HdO

Manchu Grammar

by

Liliya M. Gorelova

Brill

MANCHU GRAMMAR

HANDBOOK OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
HANDBUCH DER ORIENTALISTIK

SECTION EIGHT
CENTRAL ASIA

edited by

LILIYA M. GORELOVA

VOLUME SEVEN
MANCHU GRAMMAR



MANCHU GRAMMAR

EDITED BY

LILIYA M. GORELOVA



BRILL
LEIDEN · BOSTON · KÖLN
2002

This book is printed on acid-free paper

Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Gorelova, Liliya M.:
Manchu Grammar / ed. by Liliya M. Gorelova. – Leiden ; Boston ; Köln : Brill, 2002
(Handbook of oriental studies : Sect.. 8, Central Asia ; 7)
ISBN 90–04–12307–5

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Gorelova, Liliya M.
Manchu grammar / Liliya M. Gorelova
p. cm. — (Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section eight. Central Asia ; vol.7)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 9004123075 (alk. paper)
1. Manchu language—Grammar. I. Gorelova, Liliya M. II. Handbuch der Orientalistik. Achte Abteilung, Handbook of Uralic studies ; vol.7

PL473 .M36 2002
494'.1—dc21 2001022205

ISSN 0169-8524
ISBN 90 04 12307 5

© Copyright 2002 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by E.J. Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910 Danvers MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

CONTENTS

Preface xi
Description of Linguistic Materials xvii

Part One
Prolegomena to Manchu Studies
1. The Altaic Language Family and the Manchu Language 3
2. The Place of Manchu among the Languages of the Tungus-Manchu Linguistic Community (from a typological point of view) 5
3. The Manchus: a Brief Survey of their History 6
   3.1. The Jurchens and their Ancient History 8
   3.2. The Manchus' Ethnicity 18
   3.3. Clans in the History of the Manchus 19
   3.4. Banners and Garrisons as Major Government Institutions of the Manchus 21
   3.5. Manchu Identity 24
   3.6. The Decline of the Manchu Language 27
   3.7. Rebirth of the Manchus 29
4. The Manchu Language and its Dialects 30
   4.1. The Manchus and the Sibes 31
   4.2. Contemporary Life of the Sibes in Xinjiang, One of the Most Multinational Regions of China 38
   4.3. The Sibe Dialect in Relation to Literary Manchu 40

Part Two
Manchu Script
1. The History of Writing the Manchu Language 49
2. Graphic Structure of the Manchu Letters 51
3. The Manchu Graphemes and the Way of their Writing 54
   3.1. The Manchu Graphemes Rendering Vowels (and the semivowel y) 55
   3.2. Manchu Graphemes Rendering Consonants 59
   3.3. Additional Graphemes 71
4. Outward Appearance of Manchu Writing 72
5. Punctuation Marks 73

Part Three
Phonology
1. Vowels and Consonants 77
1.1. Vowels 77
1.2. Consonants 86
2. Vowel Harmony 89
3. The Dropping of Vowels and Consonants in Manchu Words 99
4. Stress 99
5. Types of Syllables and Syllabic Structure of Manchu Words 102
6. Elements of Morphophonemics. Morphemic Structure of a Word. Stems and Suffixes 112
6.1. Noun Stems 113
6.2. Verbal Stems 115
6.3. Alternation of Vowels and Consonants in Stems 116
6.4. Vowel Harmony in Suffixes 117

Part Four
Morphology
1. Polysemantics and Polyfunctionality of Language Units as Two Principal Features of Manchu Grammar 124
2. Nominal Parts of Speech. Different Functional and Semantic Groups of Nouns 126
2.1. Human Nouns 133
2.1.1. Plurals 134
2.2. Nouns Denoting Inanimate Objects and Abstract Notions (Object Nouns) 140
2.3. Sex of Living Beings 144
2.4. Nouns Denoting Semantics of Quality 145
2.4.1. The Substantive-Possessive Suffix *-ngge* 153
2.5. Diminutives and Augmentatives 155
2.6. Degrees of Comparison 156
2.6.1. Comparative constructions 157
2.6.2. Superlative Constructions 159
2.7. Declension as a Universal System of Syntactic Subordination. Noun Declension 162
2.8. Noun Case Forms (Nominative, Genitive, Accusative, Dative/Locative, Ablative) 163
2.9. Word Formation of Nouns 194
3. Numerals 200
3.1. Cardinal Numerals 201

3.2. Ordinal Numerals 203
3.3. Distributive Numerals 204
3.4. Fractional Numerals 204
3.5. Multiplicative Numerals 205
3.6. Collective Numerals 205
3.7. Iterative Numerals 205
3.8. Numeratives 206
3.9. Words Denoting Periods of Time. Cycles 209
3.10. Words for Periods of Time 212
4. Pronouns 214
4.1. Personal Pronouns. Irregular Pronominal Case Forms ... 214
4.2. Demonstrative Pronouns 217
4.3. Possessive Forms of the Personal and Demonstrative Pronouns 219
4.4. Interrogative Pronouns 219
4.5. Indefinite Pronouns 223
4.6. The Relative Meaning of the Indefinite Pronoun "ele" 224
4.7. Pronominal Use of the Word "beye" 225
4.8. Nouns in the Pronominal Function 227
5. Verbal Morphology 231
5.1. Verbal Parts of Speech 233
5.2. The Structure of a Verbal Stem and Word-Formation of Verbs 233
5.3. Verbs of Motion 239
5.4. Aspect 240
5.5. Voice 244
5.6. Participles 252
5.6.1. Imperfect and Perfect Participles 254
5.6.2. Participles in the Forms of Oblique Cases 257
5.6.3. Declension of Clauses with Participial Predicates 258
5.6.4. Negative Participle Forms 260
5.6.5. Substantive Forms of Participles and the Process of Nominalization of Participles 263
5.7. Converbs 267
5.7.1. Imperfect Converbs 267
5.7.2. Perfect Converbs 276
5.7.3. Conditional Converbs 278
5.7.4. Concessive Converbs 280
5.7.5. Converbal Forms in *-hai/-hei/-hoi* 281
5.7.6. Terminal Converbs 282

5.7.7. Converbal Forms in *-nggala/-nggele/-nggolo* 283
5.7.8. Negative Forms of Converbs 284
5.8. Finite Verbal Forms 285
5.8.1. The Indicative. Finite Forms Ascribed to the Indicative 286
5.8.2. Oblique Moods. Optative. Imperative. Prohibitive 295
5.8.2.1. Optative 295
5.8.2.2. Imperative 296
5.8.2.3. Prohibitive 304
5.8.3. Forms of Epistemic Modality 305
5.9. Analytical Verbal Forms and Constructions 309
5.10. Interrogative Forms of Verbs 322
6. Adverbs. Modes of Word-Formation. Different Semantic Classes of Adverbs 326
7. Interjections and Onomatopoeic Words 334
8. Syntactic Words 344
8.1 Postpositions 344
8.2. Conjunctions 351
8.3. Syntactic Words of Conjunctional Type 360
9. Particles 368
10. Reduplication of Words. Grammatical Meanings of Pair Words 380

Part Five
Syntax
1. Preliminaries 387
2. Grammatical Means of Expressing Syntactic Relationships in Manchu 393
3. The Means of Pragmatic Structuring in Manchu 404
4. Syntax of the Simple Sentence 419
4.1. Grammatical Structure of a Nominal Sentence 419
4.2. Grammatical Structure of a Verbal Sentence 436
4.3. Objects (or Complements). Direct and Indirect Objects 453
4.4. Adverbial Modifiers 459
4.5. Attributes 460
4.6. Homogeneous Parts of the Sentence 464
5. Syntax of Composite Sentences. Compound and Complex Sentences 466

5.1. Compound Sentences 471
5.2. Complex Sentences 472
5.3. Basic Ideas and Terms for the Theory of the Altaic Hypotaxis 476
5.4. Altaic Participles as the Basic Non-finite Verbal Forms Denoting Subordinate Predicativity 483
5.5. Three Major Classes of Non-finite Verbal Forms Used to Denote the Subordinate Predication 507
5.6. Analytical Constructions Functioning as Subordinate Predicates 518
5.7. Direct and Indirect Speech 526
Postscript 530

List of Abbreviations Which Are Used as Grammatical Category Labels in Interlinear Morphemic Translation 535

Source Abbreviations 536

Selected Bibliography 539
Dictionaries 552
Manchu Manuscripts 552
Archives 552

Index of Dialects, Languages and Language Families 557
Index of Names of People, Nations, Places, Countries, Titles, Periods of Reigns and Proper Names 559
Index of Technical Terms 565
Index of Suffixes, Analytical Grammatical Forms and Syntactic Words 593

This page intentionally left blank

PREFACE

This Grammar inevitably bears the marks of Russian traditions in Manchu studies.

In Russia, Manchu studies began as early as the first quarter of the 18th century. One can, however, safely assume that in the 17th century, interpreters of Manchu, Chinese, and Mongolian must have participated in early frontier diplomatic relations and trade negotiations, in which Russia and China were engaged. For instance, the Treaty of Nerchin (1689) was drawn up in five languages, namely Manchu, Chinese, Mongolian, Latin, and Russian.

The Peking Ecclesiastical Mission, which existed from 1715 until the Treaty of Tianjin and performed secular functions, had played a great role in the development of Manchu studies in Russia. Members and students of the Mission became famous Russian manchurologists who created a considerable number of works of great value.

Using the Chinese system of teaching Manchu, Russian manchurologists were the first scholars who introduced the Manchu language and writing to the Western society. They translated into Russian a number of very important Manchu-Chinese textbooks, which became well known in Western Europe only in the next century. One would not be mistaken in saying that Russian manchurologists of the 18th century initiated a distinctive school of Manchu philology, which devoted particular attention to original manuscripts in Manchu. Russian scholars collected these valuable literary monuments, which in the course of time came to constitute the foundation of the richest collections of the Asia Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Academy of Sciences. They also translated a considerable number of these works into Russian.

Unfortunately, the majority of these works still remain unpublished. Many of them are now kept in the Archives of Orientalists in the Institute for Oriental Studies in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The published ones became an important part of scientific heritage not only in Russia but also outside the country and have not lost their significance to this day.

If the first Russian manchurologists, who were excellent connoisseurs of the Chinese language, investigated Manchu as a language closely related to Chinese, and may be, to Mongolian, the manchurol-

ogists of the beginning of the 20th century began to study the language as one closely related to the Tungusic languages. They devoted particular attention to the establishment and definition of the Tungus-Manchu language family.

At the beginning of the 20th century the Manchu language was a specialized field of scientific research at the Oriental institute in Vladivostok (1899-1920). In 1920 the chair of the Manchu language at the Oriental Institute was disestablished. This was connected with the loss of interest in Manchu, which, after the fall of the Qing dynasty (Manchu by origin) in 1911, ceased to function as the official language of China. Subsequently, the Manchu chair was re-established at the Oriental faculty of Leningrad (now St. Petersburg) university in 1947, but it existed for only five years.

After this period, Russian scholars were chiefly interested in Manchu in regard to its relationship to other languages of the Tungus-Manchu language family. They mainly searched for those language traits, which were lacking for the establishment of the altaic-parent language and for the determination of the place of Manchu among other Altaic languages including Tungusic.

The necessity to create standard languages and writing systems for Tungusic peoples in the 1930s caused an intensive investigation of all Tungusic languages and dialects scattered over the vast spaces of Siberia and the Far East. During this time a great number of collections of fieldwork texts, textbooks, and dictionaries were made. This was also a time when similarities and distinctions between Manchu and other Tungusic languages were brought under detailed scrutiny.

V.A. Avrorin and E.P. Lebedeva who taught me Manchu and some other Tungusic languages at University, were among scholars who participated in a comprehensive project to develop writing systems for the Northern Minority languages in Russia. They were also among those who were involved in the creation of the standard Tungusic languages, wrote scientific grammars of these languages, dictionaries, and textbooks. Doing their fieldwork in Siberia and the Far East, they studied not only the languages, but the history, ethnography, religion, and the way of life of the Tungusic peoples as well. Familiar not only with Manchu, but also (without exaggeration) with most Tungusic languages, both of them studied the Tungus-Manchu languages, always bearing in mind the similarities be-

tween their grammatical structures. I have tried to follow their example. As it happened, I have been the co-author of the last book, published by E.P. Lebedeva. This is a book dedicated to the language of the Manchu tribe Sibe and partly to the history of these people. The last book on which V.A. Avrorin worked was Manchu Grammar. He didn't finish the manuscript. For more than 20 years Avrorin's unfinished book was inaccessible to scholars. Recently it was prepared for publication by A.M. Pevnov and M.M. Khasanova and published in Russia (Avrorin, 2000). The grammar that we suggest to the reader was written before Avrorin's book came out of press.

My first acknowledgment should go to V.A. Avrorin and E.P. Lebedeva who awakened my interest in studying Tungus-Manchu languages. They also introduced me to the prominent Russian tungusologist, A.F. Boitzova, under whose guidance I wrote my dissertation dedicated to certain verbal categories of Evenki many years ago and who displayed a keen interest in my work until her last days. I am very grateful to her.

In the seventies I worked with a group of scholars at the Institute of History, Philology, and Philosophy of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Under the leadership of Prof. Maya Iv. Cheremisina, this group carried out a comparative typological study of complex (polypredicative) sentences in the languages of Siberia. At that time I had a good opportunity to investigate syntactic structures of different Tungus-Manchu languages trying to find similar and distinct features among them. The scholars of this research group had shared with me their works in progress, and over the years I greatly benefited from their aid, especially M.Iv. Cheremisina, to whom I owe special thanks.

The bulk of the research presented in this Grammar was done at the Department of Linguistics of the Institute for Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences. I am sincerely grateful to my colleagues from the Institute for their encouragement and instructive discussions. Many of them were of great help to me. Dr. Zoya M. Shalyapina helped me prepare my first articles in English for publication. We spent many hours not only trying to formulate the statements as accurately as possible, but also trying to specify the statements themselves and discussing many linguistic problems. Prof. Evgeniya I. Shutova, a sinologist, taught me Chinese when ten years ago I realized that my work would not be possible without reading books of Chinese specialists in Manchu. I was able to appreciate her

help when I was reading Manchu grammars recently published in China. I have always been able to consult with Prof. Mariya N. Orlovskaya, a specialist in old and contemporary Mongolian, on any questions concerning Mongolian studies and enjoyed her friendly support over the years. I also enjoyed communicating with Dr. Bulyash H. Todaeva, a specialist in many Mongolian languages, whose books are well-known among specialists. I always had the opportunity to access information about any Altaic publications from Dr. Lev R. Kontzevich, a specialist in Korean, whose encyclopaedic knowledge, provided me with many useful references. I have greatly benefited over the years from the aid of Prof. Vladimir M. Alpatov, a specialist in Japanese and general linguistics.

My special thanks are owed to Dr. Tamara G. Pogibenko who took the trouble of editing the manuscript. The importance of her critical judgment and instructive help can scarcely be exaggerated. I enjoyed working together trying to find better ways of treating specific questions.

For many years I have had the opportunity to collaborate with colleagues from the Department of Altaic languages of the Institute of Linguistics of the St. Petersburg branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Conferences that were dedicated to Tungus-Manchu studies, and held under the leadership of Prof. Alexander M. Scherbak, always led to further research. Fruitful collaboration with specialists from St. Petersburg, especially with Tatiana A. Pang, has continued until recently.

A few words should be said about the extra-linguistic situation at the time when I started my work on Manchu Grammar. For many well-known reasons, scholars in Russia did not have absolute freedom either in getting foreign literature concerning their speciality or in participating in conferences that were conducted outside Russia. These circumstances inevitably caused a lack of information on both sides. Scholars in Russia often had no opportunity to become acquainted with recent results in their field, which had been obtained in the West, likewise Western scholars did not always know about some of the interesting results obtained in Russia.

In my scientific career, the Permanent International Altaistic Conference (PIAC) under the leadership of Prof. Denis Sinor has played a role of great importance. Many of my papers, delivered at the meetings of the Conference, were subsequently published in the Proceedings of the PIAC. It would not be an exaggeration to

say that to a great degree this book is a product of inspiration received from Prof. Denis Sinor. It was he who gave me the idea itself. It was he who during the time of writing and researching inspired me with enthusiasm and encouraged me to further investigation and prevented me from losing courage. Naturally, I would not like him to be too disappointed with the final product. And, of course, he must not be held responsible for any of my inaccuracies or mistakes.

With the help of the conference, I have had the opportunity to collaborate with my Western colleagues. In 1986, during the meeting in Tashkent, I made the acquaintance of Prof. Giovanni Stary who has been of very great help to me during many years. He provided me with new publications on Manchu studies carried out in China. I have appreciated this greatly not the least because until recently it was rather difficult to get Chinese publications on Manchu studies in Russia.

Prof. Stary also published my first articles in English in the "Asiatic Journal" where he has been editor in chief and in a new series "Aetas Manjurica" that has been launched by him together with Martin Gimm and Michael Weiers. I would like to stress that Prof. Stary and the series "Aetas Manjurica" have greatly promoted cooperation among scholars engaged in Manchu studies, from every corner of the globe.

During many years I enjoyed the help, friendship and support of many other people whom I met at the Conference.

I am particularly beholden to Prof. Hans-Peter Vietze who has kindly provided me with the Manchu font.

I am very thankful to Dr. Tak-sing Kam from the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology for instructive discussions and useful references he has provided, and to many many others who in different forms provided help, not limited to the writing of this book.

Apart from the PIAC, many other institutions and people lent me their assistance and support when my undertaking was just a project.

In 1989-1990, I spent half a year in China, at the Liaoning University, and at that time I had contact with Chinese scholars. Specialists in Manchu studies of the Liaoning Academy of Social Sciences were always ready to render assistance in my work. I was very fortunate to meet Prof. Li Shulan and Prof. Hu Zengyi from the Institute of Nationality Studies in Peking and enjoyed fruitful

discussions with the staff from the Institute of Manchu studies in Harbin, including its former director Prof. Liu Jinsiyan.

I am very grateful to colleagues and friends from the University of Auckland in New Zealand, who provided personal and professional help. I enjoyed delivering papers at the Linguistic seminar under the leadership of Dr. Frank Lichtenberk. I gratefully acknowledge the suggestions that I have received in discussing my papers with the members of the Seminar.

I am particularly indebted to Prof. Ian Lilly and Dr. Mark Swift, specialists in Russian from the University of Auckland, whose instructive help and very useful advice were always of great importance to me during my work.

I owe very special thanks to Louise Gauld for helping with my English grammar and style. This book would not have been possible without her assistance. She has checked the whole manuscript for readability and ultimately for common sense and I am sorry to say that sometimes it was not very easy to do. I am very thankful to her for all that she has done, beyond any call of duty.

I am also very grateful to Sanja Brankov whose diligent editorial work significantly improved the clarity of exposition.

At the starting point of my research, from 1996 until 1997, I was subsidized by the Pacific Cultural Foundation of Taiwan. I thank the President of the Foundation Yu-sheng Chang, the Vice-president Nathan Yu-jen Lai, and the Chief of the academic section Margaret Chan with whom I collaborated very fruitfully.

As the readers of this book will note, I often give references to the publications of Jerry Norman and Pamela-Kyle Crossley whom I do not know personally but whose books and articles were of great help to me. The readers of this book will perhaps notice that I have not included, for different reasons, references to some publications of Western and Asian specialists. Hopefully, I have compensated for this by bringing to scientific notice a number of works of Russian specialists, which have been previously unknown to Western readers.

And last but not least, I am particularly beholden to my husband Dr. Arkadii M. Slinko whose speciality is far apart from linguistics (although mathematics and structural linguistics are not as far from each other as people used to think), but who, over the years, has shown great patience and rendered his assistance in different ways.

DESCRIPTION OF LINGUISTIC MATERIALS

The linguistic materials used in analyzing different aspects of the Manchu language are taken from several sources. First of all, I have used a number of old Manchu grammars. All of these are listed in *Source Abbreviations* and *Selected Bibliography*. Secondly, to a considerable degree, I used material taken from the unpublished manuscript "*Sintaks prostogo man'čžurskogo predloženija*" [*Syntax of the Simple Sentence in the Manchu Language*] written by B.K. Pashkov. This manuscript is a doctorate dissertation; the author's abstract of which was published in 1950. The manuscript is kept at the Institute for Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow). It consists of two volumes, the first of which is a description of the structure of the simple sentence in the Manchu language, with examples. The second volume is a collection of specimens from written Manchu, with translations into Russian. This collection includes Manchu texts extracted from books representing various genres of written Manchu. These books can be divided according to the following subject headings: 1) Manchu-Chinese and Manchu-Mongolian grammars; 2) texts of dialogues; 3) narrative prose; 4) writings of the Chinese *wenzhang* type.

1) Comparative Manchu-Chinese and Manchu-Mongolian Grammars (in Manchu, Chinese and Mongolian):

a) "*Qing wên qi mêng*" [*Elements of the Manchu Reading and Writing* or *The Manchu Language for Beginners*] is a title under which a chapter from the earliest Manchu-Chinese dictionary "*Dai qing quan shu*" (ma. *"Dai qing gurun i yooni bithe"*) [A *Complete Book of the Great Qing Dynasty*], published in 1683, was reprinted later on. References to this dictionary are to be found in the following catalogues: Laufer, 1913:5; Fuchs, 1936:11, 91, 130; Puyraimond, 1979:66-70. A xylograph under the title *"Dai qing gurun i yooni bithe"* is kept now in the Archives of Orientalists of the Institute for Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg Branch of the Academy of Sciences of Russia (Volkova, 1988:101-2). This xylograph was described in detail by M.P. Volkova (Volkova, 1974:61-2).

The chapter, "*Qing wên qi mêng,"* was one of the primary standard

manuals of Manchu for Chinese students. It was composed by Shou Ping from Changbaishan clan Uge and printed in four volumes (chin. *juan*) as a xylograph in 1729. This book contained the description of grammatical particles and syntactic words followed by one or two examples in Manchu on every usage. Its manuscript copy from the edition of 1741 is now kept in the Archives of Orientalists of the Institute for Oriental Studies of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences in the A.O. Ivanovskii's collection, shifr V-30 (Volkova, 1965:54).

The Russian manchurologist I.K. Rossokhin was the first scholar who translated the second part of this book into Russian under the heading "*Osnova man'čžurskogo pis'ma*" [*Elements of the Manchu Writing*]" and used it for teaching as a handbook. It should be mentioned that in Europe the first translation of this book from Manchu was carried out by Alexander Wylie more than a hundred years later, in 1855 (see *Bibliography*). Fragments of this text were reprinted in the edition "*Meadow's Translations from Manchu, with an Essay on the Language*" (1847). As it is well known, Iv.I. Zakharov widely used the text of "*Qing wên qi mêng"* in his *Complete Manchu-Russian Lexicon* and *Manchu Grammar* (Zakharov, 1875:XVI; 1879:II-IV). There are some other descriptions and references to this work in several publications of Manchu, such as "*Essay on Manchu Literature*" by P.G. von Möllendorff, "*Dictionnaire bibliographique des ouvrage relatifs a l' Empire Chinois"* by H. Cordier, "*Kratkij očerk obrazcov man'čžurskoj literatury*" [*A Sketch of Specimens of Manchu literature*] by A.V. Grebenschikov, "*Union catalogue of Manchu books in the National Library of Peking and the Library of the Palace Museum"* by Li The Ch'i (Möllendorff, 1889-90; Cordier, 1904:2756-7; Grebenschikov, 1909:25; Li, 1933:616.6).

P.E. Skachkov presented very interesting information about Russian manchurologists who worked on this particular Manchu text from the beginning to the middle of the nineteenth century, in the book *"Očerki istorii russkogo kitaevedenija"* [*Essays on the History of Chinese Studies in Russia]*. He mentions the manuscripts "*Analitičeskij razbor kitaiskich i man'čžurskich tekstov knigi "Qing wên qi mêng*" [*Analysis of Manchu and Chinese texts of the book "Qing wên qi mêng*] by O.P. Vojtzekhovskii and "*Analitičeskij razbor knigi "Qing wên qi mêng*" [*Analysis of the book "Qing wên qi mêng*"] by D.A. Peschurov. The first manuscript is probably now kept in the University of Kazan. The second one, which contains the Manchu text (in Russian transcription) and its Russian translation, is now kept in the Archives of Orientalists of the Insti-

tute for Oriental Studies of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, no. 39, invent. 1, item 1 (Skachkov, 1977:419, 446). The last Russian manchurologist, who worked on translations of "*Qing wên qi mêng*" into Russian and wrote his own grammatical notes of the Manchu language, which were based on this text, was B.K. Pashkov. However, his manuscript still remains unpublished. It appears that it is now kept at the Institute for Oriental Studies of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

b) "*Manju bicihei gisun de aisilara mudan i hergen*" (ma.) [*Syntactic Words andParticles in the Manchu Written Language*], the third volume (chin. *juan zhi san*; ma. *ilaci debtelin*) of "*Manchu nikan hergen i qing wên qi mêng bithe*" (ma.) [*Elements of Manchu Reading and Writing in the Manchu and Chinese languages*] (Peking 1730, original edition).

References to this book are to be found in the following catalogues: Volkova, 1965:54; Ikegami, 1964:114; Li, 1933:616.6; Misig, 1959:194; Möllendorff, 1889-90:1; Poppe, 1964:323; Puyraimond, 1979:56; Stary, 1985:38; Fuchs,1936:232.

A xylograph under the title "*Manchu nikan hergen i qing wên qi mêng bithe*" can be found in the Archives of Orientalists of the Institute for Oriental Studies of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Volkova, 1988:123-4).

c) "Sula hergen i hacin" (ma.) [*Syntactic Words*] in: *"San he bian lan"* (chin.) *"Ilan hacin i gisun kamcibuha tuwara de ja obuha bithe"* (ma.) [*A Book, which Facilitates the Study of Three Languages*] (Peking 1792, original edition).

d) "Monggo bithei toktoho hergen" (ma.) [*The Mongolian Writing*]. In: *"San he bian lan"* (chin.) *"Ilan hacin i gisun kamcibuha tuwara de ja obuha bithe"* (ma.) [*A Book, which Facilitates the Study of Three Languages*] (Peking 1792, original edition).

The book *"Ilan hacin i gisun kamcibuha tuwara de ja obuha bithe"* is a manual of Manchu and Mongolian with translation into Chinese and can be found in the following catalogues: Volkova, 1988:117-8; Laufer, 1913:3; Li, 1933:613.13; Misig, 1959:101; Poppe, 1964:184; Puyraimond, 1979:77; Stary, 1985:16. It is mentioned in Zakharov's *Complete Lexicon* and *Manchu Grammar* and in *"Skizze der manjurischen Literatur*" by B. Laufer (Zakharov, 1875:XVIII, 1879:IV-V; Laufer, 1927:11). It is also used in *"Manchu-mongolische Grammatik"* by H.C. Gabelentz (Gabelentz, 1837:255-86). The first publication

of this book is dated 1760. The second one is dated 1792.

A xylograph under this title is now kept in the Archives of Orientalists of the Institute for Oriental Studies of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Volkova, 1988:117-8).

e) *"Dasame foloho manju gisun i untuhun hergen i temgetu jorin bithe"* (ma.) [*Syntactic Particles in the Manchu Language*] (Peking 1896, original edition).

2) Books of Manchu-Chinese dialogues:

a) "*Tanggū meyen*" (ma.) [*Hundred Chapters*]. In: "*Qingwen zhi yao*" (chin.) "*Manchu gisun i oyonggo jorin i bithe*" (ma.) [*The Important Manual of the Manchu Language*] (Peking 1810, original edition). This book represents a late version of the "*Tanggū meyen.*"

B.K. Pashkov translated Chapters VI-XII of *"Tanggū meyen"* into Russian. His translations in most part accurately represent the syntactic structure of Manchu sentences. In several instances Pashkov mentions the existence of alternative versions of the texts, which were used by both himself and Fraser (Fraser, M. & Forbes, A. *Tanggu Meyen and Other Manchu Reading Lessons*. London, 1924). Sometimes I quote English translations of *"Tanggū meyen"* taken from the *Manchu Grammar* by Möllendorff who used the texts of *"Tanggū meyen"* as reading lessons to elucidate Manchu syntax. As Möllendorff mentions, he took English translations from the Chinese version of these dialogues that formed the "*Hundred Lessons*" of Tomas Wade (Möllendorff, 1982:14).

References to *"Tanggū meyen"* can be found in the following catalogues: Li, 1933:616.8; Misig, 1959:114; Möllendorff, 1889-1890:17; Poppe, 1964:321-2; Puyraimond, 1979:57-8; Fuchs, 1966:11, 85. The book is mentioned in Zakharov's Manchu Grammar (Zakharov, 1879:IV-V). T.A.Pang specially studied "*Tanggū meyen*" as a historic and literally monument of the Qing epoch (Pang, 1982:149-155).

A xylograph under the title "*Manju gisun i oyonggo jorin bithe*," published in 1809, is now kept in the Archives of Orientalists of the Institute for Oriental Studies of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Volkova, 1988:131-2).

b) *"Dehi meyen"* (ma.) [*Forty Chapters*]. In: "*Qing hua wen da si shi tiao dehi meyen*" (chin.) (Peking 1759, original edition). B.K. Pashkov translated chapters I-V into Russian.

In the Archives of Orientalists of the Institute for Oriental Studies of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences there is a xylograph under the title "*Fan yi si shi tiao*" (chin.) "*Ubaliyambuha dehi meyen bithe*" (ma.) [*Forty Chapters, Translated (into Manchu)*] (Volkova, 1988:125-6). It was described in detail by T.A. Pang (Pang, 1983:79-84).

References to the book "*Ubaliyambuha dehi meyen bithe*" can also be found in the following catalogues: Mollendorff, 1889-1890:18; Fuchs, 1936:96.

c) "Guan hua zhi han" (chin.) [*Manchu-Chinese Dialogues of grand style*], Chapters I-XIII (the end of the nineteenth century).

3) Narrative prose:

a) "*Dva brata. Konfucianskij rasskaz* [*Two Brothers. Confucius tale*]. There are not any references, mentioned by B.K. Pashkov.

b) "*Loo šan alin i doose*" [*Daos from the Laoshan Mountains*]. A story from the collection "*Liao zhai zhi yi*" (chin.) [*The collection of Strange Stories by Liao Zhai*] by Pu Sungling. The Chinese writer Pu Sungling wrote under the pen-name Liao Zhai (lived 1640-1715). The whole collection was finished by Pu Sungling in 1679. The translation of the collected stories into Manchu was published for the first time in 1766. The first publication of the English translation of these stories, made by Giles, was dated 1880, and the third one was dated 1916. The third publication was used by B.K. Pashkov in his article *"Liao zhai zhi yi"* (Pashkov, 1921:1-24).

A xylograph under the title "*Sonjofi ubaliyambuha liyoo zhai zhi i bithe*" (ma.) [*Selected Short Stories by Liao Zhai in translation*], dated 1848, is now kept in the Archives of Orientalists of the Institute for Oriental Studies of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Volkova, 1988:91-2).

References to this book can be found in the following catalogues: Li, 1933:707.1.2; Misig, 1959:138; Möllendorff, 1889-90:249; Poppe, 1964:524-5; Puyraimond, 1979:131. It was also mentioned by B. Laufer, A.V. Grebenschikov and N. Kanda (Laufer, 1908:15; Grebenschikov, 1909:42-3; Kanda, 1968:70).

The publication of the collection *"Strange Stories by Liao Zhai"*, translated by V.M. Alekseev into Russian, includes the story "*Daos from the Mountains of Liao*" (Alekseev, 1988:148-65).

4) Writings of the Chinese *wenzhang* type:

a) *"Han i araha mukden i fujurun bithe"* (ma.) [*Ode to Mukden Writ ten by Khan*] (Peking 1748, original edition). This work is well known among western scholars. It was first translated into French by Joseph-Marie Amyot in 1770 and later retranslated and published with the Manchu text by Jules Klaproth in "*Chrestomathie Mandchou"* in 1828. B.K. Pashkov translated the preface to the "*Ode to Mukden"* into Russian for his *Syntax*. See also G. Stary, "*L'Ode di Mukden' dell'imperator Ch'ien-lung*" and P. Crossley, "*Orphan Warriors*." Crossley writes that much of the language of the *Ode* was adapted from Umuna's work (1688) who had been sent to the Northeast by the Kangxi emperor and may ultimately have derived from the work by the Chinese scholar Wu Zhaoqian (Crossley, 1990:235).

References to this book can be found in the following catalogues: Li, 1933:702.1; Möllendorff, 1889-1890:237; Poppe, 1964:511; Puyraimond, 1979:110; Fuchs, 11936:110.

A xylograph under the title *"Hani araha mukden i fu fujurun bithe"* is now kept in the Archives of Orientalists of the Institute for Oriental Studies of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Volkova, 1988:99).

The text of the book was used by A.V. Grebenschikov in his work "*Pis'mennost' aborigenov Man'čžurii"* [*Writing System of the Native People of Manchuria*] (see Grebenschikov, the Archives of Orientalists of the Institute for Oriental Studies of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, fond 75, invent. 1, N 35, p.181).

b) *"Manju gisun i buleku bithei šutucin"* (ma.) [*Preface to the "Imperial Mirror Book of the Manchu (Qing) Language*]. In: *"Qing wen jian"* (chin.) (Peking 1708, original edition).

This is a preface, written by the Kangxi emperor (1662-1722), to the explanatory dictionary which was known under the title "*Hani araha manju gisuni buleku bithe*" (ma.) [*Imperial Mirror Book of the Manchu Language*].

References to the book "*Hani araha manju gisuni buleku bithe"* can be found in the following catalogues: Laufer, 1913:41-42; Möllendorff, 1889-1890:35; Poppe, 1964:177, 270-4; Puyraimond, 1979:82-5; Fuchs, 1936:104.

The translation of the preface to this book into English was made by A. Fraser (Fraser, 1924:159-65).

A xylograph under the title *"Hani araha manju gisuni buleku bithe"* is now kept in the Archives of Orientalists of the Institute for Oriental Studies of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Volkova, 1988:102-3). It was studied by M.P. Volkova (Volkova, 1980:74-81).

Thirdly, I used as examples on written Manchu the text of the "*Nišan samani bithe*" (ma.) [*The Tale of the Nishan Shamaness*] (edition of the book, transliteration from Manchu, translation into Russian and foreword were carried out by M.P. Volkova (see *Source Abbreviations* and *Selected Bibliography*). A.V. Grebenschikov found two different copies of this tale in Manjuria in 1908-1909. The third copy of the tale was gifted to him by a native speaker Manchu, Dekdengge, in 1913. It is this third copy which was translated into Russian by Volkova. As it is well known, this text represents a rare specimen of the original Manchu literature closely related to folklore. Twenty years ago the Italian manchurologist G. Stary undertook a new critical publishing of this text. He used all the known versions and records, which have not been published by M.P. Volkova herself and which are now kept in the Archives of Orientalists at the Institute for Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg. Stary's publication contains the most complete and informative catalogue of works devoted to "*Nišan samani bithe"* (Stary, 1985:VIII-X).

As Volkova noted, she herself gave the transliteration of the text on the basis of Literary Manchu, therefore the reading of some words of the original manuscript differ from their transliteration (Volkova, 1961:11). As for the syntactic patterns I used from the text of the *"Nišan samani bithe"* for illustration purposes, they do not differ from those occurring in the Written Manchu language.

To illustrate syntactic patterns, I also used the text known as *"Sidi Kur,"* which was recorded by V.V. Radlov from a native speaker Sibe in 1868-69. Radlov's linguistic material represented the language of the educated circles of the Sibe community of 1860-70. The educated Sibes of the epoch spoke a much purer version of Literary Manchu than the Manchus who settled in Peking and the Jilin and Heilongjiang provinces of China. The *"Sidi Kur"* was rewritten and translated into Russian by E.P. Lebedeva in 1958-59 (see *Source Abbreviations* and *Selected Bibliography*). I assume the right to illustrate my theoretical proposals on Literary (Written) Manchu quoting examples from both Literary Manchu and its Sibe dialect on the

grounds of two factors. Firstly, this variant of Sibe, recorded by Radlov, is very close to Literary Manchu; secondly, the syntactic structures that are of interest to me are formed according to basically uniform patterns. The main distinctions between Literary Manchu and Radlov's version of Sibe are of phonetic nature (for more detailed information see Lebedeva & Gorelova, 1994:27-30). In what follows we list the most important phonetic discrepancies:

1. In Sibe the phoneme *š* occurs more frequently than in Manchu when preceding the vowel *i*: ma. *si*—sib. *ši* = you (2 SG), ma. *sikse*—sib. *šikse* "blood," ma. *faksi*—sib. *fakši* "workman," ma. *desi*—sib *deši* "upward."

2. In Sibe the phoneme *v* is normally omitted between vowels: ma. *kūwaran*—sib. *kūaran* "camp," "yard," ma. *hūwaita-*—sib. *hūaita-* "to tie," ma. *ferguwecuke*—sib. *ferguecuke* "wonderful," "astonishing."

3. The Manchu combination *oo* (double *o*) is realized in Sibe as the diphtong [ou]: ma. *boo*—sib. *bou* "house," ma. *moo*—sib. *mou* "tree," ma. *hoošan*—sib. *houšan* "paper."

4. The Sibe vowel *u* often corresponds to the Manchu vowel *o*: ma. *hoton*—sib. *hotun* "walled city," ma. *oron*—sib. *orun* "vacant post." In some cases the Sibe vowel *o* corresponds to the Manchu vowel *u*: ma. *suku*—sib. *soko* "skin," "pelt," ma. *buta-*—sib. *bota-* "to catch (game or fish)."

5. In Sibe the dropping of vowels in the second syllable of trisyllabic words often occurs: ma. *nimaha*—sib. *nimha* "fish," ma. *gicuke*—sib. *gicku* "shameful," "disgraceful," ma. *fusihūn*—sib. *fušhūn* "down," "downward."

6. Labial assimilation occurs in several stems in Sibe: ma. *kunesun*—sib. *kunusun* "provisions (for journey)," ma. *kutele-*—sib. *kutule-* "to lead (animals)." At the same time there are several stems in which the reverse correspondence occurs: ma. *gucule-*—sib. *gucele-* "to make friends," ma. *kūbule-*—sib. *kūbili-* "to change," "to become altered."

7. The Manchu combination *ngg* is shortened to [ŋ] in Sibe: ma. *angga*—sib. *anga* "mouth," "hole," ma. *ninggun*—sib. *ningun* "six," ma. *erdemungge*—sib. *erdemunge* "virtuous," "talanted."

In order to facilitate the reader's understanding of the Manchu language material, I used the form of interlinear morphemic translations. Abbreviations used as grammatical category labels, are partly taken from Christian Lehmann, "*Directions for Interlinear Morphemic Translations*" (see *Selected Bibliography*).

PART ONE

PROLEGOMENA TO MANCHU STUDIES

This page intentionally left blank

PART ONE

PROLEGOMENA TO MANCHU STUDIES

1. *The Altaic Language Family and the Manchu Language*

The beginnings of the Altaic theory date back to the late eighteenth century when linguists started to realize that grammatical structures of many Eurasian languages were characterized by a great number of similarities. Some of these languages had common basic vocabulary, others displayed interrelations in the lexical sphere. The grammatical system of all these languages could be determined as nominative-accusative. This is to say that structural components of the grammatical system of the language are oriented towards expressing the semantic opposition of subject and object (see also Part 4, Section 2.8). On the lexical level, this opposition manifests itself through the division of all verbs into transitive and intransitive, with pronounced objective orientation of the former, and subjective orientation of the latter. On the syntactic level, the nominative-accusative system manifests itself through a common nominative structure of a sentence which includes a transitive verb-predicate, and through distinguishing the direct and indirect objects as well. The word order of all these languages could be determined as subject-object-verb type. All of them were agglutinative. This is to say that suffixes denoting various lexical and grammatical meanings may be attached directly to an invariable nominal or verbal stem. Normally a suffix expresses only one meaning, so a string of suffixes can be attached to a stem (we can imagine a train, the locomotive of which is a word stem and the wagons are suffixes).

