Associated motion in Manchu in typological perspective

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The present paper presents a detailed description of the Associated Motion system of Classical Manchu, on the basis of original texts from the 17–18th centuries. It shows that despite superficial similarities, Classical Manchu differs in many ways from previously described AM systems only comprising translocative vs. cislocative markers, such as that of Japhug. This paper provides a basic framework for further research on the typology of simple AM systems.

Keywords: associated motion, Tungusic, Manchu, motion verbs, andative, venitive, translocative, cislocative, grammaticalization

1. Introduction

The category of 'Associated Motion' (henceforth AM), first discovered in Pama-Nyungan languages (Koch 1984; Wilkins 1991), is progressively becoming a topic of typological research in other areas, in particular South America (see Guillaume 2008; Rose 2015; Guillaume 2016), and but also Eurasia (for instance, Sino-Tibetan, Jacques 2013). Following Guillaume (2016: 92), AM markers can be defined as 'grammatical morpheme[s] that [are] associated with the verb and that [have] among [their] possible functions the coding of translational motion.'

Most languages with AM can also express the association of translational motion with an action ('go to X, go and X, X and go, etc.') by means of motion verb constructions with purposive construction (henceforth MVC).[1] This raises the question of the semantic value of the contrast between AM and MVC in languages where

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1. Exceptions include Algonquian languages such as Ojibwe (Valentine 2001: 729–733), where only AM markers can be used to express meanings such as 'go/come to X', and motion verbs apparently cannot take purposive complements.

both constructions are possible. This important question, however, as pointed out by Guillaume (2016: 90), has not yet been the focus of much research in the typological literature.

This paper deals with the system of AM in the Manchu language, and focuses on the precise semantic value of the AM suffixes, in particular their differences with the corresponding MVC and their interaction with the causative.

This paper comprises three sections. First, we present an overview of previous studies of AM, MVC, and valency-increasing morphemes in the literature. Second, we provide a detailed description of AM in Manchu on the basis of a philological investigation of authentic early Manchu texts from the 17–18th centuries (excluding translated documents). Third, we investigate how the commonalities and differences in the use of AM in Manchu and other languages such as Japhug can be accounted for by differences in grammaticalization pathways.

2. Associated motion

In this section, we present three typological questions that we believe deserve to be treated when describing any AM system: the parameters of the AM system, the semantic difference between AM markers and their MVC equivalent, and the interaction between AM and derivational morphemes such as the causative.

2.1 Parameters

In languages with complex AM systems such as Tacanan and Arandic, Guillaume (2016: 88) identifies three main parameters: PATH (cislocative, translocative, circumambulative, etc.), TEMPORAL RELATION (prior, concurrent, subsequent motion) and moving argument (S/A vs. O).

In languages with simpler AM systems comprising only two morphemes as in Manchu, there is little variety regarding these parameters: only cislocative vs. translocative AM markers of prior motion of the (S/A) subject are attested.

2.2 Associated motion vs. motion verb construction

As mentioned above, few previous publications have addressed the issue of the contrast between AM and MVC. Previous literature (Wilkins 1991; Guillaume 2016) has focused on specificities of AM, in particular the fact that a motion event expressed by an AM marker is generally (i) backgrounded, (ii) may not be rendered in

translation, and (iii) may be referred to several times by a motion verb and several AM markers in a row (the so-called 'echo phenomenon', see for instance Guillaume 2016: 91). These features of AM are indeed also observed in Manchu and other Tungusic languages (see for instance (9) concerning backgrounding and absence in translation, and (35) for the echo form).

Yet, another crucial difference between AM and MVC, at least in some languages, is the relationship between the motion and the goal events. One of the few languages where this question has been studied is Japhug (Rgyalrongic, Trans-Himalayan). In Japhug, the semantic difference between AM and MVC is most obvious in the aorist (Jacques 2013: 203). In the MVC, a motion verb in the aorist implies that the motion has been completed, but does not specify whether the goal action (the action referred to in the purposive complement clause) has taken place or not. This can be shown by the fact that the goal action can be negated, as in Examples (1) and (2).

(1) *laχtɕʰa ɯ-kɯ-χtu   jɤ-ari-a   ri   tɤ-χtu-t-a*
    thing   3SG-NMLZ:S/A-buy AOR-go[II]-1SG but AOR-buy-PST-1SG
    maka me.
    at.all N.PST:not.have
    'I went to buy things **but did not buy anything**.'

(2) *kɯ-nɯ-rŋgɯ   jɤ-ari-a   ri   kɤ-nɯ-rŋgɯ*
    NMLZ:S/A-AUTO-lie.down AOR-go[II]-1SG but INF-AUTO-lie.down
    mɯ-pɯ-ŋgrɯ.
    NEG-PST.IPFV-succeed
    'I went to sleep **but could not sleep**.'

On the other hand, AM prefixes imply that **both** the motion and the goal action have been completed, and it is therefore nonsensical to negate the latter, as in Examples (3) and (4).

(3) **laχtɕʰa ɕ-tɤ-χtu-t-a   ri   tɤ-χtu-t-a*
    thing   TRANSLOC-AOR-buy-PST-1SG but AOR-buy-PST-1SG
    maka me.
    at.all N.PST:not.have
    (intended meaning: Sentence (1))

(4) **ɕ-pɯ-nɯ-rŋgɯ-a   ri   kɤ-nɯ-rŋgɯ*
    TRANSLOC-AOR-AUTO-lie.down-1SG but INF-AUTO-lie.down
    mɯ-pɯ-ŋgrɯ.
    NEG-PST.IPFV-succeed
    (intended meaning: Sentence (2))

This finding, tested on the basis of elicited examples, is consistent with natural data from narratives and conversations (see Jacques 2013 for a detailed account of both constructions).

We shall show in § 3 that a similar contrast is observed in Manchu, though in that language it is less strict and appears to have exceptions.

2.3   AM and causative

All AM systems described up to now display accusative alignment (i.e. if the verb receiving the AM marker is transitive, the argument undergoing the motion is the A, not the P), and only a handful of languages have object AM markers.

