

## Continuous Aspects in Tungusic from the Perspective of Areal Linguistics: Progressive vs. Resultative

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The main objective of this paper is to examine a morphosyntactic disparity in the strategy for creating progressive and resultative aspects in Tungusic in accordance with geographical distribution. In this study, I specifically concentrate on the morphosyntactic features constituting progressive (continuous action) and resultative (continuous state) in each Tungusic language, whether its strategy is synthetic and/or analytic. First, North Tungusic (Evenki, Even) marks the opposition between progressive and resultative aspects by using separate synthetic elements directly encoded into the verb predicate. In contrast, an analytic structure with the distinctive use of imperfective and perfective converbs in combination with the existential verb is dominant in South Tungusic (Solon, Hezhen, and Manchu). Interestingly, this type of analytic strategy shows a close affinity to the adjacent Mongolian language. Finally, East Tungusic (Nanay, Ulcha, Orochi, Udihe, and Uilta) uses a mixed synthetic and analytic strategy to produce the two aspect effects and its status can be understood as positioned between those of the North and South Tungusic languages. The morphosyntactic feature of expressing the distinction between progressive and resultative aspects in Tungusic is considered to vary on the basis of areal distribution, showing a remarkable similarity with that of the neighboring Mongolian language.

**Keywords:** continuous aspect, progressive, resultative, Tungusic, areal linguistics

1. Introduction
2. Tungusic languages
3. Neighboring languages
4. Conclusion

### 1. Introduction

This paper aims to examine differences in the morphosyntactic strategies for marking progressive and resultative aspects in Tungusic from the perspective of areal linguistics. “Areal linguistics” is a field of linguistics that seeks to identify variation within a language family from the viewpoint of language contact with adjacent languages.

### 1.1. Typological parameters of continuous aspect

Continuous aspects can be categorized into two types: progressive and resultative. “Progressive” is defined as the continuous process of a previous event (i), whereas “resultative” denotes the continuous state of a previous event (ii). From the morphosyntactic point of view, the implementation of progressive and resultative aspects can be made in a synthetic and/or analytic way. Languages like Latin (a) and Nivkh (c) attach a synthetic element to the verb predicate to respectively encode progressive and resultative aspects. In contrast, in Japanese, an analytic structure consisting of the converbal ending *-te* and the existential verb *i-* can form the above-mentioned two aspects, as in (b) and (d). In this study, I focus on the morphosyntactic strategy of marking the progressive and resultative aspect effects in Tungusic and its neighboring languages, whether this is done synthetically and/or analytically.

i. progressive: continuous action			
a) synthetic (Latin)			
<i>equōs</i>	<i>pāsc-ēba-m.</i>		
horse.ACC.PL.M	feed-IMP.F.PST-1SG		
‘I was feeding the horses.’			
	(Mondon 2015: 46)		
b) analytic (Japanese)			
<i>kare-wa</i>	<i>guraundo-de</i>	<i>hasit-te</i>	<i>i-ru</i>
3SG.NOM.M-TOP	ground-LOC	run-CVB	be-N.PST
‘He is running on the ground.’			
ii. resultative: continuous state			
c) synthetic (Nivkh)			
<i>er-yəta-d’-hajra</i>	<i>ha-d’.</i>		
be.calm-RES-FINIT-probably	be.so-FINIT		
‘The sea was very calm, probably, (it) was like that.’			
	(Nedjalkov and Otaina 2013: 128)		
d) analytic (Japanese)			
<i>doa-ga</i>	<i>ai-te</i>	<i>i-ru.</i>	
door-NOM	open-CVB	be-N.PST	
‘The door is open.’			

Fig. 1 Typological parameters of continuous aspects

## 2. Tungusic languages

Included in the Altaic language type along with Mongolic and Turkic, Tungusic is a language family ranging from Russian territories (East Siberia, Lower Amur River, Primorskii Krai, Sakhalin Island) to Chinese territories (Northeastern Chinese and Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Provinces) (cf. Fig. 2).

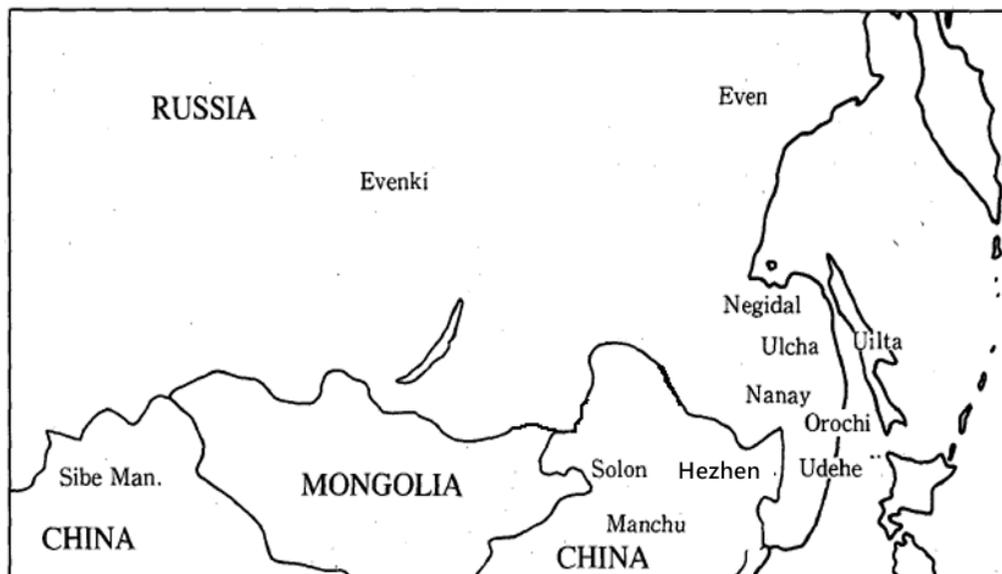


Fig. 2 Geographical Distribution of Tungusic  
(Based on Tsumagari 1997: 176 with a minor change by the author)