The "Altaic" name was chosen for the theory because the Altaic mountains of Central Asia approximately mark the centre of those lands around which many peoples associated with these languages were located. It is also assumed that peoples speaking the Altaic languages originated in the vicinity of Siberia, and then spread at different times in various directions across Eurasia (Crossley, 1997:34).

The Altaic languages can be divided into several groups, primarily the Turkic, Mongolian, and Tungusic language families. Accord-

ing to the latest studies there is evidence that Korean and Japanese are also related to Altaic, but more remotely than the languages from the language families listed above.

In scientific literature it is a norm to postulate a more generic language family, viz. the Uralo-Altaic one, which includes the Finno-Ugric languages.

Among linguistic historians, who have studied the so-called Altaic languages over the past two centuries, there is no complete agreement on whether or not these languages were genetically related or rather the similarities among them were determined by their ancient contacts. Supporters of the Altaic idea tried from the very beginning to reconstruct the so-called Proto-Altaic language. To date, a number of versions of sound correspondences among languages referred to as Altaic have been suggested. Some of those hypotheses were more or less successfully verified.

The Manchu language has always been of great interest to specialists who devoted much attention to studying the Altaic languages. Manchu could be expected to display features indispensable for the reconstruction of the Proto-Altaic language, which were lacking in other Altaic languages.

Being the best-documented member of the Tungusic language family, Manchu has played a significant role in the development and elaboration of the Altaic theory. In accordance with the most accepted hypothesis, the Tungusic languages were the first to separate from the Proto-Altaic language, and the Turkic and Mongolian languages were descendants of a younger proto-language (Vladimirtzev, 1929:47). With regard to another hypothesis, the Manchu language deviated significantly from the Proto-Altaic language, and instead of expressing various grammatical meanings with the help of suffixes, as all Altaic languages did, it had developed other analytical devices (Grebenschikov, 1912).

The term "Altaic" is understood in this work to encompass the typological affinity of the languages. This means that all languages, belonging to the Altaic linguistic community, have to a certain degree, evident similarities in their grammatical structures, in addition to a common basic vocabulary.

2. *The Place of Manchu among the Languages of the Tungus-Manchu Linguistic Community (from a typological point of view)*

All Tungus-Manchu languages can be divided into three subgroups: the Northern, the Southern and the Manchu-Sibe. The Manchu language and the language of Sibe, a Manchu tribe, because of their peculiarity, form a distinct group.

The Northern Tungus-Manchu languages are Even, Evenki, Negidal, and Solon. Peoples speaking these languages inhabit the North of Russia, Siberia and the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk and, to a smaller extent, certain areas of China where one of the Evenki dialects is called Orochen.

The Southern Tungus-Manchu languages are Nanai (Gold), Orok, Oroch, Udeghe, and Ulcha. Speakers of these languages inhabit the banks of the Amur river and its tributaries and Sakhalin Island.

Other classifications of languages belonging to the Tungus-Manchu language family also exist. For example, J. Ikegami suggested that all Tungus-Manchu languages can be divided into four groups on the grounds of phonetic correspondences existing among the languages. According to him, the first group includes Even, Evenki, Negidal, and Solon. The second group consists of only two languages, Oroch and Udeghe. The third group contains Nanai (Gold), Orok, and Ulcha. The fourth one comprises Manchu and Sibe (Ikegami, 1974:271-2).

From the typological point of view the Northern and Southern subgroups of the Tungus-Manchu languages are agglutinative. This means that suffixes displaying various lexical and grammatical meanings are attached directly to stems. Normally a suffix conveys only one meaning, with a few exceptions to the rule, and if it is required to express several language categories a nominal or verbal stem may carry a string of suffixes. The morphological apparatus of all these languages is well developed. For instance, the typical word formation device of Evenki is suffixation. There are more than ten case suffixes, an impressive number of verbal suffixes, including participles (approximately ten suffixes) and converbs (approximately fifteen suffixes). A synthetic language to a great degree, Evenki denotes its grammatical relations within a word form by means of suffixes.

The Manchu language and its important dialect, Sibe, because of their particular features, constitute a separate group in terms of

the paradigm of synthetism/analytism. Manchu is the most analytical of the languages of the Tungus-Manchu family, and its morphological apparatus is only minimally developed. That is, a number of grammatical relationships can be expressed by means of syntactic words, word order and suprasegmental units.

A number of manchurologists have come to the conclusion, through analyzing grammatical forms of the language, that the analytical structure of the language preceded the synthetic one (for instance, B.K. Pashkov in his unpublished manuscript "*Syntax of the Simple Sentence in the Manchu Language*"). The analytical origin of certain Manchu synthetic forms is clear. They are formed by the contraction of two or three stems, which can be easily reconstructed. Analytical elements can be found in various spheres of the structure of the Manchu language: in noun and verb morphology, word formation and syntax.

3. *The Manchus: A Brief Survey of their History*

According to the population statics given in the third pan-China census, 4,304,981 Manchus and 83,683 Sibes, people of Manchu descent, live in various regions of the People's Republic of China at present (*China. Facts & Figures. Population and Nationalities*. Beijing (China), October 1987). In particular they inhabit the provinces of Heilongjiang, Jilin, Liaoning, Hebei and Xinjiang; 117,000 Manchus live in Peking[1].

In Liaoning province, whose capital city is Shenyang (Mukden), there are eight "Manchu Autonomous Counties" (Xinbin, Fengcheng, Xiuyan, Benxi, Beizhen, Huairen, Kuandian and Qingyuan). In the province of Hebei three "Manchu Autonomous counties" (Qinglong, Fengning, Kuancheng) have been formed. In this province a "Manchu-Mongol Autonomous County," Weichang, has also been instituted. In Jilin province a "Manchu Autonomous County," Yitong, has been established. In China over 340 so-called "Manchu Rural Communities" have also been established in recent years (Stary,1995:71).

[1] A less reliable figure for the Sibe population, of 172,847 people, is given in two journal publications [see *Minzu yanjiu*, no. 6, 1984, p.72 and *Minzu yanjiu*, no. 1, 1991, p.113]. In the opinion of some scholars the difference between the two figures can be accounted for in several ways including a deliberate distortion for political reasons.

In 1982 the Italian scholar A. Pozzi visited Xinbin, the place of origin of the Manchu people, and gathered evidence of the social and linguistic situation that prevailed in the region at that time. The area is situated a few kilometres northeast of Shenyang in Fushun Municipality, and is characterized by its diversity of ethnic nationalities. At the time the Manchus only made up 30 percent of the local population and coexisted with the Mongols, Sibes, Koreans, Hui, and Han peoples. The old Manchu language and culture have been assimilated by the Chinese civilization and no more than a few quite elderly people could still speak Manchu and no one could write it correctly (Pozzi, 1987:208-18).

Likewise, in Heilongjiang province a few settlements and villages still remain where some Manchus, again mostly aged people, can still speak their native language. In 1961-62 a number of linguistic expeditions were sent out to these villages of Heilongjiang province, but the results of this activity were only published in 1984. In that area there were four Manchu villages, with a total population of 20,000, only a half of which was ethnically Manchu. In the village of Daujiazi all Manchus over the age of fifty still spoke Manchu. In 1982, when a subsequent expedition took place, almost all Manchus had turned to Chinese and only some seventy-year-old men could speak their native language. In 1961 the Manchu population of another Heilongjiang village, Sanjiazi (in Manchu, "*Ilan booi gašan*"—the "Village of the Three Families"), consisted of 355 people and only 58 people, aged over fifty, had excellent knowledge of Manchu; 108 people, aged twenty to fifty, were bilingual (Stary, 1994:476). It is interesting to note that the Chinese scholar An Jun believes that the dialect of the village of Sanjiazi, to the North of Qiqihar, is close to that spoken by the Xinjiang Sibe (An Jun, 1985:41-7).

The Manchus have had a very interesting and unusual history. They grew out of tribes of hunters and warriors in the late sixteenth century. United under the leadership of Nurhaci (Qing Taizu; lived 1559-1626), the founder of the "Later Jin" khanate (1616) and the father of the first emperor of the Qing empire, Hong Taiji (Qing Taizong; lived 1592-1643), they emerged as a political force at the very beginning of the seventeenth century[2]. It was exactly in that

[2] In fact, the real name of the creator of the Qing empire is unknown. The name, under which the first Qing emperor is known, is rather a title than a name, and it literally means "Prince Hong" (Crossley, 1997:208).

period that the Manchus began their first invasions. They finally entered China in 1644 and seized Peking (Beijing) which was the seat of the Ming dynasty.

In the year of conquest of China the Manchu population numbered 300,000 while the Chinese population ran to 300 million (Sidikhmenov, 1985:9).

The number of the Manchu forces directly involved in the conquest is estimated as approximately 120,000-150,000 of skilled, armed individuals opposing the army of the immense Chinese empire. In fact, sources give different figures for the fighting force of the Manchus, and it is very difficult to be precise in estimating the number of Manchu military troops (Crossley, 1990:13, 232).

After the occupation of Peking, the capital of the Ming empire, the Manchu army reached Central and South China, installing military garrisons in the conquered territories. After that the Manchus advanced to Northwest and Southwest China until they occupied Xinjiang (1755), which became the limit of the expansion of the Qing empire (Crossley, 1990:13).

It was accepted until recently that the Manchus, although rulers of China for more than 250 years (1644-1911), were subsequently absorbed by China's superiority, both cultural and numerical.

3.1. *The Jurchens and their Ancient History*

By the mid sixteenth century, which was the time of Nurhaci's coming into the world, numerous Tungusic tribes, known as the Jurchens, were settled in the vast spaces of Northeast Asia, to the east from the Great Khingan Range to the valleys of the Liao, Songari and Tumen-ula rivers and their tributaries. The Jurchens—like their ancient predecessors long before them—occupied the mountain regions and river valleys of Manchuria (which in present times encompasses the modern provinces of Liaoning, Jilin and Heilongjiang and which is now called the "northeast", Dongbei, by the Chinese), as well as the Russian "Maritime Province" (Primorskii Krai) (Larichev, 1998:34). Those territories must be enlarged by the lands of Northern Korea as far south as Hamhŭng (which were not included in the Korean state until the end of the 14th century) (Crossley, 1997:14).

The Jurchens had complete dominion of the territories that were located along the Songari, Ussuri, Nonni, Yalu, and Amur rivers,

as well as of those, located within the boundaries of the mountain region of Changbaishan and the extensions of the Sichote Alin Range (Larichev, 1998:34).

Their lands were famous for ginseng, furs, honey, and wax—white and yellow, and also, for pearls which were highly valued because of their size, rare clarity of colour, and roundness. Jurchens were engaged in farming and cattlebreeding, hunting, fishing, and gathering. They were not united under the government of a single ruler. In former times they had a powerful state, the Jin empire (in Jurchen, "*Anchun*;" in Manchu, "*Aisin*"—the "Gold," "Golden"), which included Northern China (the centre of the Jin was located near the modern city of Harbin). That state lasted from 1115 till 1234 and fell under attacks by the Mongols[3].

The history of the Jin empire was described in "Jinshi", the dynastic chronicle of the Jurchens. This dynastic chronicle was compiled and first presented to the last Mongolian emperor of the Yuan dynasty, Toghon Temur (in Mongolian), in the late autumn of 1344. Written in Chinese, in accordance with the cannons of composition of dynastic chronicles, "Jinshi" consisted of 135 chapters. It contained, in particular, "The Main Annals", "Benji," as well as special chapters devoted to geography, rites, army, economics, and the administrative apparatus of the Jin empire. The chronicle also included 73 chapters where biographies of outstanding figures of the empire were given.

The translation of this chronicle into Manchu was undertaken later. Its completion under the title "The History of the Jin Dynasty, Ruled in northern China since 1114 till 1233" can be dated as early as the end of the first part of the 17th century. In the first part of the 19th century, this chronicle was translated into Russian by the Russian manchurologist G.M. Rozov (lived 1808-53). Recently this Russian version of the "Jinshi" has been published under the title "*Istorija Zolotoj Imperii" [A History of the Gold (Golden) Empire]*, with historical comments written by A.G. Malyavkin (Malyavkin, 1998:233-84). The publication has been edited by V.Ye. Larichev who also wrote a brief survey of the early history of the Jurchens

[3] P. Crossley gives another temporal limit of the existence of the Jin empire, i.e. from 1121 to 1234 (Crossley, 1997:208). According to all available data, the Jurchen leader Agūda came to power in 1114. In 1115 he declared himself the emperor, and created a new empire, which he called the Jin (Gold or Golden) dynasty (Kessler, 1993:13, 130; Larichev, 1998:84-5; Malyavkin, 1998:235).

that preceded the formation of the Jin empire. This sketch is followed by the bibliography, which includes a number of articles and books previously, I assume, unknown to Western scholars (Larichev, 1998:34-87).

A.G. Malyavkin undertook an investigation of the two versions of the chronicle, Chinese and Manchu. He came to the conclusion that the Manchu version was an original composition, aimed to praise deeds of the Jurchens' forefathers and to affirm the greatness of the Jurchens. Structurally, the Manchu version consists of extracts from "Benji" and the section of "Bibliographies," including scant information from some other sources (Malyavkin, 1977:96-100).

The origins of the founders of the Jin empire, the Jurchens (or earlier the Nüzhens), is a matter of debate to a certain degree. Looking back to the Early Middle Ages, one can notice that the name "Jurchen" appeared in Chinese records, dated as early as the first half of the seventh century, in Tang times (618 to 907 AD) (Larichev, 1998:34). According to other scholars who rely on Song-era records, the name did not appear until the Later Tang dynasty (923 to 936 AD) (Kessler, 1993:129).

In Chinese dynastic chronicles, which, however, could not be considered in many cases as directly helpful, the origins of the Jurchens was traditionally connected with the ancient Proto-Tungusic tribal groups of "Sushen," "Yilou," "Wuji," and "Mohe," who from time immemorial, replacing one another, inhabited the vast territories of Manchuria and the Russian Far East (Crossley, 1997:215; Larichev, 1998:34).

Most historians believe that the Mohes were the nearest descendants of the Jurchens. According to another point of view (see Sun Jinyi, et al, 1987), the Nüzhen (and later the Jurchen) were clearly descended from the Sushen, the oldest tribal group which is mentioned in pre-Qin texts as existing during the epoch of the legendary Shun emperor, in the late third millenium BC (Kessler, 1993:129)[4].

According to V.Ye. Larichev, who currently devotes much atten-

[4] In fact, no accurate dates exist for the rule of the legendary Shun emperor. Chinese historiography suggests that the Sage King Shun ruled from 2255 to 2205 B.C. The King Yao (2356 to 2255 B.C.) was another legendary ruler of ancient China. They are both constantly mentioned in ancient books as exemplary rulers. Together with the King Yu, they had formed the "trio" of the rulers of the so-called "Golden Age" of China (Malyavkin, 1998:258).

tion to studying ancient cultures, established in Northern (Northeastern) China at different times, peoples in the East of Asia knew about "Sushen" (the names "Sishen", "Jishen" also appear, albeit rarely) long ago. The name "Sushen" was mentioned for the first time in records, devoted to remarkable events, that happened in the times of the Sage king Shun ("Shiji," jian "Uda benji;" "Huainanji," jian "Yuandaoshun;" "Didai liji," jian "Shaojian"). It is briefly mentioned that in 2021 BC, the embassy of Sushen had arrived to the court and presented arrows with shafts, made from the "*ku*" tree, and with coarse arrowheads, made from the "*nu*" stone. The date itself is very questionable. It is rather difficult to establish with certainty that events, such as the one happening in 2021 BC, actually occurred at a fixed point in time during the late Stone Age (1998:35).

The Sushens were often mentioned in Chinese records of the Zhou period (Larichev, 1998:36-7)[5].

According to the opinion of some orientalists, there is no direct evidence to support this information (Crossley, 1997:215). Thus, the Japanese scholar H. Ikeuchi suggested that embassies of the Sushens never arrived to imperial courts in the pre-Han period, and all information about them in the Zhou period should be considered as fabricated (Ikeuchi, 1930).

In contrast with that, V.Ye. Larichev believes that the Sushens played a very important role in the East of Asia not only during the Zhou period, but even before, during the Shang-Yin period (1766 to 1027 BC) (Larichev, 1998:36-7)[6].

There is no evidence in Chinese records that the Sushens arrived to the court during the Qin and the Han periods (221 to 207 BC and 206 BC to 220 AD). Obviously, they preserved sovereignty from the Han empire.

During the Wei dynasty (220 to 264 AD) the number of times the arrival of Sushen ambassadors to the court is mentioned not only

[5] Traditionally, there have been differing historical opinions concerning the temporal limits of the Zhou period. According to A. Kessler, the Zhou era lasted from 1100 to 881 B.C. or to 221 B.C. if one includes "Spring and Autumn" and "Warring states" in that period (Kessler, 1993:14). P. Crossley dates this period as existing from 1050 to 221 B.C. (Crossley, 1997:215). According to A.G. Malyavkin, the traditional point of view is that the Zhou period lasted from 1122 to 249 B.C., but he also mentioned this period as existing from 1027 to 247 B.C. (Malyavkin, 1998:250, 255, 270).

[6] A. Kessler dates the Shang period as existing from 1650 to 1100 B.C. (Kessler, 1993:14).

increased, but invaluable and detailed ethnographical descriptions of the people and lands they possessed also appeared. Historically, the fact of the arrival of the second embassy of the Sushens to the Wei court (262 AD) is a very important one (the first embassy dated from 236 AD). When arranging this event, the Chinese did not find the tribe of Sushen in South Manchuria. In reality, in the lands where the Sushens were considered to be settled, they found a tribe the name of which sounded, according to Chinese pronunciation, as "Yilou." Hence a very important question arises. Did the "Yilou" of the Wei period coincide with the Sushen of the Zhou period? Bearing in mind, that every time the Chinese emperors wanted to eulogize their own rule they mentioned the arrival of the Sushens to the court, in this particular case, the Yilou might be identified with the Sushen deliberately, in order to enhance the prestige of Sima Zhao who was the real ruler of the last years of the Wei dynasty (the last emperor, Cheng Liuwang, did not possess real power) (Larichev, 1998:38-40).

Beginning from the fourth century, the name "Sushen" completely disappeared from Chinese records. The tribes which inhabited the largest portion of Manchuria and what is known in the present-day as the Russian Far East, came to be called "Wuji" during the Northern Wei period (386 to 534 AD) and "Mohe" during the Sui period (586 to 617 AD)[7].

According to some scholars, "Wuji" is the earliest name for a people who can be confidently identified as predecessors of the Jurchens (Crossley, 1997:215). Traditionally, the Mohe are considered as direct descendants of the Wuji.

By the fifth century AD, information about the Mohe people increased to such a degree that it became possible to speak about a whole group of related tribes, seven in number. Each tribe occupied a strictly appointed territory.

In the extreme south of territories where the Mohes settled, the tribe Limo (Sumo or Songmo) lived. They possessed the lands adjoining the river basin of the Upper Songari, north Jilin, as well as Baishan, the mountain-mass, located southeast, close to Mudangjiang. The Songmo were the most powerful of the Southern Mohe group.

[7] P. Crossley gives the temporal limits of the Northern Wei period as existing from 465 to 535 A.D. (Crossley, 1997:15).

The Bodo (or Gudo) were settled in the place of confluence of the Nonni and Songari rivers, north of the Limo Mohe, in the region of the modern city of Bodune. Further to the north-east, near the modern city of Harbin, along the southern bank of the Songari river where one of the most known tributaries of Songari, the Alchuk river runs, the lands of the tribe Anchegu Mohe were located. To the east of the Gudo Mohe, on the banks of the lower and middle reaches of the Songari and Hurha rivers, the tribe Fune Mohe lived. The tribe Haoshi (Gushi) Mohe occupied the area, located near the lower reaches of the Songari river, in the region of the modern city of Sansing. The most powerful of the Northern Mohe groups were Heishui (the name of the Amur river in Chinese; Heisui in Manchu), who were settled along the bank of the Amur river, in the territories located between the mouths of Songari and Ussuri.

The Mohes' way of life, as it was described in Chinese records, strongly resembled that of the Sushens. According to the dynastic chronicles of theYuanwei and Tang eras, the Wuji and Mohe did not know how to build houses above ground, instead they built dwellings of semi-subterranean style, a kind of earth-houses. Those dwellings were round in shape, and from above they looked like sepulchral mounds. Such a dwelling had a central chimney hole through which people normally entered by a ladder with several steps. Rich houses had ladders with nine steps. Without a question, such houses were dark and uncomfortable, but they retained warmth in the harsh climate of the region (Crossley, 1997:19; Larichev, 1998:53).

In Chinese records it was noted that the Mohes were the dirtiest people in comparison with the other eastern peoples. In particular, aliens were greatly astonished that the Mohes washed their hands and faces with their own urine (Larichev, 1998:53).

A number of houses formed a settlement, which was surrounded for protection by defensive walls, made like a dike, similar to a rampart.

In summer the Mohes left their winter houses to search for new places, rich in water and grass. A semi-nomadic way of life they lead in summer, forced them to build special dwellings similar to light portable tents. By winter, they returned to their fortified settlements.

The Mohe tribes can be characterized as having mostly a sedentary way of life. Pig breeding was the main branch of their stock-

raising (the same can be said about the Sushen). The richest of them possessed large flocks of pigs, which mounted to hundreds of heads. They liked eating pork, and pig-skins were used by them for sewing winter coats (again like the Sushen). The Mohes also bred dogs, from whose skins they sewed fur coats. At the same time, they bred horses. The Mohe warriors could not imagine their life without a horse, their foremost ally. According to their funerary practice, they buried horses with the interred.

The Mohe were mainly engaged in developed agriculture, as they used a plough, pushing it in front, and pairs of horses as drought power. They sowed wheat, millet, rice plants, and soybean, and used rice for preparing special liqueur. Being strong and sturdily-build, they never got drunk.

The Mohe were also engaged in hunting, fishing, and gathering. Women were widely engaged in weaving. Under warm clothing, they preferred wearing dress made from linen.

The Amur Mohe wore headdresses—probably, a sort of full uniform—decorated with pheasant feathers and wild boar fangs. In the South, the Songari Mohe horrified their enemies by their hats, decorated with tiger and leopard tails.

When burying corpses, they did not make coffins (in contrast to the Sushens). Moreover, they digged graves only in spring and summer. They lowerred a corpse to the bottom of a grave, put funeral meals in front and performed offerings. In winter, corpses were left in places distant from a settlement, in open air, and funeral rites were then carried out (Larichev, 1998:53).

The Mohe warriors were very famous in northern Asia for their courage and military skills, the main ones of which were horsemanship and archery. They were superlative archers, who were trained to hunt from horseback, like other northeasteners, from their childhood. The Mohe warrior's primary weapon was a bow. Their arrows never missed their aims, horrifying neighbouring peoples, which the Mohes constantly raided. They knew no fear. What is interesting to mention is that some of the Tang's Army most important military commanders were from the Mohes tribal chieftains, who helped the Chinese gain a victory over the Liaodong[8].

[8] The area, located east from the Liaohe river, was called Liaodong prior to the 17th century. In Chinese records, this was the name for southern Manchuria from the times of the Qin dynasty (from 246 to 207 B.C. according to A.G. Malyavkin, and from 221 to 207 B.C. according to A. Kessler) (Malyavkin,

The length of a bow—in comparison with that of the Sushens—decreased in size and did not exceed one metre, and the length of an arrow was about 40 cm. However, those changes did not weaken the killing power of the Mohe warrior's weapon. The point is that the Mohe warriors decorated their bows with horny plates, which in reality were not for decoration, but for increasing the resiliency and therefore the power of bows. The Mohes, like the Sushens before them, used extremely strong poison to smear their headarrows (Larichev, 1998:53-4).

The information concerning the social life of the Mohe is very scant. Definitely, there were poor and wealthy families among them. Separate tribes continued keeping their independence one from another. They fought with each other for territories, livestock, and property, and abductions were very frequent.

The Mohes called their tribal leader "*damofo mandu*" (chin. *da* "great"), as one can see further, the Southern Shiwei, who can be identified as people of Tungusic descent, called their tribal chieftains "*yumofo mandu*" (see section 4.1). Tribal chieftains had complete power over their fellow-tribesmen and in addition possessed a considerable number of slaves. Slavery, as a social institution, was probably of patriarchal character (Larichev, 1998:54).

The language spoken by the Mohe was Tungus-Manchu. What is important to mention is that the language of the Sushen could also be referred to as proto-Tungusic.

During the Tang era, the Mohe, similar to other peoples of northeastern Asia, were subjected to constant political and military pressure from Tang rulers. Soon after the Koguryŏ state of Korea had been defeated by the Tang empire (668 AD), a large portion of the Koguryŏ people fled into the lands of the Sumo Mohe[9]. Soon a lot of towns, surrounded by defensive walls, arose there. Around 700, a new state, "Parhae" (chin. *Bohai*), raised from the ruins of Koguryŏ, was established. It was the leader of Sumo Mohe, Cicik Zhungxiang, who was considered the creator of Bohai. He found a way to alleviate the pressure of Tang, which was compelled to recognize his lineage as a local hegemon and to permit the establishing of a sort

1998:260; Kessler, 1993:14). It is now the modern province of Liaoning in China.

[9] The early-feudal Koguryŏ state, which included a large portion of lands, neighboring south Manchuria, existed in those times. In 668 A.D. the Tang commander Li Ji, in alliance with the Silla state of Korea, destroyed Koguryŏ.

of a demi-state. Later, his grandson, Uazhi Da Tuyu, declared himself the emperor of Bohai, which in the course of time became highly cultured and enlightened, and widely known beyond the borders of the country. The Parhae (Bohai) state—a deserving successor of the culture and power of Koguryŏ and the tribal league of the Songari Mohe—flourished for 228 years until it was destroyed by the Qitans (926 AD) (Shavkunov, 1968; Crossley, 1997:18; Larichev, 1998:53-4).

As for the most Northern of the Mohe tribes, the Heishui (Amur) Mohe, its fate was totally different. The Heishui Mohes created their Army, built fortifications along their northern and southern bounderies and successufully repulsed the attackes of the Bohai to invade their territories. The fight of the Bohai against the Northern tribes lasted for several decades, but the Heishui Mohe had preserved their independence to the end.

During the tenth century, the Heishui Mohe had drammatically increased their military power and political influence upon the peoples of northern Asia. By that time, they controled not only the territories of the basin of the Middle Amur, but also the upper reaches of the Songari river and probably the valleys of the Ussuri and Suifung rivers. It was during this time that the tribe of Nuizhen became prominent among all the others by their power. The name "Jurchen" appeared for the first time and all Heishui Mohe came to be called by the name "Nüzhen." When the Liao empire of the Qitans destroyed Bohai in 926, it was the Jurchens who started struggling for independence of the peoples of the Far East against the nomads of central Asiatic steppes.

At the same time, the Jurchen tribes struggled fiercely among themselves in order to seize power and unite all groups until one of them, the Wanyan, achieved supremacy.

The leader of this group, Agūda, played a great role in the formation of the Jurchen tribal league. He constantly pursued a policy of independence from other tribes of Manchuria, as well as from the Liao and Koryŏ states. Agūda came to power in 1114, and shortly began rebelling against the Liao empire, which suffered one defeat after another. In 1115 Agūda formally declared himself the emperor of a new state which he called the Jin (Gold or Golden) empire. By the end of Agūda's rule (he ruled from 1115 to 1124), the Jurchen forces had captured most of the Liao territories, including their southern capital (present-day Beijing) (Vorobiev, 1975; Kessler,

1993:129-30; Crossley, 1997:19-20; Larichev, 1998:55-86)[10].

The Jin empire was on very fragile terms with the Northern Song dynasty (960 to 1127 AD). Their hostilities were came to an end in 1127 when the Jin forces conquered the Northern Song capital of Bianjing (present-day Kaifeng in eastern Henan province). The remains of the Song government shifted south and established the Southern Song dynasty (1127 to 1279 AD). The Song empire lost their territories in the Hebei, Henan, Shanxi, and Shaanxi provinces according to the peace agreement the two empires reached in 1141. However, their hostilities continued until 1165, when the two empires made a peace (Kessler, 1993:130).

During the Jin dynasty's rule, the Jurchens, including the Mongols who were under the suzerainty of the Jurchens for 100 years, subjected many peoples of northern Asia. When around the end of the twelfth century the Jin empire began to suffer from internal disorders and problems, the Mongols, aware of the Jurchen's weaknesses, began their campaign against the Jin dynasty. By 1214, the Mongols laid siege to the Jin capital of Zhongdu (present-day Beijing). The Jurchens agreed to pay tribute, and at that time they made peace with the Mongols. In 1234, Ögödei, the third son of Genghis Khan, completed the conquest of the Jin empire (Kessler, 1993:148,154).

After the Jin empire, Jurchen tribes were widely dispersed through vast territories of Manchuria and northern China (Crossley, 1997:208).

By the mid sixteenth the Jurchens divided into numerous tribal federations (in Manchu, "*aiman*"). Several tribal federations constituted more large clan-tribal unions or confederations (in Manchu, "*culgan*")[11]. Both in tribal federations and confederations there was no peace. Permanent discords and internecine wars destroyed them.

By the time Nurhaci began his campaigns "to unite various peoples under one rule"[12], three large antagonistic unions existed: Manchu, Golmin-Shanyan-alin, and Hūlun. They were in a state of permanent war with one another. The Manchu confederation included the Jianzhou tribal federation (*aiman*) of which Nurhaci's grandfather and father were clan headmen, and into which Nurhaci himself was born.

---

[10] Subsequently the history of the Wanyan was interpreted by Jin rulers as the history of the whole Jin empire.

[11] J. Norman translates the word *aiman* as "a tribe" and the word *culgan* as "an assembly," "a league" [NL:9, 48].

[12] Quoted in Pamela Kyle Crossley, "Orphan Warriors," 1990.

The Hūlun confederation which was influenced heavily by the Mongols (some Hūlun tribal headmen had the Mongols among their ancestors), consisted of the Ula, Hada, Hoifa, and Yehe tribal federations, and all of them clashed with the Jianzhou Jurcherns from time to time. The Golmin-Shanyan-alin union included the Yaluula, Neyen, and Jusheri tribal federations, and they were defeated by Nurhaci and added to his possessions in the first expansion of his influence (Kuznetsov, 1985:3-5).

The Jurchens bordered Mongol lands, China, where the Ming dynasty ruled (1368-1644) and the Korean realm.

To subjugate the Jurchens, governors of the Ming Empire used the practice of distributing official ranks among Jurchen foremen. The Ming authorities announced a clan headman who was rewarded with a certain official rank as the head of a guard or a post. Correspondingly, the Ming administration considered a Jurchen community whose leader was given a certain official rank and a seal as their vassal. Thus, a place where Nurhaci and his fellow-tribesmen lived, the Chinese called "Jianzhou post," and Nurhaci's forefathers had the rank of the "head of Jianzhou post." Those who possessed a certain official rank could go to the Ming court and trade within Chinese fortresses. The Jurchen foremen brought gifts to the Ming court, however, those gifts, according to traditional Chinese diplomatic protocol, were classified as tribute even though Chinese gifts were given in return. Nevertheless there was no stable peace on the boundary between China and the Jurchen lands. In 1583 Ming military troops made punitive expeditions within the Jurchen borders. As a result of those offensives, Nurhaci's grandfather Giocangga and father Taksi were killed (Kuznetsov, 1985:3-5).

3.2. *The Manchus' Ethnicity*

As shown in recent studies, in the early period of Nurhaci's reign the Jurchens were not an ethnic conglomeration. They included not only various Jurchen tribes whose ancestors had created the Jin empire in Northeast and Northern China, but also acculturated descendants of Mongolian, Chinese and Korean peoples and diverse Northeastern tribes like the Evenks, Solons, Orochons, Golds, and Sibes. These tribes, as the Tungusic class of the Altaic language group, were genetically and linguistically close to the Jurchens proper, and were slightly influenced by the Chinese, Mongols, and Kore-

ans. Hong Taiji (Qing Taizong), the second khan of the Later Jin (1627-35) and the first emperor of the Qing dynasty (1636-43), claimed in 1635 that the majority of the banner population, mainly Jurchens, were to be called Manchus. The new identity, in this way, also included several components and was not a homogenous ethnic unit (Crossley, 1990:16). Thus, the Manchus, were drawn from a culturally diverse collection of peoples, and the term "Manchu" itself had more political sense than ethnic-anthropological meaning (Stary, 1994:470).

3.3. *Clans in the History of the Manchus*

When Hong Taiji declared himself the emperor and created the Qing empire (1636), various groups of population differing from the point of view of their ethnic affiliation, economic order, language and culture, were united under the empire. Nevertheless there were some basic similarities in their social organization and cultural life, such as clans, oral history and shamanism, their ancestral religion (Crossley, 1990:34).

A clan (in Manchu, "*mukūn*") was the principal entity in the social organization of the Manchus and of the Jurchens before them[13]. The role of a clan had been changed in the course of time. Before and during the Manchus' conquest of China, clans governed the everyday life of the people. Clan headmen were very often shamans themselves, in order to show the best way of farming, hunting, gathering and how to make war on antagonistic tribes. After the conquest, when aggressive wars ceased and the polity revealed a tendency to transform from a "booty" into a bureaucratic state, economic conditions varied sharply and the role of the clans was diminished. They began to hamper the economic and social development of society until they finally changed into political and cul-

[13] Several definitions of a Manchu clan exist. According to S.M. Shirokogoroff, a clan, as a social entity, is characterized by some principal features. All members of a clan are descended from a single male ancestor, which results in a necessary blood relationship among them. In addition, a clan has common clan spirits and taboos, the most important of which is exogamy, and furthermore, it is obligatory to have a name for each clan (Shirokogoroff, 1973:16, 31). P. Crossley maintains that not all clans could trace their origin to a single ancestor and even in the late sixteenth century biological kinship was not an obligatory characteristic for absolutely all clans, but she manifests solidarity with Shirokogoroff in acknowledging that the clan could not exist without a name and "the clan name (*hala*), which was most often a toponim of ancient or recent vintage, was the key to the origin of all *mukūn* sharing that name" (Crossley, 1990:36).

tural symbols, with affiliation becoming a point of pride by the nineteenth century (Crossley, 1990:34).

The history of the Jurchens and later of the Manchus was closely related to the clans, or to be more precise, to their separate histories. The history of the whole empire was interpreted by rulers as the history of the imperial clan, the *Aisin Gioro* (the Golden Gioro), which was created by Nurhaci after the middle of the seventeenth century. Nurhaci's clan, *Gioro*, pretending to be a clan of ancient history, had many sub-branches throughout the Northeast. It was very important for Nurhaci to invent his own clan in order, firstly, to claim his clan's superiority over others, and, secondly, to show that his clan was the most ancient, tracing its origin to the Jurchen Jin dynasty. Bearing in mind that all clans had murky, poorly documented histories at least before Nurhaci's time, it is clear why Nurhaci and his descendants exerted every effort to invent a clan history for themselves (Crossley, 1990:32-3)[14].

Considerable efforts were made during the reigns of Emperors Yongzheng and Qianlong (1723-1735 &1736-1795 respectively), to reestablish the social and spiritual role of the clans. The rulers understood the necessity of well-documented histories of the clans and therefore they arranged publication of the genealogies of the ancient clans, especially of those that had formed the basis of the Eight Banners, "the socio-military organizational foundation of the Qing state" (Crossley, 1997:207). The most important of those histories, such as "*General History of the Eight Banners*" (published in 1736), "*Comprehensive Genealogies of the Clans and Lineages of the Eight-Banner Manchus*" (published in 1745), "*Researches on Manchu Origins*" (published in 1783), came out in the reign period of the Qianlong emperor (Crossley, 1990:21).

In the Jurchen's times the ancestral religion, shamanism, was one of the prominent elements in their social organization and spiritual life. Often being clan headmen, shamans sanctified economic activi-

[14] As evidenced by some historical records, Nurhaci's own lineage could be traced to *Möngke Temür*, the powerful leader of the Jianzhou federation, in whose name one can ditect an obvious Mongolian influence. In accordance with folk tradition, *Möngke Temür*'s father or grandfather had been a leader of the Ilantumen Jurchens (Ilantumen being a place at the Songari-Amur confluence) before their migration to the region of modern Hunqun in the South at the end of the fourteenth century. There is historical evidence that *Möngke Temür* was killed in the battle with other Jurchen tribes on the North Korean boundary in 1433 (Crossley, 1990:32-3).

ties of all members of a clan, helping them communicate with their spirits. With the reorganization of the polity into a bureaucratic state, when the population had no further need to support themselves by traditional activities such as hunting, fishing, farming, gathering, and fighting against antagonistic tribes and peoples, the Manchus needed to communicate less often with their helping spirits, and the role of religion, as well as that of a clan, was also sharply diminished. Despite considerable efforts that were made to re-establish shamanistic rites, especially in the time of Emperor Qianlong, the language of those rites had become absolutely incomprehensible for young bannermen.

3.4. *Banners and Garrisons as Major Government Institutions of the Manchus*

Banners and garrisons were major government institutions both in the Later Jin khanate and the Qing state. A banner (in Manchu, "*gūsa*") was originally a military organization of the Jurchens and later Manchus, created by Nurhaci to unite disparate groups of population within the new identity. Those military units were called "banners" because each of them carried a distinctive flag. Later a banner became an administrative and social organization as well. At the very beginning of the sixteenth century Nurhaci created four banners (yellow, white, blue, and red). The majority of specialists agree that the time of their creation can be dated from 1601. Subsequently, with the increase in population, he founded four more military units. In 1616 each banner was split into two, one being "plain" and the other being "bodered" (Crossley, 1997:207). The whole socio-military organization came to be called the Eight Banners (in Manchu, "*jakūn gūsa*"). Every banner was distinguished by its colour, so that the whole army included the Plain Yellow, Bordered Yellow, Plain White, Bordered White, Plain Red, Bordered Red, Plain Blue, and Bordered Blue banners. Later, eight new banners were created for the Mongols and as many again for the Chinese-martial (in 1642)[15]. Ultimately the regular forces numbered twenty-four banners.

---

[15] P. Crossley referred to the Chinese-martial as those who were in most cases of indeterminable Jurchen, Chinese or Korean descent and were located within the Ming pale of Liaoning peninsula, primarily modern Liaoning province. If military units of the Manchus proper were based upon "companies," originally clan organizations, by contrast, a Chinese-martial division of the Eight Banners was based upon created "companies" (Crossley, 1990:6; 1997:29, 203-5).

Early banners created by Nurhaci developed from companies (in Manchu, "*niru*") which borrowed their organizational principles from the clan hunting group. A clan was the ideological and structural base of the Manchu Army: a company and a banner. Clan headmen were often company leaders called by the ancient term "*nirui ejen*" ("lord of the arrows"). A process of reorganization that started in Hong Taiji's reign and continued into Shunzhi's and Kangxi's times, caused many innovations in the structure of companies whose leaders were called by a new term—"*nirui janggin*" ("captain of the company") (Crossley, 1990:36). According to different sources, the number of soldiers that constituted one *niru,* varies radically, from a hundred to three hundred (Crossley, 1990:231-2)[16].