However, in the case of causative constructions, the motion argument can at least in some languages be either the causee or the causer. In languages such as Japhug with highly templatic morphology, the semantic scope of the causative is ambiguous (Jacques 2015: 182). The causative can either only apply to the action expressed by the verb root (as in (5), 'go and cause to X') or apply to the motion (as in (6), 'cause to go and X').

(5)   *mpʰrɯmɯ ɕ-pɯ-sɯ-re   tɕe,   ɕ-tɤ-tʰe*
       divination   TRANSLOC-IMP-CAUS-look[III]   LNK   TRANSLOC-IMP-ask[III]
       ra.
       have.to:FACT
       'Go and have him make a divination and ask him about it.'   (divination03 7)[2]

(6)   *tɕe kupa   cʰu   nɯra   atʰi   pɕoʁ   nɯra,   ɯ-pɕi*
       LNK Chinese LOC   DEM:PL downstream direction   DEM:PL   3SG-outside
       nɯra   kɯ   kɯreri ɣɯ-cʰɯ-sɯ-χtɯ-nɯ   ŋu.
       DEM:PL ERG here   CISLOC-IPFV:DOWNSTREAM-CAUS-buy-PL be:FACT
       'People from the Chinese areas, people from outside send people to come here to buy (matsutake and sell them in the areas downstream).'
                                                         (hist-20-grWBgrWB 58)

In § 3.5, we shall explain how Manchu and Japhug differ in this regard.

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3.   AM in Classical Manchu

Associated motion in Manchu is expressed by two suffixes: *-nji-* (cislocative or venitive) and *-na-/-ne-/-no* (translocative or andative). These suffixes are generally considered to be grammaticalized from the corresponding motion verb constructions *X-me ji-* 'come to X' and *X-me gene-* 'go to X' with the verb of the purposive complement marked with the imperfective converb suffix *-me* (a more detailed account of the origin of these suffixes is provided in § 4). Examples (7) and (8) illustrate both associated motion and their corresponding motion verb construction.

(7)   a.   *ala-na-mbi*
tell-TRANSLOC-PRE
b.   *ala-me   gene-mbi*
tell-IPFV.CONV go-PRE
'go to tell'

(8)   a.   *ala-nji-mbi*
tell-CISLOC-PRE
b.   *ala-me   ji-mbi*
tell-IPFV.CONV come-PRE
'come to tell'

Cislocative and translocative are usually described alongside the so-called missive *-nggi-* 'to send to V' (from *unggi-* 'to send, dispatch'), which is briefly described in § 3.6.

It is traditionally held that predicates with associated motion suffixes and motion verb constructions are synonymous, as suggested by the translations of Examples (7) and (8). Such a characterization can be found in both grammars and handbooks, from the pioneering work of Zaxarov (2010[1879]: 163–165, §§ 133–134) to more recent works such as Pashkov (1963: 34–35), Avrorin (2000: 173–174), Li (2000: 19), or Gorelova (2002: 239–240).[3]

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3.   Chinese, Japanese and early European grammars agree on this description. As far as *-na-* is concerned, Klaproth, in Adelung (1817: 206) has already 'Inchoativa'. The suffix *-nji-* is not labelled in any distinctive way even by Gabelentz (1832: 51) (who has "incoatif" for *-na-*), and the illative label of *-nji-* seems to be De Harlez's own interpretation (De Harlez 1884: 51). This terminology, inchoative and illative, was adopted by later grammarians (e.g. Peeters 1940: 367). Haenisch (1961: 53), however, calls *-na-/-ne-/-no* "Illativ" and *-nji-* "Allativ" (cf. Li 2000: 401b calls *-na-/-ne-/-no* "allative verbal suffix", but *-nji-* is just called "verbal suffix" on p. 402a).

The use of *-ji-* instead of *-nji-* by some of the earlier grammarians (Klaproth, Gabelentz, De Harlez) may have a purely etymological origin. Different authors, starting with the Manchu-Chinese who wrote the original treatises on which European later works are based, understood that *-n-* corresponds to *-na-*, put it differently, that the *-ji-* form is built on the verbal

Curiously enough, Orlov (1873) described *-na-* and *-nji-* without making any mention of the corresponding analytic constructions with *-V-me gene-* and *-V-me ji-*, and (2) expanding on the range of their usage to include the expression, not only of actions of the type 'going to V' or 'coming to V', but also of the inchoative 'to begin V-ing' and the completive 'having (almost) V-ed'. Zaxarov does not seem to be aware of the (2), perhaps because all the time he had in mind the etymological background of these suffixes (the verbs of motion ***gene-*** and *-ji-*).[4]

Textual analysis[5] shows that the relative frequency of motion verb constructions occur less frequently and associated motion changed during between the 17th and the 18th centuries (see § 3.7).

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form containing *-na-*. Note that in all presentations *-na-* and *-nji-* appear contiguously, one after the other, implying by it that they are somehow connected both formally and semantically (we owe this suggestion to Sven Osterkamp).

4. It is worth noting that Orlov wrote his grammar without knowing that Zaxarov was working on the same topic. Orlov profited from bilingual Mongolian-Manchu documents, mostly translations from Manchu, available to him in the Orthodox Seminar at Irkutsk (Orlov 1873: V). Incidentally, the specific nature of his source material, as well as his proficiency in Mongolian, rather than in Manchu, would partially explain why there is no trace of the missive suffix *-nggi* (from ***unggi-*** 'to send, delegate', see discussion in § 3.6), which has no parallels in Mongolian, in Orlov's grammar.

5. Our corpus includes a total of six narrative texts. Two of them come from the 17th century or earlier (the first volume of the *Tongki fuka sindaha hergen i dangse*, or The Old Manchu Chronicles, Kanda et al. 1955, and the *Beye-i cooha bade yabuha babe ejehe bithe*, Di Cosmo 2006). Another text (***Nišan samani bithe***, Nowak & Durrant 1977 and Jaxontov 1993) is of oral origin and later date, though it is believed that it continues a long tradition. We analysed of only the first volume of The Old Manchu Chronicles because it is the most extensive one. The assumption is made that the remaining six volumes in Kanda's Japanese edition reflect the same state of affairs. We also include one text from the beginning of the 18th century (***Lakcaha jecen de takûraha babe ejehe bithe***, Imanishi 1964) and two texts from the end of the 18th century (*Manju-i yargiyan kooli,* Imanishi 1992 and ***Emu tanggû orin sakda-i gisun sarkiyan***, Stary 1983). Although *Manju-i yargiyan kooli* is said to have been composed sometime in the 17th century, all copies available to us derive from late 18th century, and this dating is supported by the linguistic features of the text (see the discussion in § 3.7).