According to Ikegami (1974), Tungusic is genetically classified into 4 groups (cf. Fig. 3). In this paper, I further divide Tungusic languages into 3 groups on the basis of geographical distribution as follows: 1) North Tungusic (Evenki, Even) in East Siberia, 2) East Tungusic (Negidal, Ulcha, Nanay, Orochi, Udihe, and Uilta) in the Lower Amur River basin, Primorskii Krai, and Sakhalin Island, and 3) South Tungusic (Solon, Hezhen, and Manchu) in the Northeastern Chinese province.

- |   |
|---|
| <p>I: Evenki (Ek), Even (E), Negidal (N), Solon (S)<br/>         II: Udihe (U), Orochi (Oc), Hezhen (Hz)<br/>         III: Nanay (Nn), Ulcha (Ol), Uilta (Ut)<br/>         IV: Manchu (M)</p> |
|---|

Fig. 3 Genetic classification of Tungusic<sup>1</sup> (Ikegami 1974)

<sup>1</sup> The genetic classification of Hezhen is based on Kazama (1996a).

In this research, the emphasis will be placed on how each Tungusic language morphosyntactically formulates progressive and resultative aspects from the standpoint of areal linguistics. Note that, to prominently elucidate the aspect difference between progressive and resultative in each Tungusic language, I present examples containing atelic verbs with an unclear terminal point for the progressive aspect of a given continuous action, while examples with telic verbs conveying a clear terminal point are used for resultative. Therefore, examples that could possibly be interpreted as either aspect depending on the context will not be included here. Moreover, it should be emphasized that tense-aspect functions of obligatory elements (participle or finite verb) in sentences as progressive or resultative markers,<sup>2</sup> which have been identified in most East and South Tungusic languages, are also excluded because this research focuses on optionally encoded morphosyntactic strategy in each Tungusic language whether they are synthetic or analytic.

## 2.1. North Tungusic

Here I examine the way in which progressive and resultative aspects are morphosyntactically encoded in Evenki and Even, which spread across the East Siberian region.

### 2.1.1. Evenki (I)

Nedjalkov (1997: 248) observes that “There is no specialized suffix for progressive aspect. This function is expressed by the tense forms containing the imperfective suffix *-ǰA* (*-čA* when attached to verb stem ending with consonant)”, as is evident in (1a) and (1b). This aspect marker usually appears in atelic verbs to indicate a continuous process of a certain action. Regarding resultative aspect, Nedjalkov (1997: 252–253) defines the suffix *-čA* as the resultative/stative aspect form, illustrated by the examples in (1c) and (1d).<sup>3</sup> In addition, another aspect suffix, *-t*, described as a continuous marker in Nedjalkov (1997: 247–248), is also considered to express the continuous aspect of a state, mostly in combination with telic verbs like *ili-* ‘stand up’ (1e) and *təgə-* ‘sit down’ (1f). To sum up, progressive and resultative aspects can be differentiated by the use of different synthetic aspect markers in Evenki.

· **Progressive aspect: *-ǰA*~*-čA* (synthetic)**

- (1a) *bəjə*    *agi-tki*            *girku-ǰa-n*.  
       man    forest-DIR        go-FUT-3SG

‘The man will go to the forest.’

(Nedjalkov 1997: 247)

<sup>2</sup> This is covered in many previous studies like Li (2005, 2006) and Kazama (2010a,b).

<sup>3</sup> The existence of *-čA* as a resultative/stative aspect suffix is reported only in Evenki among the Tungusic languages, and its appearance from the syntactic point of view is analyzed in Nedjalkov (1997: 252–253).

- (1b) *bəjə agi-tki girku-ǰa-ǰa-n.*  
 man forest-DIR go-IMP-FUT-3SG  
 ‘The man will be going to the forest.’ (Nedjalkov 1997: 247)
- **Resultative aspect: -čA, -t (synthetic)**
- (1c) *bəjə oron-dula ug-ǰa-ra-n.*  
 man reindeer-LOC sit-IMP-FUT-3SG  
 ‘The man is mounting a reindeer.’ (Nedjalkov 1997: 253)
- (1d) *bəjə oron-dula ugu-ča-ǰa-ra-n.*  
 man reindeer-LOC sit-RES-IMP-FUT-3SG  
 ‘The man is sitting on a reindeer.’ (Nedjalkov 1997: 253)
- (1e) *buru-ltək-il moo-l ədu ili-t-ča-ra-ø.*  
 fall-PTCP-PL tree-PL there stand.up-RES-IMP-FUT-3PL  
 ‘The trees which are on the point of falling down are standing here.’ (Nedjalkov 1997: 270)
- (1f) *asatkan ǰu-du təgə-t-čə-rə-n.*  
 girl house-DAT sit.down-RES-IMP-FUT-3SG  
 ‘The girl is sitting at home.’ (Nedjalkov 1997: 253)

### 2.1.2. Even (I)

Malchukov (1995: 14-15) introduces two synthetic forms for progressive and resultative aspects in his descriptive grammar on Even, i.e. progressive *-d/-ǰ~-ǰid/-čid* (2a and 2b) and stative *-t* (2c and 2d). As in Evenki, separate synthetic aspect elements in Even can be added to the verb predicate to signify progressive or resultative aspects, respectively.