In Hong Taiji's times (1627-1643) and then during Shunzhi's (1644-1661), Kangxi's (1662-1722) and especially Yongzheng's (1723-1735) reigns, as a result of diminution of the role of the clans in the structure of banners, companies began to loosen their direct associations with clans, and "clan headmen were no longer recognized by the court as banner officials, but were chosen according to the ostensibly meritocratic standards that were permeating the banners as a professional institution" (Crossley, 1990:37).

A banner, as an institution, was borrowed from Turko-Mongolian hereditary military servitude. According to its regulations, a soldier was a slave of his owner (Sinor, 1981:133; Crossley, 1990:15).

At the very beginning of the seventeenth century when the Manchu army, the Eight Banners, was organized, a bannerman denoted a man who was enrolled in one of the banners. A bannerman should possess certain military skills, among which the most valued ones were horsemanship and archery. Like all Inner Asian conquerors, a bannerman was able to shoot from horseback. The personal relationship which existed between a Manchu soldier and his owner was a continuation and development of the Turko-Mongolian slavery when a soldier was never free (Crosley, 1990:15). Even by the end of the nineteenth century, "bannermen,"—as the Chinese writer Lao She, originally a Manchu of the Sumuru clan, wrote in his

[16] J. Norman translates the word *niru* as "a banner company of a hundred men" (NL:216). According to V.S. Kuznetzov, "*niru*," on average, had three hundred soldiers. He also maintains that five companies (five "*niru*") formed one regiment (in Manchu, "*cale*"), five "*cale*" constituted one corps (in Manchu, "*gūsa*"), and a banner consisted of two "*gūsa*". Bearing in mind, that *niru* had three hundred soldiers, a banner should number about fifteen thousand soldiers (Kuznetsov, 1985:3-5).

famous novel "*Hongqi zhi xia*" ("Beneath the Red Banner"),—"had no real freedom; they could not quit their original Banner or travel outside of Beijing;" "a bannerman was expected to join the Imperial Army, ride a horse, shoot with a bow and arrow, and defend the Qing dynasty" (Lao She, 1982:53-4).

In the early seventeenth century ethnic affiliation was not a principal qualification for a man to be considered as a bannerman: "a bannerman might be a Manchu, a Mongol, a Northern tribesman, a Korean or Chinese transfrontiersman, who had joined Nurhaci's band either to avoid annihilation or to profit by the expansion of the Later Jin khanate (1616-1626)" (Crossley, 1990:14). Affiliation with the nobility was not obligatory for a bannerman.

From the very beginning of the presence of such a military institution as a banner, each Manchu bannerman was well compensated after the conquest, first with booty and then with rice and cash. The bannermen, as a group, enjoyed some privileges until the middle of the nineteenth century which the rest of the population of the Empire didn't have.

Even at the end of the nineteenth century, when the Qing empire was rotten to the core and the Imperial government could hardly provide bannermen with allowances, each family of a poor Manchu soldier received a fixed income of three ounces of silver and a certain portion of rice. Lao She, who was born in one such Manchu family of a poor soldier, wrote that this fixed income was a semblance of a salary, and because the Manchus were not allowed to have another job apart from being a soldier in the Imperial Army, all poor Manchus "felt that there was a noose around our necks which was getting tighter all the time" (Lao She, 1982:32).

By the middle of the eighteenth century, when the Manchus finished their aggressive wars against antagonistic tribes and peoples and pacification of Xinjiang in 1755 became the last expansion of the Empire, the Eight Banners had lost their military role in the state. New economic, social and cultural situations came into existence in the Qing empire. The state was no longer booty-based. A bannerman population was increasing constantly, whenever the number of vacant posts in the Imperial Army was limited. There arose staff competition for banner company appointments and hereditary captaincies. In accord with Qing military regulations, only two older sons of a Manchu family could be taken into the military service. The others were forced to remain unemployed. If a family had one

or two unemployed persons it made life extremely hard. Bearing in mind that a man might wait for a vacant post for a long time, it is understandable that many young men, being life-long unemployed, sensed a loss of freedom and self-respect.

By the end of the ninteenth century Manchu society had divided sharply into two opposing camps: Manchu nobility whose ancestors accumulated great wealth enjoyed their lives, while poor Manchu soldiers could not make ends meet. Lao She wrote about the life of the Manchu society at the end of the nineteenth century: "We evolved a unique style of living. Those with money wanted the best of everything; so did those without in spite of their poverty. So all sank or floated in the stagnant pond of their pleasure-seeking lives" (Lao She, 1982:32). Nevertheless both the Manchu nobility and poor Manchu soldiers continued having certain privileges, in some cases, very questionable.

A garrison was another fundamental entity in the military regimes of Later Jin and Qing empires. Hundreds of garrisons were installed throughout successively conquered territories, and their size ranged from about five hundred bannermen to about thirty thousand. Enrolled bannermen lived in garrisons with their families, supporting themselves from proceeds of their lands and the allowance which the court paid them monthly in cash (silver stipend). A garrison was a rather closed unit; after the early eighteenth century no bannermen could move away from the garrison to which he was assigned and in which he was born. Activities of the bannermen within each garrison were strictly limited.

Diversity of dialects and subdialects was closely related with the multitude of garrisons. But those dialects were rarely written and changed to a large degree as a result of their contacts with the Chinese language (Crossley, 1990:6, 23, 28).

3.5. *Manchu Identity*

The old Jin khanate and the Qing state at the beginning of the initial period of conquest were "booty" in their origin. The booty was distributed by the khan among his retainers (*amban* and *beile*), who in their turn divided it with bannermen[17]. Even slaves were given

[17] J. Norman translates the word *amban* as "a high official," "dignitary" and the word *beile* as "ruler," "prince of the third rank" (NC:15, 27). According to A.G.

booty for their service. The military servitude borrowed from the Turki and the Mongols, was the foundation of the banners, as the state's institution. In that sense, the Turko-Mongolian institution of hereditary military slavery was the basis of Manchu identity in the middle seventeenth century. Clan organization of the medieval society was the mechanism which governed bannermen's military activities and controlled distribution of booty to the warriors. It should be stressed that before the reforms of Hong Taiji, the imperial clan *Aisin Gioro* was the owner of the banners (Crossley, 1990:15). So it would be correct to say that clans were the principal characteristic of Manchu identity.

By the late eighteenth century, with the peace following the last Manchu invasions, the Eight Banners had lost their role as the mainstay of imperial power (Crossley, 1990:20).

Bannermen of some communities lived on proceeds from lands which they inherited from their ancestors. Members of other units had lost their lands and survived on a fixed income, the rice and silver stipend. But the latter, growing smaller and smaller in size in the course of time, was given only to those who were in the special Bannerman register. Being permanently unemployed, many of the bannermen were not enscribed in the Register and were in a state of real poverty. Thievery and desertion began to spread among the bannermen. If a bannerman made up his mind to learn to trade, he was not approved by a society in which this kind of economic activity was considered as illegal. Even at the end of the nineteenth century it was assumed that a bannerman who began to trade lost his bannerman's sense of self-respect.

Malyavkin, the word *amban* was used to address the governor-general who was appointed by the Manchus to govern conquered territories. This term appeared in the time of the Jurchens, but began to be used as the name for a post only in the time of the Manchus (Malyavkin, 1998:238). For some hypotheses concerning the origin of the word *beile* see also P. Crossley who maintains that in the time of Nurhaci this word was the title for a tribal chieftain in Manchuria. In Jurchen this word had the form of *begile* (Crossley, 1997: 206). Giving an explanation of the word *du-bo-ji-le,* which was used in "*Jinshi*," A.G. Malyavkin pointed out that the Jurchen word *bojile* designated a leader, a chief, a head, a superior. Before the foundation of the Jin empire, the functions of *bojile* were not firmly established. During this period there were a lot of *bojile*. Agūda, as the supreme leader, was given the rank of *dubojile*, where *du* can be understood as the Solon or Manchu word *da* "leader," "chief," or it may be an inaccurate translation of the Manchu word *amban* into Chinese (Malyavkin, 1998:239). Obviously that the form *bojile* is the Chinese pronunciation of the Jurchen word *begile*: jur. *be* < chin. *bo* and jur. *gi* < chin. *ji* (L.G.).

By the end of the nineteenth century the Manchu Army was destroyed. Many officers, captains and cavalrymen did not possess riding and shooting skills, but all of them were provided by the imperial goverment with allowances. Wealthy soldiers, some of them being hunchbacks or cripples, paid others to perform their military service. Others, not possessing military skills, lived off the defence budget by hereditary right. Soldier's widows were also provided with the Qing government's allowances. Lao She described the situation which arose in the Empire at the end of the nineteenth century: "No wonder the French and English Allied Armies broke through the gates of Beijing and burnt down the Imperial Yuanminguan gardens. With an army composed of widows, hunchbacks and cripples living off the defence budget along with captains and cavalrymen like my eldest sister's father-in-law and his son, how could China possibly fend off an enemy attack?" (Lao She, 1982:55).

From the mid eighteenth century the Qing court, as it became fully aware of economic decline among the populations, needed to find an idea to help unite individuals within a single whole. That idea was "*manjurarengge*" ("Manchuness"), and two criteria were taken as a basis, military skills (riding and archery), and more importantly a mastery of the Manchu language, preferably in its spoken form[18]. To construct the cultural identity of the Manchu race, the idea was clearly formulated during the Qianlong reign (1736-1795), by the Emperor himself who produced special edicts and instructions to promote standard Manchu language and Manchu literacy. The Qianlong court made considerable efforts to preserve the ancestral language of the Manchus. All bannermen had to pass examinations in Manchu, and only speakers of Manchu were taken into the State apparatus. The "purity" of Manchu became a matter of the intent care of the Emperor Qianlong. The attention which Qianlong and succeeding emperors concentrated on the Manchu language "was characteristic of the shift in standards of identity from military servitude to cultural (and by implication spiritual) life" (Crossley, 1990:22-4).

---

[18] The word *manjurarengge* "Manchuness," the form in *-ngge* derived from the imperfect participle of the verb *manjura-* "to speak or write Manchu," "to act like a Manchu," "to behave in the Manchu manner" (NL:194), is written here as it is used by Crossley (Crossley, 1990:21-2). This word also occurs in the form of *manjurarangge* which properly complies with the law of vowel harmony in Manchu (see, for example, P.G. Möllendorff, "Manchu Grammar," 1892:32).

3.6. *The Decline of the Manchu Language*

Literary Manchu arose on the basis of a dialect of clans supporting Nurhaci at the end of the sixteenth century. Later this dialect became known as the Southern Manchu dialect.

The problem of creating the standard language became one of great importance, and the creation of Manchu writing was started at the very beginning of the Qing dynasty.

After the conquest of China the Manchus became a minority in a huge empire where the Chinese were the majority of the population. Manchu was destined to become the official language of the ancient state, but, being the language of hunters and warriors, it was lacking in bureaucratic, administrative and scientific terminology. So it was inevitable that Manchu was influenced by the more developed Chinese language, especially in the intellectual sphere. There was another reason for the decline of Manchu—the necessity for the two nations to communicate not only in the bureaucratic field, but also in everyday life (Stary, 1994:470).

The problem of sinicization of the Manchu language became apparent even to the first Manchu rulers. Thus, it was Hong Taiji who, connecting the destruction of any dynasty with the decline of the language, urged safeguarding the "purity" of Manchu (Stary, 1994:471).

Although after the conquest bannermen lived in garrisons which were closed communities, economic and cultural conditions constrained them to master at least two cultures, Manchu and Chinese. Among the Beijing bannermen, who lived in unique living conditions under China's cultural and numerical superiority, assimilating different Han, Mongolian, and Moslem customs, the process of sinicization and the decline of their native language was the most thorough.

Russian manchurologist I.I. Zakharov showed in his Grammar of the Manchu language how heavily the phonetics of Beijing Manchus was influenced by the Northern dialect of Chinese. They articulated many of the Manchu sounds and syllables in accordance with Chinese pronunciation (Zakharov, 1879:50-61). The linguistic situation which existed among Beijing's bannermen at the end of the nineteenth century, was accurately described by Lao She: "Actually, this throughly seasoned bannerman was one-half or perhaps one-third bannerman. This was not a matter of his ancestry. He knew

only a smattering of Manchu and always spoke Chinese, which he used for any occasional writing he did. He could neither compose classical poetry nor write formal essays or political discourses. If required to write a short song or a New Year's couplet, he would always think in Chinese, without even considering the possibility of using Manchu" (Lao She, 1982:50).

Since by the end of the seventeenth century the Manchus began to neglect their language under the poweful influence of Chinese, the ruling Qing Dynasty made considerable efforts to preserve its mother-tongue. Quite a number of monolingual and bilingual text books were prepared. A whole series of Manchu dictionaries with translation into Chinese was created. It was a paradox, but by the time Manchu rulers proclaimed mastery in Manchu as the main national idea, especially in the reigns of the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors who encouraged development of the Manchu language, the speaking of the ancestral language among the bannermen declined (Crossley, 1990:28).

According to recent studies, disappearance of Manchu proceeded in various forms on various levels of Manchu society. Within the State Apparatus the decline of the Manchu language began during the second part of the eighteenth century. Its teaching in schools was banned by a series of imperial decrees. Some new recently discovered documents allow to conclude that the period of total loss of the Manchu language in China occurred much later than previously thought. These documents show that on the popular level, among people belonging to the lower classes, there existed a long period of bilingualism lasting until the Xinhai revolution (Stary, 1994:473-4).

In accordance with the latest studies, the complete decline of the Manchu language took place after the fall of the Qing Dynasty which occurred in 1911. Disappearance of Manchu culture and language was closely related to strongly manifested anti-Manchu feelings among the Chinese population. These feelings were understandable because, for the Chinese people, the Manchus were the foreign oppressors. Consequently, everything linked with this nation, their language and culture was denigrated. The Manchus dissembled their origin and descent, especially those who traced their origin from the ruling clan *Aisin Gioro*. They assumed Chinese names and surnames and hid every link with the Manchu nation.

In such peripheral areas of China as Manchuria and Xinjiang the

Manchu language continued to be used in one form or another during the first years of the Republic (Stary, 1994:475).

3.7. *Rebirth of the Manchus*

It seemed that the history of the Manchus, their language and culture was closed. But the situation has been drastically changed with the discovery of several settlements and villages in Manchuria in the 60's. The Manchu language and culture were unexpectedly reborn. Supported by Chinese policies of the last thirty years, the Manchus have experienced a renaissance. The teaching of Manchu began in several Manchurian settlements and villages and special Manchu language courses were established at the academic level (in 1961), and later in some Universities. An impressive quantity of scientific works devoted to Manchu studies was published.

In the territory of the People's Republic of China 340 "Manchu Rural Communities" and 12 "Manchu Autonomous Counties" have been established in Liaoning, Hebei, and Jilin provinces. In several counties inscriptions on public buildings, good-luck streamers and lorries are made in two languages, Manchu and Chinese.

Most material remains of Manchu culture have been carefully preserved up to now. The remnants of Nurhaci's capitals and court residences—*Fe Ala* ("Old Hill"), *Hetu Ala*, *Jiefan*, *Dergi Hecen* ("The Eastern Capital") have been partially restored. As it is known, there was a residence of Nurhaci and his eighth son, the first Qing emperor, in Mukden (modern Shenyang). Now it is the "Imperial Palace Museum" which serves as an outstanding evidence that the city was the seat of the Manchu empire. The Imperial Palace preserved some elements of autochthonous Manchu culture, the inscriptions in Manchu over the doors of the various buildings in the "Forbidden City" and carvings and sculptures of dogs which were sacred animals in the Manchu world (Stary, 1995:16).

The Imperial tombs are especially revered by the Manchus. The best known of them are Nurhaci's tomb (*Dongling* "Eastern Tomb") and Hong Taiji's tomb (*Beiling* "Northern Tomb"). *Yongling* "Eternal Tombs" where Nurhaci's father Taksi, grandfather Giocangga and his great grandfather Fuman were buried, are rather less known. They are situated to the North of *Hetu Ala* in the Manchu Autonomous County of *Xinbin*, south-east of *Fushun* (Stary, 1995:41).

Some Manchu inscriptions still exist on commemorative steles,

tombstones, on city doors and on mountain rock-faces, but many of them are poorly preserved or even almost eroded.

Even the role of the Manchus in the history of China was revised. According to the new official opinion, the Manchu people made a valuable contribution to the defence of China's frontier from foreign aggresion, to the foundation of a unified Chinese state, and, in general, to Chinese culture. In 1986 a monument in honour of Nurhaci, with the inscription describing him as "an excellent politician, leader and people's hero," was established in *Benxi* city in Liaoning province (Stary, 1994:478).

But the survival of the language, as G. Stary claimes, is limited now to a few isolated villages, and it is very difficult to predict its future (Stary, 1994:477)[19].

To conclude this very short survey of the history of the Manchus it is fair to say that the Manchu traditions, customs and folklore are more active now than the Manchu language itself. In the course of time the Manchus became one of the contemporary minorities in China and they reveal the signs of a resurgent identity at present.

4. *The Manchu Language and its Dialects*

Long before the Manchu script came into being there existed a variety of dialects and subdialects which were more or less in correspondance with the multitude of Manchu clans and tribes. Literary Manchu took shape at the latest by the end of the sixteenth century and was based on the Southern dialect. According to the recent studies it was the language of the tribes which originally supported the first Manchu ruler, Nurhaci (Norman, 1974:159).

In the course of time the Manchus who spoke the Southern dialect assimilated with the Chinese and have lost their vernacular. Nowadays the Southern Manchu dialect can be reconstructed only on the basis of the old literary texts. Unfortunately, they have not yet been fully investigated.

[19] In the People's Republic of China three scientific journals entirely devoted to the Manchus, their history, language and culture, are now published on a regular basis. These are: *Manyu yanjiu* ("Manchu language research," Harbin), *Manzu yanjiu* ("Manchu research," Shenyang) and *Manzu wenxue* ("Manchu literature," Dandong). Since 1992 "Manchu Research Institute" of the Academy of Social Science began publishing a new series dedicated to the Manchus. Taipei "Manchu Association" publishes the journal *Manzu wenhua* ("Manchu culture") (Stary, 1994:477).

Spoken Manchu is represented nowadays by the language of the Sibe, a Manchurian tribe. There are reasons to believe that Sibe was not a direct descendant of Literary Manchu, and at the time the latter was formed (on the threshold of the seventeenth century), the Sibes were not members of the confederation of Manchu tribes ruled by Nurhaci. However, according to a number of scholars, the language of the Sibe is very close to Manchu, and may properly be called a Manchu dialect (Norman, 1974:160).

Besides, among Chinese scholars, who currently devote much attention to studying Sibe, there are differing opinions as to whether the primordial Sibe tongue was Manchu. Some of these scholars (e.g., An Jun, 1985), consider the Sibe language to be a successor of the Manchu language, whereas others (e.g., Li Shulan, 1983) hold the view that it is a separate language.

It should be noted that nowadays the government of the People's Republic of China has recognized Sibe as a distinct language which the Sibe people, one of the ethnic minorities of China, still speak.

4.1. *The Manchus and the Sibes*

For a number of historical reasons the Manchu tribe Sibe (Chinese *Xibo*) resides nowadays in two regions of China, the North-east (Dongbei) and Xinjiang (Sinkiang).

The majority of the Sibes inhabit Dongbei, the provinces of Liaoning, Heilongjiang and Jilin (53,560 people), but they have almost lost their ancestral language. In the Liaoning province whose capital city is Shenyang (Mukden), there are eight Manchu autonomous counties, but no Sibe speakers reported. In the Heilongjiang province there are a few villages where some Sibes, mainly old, still speak their native language.

The Xinjiang Sibe, more than 27,000 strong, are concentrated mainly in the North, in the "Sibe-Cabcal Autonomous County," instituted in 1954 along the south bank of the Ili river, in Xinjiang. More than 17 thousand Sibes (17,362 people out of 27,364) live there (Li Shulan & Zhong Qian, 1986:1-2). They have not only retained their ancestral language since the resettlement from Dongbei to Xinjiang in 1764-1765, but they have also been developing spoken Sibe and its written form, which is based on the Manchu syllabic script.

Bearing in mind that the original homelands of the Manchu people

were the territories of Aigun and Fuyu, many questions naturally arise. How did the Sibes find their way to Xinjiang? What was the reason for their resettlement in that region? Furthermore, what is the origin of the language of the Sibe and what connection does it have with literary Manchu? However, very little is known about the origins of the Manchu tribe Sibe and their early history.

It is known that the tribe Sibe was not a member of the Manchu confederation at the time when Nurhaci began his campaigns for tribal unification in the late sixteenth century (Norman, 1974:159-60). S.M. Shirokogoroff mentioned a folk tradition according to which the Sibes were remnants of the Jin Jurchens (Shirokogoroff, 1924:173-5). According to Crossley, there is no historical evidence for such an opinion. She maintains that the Sibe were conquered by the Manchus in the 1640s and then incorporated into Nurhaci's federation. They are traditionally called "New Manchus" (Crossley, 1990:241; 1997:213).

On the basis of her analysis of surviving Manchu manuscripts and Chinese records such as the dynastic chronicles of Liao (907-1125), published by the Manchus in 1647, in Chinese and Manchu, Tang (618-907), the earlier chronicles of Beishi (386-581) and Weishu (the History of the Yuanwei Dynasty, 386-535), the Russian scholar E.P. Lebedeva has suggested that the Sibe originated from the Southern Shiwei tribe which is a separate Tungus-Manchu branch of the Shiwei people (Lebedeva & Gorelova, 1994:14-5). In the History of the Liao Dynasty, the tribe is referred to as the Siwei.

The problem of the origins of the Shiwei people is a matter of debate. According to A. Kessler, the Shiwei were a people of very ancient origins. Some historians think that they shifted to northeastern China from the Henan province at the end of the Xia period (2050 to 1650 BC), escaping the Shang conquest. Based on evidence from Chinese records, Kessler maintains that by the Tang dynastic era, there were as many as nine tribes which had the name Shiwei and lived in different territories in northeastern China. The Tang court established a Shiwei Area Commander to supervise these peoples (Kessler, 1993:145-6).

Most Chinese historians belive that the Mongols were the descendants of the Shiwei, and a tribe called Mengwu Shiwei, who originally lived on northeastern China, could be considered as the ancient ancestor of the early Mongols. Lin Gan maintains that a separate branch of the Shiwei tribes of the Eastern Hu line had given

rise to the early Mongols[20]. Zhao Yue also thinks that the Shiwei, the term meaning "forest lands" in Mongolian, were ancestors of the early Mongols. He points out that in ancient times the Shiwei lived in the forests of the Hulunbeier area in northeastern Mongolia (Kessler, 1993:145-6).

The Russian scholar N.Ja. Bichurin, based on the Beishi chronicle, maintained that the Shiwei people divided into five territorial groups (*aimak*), the Southern Shiwei, the Northern Shiwei, Bo Shiwei, Da Shiwei and Shengmo Shiwei. These groups differed one from another in their occupations, the clothes they wore and the dwellings they lived in. All Shiwei's *aimak* divided into generations (probably, clan groups). Thus, for instance, the Northern Shiwei, according to N.Ja. Bichurin, divided into nine generations (Bichurin, 1950:77).

The Southern Shiwei called their leader "*yumofo mandu*". The word "*yumofo*" contains the word "*mofo*" which corresponds to the Manchu word *mafa* "grandfather," "ancestor," "old man" and to the Nanai word *mapa* "old man" (honorific vocative for an elder).

The Southern Shiwei people were engaged in agriculture and cattle breeding. They lived in settlements similar to small towns. As means of conveyance they used carts and boats made from animal hides. When nomadizing, they built shelters using branches and covered them with grass. They traded with Gaoli, the Korean kingdom, from whom they obtained ironware (Bichurin, 1950:77-8).

The Russian scholar P.N. Menshikov, based on the histories of the Tang and the Yuanwei dynasties, also pointed out that there were several different tribes with the name Shiwei living in the Hulunbeier area and in the territories south of it. They spoke the language similar to that spoken by other peoples living in Manchuria, that is Tungusic. To the above-mentioned groups, he added the Lodan Shiwei and Menggu Shiwei who lived along the left and right banks of the Amur river, from the outfall of the Zeya river to that of the Songari river. From the mouth of the Songari, downstream of the Amur river, were located the lands of the Heishui Mohe (Menshikov, 1917:10).

According to "Beishi", as well as Yuanwei and Tang records, from the fourth to seventh centuries, the Shiwei people were governed by the Turks.

---

[20] The Eastern Hu was the name for the Hu peoples who lived in southeastern Inner Mongolia during the Zhou period. According to A. Kessler, the peoples, living along China's northeastern boundaries, were normally called the *Di* and the *Hu* in pre-Qin Chinese records (Kessler, 1993:37).

I. Dobrolovskii who studied the history of Heilongjiang province also believed that the Shiwei people resided in the Hulunbeier area. According to him, the lands of the Shiwei were located between the Heishui Mohe's territories in the east and the Huns Tujue's lands in the west, and in the south they bordered the Qitans (Dobrolovskii, 1908:34). Based on the Sui dynastic chronicle (581 to 617 AD), Dobrolovskii pointed out that the Shiwei people divided into five tribes, the Nan (Southern) Shiwei, the Bei (Northern) Shiwei, the Bo Shiwei, the Shengmo Shiwei, and the Da (Great) Shiwei (Dobrolovskii, 1908:34).

It is probable that the general name "Shiwei" was applied to all these tribes despite their originally being of different ethnic backgrounds. The majority of them were of Tungus-Manchu ethnic origin, but others among them were of Mongol origin, like for example the ancient Qitans or the contemporary Dagurs.

The Southern Shiwei lived in the territories that had previously been inhabited by the ancient Tungus state, the Fuyu, which was destroyed by the Xianbei people in 285 AD[21]. Fuyu was known for its developed farming. The Sibe who were located near Qiqihar, sowed wheat and millet, bred cattle, horses and pigs. Hunting and fishing were their traditional activities. Therefore it is considered that the Sibes not only inherited territory from this state (the region of Qiqihar and the area around the rivers Nomin and Nemer, tributaries of the Nonni) but they took over from them agriculture as well (Lebedeva & Gorelova, 1994:16).

According to Lebedeva, during certain historical periods the Sibe were overrun by other peoples. From the first century BC to the end of the third century AD, they were governed by the Koreans and the Chinese. From the end of the third, and probably throughout the fourth century, they were subjugated by the Xianbei people. The Northern Turks reduced them to a subordinate position from the

[21] There are several schools of thought on the origins of the Fuyu people. According V.Ye. Larichev, they can be considered as people of Korean descend. During the Han period (206 B.C. to 220 A.D.), the Sushens had very complex relations with the Fuyu, their neighbours in south and southeast, to whom they were forced to pay a tribute. By 220 A.D., the Sushens were so hardly oppressed by the Fuyu that they led a rebellion against them. Before 226 A.D., the Sushens put an end to Fuyu's dominion over them (Larichev, 1998:48-9).The Xianbei people were first mentioned in Chinese records as Eastern Hu affiliate tribes. In 386 the Tuoba Xianbei established the Northern Wei dynasty which lasted till 535 A.D.

fifth century to the beginning of the tenth century. Subsequently, they were absorbed into the Qitan Empire of Liao (in the tenth century) and then of the Jurchen Empire (in the twelfth century), until by the thirteenth century they came under the dominion of the Qorcin Mongols (Lebedeva, 1985:24).

In the mid seventeenth century a considerable part of the Sibe population actually resided in the regions near Bodune and Qiqihar. That period in the history of China and contiguous peoples was characterized, firstly, by the Manchus' seizure of power and, secondly, by vigorous advance of the Russian Cossack detached forces to Amur where they were forced to fight a battle against the Manchus. Therefore the formerly neglected regions of the Heilongjiang province attracted the Qing authority's attention. Fortifications and roads began to be built, and local population was intensively enlisted into the Banner forces. Among that population the Sibe people were quite often mentioned.

Brief but very important data on the Sibe's history can be found in A. Rudakov's book which is a translation of the Chinese manuscript "*Jilin tongzhi*" ("History of the Jilin province") compiled by Chinese scholars in the 1890s, with the translator's additions. According to "*Jilin tongzhi*," the region of Bodune was the main place of the Sibe's ancestral home. By 1693 there were sixteen Sibe companies in Jilin, and in 1693 another thirty Sibe companies were formed in Bodune which were then transformed to Mukden in 1700. After that, only those Sibes who were in the service of local Mongolian princes, remained in Bodune (Rudakov, 1903).

The information concerning earlier history of the Sibe is very scant. According to "*Jilin tongzhi*," there were two large *aimak*, the Sibe and Gūaleca, among those nine generations, Qorcin, Yehe etc., which declared war on the Manchus during the Taizu's emperorship. In 1619 the tribes located towards South of the rivers Nonni and Ula, acknowledged themselves subordinate to the Manchus. Thus, the Sibe and Gūaleca (Gūwalca) were assigned to the Mongolian banner very early (Rudakov, 1903:11).

It is very likely that the Sibe and Gūaleca, after they had been subjected by the Mongols, joined the union of the Mongol tribes and together with them fought against Nurhaci. Then, having been subjugated by the Manchus, they were assigned to the Mongolian banners.

We have no information about the time when the Sibes became vassals of the Qorcin Mongols. It probably happened when the Mongols started occupying the regions of the Songari and Nonni rivers and adjoining places. The Russian scholar P.N. Menshikov believed that the Qorcin Mongols belonged to the Mongols of the Jerim Seim who moved to these regions from the banks of the Argun and Haidar rivers and Dalai Nor lake in 1438 after they had been defeated by the Oirats. The regions of Qiqihar and Bodune were the original places of the Sibe, whereas the Mongols were newcomers (Menshikov, 1917).

There is more historical evidence that over a long period the Sibe inhabited the Bodune and Qiqihar regions, their ancient homeland. The Manchu manuscript entitled "*Sahaliyan ula vajimbuhe baitai dangse*" (the Journal of Completed Documents Concerning the Amur Region) contains documents dating from the turn of the eighteenth century (the twelfth of the first month of the thirty eighth year of Kangxi's reign, i.e., in 1700) which infer that the Sibe were ransomed from Mongolian slavery at the end of the seventeenth century by the Emperor Kangxi. At that time the Sibe were settled in the region of Bodune along the rivers Liaohe, Shira Muren and Yangshailu and in Ula territory. The same documents show that by the end of the seventeenth century two large groups of Sibes existed. The first group inhabited the region of Qiqihar, the other lived near Bodune (SU).

Later, in 1700-1701, the Qiqihar Sibe (numbering nearly 20,000) were resettled in the Huhehaote (Huhu hoton) region, and their further destiny is still unknown. The Bodune Sibes (nearly 36,000) were transferred to the Mukden region.

N.N. Krotkov mentions in his memoirs that in the thirty fifth year of the Emperor Kangxi's reign (1697) the Manchu tribe Hoifan (Hoifa) rebelled against the Qing authorities and was exterminated by the regular forces, and in the forty-first year of the Emperor Kangxi's rule (1703) the Manchu tribe Ula ceased to exist (Krotkov, 1911-1912:117-37). The rebellions of the tribes Hoifan and Ula took place at the time when the Sibe's resettlement had been proceeding, and the coincidence between these events could hardly be considered as accidental.

In 1764 (the thirtieth year of Qianlong's reign) nearly half of the Mukden Sibes, about 18,000 of them, were transferred to the Ili

Valley of Xinjiang to colonize Jungaria, where their descendants still live today.

It is as yet unclear why the Sibes were chosen for this purpose unless it was their opposition to the ruling Manchu Dynasty (Lebedeva & Gorelova, 1994:10-1). In the document number seven of the above-mentioned collection there is information about disorder among the Sibes. It is also mentioned that the Qiqihar Sibe companies' commanders and their officers were removed from their posts. During their transfer from Mukden to the Ili Valley, the Sibes were convoyed by Manchu regular forces of eight hundred officers and men. All these facts corroborate the compulsory nature of the Sibe's transfer to Xinjiang (SU).

Conquered in 1755, Xinjiang was a place where bannermen were installed as agents of occupation, in order to keep peoples of variegated culture obedient, and even in the nineteenth century it was rather difficult to keep these peoples of different ethnicities and different languages pacified (Crossley, 1989:13, 18-9). Even at the end of the ninteenth century Xinjiang was a place where bannermen were sent for their faults, a place for punishment. In Lao She's novel we can find indirect confirmation of this fact. One of the personages feared that if he didn't act according to the edicts of the authorities, "they would take his name off the Bannerman register and send him to Xinjiang or Yunnan" (Lao She, 1982:137).

Later on, in accordance with the Eight Banners' Organization of the Manchu army, the Sibes were incorporated into eight companies and assigned to seven military colonies (the first and the third companies shared the same military colony) together with the Solons and Dagurs, who had previously been absorbed into the Manchu banners. Due to this fact, the Sibes increased in number. By contrast, in the second part of the nineteenth century they declined in number as a result of being forced to participate in suppressing the Dungan-Taranchi rebellion in 1864-1871. During this armed rising the Sibes' villages were destroyed and they sustained heavy losses.

In Xinjiang the Sibes were engaged only in agriculture. They sowed wheat, barley and millet, cultivated onions, garlic, aubergine, cucumbers, and other vegetables and grew corn, tobacco-plant and poppy as well. As food they used farm produce, fish, and very rarely meat. Their clothes did not differ from those of the Chinese. Their standard of living in old China was very low.

The Sibe people professed shamanism and Buddhism. There was

a Buddhist monastery in the military colony where the fifth company was located. Besides, every colony had its own Buddhist shrine (Krotkov, manuscript).

Having settled in Jungaria, the Sibe people found themselves in a peculiar situation. On the one hand, their remoteness weakened the influence of Chinese culture and language. On the other hand, living among linguistically and ethnically different peoples fostered a consciousness of their national character. The language of the Sibe in its turn was subjected to direct influence from the languages of the other Xinjiang peoples, primarily the Kazakhs, Uigurs, Mongols, as well as the Chinese and Russians, but at the same time it revealed a tendency towards self-preservation and development.

4.2. *Contemporary Life of the Sibes in Xinjiang, One of the Most Multinational Regions of China*

After their resettlement to Xinjiang in 1766, the Sibes were forced to learn to live as one ethnicity among peoples of different cultural and ethnic affiliation. They kept their distance even from the Manchus proper who had taken the dominating position in the region. During a long period of time until the first years of the Republic the Sibes retained their language, customs and religion.

After the foundation of the People's Republic of China the Sibes continued living in Xinjiang as one of the minorities, preserving their traditions and developing their language. This situation seems especially remarkable if we bear in mind that the authorities' report on the situation of minorities in Manchuria claimed in 1952 that there was nobody who spoke or read in Manchu in the Northeast (Stary, 1994:476).

Before the Cultural Revolution in China in the "Sibe-Cabcal Autonomous County" teaching in primary school was carried out in the Sibe language. At present in the Xinjiang province there are eight schools where pupils learn Sibe. In spite of the fact that teaching in primary school is conducted in Chinese, lessons on the Sibe language are obligatory. How long the pupils can attend the Sibe language classes depends on the number of teachers who can teach Sibe.

For the first time the Sibe language has begun to be studied in a higher educational institute. In Ili there is a Pedagogical Institute where a group of students studies Sibe. In Cabucar there exists a Pedagogical Institute of the Sibe language. This educational insti-

tute trains students for teaching the Sibe language in the national school.

The People's Publishing House was organized in Urumqi in 1953. It has concentrated its editorial activity on printing party documents, belles-lettres and schoolbooks in Sibe. There was an interruption during the Cultural Revolution, but after that the House resumed publishing with great enthusiasm in the 1980's. G. Stary has given a survey of the editorial activity of the People's Publishing House of Urumqi from 1953 to our time in his Foreword to "*A Catalogue of Sibe-Manchu publications*" written by the Sibe scholar Jin Ning. This catalogue contains 285 entries and includes the works in Sibe, published during the period from 1954 to 1989 (Jin Ning, 1989:V-VI).

The newspaper "*Ice Banjin*" ("The New Life") has been printed in Ili since 1946. In 1972 the title of this newspaper was changed to "*Cabcal Serkin*" ("*The Cabucar Newspaper*"). Under the name of "*Cabcal serkin*" this newspaper is now regularly published in Xinjiang.

In 1980 in Cabucar "The Society of the Sibe language" was organized to improve and develop the native language of the Sibe people.

G. Stary who visited Cabcal Autonomous Country, Xinjiang, in 1991, described some elements of Sibe-Manchu culture that have been preserved carefully up to now. Every year, on the eighteenth day of the fourth month of the lunar calendar, the Sibes gather to commemorate their coming to Xinjiang from Manchuria to protect newly conquered territories. They celebrate a great date of the westward migration of the Sibe people to the Cabcal self-administered county with a folk perfomance of a "shaman dance."

In Cabcal town all signs in the main street were written in Sibe, followed by Chinese. G. Stary took some pictures of the main street of Cabcal town, a typical Sibe house in the "Village of the Fifth Company" and the Sibe-language Middle school in the "Village of the Seventh Company". He also photographed some historical places: a tombstone stele in the cemetery of the Fifth Company, the Lama temple of the Fifth Company, the remains of *Dolantu Karun*, one of the sentry-posts where the Sibes stood guard, shaman ritual objects which are kept now at *Aisin Sheri*, etc. (Stary, 1995:95-117).

A. Pozzi who visited "Sibe-Cabcal Autonomous County" in 1991, collected extremely interesting evidence of the religious traditions of the Sibe people whose ancestral religion was shamanism. Her article is devoted to the description of the cults of two divinities that

belong to the pantheon of the Sibes. One of them, the female divinity *Siri* (or *Sirin*) *mama*, protects the continuity of a family and goes back to the matriarchal society. *Siri mama* is represented by a silk cord with many different wooden or paper objects attached to it. The other, the male divinity *Hairkan* (or *Harikan*) *mafa*, protects domestic animals and goes back to ancient times when the Sibes began to live in the patriarchal society. *Hairkan mafa* is represented by a wooden box with paper talismans, horse's heads made from fabric, etc., inside it, and the box very often contains an image of the divinity, a middle-aged bearded man in a sitting position. For the older generation these two divinities have a religious meaning while for young people they became a part of everyday life (Pozzi, 1993).

As it appears from the above, the Sibes, being genetically and linguistically close to the Manchus, represent a separate branch of the Tungusic world. Although their history was closely related with the history of the Manchus, the Sibes have their own distinctive fate which can be traced to their origin. They have not only managed to preserve their specific ethnic features, but in recent decades they have been successful at promoting the development of their own original and distinctive culture.

Analyzing the histories of the Manchus and the Sibes, one can make a good case for claiming a very rare instance in the history when a separate branch of a language family, being the sole survivor, reveals a tendency to supplant the latter on the world arena. In certain sense the history of the Sibes can be considered as the continuation of the history of the Manchus.

4.3. *The Sibe Dialect in Relation to Literary Manchu*

For more than 200 years, since the resettlement of the Sibes in Xinjiang, both the spoken and written forms of the Sibe language have been changing and developing.

The Sibe dialect was recorded as a separate language for the first time in the 1860's, when the Russian scholar V.V. Radlov wrote down the Sibe text "*Sidi Kur*" from a native speaker, *Bite*. It seems probable that this text reflects the language of educated members of Sibe society of that time. Educated Sibes maintained the purity of Literary Manchu to a much greater degree than the Manchus who lived in Beijing (Peking) and Jilin and Heilongjiang provinces. The

language of this text differs slightly from Literary Manchu, the main distinctions lying in the sphere of phonetics (Lebedeva & Gorelova, 1994).