These texts are not translations, but original native Manchu literary compositions. Modern editions allow us to confront the *communis opinio* regarding the translation of associated motion formations with the idea suggested in the present contribution. For Imanishi (1992) we provide page of the Manchu text in brackets and lines, for the remaining texts "page with Manchu text [Manchu manuscript page] / English, Japanese, or Russian translation". For Stary (1983), page with Manchu text and in brackets Manchu manuscript page.

3.1 Difference between AM and MCV

As we saw in § 2.2, an easily detectable difference between AM and MVC is observed in languages such as Japhug. In past perfective forms of the MVC 'X went to do', the motional event ('go') is understood as completed, but the completion of the main event ('do') is left unspecified. The corresponding form with AM markers however, implies that both motional and main events are completed ('X went and did').

There is some evidence that this semantic difference is also found in Manchu. While elicitation is not possible since Classical Manchu is an extinct language,[6] its extensive text corpus makes it possible to some extent to ascertain fine semantic differences between common constructions.

In the following, we present a series of examples of verbs with AM in past forms (with either the past *-ha/-he/-ho* or the perfective converb *-fi*) showing that both the motion event and the action of the main verb have taken place. In (9) the motion event is backgrounded and the translator did not include it in their renditions of the passage.

(9) *se-he   manggi holkonde   emu amba daimin*
    SAY-PST after   in.an.instant one big   eagle
    wasi-nji-fi   *nisan saman i   eigen   be   /*
    descend-CISLOC-PFV.CONV Nisan shaman GEN husband ACC
    šoforo-me   *fengdu hecen   de*
    seize.in.the.claws-IPFV.CONV Fengtu walled.city LOC
    makta-na-ha   *yargiyan i   tumen jalan   de*
    throw-TRANSLOC-PST real   GEN 10,000 generation LOC
    niyalma-i / beye banji-bu-rakû   o-bu-ha.
    man-GEN   body born-CAUS/PASS-NEG AUX-CAUS-PST
    'After having said (this), one big eagle descended, seized in his claws the husband of Nishan shaman and **threw** (him): "You will not be able to reincarnate in a human body for the next good 10,000 years!"'.
                         (Jaxontov 1993: 85, 20b/119)

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6. The only surviving descendant of seventeenth century Manchu, Sibe, also has AM, but this would require a separate paper. Moreover, Zikmundová (2013: 178) argues that, in reference to *-na-, -nji-* and several other derivational suffixes, they '[…] are fixed in particular verbal forms and are not recognized by native speakers with the exception of those educated in Manchu grammar' suggesting that it may be difficult to elicit minimal pairs as in languages such as Japhug, where AM prefixes are not lexicalized.

In examples with associated motion such as (10) and (11), the context makes it clear that both motion event and main action have been completed, even if the translation does not make it explicit.

(10) *suwe goroki-ci meni jecen de neci-nji-he.*
you.PL distant-ABL our border LOC raid-CISLOC-PST
'You (came and) attacked us from far away.'   (Stary 1983: 503; 870)

(11) *orin juwe de ki hiyan be dule-me.   jakûnju sunja*
twenty two DAT Qi county ACC pass-IPFV.CONV eighty five
ba yabu-fi.   jeo gurun-i   cenghiyang big'an-i   eifu
li go-PFV.CONV Zhou country-GEN chengxiang bigan-GEN grave
be tuwa-na-fi.   miyoo-i   boigon-i   oren
ACC see-TRANSLOC-PFV.CONV temple-GEN household earthen.statue
de hengkile-fi. ing ili-ha.
DAT kneel-PFV.CONV camp stand-PST
'On the twenty-second we passed Qi county, covering 85 li, then went to see the tomb of Chengxiang Bigan of the kingdom of Zhou, knelt in front of the earthen statue of the temple, and set up our camp.' (Di Cosmo 2006: 83/103)

Negation on a verb with associated motion as in (12) necessarily has scope over the main action.

(12) *nikan-i   amba dain jidere-be,   nenehe inenggi*
Chinese-GEN large troop come:IPFV.PART-ACC previous day
gûwa karun-i   niyalma sabu-ci, tombasi gebungge
another border.guard-GEN man   see-COND Tombasi named
niyalma-i karun   sabu-hakûbi, jai   inenggi nikan-i
man-GEN border.guard see-PST.NEG following day   Chinese-GEN
dain-be   sabu-fi,   muse-i cooha-de aca-me
troop-ACC see-PFV.CONV 1PI-GEN army-DAT meet-IPFV.CONV
ala-nji-hakû,   nikan-i   cooha-i   amala
report-CISLOC-PST.NEG Chinese-GEN army-GEN behind
ili-fi   bi-he
stand-PFV.CONV be-PST
'[But] the incoming big Chinese army which the previous day another border guard had seen, the border guard called Tombasi did not see. The next day he noticed the Chinese regiment, [but] he did not come to report that they have met our army. They were staying put behind the Chinese army […]'
                                     (Kanda et al. 1955: 141, lines 5–8)

By contrast, the MVC in past form as in (13) or in the perfective converb as in (14) is used when only the motion event has been completed (in the case of (14), it is obvious from the context in this example that the soldiers were not successful).

(13) *bi   oci   adaki   hoton-i   jeo-i   saraci.   cohome*
me   as.for   neighbor   city-GEN   district-GEN   magistrate   especially
suwem-be   aitubu-me   ji-he.
you.PL-ACC   save-IPFV.CONV   come-PST
'I am the District Head of the neighbouring city and I have come especially to
help you.'   (Stary 1983: 397; 291)

(14) *boo   be   efule-me   gene-fi.   hoton-i   hûlha de*
house   ACC   destroy-IPFV.CONV   go-PFV.CONV   city-GEN   rebel   DAT
ilan   tanggû   funce-me   meite-bu-he.
three   hundred   be.over-IPFV.CONV   cut.off-PASS-PST
'When they [=soldiers] went to pull down the houses [to get the timber], over
300 of them were cut off [and captured] by the rebels inside the city.'
                                          (Di Cosmo 2006: 69/97)

The semantic contrast between AM and MVC is best illustrated by the following
minimal pair with the causative verb *ili-bu-* 'build' ('cause to stand') in cislocative
AM form (15) vs. MVC (16). In (15), the focus is on the completion on the lexical
verb, while the motion event is secondary and not even taken into account in the
translation as in the above examples, while in (16) it is clear that only the motion
event has taken place, and that the action described by the purposive complement
has not even started; this contrast is identical to the one described in Japhug.