· **Progressive aspect: -d/-ǰ~-ǰid/-čid (synthetic)**

- (2a) *tiinjiv odan-ǰid-dl-n.*  
 yesterday rain-PROG-PTCP.PST-3SG  
 ‘It was raining yesterday.’ (Kim 2011: 78)
- (2b) *bii əwədi-u hupku-čid-də-m mjam anjanə.*  
 1SG.NOM Even-ACC study-PROG-N.FUT-1SG ten.ACC year.ACC  
 ‘I have been studying Even for ten years.’ (Kim 2011: 78)

· **Resultative aspect: -t (synthetic)**

- (2c) *haadun=da oroči-l huklə-ri-l-bu*  
 sometimes=CLT Even-PL sleep-PTCP.PRS-PL-ACC  
*haadun=da təgə-t-ti-l-bu*  
 sometimes=CLT sit.down-RES-PTCP.PRS-PL-ACC



### 2.2.2. Ulcha (III)

Kazama (2010a: 138) mentions that neither the imperfective nor progressive aspect marker<sup>4</sup> is confirmed in Ulcha, unlike in Evenki and Even, adding that the present progressive aspect is expressed by a participle form. Moreover, the auxiliary verb structure with an analytic combination of the simultaneous converbal form *mi-* and the existential verb *bi-* indicates progressive aspect, as shown in (4a) and (4b). For resultative aspect, the synthetic marker *-si* is incorporated into the verb predicate to denote the continuous state of a verb, as attested in (4c) and (4d).

· **Progressive aspect: simultaneous converb in *-mi* + existential verb *bi-* (analytic)**

- (4a) *javjō-maari javjō-maari bi-či-ti akə-səl patala-sal.*  
 sing-SIM.CVB sing-SIM.CVB be-PTCP.PRS-3PL girl-PL beautiful-PL  
 ‘Beautiful girls are singing.’ (Kazama 2006: 131)

- (4b) *tu dəŋsum bi-čim-bi.*  
 that work.SIM.CVB be-PTCP.PST-1SG  
 ‘I was working like that.’ (Kazama 2010a: 83)

· **Resultative aspect t: *-si* (synthetic)**

- (4c) *əi war-la ɪl-si-t-ni.*  
 this river-LOC stand.up-RES-PTCP.PRS-3SG  
 ‘(S)he is standing at this river.’ (Kazama 2008a: 93)

- (4d) *xaimi təə-si-i-si=kəə?*  
 why sit.down-RES-PTCP.PRS-2SG=CLT  
 ‘Why are you sitting?’ (Kazama 2010a: 88)

### 2.2.3. Nanay (III)

Kazama (2010b: 252) explains that there is no progressive aspect marker<sup>5</sup> in Nanay, unlike in the first group of Tungusic, and progressive aspect can be expressed by a participle. In addition, the simultaneous converb in *-mi* and the existential verb *bi-* combine with each other to generate progressive aspect, as can be seen in (5a) and (5b). For resultative aspect, *-si* is regarded as a synthetic aspect marker for a continuous state, as in (5c) and (5d).

· **Progressive aspect: simultaneous converb in *-mi* + existential verb *bi-* (analytic)**

- (5a) *xai ta-mi bi-i-si?*  
 what do-SIM.CVB be-PTCP.PRS-2SG

<sup>4</sup> Kazama (2010a: 138) supposes that some examples like *ičə-ja* ‘see-IMPF’ may be a fossilized trace of the progressive marker *-ja* in the first group of Tungusic.

<sup>5</sup> Note that *ičə-ja* ‘see-IMPF’ and *japa-ja* ‘hold-IMPF’ are speculated to be fossilized examples of the progressive or imperfective aspect marker.

‘What are [you] doing?’ (Kazama 2008b: 89)

- (5b) *juə mapakaan piktə-ni bi-ə un-də.*  
 two bear child-3SG be-PRS say-PRS  
*kupiləəndu-məəri=ə bi-ə un-də.*  
 play.around-SIM.CVB.PL=CLT be-PRS say-PRS

‘It is said that there are two small bears and they are playing around.’

(Kazama 2001: 52)

· **Resultative aspect: -sɪ (synthetic)**

- (5c) *xai=daa gogda-laa-sal ili-si-i-ni.*  
 what=CLT high-NMLZ-PL stand.up-RES-PTCP.PRS-3SG

‘High trees are standing.’

(Kazama 2010b: 193)

- (5d) *tui damxi-wa omi-mi təə-si-i-goani.*  
 that cigarette-ACC drink-SIM.CVB sit.down-RES-PTCP.PRS=CLT

‘Smoking a cigarette, he is sitting.’