The second recording of the Sibe dialect took place at the beginning of the twentieth century, when F.V. Muromskii, another Russian scholar, visited the Ili Valley in Xinjiang twice, in 1906 and 1907-1908, and made a large number of recordings in Sibe. He paid special attention to collecting samples of living, colloquial, language; these texts were later published by the Polish scholar St. Kałużiński. This version of Sibe differs from Literary Manchu to a greater extent than Radlov's recordings, but the distinctions are again of a phonetic nature; the main morphological forms simply having different phonetic shape (Kałużiński, 1977).

These two text corpora reflect two distinct forms of the Sibe dialect, the written and the spoken ones, respectively.

Among other publications directly concerning the language of the Sibe, "*A Classified Dictionary of Spoken Manchu*" compiled by K. Yamamoto, should be mentioned. The dictionary published after K. Yamamoto's death by S. Hattori, is prefaced by their joint article discussing vocalic and consonantal inventories of the Sibe dialect (Yamamoto, 1969). As mentioned in the preface to the dictionary, the lexical material was recorded from an informant who was a native Sibe and who spoke two dialects of the Manchu language without differentiating between them. Then, a sketch of Sibe morphology with a number of tables representing vocalic and consonantal inventories and basic morphological markers, was published by J. Norman. This linguistic material was collected by him in Taiwan in 1960-1970 (Norman, 1974).

It would probably be wrong trying to reconstruct a kind of unified Sibe dialect on the basis of such different language samples. On the other hand analyzing the differences between these versions is also of certain interest. An attempt to define the differences in phonetics and morphology has been presented in previous works by the author (Gorelova, 1986; Lebedeva & Gorelova, 1994:21-103).

In China itself a great number of works devoted to the language of the Sibe were published. The most notable of them belong to Chinese scholars An Jun, Li Shulan, Zhong Qian, Wang Qingfeng, etc. Li Shulan who is the best-known researcher of Spoken Sibe, published a series of articles, the language base of which were samples of native Sibe speech collected mostly in Xinjiang (Li Shulan, 1983).

She also wrote several considerable works together with Zhong Qian and Wang Qingfeng. These publications present the description and a valuable vocabulary of Spoken Sibe (Li Shulan & Zhong Qian, 1986; Li Shulan & Zhong Qian & Wang Qingfeng, 1984). A recent contribution concerning colloquial Sibe has come from the Sibe scholar Jin Ning whose publications contain a collection of everyday vocabulary (Jin Ning, 1993).

During the past decade Chinese scholars have described the differences between written and spoken forms of Sibe from Literary Manchu in the belief that written Manchu reflects to a certain degree spoken Manchu of the 16th-17th centuries.

The following is a list of the main distinctions of the written form of Sibe from Literary Manchu, as presented in Li Shulan's paper (Li Shulan, 1983:298-306):

Sibe script, which is based on Manchu script, underwent several changes. The style of writing some letters in certain positions was modified. Some seldom-used syllables were eliminated, so that 13 out of the 131 syllables occurring at word initial position in written Manchu are no longer used in contemporary Sibe. By contrast, some new syllables (*wi*, *wo*, *wu*) were added.

The most significant changes, primarily in vocabulary, resulted from contact with neighbouring languages, with loan words coming from Chinese, Uigur, Kazakh, Mongolian and Russian. Having resettled in Xinjiang in 1764, the Sibe people borrowed a number of words from local Chinese and other peoples. For example, words were borrowed from Uigur: *pochi* "boaster;" *parang* "words;" *ketman* "tool for digging;" *bazar* "market;" *kavab* "barbecued meat;" *namas* "an Islamic feast". A number of words came from Kazakh: *kemes* "Mongolian tea;" *kestao* "pasture;" *baige* "horserace," "races". Some words came into Sibe from Russian: *baston* "a kind of textile," *masina* "sewing-machine;" *kongsol* "consul;" *miter* "kilometer;" *pamidor* "tomato".

After the Xinhai Revolution (*xinhai geming*) some new terms appeared in the Sibe language to designate new realities and notions. Most of them were borrowed from the Chinese language. This process of borrowing from Chinese is still underway. Representative examples include: *geming* "revolution;" *fangzhen* "guiding principle," "policy;" *jiti* "collective (body);" *jingji* "economy;" *zhuxi* "chairman," "chairperson;" *zongli* "prime minister;" *shuji* "secretary;" *daikuan* "loan," "credit;" *chuna* "cashier;" *gongfen* "centimeter," "gram".

The grammatical changes were not great, being confined mostly to a slightly different usage of a few markers among those common to Sibe and Manchu and to formation of new markers on the basis of the old ones. For instance, based on a construction conveying simultaneity and consisting of the imperfect converb (marker *-me*) and the perfect finite form of the verb *ili-* "to stand," the new marker *-mahabi* was formed with the same meaning.

The spoken form of Sibe differs from Literary (Written) Manchu to a much greater extent than the written form. The most striking discrepancies can be observed in the area of phonetics, where the reduction of vowels as well as consonants is characteristic of Spoken Sibe. Some instances in which this reduction appears are:

1. Manchu unstressed (syllabic) vowel *a* is reduced to [ə]:
ma. *amtan* [amtan] – sib. [amtən] "delicious," "tasty,"
ma. *galman* [ɢalman] – sib. [ɢalmən] "mosquito,"
ma. *tatambi* [tatambi] – sib. [tatəm] "to draw," "to pull."

2. The diphthongs occurring in the initial position become simple vowels:
ma. *aiha* [aiχa] – sib. [ɛχ] "pearl,"
ma. *eifu* [əifu] – sib. [if] "grave."

3. Manchu fortis consonants *b* and *f* are realised as the lenis consonant *v*:
ma. *gebu* [gəbu] – sib. [gəv] "name,"
ma. *abalambi* [abalambi] – sib. [avələm] "to hunt."

Another characteristic of Sibe phonetics is the dropping of vowels.

1. Unstressed vowels at the end of Manchu words are usually omitted in their Sibe counterparts:
ma. *baita* [baita] – sib. [bait] "affair," "matter,"
ma. *abdaha* [abdaχa] – sib. [afχ] "leaf."

As a result of the loss of vowels, a new type of syllable has appeared in Spoken Sibe – that with V + C + C + C: ma. *antaha* [antaχa]—sib. [antχ] "a guest."

2. Not only vowels are often lost, whole syllables may disappear:
ma. *mudalin* [mudalin] – sib. [mədan] "a bend of a river."
Some syllables are shortened to the extent that the morphological

markers they designate radically change their phonetic shape. Thus, the Manchu syllable *-ngga* is shortened to [ŋ] in Spoken Sibe:

ma. *aldangga* [aldangga] – sib. [aldəŋ] "distant," "far."

The Manchu marker of the imperfect finite form *-mbi* transforms in Spoken Sibe into [m]:

ma. *deyembi* [dəjəmbi] – sib. [dəjəm] "to fly,"

ma. *banjimbi* [bandʑimbi] – sib. [bandʑim] "to grow."

Some new vowels which are absent in Literary Manchu have appeared in spoken Sibe. These vowels are [ɛ] and [œ]. They took their origin not only from the diphthongs but also from the vowels *a* and *o* occurring at the initial position and followed by the vowel *i*:

ma. *adaki* [adaki] – sib. [ɛdki] "neighbor,"

ma. *alin* [alin] – sib. [ɛlin] "mountain,"

ma. *dobi* [dobi] – sib. [dœvi] "fox,"

ma. *omimbi* [omimbi] – sib. [œmim] "to drink."

Finally any brief description of Sibe phonetics, must note the phenomenon of full assimilation:

ma. *edun* [ədun] – sib. [udun] "wind,"

ma. muten [mutən] – sib. [mutun] "skill,"

ma. tuhembi [tuxəmbi] – sib. [tuxum] "to fall."

As a result of such huge changes in phonetics, the previous state of vowel harmony in Spoken Sibe has been drastically destroyed. Quite possibly that one can speak about a new kind of sinharmonism in Spoken Sibe (see examples cited above). A characteristic feature of Radlov's texts is vowel harmony, which is essentially the same as in Literary Manchu. J. Norman indicates the alternation of the perfect participle suffixes *-xə* and *-hə* as the last vestige of vowel harmony in the dialect described: *-xə* only occurs with front vocalic stems having the vowels *i*, *u* and *ə*; *-hə* occurs with verbal stems that contain one of the back vowels *u*, *o*, *a* or *ɛ* (an umlauted variant of *a*) (Norman, 1974:170). With the vowel harmony having totally disappeared, the consonants retain some harmonic features (*x*, *h*).

The vocabulary and morphology of Spoken Sibe have also undergone modifications as compared to its written form, but these are not very significant. The most important grammatical feature of Spoken Sibe in contrast to Literary Manchu is the category of personal possession. The presence of this category brings together Sibe and the Tungusic languages and hence is of typological significance.

The most commonly used marker is that of the third person [niə]: ma. *tere i eniye jihebi* "his mother came"—sib. [tərəj əniə-niə dʑixəi] "his mother-his came". There are also markers of the first and second persons, but they are rarely used: sib. [mini maχal-mini] "my hat-my;" [çini uv χuturi-çini] "your fortune-your".

Li Shulan suggested that the category of personal possession existed in Spoken Sibe before the resettlement of the Sibes to Xinjiang and did not appear as a result of the subsequent changes (Li Shulan, 1983:305).

To conclude these brief observations of the distinctions of Spoken Sibe from Literary Manchu it must be said that Sibe, as the language of a marginal nation, is not in a stationary state. It is developing and altering. The changes in phonetics are so great that Sibe requires a status of a distinct language of Tungus-Manchu origin.

This page intentionally left blank

PART TWO

MANCHU SCRIPT

This page intentionally left blank

PART TWO

MANCHU SCRIPT

1. *The History of Writing the Manchu Language*

When the Manchu people emerged as a political force in the Oriental world in the late sixteenth century, they used at first the Mongol language and Mongolian script in official court documents.

As it is well known, the syllabic Mongolian script was based upon the Uigur one which in its turn, derived from Sogdian and, originally, via Syriac, from Aramaic. Derived from the ideographic script of ancient Egypt around 1000 BC, Aramaic was phonetic in nature which meant that it used a finite set of graphic elements to represent the sound system of a language. The Aramaic script was predominant among peoples of the eastern Mediterranean, including Syria. Bearing in mind that the Syriac script was horizontal which is meant that the language was written from left to right there arises an important question. Why did Turkic Uigurs when adapting the Semitic Syriac script, change its direction, writing their own language vertically, from top to bottom? According to earlier and recent specialists, this was done by rotating the script by ninety degrees counterclockwise in order to imitate the Chinese script which was very prestigious in Central Asia at that time (Zakharov, 1879:47-8; Crossley, 1997:35-6).

It is important to mention that medieval Jurchens used a script of another type in their communications with the Chinese and Korean courts in Ming times. That script was modelled on Qitan which combined some features of the Chinese ideographic script with some phonetic elements borrowed from Uigur. As it turned out, due to its phonetic elements the arrangement of the Qitan script was better adapted for rendering both the Qitan and Jurchen languages whose grammatical structures were Altaic by nature, although Qitan was much closer to Mongolian. Jurchens used that script until the fall of their Jin empire in 1234, and even much longer in their official communications. Then in the late sixteenth century the Jianzhou Jurchens from whom the Later Jin khanate arose, recog-

nized that nobody in garrisons could read old Jurchen script, and even headmen wanted to communicate with the Chinese and Koreans in Mongolian (Crossley, 1997:37-8).

Because the Mongolian script did not transcribe all sounds of the Manchu language, the Manchus needed a more versatile alphabet. Therefore, during the reign of Nurhaci, the process of adaptation of the Mongolian script to the Manchu language commenced. In 1599 Nurhaci commissioned two Manchu learned men, Erdeni-*bakši* and the minister Gagai-*jarguci*, to devise a new script[1]. They adapted the Mongolian script to the Manchu sounds without noticeable changes, and the Manchus used this alphabet until 1632. The earliest period of the developing of the Manchu writing dated from reign periods Tianming (1618-1626) and Tiancong (1627-1635). Although not many written monuments of that period survive, they are unique sources for the reasearch of the early history of the Manchus and their relations with neighbouring peoples (Pashkov, 1963:11-2).

Later on, in 1632, the Manchu scholar Dahai essentially improved the Mongolian alphabet. He brought into use some diacritic signs, viz. dots and circles (ma. *tongki* and *fuka* correspondingly), and through that, in contrast with Mongolian polyphonic letters, every Manchu sound has a separate letter. The script itself came to be called "circled and dotted script" (Zakharov, 1879:1-2; Pashkov, 1963:12; Crossley, 1997:38). In spite of the fact that the Manchus themselves probably considered their script as syllabic, in fact it was writing in letters.

Another problem had arisen. The script did not transcribe sounds of Chinese and Sanskrit words borrowed by the Manchus. Therefore Dahai added ten graphemes, "*tulergi hergen*" in Manchu (literally "foreign (outer) letters"), to the Mongolian alphabet to render Chinese (mostly in Chinese names, titles and offices) and Sanskrit sounds which were absent in Manchu.

Investigating also syllabic patterns of Manchu words, Dahai distributed all syllables, 1441 in number, among twelve classes. The Manchu writing system itself, described by Dahai as the twelve divisions of the syllabary, had got the name "*Juwan juwe uju bithe*" in

[1] The word *bakši*, borrowed from Mongolian, means "a scholar," "a learned man" (NL:24). See also Crossley who translates the word *bakši* as "a literate man" (ma. *bakši* < mo. *baghshi* < chin. *boshi* "an erudite") (Crossley, 1997:38).

The word *jarguci* is possibly borrowed from classic Mongolian (ma. *jarguci* < class. mo. *ǰarʔučі* "an official"); see also the modern Mongolian word *zarguči* "a judge" and the Kalmyk word *zargač* "a judge").

Manchu (literally "twelve-heads-writing;" in Chinese "*shi er zi tou*"). It should be noticed, that practically not all syllables, indicated in tables representing the twelve divisions, existed in Manchu.

A word must be said about the so-called Manchu "square-character script" (ma. *fukjingga hergen*) which was created in 1748. At first that style of script was devised to print the "Ode to Mukden" which was written by the Qianlong emperor. Then the square script was used for inscriptions on the seals which belonged to emperors, their wives and sons, to the ruling elite and commanders of the Imperial Army. Creating their square script, the Manchus tried to imitate both the ancient Chinese and the Mongolian scripts, devised exclusively for writing on seals. Presumably, the inscriptions on the Taizong emperor's seal are examples of that kind of the Mongolian writing. The Manchus devised their square script in 32 variants, indicating which variant should be used and in what circumstances. Created for the Manchu nobility, that script never succeeded in replacing the Dahai's alphabet (Pashkov, 1963:12, 14).

2. *Graphic Structure of the Manchu Letters*

Although there is some evidence that the Manchus themselves were likely to perceive their own writing system as syllabic, and learned it as syllabary, in fact it became a writing in letters after Dahai carried out his reforms. Furthermore, all the letters were constructed using a small set of the following five basic elements: 1) the head, which is the beginning of a letter; 2) the circle; 3) the tooth (ma. *a*); 4) the connecting vertical line linking all syllables into a single word; 5) various additional elements which are represented by the so-called "tails" (ma. *uncehen*) and vertical, horizontal, and oblique line segments. These line segments, twelve in total, are drawn to the right or to the left of the connecting line. They may end with or without a hook, turned upwards or downwards.

The head ᠷ is used as the beginning of a letter to constitute the following graphemes: *a* ᠷᠠ, *e* ᠷᠡ, *i* ᠷᠢ, *o* ᠷᠣ, *u* ᠷᠤ, *ū* ᠷᠣᠣ, *n* ᠨᠠ, *l* ᠯᠠ, *m* ᠮᠠ, *f* ᠹᠠ [2].

[2] In real Manchu writing all these symbols would be rotated by ninety degrees clockwise.

The circle ᠣ is used to constitute the second half of the letters *o* ᠤᠣ , *u* ᠤᠥ and *ū* ᠤᠤ . Slightly modified, it is used to constitute the first part of the velar and uvular counterparts of the letters *k, g, h* ([k] ᠺ , [g] ᠻ , [x] ᠬ ; [q] ᠺ , [ɢ] ᠻ , [χ] ᠬ) and the letters *b* ᠪ , *p* ᠫ , *t* ᠲ , ᠳ , *d* ᠲ , ᠳ .

The tooth ᠷ is used to form the second part of the letter *a* ᠠᠷ at the beginning of a word, the letters *a* ᠷ and *e* ᠶ (when *e* is written like the letter *a*, but with a dot), when they occur in the middle of a word in combination with the letters *n* (*na* ᠨᠷ , *ne* ᠨᠶ), *k* (*ke* ᠺᠷ), *g* (*ge* ᠻᠷ), *h* (*he* ᠬᠷ), *s* (*sa* ᠰᠷ), *š* (*ša* ᠱᠷ), *t* (*ta* ᠲᠷ , *te* ᠳᠷ), *d* (*da* ᠲᠷ , *de* ᠳᠷ), *l* (*la* ᠯᠷ , *le* ᠯᠶ), *m* (*ma* ᠮᠷ , *me* ᠮᠶ), *c* (*ca* ᠴᠷ , *ce* ᠴᠶ), *j* (*ja* ᠵᠷ , *je* ᠵᠶ), *r* (in the middle of a word: *ra* ᠷᠷ , *re* ᠷᠶ), *f* (*fa* ᠹᠷ , *fe* ᠹᠶ), *v* (*w*) (*wa* ᠸᠷ , *we* ᠸᠶ), *b* (*ba* ᠪᠷ , *be* ᠪᠶ), p (pa ᠫᠷ , pe ᠫᠶ). The tooth is also used to constitute the uvular counterparts [q], [ɢ], [χ] of the letters *k, g, h* when they occur before the vowels *a*, *o*, and *ū* in the middle of a word (ᠺᠷ , ᠺᠶ , ᠬᠣ).

All additional line segments are of the following two types. Some of them, are obligatory elements of the graphemes which they are part of. There are nine of them:

1) the line segment with a hook turned upwards and written on the left is an essential element of the letter *l* ᠯ ; 2) the same line segment but with a hook turned downwards constitutes the letter *m* ᠮ ; 3) the oblique line segment on the left indicates the letter *j* in the beginning of a word (ᠵ) or the letter *i* in the middle of a word (ᠢ), or that followed by the letter *i* (*ii* ᠢᠢ) as well; it also represents the second part of the letter *i* at the beginning of a word (ᠠᠢ); 4) ending with a hook turned upwards, this oblique line indicates the letter *y* ᠶ ; 5) crossed with a stroke, this oblique line indicates the letter *r* ᠷ ; 6) the oblique line segment with a hook turned downwards indicates the letter *v* (*w*) ᠸ ; 7) the same hook preceded with a stroke, which is drawn on the right and upwards, constitutes the letter *f* ᠹ ; 8) two line segments joined at an acute angle form the letter *s* and *š* (ᠰ , ᠱ); 9) two line segments joined at right angles indicate the letter *c* ᠴ .

Various final tails are used when a word ends in a certain letter. These tails are as follows.

1) The tail turned to the right is an element of the letter *a* when it occurs separately or after the letters *n, k, g, h, s, š, t, d, l, m, c, j,*

f, v (w) at the end of a word (), in that very case the tail replaces the tooth which indicates the latter *a* in the middle of a word.

2) The same element is used to indicate the letter *e* when it is written like the letter *a* but with a dot on the left and stands at the end of a word ().

3) The tails turned to the left may be of two kinds according to their shape. The long tail  indicates the letter *e* when it stands alone () or preceded by the letters *k, g, h* for velars [k]  , [g] , [x]  . The long tail also indicates the letter *a* after the letters for the aspirated consonants k^h , g^h  , h^h  as well as the letters *a* and *e* preceded by the letters *b, p* ( ,  ;  , )[3]. The long tail indicates the letter *ng* () as well.

4) Tails are short when they occur at the end of a word as elements of the letters *i, o, u,* and *ū* ( ;  ;  final,  isolated;  final,  isolated). The short tail also indicates the letter *r* when the latter occurs at the end of a word ().

The connecting line segment links all syllables into a single word and it is cut only by the velar counterparts of the letters *k, g, h* that is [k]  , [g]  , [x]  , or by the letters b  , p  , s  , š  , ng , for instance: *abka* "sky," "heaven;" *enggemu* "saddle;" *ekšembi* —the imperfect form of the verb *ekše-* "to hurry," "to hasten;" *babe* ; *kara* "black (of animals);" *unggihe* —the perfect participle from the verb *unggi-* "to send," "to dispatch;" *obonggi* "bubble," "foam."

In addition to these principal graphic elements, to distinguish certain sounds, Dahai introduced two diactiric signs, viz. a dot (ma. *tongki*) and a circle (ma. *fuka*). Thus, the dot placed on the right of a letter, is used to distinguish the letter *e* (,) from the letter *a* (,) in the middle and at the end of a word, as well as the letter *u* (, ,) from the letter *o* (, ,) in the following syllables: *ne* , *nu* , *se* , *su* , *še* , *šu* , *le* , *lu* , *me* , *mu* , *ce* , *cu* , *je* , *ju* , *re* , *ru* , *fe* , *fu* , *ve (we)* , *be* , *bu* , *pe* , *pu* . A dot on the right is used also to distinguish the velar and uvular counterparts of the letter *g* that is [g] and [ɢ] from those of the letters *k* and *h*

[3] The sign ^{h} is used to mark aspiration.

([k] , [q] ; [x] , [χ]) and the letter *d* (, , ,) from the letter *t* (, , ,). The dot placed on the left is used to mark the letter *n* (,).

The doubled dot on the left indicates the letter *k* after the letter rendering a vowel and before the letter rendering a consonant, for instance: *akjan* "thunder," *sakda* "old man." The circle placed on the right is used to distinguish the velar and uvular counterparts of the letter *h* that is [x] and [χ] from those of the letters *k* and *g* ([k] , [q] ; [g] , [ɢ]).

The Manchu alphabet which is used today in a slightly modified form, includes 34 graphemes. Six of them are for vowels: *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *ū*; 22 graphemes are used to render consonants: *n*, *ng*, [k], [g], [x], [q], [ɢ], [χ], *b*, *p*, *s*, *š*, *t*, *d*, *l*, *m*, *c*, *j*, *r*, *y*, *f*, *v (w)*. Ten special letters were created to render the Chinese sounds which were absent in Manchu but borrowed by the Manchus with loan words: k^h, g^h, h^h, *ts'* (*c*), *ts* (*ci*), *dz* (*z*), *sy* (*si*), *ž* (*r*), *c'y* (*chi*), *jy* (*zhi*). For transcribing certain Chinese sounds and syllables I use the symbols introduced by P.G. von Möllendorff in his Manchu Grammar (Möllendorff, 1892). In brackets the same sounds and syllables are also given in accordance with contemporary tradition (so-called *pinyin* system) accepted in the People's Republic of China.

Most graphemes have three variants of writing. Those are conditioned by the position of a letter (initial, middle and final) within a word. Isolated letters, occurring out of both a word and a syllable, have their own specific modes of writing.

3. *The Manchu Graphemes and the Way of their Writing*

Below are listed all Manchu letters, in most cases explaining the way of their writing in order to facilitate the readers' understanding. As mentioned above, with a few exceptions which will be described further, most Manchu letters occur in three variants depending on their position in a word—at the beginning, in the middle or at the end.

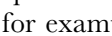
The obvious thing to begin with is the observation of the way of writing letters which render vowels. Subsequently graphemes which render consonants should be observed. Each letter should be represented by three variants—if they are (not all the letters have all of the three variants)—in the following order: at the beginning, in the

middle, and at the end of a word. The table of graphemes which render vowels also includes the fourth variant of the mode of their writing that is used when they occur alone, out of the graphic context. Consonants never occur separately, out of either a syllable or a word.

3.1. *The Manchu Graphemes Rendering Vowels (and the semivowel* y*)*

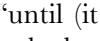
Each numbered line begins with the transliteration of a certain Manchu letter. This transliteration mostly coincides with the phonological interpretation of the letter, but not in all cases. Each Manchu letter rendering a vowel is given here in four variants:

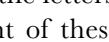
	When alone (isolated)	At the beginning of a word	In the middle of a word	At the end of a word
1) a				

When alone, the letter *a* consists of the head, the tooth and the tail turned to the right. In the initial position the tail is replaced by another tooth. In the middle of a word the letter *a* is rendered by the tooth which in final position after consonants changes into the tail turned to the right, for example: *alaha* —the form of the perfect participle of the verb *ala-* "to tell," "to report."

Sometimes both the tooth in the middle of a word and the final tail can be mistaken for a shape of the letter *n*. To avoid a mistake, it should be taken into account that if two teeth are evenly apart, then it is a sign for the letter *a*; if one tooth is more distant from the others then it is a sign for the letter *n*, for example: *acan*  "harmony," "concord," "union," "meeting;" *encu*  "different," "other," "strange."

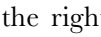
2) e				 (after the letters for the velars [k], [g], [h]; for the consonants k^h, g^h, h^h, b, p)

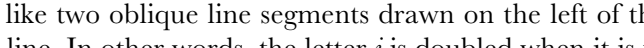
The isolated letter *e* consists of the head, the tooth and the long tail turned to the left. In the initial position the tail is replaced by a slightly longer connecting line segment. In the middle the letter *e* has a shape of the tooth with a dot on the right. In the final position it consists only of a tail with a dot on the right, for example: *eletele*  "until (it is) enough," "in sufficient quantity."

Occurring after the letters *p* and *b*, the letter *e* is indicated by a dot placed on the right of these consonants, not of the letter *e* itself: *benehe* —the form of the perfect participle of the verb *bene-* "to send (away from the speaker)," "to deliver," "to give as a gift."

3) i 

When alone, the letter *i* consists of the head, the tooth and the rounded short tail turned to the right. At the beginning of a word this tail is replaced by an oblique line segment drawn on the left of the letter. In the middle only this oblique line segment remains. At the end of a word the vowel *i* is indicated by the short tail drawn from the left to the right. Here are some examples: *ili* —the form of the imperative of the verb *ili-* "to stand," "to stop;" *iliha*  the form of the perfect participle of the verb *ili-* .

Being the element of combinations which render the descending diphthongs *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, *ui*, or occurring after the letter *i*, this letter is written like two oblique line segments drawn on the left of the connecting line. In other words, the letter *i* is doubled when it is used to render the element i̯ in the middle of a word: (). The first of these oblique line segments may be replaced by the tooth (), for example: *eimembi* —the imperfect finite form of the verb *eime-* "to abhor," "to detest," "to find unpleasant." At the end of a word it has a shape of a short tail turned to the right (), for example: *abkai*  < *abka* "sky," "heaven" + *i* (genitive). The letter for the element i̯ occurs separately only as the form of the genitive case:  .

4) o 

The isolated letter *o* consists of the head, the tooth and the circle. Occurring in the initial position, it is proceeded by the connecting line segment. In the middle position it has the shape of a circle, with the head being omitted. In the final position this circle is proceeded by the tail turned to the right and downwards: *omolo*  "grand-

son." Occurring at the end of a monosyllabic word, it is written without the tail: *fo* "a small net attached to a pole (used to fish things out of ice floes)."

In the middle and at the end of words the letter *o* may be doubled: *coo*  "a spade;" *cooha* "army," "troops," "soldier;" *doohan*  "bridge;" *guyoo*  "green jasper."

5) u  

This letter has a shape similar to the letter *o*, but is distinguished from it by the dot which is placed on the right of the circle. However after the letter *g* when rendering the velar [g] and the aspirated consonant g^h as well as after the letter *d*, the dot does not indicate the vowel *u*, but these consonants. The dot becomes the means of distinguishing the letter *g* from the letters *k* and *h* (when rendering velars and uvulars and the aspirated consonants k^h, g^h, x^h) on the one hand, and the letter *d* from the letter *t* on the other (see the data concerning the Manchu graphemes rendering velar and uvular variants of the consonants /k/, /g/, /h/ in 3.2).

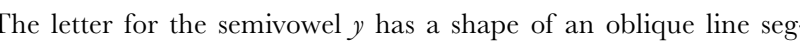
6) ū   

Written separately, this letter consists of the head, the tooth, the circle and the short tail turned downwards. In the initial position the short tail is replaced by the oblique line segment drawn on the left of the connecting line. In the middle of a word it loses both the head and the tooth, and at the end of a word the oblique line segment changes into the short tail turned downwards: *akū* —particle of negation: there is not, there are not, doesn't exist.

This letter has very restricted use in the initial position, occurring only in words borrowed from Mongolian: *ūlen*  "house," *ūlet*  "Oirat," "Elut," *ūren*  "an emage," "a doll," "a Buddhist image," "a religious image" (Zakharov, 1879:21-2, 55). In the middle and at the end of words this letter is widely used, especially with the letters rendering the uvular variants [q], [ɢ], [χ] of the consonants /k/, /g/, /h/. Placed on the right of the letter *ū*, the dot serves to indicate the letter g rendering the uvular [ɢ]: *gūsa*  "banner."

In the transliteration of this letter it has been accepted by a number of specialists to write a bar above it: *ū*. In accordance with the Russian tradition in Manchu studies, the same mark, viz. the bar, was used when it was required to render velars [k], [g], [x] in the syllables

kū, *gū*, *hū* and the aspirated sounds [k^h], [g^h], [x^h] in the syllables *kā*, *gā*, *hā*; *kō*, *gō*, *hō*, but it was written above letters rendering consonants (Zakharov, 1879:22). In Norman's lexicon the bar drawn over letters which render these consonants is not in use. The bar was also used to distunguish transliterations of two combinations, *yo* (*ǒ*) ( ) and *io* ( ) (Zakharov, 1879:22).

7) y 

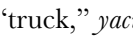
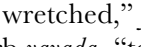
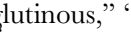
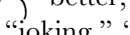
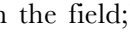
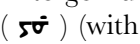
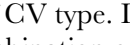
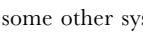
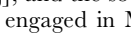
The letter for the semivowel *y* has a shape of an oblique line segment which ends in the hook turned upwards. This oblique line segment is drawn on the left of the connecting line. The letter *y* is used to indicate graphemes which render "y-vowels" and occurs mostly in combinations with the letters *a*, *e*, *o*, and *u*[4]:

ya 

ye 

yo (iō)

yu 

Here are some examples with y-vowels: [ya]—*yafan* "back yard," "truck," *yacin*  "black," "dark," *yada-*  "to be poor," "to be wretched," *yayadambi* —the imperfect finite form of the verb *yayada-* "to lisp," "to speak unclearly;" [ye]—*yeye*  "maggot," "glutinous," "sticky mud," "annoying," "(paternal) grandfather," *yebe*  "better," "improved of an illness;" [yo]—*yobo*  "fun," "play," "joking," "a person who likes to play," *yohon*  "water ditch in the field;" [yu]—*yun*  "rut," "track," *yuyu-* "to starve," "to go hungry." The combination of the letters *y* + *u* written as () (with the dot) is only found when it represents a syllable of CV type. It is never used after a letter for a consonant where the combination of the letters *i* + *o* occurs instead (). In Manchu words, this sequence of letters is pronounced as [io]. Therefore, for instance, the word *niyo* "swamp," "marsh," "slough" was

[4] In some other systems of transcriptions, the semivowel [y] is marked by the symbol [j], and the so-called "y-vowels," are to be considered as "j-vowels." Most scholars, engaged in Manchu studies, use the symbol [j] to render [ž].

N	Vowels rendered by a grapheme	Writing: initial	middle	final	isolated
1.	a				
2.	e			(after the letters for the velars [k], [g], [h]; for the consonants k^h, g^h, h^h, b, p)	
3.	i				
4.	i̯	--			
5.	o				
5.	u				
6.	ū				
7.	y			--	--

Table 1. Manchu graphemes rendering vowels and the semivowel *y*

written in old Manchu manuscripts as *nio* . According to Zakharov, some Manchu words, especially those that are monosyllabic, such as *nio*  (the interrogative sentence particle) and *bio*  (the interrogative form from the verb *bi-* "to be," "to exist") are always pronounced as [nyu] and [byu]. The inventors of the Manchu alphabet probably couldn't decide which mode for transliterating [yu] would be better, *io* or *yu* (with the dot) (Zahkarov, 1879:23-4).

3.2. *Manchu Graphemes Rendering Consonants*

	At the beginning of a word	In the middle of a word	At the end of a word
1) n		(before vowels) (before consonants)	

In the initial position the letter *n* consists of the head, the tooth and the dot which is placed on the left of the tooth. In the middle of a word it loses the head, so that there remains only the tooth which in the final position is replaced by the tail turned to the right. Occurring before consonants (and after vowels) in the middle or at the end of a word, the letter *n* loses the dot, so that it can be easily mistaken for the letter *a*. To avoid confusion there is a simple rule, according to which the letter *n* usually occurs after the letter rendering a vowel, standing alone or constituting a syllable with a preceding consonant: *anda*  "a sworn brother," "bosom friend," "friend from childhood;" *tondo*  "straight," "upright," "loyal," "fair," "public." Nevertheless, even knowing this rule it is easy to be confused when reading words such as *algan*  "a net for catching quail," *jurgan*  "line," "row," "the right," "duty," "ministry," "board," *amaka*  "husband's father" (instead, it is possible to read *alaga*, *juraga*, *amkan*, respectively).

The following orthographic rule concerns not only the way of writing the letter *n* with the combinations *ya*, *ye*, *yo*, *yu*. Occurring before them, the letter *n*, as well as some other letters which render consonants, is followed by the letter *i*: *niya*, *niye*, *niyo*, *niyu*. But all these syllables were pronounced as [nya], [nye], [nyo], [nyu]. The syllable [nyu] was drastically changed by the Manchus who began to write it with the letters *i* and *o* (*nio*). In accordance with the new writing, they began to read this syllable as [nio]: *niohe*  "wolf;" *niolmon*  "moss;" *nioron*  "rainbow." The following words include combinations of the letter *y* with letters rendering vowels *a*, *e*, and *o*, which occur after the letter *n*: *niyahan*  "puppy," "whelp," *niyada*  "late in maturing," "slow in growing," *niyaki*  "pus," "nasal and bodily discharge," *aniya*  "year;" *niyehe*  "duck," *niyekse* "light," "thin (of clothing)," *niyeniye*  "weak willed, lacking initiative," *eniye*  "mother;" *niyo-*  "to scrape meat from bones," *niyomošun*  "drifting ice."

In most cases the letter *n* is written without a dot in the final position, but there are some cases where the dot is replaced: *han* "emperor," "knan;" *han* "a khan who is subjected to China" (Zakharov, 1879:26).

2) ng --  (before *a*) (before *e*)

The consonant ng [ŋ] may occur only in the middle or at the end of a word. In the first position the letter for this consonant has a shape of the tooth and the short tail turned to the right similar to that of a separately written letter *i*. In the second position this tail is extended to the left similar to that of a separately written letter *e*: *angga*  "mouth," "opening," "hole," "pass," "gate;" *anggasi*  "widow;" *enggemu*  "saddle;" *erdemungge*  "virtuous," "talented," "moral;" *teng* in: *teng seme* "hard," "firm," "fast," "solid."

3) k [q]		(before *a*, *o*, *ū*)  (before consonants)	
g [G]			--
h [χ]			--

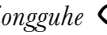
It is accepted by the majority of manjurologists that the back consonants /k/, /g/, /h/ manifest themselves through the uvular [q], [G], [χ] or the velar [k], [g], [x] respectively. The alternation of back consonants, velar and uvular—no matter how they are treated by specialists, as different phonemes or allophones which occur in complementary distribution with each other—is directly connected with vowel harmony. Uvulars may be followed only by any of the back vowels *a*, *o*, *ū*, and velars may occur with any of the vowels *e*, *i*, *u*.

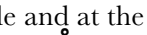
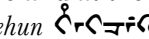
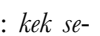
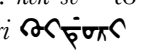
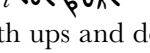
Basically, the letters for the uvulars [q], [G] and [χ] have the same shape. Occurring in the initial position, each letter consists of the head formed from the slightly modified tooth and circle. In the middle of a word this head changes into two teeth. To indicate the letter for [G], the dot is used, and the mark for the letter rendering [χ] is the circle. Both additional elements, the dot and the circle, are placed on the right of the following letter rendering a vowel: *kalka*  "shield;" *gargan*  "branch," "the earth's branches," "branch of a river," "single," "odd," "comrade," "friend;" *hohori* "the soft cartilage jutting out at the side of the aural cavity." Occurring between two letters the first of which renders a vowel and the second a consonant, in the middle of a word, the letter for [q] is written by means of two teeth, with two dots on the left. At the end of a word, there remains only one tooth, with two dots on the left. The second tooth is replaced by the tail turned to the right: *sakga*

"old," "old man;" *lak* in: *lak se* "quickly!," "hurry up!". Following one of these letters for [q], [ɢ] and [χ], the letter rendering the vowel *ū* has the bar drawn above it.

4) k [k]			
g [g]			--
h [x]			--

The consonants /k/, /g/, /h/ followed by any of the vowels *e*, *i* and *u* are the velars [k], [g], [x] respectively. The letters for all three velars has the same shape which is the specific head like a semicircle which begins and ends nearby the vertical connecting line. The letter for [g] is marked by the dot. The letter for [x] is indicated by the circle. Both diacritic signs, the dot and the circle, are placed on the right of the head. To this semicircle, the letters rendering the vowels *e*, *i*, *u* are added to constitute syllables *ke* , *ge* , *he* , *ki* , *gi* , *hi* , *ku* , *gu* *hu* . In accordance with Russian tradition, the last three syllables have the bar drawn above consonants in order to distinguish them from corresponding uvulars. To write syllables [kya], [gya], [hya], [kye], [gye], [hye], [kyo], [gyo], [hyo], the letters rendering consonants are followed by the letter *i*. Therefore the way of their writing became the following: *kiya*, *giya*, *hiya*, *kiye*, *giye*, *hiye*, *kiyo*, *giyo*, *hiyo*. Here are some examples: *kiyafur kifur* = (onom.) the sound of chewing hard objects, the sound of something smashing, *kiyei* in *kiyei nan hiyang* "a type of incense," *kiyokan* "a small pointed knife used by an arrow maker," *giyakta* "leaves that have fallen from a tree," *giyalu* "crack," "fissure," "defect," *giyen* "indigo," *giyolo* "the crown of the head," *giyose* "a type of meat pastry, a meat-filled dumpling," *hiyatan* "railing," *hiyalu* "a net carrying bag," *ulhiyen* "gradually," *hiyebele* "black-eared kite," *hiyor* in *hiyor hiyor se-* "to be robust," *hiyoošun* "filial." The syllables [kyu], [gyu], [hyu] are written with the letters *i* and *o*, as *kio*, *gio*, *hio*, especially in Chinese words, with the exception of the word *giyūn* which denotes a measure of weight equivalent to thirty catties. But in the native Manchu words, these syllables, similar to the syllable *nio* are pronounced according

to their writing: *kiongguhe* "myna of South China (acridotheres cristatellus)," *gioro*  "a name of a Manchurian clan (The *Aisin Gioro*, a name of the imperial clan)."

Occurring in the middle of a word, between two letters the first of which renders a vowel and the second a consonant, the letter for the velar [k] has a shape of the semicircle which does not reach the connecting line. At the end of a word, a head is proceeded by the tail turned to the left. The following words include the letter for the velar [k] in the middle and at the end of a word: *keksen*  "joy," "gratification," *hekcehun*  "falling of the flood water in autumn," *kek*  in: *kek se-* "to be pleased," "to be gratified," "to be refreshed," *kukduri*  "braggart," "boaster," *gukdu gakda*  "with ups and downs," "uneven," "unlevel," *hukšen* "falcon's hood," "a falcon kept in the house."