(15) *tere-ci   wan lii han ba-be   duri-me   jase-i*
that-ABL   Wan   Li   khan   place-ACC   seize-IPFV.CONV   frontier-GEN
tule   ududu ba-de   wehe-i   bithe ili-bu-nji-ha.
outside   several   place-LOC   stone-GEN   book   stand-CAUS-CISLOC-PST
'After Wan Li khan's place was seized, (they) established frontier lines and **made
inscriptions be erected** on several places.'   (Imanishi 1992: 129–130; 46)

(16) *ba   ambula ehe. afa-ci   ojo-rakû o-fi.*
place   great   evil   attack-COND   AUX-NEG   become-PFV.CONV
uthai   cooha   be   goci-ka: ging   hecen   ci
therefore   soldier   ACC   withdraw-PST   capital   walled.city   ABL
giyamun   ili-bu-me   ji-he   icihiyara   hafan
relay.station   stand-CAUS-IPFV.CONV   come-PST   departmental   director
walda se   isi-nji-fi.   dergi-ci.   hafan
Walda   others   reach-CISLOC-PFV.CONV   emperor-ABL   official
cooha-i   sain   be fonji-ha.
soldier-GEN   well-being   ACC   ask-PST
'That place was a really wicked one, and could not be attacked. Therefore [the
general] withdrew the army. Departmental Director Walda and others, **who
had come from the capital to build** relay stations, arrived with an imperial
dispatch, in which the emperor inquired about the well-being of officers and
soldiers.'   (Di Cosmo 2006: 94/62)

Table 1 presents text counts of AM and MVC in perfective form (with either the past *-ha/-he/-ho* or the perfective converb *-fi*) in Di Cosmo (2006), indicating whether only the motion event is completed, or whether both motion event and action of the main verb are completed (the data is provided in the supplementary files). This table shows that the semantic contrast observed between (15) and (16) is not anecdotal: MVC, rather than AM, is consistently used in perfective forms when only the motion event is completed, while AM is more commonly used when both events are completed.[7]

Table 1. Number of attestations of AM and MVC in perfective form in Di Cosmo (2006)

	-me gene-	*-me ji-*	*-na/-ne/-no*	*-nji*
both events completed	0	1	2	2
ambiguous	0	2	1	0
only motion event completed	1	4	0	0
no motion event	0	0	3	1
motion verb	3	2	19	26

Previous scholarship on AM and MCV in Manchu (Hayata 1995; Kubo 1997) focuses on their motional component (physical orientation, speaker's and listener's relative position, etc.) and the semantic difference between the two constructions has only been discussed by Hayata, who claimed that AM forms mean 'to go/come in order to V' (……に行く and ……に来る), while MVC mean 'do X and go/come' (……て行く / ……て来る), i.e. almost the exact opposite of the contrast proposed in this paper. The data in our corpus, in particular the text counts in Table 1, flatly contradict Hayata's proposal.

While these data show the existence of a semantic contrast between AM and MVC in Manchu similar to that found in Japhug, this contrast is a strong tendency rather than an absolute principle. Without restricting oneself to Di Cosmo (2006), it is possible to find in the Manchu corpus (unlike in Japhug) examples of AM verbs in past form where only the motion event is completed. For instance, in (17), the AM *hûlha-nji-ha* and the corresponding MVC *hûlha-me ji-he* are synonymous and clearly mean 'came to steal (the bull)' rather than 'came and stole (the bull)'.[8]

(17)   ***taidzu sure beile jortai   hendu-me   ere hûlha ainci***
      Taidzu wise ruler pretending say-IPFV.CONV this thief   perhaps
      mini   ihan hûlha-me   ji-hebi   =dere   seme hendu-he
      1SG:GEN bull   steal-IPFV.CONV come-PST.FIN probably QUOT say-PST

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8.   The 'thief' was in fact an assassin coming to murder Nurhaci, and did not even try to steal anything; Nurhaci frees him to avoid direct confrontation with the master of the assassin.

manggi, tere hûlha jabu-me,   bi   ihan hûlha-nji-ha
after   that thief say-IPFV.CONV me bull steal-CISLOC-PST
mujangga se-re   jakade, loohan hendu-me,   ere   hûlha
truly   say-AOR after   Luohan answer-IPFV.CONV this thief
holto-me   hendu-mbi,   cohome   simbe   wa-me
lie-IPFV.CONV say-IPFV.CONV especially you.ACC kill-IPFV.CONV
ji-hebi=kai,   ere be   wa-ki   =dere se-ci,   taidzu sure
come-PST.FIN=EMPH this ACC kill-OPT likely say-COND Taidzu wise
beile oji-rakû hendu-me,   ihan hûlha-me   ji-he
ruler AUX-NEG said-IPFV.CONV bull steal-IPFV.CONV come-PST
mujangga oci sinda-fi   unggi   seme, tere hûlha be
truly   if let.go-PFV.CONV dispatch:IMP QUOT that rebel ACC
sinda-fi   unggi-he.
let.go-PFV.CONV dispatch-PST
'The Taidzu wise ruler said in pretence: "It is most likely that this thief has come
to steal my bull". The thief answered: "I've really come to steal the bull". Then
Luohan said: "This thief is lying. In fact he has specially come in order to kill
you, let us kill him!". The Taidzu wise ruler refused and said, "If you have really
come to steal the bull, I will set you free", (and) he set the thief free.'

(Imanishi 1992: 35; 171–172)

It can thus be concluded that the semantic difference between AM and MVC ob-
served in Japhug in § 2.2 is not absolutely valid for Manchu.