(Kazama 2005: 47)

## 2.2.4. Orochi (II)

Classified as the second group of Tungusic, along with Udihe, Orochi expresses progressive and resultative aspects using an analytic and a synthetic strategy, respectively. Progressive aspect, as indicated in (6a), takes an analytic strategy in which the simultaneous converbal ending *-mi* and the existential verb *bi-* are combined. For resultative aspect, the common aspect marker *-sɪ* in Tungusic on the Russian side is utilized, as in (6b) and (6c).

· **Progressive aspect: simultaneous converb in -mi + existential verb bi- (analytic)**

- (6a) *bii xogo-wo waa-mi bi-či-ni.*  
 1SG.NOM seal-ACC hunt-SIM.CVB be-PTCP.PST-3SG

‘I was hunting a seal.’

(Avrorin and Boldyrev 2001: 365)

· **Resultative aspect: -sɪ (synthetic)**

- (6b) *nəŋu-ŋi tadü ili-si-i-ŋi*  
 younger.sister-3SG there stand.up-RES-PTCP.PRS-3SG  
*əki-ŋi əədu ili-si-i-ŋi.*  
 older.sister-3SG here stand.up-RES-PTCP.PRS-3SG

‘His younger sister is standing. His older sister is standing.’ (Kazama 1996b: 106)

- (6c) *mapačaa təə-xə-ŋi təə-si-i-ŋi.*  
 grandfather sit.down-PTCP.PST-3SG sit.down-RES-PTCP.PRS-3SG

‘My grandfather sat down and is sitting.’

(Kazama 1996b: 53)

## 2.2.5. Udihe (II)

Nikolaeva and Tolskaya (2001: 220) suggest that in Udihe a progressive meaning is expressed by an analytic structure consisting of the simultaneous converb in *-mi* and the existential verb *bi-* (cf. 7a and 7b). As in other Tungusic languages on the Russian territories, the common synthetic aspect form *-si* leads to a resultative meaning, as illustrated in (7c) and (7d).

· **Progressive aspect: simultaneous converb in *-mi* + existential verb *bi-* (analytic)**

- (7a) *bi xunaji-i taga-wə woo-mi bi-i-ni.*  
 1SG.NOM sister-1SG gown-ACC make-SIM.CVB be-PTCP.PRS-3SG  
 ‘My sister is making a gown.’ (Nikolaeva and Tolskaya 2001: 262)

- (7b) *uti atata-na-mi, jəu diga-mi bi-i-ti.*  
 those work-DIRINT-CVB what eat-SIM.CVB be-PTCP.PRS-3PL  
 ‘What are they eating even if they come to work?’ (Kazama 2004: 383)

· **Resultative aspect: *-si* (synthetic)**

- (7c) *tuu tuu ili-si-i-ni.*  
 silently stand.up-RES-PTCP.PRS-3SG  
 ‘(S)he is standing silently.’ (Kazama 2004: 326)

- (7d) *əgdi qnii təə-si-i-ti.*  
 a.lot person sit.down-RES-PTCP.PRS-3PL  
 ‘A lot of people are sitting.’ (Kazama 2004: 11)

## 2.2.6. Uilta (III)

In Uilta, the progressive and resultative aspects are respectively denoted in an analytic and a synthetic way, as shown below. This corresponds to the strategies used in other East Tungusic languages, except for Negidal, as exemplified in (8a, 8b) and (8c, 8d).

· **Progressive aspect: simultaneous converb in *-mi* + existential verb *bi-* (analytic)**

- (8a) *tuwə xurigači-mi bi-čči-ni.*  
 winter do.ainu.bear.festival-SIM.CVB be-PTCP.PST-3SG  
 ‘In winter, [he] was doing the Ainu bear festival.’ (Ikegami 2002: 23)

- (8b) *bi šunhattaa butu-mi bi-čči-mbi.*  
 1SG.NOM fish.ACC cook-SIM.CVB be-PTCP.PST-1SG  
 ‘I was cooking fish.’ (Magata 1981: 131)

· **Resultative aspect: *-či--si* (synthetic)**

- (8c) *tari jəə-ni čii ili-si-ni.*  
 that partner-3SG all.the.time stand.up-RES-3SG

- ‘That partner is standing all the time.’ (Ikegami 2002: 43)
- (8d) *aŋma-kkəə-ni səəksə təəp təəp sabda-mii*  
 mouth-ABL-3SG blood ONMP drop-SIM.CVB  
*təə-si-ni=ndəə.*  
 sit.down-RES-3SG=CLT  
 ‘It is said that she is sitting while bleeding.’ (Ikegami 2002: 57)

### 2.3. South Tungusic

In 2.3., I examine the morphosyntactic difference between progressive and resultative aspects in Solon, Hezhen, and Manchu, spoken in the Northeastern Chinese province.

#### 2.3.1. Solon (I)

In Solon, Sung et al. (2010: 155) note that the distinction between progressive and resultative aspects is analytically realized by the different use of imperfective and perfective converbal endings plus the existential verb, as respectively attested in (9b)–(9c) and (9d)–(9e). Furthermore, a synthetic progressive marker, as in (9a), is also attested in Solon; this is consistent with the synthetic progressive marking used by the first group of Tungusic languages in Russia, displaying a significant difference from Hezhen and Manchu.