5) k^h			–
g^h			–
h^h			–

Aspirated k^h, g^h, h^h are only found with the letters rendering vowels *a* and *o*, chiefly in foreign words, Chinese or Sanskrit. The letters for them have a shape similar to that for the velars, but the head is crossed by the stroke. Followed by the letter for the vowel *o*, they are written in the same way as syllables *ku* [ku], *gu* [gu], *hu* [xu], i.e. with velar pronunciation of the consonant. The only difference is that the letters for the aspirated consonants have a short stroke which crosses the semicircle that is the sign for the head of the letter (Zakharov, 1879:30-1).

6) b			

The head of the letter *b* is formed from the circle divided by the short vertical line segment into two halves. In order to form a tooth indicating the letter *a*, this circle may be extended over the vertical connecting line: *ba* . To indicate the letter *e*, the dot is placed on the right of the letter *b*:  . Occurring in the final position, the graphemes for the syllables *ba* and *be* have tails turned to the left, but in the case of the syllable *be*, the dot is put on the right of the letter *b*:  ,  . In the middle of a word, when the letter *b* is not followed by a letter for a vowel, the head which is the circle does

not pass over the vertical connecting line:  . In the final position this head is proceeded by the tail turned to the left, but the downstroke is longer than that for the letter *o*:  (*o* ). When followed by the combinations *ya*, *ye*, *yo* and *yu* [io], the letter *b* is proceeded by the letter *i*, the way it is done with the letters for other consonants: *biya* "moon," "month," *ubiyada* "disagreeable," *biyabiyahūn* "pale," "wan," *biyoran* "a cliff of red earth." The syllable [byu] is written as *bio*  , not *biyu*.

7) p  

The way of writing the letter *p* is similar to that of the letter *b*. The only difference is that the second half of the circle that forms the head for the letter *p*, has a special interception.

Here are some words containing the letter *p*: *pampu*  "a thick padded coat;" *pekte pakta*  "perplexed," "dismayed," "dumbfounded;" *pelehen* "a name for the crane," *pipuri* in *pipuri ilha* "the flower of the loquat tree."

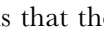
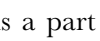
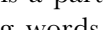
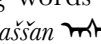
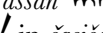
8) s   

The shape of the letter *s* resembles an acute angle formed by two line segments. The lower oblique line segment, directed to the left, is attached by the tooth. This shape is similar for two of the three positions of the letter *s*, at the beginning and in the middle of a word. Changes only happen with the letters which render vowels when they constitute syllables with the consonant *s*. In the final position, the tooth is replaced by the almost horizontal tail turned to the right. Similar to other cases, before the combinations *ya*, *ye*, *yo*, *yu* the letter *s* is followed by the letter *i*. The syllable [syu] is written with the letters *i* and *o*: *sio* .

Here are some examples with the letter *s*: *sasa*  "together," *useri*  "pomegranate," *ashan*  "side," "appendage," "peripheral," "subordinate," *sisiku* "a vessel filled with ashes or sand in which one can insert incense sticks, candles," "a vase for flowers," *siyal*  "mister," "gentleman," *siyangci*  "chess," *siyoo*  (< chin. *xiao*) "saltpeter," "flute," *siolembi* — imperfect finite form of *siole-* "to embroider," *sioi*  "foreword," "preface (to a book)," *siyūn*  in *siyūn fu* "provincial governor."

9) š

The way of writing the letter š is similar to that of the letter *s*. The only difference is that the short stroke is attached to the upper line segment which is a part of the head.

The following words contain the letter š in combination with different vowels: *aššan*  "movement," "vibration," "behaviour," *šasišame*  in *šasišame da-* "to blow from the side (of the wind)," "to cut (of the wind)," *šešempe*  "a wasp," *šūrgeku*  "reel," "spool," *šušu*  "purple," "sorghum."

10) t (before *a*, *o*, *i*) 

t (before *e*, *u*, *ū*)

d (before *a*, *o*, *i*)

d (before *e*, *u*, *ū*) 

There are two series of letters for the dental stops *t* and *d*, and the way of writing each of them depends entirely on the vowel with which they constitute a syllable. Followed by any of the letters for the vowels *a, o* and *i*, the letters for the fortis *t* and lenis *d* are written in the following way. In the initial position the letters *t* and *d* have the shape of the round head. In the middle of a word both letters are formed by the oblique line segment which ends with the circle. The grapheme is written on the left of the vertical connecting line. There is only one difference between the letters for the fortis *t* and lenis *d*, that is the dot which marks the letter *d*. Normally the dot is placed on the right of the next letter which renders a vowel. Followed by one of the letters for the vowels *e*, *u* or *ū*, the letters *t* and *d* have a different shape. In the initial position, the letters *t* and *d* are constituted by the round head located to the right of the vertical connecting line. The latter is extended above the letters *t* and *d*. In the middle of a word, this grapheme changes its shape into an oblique line segment located to the left of the vertical connecting line. This oblique line segment has the small circle. The letter for the lenis *d* is distin-

guished from the the letter for the fortis *t* by the dot wrtitten on the right of the following letter which renders a vowel.

Occurring after a letter for a vowel and before the following letter for a consonant, the letter *t* underwent some changes, that is, the round head was carried from the left onto the connecting line and added with the tooth ( ). At the end of a word this tooth is replaced by the tail turned to the right ( ). The final letter *t* can be mistaken for *on*, but it should be remembered that such shape of *t* may occur only after a letter which renders a vowel: *bithe* "book," "letter," *tuttu* "like that," "thus," "so," *tubet* "Tibet," "Tibetan," *oirat* "Oirat."

According to Mongolian tradition, the letter *t*, followed by the letter for the back vowel *ū*, is pronounced as [d] inspite of the fact that it has no dot placed on the left: *tūmbi* is read [dumbi]—the imperfect form from the verb *du-* "to hit," "to strike;" *butūn* is read [budun] "crock," "large jar" (Zakharov, 1879:37).

The following words contain the letters *t* and *d*, both variants of them: *tatan* "a camp," "a stopping place," "territory of a tribe;" *dacukan* "rather sharp;" *dodori* "a hat with a wide brim;" *dise* "draft (of a document or essay);" *diyan* "palace," "throne room," "great hall," "hostel," "inn;" *ederi tederi* "here and there," "this way and that;" *tiyelin* "a short, sharp-pointed arrow used for bird hunting," *tinggin* "office," "bureau," "section," *latihi* "torn piece of a mat," *bandi* "learned man," "pundit," *soti* "one name for the parrot," *ududu* "several," "a number of."

11) l

In the initial position, the letter *l* is written through the head, similar to that of the letters *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *ū*, *n*, the tooth and the hook turned upwards and placed on the right of the connecting line. In the middle of a word the head is omitted, and in the final position there remains only the tail with the hook turned to the right and upwards. Followed by letters which render vowels, the letter *l* keeps its shape stable. In accordance with the principal rules, all changes happen with letters which represent vowels.

The following Manchu words contain the letter *l* in different positions within words: *lala* "end," "last," "final," "cooked gluti-

nous millet or rice;" *bolori* ᡦᠣᠯᠣᡵᡳ "autumn," "fall;" *lulu* ᡞᡠᡞᡠ "ordinary," "common," "average (of ability);" *huluri* ᡥᡠᠯᡠᡵᡳ in *huluri malari* "careless," "lax," "hasty;" *liyeliyehun* ᡞᡳᠶᡝᠯᡳᠶᡝᡥᡠᠨ "dizzy," "faint," "delirious;" *lioho* ᡞᡳᠣᡥᠣ "a white-striped sea fish," "Siberian salmon;" *algin* ᠠᠯᡤᡳᠨ "fame," "the male otter;" *mandal* ᡞᠠᠨᡩᠠᠯ "the mandala (Buddhist)."

12) m ᡨ ᡩ ᠮ

The shape of the letter *m* is similar to that of the letter *l*, but the hook is turned downwards. In the final position the letter *m* consists of the tail turned to the right and the hook turned downwards. The combination of *m* + *yu* is written as *mio*: ᡨᡳᠣ . In Chinese words it is pronounced as [myu], but in native Manchu words it is pronounced like [io]: *miosihon* ᡨᡳᠣᠰᡳᡥᠣᠨ "evil," "false," "heretical," "heterodox;" *miodori* ᡨᡳᠣᡩᠣᡵᡳ—in *miodori miodori* "walking with difficulty (because of a sore back)."

The following words contain the letter *m* in different positions within words: *mamari* ᡨᠠᠮᠠᡵᡳ—PL of *mama* "grandmother," "female ancestor," "old lady," "pocks," "rash;" *muke* ᡨᡠᡴᡝ "water," "river," "stream;" *namu* ᠨᠠᠮᡠ "ocean," "sea;" *miyori* ᡨᡳᠶᠣᡵᡳ "crust;" *miyoocan* ᡨᡳᠶᠣᠣᠴᠠᠨ "gun," "musket;" *miosiri* ᡨᡳᠶᠣᠰᡳᡵᡳ "smile."

13) c ᠴ ᠴ ᠴ

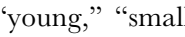
The letter *c* resembles a right angle one side of which is parallel to the connecting vertical line. Its shape remains invariable at the beginning and in the middle of a word. The letter *c* never occurs at the end of Manchu words.

Here are some instances of words with the letter *c*: *cacari* ᠴᠠᠴᠠᡵᡳ "a tent;" *cahan* ᠴᠠᡥᠠᠨ "buttermilk," "sour milk," *cecike* ᠴᡝᠴᡳᡴᡝ "a small bird;" *cucu caca* ᠴᡠᠴᡠ ᠴᠠᠴᠠ (onom.) the sound of whispering or talking in a low voice; *cirku* ᠴᡳᡵᡴᡠ "pillow;" *cise* ᠴᡳᠰᡝ "vegetable or flower garden;" *ucun* ᡠᠴᡠᠨ "song," "ballad;" *ucuri* ᡠᠴᡠᡵᡳ "time," "opportunity;" *cūn* ᠴᡡᠨ in *cūn moo* "Chinese cedar."

14) j ᡮ ᡮ ᡮ

In the initial position the letter *j* is written like the letter y, but the oblique line segment has no hook. In the middle of a word this line

segment turns upwards in a slightly arched way. It seems the letter *j* never occurs at the end of a word.

The following words contain the letter *j* in different positions within words: *ajigen*  "young," "small," "a youth;" *jakdan*  "pine;" *jeje*  "father;" *jiji jaja*  "twittering;" *joman*  "edge," "seam," "end;" *julen*  "story," "tail;" *hojo* "beautiful," "attractive," "pleasing;" *uju*  "head," "first," "the first;" *jiyan*  in *jiyan hoošan* "a lip of paper;" *jiyanggiyūn*  "general."

15) r   

In all positions of a word—in the middle or at the end, the letter *r* has a similar shape. It consists of the head formed by two short line segments crossing each other and attached to the connecting line. In a case when the letter *r* occurs at the end of a word, this line is extended a little further and ends with the short tail turned to the left.

In Manchu there are no native words beginning with the consonant *r*. At the beginning of a word the consonant *r* can only be found in loan words, borrowed chiefly from Sanskrit.

The syllables [rya], [rye], [ryo], [ryu] only occur in loan words in Manchu as well. But they are written according to the same method which is used to render combinations of some other consonants, e.g. *n, k, b, s, l, m, c, j,* etc. with graphemes *ya*, *ye*, *yo*, *yu*. The syllable [ryu] is written with the letters *i* and *o*, i.e. *rio*:  .

Here are some examples of words which contain the letter *r*: *rakca* (*rakša*)  "a man-eating demon," "ogre," "Russian;"*koro*  "sorrow," "regret," "damage," "injury," "offense," "wound;" *urun* "daughter-in-law," "wife;" *lor* —in *lor seme* "speaking incessantly," "talkative;" *berhu* —term of address used by a wife to her husband's younger sister, or by an elder sister to her younger.

16) f (before *a*, *e*)
f (before *i*, *o*, *u*, *ū*)  

The letter *f* begins with the head which is drawn on the right of the connecting line. This head crosses the connecting line from the right to the left, turned into the hook. The letter *f* keeps this shape to render

syllables with the letters for the vowels *a* and *e* at the beginning or in the middle of a word. In order to be added with letters for the vowels *i*, *o*, *u*, *ū* this grapheme loses the head and takes the shape of the letter *v* (*w*) which is the same as that of *f* only without the head. That is why the syllables *vi (wi)*, *vo (wo)*, *vu (wu)*, *vya (wya)*, *vye (wye)*, *vyo (wyo)*, *vyu (wyu)* are absent in Manchu, and it is easier to write syllables *fi*, *fo*, *fu*, *fū*. with the letter *v(w)* than to do it with the little more complicated letter *f*. It seems that there are no words ending in either the consonant *f* or the consonant *v* (*w*) in Manchu. The syllable *fio*  , written with the letters *i* and *o*, in some words is pronounced as [fio] but in other words it sounds as [fyu].

The following are some words containing the letter *f* followed by different vowels: *fafun*  "law," "decree," "prohibition;" *ufa*  "flour," "meal;" *efen*  "bread," "any sort of bread like product made from flour;" *feye*  "nest," "wound," "the eye of a needle;" *fufun*  "a saw;" *fiyan*  "rouge," "luster," "appearance," *fiyen*  "powder," "the feathers on the arrow shaft;" *fiyoto* —"to break wind," *fiyoose*  "a gourd dipper," "a ladle;" *fioha* "pullet," "young tender chicken."

17) v (w) 

The shape of the letter *v* (*w*) is similar to that of the letter *f*, but the former has no head in any positions where it occurs, viz. at the beginning or in the middle of a word. It may be followed only by the letters which represent the vowel *a* and *e*.

The following words include the letter *v* (*w*) within the syllables *va* (*wa*) and *ve* (*we*): *wa*  "odour," "smell;" *wacan*  "a protective covering for the armpits on armor;" *wadan*  "a cloth wrapping," "curtain around a sedan chair," "cloth of a flag, flag, banner;" *we*  "who?;" *weren*  "ripples on water," "hoop (on a barrel, tub, etc.,)," "a wire circle inside a hat;" *gūwa*  "other," "another;" *wesibun* "advancement," "lifting up;" *šuwe* "direct," "straight," "totally," "(with negatives) not at all."

N	Consonants rendered by a grapheme	Writing in different positions: initial	middle	final
1.	n		 (before vowels) (before consonants)	
2.	ng		(before *i*, *o*, *u*, *ū*) (before *e*, *i*)	
3.	k [q]		(before a, o, ū)  (before consonants)	
4.	g [G]			–
5.	h [χ]			–
6.	k [k]			
7.	g [g]			–
8.	h [x]			–
9.	b			
10.	p			–
11.	s			
12.	š			
13.	t (before *a*, *o*, *i*)			
	t (before *e*, *u*, *ū*)		 (before consonants)	
14.	d (before *a*, *o*, *i*)			–
	d (before *e*, *u*, *ū*)			–
15.	l			
16.	m			
17.	c			–
18.	j			–
19.	r			
20.	f (before *a*, *e*)			–
	f (before *i*, *o*, *u*, *ū*)			–
21.	v (w)			–

Table 2. Manchu graphemes rendering consonants

3.3. *Additional Graphemes*

As it was mentioned above, some additional graphemes (ma. *tulergi hergen* "foreign letters") were included into Manchu for transcribing foreign sounds, mostly Chinese ones. Partly they were constructed on the basis of elements from which the letters of the Manchu alphabet were formed, partly from ones specially devised for that purpose.

The letters for the aspirated back consonants k^h, g^h, h^h which occur in loan words from Chinese have been already described in 3.2. As it was shown, they are slightly differ from the letters for the velar [k], [g], [x].

The other additional graphemes devised by the Manchus specially for transcribing Chinese syllables, are the following ones. It should be noticed that the transliterations of the graphemes for these addittional Chinese consonants and syllables are given according to the Möllendorff's system. Their transcriptions as they are accepted in the People's Republic of China according to *pinyin* system (contemporary Chinese phonetic alphabet), are given in brackets.

1) ts' (c) 

If the acute angle which is exactly the shape of the letter *s* crosses with the short vertical line segment parallel to the connecting line, not far off its vertex, we obtain the letter for *ts'* (romanized according to Chinese rendering as *c*). This letter keeps its shape in all positions in a word. It is followed by vowels which change in accordance with normal rules of writing.

2) ts (ci)

To indicate the syllable, romanized according to Chinese rendering as *ci*, the special sign " " is added to the grapheme which renders the syllable *ts'a* (*ca*).

3) sy (si)

In order to write the syllable *sy* (*si*), the same sign " " is attached to the grapheme which renders the syllable *sa*.

4) dz (z) 

To write the letter for the sound *dz* (romanized according to Chinese rendering as *z*), the short vertical line segment is drawn across the vertex of the acute angle of the letter *s*. As one can notice, there

is only a slight difference in the way of writing the letters for *ts'* (*c*) and *dz* (*z*).

5) c'y (chi)

To render the Chinese syllable *chi* (as romanized according to Chinese rendering tradition) which was absent in Manchu, a special grapheme was devised. To form this grapheme the circle was added to the right of the Manchu grapheme which rendered the syllable *ci*.

6) jy (zhi) 

To render the Chinese syllable *zhi*, as romanized according to Chinese tradition, a new grapheme was invented. It was formed from the Manchu grapheme which rendered the syllable *ji* by adding the circle on the right of the letter *j*.

7) ž (r)

To render the Chinese sound *r*, as romanized according to Chinese tradition, a special sign was devised. It consists of a horizontal line drawn above the connecting line. All changes occur with the letters which render the following vowels.

4. *Outward Appearance of Manchu Writing*

Manchu letters are written from top to bottom therefore lines are drawn vertical after the Chinese pattern of writing, but contrary to it, from the left to the right.

Both cursive and type initially followed the Mongolian patterns, but later they acquired a slightly more rounded shape. In the middle of the nineteenth century there were three kinds of Manchu script in use: 1) the standard form of the script (ma. *ginggulere hergen*; *ginggule-* "to write the standard form of the script"), 2) the semicursive script which is similar to the standard form, but letters were written slightly closer to each other (ma. *gidara hergen*; *gidame ara-* "to write in the semicursive script"), 3) the cursive script (ma. *lasihire hergen*; *lasihime ara-* "to write the cursive script"). This script is chiefly distinguished from the others by tails (ma. *uncehen* "tail"), which were rounded with flourish. Besides, various additional line segments were written in a more free manner (Zakharov, 1879:48).

In all cases—no matter how important the text is— Manchu letters are written in the same size.

There are no capital letters in Manchu script. Following the Chinese pattern, words denoting the Emperor, high officials, older relatives or polite forms of address should be indented. The higher the words are above other lines, the more respected are the persons. This etiquette is strictly observed with respect to the ruling dynasty. The title of the ruling emperor is written one word higher above a line, the title of his father is placed two words higher, and that of his grandfather is located higher by three words. Sometimes all honorary titles are written within the same line but with a space of one or two words, according to the importance of a person.

The same rule is strictly observed in respect to all words denoting bureaucratic activities and all sorts of realia connected with them, for instance: *hese* "imperial order," "edict;" *wasimbu*-"to issue (an order)," "to send down an edict;" *wesimbu*- "to submit, to present (to the Emperor)," "to report to the throne;" *donjibu*- "to notify the Emperor;" *kesi* "favour," "grace," "kindness," etc. All these words should be indented, or can be written within the same line but with a space of one word.

The same etiquette was observed in official affairs and diplomatic relations as well as between private persons who were in correspondence with each other.

It was not allowed to carry a word over to the next line. To avoid division of a word, one should calculate the space with the number of lines and words in lines. If blank space remained final tails of letters were written rather longer or markers of cases were written separately from words. But normally all markers of cases, the interrogative particle *ni*, the sentence (predicative) particles *kai* and *bi* as well as all words with which the speech is ended, should be placed in the same line.

5. *Punctuation Marks*

In Manchu there were two punctuation marks, viz. the full stop ᠂ and the colon ᠄. The full stop was drawn across a line and used in the following cases: 1) to separate words which formed the subject NP from that of the VP; 2) to separate different clauses which rendered

the subject and the predicate; 3) to separate one syntactic period from another.

The colon was put also across a line and used to mark termination of speech, hence at the end of a chapter, an article, a book as well as a letter or a document. A question mark was replaced by special particles which followed the words with which an interrogative sentence or a syntactic period were ended.

To separate different articles and sections of laws, treaties, the large circle was used before each article. This rule was similar to the Chinese and Mongolian ones. The same sign was used when it was required to enumerate objects of any kind.

Titles of articles, chapters of books, quotations, especially edicts of emperors and dicta of wise men always required a new paragraph. Those extracts were always written a word higher than all the other lines of the text however long they were.

PART THREE

PHONOLOGY

This page intentionally left blank

PART THREE

PHONOLOGY

1. *Vowels and Consonants*

The reconstruction of the original pronunciation became one of the most important problems for Manchu linguistics. The investigation of the Manchu sound system has not been successful in every respect up to now because the phonation which became known to us in the past century from Chinese and European transcriptions, do not reproduce the real phonetic value of the graphemes. These transcriptions were mastered and made widespread by the Peking (Beijing) Manchus whose pronunciation was influenced to a large degree by the Northern dialect of the Chinese language.

1.1. *Vowels*

At the very beginning of the twentieth century Russian scholars devoted special attention to studying Spoken Manchu (probably, its dialects rather than Manchu itself) in order to reconstruct the phonetic system of classical Manchu (Muromskii, 1906, 1907-8; Grebenschikov, 1912; Shmidt, 1907, 1908). According to them, the Manchu vowel inventory originally included eight phonemes. Four back vowels were in opposition to four front vowels, and together they constituted four pairs: *a* and *ä*, *o* and *ö*, *u* and *ü*, ɣ (like the Russian phoneme /ɨ / orthographically written as ы in the Cyrillic alphabet) and *i*. By the time the Manchu script was created some of them had been lost and there remained only six vowels: *a*, *o*, *ū* (spelled as *ȳ* in the Cyrillic alphabet and called "long" or "hard" by Zakharov), *e*, *i*, *u* (spelled as *y* in the Cyrillic alphabet and called "soft" by Zakharov). According to P. G. von Möllendorff, Manchu writing distinguished six vowels, although, in reality there were eight: *a*, *ä*, *o*, *ö*, *y*, *i*, *u*, *ü*. Four guttural vowels *a*, *o*, *y*, *u* were opposed to four palatal vowels *ä*, *ö*, *i*, *ü* (Möllendorff, 1892:1).

In connection with this some questions arise. The main problem is the characterization of the Manchu vowel *e*. In accordance with

the Russian script, I.I. Zakharov transcribed /e/ as the Russian grapheme э, basing himself on the similarity of pronounciation of the Manchu /*e*/ and the Russian [ɛ] spelled as э in Cyrillic alphabet (Zakharov, 1879:52- 3). A. Castren transcribed the phoneme *e* as *ä*, P. P. Shmidt designated it as *ö*. P. G. Von Möllendorff brought the vowel *e* into correlation with both *ä* and *ö*, basing his opinion on the fact that Manchu vowel *e* corresponds both with *ä* and *ö* in Tungusic: ma. *ejen* "master"—tung. *äjän*; ma. *inenggi* "day"—tung. *inängi*; ma. *elge-* "to lead"—tung. *ölgöja-*; ma. *edun* "wind"—tung. *ödyn* (Möllendorff, 1892:1). V.I. Tzintzius described the vowel *e*, common to all Tungus-Manchu languages, as mid-central sometimes slightly rounded (Tzintzius, 1949:78). Gisaburo N. Kyiose believes that the sound value of the Manchu /e/ is the mid-central vowel, that is, *shwa* [ə]. The Manchu /e/ derived from the Jurchen /e/ , the sound value of which was the mid-front [e], i.e. jur. [e] > ma. [ə] (Kiyose, 1997:150).

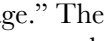
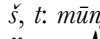
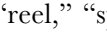
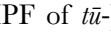
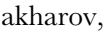
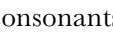
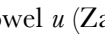
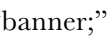
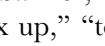
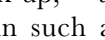
The specialists in Sibe still differ in their evaluations concerning the nature of the phoneme *e* and its variants. In V.V. Radlov's opinion the Sibe vowel *e* does not correspond to the Russian /e/ (spelled in the Cyrillic alphabet as *e*) or [ɛ] (spelled in the Cyrillic alphabet as э): in contrast, it is a palatal sound more comparable with the guttural sound [a] (Radlov, 1888). The vowel *e* might be put into correlation with the vowels *e* and ə, as they are given by S. Hattori and K. Yamamoto, and with the vowels ɛ and ə envisaged in the phonetic interpretation suggested by J. Norman. These phonetic interpretations describe ə as a mid-central vowel, and *e* and ɛ as mid-front vowels, with *e* rising higher than ɛ according to IPA (Yamamoto, 1969; Norman, 1974). S. Hattori and K. Yamamoto specify the phoneme /e/ and interpret it phonetically as [ɜ]: /'ere/ [ʔɜr] "this;" /'eləḍəN/ [ʔɜldən] "light" (*ere* and *elden* in Manchu, respectively). The texts recorded by V.V. Radlov suggest that although his material was described in phonetic terms, i.e. on the level of sounds, the vowel /e/ was specified from phonological considerations, i.e. on the level of phonemes.

Li Shulan mentions at least two vowels ɛ and œ which are absent in Literary Manchu. They originate from the diphthong *ai* and and the vowels *a* and *o* occurring in the initial positions and followed by *i*: *ai* > ɛ; *aCi* > ɛ; *oCi* > œ :

ma. *aiha* [aiχa]—sib. [ɛχ] "glazed pottery," "crockery," "porcelain;"
ma. *alin* [alin]—sib.[ɛlin] "mountain;" ma. *dobi* [dobi]—sib. [dœvi]

"fox;" ma. *omimbi* [omimbi]—sib. [œmim] = IMPF of *omi-* "to drink" (Li Shulan, 1983:303-4).

As for the distinct vowels *u* and *ū*, they are probably variants of one phoneme. One of them, the vowel *u*, its sound value is [u], occurs mainly with preceding velars: [ku], [gu], [xu], and the other, the vowel *ū* occurs mainly with uvulars: [qʊ], [ɢʊ], [χʊ]. L. Ligeti believed that the different letters for the phoneme *u,* being two graphic variants, are only orthographic means to distinguish velars [k], [g] and [x] from uvulars [q], [ɢ] and [χ] respectively (Ligeti, 1952). H.C. von der Gabelentz and C. de Harlez indicated them as *u* and *ô* respectively (Gabelentz, 1832; Harlez, 1884). E. Haenisch also designated them as *u* and *ô* (Haenisch, 1986).

From the very beginning of studying Manchu, the Russian linguists used the horizontal bar over the vowel *ū* (spelled as *ȳ* in the Cyrillic alphabet) not to designate a long vowel but, contrary to the existing linguistic tradition, to mark a distinct vowel, different from the vowels *o* and *u* (spelled as y in the Cyrillic alphabet). Zakharov claims that the "hard" vowel *ū* represents two sounds. One of them is used to render the Mongolian sound which occurs in the initial position of several loan words from Mongolian, for example: *ūlen*  "house," *ūlet*  "Oirat," "Elut," *ūren*  "an image," "a doll," "a Buddhist image," "a religious image." The other is used to indicate preceding uvulars [q], [ɢ], [χ]. The vowel *ū* also occurs, but very seldom, after other consonants *m*, *s*, *š*, *t*: *mūnggu*  "bird's nest (the edible nest of a type of swallow)," *sūna*  "pack," "a leather leash for a dog," *šūrgeku*  "reel," "spool," *tū-* (*dū-*) "to hit," "to strike," (*tūmbi*  = IMPF of *tū-*) *butūn* (*budūn*)  "crock," "large jar." According to Zakharov, in the last two positions, viz. after uvulars and some other consonants, the "hard" vowel *ū* is pronounced similar to the "soft" vowel *u* (Zakharov, 1879:21-2, 55). Thus, in Zakharov's view, the hard vowel *ū* is chiefly used to indicate uvulars [q], [ɢ], [χ], for instance: *akū*  "there is not/ there are not," "doesn't exist;" *gūsa*  "banner;" *kūthūmbi*  = IMPF of *kūthū-* "to mix," "to mix up," "to stir," "to stir up," "to confuse." One can assume that in such a position it should be pronounced slightly more open and back, like [ʊ], than its higher counterpart, the soft [u].

Based on the similarity of pronounciation of the Manchu and Mongol vowels, the Chinese scholar Qinggetaier suggested the following description of three round back vowels *o*, *u*, and *ū* (*ô* or

ȳ in some other interpretations) in Manchu. The sound value of the vowel *o* is [ɔ]; the high round vowel *u* is similar to the Mongolian [ˈu]. The most questionable vowel *ū* (*ô*, *ȳ*) is a round centre open sound [o]. It is used to render two sounds which occur in complementary distribution. One of them regularly occurs after the consonants *k*, ɢ, *x* (clearly, these symbols indicate the uvular sounds [q], [ɢ], [χ] respectively – L.G.), and its sound value is [ʊ]: kʊ, ɢʊ, xʊ ([qʊ], [ɢʊ], [χʊ] – L.G.). The other occurs in the initial position of Mongolian borrowings, for example: mo. *ögeled*—ma. *ūgeled*; mo. *öbesüben*—ma. *ūbesuben*; mo. *öngge*—ma. *ūngge*. In this position its sound value is soft [o] spelled as *ö* in Mongolian. According to him, Manchu vowel inventory should be properly represented as follows: *a*, ə, *i*, ɔ, *u*, *o* (Qinggetaier, 1985:398-402).

V.V. Radlov mentioned one more sound transcribed by the grapheme ω and described this vowel as the "so called close *o* as in the German word *Monat*" (Radlov, 1888:18). Presumably he used the symbol ω to mark the vowel in question which was transliterated by the symbol *ū* (or *ô* in some other interpretations). The grapheme ω probably corresponds to the sound attuned somewhere between [u] an [ɔ]; in L.V. Scherba's General Phonetics the sound is transcribed by [o] (V. Kotvich transcribed it as [ʏ]). It is possibly the same sound [ʊ] mentioned above.

In addition to the sounds included in the S. Hattori and K. Yamamoto system, J. Norman postulates the labialised high front sound [ü]. The fact that this sound is an allophone rather than a phoneme becomes clear from the phonetic materials given by S. Hattori and K.Yamamoto, whose phonological description comprises the diphthong /iu/ realized phonetically as [y].

From the aforecited survey it becomes clear that the monophthongs listed by different authors are more or less comparable in quantity, though in quality they are different.

Diphthongs, as they are treated by different linguists, are much less comparable in quantity than monophthongs.

According to Russian tradition, in Literary Manchu it is common to distinguish only four descending diphthongs (with the narrow final element): *ai* (*aisi* "benefit," "profit," *aisin* "gold," *bai* "plain," "simple," "free," "unemployed," "only," etc., *dailan* "a military campaign," "a punitive expedition"), *ei* (*eigen* "husband," *eifu* "tomb," "grave," *deijiku* "firewood," *meihe* "snake," "the sixth of the earth's branches"), *oi* (*oilori* "on the surface," "on the outside," *boihon* "earth," "soil," "dirt,"

koiman "tricky," "cunning," "deceitful," *oilon* "surface"), *ui* (*uihe* "horn," *uilen* "service," "attendance," *guifun* "a ring for the finger," *guilehe* "apricot," *sui* "crime," "guilt," *suila-* "to work hard," "to be exhausted") (Pashkov, 1963:16). This is unlikely to reflect the situation adequately. It is possible to specify several more diphthongs, four of them being rising ones (with the wide final elements): *ia* (*giyalan* "space between," "interval," "interstice,"*giyamun* "stage," "relay station," "military post station," *giyahūn* "accipitrine birds: hawks, falcons, etc.," *hiyase* "box," "case," *miyali-* "to measure"), *ie* (*fiyen* "powder," "the feathers on the arrow shaft," *hiyese* "scorpion," *miyehusu* "bean-curd skin," *niyecen* "a patch," "a small piece of cloth"), *io* (*niohon* "dark green," *fiyoose* "a gourd dipper," "a ladle"). That these combinations are diphthongs becomes clear from the phonetic transcriptions given by S. Hattori and K. Yamamoto in "Classified Dictionary of Spoken Manchu" where most of these words can be found: *giyalan* /gialəN/ [gĭalən] "room space," "compartment of a house," *giyamun* /giamәN/ [gĭamən] "stage," "cheking station," *giyahûn* /giahuN/ [gĭaʁɷn] "hawk," *miyali-* /mialəmə, mialimə/ [mĭaləm, mĭalim] "to measure;" *fioose* /fiosə/ [fĭos] "gourd ladle," *niohon* /nioohəN, nioohuN/ [ɲĭoˈʁön] "dark green"[1]. The descending diphthong *eo* also occurs in classical Manchu: *deo* "younger brother," "younger (of males)," *geo* "a mare," *jeo* "department (a political subdivision)," *leole-* "to discuss," "to talk over," *leose* "building," "multistoried building," "tower", *šeole-* "to embroider," "to collect." It seems that the diphthong *eo* in classical Manchu corresponds to the diphthong [ɜu] in most words in the variety of Spoken Sibe recorded by K. Yamamoto and S. Hattory: *geo* /geʼu/ [gɜu] "a mare," *leole-* /leʼuləmə/ [lɜuləm] "to discuss," "to debate," "to argue," *leose* /leʼusə/ [lɜus] "two-storied building," *šeole-* /ŝeʼuləmə/ [ʂɜuləm] "to embroider." There are few words where the diphthong *eo* corresponds to the long vowel *u* in this variety of Sibe: deo /duu/ [duˈ] "younger brother"[2]. At least two rising diphthongs, viz. *ua* and *ue*, appeared as the result of dropping the consonant *w* in the

[1] In "A Classified Dictionary of Spoken Manchu" I found just a few words with the diphthong *ie* [ĭɛ], for example: *niyengniyeri* /niⅼⅼiaŋənⅰⅼⅼiari/ [ɲ(ĭ)ɛŋɲĭɛrj] "spring."

[2] K.Yamamoto used the symbol *ŝ* [ʃ] for *š*. He presented verb stems in the form of the imperfect converb (*-me*), for example: *da-* /damə/ [dam] "to catch fire;" *te-* /temə/ [tɜm] "to sit," "to ride on," "to dwell."

intervocalic position: *juwan* > *juan* "three;" *juwe* > *jue* "two;" *kūwaran* > *kūaran* "camp (military)," "market place," "workshop," "yard;" *suwe* > *sue* "you;" *tuwa* > *tua* "fire."

Möllendorff postulated four rising diphthongs: *ia*, *ie*, *io*, *iu*. According to him, the following six rising diphthongs: *ua*, *ūa*, *ue*, *ūe*, *uo*, *ūo* appear when the consonant *w* is dropped in the intervocalic position. He also pointed out seven descending diphthongs: *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, *ui*, *ūi*, *ao*, *eo*. The combinations *ü* and *oo* were referred to diphthongs by him as well. He also specifed the following triphthongs: *ioa*, *ioo*, *io(w)an*, *io(w)en*, *ioi*, *i(y)ao* (Möllendorff, 1892:3).

Radlov delimited ten diphthongs, with seven of them being descending ones: *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, *ui*, ɯi, *au* (*aŭ*), *eu* (*eŭ*) and three of them being rising ones: *oa* (*ŏa*), *ua* (*ŭa*), *ue* (*ŭe*) (Lebedeva & Gorelova, 1994)[3]. According to him, the combinations *ija* ꚉꚗ , *ije* ꚉꚗ̀ , *ijo* ꚉꚗꚳ , *iju* ꚉꚗꚳ̄ were used to designate palatalization of preceding consonants (in his transcription the symbol *j* was used to render the phoneme *y* – L.G.).

Hattori and Yamamoto describe only four rising diphthongs on the phonological level; in pronunciation they are realized as either front diphthongs or front monophthongs related as position allophones: /ia/- [æ ~ ia], /ie/- [ɛ], /io/- [œ ~ io], /iu/- [y].

It is unclear why the Japanese linguists postulate the diphthongs /ie/ and /iu/ which according to their own material are realized as monophthongs only. One can postulate that this is done with respect to systemic considerations. A comparison made between the number of diphthongs described by S. Hattory and K. Yamamoto and that envisaged by V.V. Radlov and J. Norman suggests that the Japanese linguists did not take into consideration all the diphthongs occurring in their version of Sibe. Thus, for example, the lexical material recorded by them gives us the diphthong *ai* [aɪ] (*aisin* /'a'ĩsiN/ [ʔaɪʃin] "gold;" *baita* /ba'itə/ [baɪt] "affair," "task," *daifu* /da'ifuu, da'ifu/ [daɪfu', daɪfw] "medical doctor," *faidan* /fa'idəN/ [faidən] "line," "row," "file"), the diphthong *oi* [ɔɪ] (*boigon* /bo'ihəN, /boihuN/ [bɔɪʁɔ̈n, bɔɪʁɯn] "independent household," *doigonde* /do'ihəndə/ [dɔɪʁɔ̈nd] "in advance," "beforehand," *goida-* /ɢo'idamə/ [ɢɔɪdam] "to take a long time"), the diphthong *ei* [ɜɪ]

[3] In Radlov's "*A General Linguistic Alphabet Compiled on the Basis of the Russian Letters*" the vowel *u* is rendered by the symbol *y*, in accordance with its spelling in Cyrillic alphabet.

(*eici* /'e'ici/ [ʔɜɪtʃ] "either … or," *eiten* /'e'itəN] [ʔɜɪtən] "each and every," "all," *beide-* /be'idəmə/ [bɜɪdəm] "to examine," "to inspect," *meihe* /me'ixə/ [mɜɪx] "a snake," *teisu* /te'isu/ [tɜɪsw] "obligation," *weile* /ve'il/ [vɜɪl] "crime," "guilt"), the diphthong *ui* [uɪ] (*cisui* in *ini cisui* /cisu'i/ [tʃɪsuɪ] "by oneself," "of one's own accord," *guise* /gu'isə/ [guis] "food box," "chest," *suila-* /su'ilamə/ [suɪlam] "to struggle," "to work hard," "to be exhausted," *sui* /su'i/ [suɪ] "Heaven-sent punishment") and the diphthong *ua* [ŭa] (*juan* /juaN/ [dzu̯an] "ten"). J. Norman specifies ten diphthongs, six of them being descending ones: *ai*, *əi*, *oi*, *ui*, *au*, *əu* and five being rising ones: *ia*, *iɛ* , *io*, *ua*, *üɛ* (Norman, 1974:163).