In the closely related language Nanai, likewise, the AM suffix *-nda* (see § 4.2
concerning its etymology) does not necessarily imply that the goal event has been
realized, as shown by (18) (from Stoynova 2016: 89; compare with the MVC in
Example (10) above).

(18) *simbi-ə xaj bələči-ndə-xəm-bi-ə   un-ǯi.*
      2SG-ACC DEM help-MOTION-PST-1SG-ACC say-N.PST
      'I have come to help you.' (I did not help you yet; answer to the question 'Why
      have you come?')

3.2 Combination of AM and MVC

Unlike many languages with AM such as Japhug, it is possible to combine both AM
and MVC in the same construction, as in (19), (20) and (21). Such examples are rare
(and have never been mentioned in previous scholarship on motion verbs in Manchu).
With a past tense suffix as in (19), it can be used in contexts where only the motion
event is completed, like simple MVC. It is premature at this stage to speculate on the
precise semantics of this construction, though it can be surmised that it is a way to
express emphasis on the motion event.

(19) *ahalji se je   se-fi   jabu-mbi-me   teisu teisu*
Ahalji PL yes.sir say-PFV.CONV answer-PRE-IPFV.CONV one.by.one
belhe-ne-me   gene-he.
prepare-TRANSLOC-IPFV.CONV go-PST
'Ahalji and the herdsmen [lit. 'and the others'] responded "Yes, sir!" and each
went to make preparations.'   (Nowak & Durrant 1977: 14/45)

(20) *genggiyen han ini   beye aca-na-me   gene-ki.*
bright   han 3SG:GEN body meet-TRANSLOC-IPFV.CONV go-OPT
'(the Taidzu) bright han himself wished to go to meet (him).'
                                             (Imanishi 1992: 243, 121)

(21) *'meni cooha suweni jaisai   cooha be   gida-fi   jaisai*
our   army your   Zhaisai army ACC crush-PFV.CONV Zhaisai
beye   uheri   ninggun beile, emu tanggû susai funceme
himself altogether six   ruler one 100   fifty over
niyalma be   weihun jafa-ha medege be
man   ACC alive   seize   news   ACC
ala-na-me   gene'   seme sinda-fi
report-TRANSLOC-IPFV.CONV go:IMP QUOT set.out-PFV.CONV
unggi-fi,   tere-ci   amba cooha
dispatch-PFV.CONV that-ABL big   army
bedere-me   ji-he.
withdraw-IPFV.CONV come-PST
'(He) said: "Our army has crushed yours and Zhaisai's army. Zhaisai himself
along with six rulers and over 150 men have been captured alive, go to spread
the news!". (They) liberated (the man), and after that the imperial army with-
drew.'   (Imanishi 1992: 227, 20–21)

(22) *emu inenggi sengge gucu-i   boo-de   tuwa-na-me*
one day   elder   friend-GEN house-LOC see-TRANSLOC-IPFV.CONV
gene-he-de
go-PST-LOC
'One day, when he went to visit the house of an old friend […]'
                                             (Stary 1983: 487; 784)

3.3   Non-AM meanings

As pointed out by works on the typology of AM such as Guillaume (2016: 83), it is
common for AM to have additional meanings not involving a motion event distinct
from that of the main verb. Manchu is such a language: the suffixes *-na/-ne/-no* and
-nji do not exclusively express AM meanings.

Some motion verbs such as *isi-* 'to reach, arrive, approach, come up' are neutral as to the cislocative/ translocative contrast, and the suffixes *-na/-ne/-no* and *-nji* are very commonly added to such verbs to specify motion towards or from the point of reference, without implying an additional motion event (see (23)).

(23) ***se-he   manggi. bahaljin morin / yalu-fi   juwan niyalma be***
say-PST after   Bahaljin horse   ride-PFV.CONV 10   man   ACC
gai-fi   juleri feksi-me   umai   goidahakû lolo /
take-PFV.CONV front gallop-IPFV.CONV not.at.all before.long Lolo
gašan de   isi-nji-fi   boo-i   duka be
town   LOC reach-CISLOC-PFV.CONV house-GEN door ACC
isi-na-fi   boo-de   dosi-fi   mafa
reach-TRANSLOC-PFV.CONV house-LOC enter-PFV.CONV old.man
mama   de / aca-fi.
old.woman LOC   meet-PFV.CONV
'After having said (this), Bahaljin mounted his horse, took (with him) ten men, and at a gallop arrived in no time to the entrance to Lolo town. He went to the door, entered.'   (Jaxontov 1993: 68, 3a/96)

In addition, we find some rare examples where *-na/-ne/-no* and *-nji* are used in contexts where no motion event took place, and where the cislocative/ translocative orientation is more abstract.

For instance, in (24), context implies that the Department Magistrate wrote reports (and had them sent), not that he came to write reports or even came with the reports that he himself wrote. The cislocative *-nji* is rather used here to indicate transmission of information towards the deictic center, i.e. the group to which the author of the text belongs (for other examples of the use of cislocative markers to mark first person recipients, see Jacques & Antonov 2014).

(24) ***ice ninggun de   ganduhai buyarame janggi-sa morin-i   ton***
first six   LOC Ganduhai lower   offcial-PL horse-GEN number
be ciralame   baica-ha   : bin jeo-i   jy   jeo
ACC thoroughly inspect-PST   Binzhou-GEN district department
hafan ma ciyang yen be   ubaša-ha seme   nurhûme
official Ma Chengying ACC revolt-PST QUOT repeatedly
boola-nji-ha.
report-CISLOC-PST
'On the sixth Ganduhai and his lower officers thoroughly checked the number of the horses. The Department Magistrate of the Binzhou district reported repeatedly that Ma Chengyin had rebelled.'   (Di Cosmo 2006: 88/47)

Sibe went further than Classical Manchu in this regard. As pointed out by Zikmundová (2013: 156), MVC are partially grammaticalized in some contexts and have lost

motional semantics, as shown by Example (25), where the verb *ji-* 'come' has become an aspectual marker.

(25) *bi   təňi bodə-m   ji-ɣəi.*
      1SG now think-IPFV.CONV come-PST
      'I have just got it.'