· **Progressive aspect: -jŋ (synthetic)**

- (9a) *ənaajŋ=kkŋ jŋjŋ-jŋ-ra-n gun-ən.*  
 girl=CLT say-PROG-F.IMPF-3 say-PRS.3  
 ‘It is said that the girl is saying.’ (Kazama 2008c: 19)

· **Progressive aspect: imperfective converb in -m(i) + existential verb bi- (analytic)**

- (9b) *ai tiinug uldii jŋ-m bi-səə-si.*  
 2SG.NOM yesterday meat eat-IMPF.CVB be-PTCP.PST-2SG  
 ‘You were eating meat yesterday.’ (Sung et al. 2010: 153)
- (9c) *əmun xuudee timsəə-ldii-m bi-si-n gun-ən.*  
 one sack.ACC take.by.force-RECP-IMPF.CVB be-PTCP.PST-3 say-PRS.3  
 ‘They say that [a group of people] were taking a sack by force.’  
 (Sung et al. 2010: 155)

· **Resultative aspect: perfective converb in -tAn + existential verb bi- (analytic)**

- (9d) *si onti titi-tən bi-si-n.*  
 2SG.NOM shoes put.on-PFV.CVB be-PRS-2SG  
 ‘You are wearing shoes.’ (Sung et al. 2010: 155)
- (9e) *bi ilisi-tan bi-jŋ-mi.*  
 1SG.NOM stand.up-PFV.CVB be-PROG-PRS.1SG

‘I am standing.’

(Sung et al. 2010: 155)

### 2.3.2. Hezhen (II)

Reexamining the function of the converbal endings *-m(i)* and *-rə* described by An (1986), Li (2005, 2006) discovered that ‘V1 *-m(i) + bi-*’ denotes continual progressive action (10a, 10b), mainly combined with action verbs, while ‘V1 *-rə + bi-*’ is used to express a continual resultative state (10c, 10d), frequently containing a stative verb. In other words, the different uses of converbal endings play a dominant role in the contrast between progressive and resultative aspects in Hezhen. Moreover, Li (2005) implies that the aspect marking strategy of using the converb plus existential verb in South Tungusic may be attributed to the influence of Manchu and Mongolian because this type of syntactic structure is not considered to be a common phenomenon in Tungusic.

· **Progressive aspect: imperfective converb in *-m(i)* + existential verb *bi-* (analytic)**

- (10a) *unu-ji-ni*                      *soŋo-m*                      *bi-rə-n.*  
 be.sick-PTCP.IMPF-3SG      cry-IMPF.CVB              be-F.IMPF-3  
 ‘She is crying due to the pain.’ (Li 2006: 133)

- (10b) *əi*      *birkan*      *əji-m*                      *bi-rə-n.*  
 this      river      flow-IMPF.CVB              be- F.IMPF-3  
 ‘This river is flowing.’ (Li 2006: 133–134)

· **Resultative aspect: perfective converb in *-rə* + existential verb *bi-* (analytic)**

- (10c) *ili-rə*                      *bi-rə-n.*  
 stand.up-PFV.CVB              be-F.IMPF-3  
 ‘(S)he is standing.’ (Li 2006: 136)

- (10d) *bi*                      *tə-rə*                      *bi-rə-n.*  
 1SG.NOM      sit.down-PFV.CVB              be-F.IMPF-3  
 ‘I am sitting.’ (Li 2006: 131)

### 2.3.3. Manchu (IV)<sup>6</sup>

In Manchu, an auxiliary verb structure consisting of a converb plus existential verb is used to express the two contrasting aspects. Kawachi (1996: 122–123) explains that progressive and resultative aspects can be differentiated by the imperfective converb in

<sup>6</sup> Note that this study holds its judgement on *-šA*, defined as durative by Avrorin (2001: 162-164) and Gorelova (2002: 242), because it has as a variety of aspectual functions such as constant (*jafa-* ‘to hold’, *jafaša-* ‘to hold continually’), frequent (*tuwa-* ‘to see’, *tuwaša-* ‘to see frequently’) and gradual (*ibka-* ‘to push’, *ibkaša-* ‘to push gradually’) in addition to duration.

-*mə* + existential verb *bi-* versus the perfective converb in *-fi* + existential verb *bi-*, as in the following examples.

· **Progressive aspect: imperfective converb in *-mə* + existential verb *bi-* (analytic)**

- (11a) *hūwang joo ba bə tuwakija-mə bi-hə*  
 Hwangcaoba ACC watch-IMPF.CVB be-PTCP.PFV  
*sə-mə ala-mbi.*  
 say-IMPF.CVB say-F.IMPF  
 ‘[They] say that [they] were watching over Hwangcaoba.’ (Choi et al. 2012b: 111)

- (11b) *aha bə angg'ara bira-i juhə tuhə-rə bə*  
 servant ACC Anggara river-GEN ice melt-IMPF.PTCP ACC  
*aliya-mə bi-fi.*  
 wait-IMPF.CVB be-PFV.CVB  
 ‘After waiting for the ice of the Anggara river to melt.’ (Kawachi 1996: 123)

· **Resultative aspect: perfective converb in *-fi* + existential verb *bi-* (analytic)**