It is common to distunguish the geminate vowels in Literary Manchu: *aa, oo, ee, ii, uu.* They are normally transcribed as *a, e, i, u* respectively, although the geminate *oo* is transcribed as such more regularly. Old lexicons and dictionaries give /oo/ as the only geminate vowel which had been fixed in written form, by the doubled letter *oo*. But in some scholars' opinion, *ii* and *oo* were considered to be diphthongs, not geminate vowels (see, for example, Möllendorff, 1892:3). Recent studies which have specially examined the vocalic system of the spoken language of the important dialect—Sibe, specify the following geminate vowels: /aa/ [aˈ], /oo/ [ɔˈ] /ee/ [ɜˈ], /ii/ [iˈ], /uu/ [uˈ]. Examples of these geminates, adduced above, were extracted from *"A Classified Dictionary of Spoken Manchu"* by K. Yamamoto: *ba* /baa/ [baˈ] "place," "locality," "spot," *buda* /bədaa/ [bədaˈ] "meal," "surved food," "cooked cereals," *da* /daa/ [daˈ] "root," "base," *fa* /faa/ [faˈ] "window," ja /jaa/ [dzu̯aˈ] "easy," "reasonable," "cheap," *jiha* /jihaa/ [dʒɪʁaˈ] "money," "bronze coin," *biya* /biaa/ [bĭaˈ] "moon;" *boo* /boo/ [bɔˈ] "dwelling," "house," "room," *moo* /moo/ [mɔˈ] "wood," "timber," "lumber," "log," *solho* /soləhoo/ [sɔlʁɔˈ] "Korea," "Korean," *s̀olo* / s̀oloo/ [su̯ɔlɔˈ] "leisure," *too-* /toomə/ [tɔˈ] "to curse," "swear at;" *bithe* /bitəxee [bitxɜˈ] "book," "document," *fe* /fee/ [fɜˈ] "old," "aged," *ice* /'icee/ [ʔitʂɜˈ] "new," *ne* /nee/ [nɜˈ] "recent," "of late," *se* /see/ [sɜˈ] "age," *te* /tee/ [tɜˈ] "presence," "now;" *bi* /bii/ "to exist," "there is/are," *ci* /cii/ [tʃɪˈ] "lacquer," "lac," *fi* /fii/ [fiˈ] "writing brush;" *baju* /bajuu/ [badzu̯ˈ] "distillation dregs," *handu* /haNduu/ [χanduˈ] "paddyfield," *ku* /kuu/ [kuˈ] "treasure storehouse," *langgu* /laŋuu/ [laŋuˈ] "pumpkin," *su* /suu/ [suˈ] "introduction," "preface," "a writing."

All geminates usually occur in word final position. As for /oo/, it may occur in the penultimate syllable: *doohan* "bridge" (*doo-*

	Monophthongs			Diphthongs	
	front	central	back		
high	i		u	ai ei oi ui	
			ʊ	ia ie io	Literary Manchu
mid		ə*	o	ao eo	
low		a		ua ue	
	i (ī)**		u	ai ei oi ui ɷi	
			ɷ***	au (aŭ) eu (eŭ)	according to
		ə*	o	oa (ŏa) ua (ŭa)	Radlov
		a		ue (ŭe)	
	i		u	ia→ [æ ~ ia], ie→ [ɛ]	according to
	e	ə	o	io→ [œ ~ io], iu→ [y]	Hattori & Yamamoto
		a			
	i ü		u	ai əi oi ui	according to
	ɛ	ə	o	au əu	Norman
		a		ia iɛ io	
				ua üɛ	

* ə is written as e
** ī corresponds to *iye* in Radlov's view (Radlov, 1888:37)
*** ɷ is presumably used to indicate [ʊ]

Table 3. Vocalic inventory (in Literary Manchu and Sibe)

"to cross a river"), *doose* "a Taoist priest,"*doosi* "greedy," "covetous," hoošan "paper," *kooli* "rule," "norm," "law," "custom," "habit," "document," "method," *oori* "semen," "essence," "spirit," "energy, *cooha* "army," "troops," "soldier," "military," *šooge* "hard feather at the tips of the wings," *toose* "power," "authority," "right." The combination *oo* in classical Manchu corresponds to [au], [aɷ], [uˈ], [ɔ], [ɔˈ] in the variety of spoken Sibe, recorded by Yamamoto: *coo* /cuu/ [tʂuˈ] "shovel," "spade," *doo-* /da'umə/ [daum] "to cross," "to cross over," "to ford," *doola-* /doləmə, dolumə/ [dələm, dəlum] "to pour," *doose* /da'usə/ [daɷs] "Taoist monk," *doosi* /da'ùsi/ [dauʃ] "rapacious," *hoošan* /hòšiN, ha'ušaN/ [χɔʃɪn, χaɷʂan] "paper offerings used in ancestry worship ritual," kooli /qa'uli, qoli/ [qaɷlj, qɔlj] "precedent," "procedure," oori /'a'uri/ [ʔaɷrj] "vigor," "vitality," too- /toomə/ [tɔˈm] "to curse," "to swear at," toose /ta'usə/ [taus] "authority." In Written Manchu the combination *oo*

(double *o*) could be realized either as the geminate vowel [oo] or as the diphthong [ao].

J. Norman points out the existence of geminate vowels occurring only in word final position; in open monosyllables they are obligatory in this position. He transcribes such vowels by digraphs /aa/, /oo/, /ee/, /ii/, /*uu*/. According to him, the second vowel of the pair is usually realized as a prolongation of the preceding one, but in the case of /ii/ and /uu/, the second vowel is realized as a lower and centralized off-glide: [ĭĭ] ~ [ĭĕ] (Norman, 1974:163). Norman also gives some examples of the geminates in the Glossary, attached to his "A Sketch of Sibe Morphology:" *asitaa* "young man," *budaa* "food," "cooked cereal," *jihaa* "money," *sunjaa* "five," *fətaa* "rope," *amәә* "father," *bitxәә* "book," *šulxәә* "apple," *guŋjuu* "princess," *handuu* "rice plant," *mukuu* "water," *susuu* "kaoliang," *tondoo* "straight," "frank" (Norman, 1974:173-4).

V.V. Radlov distinguished no long vowels in his recordings. Table 3 represents the Manchu vowel inventory in comparison with the Sibe vocalic system as interpreted by the authors mentioned.

Place of articulation		Labial				
Mode of articulation		Bilabial	Labio-dental	front	dorsal	back
Obstruens	voiceless	p		t		k
	voiced	b		d		g
Fricatives	voiceless		f	s, š		h
	voiced	v			j *	
Affricates	voiceless				č (c)	
	voiced				čž (cz)	
Nasals		m		n		ŋ
Laterals				l		
Flapped				r		
* [j] corresponds to [y] in other systems where [j] instead is used to indicate [ž].						

Table 4. Consonants in Literary Manchu

1.2. *Consonants*

The consonantal inventory of Literary Manchu and its dialects has been described by most researchers somewhat inconsistently: some of the consonants were defined phonologically and others were described in terms of their sound realizations.

According to Russian tradition in Manchu studies, the back consonants /k/, /g/, /h/ are realized as the velar sounds [k], [g], [x] or the uvular sounds [q], [ɢ], [χ]. The velars and uvulars are considered to be allophones occurring in complementary distributions to each other. The velars [k], [g], [x] are immediately followed by the vowels *e*, *i* and *u* whereas the uvulars [q], [ɢ], [χ] are immediately followed by the vowels *a*, *o* and *ū*. The vowel *ū* is used to indicate two sounds, [ʊ] after uvulars and "soft" [o] in Mongolian borrowings (spelled as ö in Mongolian). In the Sibe dialect of Manchu, the velars and the uvulars are considered to be distinct phonemes and listed by Norman as /k/, /g/, /x/ and /q/, /ɢ/, /h/ respectively (Norman, 1974:162). The uvulars are specified by Hattori and Yamamoto as the post-velar /q/, /ɢ/, /h/ (Yamamoto, 1969:13-4, 16-7). In Manchu, Kiyose also specifies the velars [k], [g], [h] and uvulars which he treats as the post-velars [q], [γ], [χ] ([γ] corresponds to [ɢ] and [h] to [x] in IPA).

Phonologically, the Russian classification is more justified and its approach to the phonologic consonantal system is more consistent since this classification does not incorporate allophones.

Zakharov specified the aspirated consonants *kʰ*, *gʰ*, *hʰ* which occur only with the vowels *a* and *o*: *kʰamduri* "the name of a constellation," *kʰapsi* "a monk's habit," *kʰo* "section (of an organization)," *kʰose* "a figured textile woven from gold and silk threads on a gauze background," *gʰan, gʰodargʰa*. He noted that the aspirated consonants could be found only in foreign words, primarily, in Chinese and Sanscrit borrowings (Zakharov, 1879:30, 57). Möllendorff singled out the letters k', g', h' especially designed to render the aspirated consonants which occur in some Chinese syllables (Möllendorff, 1892:vi.). The most recent Russian classification of the literary Manchu consonants makes no mention of the aspirated consonants; neither does it contain the voiced back spirant [5] and voiceless dorsal spirant [χ] (in Radlov's transcription; [5] is also indicated as [γ] in other systems). Following the existing tradition, this system makes no mention of the laryngeal [ʔ] which is postulated by the Japanese linguists.

Table 4 represents the literary Manchu consonantal inventory as interpreted by most Russian scholars. The table is given in the form in which it is found in the book "*The Manchu Language*" by B.K. Pashkov (Pashkov, 1963:17).

In the Sibe dialect of Manchu, Radlov pointed out the presence of the palatalized consonants which have not been specified by the other authors. It can be explained in two ways: 1) either Radlov's observations are correct and such palatalized consonants existed in the dialect he recorded or 2) he used the palatalized consonants to denote i-diphthongs (linguistic materials concerning diphthongs see in 1.1). One can see that /ia/ has been preserved in the dialect described by Hattori and Yamamoto: *wacihiyame* /vacixiamə/ [vatʃxiam] "completely," "wholly;" *biya* /biaa/ [bia'] "moon," "month" (in Radlov's transcription, resp., *vacx̀ame* and *b̀a*; for the word "moon," "month" he also gives another variant—*bia*). Radlov specified two aspirated consonants t^{h} and p^{h} and used the mark "ɛ" instead of "^{h}" to designate aspiration. According to him, the aspirated t^{h} occurs in Manchu words: e.g. *tere* "this," but t^{h}*ere* "living;" the aspirated p^{h} occurs only in Chinese words. Radlov singled out the non-sonorous simple spirant (voiced), back (uvulapalatal) which is designated by the symbol [5] (in other systems it is indicated by [ɣ]). Judging from Radlov's texts, he used the symbol [5] to designate a sound which correlates with the sound [ɦ] as a voiced allophone: *bucehe*, *buce5e* "died;" *oho*, *o5o* "became;" *genehei*, *gene5ei* "walked for a long time;" *jafaha*, *jafa5a* "caught;" *sabuha*, *sabu5a* "learned." It is difficult to ascertain, what sound is transcribed by the symbol [χ]; though Radlov classifies this sound as a non-sonorous simple spirant, voiceless, dorsal, he also included in his system its palatalized variant. The grapheme *l* stands for the middle [l] as in German; it is never pronounced as the Russian *л* [ɬ] in *ла* [ɬa] (Radlov, 1888:37, 39, 73, 74; Gorelova, 1986:307-10; Lebedeva & Gorelova, 1994:24).

Norman mentioned that the fortis stops are aspirated before vowels but unaspirated when they occur before other consonants. Norman believes that voicing does not function as a distinctive feature in Sibe; though the lenis stops are voiceless in initial position and before ə #, between vowels and sonorants they are voiced. The velar and uvular frivatives *x* and *h* are voiced when they occur between vowels and sonorants but they are voiceless before #. Subsequently, according to him, all consonants except the alveolar stops and the

uvulars are palatalized before high front vowels. As for consonant clusters, they occur only internally in words; clusters of obstruents tend to be either totally voiced or totally voiceless (Norman, 1974:162). Norman seems to consider *l* and *r* to be allophones of one and the same phoneme, however, this is not confirmed by other authors' material. They are different phonemes in Literary Manchu too. The symbol *h* is used to denote (contrary to tradition) a fricative-uvular sound (according to IPA it ought to be indicated by [χ]). The symbol ɢ denotes a nasal uvular sound correlating with the velar [ŋ]; it is unlikely that Norman is correct in postulating this sound (Norman, 1974:162; Gorelova, 1986:308; Lebedeva & Gorelova, 1994:25).

	labial	alveolars	alveo-palatals	velars	uvulars
fortis stops	p	t	c	k	q
lenis stops	b	d	j	g	G
nasals	m	n		ŋ	ɢ
fricatives	f	s	(š)	x	h
semivowels and liquids	v	l/r	y		

Table 5. Consonants in Sibe according to J. Norman

There is only a slight difference in the consonantal inventory of Sibe proposed by Norman, on the one hand, and by Hattori &Yamamoto, on the other. The differences are as follows: the Japanese linguists treat /l/ and /r/ as different phonemes; they do not specify the uvular nasal /ɢ/; yet they include as an independent phoneme the voiceless glottal catch (laryngeal) which, in their opinion, precedes all vowels' initials. The symbol /'/ is used by them to denote, first, the sound [ʔ] and, second, the syllable boundary: *alin* /'aliN/ [ʔalin] "mountain," "hill;" efen /'efəN/ [ʔɜfən] "Manchu bread;" *ome* /'omə/ [ʔɔm] "lake," "pond;" *utuku* /'utuku/ [ʔutwkw] "clothes;" *baitangga* /ba'itəŋə/ [baitəŋ] "necessary;" *huwaitame* /ha'itəmə/ [χaɪtəm] "to tie," "to tie up;" *kaica-* /qa'cimə/ [qaɪtʃɪm] "to cry out," "to yell;" *teifun* /te'ifuN/ [tɜɪfun] "walking stick," "staff." Postulation of the laryngal is motivated probably by the principles of phonetic analysis followed by the Japanese linguists since they are the only ones to postulate the laryngeal.

2. *Vowel Harmony*

All Tungusic languages are characterized by such a phonetic phenomenon as vowel harmony (synharmonism). The mechanism of vowel harmony is understood as follows. All vowels of the language are divided into two mutually exclusive sets (groups) on the basis of a certain distinctive phonetic parameter. A number of scholars believe that there are languages where a third set of vowels, different from the previous two, can be distinguished. The latter contains the so-called neutral vowels (it may be just one vowel). Word stems normally contain vowels belonging to one of the two sets, but may include vowels (or a vowel) of the third group. Vowels in the suffixes have to be adapted to the vowels of the word stem, i.e. they normally belong to the same set of vowels, as the word stem has, or they may contain the neutral vowels. The nature of vowel harmony in many languages and dialects is still unclear and requires a further investigation. The question of the nature of vowel harmony in a language (or a dialect) cannot be successfully solved without having a sufficient experimental acoustic data from it. Unfortunately, only a few Tungusic languages (or dialects) have been sufficiently investigated experimentally, therefore not many experimental acoustic data is available from them.

Generalizing a number of existing interpretations of vowel harmony in the Tungusic languages, E. de Boer came to the conclusion that the traditional way to construe the phenomenon was to consider it as the opposition of front vowels versus back vowels, that is vowel harmony based on velarity. Later on, another idea came into being according to which scholars began to describe vowel harmony as the opposition of closed vowels versus open vowels, that is harmony based on the tongue height. But the vowel harmony in Proto-Tungusic continued to be regarded as based on the front-back distinction (Boer, 1996:121).

The Tungusic vowel harmony has been investigated mainly by Russian scholars who used to describe it in terms of "soft" (closed/front) and "hard" (open/back) vowels. But even using the same terminology and describing this particular phenomenon in the same language, scholars sometimes understood it differently. Quite a few descriptions were suggested for the Evenki language, the most widespread Tungusic language spoken in Siberia. Evenki has many features common to all northern Tungusic languages and therefore

it can be regarded as a typical representative of them. Accurate analysis of existing descriptions of vowel harmony in the literary Evenki language and its dialects was given in the aforementioned article of Elisabeth de Boer. She presented investigations that have been published in Russia and abroad (Boer, 1996:121-133).

The literary Evenki language was originally based on the Nepa dialect which was later changed to the Poligus subdialect of the Podkamennaja Tunguska dialect. Those Russian scholars who studied the latter form of literary Evenki believed that the vowel harmony in the literary Evenki language was strongly reduced. According to them, the only soft vowel *ə* alternates with the hard vowel *a* in suffixes in accordance with the requirement of the word stem. The vowels *a* and *o* contrast only in the initial syllable. In other positions their occurrences are determined by labial harmony. At present, in the literary Evenki language, only two neutral vowels и and у exist (as spelled in the Cyrillic alphabet), and they can harmonize with vowels of the two different sets. In the past, there were "soft" and "hard" variants of each of the vowels и and у. However, in the course of time, the difference between these sounds, as contrasting phonemes, has disappeared. Any differences in pronunciation—if they exist at all—can be considered allophonic. However, certain word stems with the so-called neutral vowels take "soft" vowels in suffixes, while others require "hard" vowels in suffixes. It means that the word stem continues to be assigned to the original harmonic pattern. This point of view was strongly maintained by O.A. Konstantinova, who wrote the "*Grammar of the Evenki language*." She claimed that "soft" and "hard" variants of each of the vowels и and у can only be found in several eastern Evenki dialects. (Konstantinova, 1964).

E.P. Lebedeva adhered to a similar idea regarding Evenki vowel harmony. This theory was suggested in her textbooks written for students of tertiary institutions (Konstantinova & Lebedeva, 1953; Konstantinova, Lebedeva & Monakhova, 1985).

G.M. Vasilevich, who was one of the first scholars to study Evenki dialects, distinguished "soft" phonemes i, i: and ʉ, ʉ: and "hard" phonemes ɨ, ɨ: and u, u: both in literary Evenki and its dialects. In her earliest publications, she used different symbols to indicate "soft" (i ī, ụ ụ̄) and "hard" (ɪ ī, u ū) vowels (Vasilevich, 1934, 1936)[4].

In her later publications she adopted a different approach, using

[4] The bar over a symbol is used here to indicate a long vowel.

only one symbol и to render both sounds, the high front и and the high central и. Similarly she used only one symbol у to indicate two sounds, the high central у and the high back у. She justified this by practical reasons stemming from the fact that in 1937 the Latin alphabet was replaced by the Cyrillic to write literary Evenki (Vasilevich, 1948:21-2, 1958:654). In fact, she believed that there were no neutral vowels either in literary Evenki or in its dialects. If the word stem contains the "soft" vowels i, i: and ʉ, ʉ: it may be augmented only with suffixes which contain "soft" vowels. If the word stem includes the "hard" vowels ɨ ɨ: and u, u: it may be followed only by suffixes which have "hard" vowels. As for the nature of vowel harmony in the Evenki language, G.M. Vasilevich and her followers considered it as the opposition between "relatively" front vowels and "relatively" back vowels, that is a category based on velarity.

Following the theory presented by Joshua Ard, Boer also suggests that vowel harmony in Evenki is based on relative tongue height which, in turn, depends on the position of the tongue root (Boer, 1996:121-33). Ard's theory was developed as a result of analysis of several interpretations of the Tungusic vowel harmony. The linguistic data was taken from the book "*Jazyki narodov SSSR*" [Languages of the peoples of the USSR]. According to Ard, the original Proto-Tungusic vowel harmony was based on the opposition of advanced tongue root (+ATR) versus unadvanced tongue root (-ATR) vowels. The original pattern of vowel harmony, in Ard's opinion, was fully preserved in Lamut (Even) as described by K.A. Novikova. Novikova's field phonetic material was investigated by means of x-ray, and therefore one could see the position of the tongue root in the articulation of the vowels. Up to date, in Lamut, we find the "soft" (high) vowels *i* and *u*, which harmonize with the vowel ə in added suffixes, and the "hard" (low) vowels ɪ and ʊ, which require the vowel *a* in added suffixes (Novikova, 1960:52). The vowel harmony in Lamut (Even) can be presented as the opposition of the "soft" vowels to the "hard" ones:

soft:	i, iː	ə, əː	u, uː	o, oː	ĭeː	reduced vowel ĕ
hard:	ɪ, ɪː	a, aː	ʊ, ʊː	ɔ, ɔː	ĭaː	reduced vowel ă.

Later on, in most Tungusic languages, in Ard's opinion, the opposition shifted to a pattern based on relative height. In the original pattern of vowel harmony, the relative tongue height difference was observed, but only as a surplus effect of the tongue root position.

Gradually, this redundant feature had become the main phonetic parameter on which the vowel harmony was based. In Ard's view, the position of the tongue root is neutral (-RTR) for relatively high vowels, while in the case of low vowels, the tongue root is retracted (+RTR). Normally, -RTR vowels are somewhat more front than their +RTR counterparts. This is especially true for back vowels (Ard, 1981:23-43).

Boer maintains that at the time when G.M. Vasilevich described the Evenki vowel harmony, the linguists could not perceive more than three levels of vowel height. The smaller differences in tongue height, as in the case between -RTR vowels and their +RTR counterparts, were interpreted by them as front-back distinctions. They also had no idea that the category of harmony could be based on a single distinctive phonetic parameter, namely the position of the tongue root. It is precisely the tongue root distinction, that may explain why it was so difficult to perceive by ear the difference between "soft" and "hard" variants of each of the vowels *i* and *u*. These difficulties were mentioned not only by G.M. Vasilevich, but also by H.Castren who was the first to produce a grammar of the Evenki language[5].

Boer's suggestion about the nature of the Evenki vowel harmony, as based on the position of the tongue root, seems to be corroborated by some recent descriptions of vowel harmony in several Tungusic languages and dialects. Firstly, Jan-Olof Svantesson, who investigated the Solon language spoken in Inner Mongolia, came to the conclusion that the Solon vowel harmony was based on the tongue root position. Secondly, two interpretations of the Orochon vowel harmony were recently presented by Chinese scholars (Orochon is considered a dialect of Evenki in China). In the dialect of the village of Gankui, on the banks of the Gan river, Z. Hu discovered two mutually exclusive sets of vowels:

> "soft" vowels i, iː ə, əː ɵ, ɵː ʉ, ʉː ʲeː
> "hard" vowels ɪ, ɪː ɑ, ɑː ɔ, ɔː ʊ, ʊː ʲɛː*.
>
> * The symbols ʲe and ʲɛ are used here to indicate the prepalatalized long vowels because the latter palatalize preceding consonants or appear after j (Boer, 1996:127).

[5] A grammar of the Evenki language, written by H.Castren, was based on the Urul'ga and Man'kova dialects.

In Boer's opinion, the difference between "soft" and "hard" vowels in the system as it was described by Hu, is that of relative tongue height (Hu, 1986). A second version of the Orochon vowel harmony (a dialect spoken in the village of Xunke along the Kurbin river) also shows that all vowels can be divided into two mutually exclusive sets on the basis of a very specific parameter, namely "tenseness" versus "laxness." This parameter can finally be interpreted as based on the differences in tongue position. The "lax" vowels ə, o, u and ʲe correspond to the "soft" vowels. They are opposed to the "tense" vowels a, ɔ, ʊ and ʲɛ and correspond to the "hard" vowels. There is only one phoneme i which is phonetically lax ("soft") but operates as a neutral vowel in this variety of Orochon (Zhang, 1989). These facts, in Boer's opinion, can serve as proof that the vowel harmony must be defined in Evenki – and probably in all Tungusic—on the basis of a single phonetic parameter, namely the position of the tongue root. She notes that there are probably no neutral vowels i and u—probably with a few exceptions—either in literary Evenki or in its dialects. In Xunke Orochon, as described by Zhang, only one neutral vowel i exists. In the two Khamnigan Evenki dialects Borzya and Urulyungui, which were described by J. Janhunen, the "soft"i and "hard" ɪ have really merged. Originally "hard" word stems which contain the neutral but phonetically "soft" i, are now followed by suffixes with "soft" vowels (Janhunen, 1991).

As for the Evenki vowel harmony, as Boer concluded, there still remain several open problems that need to be further investigated (Boer, 1996:131).

Several other interpretations of the Tungusic vowel harmony can be added to those listed above. These analyzed by Gisaburo N. Kiyose who attempted to show that the phenomenon is highly complex (Kiyose, 1996:147-50).

According to N. Poppe, the Tungus language has strict rules of vowel harmony which is not of palatal-velar nature. Several back vowels are followed by certain back or even front vowels. But they are never followed by certain other back vowels. The vowels *i* and *u* are neutral (Popper, 1965:185). V.Iv. Tzintzius believed that it was the opposition of the vowel *a* and *o* to the vowel ə on which the Evenki vowel harmony was based. The vowel *ē* is followed by the vowels *a* or *ā*, because the sound changes *ē* < **ai* and *ē* < **ia* have occurred. The vowels *i* and *u* are neutral but each of them was derived diachronically from front and back vowels. This is the reason why

both *a* and ə may follow the vowels *i* and *u* occurring in a word stem (Tzintzius, 1949:122). In accordance with V.A. Avrorin's opinion, the opposition of the low vowels *a*, *o* and ɪ versus the high vowels ə, *u* and *i* is the basis of vowel harmony in Nanai (Gold), but the low ɪ and the high *i* are rendered orthographically by the same letter (Avrorin, 1959:40).

Analyzing all these interpretations of vowel harmony in the Tungusic languages, Kiyose suggested that it is the Korean data that can help to solve problems concerning Tungusic synharmonism. In early Middle Korean an opposition of back versus front vowels (the vowels *a*, *o*, *u* were opposed to the vowels *e*, *ö*, *ü*, with the vowel *i* being neutral) existed. As a result of several very important sound changes (*e* > ɔ , *o* > *a*/ʉ, *ö* > ʉ, *u* > *o*, *ü* > *u*) this opposition collapsed in the course of time. In Kiyose's view, the vowel harmony in Middle Korean was of palatal-velar nature (Kiyose, 1997:149).

Vowel harmony is one of the basic phonetic phenomena of the Manchu sound system. However, Manchu vowel harmony differs from that of other Tungusic languages. By contrast, classical Manchu has two groups of suffixes. When attached to a word stem, those of the first group, change their sound value under the influence of stem vowels. Participial, derivational, and formbuilding verbal suffixes, as well as certain ones for plurality, belong to this group. Those of the second group, when appended to a word stem, do not change their vowels to harmonize with the stem vocalic sounds. They are markers for the accusative (*be*), dative-locative (*de*), and separative (*deri*) cases, as well as suffixes for the imperfect converb (*-me*) and nominalizers (*-ngge*, *-ningge* and *ba*).

Gisaburo N. Kiyose explains this fact by the collapse of palatal-velar harmony in several suffixes in Manchu of the Ming period (1368-1644). In Jurchen of the Jin period (1115-1234) the usage of vowels in all suffixes was strictly ruled by vowel harmony which was of palatal-velar nature, that is the opposition of front versus back vowels, the front vowel *e* versus the back vowel *a* included. Then, with the shift of the sound value of the vowel *e* from the mid-front [e] to the mid-central, that is *schwa* [ə], the back/front opposition was destroyed. As a result, several suffixes and markers listed above had lost their back counterparts. Here are some examples: jur. *-mai/ -mei* > ma. *-me* (the suffix for the imperfect converb); jur. *-ba/-be* > ma. *-be* (the marker for the accusative case). But several other suffixes had not only preserved the *e/a* opposition but added one more variant

containing the rounded vowel *o*. It can be viewed as the appearance of the labial harmony which did not exist in Jurchen before, for example: *-ha/-he/-ho*, *-hai/-hei/-hoi*, *-la/-le/-lo*, *-ra/-re/-ro* (Kiyose, 1997:149-50).

According to Möllendorff, the vowel harmony in Manchu can be considered as a certain attraction of vowels physiologically related to each other, when a vowel can be followed by the corresponding one. The majority of suffixes with regard to a vowel, which they contain, have a choice between two or three of vowels. If a stem attaches two or more suffixes, the vowel of the first suffix determines the vowels of the others (Möllendorff, 1892:2). Nevertheless, all the theories on vowels harmony in classical Manchu do not fully answer all questions about its nature.

What we know is that in classical Manchu, the vowel harmony is realized as the opposition of the vowels *a* and *o* to the vowel ə (written as *e*). All Manchu vowels can be distributed into three classes. The first class contains the vowels *a*, *o* and ʊ (the so-called "hard" *ū* which is also written as *ȳ* or *ô*). The second class consists of the single vowel ə (written as *e*). The third class includes the vowels *i* and *u* (the so-called "soft" *u*). There is a strict requirement that vowels of the first and the second classes do not occur together within a word. A stem normally contains the same vowel as its first syllable, and it may be augmented only with suffixes including the same vowel. Alternatively, it may be augmented with a suffix containing a vowel of the same class to which the initial vowel of a stem is referred. Here are several examples of this type of so-called total synharmonism: *aldangga* "distant" (in relationship), *eldengge* "shining," "glorious," "glowing," *horonggo* "powerful," "majestic," "regal," *ala-ha*, *ala-ra* (*ala-* "to tell"), *batala-ha*, *batala-ra* (*batala-* "to be an enemy," "to oppose"), *ejele-he*, *ejele-re* (*ejele-* "to be master of," "to rule," "to occupy by force"), *gene-he*, *gene-re* (*gene-* "to go"), *okdono-ho*, *okdono-ro* (*okdono-* "to go to greet"), *borhono-ho*, *borhono-ro* (*borhono-* "to form a heap or swarm"), where the suffix *-ngga/-ngge/-nggo*, as well as the suffixes for the imperfect and perfect participles (*-ra/-re/-ro* and *-ha/-he/-ho* respectively) harmonize with a vowel of the initial syllable of a word. It is admissible that initial vowels of both classes, the first and the second, are followed by a vowel of the third class, that is vowels *i* and *u* (the so-called "soft" *u)*. This type of vowel harmony has the name "step harmony." The following examples demonstrate this type of synharmonism:

acabun "summary," "union," "adaptation," "harmony," *dabali* "excessively," "too," *ejetun* "record," "description," *ergi* "direction," "side," *enduri* "spirit," "god," "deity," *bontu* "an adze," *orin* "twenty." It is also admissible that initial vowels *i* and *u* may be followed by vowels of the first or the second classes within a stem: *ilan* "three," *ilha* "flower," "blossom," but *igehe* "the stem of fruits and melons;" *isina-* "to reach," "to arrive," *sinda-* "to place," "to put," "to set," but *kice-* "to strive," "to exert oneself," "to be intent on," "to study," *file-* "to warm oneself by a fire;" *ulana* "a kind of a small, red, sour cherry," *funggala* "tail feather," "feather in an official's hat," *munggan* "low hill," "mound," "tomb," but *unde* "not yet (particle used after imperfect participle)," *undehen* "rod," "staff," board," *fulehe* "root," *muke* "water," "river," "stream."

If a stem contains the vowels *i* or *u*, then appended suffixes may occur with vowels of both classes (the alternation *a/e*): *aci-ha* (*aci-* "to load"), *ali-ha* (*ali-* "to receive," "to accept"), *isi-ha* (*isi-* "to pull up (grass)," *muda-ha* (*muda-* "to return"), *tuwa-ha* (*tuwa-* "to look," "to look at," "to see"), *daru-ha* (*daru-* "to buy on credit," "to last," "to endure"), but *bi-he* (*bi-* "to be," "to exist"), *ji-he* (*ji-* "to come"), *bu-he* (*bu-* "to give), *ulhi-he* (*ulhi-* "to understand," "to comprehend"), where the suffix for the perfect participle changes its vowel (*-ha/-he*). This fact may probably serve as an indication that the word stems were still belonged to the original pattern of vowel harmony by the time when they were recorded. Also there were two distinctive phonemes of each of the vowels *i* and *u* ("soft" and "hard" ones).

If a stem begins with a vowel of the first class and ends in the vowel *i*, some appended suffixes may contain a vowel of the same class, while some may include the vowel *ə*: *taci-ha* but *taci-re* (*taci-* "to learn," "to study"), *mari-ha* but *mari-re* (*mari-* "return," "to go back"), *miyali-ha* but *miyali-re* (*miyali-* "to measure"), *donji-ha* but *donji-re* (*donji-* "to listen," "to hear"), *omi-ha* but *omi-re* (*omi-* "to drink"), where the suffix for the perfect participle (*-ha/-he/-ho*) harmonizes with a vowel of the initial syllable of a word but the suffix for the imperfect participle (*-ra/-re/-ro*) does not, although it normally does. The so-called "soft" vowel *u* is mostly followed by the vowel *i*: *usin* "field," *usisi* "farmer," *turi* "bean," "pea," but there are some word stems in which the "hard" vowel *ū*, its sound value is [ʊ], is followed by the vowel *i*: *gūnin* "thought," "sense," "mind;" *gūli-* "to be in good terms;" *hūri* "pine nut." There are some words which contain the "hard" vowel *ū* and the "soft" vowel *u*: *buhū* "deer," *butūn* "crock," "large jar," *jugūn*

"road," and *gūsu* "thick, heavy rope," *gūtucun* "shame," "insult," "shameful," *hūsun* "strength', "power," *hūturi* "good luck," "good fortune."

There is one more fact that can serve as a confirmation of the existence of the opposition of the vowels *a* and *o* versus the vowel *ə* in Manchu. The way the letters *t* and *d* are written, when they are followed by the letters *a*, *o* or *i* (rendering the vowels *a*, *o* or *i* respectively), differs from the way they are written when followed by the letters *e*, *u* (rendering the vowel ə and the "soft" vowel *u*), and *ū* (rendering the "hard" *ū* which sound value is [ʊ]).

Bearing in mind that the original Manchu vocalic inventory presumably included eight vowels, four back vowels being opposed to four front ones, as viewed by a number of manjurologists, one could think that the original vowel harmony pattern in Manchu was based on the opposition of front versus back vowels, that is palatal-velar harmony. Synharmonism in Manchu was possibly similar to the vowel harmony in Jurchen, as it was understood by Kiyose. Subsequently this pattern shifted to a harmony based on another pattern, probably, on relative height, with the "soft" [u] rising higher than the "hard" [ʊ], and the mid-central [ə] rising higher than the low back [a]. However, many questions still remain open. The nature of vowel harmony in Manchu is not quite clear and it needs to be investigated further.

It should be emphasized that in classical Manchu there was an extremely strict correlation between vowel harmony and the alternation of certain consonants. But this alternation itself was treated in different ways by specialists.

Zakharov was of the view that there existed only three back consonants *k*, *g*, and *h*, each represented by two different graphemes, depending on the vowels which occurred with them. According to him, it is exactly the opposition of the vowels *a*, *o* to the vowel ə (written as э in the Cyrillic alphabet) that determines the way of writing of the back consonants. The consonants *k*, *g*, *h* are rendered by different letters depending on the vowel which occurs with them within a syllable. The sound value of these consonants—which could be realized as either velar or uvular—is determined by the vowel with which they constitute a syllable. Using the terminology of contemporary phonetics, we can say that Zakharov considered the two series of these consonant sounds to be allophones occurring in complementary distribution with each other. Phonologically they

were accepted by him as the same phonemes. Zakharov noted that this fact was called by the Manchus themselves "*kaharakca keherekce*." These two words have no particular meaning but display different combinations of consonants and vowels that could occur in words.

According to him, there was a single vowel *u* which could occur both after the "hard" and "soft" variants of back consonants. Occurring after the "hard" consonants *k*, *g*, *h* (the uvulars [q], [ɢ] and [χ] in contemporary linguistics), the vowel *ū*, written as *ȳ* in the Cyrillic alphabet, had a different sound value (the "hard" *ū*, its sound value is considered to be [ʊ] in contemporary linguistics) and different writing. In his view, the problem of the contrasting phoneme *ū* appeared solely due to the fact that in Manchu the letters *o* and *u* are distinguished by a dot which was also the means of distinguishing the letter for the consonant *g* from the letters for the consonants *k* and *h* (Zakharov, 1879:51-2, 55-8).

According to other specialists, there was an opposition between velar and uvular phonemes in classical Manchu, and the existence of two graphic variants for the vowel *u*, not two different phonemes, should be treated orthographically, as a special device for distinguishing preceding velars and uvulars (Ligeti, 1952).

There is also an opinion according to which there are contrasting consonants, velars and uvulars, and contrasting phonemes the "soft" *u* with the sound value is [u], and the "hard" *ū* with the sound value is [ʊ] and "soft" [o], which occurs to render Mongolian borrowings (spelled as *ö* in Mongolian).

In conclusion, it is a fact that in Manchu, there is a strict correlation between vowels of a certain class and a series of back consonants, velars or uvulars (no matter how they are viewed, as phonemes or allophones). As it was mentioned above, the harmony of vowels in Manchu is mainly restricted to the opposition of the vowels *a* and *o* to the vowel *ə*. The velars are followed by the vowels *ə*, while the uvulars are followed by the vowels *a* or *o*. There is also a strict correlation between the different letters for the "soft" vowel *u* and the "hard" vowel *ū* and the two series of the letters for the back consonants. The letters for the velars are followed by the letter for the "soft" vowel *u*, while the letters for the uvulars are followed by the letter for the "hard" vowel *ū*. It is an open question, whether these letters represent different phonemes (or allophones) or they simply serve to distinguish velars from uvulars which, in turn, can be treated as allophones occurring in complementary distribution.

It is also partly a question of basic assumptions on which the phonetic analysis is based. The way of writing the alveolar consonants *t* and *d* also depends on which one of the vowels, *a, o,* or *ə*, occurs with them.

3. *The Dropping of Vowels and Consonants in Manchu Words*

Vowels are often omitted in the middle of words. Here are some instances: *butha* "hunt" < *butaha*; *cirku* "pillow" < *ciruku*; *forgon* "season," "fate" < *forogon*; *gelhun* "fear," "timid," "fainthearted" < *gelehun*; *hojhon* "son-in law" < *hojihon* (*hojigon*); *ilha* "flower" < *ilaha*; *ufhi* "part," "share," "portion" < *ufuhi*. When two words combine, in the resulting ones vowels or the second element of diphthongs are often dropped: *aba* "where?" < *ai* "what?," "which?" + *ba* "place;" *amargi* "back," "behind," "north" < *ama*(*la*) "behind" + *ergi* "side," "direction;" *erse* = PL of *ere* "this" < *ere* + *se* which is the suffix for plurality; *ertele* "up till now" < *ere* "this" + *tele* which is the suffix for the converb denoting the meaning "up to now."

Consonants are usually omitted in the intervocalic position in a word: *cu(w)an* "boat," "ship;" *gū(w)a* "other," "another;" *ju(w)an* "ten;" *kū(w)a* "light-yellow (horse)." The consonants *k* and *h*, *g* and *h* may be interchanged, with dropping vowels: *emhe* "mother-in-law (wife's mother, sometimes a husband's mother)"—*emeke* "mother-in-law (husband's mother);" *julge* "ancient times," "antiquity"—*julehe* "formerly" (Möllendorff, 1892:3).

4. *Stress*

The stress of Manchu words has not been investigated in a satisfactory manner. According to Zakharov who actually heard the spoken language, the stress was not governed by strict rules in Manchu. Basic stress rules according to Zakharov are outlined below (Zakharov, 1879:62-4). If a word consists of a few open syllables (the last one may be closed), then all of them are pronounced with equal strength, accompanied by a lengthening of the initial vowel. If a word consists of a few syllables, when the first is closed or contains any of the descending diphthongs *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, *ui*, *eo* and the second begins with any consonant, then the entire word seems to be divided into two

parts, each of them pronounced as a new word with equal strength and a lengthening of the initial vowel.

In noun morphology the suffixes affect the stress of the words to which they are attached in the following ways:

1) The stress always falls on the case marker which follows the word: *alin ì dorgide* "inside a mountain," *boocì tucike* "(somebody) went from a house."

2) When nouns are appended with any of the interrogative particles, reduced to the *n*, the stress falls on the final syllable: *saiyǜn* (interrogative form of *sain*): *si saiyǜn*? "How are you?;" *yargiyǜn* (interrogative form of *yargiyan*) "Is it true?"

3) If an adverb is derived from a noun by means of the form of the genetive case, then the stress falls on the case marker: *cun cun ì* "gradually," "by degrees," *saikan ì* "rather well."

4) The stress falls on the suffixes *-kan /-kon/-ken* attached to a noun to express the diminutive meaning: *elhe* "calm," "gentle," "quiet," "slow," "well-being"—*elhekèn* "rather well, gentle," "rather slow," *golmin* "long" —*golmikàn* "rather long," *sain* "good," "well"—*saikan* "rather well," "nicely."

