nio=de   ene-ø-i   **ne-mi**   xesu-rše-n.*
     now one person=CLT   go-PTCP.PRS-1SG   say-CVB   say-NEG.PRS-3
     "Now even one person does not say: I go."

(Tamura 2008: 51)

Manchu
20) *doose geren   i   baru   suwe   omi-me   ele-he-o   **se-me***
     monk everybody GEN toward you.PL.NOM drink-CVB enough-PTCP.PST-Q say-CVB
     fonǰi-ha   de.
     ask-PTCP.PST DAT
     "When the monk asked everybody: Have you had enough to drink?"

(Gorelova 2002: 274)

Semantic Parameters

Nedjalkov, V. P. (1995) typologically classifies converbs into three types by semantic functions: specialized converbs, contextual converbs, and narrative converbs. Following this classification, *-mi* in Tungusic belongs to contextual converbs that can perform various semantic functions according to the context. As Table 4 illustrates, the converbal suffix *-mi* in each language is confirmed to perform multi-semantic functions such as simultaneity, anteriority, and causality. Contrary to Benzing (1956), the purposive construction, where the *-mi* form is followed by a motion verb, is also possible in most of Tungusic. However, there is a prominent difference between *-mi* in the conditional function between Russian and Chinese Tungusic.

Table 4. Semantic functions of converbs in *-mi* in Russian and Chinese Tungusic

	Russian			**Chinese**		
	Ek	Nn	U	Hz	S	M
simultaneity	+	+	+	+	+	+
anteriority	+	+	+	+	+	+
causality	+	+	+	+	+	+
purposive	-	+	+	+	+	+
conditionality	+	+	+	-	-	-

Conditionality

In this study, we divided conditionals into two types as follows: real and counterfactual conditionals. Nedjalkov, I. V. (1995) observes that the converbal form in *-mi* in Evenki leads to a conditional reading when future tense, imperative, and subjunctive moods occur in the main clause. Examples 21-22 below indicate that the *-mi* in Evenki can create both real and counterfactual conditionals. The same phenomena are also confirmed in the *-mi* of Udihe, as presented in Examples 23-24, which are obtained from my fieldwork data. Nevertheless, note that the counterfactual conditional in Udihe is generally formed by the conditional marker *bisi*, as mentioned in Nikolaeva & Tolskaya (2001). As for Nanay, Kazama (2010b) states that *-mi* can create conditional constructions, as illustrated in Example 25. We can see that future tense in the main clause creates conditional interpretation. However, we cannot find an example of a counterfactual conditional with *-mi* in Nanay texts. The reason for this is presumed to be the fact that Nanay mainly uses the conditional marker *osini* to form counterfactual conditionals. As a rule, the converbal suffix *-mi* in Russian Tungusic forms same-subject conditionals. On the other hand, the *-mi* in Chinese Tungusic does not semantically function as a conditional in future, imperative, and subjunctive sentences. Instead, conditional converbs (Solon *-kki*, Hezhen *-ki* and Manchu *-či*), both with the same or different subject, are used to form real and counterfactual conditionals in Chinese Tungusic (see Examples 26-27).

Evenki
Real conditional (future tense, imperative mood in the main clause)
21)　　*aja-t*　　　**hawa-l-mii-l**,　　　　*beje-l*　　　　*oo-ǰaŋaa-sun.*
　　　　good-INS　　work-INC-CVB-PL　　person-PL　　become-PTCP.FUT-2PL
　　　　"If [you] would start working well, [you] will become a person."

(Bulatova & Grenoble 1999: 44)

Counterfactual conditional (subjunctive mood in the main clause)
22)　　*asatkan-me* **ajaw-mi**,　　　*asila-mča-w.*
　　　　girl-ACC　　love-CVB　　marry-SUBJ-1SG
　　　　"If [I] loved this girl, [I] would marry her."