- (11c) *si mədari tun də uka-fi bi-čibə.*  
 2SG.NOM sea island DAT escape-PFV.CVB be-CONC.CVB  
 ‘Although you have escaped from the sea island,’ (Kawachi 1996: 123)
- (11d) *ərə alin i həčən də dosi-fi bi-hə*  
 this mountain GEN castle DAT enter-PFV.CVB be-PFV.PTCP  
*sə-mə si minggan sə baha-mbi=o.*  
 say-IMPF.CVB 2SG.NOM thousand old obtain-FINIT=Q  
 ‘Although you have entered the castle of this mountain, have you obtained a life of thousand years?’ (Kawachi 1996: 124)

## 2.4. Summary

Taking into consideration the typological parameters of the morphosyntactic strategies for denoting progressive and resultative aspects, I examined how each Tungusic language grammatically encodes the two aspects and summarized the results in Table 1. First, Evenki and Even, belonging to North Tungusic, have a common distinction of marking progressive and resultative aspects using separate synthetic aspect elements, i.e. *\*-jA* and *\*-t*. In contrast, the two aspects in the South Tungusic languages (Solon, Hezhen, and Manchu) are dominantly created with an analytic strategy, a so-called auxiliary verb structure, consisting of imperfective and perfective converbs plus existential verbs. In the East Tungusic languages (Ulcha, Nanay, Orochi, Udihe, and Uilta), progressive aspect can be encoded by the simultaneous converb in *\*-mi* and existential verb *bi-*, whereas the synthetic resultative

marker *\*-t* is used for resultative aspect. Thus, I conclude that the morphosyntactic strategies of marking progressive and resultative aspects in Tungusic show variations based on geographical distribution as follows: North Tungusic (synthetic-oriented strategy), East Tungusic (mixed orientation of synthetic and analytic strategies), and South Tungusic (analytic-oriented strategy).

Table 1 Morphosyntactic strategies for progressive and resultative aspects in Tungusic

		progressive	resultative	strategy
North Tungusic	Ek (I)	<i>-ǰA(-čA)</i>	<i>-t~-čA</i>	synthetic-oriented
	E (I)	<i>-d/-ǰ~-ǰid/-čid</i>	<i>-t</i>	synthetic-oriented
East Tungusic	N (I)	<i>-ǰA (?)</i>	<i>-č (-čt, -t)</i>	synthetic-oriented
	Ol (III)	<i>-mi + bi-</i>	<i>-si</i>	analytic and synthetic
	Nn (III)	<i>-mi + bi-</i>	<i>-si</i>	analytic and synthetic
	Or (II)	<i>-mi + bi-</i>	<i>-si</i>	analytic and synthetic
	U (II)	<i>-mi + bi-</i>	<i>-si</i>	analytic and synthetic
	Ut (III)	<i>-mi + bi-</i>	<i>-či~-si</i>	analytic and synthetic
South Tungusic	S (I)	<i>-ǰi</i> <i>-m(i) + bi-</i>	<i>-tAn + bi-</i>	synthetic or analytic-oriented
	Hz (II)	<i>-m(i) + bi-</i>	<i>-rə + bi-</i>	analytic-oriented
	M (IV)	<i>-m(i) + bi-</i>	<i>-fi + bi-</i>	analytic-oriented

### 3. Neighboring languages

As shown in Fig. 4, Tungusic is in a region with a variety of different language families, and is known to have had or have contact with these adjacent languages. Among them, Kolyma Yukaghir, Sakha, and Mongolian (Khalkha) will be examined in this section.

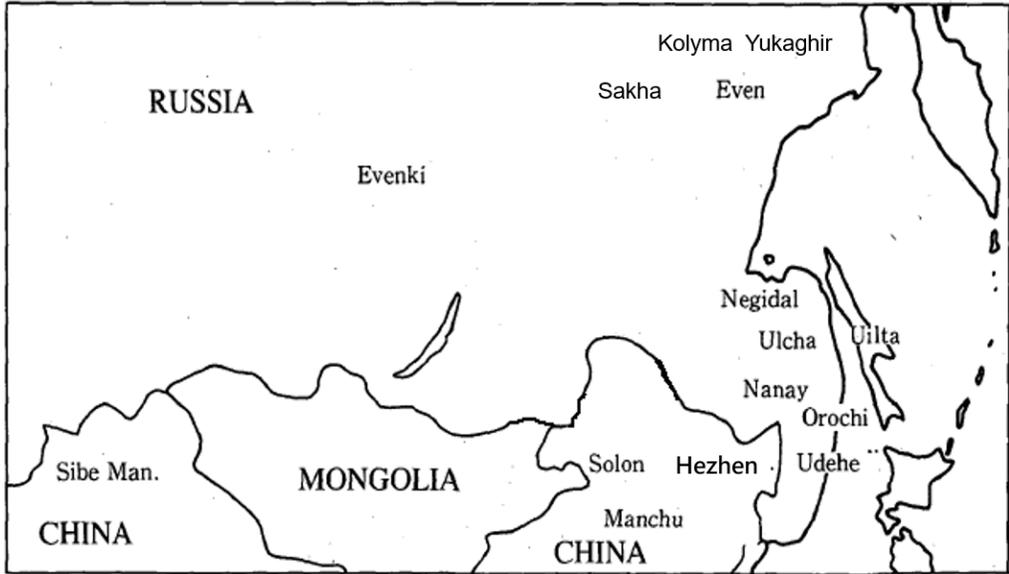


Fig. 4 Geographical Distribution of Tungusic and neighboring languages  
(Based on Tsumagari 1997: 176 with a minor change by the author)

### 3.1. Kolyma Yukaghir

Spoken in the same general region as Evenki and Even, Kolyma Yukaghir marks the distinction between progressive and resultative aspects by adopting different synthetic markers, as illustrated by (12a, 12b) and (12c, 12d). Just like North Tungusic, the two separate aspects can be synthetically expressed, using *-nu* for progressive and *-ō* for resultative.