3.4   Lexicalization

Numerous verbal forms in *-na-/-ne-* and *-nji-* show lexicalization, as illustrated by the examples in Table 2.

Table 2. Lexicalization of AM verbs in Manchu

Base verb	AM form
ebu- 'to dismount, get off, get down'	*ebu-nji-* 'to come to dismount, to descend (of a deity)'
wasi- 'to go down'	*wasi-nji-* 'to come down; to descend'
hafu- 'to communicate'	*hafu-nji-* 'to come (straight) through'
	hafu-na- 'to connect with'
aca-na- 'meet'	*aca-na-* 'go to meet; suit, fit'

(26) *baldubayan tere hehe   be   cincile-me   tuwa-ci   orin*
      Baldu Bayan that woman ACC scrutinize-IPFV.CONV look-COND twenty
      se-i   šurdeme o-hobi.   banji-ha arbun/ yargiyan i   pan
      year-GEN around   AUX-PST.FIN born-PST form   real   GEN Pan
      an gung ni   sargan jui jalan   de ebunji-he
      An gung GEN female son generation LOC descend-PST
      se-ci   o-mbi.
      say-COND AUX-AOR
      'Baldu Bayan looked scrutinizing that woman. She was around twenty years old. It could be said that, (judging by her) appearance, she was a true-born daughter of gung Pan An.'   (Jaxontov 1993: 71, 6a–6b/100)

(27) *juwe ilan ba-ci   šeri   eye-me   tuci-fi   ajige*
      two three place-ABL spring flow-IPFV.CONV go.out-PFV.CONV small
      omo   banji-na-habi.
      pond be.born-TRANSLOC-PST.FIN
      'From two or three places springs flowed and a small pond was formed.'
                                                            (Imanishi 1964: 68; 14b)

Some verbs with an AM marker such as *acana-* 'suit' (Example 28) have lost any trace of motional meaning.

(28) *niyalma takûra-fi*   *bene-bu-fi,*   *meni*   *gurun*   *i*
       man   delegate-PFV.CONV   send-CAUS-PFV.CONV 1PL:GEN country GEN
       doro   *de*   *acana-rakû.*
       rite   DAT   suit-NEG
       'One person was sent in delegation, (but) he does not comply with our laws
       and customs.'   (Imanishi 1964: 112–113; 79b)

These examples show that Manchu AM is a derivation, unlike AM in languages such
as Japhug, where it is clearly inflectional morphology, with no cases of lexicalized
AM markers.[9]

3.5   AM and causative

Unlike Japhug where causative and AM prefixes occupy fixed slots in the verbal
template, in Manchu causative suffixes can either precede or follow the AM suffixes.
    In the verb *te-bu-ne-bu-* 'cause to do garrison duty' we even find the causative
-bu occurring two times in the same verb form before and after the transloca-
tive suffix *-ne*. As mentioned in the previous section, AM suffixes are derivational
suffixes (like the causative), and the semantics of derived forms is not always pre-
dictable from the base form. This complex verb illustrates this phenomenon: *te-* 'sit,
reside' → *te-bu* 'set out, plant, pour, put into, install (as an official)' → *te-bu-ne* 'do
garrison duty' → *te-bu-ne-bu* 'cause to do garrison duty'.
    The semantic scope of the AM and the causative affixes, unlike in Japhug, de-
pends on their relative position in the suffixal chain. When the AM suffix is closer
to the verb stem than the causative suffix, causation applies to both the action of
the verb and the motion, as in (29).

(29) *susai ila.ci aniya duin biya-i*   *ice*   *sunja de,*   *Turgût Gurun*
       fifty third year   four   month-GEN new   five   LOC   Turgût nation
       i   *Ayuki Han ini harangga*   *Taiji Weijeng se-be*   *takûra-fi,*
       GEN Ayuki Khan his subordinate Taiji Weijeng PL-ACC delegate-PFV.CONV
       Oros   *Gurun i*   *Saratofu de*   *isi-tala*   *okdo-nji-bu-ha.*
       Russian nation GEN Saratov   LOC reach-TR.CONV meet-CISLOC-CAUS-PST
       'In the fifth day of the fourth month of the 53rd year, Ayuki Khan of the Turgût
       nation sent his subordinate Taiji Weijeng and others in delegation. Until we
       arrived, they waited on us (lit. 'he sent them to meet us halfway') in Saratov,
       [a city] of the Russian nation.'   (Imanishi 1964: 175; 88b–89a)

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9.   The only potential case of lexicalized AM marker in Japhug is the verb 'fetch', which is pecu-
liar in requiring the presence of an AM prefix (Jacques 2013: 210). However, we do not find any
example of an AM prefix modifying the verb's meaning in an unpredictable way.

On the other hand, when the causative is closer to the verb stem, causation only applies to the action of the verb stem, as in the verb *ili-bu-nji-* 'come to erect (=come to cause to stand)' cited in Example (15) above.

3.6   Missive

Unparalleled in other Tungusic languages, the analytic construction *V-me un-ggi-* might have been created in recent times mirroring the well known structures *gene-* and *ji-*. The resulting synthetic suffix *-nggi* has followed the same historical path as the other two constructions (Zaxarov 2010[1879]: 163). The construction *V-me unggi-* seems to be reserved for official, bureaucratic, administrative contexts, where *unggi-* 'to send' rather means 'to delegate, send in a mission, etc.' It comes as no surprise to see the form *ala-nggi-* explained as *niyalma takûra-fi ala-na-ra*, lit. '(I) delegate a man to go to report' in a Manchu glossary (Enxbat 2016: 157). In any case, the *-nggi* suffix is really rare. Neither our corpus, nor the online Manchu corpus[10] contain a single instance.

We were only able to locate two examples of this suffix, both with the verb *ala-nggi-*, (30) and (31).