(Nedjalkov, I. V. 1997: 54)

Udihe
Real conditional (future tense, imperative mood in the main clause)
23) *nuani maŋga **bi-mi**,   uti sagdi ǰolo-wo   uinde-mi   mute-ǰeŋe-ni.*
       he   strong be-CVB   that big   stone-ACC   lift up-CVB   can-PTCP.FUT-3SG
       "If he is strong, [he] will lift up that big stone."

(Fieldwork data)

Counterfactual conditional (subjunctive mood in the main clause)
24) *nuani udie kewe-ni   **saa-mi**,   udie-ǰige-ǰi   diana-mi   mute-muse.*
       he   Udihe language-3SG know-CVB   Udihe-PL-COM   speak-CVB   can-SUBJ.3
       "If he knew the Udihe language, [he] could speak with Udihe people"

(Fieldwork data)

Nanay
Real conditional (future tense in the main clause)
25) *bumbie **mana-mı**,   sumbie   waa-nda-ǰaraa.*
       we.ACC   finish-CVB   you.ACC   kill-DIRINT-FUT.3
       "If [they] finish us, [they] will kill you."

(Kazama 2010b: 243)

Manchu
Real conditional: *-či* (conditional converb)
26) *si   gai-ki   **se-či**,   uthai gaisu.*
       you.SG.NOM   take-OPT   say-COND.CVB   then   take.IMP
       "If you want to take [something], then take [it]."

(Gorelova 2002: 297)

Counterfactual conditional: *-či* (conditional converb)
27) *aika duleke aniya adali elgiyan bargiya-ha   **bi-či**,   gemu   ǰeterengge*
       if   last   year like plentiful harvest-PTCP.PST be-COND.CVB everyone   food
       bu-fi   ulebu-mbihe.
       give-ANT.CVB   feed-SUBJ
       "If [we] harvested plentiful like last year, [we] would give food to everyone and feed them."

(Tsumagari 2002: 61)

Summary

We have applied the typological parameters of converbs proposed by Nedjalkov, V.P. (1995) to the Tungusic -*mi* and summarized the results in Table 5 below.

Table 5. Tungusic -*mi* in Russian and Chinese territories by typological parameters of the converbs

		Russian			**Chinese**		
		Ek	Nn	U	S	Hz	M
morpho-syntactic	person marking	-	-	-	-	-	-
	number marking	+	+	+	-	-	-
	coreferentiality	+	+	+	+	+	+
	auxiliary construction	-	*1*	*1*	*3*	*2*	*4*
	quotative index	-	-	-	-	+	+
semantic	simultaneity	+	+	+	+	+	+
	anteriority	+	+	+	+	+	+
	causality	+	+	+	+	+	+
	purpose	-	+	+	+	+	+
	conditionality	+	+	+	-	-	-

The converb -*mi* in Russian and Chinese Tungusic displays noticeable distinctions in number marking, auxiliary construction, and quotative index functions. As for semantic functions, the conditional is considered a major difference between the two groups. Following these results, we can verify that the areal factor is strongly associated with the functional differences of the converbal suffix -*mi* in Tungusic. However, some differences, such as differences in ways of number marking, degree of auxiliary construction, formation of quotative index and conditional types, are also confirmed among Tungusic within the same area.

Neighboring languages (Russian, Mongolian)

Russian and Mongolian are known to have influenced the Tungusic languages. The Russian imperfective gerund suffix -*ja* and the Mongolian imperfective converbal suffix -*ǰ* functionally correspond to the -*mi* in Tungusic. We apply the same typological parameters of converbs to the imperfective converbal forms in the Russian and Mongolian languages.

Russian Imperfective Gerund in -ja

The Russian imperfective gerund in -*ja*, used only in same-subject circumstances, is not marked for person and number. In Russian, we cannot confirm the quotative index and auxiliary construction with -*ja*. Concerning its semantic function, the imperfective gerund in -*ja* belongs to contextual converbs that serve various semantic functions such as simultaneity, cause, and conditional. Conditional readings, both real and counterfactual, are formed with -*ja* when the future tense and subjunctive mood appear in the main clause, as illustrated in Example 28 for the real condition (future tense < perfective verb in the main clause) and in Example 29 for the counterfactual condition (with subjunctive mood in the main clause).