In verb morphology the suffixes and particles also affect the stress of the words to which they are attached:

1) The perfect participle form (in *-ha/-ho/-he*) is characterized by the basic stress rule, that is even strength applied to all syllables of a word with a lengthening of the initial vowel. But in the converbal form in *-hai/-hoi/-hei* which is obviously derived from this participle and has the frequentative and durative meanings, the stress falls on the last syllable: *alahàì* "(somebody) told repeatedly, many times;" *tehèì* "(somebody) sat for a long time."

2) The imperfect participle form (in *-ra/-ro/-re*) has usual stress, but when it is used to express the future, the stress falls on the last syllable: *urunakū alarà* "(I) shall tell certainly, surely."

3) The prohibitive form which is derived from the imperfect participle by means of the particle *ume* placed before the participial form and used for negation, also has the stress on the last syllable:

ume alarà "do not tell."

4) In a special Manchu form conveying the meaning of apprehension (*-rahū*), the stress also falls on the last syllable: *alarahǜ* "there is an apprehension that (one) will tell (it)."

5) In the imperative form which coincides with a verbal stem, the stress always falls on the last syllable: *alà* "tell!;" *alabù* "order (somebody) to tell;" *alanà* "go and tell."

6) When the synthetic desirative form in *-ki* is used to denote the future, the stress falls on the last syllable which is *-ki*: *alakì* "(I) shall tell."

7) In the analytical form which is derived from the synthetic desirative form in *-ki* and the stem of the verb *se-* "to say," the stress always falls on the last syllable of the first word of this analytical construction: *alakì sembi* "I wish to tell."

8) The stress usually falls on the interrogative particles *ni*, *nio* attached to verbal forms. When these particles are reduced to *n* occurring in the negative forms of the imperfect and perfect participles (*-rakūn*, *-hakǜn*) or replaced by the particle *o*, pronounced as [u], the stress falls on the last syllable of the verbal form: *ainu balai gisurembinì?* "Why do (you) say (it) unreasonably?;" *yargiyan ì semeò?* "Is it true what (you) are talking?;" *alahaò?* "Did (you) say (that)?"

9) Onomatopoeic words always have the stress on the last syllable: *kotòr katàr* (onom.) = the sound of hard things rattling together or falling, the sound of a flock of pheasants flying; *halàr hilìr* (onom.) = the sound of bells on the girdle, the sound made by a shaman's sword; *kalàng kilìng* (onom.) = the sound of metal or stone objects banging together; *pekte pakta* "perplexed," "dismayed."

10) When a lexical or grammatical meaning is expressed by a pair of close synonyms, both words have the stress on their last syllable: *etukù adù* "clothing," *agurà tetùn* "tools," *oilorì delerì* "superficial," "trivial," "frivolous;" *acu facù* "with loving tenderness."

Möllendorff noted that the stress falls always on the last syllable of a word, and regarded it as a similarity with Mongolian (Möllendorff, 1892:1).

Norman presented more data concerning the dialect he described.

According to him, the stress in Sibe is by and large predictable and it falls usually on the penultimate vowel or diphthong within the word. In a few cases where the penultimate vowel is /i/, /u/ or /ə/, the stress falls on the antepenultimate vowel. The suffixes affect the stress of the words to which they are attached in two ways. If the suffix is monosyllabic and begins with a voiced sound or with one of the lenis stops, then the stress falls on the penultimate vowel or diphthong of the word. If the suffix is disyllabic or monosyllabic and begins with a voiceless sound or one of the tense stops, the stress of the resulting word is similar to that in the unsuffixed stem. In some cases disyllabic suffixes may have secondary stress on the first syllable (Norman, 1974:164).

5. *Types of Syllables and Syllabic Structure of Manchu Words*

In accordance with the syllabic character of Manchu words, no one word in Manchu commences with two (or more) consonants or ends in them (I use the term syllable to refer to a phonemic unit, not a phonetic one). Two consonants may occur in the middle of a word, because a preceding syllable may end in a consonant and a following one begin with a consonant: *ak-dan* (*akdan* "trust"), *dur-dun* (*durdun* "crepe"), *dal-ba* (*dalba* "side"), *mek-ten* (*mekten* "bet," "wager"), *or-ho-da* (*orhoda* "ginseng").

Not one native Manchu word commences with the vowel *ū*, as in the Mongolian borrowings *ūlet* and *ūren*, or with the consonant *r* which occurs in Buddhist works in some transliterated Sanskrit words. Final *m*, *l* and *t* are only found in foreign words, for example: *mandal* "the mandala (Buddhist) < mo. *mandal* "a special place where sacred rites are practiced" < skr. *mandala*. Final *k*, *r* and *s* occur only in onomatopoeic words: *kūwak cak* (onom.) = the sound of fighting with poles or sticks; *fak fik* (onom.) = the sound of fruit falling; *kalar kilir* (onom.) = the sound of keys or small bells jingling; *sir siyar* (onom.) = the sound of grass and leaves moving slightly; *kūwas* (onom.) = the sound of chopping wood, the sound of a falcon striking an object with its wings; *pes pas* (onom.) = the sound of something soft ripping. Final ŋ also occurs in onomatopoeic words, like in *gang ging* (onom.) = the sound of a flock of wild geese calling; *tang tang* (onom.) = the sound of a bell; *jing yang* (onom.) = the sound of birds singing

harmoniously. The final consonants *k*, *r* and *s* occur in words borrowed from Chinese as well.

A few words end in the consonant *b*: *tob* "right," "straight," "upright;" *cob seme* "appearing suddenly," "standing out from the crowd;" *kab kib seme* "snapping at each other (of dogs fighting or biting);" *tab tib* (onom.) = the sound of dripping water.

There are two types of syllables in Manchu, open and closed. The first pattern of an open syllable may consist of a vowel, a geminate vowel or a diphthong (V), and the second pattern includes a consonant followed by a vowel or a geminate vowel or a diphthong (CV). A closed syllable may be presented by a vowel with a following consonant (VC), or may begin with a consonant followed by a vowel and a consonant (CVC), including the consonant *n* (CVn).

According to Hattori & Yamamoto, in the dialect they described there is a voiceless glottal catch (laryngeal) which precedes all vowels in initial position. In this way of thinking, there are no syllables beginning with a vowel component in Manchu.This point of view is not confirmed by other specialists. However, it is known that the Proto-Tungusic *x- disappeared in Manchu: *x- > ma. ø- (Benzing, 1955:990-1). According to Kiyose, the initial syllable *ha-* [χa] in Jin Jurchen appeared as the vowel *a-* in Ming Jurchen and further in classical Manchu, losing its consonant: **hadu* "dress" in Jin Jur. > **adu* id. in Ming Jur. > ma. *adu* id; **habka* "heaven" in Jin Jur. > **abka* id. in Ming Jur. > ma. *abka* id. This laryngeal, postulated by Hattori & Yamamoto, could be a reflex of the Proto-Tungusic *x- (Kiyose, 1995).

It is common for verbal forms to contain a lot more syllables that nominal words do. This fact can be explained by the grammatical nature of the verbal forms which may display several morphological categories synthetically, so that the verbal stem may be augmented with a number of morphemes. It should be taken into account, however, that the syllabic structure of a word is not identical to the morpheme division, therefore the syllabication is irreconcilable with morphemic analysis.

In Literary Manchu the syllabic structure of words displays the following patterns.

1) Monosyllabic words:

V	*a* "the male or positive principle," "yang"
	e "the female or negative principle," "yin"

	ai "what?" sib. /'aa/ [ʔaˈ]
CV	*da* "root," "base;" sib. /daa/ [daˈ]
	bi "I," "me" (personal pronoun for 1.SG); sib. /bii/ [biˈ]
	moo "tree," "wood," "timber," "lumber," "log"
	bai "plain," "simple," "only"
	cai "tea;" sib. /ciaa/ [tʃaˈ]
	deo "younger brother, "younger (of male)"
CVn	*den* "tall"
	duin "four"
	fiyan "rouge," "luster," "appearance;" sib. /fiaN/ [fĩɛn]

2) Disyllabic words:

V-CV	*aba* "hunt," "battue;" sib. /'abaa/ [ʔabaˈ]
	ehe "evil," "wicked;" sib. /'exə/ [ʔɜx]
	aika "if;" sib. /'a'qaa/ [ʔaɪqaˈ]
	oori "semen," "spirit," "essence," "energy"
	aniya "year;" sib. /'ani/ [ʔaɲ]
V-CVn	*efin* "game," "sport;" sib. /'ifiN/ [ʔifin]
	aisin "gold," "golden;" sib. /'a'šiN/ [ʔaɪʃɪn]
VC-CV	*abka* "sky," "heaven;" "weather;" sib. /'fəqaa/ [ʔafqaˈ]
VC-CVn	*arbun* "appearance," "form;" sib. /'arəvəN, 'arəvuN/ [ʔarvən, ʔarvun]
	elgiyen "good harvest," "good year;"sib. /'elixiN/ [ʔɜljɣin]
CV-CV	*buda* "food," "cooked cereal," "cooked rice;" sib. /bədaa/ [bədaˈ]
	gebu "name;" sib. /gevə/ [gɜv]
	cooha "army," "troops," "soldier," "military;" sib. /cuahə/ [tʂŭaχ]
	leose "tower," "building;" sib. /le'usə/ [lɜus]
	meihe "snake," "serpent;" sib. /me'ixə/ [mɜɪx]
CV-CVn	*kemun* "measure," "model," "rule," "ruler"
	caliyan "pay and provisions (military)"

	meifen "neck"
	doohan "bridge"
CV-CVC	*katak* (onom.) = the sound of a lock clicking shut
CVn-CV	*funde* "instead of"
	tondo "straight," "frank;" sib. /toNdə/ [tɔnd]
CVn-CVn	*bandan* "backless bench"
CVC-CV	bithe "book," "document;" sib. /bitəxee/ [bitxɜˈ]
	solho "Korea," "Korean;" sib. /soləhoo/ [sɔlʁɔˈ]
CVC-CVn	*sargan* "wife;" sib. /sarəhəN/ [sarʁən]

3) Trisyllabic words:

V-CV-CV	*agūra* "tool," "implement," "weapon;" sib. /'ahurə/ [ʔaʁɷr]
	aihūma "tortoise (female)," "turtle (female);" sib. /'a'humə/ [ʔaiʁɷm]
	oolame = CONV in *-me* from *oola-* "to step aside," "to make way")
	ubiyada "disagreeable;" sib. /'uviadə/ [ʔuvĭæd]
V-CVn-CV	*alinji-* "come to accept;" sib. *ali-* /'aialimə/ [ʔɛlim] "to accept"
V-CVC-CV	*amargi* "back," "behind," "north;" sib. /'amərixi/ [ʔamərjɣj]
V-CVC-CVn	*ajirgan* "a male horse, donkey, camel, or dog;" sib. /'ajərəhaN, 'ajirəhaN/ [ʔadʑərʁan, ʔadʑɪrʁan] "stallion"
	aibishūn "slightly swollen"
V-CV-CVn	*amuran* "fond of," "intent on," "afterbirth;" sib. /'amuraN/ [ʔamuran]
	aliyacun "regret," "waiting"
Vn-CV-CV	*enduri* "spirit," "god," "deity;" sib. /'eNduri/ [ʔɜndurj]
Vn-CV-CVn	*oncohon* "facing upward;" sib. /'oNcəhəN, 'oNcuhuN/ [ʔɔɳʈʂχön, ʔɔɳʈʂwχɷn]
	anculan (*giyahūn*) "hawk"
Vn-CVn-CV	*uncanji* = IMP from *uncanji-* "to come to sell;"

	sib. *unca-* /'uNcamə/ [ʔuɳʈʂam] "to sell"
Vn-CVn-CVn	-------
Vn-CVC-CV	*andargi* "neighbour," "neighbouring," "adjacent"
Vn-CVC-CVn	*undustan* "Hindustan"
VC-CV-CV	*ambula* "greatly," "widely," "very much"
	arsalan "lion;" sib. /'arəsələN/ [ʔarsələn]
VC-CV-CVn	*amhūlan* "a whistle"
VC-CVn-CV	*urgunje-* "to be glad," "to rejoice;" sib. /'uruxuNjəmə/ [ʔurwɣuɳdzʐəm]
VC-CVn-CVn	-------
VC-CVC-CV	*amgambi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *amga-* "to sleep"
CV-CV-CV	*muduri* "dragon"
	boigoji "master;" sib. /bo'ihoji/ [bɔɪʁɔdʒ]
	funiyehe "hair (of the head)"
CV-CVn-CV	*suwanda* "garlic" *doigonde* "in advance," "beforehand;" sib. /do'ihəNdə/ [dɔɪʁɔ̈nd]
CV-CV-CVn	*kūwaran* "courtyard;" sib. /quarəN/ [qʊ̆arən]
	beikuwen "frost," "cold"
	muhaliyan "ball," "sphere," "pile," "stack"
CV-CVn-CVn	-----
CV-CVC-CV	*banambi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *bana-* "to get," "to obtain," "to be able"
CV-CVC-CVn	*somishūn "hidden," "secret;" sib. /sìomisəhuN, siomisəhuN/* [ʃœmisχωn, sœmisχωn]
CVn-CV-CV	*fontoho* "tunnel," "hole"
CVn-CV-CVn	*kandahan* "Manchurian elk"
CVn-CVn-CV	*banjinji* = IMP of *banjinji-* "to come to live (in a new place)"
CVn-CVC-CV	*donjimbi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *donji-* "to listen," "to hear"
CVn-CVC-CVn	*banjishūn* "having sufficient money or goods to lead a comfortable life"
CVC-CV-CV	*debsiku* "a fan (made of feathers);" sib. /defəsəkə/ [dɜfsk]
CVC-CV-CVn	*debtelin* "volume;" sib. /defətəliN/ [dɜftəliN]
CVC-CVn-CV	*korsondu-* "to be mutually annoyed," "to regret mutually"

CVC-CVn-CVn	------
CVC-CVC-CV	*tuksimbi* = IMPR in *-mbi* of *tuksi-* "to pound," "to throb (of the heart)," "to be afraid," "to be anxious"
CVC-CVC-CVn	*dekderhūn* "one name for the seagull"

4) Words of four syllables:

V-CV-CV-CV	*asihata* "young man;" sib. /'ɜ̀ihatə/ [ʔaʃχat]
V-CV-CV-CVn	*uhukeliyen* "rather weak, soft"
V-CVn-CV-CV	*alinjime* = CONV in *-me* of *alinji-* "to come to accept;" sib. *ali-* /'ialimə/ [ʔɛlim] "to accept"
V-CVn-CVC-CV	*alinjimbi* = PERF in *-mbi* of *alinji-* "to come to accept;" sib. *ali-* /'ialimə/ [ʔɛlim] "to accept"
V-CVC-CV-CV	*alimbaha-* "to be able to bear"
V-CV-CVC-CV	*abalambi* = PERF in *-mbi* of *abala-* "to participate in a battue," "to hunt;" sib. *abala-* /'avələmə/ [ʔavələm]
VC-CV-CV-CV	*abkawaru* "cursed by heaven," "an oath"
VC-CV-CVC-CV	*abtalambi* = PERF in *-mbi* of *abtala-* "to break off (branches)," "to prune"
VC-CV-CV-CVn	*ambulakan* "rather greatly," "rather much"
VC-CVC-CV-CV	*aššandume* = CONV in *-me* of *aššandu-* "to move together"
VC-CVC-CVC-CV	*aššandumbi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *aššandu-* "to move together"
CV-CV-CV-CV	*simacuka* "lonely," "desolate," "scant" *wacihiyame* "completely," "wholy;" sib. /vacixiamə/ [vatʃxɤ̆am] *hairacuka* "pitiable," "pitiful," "too bad;" sib. /ha'iracuqu/ [χaɪratʂuqw]
CV-CV-CV-CVn	*fudasihūn* "rebellious," "disloyal," "obstinate"
CV-CVn-CV-CV	*baicanjime* = CONV in *-me* of *baicanji-* "to come to inspect"
CV-CVn-CVC-CV	*baicanjimbi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *baicanji-* "to come to inspect"

CV-CVC-CV-CV	*tebumbihe* = PAST in *-mbihe* of *tebu-* 1. CAUS of *te-* "to sit," "to live," "to occupy;" 2. "to pour," "to plant," "to put in," ect.
CV-CVC-CVC-CV	*hiyahaljambi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *hiyahalja-* "to cross one another," "to cross back and forth"
CV-CV-CVC-CV	*gelebumbi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *gelebu-* = PASS of *gele-*"to fear," "to be afraid"
CV-CVC-CVC-CV	*barambumbi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *barambu-* 1. CAUS in *-mbu* of *bara-* "to mix together," "to pour soup on rice;" 2. "to mix," "to mix among," "to mingle together"
CVn-CV-CV-CV	fancacuka *"annoying," "causing despair"*
CVn-CV-CVC-CV	*banjibungga* "productive," "creative"
CVn-CVn-CV-CV	*banjinjime* = CONV in *-me* of *banjinji* "to come to live (in a new place)"
CVn-CVn-CVC-CV	*banjinjimbi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *banjinji-*
CVC-CV-CV-CV	*korsocuka* "regrettable," "annoying;" sib. /qorəsecuqə, qorəsucuqu/ [qɔrsɜtʂuqʻ, qɔrsutʂuqw]
CVC-CV-CVC-CV	*bektelembi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *bektele-* "to cut off the feet as a punishment"
CVC-CVn-CV-CV	*baktandame* = CONV in *-me* of *baktanda-* "to contain," "to hold"
CVC-CVn-CVC-CV	*baktandambi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *baktanda-* "to contain," "to hold"
CVC-CVC-CV-CV	*bardanggila-* "to boast"
CVC-CVC-CV-CVn	*duksursehun* "rough (of terrain)"
CVC-CVC-CVC-CV	*dabduršambi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *dabdurša-* "to flare up," "to go into a rage"

5) Words of five syllables:

V-CV-CV-CV-CV	*ahūcilame* = CONV in *-me* of *ahūcila-* "to treat as one's senior," "to be older than"
V-CV-CV-CVC-CV	*ahūcilambi* = IMRF in *-mbi* of *ahūcila-* "to treat as one's senior," "to be older than"

	aisilabukū "helper," "prime minister"
V-CVC-CV-CV-CV	*ainambahame* = CONV in *-me* of *ainambaha-* "how to obtain?," "how can?"
V-CVC-CV-CVC-CV	*ainambahambi* = IMPF in of *ainambaha-* "how to obtain?," "how can?"
VC-CV-CV-CV-CV	*albatulame* = CONV in *-me* of *albatula-* "to act or speak coarsely"
VC-CV-CV-CVC-CV	*albatulambi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *albatula-* "to act or speak coarsely"
VC-CV-CVn-CV-CV	*alhūdanjime* = CONV in *-me* of *alhūdanji-* "to come to imitate"
VC-CV-CVn-CVC-CV	*alhūdanjimbi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *alhūdanji-* "to come to imitate"
CV-CV-CV-CV-CV	*bederebume* = CONV in *-me* of *bederebu-* 1. PASS/CAUS of *bedere-* "to return," "to withdraw (at court or at a ceremony)," "to die (of a noble personage);" 2. "to send back," "to withdraw," "to refuse," "to return a courtesy or gift"
CV-CV-CVn-CV-CV	*banihūnjame* = CONV in *-me* of *banihūnja-* "to treat kindly"
CV-CV-CVn-CVC-CV	*banihūnjambi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *banihūnja-* "to treat kindly"
CV-CV-CV-CVC-CV	*bederebumbi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *bederebu-*
CV-CV-CVn-CV-CV	*hebešenjime* = CONV in *-me* of *hebešenji-* "to come to discuss"
CV-CV-CVn-CVC-CV	*hebešenjimbi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *hebešenji-* "to come to discuss"
CV-CV-CVC-CV-CV	*badarambume* = CONV in *-me* of *badarambu-* 1. PASS/CAUS of *badara-* "to become wide," "to expand," "to become larger," "to become prosperous;" 2. "to enlarge," "to expand," "to propagate"
CV-CV-CVC-CVC-CV	*badarambumbi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *badarambu-*
CV-CVC-CV-CV-CV	*fataršabume* = CONV in *-me* of

	fataršabu- CAUS. of *fatarša-* "to pinch repeatedly," "to be in the habit of using things sparingly"
CV-CVC-CV-CVC-CV	*fataršabumbi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *fataršabu-*
CV-CVC-CVC-CV-CV	*hafiršambume* = CONV in *-me* of *hafiršambu-* PASS/CAUS of *hafirša-* "to use economically"
CV-CVC-CVC-CVC-CV	*hafiršambumbi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *hafiršambu-*
CVn-CV-CV-CV-CV	*fondolobume* = CONV in *-me* of *fondolobu-* PASS/CAUS of *fondolo-* "to penetrate," "to go through"
CVn-CV-CV-CVC-CV	*fondolobumbi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *fondolobu-* PASS/CAUS of *fondolo-*
CVC-CV-CV-CV-CV	*bakcilabume* = CONV in *-me* of *bakcilabu-* 1. PASS/CAUS of *bakcila-* "to rear (of horses)," "to come to a sudden stop;" 2. "to put in opposition," "to make oppose"
CVC-CV-CV-CVC-CV	*bakcilabumbi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *bakcilabu-*
CVC-CV-CVn-CV-CV	*hargašanjime* = CONV in *-me* of *hargašanji-* "to come to court"
CVC-CV-CVn-CVC-CV	*hargašanjimbi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *hargašanji-* "to come to court"
CVC-CVC-CV-CV-CV	*bardanggilame* = CONV in *-me* of *bardanggila-* "to brag," "to boast"
CVC-CVC-CV-CVC-CV	*bardanggilambi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *bardanggila-*

6) Words of six syllables:

V-CV-CV-CV-CV-CV	*anafulabume* = CONV in *-me* of *anafulabu-* PASS/CAUS of *anafula-* "to garrison," "to guard a frontier"
V-CV-CV-CV-CVC-CV	*anafulabumbi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *anafulabu-*
V-CVC-CV-CV-CV-CV	*alimbanarakū* "intolerable," "insupportable," "greatly," "exceedingly"
V-CVC-CV-CV-CVC-CV	*ilimbahabumbi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of

	ilimbahabu- PASS/CAUS of *ilimbaha-* "to become accustomed," "to get used," "to be at peace with," "to be calm"
Vn-CV-CV-CV-CV-CV	*anduhūrilame* = CONV in *-me* of *anduhūrila-* "to treat a person coldly"
Vn-CV-CV-CV-CVC-CV	*anduhūrilambi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *anduhūrila-*
CV-CV-CV-CV-CV-CV	*bulekušebume* = CONV in *-me* of *bulekušebu-* PASS/CAUS of *bulekuše-* "to look in a mirror," "to reflect," "to mirror," "to perceive clearly"
CV-CV-CV-CV-CVC-CV	*bulekušebumbi* = IMPF in *-me* of *bulekušebu-*
CV-CV-CV-CVn-CV-CV	*gucihiyerendume* = CONV in *-me* of *gucihiyerendu-* "to be jealous of one another"
CV-CV-CV-CVn-CVC-CV	*gucihiyerendumbi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *gucihiyerendu-* "to be jealous of one another"
CV-CV-CVC-CV-CV-CV	*deribunggileme* = CONV in *-me* of *deribunggile-* "to make a beginning"
CV-CV-CVC-CV-CVC-CV	*deribunggilembi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *deribunggile-* "to make a beginning"
CVn-CV-CV-CV-CV-CV	*gencehelebume* = CONV in *-me* of *gencehelebu-* PASS/CAUS of *gencehele-* "to strike with the back of a sword or like object," "to land on the back"
CVn-CV-CV-CV-CVC-CV	*gencehelebumbi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *gencehelebu-*
CVn-CV-CV-CV-CV-CV	*bontoholobume* = CONV in *-me* of *bontoholobu-* PASS/CAUS of *bontoholo-* "to be empty," "to be bare," "to be deprived"
CVn-CV-CV-CV-CVC-CV	*bontoholobumbi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *bontoholobu-*
CVC-CV-CV-CV-CV-CV	*gūldarakūlame* = CONV in *-me* of *gūldarakūla-* "to get colic"
CVC-CV-CV-CV-CVC-CV	*gūldarakūlambi* = IMPF in *-mbi* of *gūldarakūla-* "to get colic"

6. *Elements of Morphophonemics. Morphemic Structure of a Word. Stems and Suffixes*

The morphological structure of the Tungus-Manchu languages is defined by most specialists as primarily suffix-agglutinative.

The agglutinative ways of amalgamating morphemes within a word form clearly predominate over other means of word formation in Tungusic. In the Southern Tungusic languages agglutination is also of great importance. In comparison with other languages of the family, classical Manchu employs analytical devices in its morphological structure a lot more. Nevertheless, the agglutinative characterictics remain fundamental.

A word consists minimally of a stem which may be simplex or derivative. In that case, a word coincides with a stem. The latter may be followed by one or more suffixes.

A morpheme is defined here as a minimal language element possessing certain lexical or grammatical meaning. There is only one type of bound morpheme in Manchu. It is a suffix which may be attached directly to a nominal or verbal stem. Normally a suffix has monosyllabic or disyllabic structure, correspondingly, of CV or CVCV type. There are a few suffixes which commence with two consonants, but they are not numerous. They clearly originate from two morphemes amalgamated into a single one. For instance, the suffix for the imperfect finite form in *-mbi* was probably amalgamated from the suffix for the imperfect converb in *-me* and the copula *bi* "to be," "to exist" (*-mbi* < *-me* + *bi*).

Normally all stems remain stable when derivational or grammatical suffixes are added onto them. But there are some exceptions to this rule. The final *-n* in which some nouns end, is deleted before the plural suffix: *amban* "high official"—*ambasa* PL of *amban*; *sadun* "father of the son-in-law," "father of the daughter-in-law"—*sadusa* PL of *sadun*; *nikan* "Chinese"—*nikasa* PL of *nikan*; *irgen* "people," "the common people"—*irgese* PL of *irgen*; *sargan* "wife," "woman," "female"—*sargata* PL of *sargan*.

In some stems, primarily derivative ones, which are augmented with suffixes, a vowel may be omitted. Thus, the word *ertele* "up till now," "up to this point" is often used instead of *eretele* (*ere* "this"). The following verbal stems *bederce-* "to retreat," "to withdraw," *ofordo-* "to incite by slander," "to engage in malicious gossip;" *takūrša-* "to employ as a (personal) servant" are mostly used instead of *be-*

derece-, *oforodo-*, *takūraša-*.

A stem may be augmented with a string of suffixes. Normally, not many suffixes may be added to a noun stem, because only a few nominal grammatical categories are expressed morphologically, with the help of suffixes. A verbal form may contain many more suffixes so that a verb stem may be appended with quite a long string of suffixes numbering from one to several of them (see Section 5).

Normally there is no morpheme concatenation on the morphemic boundaries, with one exception, when the irregular pronominal case form occurs in the accusative. The final *-n* in which all irregular pronominal stems end, with the exception of the inclusive form for "we" that is *muse*, assimilates to a following consonant that is the consonant *b* in place of articulation: *mimbe* < *min-* "I" + *be*; *simbe* < *sin-* "you (SG)"+ *be*; *imbe* < *in-* "he," "she " + *be*; *membe* < *men-* "we (EXCL)" + *be*; *su(w)embe* < *su(w)en-* "you (PL)" + *be*; *cembe* < *cen-* "they" + *be*.

There is one example of this rule applying to a noun in old Manchu: *gisumbe* < *gisun* "word," "language" + *be* (Zakharov, 1879:133).

In the Sibe dialect this rule applies to noun stems ending in *-n*. The final *-n* of a noun stem assimilates to a following consonant in place of articulation as it does before the accusative case in irregular pronominal case forms: *morimbe* < *morin* "horse" + *be*, *alimbe* < *alin* "mountain" + *be*, *gašambe* < *gašan* "village," "country" + *be*; *saihambe* < *saihan* "beauty" + *be* (Norman, 1974:166; Lebedeva & Gorelova, 1994:48).

6.1. *Noun Stems*

Noun stems may end in a vowel, a geminate vowel, a diphthong or final *-n*: *abka* "sky," "heaven," "weather;" *ba* "place," "locality," "spot;" *da* "root," "base;" *fa* "window;" *na* "earth," "ground;" *ama* "father," "head of the household;" eme "mother;" *gufu* "husband of father's sister;" *uce* "door;" *use* "seed," "egg (of an insect);" *šabi* "disciple," "student;" *coko* "chicken," *hiyehe* "duck;" *biya* "moon," "month;" *beye* "body," "self;" *oyo* "top," "roof;" *uyu* "turquoise;" *uyuri* "a black cat;" *boo* "house," "family;" *coo* "a spade;" *moo* "tree," "wood," "stick," "pole;" *ai* "what?," "which?;" *deo* "younger brother;" *geo* "mare;" *amban* "high official," "dignitary;" *boljon* "wave;" *cihan* "desire;" *eten* "force," "resistence;" *meifen* "neck;" *kumun* "music;"

kūwaran "courtyard," "camp (military)," "workshop," "market place;" *oyon* "peak;" *nioron* "rainbow;" *sihiyan* "porch," "pavilion." In noun stems the final *-n* is deleted before the addition of certain suffixes, the plural, for instance: *sargan* "wife"—*sargata* "wives," *ahūn* "elder brother"—*ahūta* "elder brothers," *irgen* "people," "nation"—*irgese* "peoples," "nations."

For most words the distinction "a simple—a geminate final vowel" is not noted in dictionaries of classical Manchu. By contrast, the dictionary of spoken Manchu (which is definitely the Sibe dialect) gives both phonemic and phonetic transcription where these distinctions are shown: *abka* /'afəqaa/ [?afqa'], *ba* /baa/ [ba'], *da* /daa/ [da'], *fa* /faa/ [fa'], *na* /naa/ [na'], *ama* /'amee/ [?am], *te* /tee/ [tɜ'], *fe* /fee/ [fɜ'], *boro* /boroo/ [boro'], *coko* /coqoo/ [tʂɔqɔ'], biya /biaa/ [bia'], bi /bii/ [bi'], baju /bajuu/ [badzu'], gufu /gufuu/ [gufu'] (Yamamoto,1969). Norman also mentions some words ending in a geminate vowel in the Sibe dialect he investigated although in his dictionary of classical Manchu they are cited as those ending in a simple vowel. According to him, the second element of a geminate vowel is always deleted before a suffix (Norman, 1974:164-5).

In some groups of nouns common morphemes can be discovered. These morphemes reveal their formal similarity with verbal ones. Thus, some nouns end in the morphemes *-la/-le/-lo*, *-li*: *unggala* "hole," "cavity," *funggala* "tail feather," "feather in an official's hat;" *niyamala* "moss found on trees and stones;" *senggele* "rooster's comb;" *sele* "iron;" *omolo* "grandson;" *konggolo* "the crop of a bird;" *holo* "false;" *kotoli* "sail (of a ship);" *hefeli* "belly."

Nouns may end in the morphemes *-ra/-re/-ro*, *-ri*, *-ru*. The first three of them are formally similar to the suffix of the imperfect participle: *duwara* "a kind of fish (according to Zakharov "burbot;" according to Norman "mayfish," "sweetfish"); *bira* "river;" *sefere* "a handful," "a bundle;" *nure* "(rice) wine;" *oforo* "nose;" *tohoro* "circle," "wheel;" *toro* "peach;" *tomoro* "a cup," "a rather large bowl;" *singgeri* "rat," "mouse;" *mederi* "sea;" *juwari* "summer;" *bolori* "autumn," "fall;" *tuweri* "winter;" *cungguru* "navel."

Nouns may end in the morphemes *-ka/-ke*, *-ha/-he* and *-ga/-ge* which are formally similar to the suffix of the perfect participle: *abka* "sky," "heaven;" *ecike* "father's younger brother (uncle);" *muke* "water," "river;" *aciha* "pack," *esihe* "scale (of a fish);" *erhe* "green frog;" *hasaha* "scissors," "shears;" *ilha* "flower," "blossom," *nimaha* "fish;" *niyehe* "duck;" *usiha* "star;" *age* "prince, son of an emperor," "a polite

term of address, master, sir, lord;" *mejige* "news," "information;" *ogo* "mortar."

A group of nouns can be distinguished by the final morphemes *-ma/-mo/-me*, *-mi*, *-mu*: *niyalma* "man," "person," *hasima* "Manchurian crayfish," *ujima* "domestic animal," "livestock," *dehema* "husband of mother's sister (uncle)," *deheme* "mother's younger sister (aunt)," *erdemu* "power," "virtue," *oromo*, *oromu* "cream," *namu* "ocean," "sea," *enggemu* "saddle," *anami* "a grown Manchurian elk"[6].

There is a small group of nominal stems which end in the following suffixes: *-ba*: *dulimba* "middle," "centre;" *hondoba* "a kind of foxtail-like grass that can be eaten by horses;" *-ji*, *-ju*: *boigoji* "host," "landlord," "master;" *boihoju* "the god of the earth," "the shrine of the earth god;" *-hi*, *-ki*: *aduhi* "leather trousers;" *hūlhi* "muddleheaded," "confused," "blurred;" *jabšaki* "good fortune," "luck," "lucky;" *lekerhi* "sea otter;" *-nggi*: *bardanggi* "braggart;" *etenggi* "strong," "powerful," "hardy;" *inenggi* "day;" *lebenggi* "swampy," "marshy," "damp," "muddy;" *obonggi* "bubble," "foam;" *nimanggi* "snow;" *nimenggi* "oil," "fat;" *silenggi* "dew."

6.2. *Verbal Stems*

Verbal stems may end in the following ways:

1) a single vowel: *da-* "to burn," "to blow (of the wind)," "to rain," "to snow," "to take care of," "to help," "to work;" sib. /damə/ [dam]; *je-* "to eat;" sib. /jemə/ [dʐəm]; *ji-* "to come;" sib. /jimə/ [dʒɪm]; *si-* "to stop up," "to fill in," "to stand in for," "to bribe;" sib. /ʃimə/ [ʃɪm]; *bu-* "to give;" sib. /bumə/ [bum]; *ku-* "to swell," "to bloat;" *afa-* "to attack," "to make war;" *baha-* "to get," "to obtain," "to be able;" *forgošo-* "to turn," "to rotate," "to change;" *buce-* "to die;" *ebiše-* "to bathe," "to swim;" *benji-* "to send (hither)," "to deliver (hither);" *buju-* "to boil," "to cook"[7];

2) a geminate vowel: *wa-* "to kill;" sib. /vaamə/ [vaˈm]; *bi-* "to be," "to exist;" sib. /bii/ [biˈ]; *su-* "to take off," "to remove," "to untie," "to undo;" sib. /soomə/ [sw͡ɔˈm];

---

[6] There are not so many homonyms in Manchu, but the pair *deheme* "aunt" and *deheme*, the form of the imperfect converb of the verb *dehe-* "to refine," "to smelt," "to temper," one of them.

[7] Phonological and phonetic transcriptions are extracted from the "*Classified Dictionary of Spoken Manchu*" by Yamamoto.

3) a diphthong: *bai-* "to ask for," "to look for;" "to seek," "to wish;" *gai-* "to take," "to be given," "to get," "to receive;" *sai-* "to bite," "to chew;" *goi-* "to hit the mark," "to strike the target," "to be struck (by an arrow);" *nei-* "to open," "to open up;" *neo-* "to roam," "to wander away from home;" *tu(w)a-* "to look," "to observe," "to examine," "to try," "to visit;" *gu(w)e-* "to forgive," "to avoid," "to escape;" *ju(w)e-* "to transport," "to transfer," "to move;" *su(w)aliya-* "to mix," "to mix up;" sib. /ʃiuliamə/ [ʃylĭɛm]; *tu(w)akiya-* "to watch," "to guard;" sib. /tiukiamə/ [tĭykiam]; *fulmiye-* "to bind," "to tie up," "to tie together;" *oholiyo-* "to hold in both hands," "to take in both hands."

According to Norman, in the variant of the Sibe dialect he has described, the second element of a geminate cluster is omitted before a suffix in a verbal stem (Norman, 1974:168).

6.3. *Alternation of Vowels and Consonants in Stems*

Alternation of phonemes, involving both vowels and consonants in relation to certain lexical and grammatical meanings of words, may be observed in stems. Consequently, in Manchu I encounter alternation of the vowels *a* and *e*, which indicates the biological sex in nouns denoting human beings and animals. Since *a* represents the male or positive principle (*yang*), it is included in nominal stems conveying masculinity (the notion of masculinity); by contrast, as *e* indicates the female or negative principle (*yin*), it is included in nominal stems denoting female meanings (see Part IV, 2.3).

Here are some examples: *ama* "father"—*eme* "mother;" *amha* "wife's father"—*emhe* "wife's mother;" *haha* "male," "man"—*hehe* "woman," "female;" *habtaha* "a wide girdle used to protect a man's midsection in battle"—*hebtehe* "a wide waistband worn by a woman;" *amila* "the male of animals and birds"—*emile* "the female of animals and birds;" *arsalan* "lion"—*erselen* "lioness;" *a i jakdan* "pine (which fecundates)"—*e i jakdan* "pine (which becomes fecundated)." The same alternation can be found in nominal stems where more or less the same semantic opposition can be percieved: *ganggan* "hard," "strong"—*genggen* "soft," "weak." This alternation may occur in nominal stems opposed with regard to their meanings or the purpose for which the objects denoted by these stems are used: *hadai* "plug," "wedge," "tap"—*hedei* "bunghole," "mortise;" *a i bukdan* "the outside edge of a piece of folded paper"—*e i bukdan* "the inside edge of a piece of folded paper;"

ganggahūn "tall"—*genggehun* "stooped." This alternation may occur in verbal stems comprising the semantic opposition: *wasi-* "to descend," "to go down," "to fall (of rulers)," "to decline (of value)"—*wesi-* "to ascend," "to go up," "to raise," "to advance (in rank)."

Alternations denoting grammatical meanings are typical for pronouns. Thus, the alternation of *b/s/ø* shows the difference between personal pronouns with regard to the person which this pronoun indicates: *bi* "I," "me"/ *si* "you" (SG) / *i* "he," "she." The alternation of the vowels *i/e* indicates the category of number in personal pronouns: *bi* "I," "me" / *be* "we (exclusive);" *si* "you (SG)"/ *se* "you (PL)."

There are certain vowel alternations in stems which are conditioned by stylistic, dialectal, or historical distinctions. Here are some examples of such discrepancies: *alarame / alirame* "along a mountain, a low hill;" *dahūme/ dahime* "again;" *efin/ efiyen/ efien* "game," "play;" *efi-/ efiye-/ efie-* "to play;" *ibiya-/ ubiya-* "to detest," "to loathe;" *ibiyacun/ ubiyacun* "loathing," "disgust;" *ifi- / ufi-* "to sew;" *urile-/ urule-* "to deem right," "to consider correct;" *isibu-/ isimbu-* "to bring to," "to deliver," "to pass to (someone);" *gele-/ golo-* "to fear," "to be afraid;" *ufuhuna-/ ufuhune-* "to become plump" (Zakharov, 1879:65; Pashkov, 1963:18).

6.4. *Vowel Harmony in Suffixes*

The law of vowel harmony applies to the majority of suffixes denoting lexical or grammatical meanings, with a few exceptions mentioned above (see section 2). Most suffixes change their vowels in accordance with those vowels which occur in a stem, mainly to a vowel of the first syllable of a word. The rules applying to suffixes added to a stem, are the following:

1) If a stem contains the vowel *a*, suffixes have the same vowel: *aca-ha*, *aca-ra* (*aca-* "to meet," "to join"); *aca-la-ha*, *aca-la-ra (aca-la-* "to act together," "to act mutually"); *aca-m-ja-ha*, *aca-m-ja-ra* (*aca-m-ja-* "to come together in one place"); *aca-na-ha*, *aca-na-ra* (*aca-na-* "to go to meet," "to fit," "to suit").