(30)   *botu donji-fi   niyalma takūra-fi.   taidzu.temujin de*
       p.n. hear-PFV.CONV man   send-PFV.CONV p.n   DAT
       ala-nggi-ha.
       tell-MISSIVE-PST
       'When Botu learnt about it, he sent someone to Taidzu Temujin to let him know that.' (Dai yuwan gurun i suduri, written in 1646, Klaproth 1828: 121–192)[11]

(31)   *dailiyoo   gurun   i   han   daila-ki   seme   neneme*
       (Great)Liao dynasty GEN khan make.war-OPT so.that in.advance
       tung.g'an be   takûra-fi   ugunai de   ala-nggi-ha   manggi.
       p.n.   ACC send-PFV.CONV Ugunai DAT tell-MISSIVE-PST after
       'The Khan of the Liao Dynasty sent in advance Tong Gan to let Ugunai know that he wanted to make war (against the rebels).'
       (Aisin gurun i suduri bithe)[12]

Given the limited evidence available, it is too early to speculate about the potential difference of the suffix *-nggi* with the combination of *-na-/-ne-/-no-* and the causative *-bu-* in forms such as *ala-na-bu-* which also means 'send X to tell'.

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10.   https://manc.hu/en/tools/corpus, accessed 2017-01-30.

11.   https://talesofmanchulife.wordpress.com/2014/12/16/dai-yuwan-gurun-i-suduri-2/

12.   http://gil092003.egloos.com/9836806

3.7 Diachronic change in the use of AM in Manchu

There is a noticeable difference in the use of AM vs. MVC between the 17th century and the 18th century. As shown in Table 3, while the number of attestations of AM and MVC is nearly equivalent in 17th century texts, texts firmly dated from the 18th century have twice as many examples of AM than MVC, a proportion comparable to what has been observed in Japhug narratives (Jacques 2013: 209).

Note that one of the texts used in our corpus, the *Manju-i yargiyan kooli* is of disputed date. Manuscript copies that have come down to us date at the earliest from 1779–1781, although they contain the description of historical facts from 1635/1636. Specialists are undecided about the exact dating of the text and the majority simply refers to Fuchs' (1936: 59–71, esp. 62–64) insightful presentation of the problem (cf. Imanishi 1992: 19–21). Needless to say, the lack of a detailed study regarding the linguistic features of the text contributes to this unfortunate state of affairs. Be that as it may, seen from the perspective of the AM vs. MVC issue at hand, our interpretation of the data would seem to favor the second scenario, that is, original composition of the text sometime in the 17th century.

Table 3. Number of attestations of AM and MVC in perfective form in Kanda et al. (1955), Imanishi (1964), Nowak & Durrant (1977), Stary (1983), Imanishi (1992) = A, Jaxontov (1993) = B

Dating			*-me gene-*	*-me ji-*	Total MVC	*-na/ne/no-*	*-nji-*	Total AM
early 17th (?)	Nišan samani bithe	A	24	11	35	21	16	37
		B	17	20	37	23	18	41
early 17th	Tongki fuka sindaha hergen i dangse		59	71	130	64	68	132
early 18th	Lakcaha jecen de takûraha babe ejehe bithe		29	36	65	75	33	108
late 18th	Emu tanggû orin sakda-i gisun sarkiyan		9	7	16	61	33	94
late 18th (?)	Manju-i yargiyan kooli		91	127	218	101	99	200

4. The grammaticalization of AM in Manchu and Tungusic

Since AM is mainly found in language families whose history is poorly attested, the study of the diachronic origins of AM is still a domain in its infancy.

A crosslinguistically common source of AM markers are motion verbs such as 'come' and 'go' (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 70; 155). Jacques & Antonov (2014) also

suggest that AM is an intermediate stage in the grammaticalization pathway from a motion verb 'come' to inverse marker, as attested in several languages:

(32)   COME $\rightarrow$ CISLOCATIVE $_{associated\ motion}$ $\rightarrow$ CISLOCATIVE $_{directional}$ $\rightarrow$ INVERSE $_{(1/2\ person\ patient)}$

Konnerth (2015) argues that a grammaticalization pathway occurred in the opposite direction in Karbi, namely that the second person pronoun became an AM marker. This hypothesis, which contradicts the unidirectionality of the pathway in (32), needs to be confirmed by further study on the comparative phonology and morphology of the Karbi languages and its neighbors. If confirmed, it would provide a possible origin of AM markers distinct from motion verbs.

The grammaticalization from motion verb to AM marker results from the coalescence of the motion verb and the action verb in a construction where both occur. In some languages such as Japhug, it can be shown that the ancestor of the AM construction was not an MVC (in which the action verb is in a purposive complement), but rather a serial verb construction in which both verbs were in finite form and shared the same TAM (tense-aspect-modality) category and person markers (see Jacques 2013). In other languages, including Manchu (and some cited by Heine & Kuteva 2002: 70; 155), AM derives from the corresponding MVC.[13]

In Manchu, the grammaticalization of *-nji* and *-na/-ne/-no* must be discussed separately.

4.1   The cislocative *-nji*

The cislocative *-nji* suffix is a Manchu innovation, found in Classical Manchu and modern varieties, including Sibe, but absent from other Tungusic languages and even Jurchen, though in the latter case this may be due to the scarcity of documents left in that language.

All reference works on Manchu agree that *X-nji* results from the coalescence of the imperfective converb *X-me* with the verb *ji-* 'come'. Apocope of the vowel *-e-* is widely attested in Manchu (Hattori & Yamamoto 1956: 18–19; Gorelova 2002: 43–44), and assimilation of the **m* to the following *j* is found for instance in **ganji** 'all, completely' (compare Oroch **gaamji** 'all').[14]

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13. The earliest, most unambiguous remark regarding the etymological connection of the verbs **gene-**, **ji-**, and **unggi-** with their suffixal counterparts -na-, -nji- and -nggi, respectively, is due to Kotwicz (1962[1953]: 209–211). Put differently, whereas Zaxarov correctly traced the etymology of these elements, Kotwicz was the one who highlighted that the latter are the natural evolution of the former.

14. The internal cluster *-mj-* does occur in Manchu, but results from loss of unstressed vowels that occurred after the sound change **-mj- $\rightarrow$ -nj-*.

There are however fossilized AM verbs in Manchu combining *ji-* 'come' with another verb root without any nasal element between them, as for instance *gaji-* 'bring' from a verb root **ga-* not attested on its own but found in the corresponding translocative form *gana-* 'fetch, to go to get' and in the verbs *gama-* 'take' and *gai-* 'take away'.