28)   ***Raz'ezža-ja***   po   strane,   on   navedet   spravki   o   syne.
        travel.IMPF-CVB   around   country   he   will make   inquiries   about   son
        "If [he] travels around the country, he will make inquiries about his son."

(Boguslavskij 1977: 271)

29)   ***Zna-ja*** *eti* *slova,* *vy* *mogli* *by* *vce* *perevecti.*
    know-CVB these words you could SUBJ all translate
    "If [you] knew these words, you would translate all."

(Shirota 2010: 393)

Mongolian Imperfective Converb in -ǰ

  Mongolian converbs formed with the suffix *-ǰ* are not marked for person and number. The converbal form in *-ǰ* is most commonly used when the subjects of the main and subordinate clauses are the same. Mongolian can be classified as a language with a high degree of auxiliary construction since *-ǰ* can form three out of four auxiliary constructions in this paper (see Examples 30-32). The speech verb *ge-* 'say' plus *-ǰ* in Mongolian functions as a quotative or complement index, as Example 33 illustrates.

Auxiliary construction

progressive: V$_1$-ǰ + V$_2$ 'be'
30)   *čaanaas* *mor'toj* *xün* ***ir-ǰ*** ***baj-na.***
    beyond.ABL horse.COM person come-CVB be-NPST
    "A person on a horse is coming from that side."

(Yamakoshi 2012: 122)

attempt: V$_1$-ǰ + V$_2$ 'see'
31)   *tamxi* ***tata-ǰ*** ***üz-ex*** *üü?*
    cigarette pull-CVB see-PTCP.FUT Q
    "Do [you] try to smoke?"

(Yamakoshi 2012: 124)

benefactive: V$_1$-ǰ + V$_2$ 'give'
32)   *Bat* *ene* *blog-ijg* *nadad* ***zaa-ǰ*** ***ög-sön.***
    Bat this blog-ACC I.DAT show-CVB give-PTCP.PST
    "Bat showed this blog to me."

(Yamakoshi 2012: 124)

Quotative index

33)   *margaaš* *arvan* *čag-t* *uulz'ja* ***ge-ǰ*** *jari-lč-san.*
    tomorrow ten hour-DAT meet.VOL say-CVB speak-RECP-PTCP.PST
    "[We] said: Let's meet at ten tomorrow."

(Yamakoshi 2012: 128)

  Concerning its semantic function, *-ǰ* can convey simultaneity, anteriority, causality, whereas purpose and conditional sentences are not allowed. As with Chinese Tungusic, future tense, imperative and subjunctive moods in the main clause cannot lead to conditional readings. As Examples 34-35 demonstrate, real and counterfactual conditionals are formed by the conditional converbal suffix *-bAl* and conditional particle bol (<*bol-bol*: become-COND.CVB) respectively, both with same or different subject.

Real conditional: *-bAl* (conditional converb)
34)   *ene* *dugujg* ***av-bal***,   *bi* *avtobus-aar* *javaxguj.*
    this bike.ACC buy-COND.CVB I bus-INS go.PTCP.FUT.NEG
    "If [I] buy this bike, I won't go by bus."

(Kullman & Tserenpil 1996: 162)

Counterfactual conditional: *bol* (conditional particle)
35) *ert irsen(sen) **bol**, bagš-taj uulzax bajžee.*
     early come.PTCP.PST if teacher-COM meet.PTCP.FUT be.PST
     "If [I] had come earlier, [I] would have met the teacher."

(Kullman & Tserenpil 1996: 343)

Summary

Results of the application of typological parameters of converbs to imperfective converbs in Russian and Mongolian are summarized in Table 6. In short, we can verify that the auxiliary construction and quotative index parameters are different between Russian and Mongolian imperfective converbs. Regarding semantic functions, anteriority and conditionality are major distinctions between the two languages.