#### · Progressive aspect: *-nu* (synthetic)

- (12a) *tamun-gele el+med-ōl'*  
 that-ACC NEG+listen-DESD(NEG:3SG)  
*ibil'ie-nu-j ørn'ie-nu-j.*  
 cry-IMPf-INTR:3SG shout-IMPf-3SG  
 'He does not listen to it, he is crying, he is shouting.' (Maslova 2003: 183)
- (12b) *tāt mie-dā-nu-de-ge jed-u-l qolil-ek medū-l.*  
 that wait-DETR-IMPf-3SG-DS visible-E-ANR noise-PRED heard-SF  
 'While he was waiting, he heard thunder.' (Maslova 2003: 184)

#### · Resultative aspect: *-ō* (synthetic)

- (12c) *čolhorā-die tā ig-ō-j.*  
 hare-DIM there get.caught-RES-INTR:3SG

‘The hare has been caught (is caught) there (in the snare-trap).’

(Maslova 2003: 206)

- (12d) *amd-ō-t*                      *qodō-j.*  
die-RES-IMPF.SS              lie-INTR:3SG

‘He is/was lying dead.’

(Maslova 2003: 206)

### 3.2. Sakha

Ebata (2012: 102) observes that in Sakha the combination of the imperfective converb in *-A* and the existential verb *surrut* ‘be’ indicates progressive aspect (13a, 13b), whereas, as (13c, 13d) illustrate, the perfective converb in *-An* plus an auxiliary verb analytically constitutes resultative aspect.

· **Progressive aspect: imperfective converb in *-A* + auxiliary verb (analytic)**

- (13a) *kyhyn*              *tajax-tuuu*                      *sulž-a-but.*  
autumn              elk-VBLZ.IMPF.CVB              be-PRS-1PL

‘In winter, we are hunting elk.’

(Ebata 2012: 102)

- (13b) *ol’ga*    *kuukuna-ka*    *tug-u=ere*              *astuuu*                      *sulž-ar.*  
Olga    kitchen-DAT    what-ACC=CLT              cook.IMPF.CVB              be-PRS.3SG

‘Olga is cooking something in the kitchen.’

(Ebata 2012: 224)

· **Resultative aspect: perfective converb in *-An* + auxiliary verb (analytic)**

- (13c) *toŋ-mot*                      *tuhugar*  
be.froze-NEG:PTCP.PRS              for  
*yčygej-dik*                      *taŋn-an*                      *sulž-ar.*  
be.good-ADVLZ              put.on-PFV.CVB              be-PRS.3SG

‘He is wearing (enough clothes) not to get frozen.’

(Ebata 2012: 102)

- (13d) *oyo-but*    *timniy-an*                      *hötöll-ön*                      *öl-ön*                      *xäl-la.*  
child-1PL    be.cold-PFV.CVB              cough-PFV.CVB              die-PFV.CVB              stay-PST.3SG

‘Our child...caught a cold and coughed and died.’

(Pakendorf 2007: 272)

### 3.3. Mongolian (Khalkha)

As illustrated in (14a)–(14d), the difference between progressive and resultative aspects in Mongolian is known to be determined by the distinct use of imperfective and perfective converbal endings plus the existential verb,<sup>7</sup> and this phenomenon syntactically coincides with those of the Tungusic languages in China.

<sup>7</sup> This type of analytic strategy is also commonly attested in other Mongolic languages such as Buryat and Dagur.

· **Progressive: V-imperfective converb in -j̄ (-č̄) + existential verb *bai-* (analytic)**<sup>8</sup>

(14a) *ted nar rašaan ruu oči-j̄ baj-na.*  
 3PL.NOM PL resort DIR go-IMPF.CVB be-N.PST  
 ‘They are going to the health resort.’ (Dugarova and Jaxontova 1988: 220)

(14b) *čaanaas mor'-toj xün ir-j̄ baj-na.*  
 beyond.ABL horse-COM person come-IMPF.CVB be-N.PST  
 ‘A person on a horse is coming from that side.’ (Yamakoshi 2012: 122)

· **Resultative: V-perfective converb in -Aad + existential verb *bai-* (analytic)**

(14c) *nom un-aad bai-n.*  
 book fall.down-PFV.CVB be-N.PST  
 ‘A book is fallen.’ (Ling 2016: 4)

(14d) *müs xail-aad bai-n.*  
 ice melt.down-PFV.CVB be-N.PST  
 ‘Ice is melted.’ (Ling 2016: 5)