4.2 The translocative *-na/-ne/-no*

Unlike *-nji*, the Manchu translocative *-na/-ne/-no* is a suffix of proto-Tungusic pedigree, attested in all other Tungusic languages, where it however has both cislocative and translocative functions, as shown by the following examples from Udihe:

(33) *weisi-ne-je-fie*
rescue-A.MOTION-SUBJ-1PL.IN
'Let us go to rescue (him).'   (Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001: 47)

(34) *jekpu-ne-y   jeu.*
eat-A.MOTION-IMP.2SG food
'Come to eat some food!'   (Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001: 122)

There is no comparable MVC in this language with a verb in imperfective converbial form; rather, coordinated finite verb forms are used, as in (35), with the verb expressing the goal event taking the associative motion suffix in echo.

(35) *Wee-tigi ŋene-je-fi   seutigi diga-na-ja-fi.*
Forest-LAT go-SUBJ-1PL.IN nut   eat-A.MOTION-SUBJ-1PL.IN
'Let us go to the forest and eat some nuts.'   (Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001: 121)

While the MVC construction combining the action verb in imperfective converbial form with the motion verb only exists in Manchu, there is evidence that the construction **X-ma ŋənə-* from which Manchu *X-me gene-* 'go to X' did exist in proto-Tungusic, and is indirectly reflected outside of Manchu as a future suffix **-ŋaa* (Alonso de la Fuente 2011: 40–50, 63–65).

Since Kotwicz (1962[1953]: 209–211), all Tungusologists have assumed that the associated motion suffix **-nə* derives from the verb **ŋənə-* 'go'. However, since this grammaticalization, if it occurred, had already taken place in proto-Tungusic, this idea is not as straightforward as it may seem at first glance. It implies either fusion between **ŋənə-* 'go' (or **-mə ŋənə*) and the preceding verb, with loss of the vowel between **ŋ* and **n* and irregular simplification of the resulting cluster:

(36) **V-ŋənə-* → **V-ŋnə-* → **V-nə-*

While this idea is not impossible, it is not unproblematic since clusters such as **-ŋn-* are preserved in Northern Tungusic (Cincius 1949: 241–244).

Another possibility, though arguably equally speculative, is to analyze the verb *ŋənə- 'go' as a frozen translocative form containing the suffix *-nə attached to an (otherwise unattested) root *ŋə- 'to move', an idea which may better account for the fact that *-nə is not specifically translocative, as would be expected if this suffix were indeed grammaticalized from the verb 'to go'.

The origin of Nanay -nda- (see § 3.1) and other variants, like for example Uilta or Gorin Nanay -ŋda-, is obscure. The traditional account that directly derives it from *ŋənə- 'to go' (echoed most recently in Stoynova 2016: 93–94, with bibliography) can be rejected on phonological grounds: the first nasal segment, be that either /n/ or /ŋ/, can most certainly come from *ŋənə-, but -da- remains to be explained. An alternative scenario accounting for the latter involves the purposive converb *-daa- 'in order to V', preserved in, but not limited to, the Second (or Distant Future) Imperative of Northern Tungusic languages (for the history of this ending and the second imperative, see Benzing 1956: 135–136, § 141 and Xasanova 1986: 54–70). We cannot establish on certain terms whether Nanay -nda- and related forms are the result of simplifying the sequence *-nə-daa- (associated motion suffix + purposive converb) or *ŋənə-daa- (the verb 'to go' + purposive converb).

5.   Conclusion

The AM system of Classical Manchu superficially resembles that of the Japhug language (previously described in Jacques 2013) in only having a pair of markers (translocative -na/-ne/-no vs. cislocative -nji). The present study revealed some commonalities, but also important differences between the two languages.

First, Manchu differs from Japhug in the nature of the semantic contrast between AM suffixes and the corresponding motion verb constructions. In Japhug, a verb with AM marker in the perfective necessarily implies that both the motion event and the action expressed by the verb stem have been completed. In Manchu, while this constraint is generally respected, it is only a strong tendency, as counterexamples do exist (see Example (17) in § 3.1).

Second, while in Japhug the semantic scope of causative and AM affixes is independent of their relative position, in Manchu the relative position of the affixes has semantic scope effects (§ 3.5). This difference can be attributed to the fact that the verb morphology of the former is mostly templatic, while that of the latter is exclusively of the layered type (on the distinction between templatic vs. layered morphology, see Bickel & Nichols 2007).

Third, in Manchu AM suffixes are derivational morphemes, and verbs derived with them have multiple unpredictable semantic peculiarities.

Fourth, in Japhug the two prefixes have been grammaticalized recently at the same time (in proto-Gyalrong) from a serial verb construction; in Manchu, the cislocative was grammaticalized from a motion verb construction in recent times (it is not found in any other Tungusic language), while the translocative goes back to proto-Tungusic and its ultimate origin cannot be determined.

This study thus contributes not only to Manchu synchronic grammar and Tungusic historical morphology, but also to the typology of AM systems. It shows in particular that much work is needed even in the study of 'simple' AM systems comprising only two members. Despite their apparent similarities, these systems are widely different in the details, and further research on this topic would require testing the same parameters on other languages. It remains to be determined to what extent the type represented by Manchu, or that represented by Japhug, is the commonest crosslinguistically, and how the synchronic properties of these systems are relatable to their lexical source (serial verb construction, purposive motion verb construction or other).

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

A	agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb	ERG	ergative
		FIN	final
ABL	ablative	GEN	genitive
ACC	accusative	IMP	imperative
AM	Associated Motion	INF	infinitive
AOR	aorist	IPFV	imperfective
AUTO	autobenefactive	LAT	lative
AUX	auxiliary	LNK	linker
CAUS	causative	LOC	locative
CISLOC	cislocative/venitive	MVC	motion verb construction
COND	conditional	N	non (e.g. N.SG nonsingular, N.PST nonpast)
CONV	converb		
DAT	dative	NEG	negation, negative
DEM	demonstrative	NMLZ	nominalizer/nominalization
EMPH	emphatic	OPT	optative

PART	participle	PST	past
PASS	passive	QUOT	quotative
PFV	perfect	SG	singular
PI	plural inclusive	SUBJ	subjunctive
PL	plural	TR	transitive
p.n.	personal name	TRANSLOC	translocative/andative
PRE	present		

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