Table 6. Russian and Mongolian imperfective converbs by typological parameters of converbs

		R	Mo
morpho-syntactic	person marking	-	-
	number marking	-	-
	coreferentiality	+	+
	auxiliary construction	**0**	**3**
	quotative index	-	+
semantic	simultaneity	+	+
	anteriority	-	+
	causality	+	+
	purpose	-	-
	conditionality	+	-

Conclusion

We confirmed that the converbal suffix *-mi* indicates remarkable distinctions between Russian Tungusic (Evenki, Nanay, Udihe) and Chinese Tungusic (Solon, Hezhen, Manchu) in the following parameters: (a) morpho-syntactic: number marking, auxiliary construction, quotative index, (b) semantic: conditionality. As Table 7 indicates, most of these differences between Russian and Chinese Tungusic correspond with distinctions of the imperfective converbs (in *-ja* and *-ǰ* respectively) in Russian and Mongolian. Thus, we propose that the functional differences that *-mi* shows in different Tungusic languages occur because *-mi* forms a linguistic area with the functionally corresponding converbs of the neighboring languages. However, we can also observe some differences in the way *-mi* functions in Tungusic within same area, such as differences in the ways of number marking, degrees of auxiliary construction, formation of quotative markers, conditional types. Further research is required to explain this variation.

Table 7. The Tungusic *-mi* and Russian / Mongolian imperfective converbs by typological parameters of converbs

		Russian				Chinese			
		R	Ek	U	Nn	S	Hz	M	Mo
morpho-syntactic	person marking	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	number marking	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
	coreferentiality	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	auxiliary construction	-	-	*1*	*1*	*3*	*2*	*4*	*3*
	quotative index	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
semantic	simultaneity	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	anteriority	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	causality	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	purpose	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	conditionality	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3: first person, second person, third person
ABL: ablative
ACC: accusative
ANT: anterior
CAUS: causative
CLT: clitic
COM: comitative
COND: conditional
CVB: converb
DAT: dative
DIR: directive
DIRINT: directional intentional
FUT: future

GEN: genitive
IMP: imperative
IMPF: imperfective
INC: inchoative
INS: instrumental
NEG: negative
NOM: nominative
NPST: non-past
OMTP: onomatopoeia
OPT: optative
PAS: passive
PL: plural
PRS: present

PST: past
PTCP: participle
Q: question marker
QUOT: quotative marker
RECP: reciprocal
REF: reflexive
SG: singular
SIM: simultaneous
SUBJ: subjunctive
V: verb
VOL: voluntative
=: clitic boundary

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Appendix 1. Linguistic Data

In this paper, following linguistic data are used to examine the functional differences of converbal suffix -*mi* by Tungusic distribution (Russian and Chinese territories) from the perspective of linguistic area.

• Russian Tungusic
Evenki (I)
Literature: Konstantinova (1968), Nedjalkov, I. V. (1995, 1997), Bulatova & Grenoble (1999)
Text: Vasilevič (1936)
Nanay (III)
Literature: Avrorin (1961), Kazama (2010b, 2011a)
Text: Kazama (2005, 2006b, 2007b, 2008b, 2010b)
Udihe (II)
Literature: Shnejder (1936), Kormushin (1998), Nikolaeva & Toskaya (2001), Girfanova (2002), Kazama (2010a)
Text: Kazama (2004, 2006a, 2007a, 2008a, 2009, 2010a)
Fieldwork data (conducted in 2013)

• Chinese Tungusic
Solon (I)
Literature: Poppe (1931), Chaoke et al. (1991), Tsumagari (2009a), Kazama (2011b)
Text: Kazama (2007c, 2008c)
Hezhen (II)
Literature: An (1986), Li (2006), Tamura (2008)
Text: Tamura (2008), Li (2011, 2012)
Manchu (IV)
Literature: Zakharov (1879), Sung (1968), Tsumagari (1981, 2002), Li (2000), Avrorin (2000), Gorelova (2002)
Text: Choi et al. (2012a, 2012b)