#### 4. Conclusion

In this study, I have examined the morphosyntactic strategies of signaling an opposition between progressive and resultative aspect in Tungusic languages from the perspective of areal linguistics. The results are summarized in Fig. 5. North Tungusic languages (Evenki, Even) were found to adopt a synthetic-oriented strategy marked by separate progressive and resultative elements, whereas this phenomenon is rarely found in South Tungusic on the Chinese side. Instead, the aspect distinction is analytically realized using an auxiliary verb structure consisting of an imperfective or perfective converb plus an existential verb in Solon, Hezhen, and Manchu. Interestingly, a similar strategy is also attested in the adjacent Mongolian language. East Tungusic was discovered to use an analytic strategy for progressive aspect analogous to that of South Tungusic, while the expression of resultative aspect in East Tungusic corresponds with that of North Tungusic. In conclusion, the findings raise the possibility that the morphosyntactic strategies for distinguishing progressive and resultative aspect differ among Tungusic languages depending on areal distribution; the differences in their strategies can be attributed to the influence of a neighboring Mongolian language.

<sup>8</sup> However, as noted in Yamakoshi (2012: 122), this auxiliary verb structure can also convey resultative aspect. Thus, clear distinction between imperfective and perfective converb plus existential verb in the expression of resultative function is to be made.

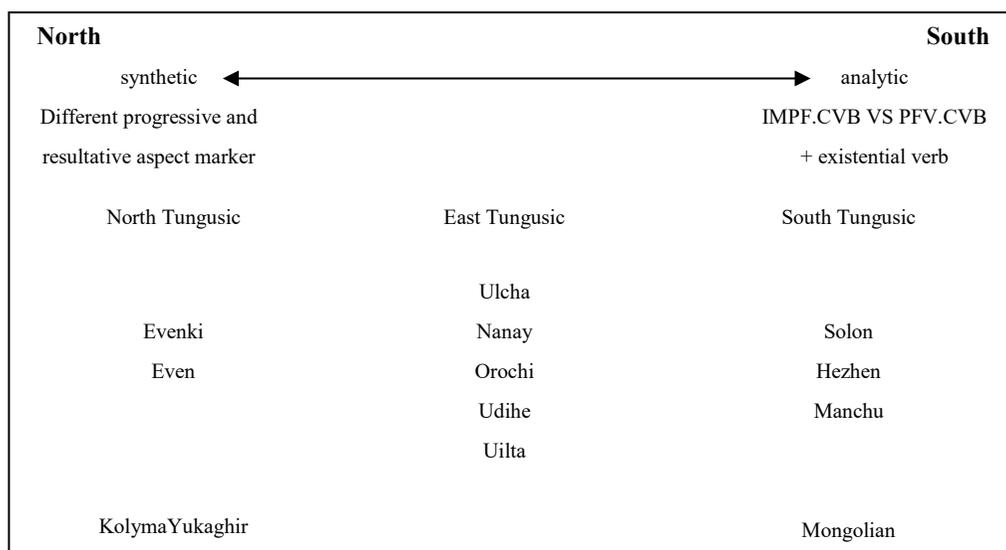


Fig. 5 Continuum of strategies for progressive and resultative aspects in Tungusic and neighboring languages

Nevertheless, the present paper has the following limitations. First, this study does not specifically deal with the function of participle or finite verbs as progressive and resultative aspect markers, which is available in most East and South Tungusic languages. Second, a more specific explanation should be offered regarding the encoding of progressive aspect in Negidal with its absence (or limited use) of the imperfective or progressive aspect marker *-ʃA*. Third, in this article I did not examine the morphosyntactic features of the two aspects in Sibe, which is considered a dialect of Manchu. Last, other neighboring languages like Nivkh and Ainu also need to be examined in this regard. Therefore, further research is necessary to clarify these unresolved issues.

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### Abbreviations

1, 2, 3: 1st person, 2nd person, 3rd person, ABL: ablative, ACC: accusative, ADVLZ: adverbializer, ANR: action nominalizer, CLT: clitic, COM: comitative, CONC.CVB: concessive converb, CVB: converb, DAT: dative, DESD: desiderative, DETR: detransitivizer, DIM: diminutive, DIR: directive, DIRINT: directional-intentional, DS: different subject, E: epenthesis, F.IMPF: finite imperfect, FINIT: finite verb, FUT: future, GEN: genitive, HAB: habitual, IMPF: imperfective, IMPF.CVB: imperfective converb, INTR: intransitive, LOC: locative, M: masculine, NEG: negative, N.FUT: non-future, NMLZ: nominalizer, NOM:

nominative, N.PST: non-past, ONMP: onomatopoeia, PFV.CVB: perfective converb, PL: plural, PRED: predicative, PROG: progressive, PRS: present, PST: past, PTCP: participle, Q: question marker, RECP: reciprocal, RES: resultative, SF: S-Focus, SG: singular, SIM.CVB: simultaneous converb, SS: same subject, TOP: topic marker, VBLZ: verbalizer, -: affix boundary, =: clitic boundary.

## Transcription

Transcriptions in Tungusic in this paper have been unified by the author on the basis of the following phonology. Vowels: *i, ɪ, ə, a, o, ɔ, u, ʊ*; Consonants: *p, b, t, d, č, ʃ, k, g, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, f, s, š, h, r, l, w, j*. In addition, glosses and English interpretations are the author's own and may be different from those in original sources.

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