2) If a stem contains the vowel *o*, suffixes have the same vowel: *horo-lo-ho*, *horo-lo-ro* (*horolo-* "to show severity," "to frighten," "to intimidate"); *obo-ho*, *obo-ro* (*obo-* "to wash"), *obo-no-ho*, *obo-no-ro* (*obo-no-* "to go to wash").

3) If a stem contains the vowel *e*, suffixes have the same vowel: *bederce-he, bederce-re (bederce-* "to retreat," "to withdraw"); *elde-ke*, *elde-re* (*elde-* "to shine," "to glow"), *elde-ne-he*, *elde-ne-re* (*elde-ne-* "to go to shine").

4) When a stem contains the vowels *i* or *u* (the "soft" *u*), a more complicated situation arises. Sometimes these vowels must be followed by the vowels *a* and *o* in suffixes, sometimes they must be followed by suffixes having the vowel *e*. Very often one set of suffixes has the vowel *a* and *o* after the vowels *i* and *u* in stems, but others contain the vowel *e*: *ili-ha*, *ili-re* (*ili-* "to stand," "to stand up," "to stop"); *uru-he*, *uru-ke*, *uru-re*, *uru-nde-re* (*uru-* "to be hungry," "to get hungry"); *uru-ne-* "to go about hungry;" *uru-le-he*, *uru-le-re* (*urule-* "to deem right," "to consider correct"); *uruše-he*, *uruše-re* (*uruše-* "to deem right," "to consider correct"); *uruša-ha*, *uruša-ra* (*uruša-* "to fulfill the duties of a daughter-in-law"); *muri-ha*, *muri-re* (*muri-* "to twist," "to wring," "to pinch," "to wrong (someone)," "to be stubborn").

According to my data, in classical Manchu, the vowel *e* occurs in the form of the imperfect participle more frecuently. In the Sibe dialect, this form reveals the tendency towards unalterability. While other suffixes change their vowels under the influence of the vowels of the stem, this form is used with the vowel *e*: *taci-re*, *gūni-re*, but *taci-ha* and *gūni-ha* (*taci-* "to learn," "to study;" *gūni-* "to think," "to reflect") (Lebedeva & Gorelova, 1994:28).

5) When the first stem vowel is *a*, and the second one is *i*, then in some suffixes the vowel *a* occurs, but in the others the vowel *e* is required: *ali-na-ha*, *ali-na-ra; ali-ha*, *ali-re* (*ali-* "to receive," "to accept," "to undertake," "to support," "to hold up").

6) If the first stem vowel is *o* and the second one is *i*, then in suffixes the vowel *a* mainly occurs but sometimes the vowel *e* appears: *mori-la-ha*, *mori-la-ra* (*morila-* "to ride a horse," "to go by horse"); *olji-la-ha*, *olji-la-ra* (*oljila-* "to capture a prisoner during wartime"); *oli-ha*, *oli-re* (*oli-* "to avoid the road," "to veer to the side," "to wind").

7) If the first stem vowel is *e* and the second one *i* or *u*, then the vowel *e* occurs in all added suffixes: *eri-le-he*, *eri-le-re* (*erile-* "to act at the right time," "to keep the proper time," "to do often"); *eru-le-he*, *eru-le-re* (*eru-*, *erule-* "to torture," "to punish").

8) If a stem contains the "soft" vowel *u* in all syllables, then in suffixes both vowels *a* and *e* may occur: *ucu-le-he*, *ucu-le-re* (*ucu-le-* "to sing," "to mix"); *uju-la-ha*, *uju-la-ra* (*uju-la-* "to head," "to head up," "to be in charge").

9) The same rules apply to diminutive suffixes appended to qualitative nouns (a group of nouns denoting semantics of quality; in most Altaic grammars such nouns are considered to be adjectives). Here are some instances: *amba* "big," "great," "older," "seniority"—*ambakan* "rather big," "a person who is rather large;" *labdu* "many," "much," "many (people)"—*labdukan* "rather a lot," "rather many;" *onco* "wide," "broad," "width," "breadth"— *oncokon* "rather wide, broad;" *sain* "good," "well"—*saikan* "rather well," "nicely," "properly;" *gulu* "simple," "pure," "plain"—*guluken* "rather plain," "rather unadorned;" *idun* "coarse," "rough," "uneven"—*idukan* "rather coarse."

10) The same rules apply to the suffix *-ngga/-nggo/-ngge* attached to nouns and the suffix *-cuka/-cuke* (it is used *-cuka* instead of *-cuko*) appended to verbs. Here are examples: *acan* "harmony,""concord," "union," "meeting," "juncture"—*acangga* "harmonious," "fitting;" *elden* "light," "glory," "respledence"—*eldengge* "shining," "glorious," "glowing," "respledent;" *horon* "authority," "awe," "majesty," "power," "poison"—*horonggo* "powerful," "majestic," "possessing great authority," "poisonous;" *gūnin* "thought," "opinion," "feeling," "sense," "mind," "spirit"—*gūningga* "full of ideas," "reflective;" *ulgiyan* "swine," "pig," "the twelfth of the earth's branches"—*ulgiyangga* "pertaining to the pig," "pertaining to the twelfth cyclical sign;" *ulhicun* "understanding," "insight," "knowledge"—*ulhicungga* "possessing understanding or insight," *ulhicuke* "understandable" (*ulhi-* "to understand," "to comprehend"); *kumun* "music"—*kumungge* "noisy," "festive," "exciting," "lovely," "animated;" *akacun* "sadness," "grief"—*akacuka* "sad," "pitiful," "grievous" (*aka-* "to be sad," "to grieve"); *gelecuke* "frightful" (*gele-* "to fear").

This page intentionally left blank

PART FOUR

MORPHOLOGY

This page intentionally left blank

PART FOUR

MORPHOLOGY

As mentioned above (see Part I, Section 2) the Manchu language, as compared with other languages of the Altaic language family, is the most analytical one and its morphological apparatus is developed rather weakly. It is difficult to divide all Manchu words into parts of speech because the notion "parts of speech" itself requires the existence of well-developed morphological devices corresponding to certain grammatical functions. Because of weak differentiation of parts of speech, parts of sentence assume greater importance in the organization of the Manchu utterance.

All Manchu words can be divided into two numerically unequal groups. They are categorematic (words of full meaning) and syncategorematic words.

The categorematic words, in their turn, are distributed into two large classes, morphologically opposed to each other, viz. nouns and verbs. They differ to a great extent with regard to their semantic and morphological characteristics. Verbal markers are so stable and specific that there is no necessity to know the meaning of a word in order to ascribe it to the class of verbs. The suffixes *-mbi*, *-mbumbi*, *-ka/-ko/-ke*, *-ha/-ho/-he*, *-ra/-ro/-re*, *-habi/-hobi/-hebi*, *-mbihe*, *-kini*, *-me*, *-fi* (*-pi*), *-ci*, *-cibe* and some others unambiguously indicate verbal forms. Noun markers are not so numerous and uniform as verbal ones. Therefore Manchu nouns, as a morphological class, are characterized negatively in the "noun – verb" opposition.

There are several classifications of the parts of speech in Manchu. Zakharov divided all Manchu words into the following grammatical classes: 1. nouns (substantives and adjectives), 2. pronouns, 3. verbs (including participles and converbs), 4. adverbs, 5. postpositions, 6. conjunctions, 7. interjections (including onomatopoeic words), 8. particles. Substantives, adjectives, numerals, and pronouns were classified by him as declinable words, verbs were considered as conjucated words (Zakharov, 1878:68-9). According to Möllendorff, all Manchu words can be divided into eight grammatical classes: 1. nouns (substantives and adjectives), 2. pronouns, 3. numerals,

4. verbs, 5. adverbs, 6. postpositions, 7. conjunctions, 8. interjections. Substantives and adjectives were included by him into one grammatical class because of many semantic and morphological similarities between them (Möllendorff, 1892:4).

B.K. Pashkov distinguished adjectives, participles, and converbs as separate grammatical classes. According to him, twelve grammatical classes may rightfully be distinguished in classical Manchu. These include substantives, adjectives, pronouns, numerals, verbs, participles, converbs, adverbs, postpositions, conjunctions, particles, and interjections (Pashkov, 1963).

1. *Polysemantics and Polyfunctionality of Language Units as Two Principal Features of Manchu Grammar*

It is well known that it was B. Laufer who considered the polysemantics of some words, particularly verbs, to be the fundamental difficulty of the Manchu language (Laufer,1908).

In Manchu there is a very specific class of verbs which is characterized by exceptionally abstract semantics. To this class one can ascribe the verbs *tuci-*, *gene-*, *ji-*, *gai-*, *wa-*, *yabu-*, and some others which cannot be adequately translated into other languages (in this particular case they mean, respectively, "to appear," "to go," "to come," "to take," "to kill," "to go," "to act"), due to the semantics of Manchu lexemes which is considerably broader.

It is possible to illustrate this phenomenon, using, as an example, one of the verbs with a broad scope of meanings in Manchu, namely the verbal lexeme *tuci-* which expresses the abstract concept of appearing, arising, going out (from inside to the outside), irrespective of the specific mode of action.

In Zakharov's Manchu-Russian dictionary the lexical entry *tuci-* contains the following specifications of its general meaning "to appear," "to come out" (Zakharov, 1875:760-1):

1. Relative to the concept of motion and formation (while changing quality): to appear, to emerge, to come out, to come forth, to arrive; to exit, to leave, to go out, to set off, to drive away, to go on a trip; to get out, to set out; to get married; to become a monk (to take monastic vows).

2. Relative to vegetation: to grow, to come up, to spring forth, to sprout.

3. Relative to natural phenomena: to rise (of the sun).

4. Relative to a human being and human physiological functions: to be born (to come out of the womb); to cut (one's teeth); to appear (about sweat); to break out (about a rash); to belch out, to vomit (something goes out of a human being).

The verb stem *tuci-* may occur with the suffix *-bu*, which coinsides in form with the passive and causative, and might be the result of their further development. Consequently a wide range of meanings appears, relative to human activities: to take out, to bring out, to remove (from inside something); to take a coffin to the place of burial; to recommend; to reveal, to discover; to appoint, to delegate, to send out (on a mission); to publish; to save, to rescue (NL:282).

In order to specify the verbal action expressed by the verb *tuci-*, as well as by other verbs of this class, these verbal word forms characterized by abstract semantics are used in combination with the form of the imperfect converb (form in *-me*), derived from verbs having more concrete meaning.

Here are some examples: *uka-me tucihe* "(one) ran away" (literally: *uka-* "flee," " to run away," *tuci-* "go out"); *dosi-me gene-fi* "(one) entered" (literally: *dosi-* "to enter," *gene-* "to go"); *uda-me gai-ha* "(one) bought" (literally: *uda-* "to buy," *gai-* "to take"); *saci-me wa* "slash to death!" (literally: *saci-* "to cut with a sword," "hack," "slash," *wa-* "to kill"); *deye-me yabu-ha* "(one) flew away" (literally: *deye-* "fly," *yabu-* "to go," "to leave").

The grammatical structure of the Manchu language is characterized, besides polysemantic verbs, by another specific feature, namely the polyfunctionality of language units, primarily of verbal word forms. This feature serves to compensate for the relatively weak development of Manchu morphology in comparison with the morphological systems of the other languages in this linguistic family.

Below we shall demonstrate the polyfunctionality of Manchu word forms using as an example one of the verbal forms, the imperfect converb which is formed with the suffix *-me*. One of the most commonly used forms in Manchu, it realizes a wide and diverse range of functions (see 5.7.1).

2. *Nominal Parts of Speech. Different Functional and Semantic Groups of Nouns*

For the majority of contemporary specialists it is undisputable that, in all Altaic languages, substantives, adjectives, and adverbs exist as separate grammatical classes of words. S.L. Charekov suggested that adjectives could be morphologically distinguished dated as early as fifth-eighth centuries (Charekov, 1990:118, 121). According to Charekov, by that time special adjective suffixes had already existed as a result of a long term evolution. In his view, the problem of nominal parts of speech has been pertinent only with respect to the so-called syncretic forms, which are formally and semantically identical to nouns having semantics of quality. A theory of nouns of quality appeared for the first time in relation to Mongolian nominal words. Subsequently, a similar theory was also developed as applied to the Tungus-Manchu languages. In addition to the nouns of quality, in Tungus-Manchu languages, it became possible to isolate even such nominal parts of speech as nouns with semantics of place, time, etc.

There is another grammatical tradition, according to which substantives and adjectives are considered as being within a single part of speech, viz. nouns. This tradition appeared rather early and stemmed from the grammatical nature of nominal words. Later, from the standpoint of modern linguistics, this way of thinking was considered antiquated, however, the problem of distinguishing nominal parts of speech was not solved.

In all Altaic languages there is a particular group of nominal words which denote the meaning of quality in the broad sense. These words are not very numerous, but due to frequency of their use, they are very important in each language. The semantics of quality manifests itself not only through various qualitative characteristics of objects and actions but also through an abstract concept of quality. In a sentence, these nominal words may perform different syntactic roles, e.g., they may be attributes, objects, and adverbial modifiers. Having different functions within the sentence, the nominal words do not normally change their morphological forms. This is why they have been referred to as "syncretic forms." There is a school of thought which believes that adjectives have, in fact, developed from the syncretic forms. Some of them began to be used in the attributive position directly before the other noun, and later the syntactic role of an attribute was supported by specific suffixes. These, in the course

of time, became suffixes which were used to mark adjectives as a separate grammatical (morphological) class of nominal words (Charekov, 1990:25-7).

It should be emphasized that most nouns of quality are non-derived and archaic. Their archaic character, as considered by many scholars, reflects the stage in the development of the language when contemporary morphological classes of words had not been formed yet (Charekov, 1990:13). Derivative word forms containing productive suffixes can also be found among nouns of quality. They function in the same way as the non-derived syncretic forms, having different roles in the sentence.

Occurring in all Altaic languages, these nominal words were specified as adjectives by most scholars. But, in fact, they form a wider class, overstepping the boundaries of adjectives as a grammatical category. Realizing this, many specialists attempted to create a conceptual framework in which the nouns of quality would find their proper place among other nominal words. A. Bobrovnikov was the first to replace the traditional terms "substantives" and "adjectives," which were predominantly used in Mongol studies before him, with the following terms: object nouns, nouns of quality and relative nouns. The nouns of quality were defined by him as names of quality intrinsic to an object: *sayin* "good," "kind," "the good," "kindness;" *ünen* "true," "truth;" *maγu* "bad," "evil," "the bad;" *qar-a* "black," "blackness;" *narin* "thin," "thinness." However, he emphasized that there are no clear boundaries between nouns with semantics of quality and those with semantics of object (Bobrovnikov, 1849:52-5). G.D. Sanzheev postulated four classes of nominal words, viz. substantives, object nouns, adjectives, and nouns denoting semantics of quality. According to him, nouns of quality denote various qualitative characterictics which are ascribed to substantives. They perform two syntactic functions in a sentence, serving as attributes and adverbial modifiers of manner: *sayin* "good," "well;" *maγu* "bad," "badly;" *qurdun* "quick," "rapid," "fast," "quickly," "rapidly" (Sanzheev, 1953:124-6). Although most contemporary specialists categorize adjectives as a separate grammatical class in Mongolian, they note that there are no universal morphological suffixes in their stems according to which it would be possible to classify nominal words as adjectives (Nadelyaev, 1988:96-7). There are morphological markers, some of them being very productive, but they can be found only in the sphere of derivation (Orlovskaya, 1961:84-94). In addition,

qualitative adjectives have degrees of quality as well as forms denoting the intensity of quality. All these forms are considered as grammatical characteristics constituting Mongolian adjectives (Orlovskaya, 1961:95-9). Adjectivity, as the category semantics of adjectives, can manifest itself indirectly, through the combination of adjectives with substantives. Normally, serving as attributes, adjectives occur before substantives; while acting as predicates, they take place after substantives. V.M. Nadelyaev devised a special test, which makes it possible to know whether or not a nominal word is an adjective. This test can be carried out through the verification for predicativity. If a nominal word may serve as a predicate, then it can be classed as an adjective (Nadeliayev, 1988:97-8).

Specialists in Turkic languages, note that nominal words, which semantically correspond to adjectives in some other languages, represent a very mixed group of words, highly specific to each Turkic language. Denoting various qualitative characteristics of objects, these words do not have suffixes which express the semantics of adjectives as a grammatical category. Normally they serve as attributes and predicates. When functioning as attributes, they stand directly before substantives. Serving as predicates, they follow the substantives. Nominal words with semantics of quality are very limited in numbers. These words denote not only qualitative chatasterictics of objects, but quality as such, i.e. as an abstract notion. For example, in the Tofalar language one can find the following words which have semantics of quality: *bedic* "high," "height;" *cilig* "warm," "warmth," "heat;" *hilin* "thick," "thickness;" *ol* "wet," "humidity," "moisture;" *sin* "right," "true," "correct," "truth;" *uzun* "long," "length" (Rassadin, 1978:84).

There are some derivative subgroups of nominal words which are semantically associated with adjectives. But some of the derivative suffixes are used to form both substantives and adjectives, and the others both adjectives and adverbs. They have degrees of quality that can be considered as an important argument for classifying them as adjectives. Several turkologists define substantives, which occur in possessive forms, as adjectives proper. According to E.I. Ubryatova, in Yakut, the suffixes semantically associated with the category of possession, are rather adjectival than possessive (Ubryatova, 1950; 1976).

In the parent Turkic language, categorial semantics of adjectives has no morphological expression, and the existence of adjectives, as

a grammatical class of words, seems to be questionable (Scherbak, 1977:108). In contemporary Turkic languages, adjectives show a tendency toward their differentiation from other nominal words. But the process itself has not been completed yet.

Nominal parts of speech are very problematic in all Tungusic languages, especially in Manchu. Traditional division into substantives and adjectives does not correctly explain the real situation in the language. That is why, since the very inception of Tungus-Manchu studies till now, several classifications of nominal words have been suggested.

G.M. Vasilevich believed that besides substantives and adjectives, there were some particular grammatical classes of nominal words in Evenki. Words, which can be ascribed to these classes, denote semantics of quality, quality and state, emotion and state, quantity, space and time, etc. (Vasilevich, 1958:689, 702). Belonging to the same grammatical class, nominal words normally perform different syntactic functions. Accordingly, they may correspond to different parts of speech in other languages and, therefore, can be translated into these languages by different parts of speech. All of them have full or partial word formation, which is typical for nouns.

In the Evenki language the nouns of quality may denote quality as an attribute modifying an object (serving as adjectives), as an attribute modifying an action (serving as adverbs), and as an abstract notion (serving as substantives). Most of them combine the category semantics of both substantives and adjectives, the others represent non-differentiated forms of both adjectives and adverbs. There are words which combine the categorial semantics of substantives, adjectives and adverbs, not differentiating among them formally. The following nominal words have semantics of quality: *ala* "tasty," "taste;" *albin* "wide," "width;" *erū* " bad," "harm;" *gugda* "high," "height;" *delum* "secret," "a secret;" *haktira* "dark," "darkness;" *hegdi* "large," "big," "magnitude," "size;" *kiri* "dirty," "dirt;" *nekte* "low," "a low place;" *ŋ̄ērī* "light," "the light;" *ŋonim* "long," "lenght;" *nyama* "warm," warmth," "warmly;" *suŋta* "deep," "depth;" *ulək* "lying," "mendacious," "the lie"[1].

Here are some examples where the word *aya* "good," "kind," "the good," "kindness," "well" occurs in different syntactic functions: as

[1] The bar here is used to indicate the length of vowels in the Evenki language.

an attribute, an object, an adverbial modifier of manner, or a predicate:

aya *beye* "good man," "kind man" (the word *aya* is used as an attribute);

aya-vā-n *sā-de-m*
the good-ACC-3.SG.POSS know-ASP-1.SG.PR(PERF)
"I know about his kindness" (the word *aya* functions as an object);

aya-t *duku-m*
good-INST write-1.SG.PR(PERF)
"I have written (smth.) well" (the word *aya* is used as an adverbial modifier of manner);

aya-kākun *duku-m*
good-INTSF write-1.SG.PR(PERF)
"I have written (smth.) very well" (the word *aya* is followed by the intensifier *kākun*);

tare asi ***aya-kākun*** (bisi-n)
that woman good-INTSF COP-3.SG.PRS
"That woman is very good" (the word *aya* is followed by the intensifier *kākun;* it functions as a predicate).

In Evenki, nouns of quality may be followed by case forms and suffixes of plurality. They also may be appended with personal-possessive suffixes. They have degrees of quality.

The following examples show how personal-possessive suffixes are attached to the nouns of quality:

bira ***suŋta-n***
river depth-3SG.POSS
"the depth of a river;"

ure-l ***gugda-tin***
mountain-PL height-3.PL.POSS
"the height of mountains;"

gugda-v
height-1.SG.POSS
"my height" (Vasilevich, 1958:702).

O.A. Konstantinova considered nominal words, which have semantics of quality and are mostly syncretic forms, as qualitative adjectives. The semantics of these nouns was the main reason for classifying them as adjectives. She noted that these nominal words denote quality as abstract notion and therefore can be used as substantives. They also modify verbs and therefore can be used as predicative adverbs

(Konstantinova, 1964:103). She gave some examples of use of such nominal words:

albin *bira*
wide river
"a wide river" (the word *albin* is used as an adjective);
bira ***albin-i-n*** *umukēn kilometra*
river width-CONN-3.SG.POSS one kilometre
"The width of the river is one kilometre" (the word *albin* is used as an object);
erū *tirganī*
bad day
"a bad day" (the word *erū* is used as an adjective);
sap ***erū-ve-n*** *gūne-m*
tobacco harm-ACC-3.SG.POSS speak-1.SG.PR(PERF)
"I spoke on the harm of tobacco" (the word *erū* "harm" is used as a substantive).

Besides traditional parts of speech in the Nanai (Gold) language, such as substantives, adjectives, and numerals, V.A. Avrorin proposed the establishment of several separate grammatical classes of nominal words, such as nouns with semantics of quality, nouns with semantics of time, and nouns with semantics of negation (Avrorin, 1959:222-9). According to his theory, nouns of quality and nouns of time are related to adverbs which form a separate grammatical class of words (Avrorin, 1959:103-4). He also noted that nouns of quality may be used as objects, attributes, adverbial modifiers and predicates (Avrorin, 1968:136-7). Here are some examples:
ulen *siŋakta*
good fur
"good fur" (the word *ulen* is used as an attribute);
siŋakta ***ulen***
fur good
"Fur is good" (the word *ulen* is used as a predicate);
ulen *hola-j-ni*
good read-PRS-3.SG.PR
"(One) reads well" (the word *ulen* is used as an adverbial modifier of manner);
ulem-be *ba-ha-ni*
good-ACC get-PAST-3.SG.PR
"(One) has got a pleasure (the word *ulen* is used as an object)."

M.M. Khasanova, in the article written on the occasion of Avrorin's ninetieth birthday, mentions Avrorin's proposal, found in his unfinished and unpublished description of classical Manchu (now published in Avrorin 2000), to establish a separate grammatical class of nominal words which would be called nouns of quality. According to him, in Manchu there is a large and very important grammatical class of nominal words which denote semantics of quality in the broad sense. Semantically and grammatically these nominal words correspond to adjectives, numerals, adverbs and partly to substantives in some other languages (Khasanova, 1998:109).

In the description of Sibe (a language spoken by the Manchu tribe Sibe), instead of following the traditional division of nominal words into such grammatical classes as substantives and adjectives, E.P. Lebedeva proposed a division based on different functional and semantic classes of nominal words (Lebedeva & Gorelova, 1994). This view, which I mostly support, is presented below.

In the system of Manchu nominal words the isolation of several large classes of words which are comparable with nominal parts of speech in other languages appears justifiable.

As mentioned above, the notion "part of speech" itself presupposes the existence of a set of morphological markers, characterizing a certain semantic class of words. Since in Manchu there is no nominal class having its own morphological markers, typical for only this class of words, one can rightfully speak about various functional and semantic classes within a single part of speech, i.e. the noun, rather than about different nominal parts of speech.

In the Manchu language there is only one morphological category common for all groups of nouns, that is declension. But declension can not be considered as a special category unique to the nominal class, or even to all nouns. In Manchu, this grammatical category is the universal system which conveys syntactic subordination and extends to nouns, pronouns, participles, syntactic words, and clauses as well.

Opposition of singulars and plurals, expressed by special plural suffixes, is generally limited to nouns denoting human beings (human nouns) and pronouns. Other nominal classes do not have the morphological category of plurality at all, i.e. plural suffixes cannot be attached to them.

Morphological markers, typical for certain semantic classes of nouns, may be found only in the sphere of word formation. Normally

a certain nominal class has its own specific derivational suffixes. However, due to the fact that every class includes both basic (non-derived) nouns, which have no derivational suffixes at all, and borrowed words, it becomes impossible to ascribe nouns to certain nominal classes on the grounds of sharing a particular inventory of derivational morphemes.

Functions of nouns in a sentence cannot be considered as the right criterion for differentiating various nominal classes since all nouns may serve as any part of a sentence.

Thus, the only criterion according to which it is possible to divide all Manchu nouns into classes, is the semantic one. In accordance with lexical and semantic characteristics, all Manchu nouns should be ascribed to the following classes: 1) nouns denoting human beings (human nouns), 2) nouns denoting inanimate objects and abstract notions (object nouns), 3) nouns having semantics of quality that is understood either as an attribute to a noun or as an abstract concept. Very often nouns of this type denote a human being, characterized in accordance with the qualitative feature he/she possesses.

The term "substantive" normally corresponds to the group of nouns having the semantics of the object in the broad sense. These nouns are characterized by common morphological and syntactic features according to which the group may be classified as a separate morphological class. In the Manchu language we can speak about two groups of nouns which could be brought into correlation with substantives. One of them includes nouns denoting human beings, the other comprises nouns denoting inanimate objects and abstract notions. They are called human nouns and object nouns.

2.1. *Human Nouns*

The group of human nouns comprises all names denoting human beings according to their age and biological sex, post and rank, line of business, ties of relationship and proper names. From the point of view of their semantics, these words are opposed to the rest of nouns.

Human nouns may be classified not only based on semantics, but also based on their morphological characteristics. Thus, only human nouns may correlate with the pronoun *we* "who?;" other nouns can be brought into correlation with the pronoun *ai* "who?," "what?,"

"which?". The pair combination *we ai* "who?" (about a number of persons) is the plural form for the interrogative pronoun, correlating with human nouns.

Human nouns, in contrast to the rest, can be antecedents of the personal pronouns *i* "he," "she" and *ce* "they," used anaphorically. The rest of the nouns can be antecedents of the demonstrative pronouns *ere* "this" and *tere* "that," used anaphorically. The demonstrative pronouns can also be used anaphorically to replace human nouns, competing in this role with the personal pronouns. Human nouns, unlike other groups of nouns, have the morphological category of number. It may rightfully be said that plurals are generally limited to human nouns and pronouns.

2.1.1. *Plurals*

The most commonly used suffixes for plurals (or more properly collectives) are *-sa/-se/-so*, *-ta/-te*, *-si* and *-ri*.

The suffixes *-sa* and *-se* are used with nouns denoting age, generation and relatives (kinsmen and kinswomen): *ecike* "father's young brother (uncle)"—*ecikese* "father's young brothers (uncles);" *gege* "elder sister" (also a respectful term of address to young ladies)—*gegese* "elder sisters;" *jui* "son," "child"—*juse* "sons," "children;" *sadun* "father of the son-in-law," "father of the daughter-in-law"—*sadusa* "fathers of the son-in-law, the daughter-in-law;" *sagda* "old man"—*sagdasa* "old men"[2].

These suffixes are also used with nouns denoting peoples and nations, posts, ranks, titles and occupations: *age* "prince, son of an emperor" (also a polite term of address, master, sir, lord)—*agese* "princes, sons of an emperor" (also sirs, masters); *amban* "high official"—*ambasa* "high officials," *antaha* "guest"—*antahasa* "guests;" *bayan* "rich man"—*bayasa* "rich men;" *beile* "ruler," "prince of the third rank"—*beile se* "rulers," "princes;" *faksi* "craftman," "workman"—*faksisa* "craftmen," "workmen;" *gucu* "friend"—*gucuse* "friends;" *hafan* "official," "officer"—*hafasa* "officials," "officers;" *han* "khan," "emperor"—*han sa* "khans," "emperors;" *irgen* "people," "nation"—*irgese* "peoples," "nations;" *lama* "lama," "monk"—*lamasa*

[2] Norman translates the word *sadun* as "related by marriage," "a relative by marriage" (NL:230).

"lamas," "monks;" *manju* "Manchu"—*manjusa* "the Manchus;" *nikan* "Chinese"—*nikasa* "the Chinese;" *oros* "Russian"—*oros se* "the Russians;" *šabi* "pupil," "student"—*šabisa* "pupils," "students"[3].
The suffix *-so* is found in the names of peoples and nations: *monggo* "Mongol"—*monggoso* "the Mongols;" *solho* "Korean" – *solhoso* "the Koreans;" also *gioro* "the name of the Manchu dynasty clan"—*gioro so* (in old Manchu books it was often used in the form *gioro se*); *giohoto* "beggar"—*giohoto so* "beggars."

The suffix *-si* is used with some nouns denoting age, relative relationships and status of human beings: *aha* "slave"—*ahasi* "slaves;" *haha* "male," "man"—*hahasi* "males," "men" (the polite plural form *haha niyalma*); *hehe* "female," "woman"—*hehesi* "females," "women" (the polite plural form *hehe urse*); *hojihon* "son-in-law"—*hojihosi* "sons-in-law;" *omolo* "grandson"—*omosi* "grandsons."

The suffixes *-ta* and *-te* are used with words denoting the age of human beings, generation and relatives: *ahūn* "elder brother"—*ahūta* "elder brothers;" *ama* "father"—*amata* "fathers;" *ambu* "mother's elder sister"—*ambuta* "mother's elder sisters;" *amji* "father's elder brother"—*amjita* "father's elder brothers;" *amu* "father's elder sister"—*amuta* "father's elder sisters;" *asihan* "young man"—*asihata* "young men;" *aša* "elder brother's wife"—*ašata* "elder brother's wives;" *efu* "the husband of one's elder sister," "wife's elder brother," "the husband of wife's elder sister" – *efute* "husbands of one's elder sister," "wife's elder brothers," "husbands of wife's elder sister;" *eigen* "husband"—*eigete* "husbands;" *ejen* "ruler," "lord," "master," "emperor"—*ejete* "rulers," "lords," "masters;" *eme* "mother"—*emete* "mothers;" *eshen* "father's younger brother (uncle)"—*eshete* "father's younger brothers (uncles);" *eyun* "elder sister"—*eyute* "elder sisters;" *da* "foreman"—*data* "foremen;" *dehema* "husband of mother's sister (uncle)"—*dehemata* "husbands of mother's sister (uncles); deheme

[3] The plural suffix *-se* should be distinguished from the morpheme *-se* which some Chinese loan words contain. In the Chinese borrowings the morpheme *-se* (in Manchu transcription) represents the Chinese morpheme *-zi*: ma. *cise* "pond" < chin. *chizi*; ma. *dangse* "register" < chin. *dangzi*; *dengse* "steelyard" < chin. *dengzi*; *kose* "pants," "trousers" < chin. *kuzi*; *pase* "a rake" < chin. *pazi; panse* "plate," "tray" < chin. *panzi*; *tangse* "the imperial shamanic shrines in Peking and Mukden" < chin. *tangzi* (Zakharov, 1879:121; CD). Norman translates the word *panse* as "chess-board," "measure for games of chess" (NL:226).

"mother's younger sister (aunt)"—*dehemete* "mother's younger sisters (aunts);" *deo* "younger brother"—*deote* "younger brothers;" *ge* "husband's elder brother"—*gete* "husband's elder brothers;" *gu* "father's sister"—*gute* "father's sisters;" *gufu* "husband of father's sister"—*gufute* "husbands of father's sister;" *meye* "younger sister's husband "—*meyete* "younger sister's husbands" (in old language this word also meant "wife's younger brother"—NL:197); *nakcu* "mother's brother"—*nakcuta* "mother's brothers" (also *nakcusa*, *nakcuse*); *naca* "wife's elder brother"—*nacata* "wife's elder brothers;" *non* "younger sister"—*nota* "younger sisters;" *oke* "the wife of father's younger brother"—*okete* "wives of father's younger brother;" *sargan* "wife"—*sargata* "wives" (also *sargasa*); *uhume* "father's younger brother's wife" – *uhumete* "father's younger brother's wives;" *ungga* "the elder in generation"—*unggata* "elders in generation" (Zakharov, 1879:120-3; Pashkov, 1963:19-20).

Suffix *-ri* occurs only with a few words: *mafa* "grandfather"—*mafari* "grandfathers," *mama* "grandmother"—*mamari* "grandmothers." Both words are also used in the meaning "ancestors," "forefathers."

One can see that some words are used with various plural suffixes: *agu* = a respectful term of address for men: sir, master—*agusa*, *aguse*; *nakcu* "uncle (mother's brother)"—*nakcusa*, *nakcuse*, *nakcuta* "uncles (mother's brothers);" *sargan* "wife"—*sargasa*, *sargata* "wives;" *urun* "daughter-in-law," "sister-in-law"—*urusa*, *uruse* "daughters-in-law," "sisters-in-law."

There is no strict rule governing whether the plural suffix should be written together with a noun stem or separately (for instance: *beile se*, *han sa*, *oros se*). But in most cases the plural suffix and a noun stem are written as one word.

It should be noted that final *-n*, *-i* and *-lo* are deleted in some words before the addition of the plural suffix: *amban* "high official," "dignitary"—*ambasa* "high officials;" *jui* "son," "child"—*juse* "sons," "children;" *omolo* "grandson"—*omosi* "grandsons."

According to V.I. Tzintzius, the Manchu suffixes *-sa/-se/-so*, *-ta/-te*, *-si*, *-ri* correspond with the following composite suffixes in the Tungusic languages: evenk., even., neg., ulch., nan. *-sal/-sel/-sol* < *-sa/-se/-so* + *l*; evenk., even., neg. *-tal*, *-til* < *-ta* + *l*, *-ti* + *l*; ud. *-nta/-nte/-nto* < *n* + *-ta/-te/-to*; evenk., nan. *-ril* < *-ri* + *l*; even. *-rel* < *-re* + *l;* ulch. *-ril* < *-ri* + *l*, *-rul* < *-ru* + *l*. Only the suffix *-l* occurring alone or in combinations with other suffixes is considered to be a universal marker of plurality. The other components of these

composite suffixes coincide with those which can be found in collective nouns, numerals, and other parts of speech in Tungusic. In collective nouns, these suffixes convey the meaning of various groups of people or collections of objects which are the results of human activities. In plurals formed by the composite suffixes in which a morpheme for collectivity and a morpheme for plurality have merged, the idea concerning human society, the tribal system, clans and kindred groups of people becomes more emphasized. The archaic character of this group of nouns, its isolation from the others and, more importantly, the fact that it denotes the collective and comitative meanings, all leads to the conclusion that historically a grammatical category conveying the collective meaning preceded the grammatical category of plurality in Tungusic. As far as Manchu is concerned, it is difficult to ascertain whether the language had lost the suffix *-l* denoting plurality in Tungusic, with the exception of Udeghe and Oroch, or had never had it (Tzintzius, 1946:73-119).

In Manchu, the suffix *-sa/-se* had the collective meaning in the past. The moribund collective morpheme *-se* can be found in the Manchu word *urse* "people." This suffix corresponds to the Ude word *se* "clan (a group of persons originating from a male ancestor and united by recognition of their blood relationship)," "nationality," "family," "kind," "sort," "type." In its turn the Ude word *se* is a part of a semantic group of words related to the word "blood" in Tungusic: evenk. *sekse*, neg. *sakse*, oroch. *saksa*, ud. *sake*, ulch. *sekse*, nan. *sekse*, ma. *senggi*; also neg. *senggi* "relatives by marriage;" ma. *senggi o-* "to drink blood," *senggile-* " to act in a bloody manner;" *senggileme afa-* "to fight a bloody battle;" *senggime* "bloody," "love between brothers;" "kindred love;" "intimite," "friendly," "on good terms."

The Manchu suffix *-ta/-te* corresponds to various pronominal elements in Tungusic: the Manchu-Tungus demonstrative pronoun *ta-/te-* "that," personal pronoun for the third person, plural *ta-/te-* "they," possessive suffix for the third person, plural *-tan/-ten* in Even (Lamut) and *-tin* in Evenki.

It is more difficult to determine the origin of the suffix *-ri* since there are no words beginning with *r* in the Manchu-Tungus languages (and in general, in Altaic). It probably corresponds to the same component found in the Tungusic demonstrative pronouns: even., evenk. *e-r*, *e-ri*, *e-re* "this;" *ta-r*, *ta-ri*, *ta-ra* "that." This suffix is not widely spread.

Tzintzius came to the conclusion that grammatical categories denoting collective and comitative meanings preceded the grammatical category of plurality in the Tungus-Manchu languages. These categories originated from pronouns, collective nouns, and names of human groups, that is nation, people, clan, tribe (Tzintzius, 1946:73-119).

In Manchu, the plural may be formed analytically, by adding words denoting collective meaning or plurality. Some of these words like *eiten* "all," "every;" *geren* "all," "many," "numerous," "the various …;" *yooni* "all," "all together," "complete," "entire;" *labdu* "many," "much;" *ududu* "some," "several," "many," "a number of," normally precede nouns. Here are some examples: *eiten jaka* "everything," "every object;" *geren niyalma* "all/many men/persons." The word *geren* is also used in combination with plural forms: *geren ambasa hafasa* "many officials;" *geren šabisa* "many pupils," "many students." This is a single case when synthetic means of expressing plurals combine with an analytical one (pleonasm).

Other words having the same semantics, such as *gemu* "all," *tome* "every," each," always follow nouns: *bayan gemu* "all rich men;" *gurgu tome* " every wild animal;" *irgen gemu* "all people;" *moro tome* "every bowl;" *niyalma tome* "every man/person," "people;" *yadahūn gemu* "all poor men" (Pashkov, 1963:20).

Plurality may be expressed by adding generic words denoting the biological class of living beings: *gasha* "bird," *gurgu* "wild animal," "beast;" *niyalma* "man," "person;" *ulha* "domestic animal," *urse* "men," "people," "persons." The word *urse* chiefly follows nouns of quality or participles: *bayan urse* "rich men;" *ehe urse* "the villains;" *tacire urse* "the scholars" (*taci-re* = *taci-* "to learn" , "to study" + *-re* , the suffix for the imperfect participle). The words *hacin* "kind," "sort," "class," "item" and *jergi* "class," "degree," "group," "rank" should be included in this group. All these words are placed after the relevant nouns.

Plurality can be expressed with the help of the words *hacin* "kind," "sort," "class," "item" and *jergi* "category," "grade," "rank," "sort." Following the marker for the genitive case added to the noun, these words denote both plurality of objects and the belonging of the latter to a certain class, kind or sort. Following the noun directly, they denote plurality with the shade of meaning "of different/various kinds, every kind." The word *jergi* is normally used with animate objects and the word *hacin* with inanimate objects. Here are some examples: *baita hacin* "different/various matters/affairs;" *giyahūn jergi*

gasha "falcons, hawks and other related birds;" *gurgu jergi* "different/various wild animals," "animal world;" *kooli hacin* "regulations and precedents;" *orho hacin* "herbs," "plants;" *tasha jergi gurgu* "the tigers and other related beasts;" *tasha i jergi gurgu* "beasts belonging to the tiger family;" *tubihe hacin* "fruits" (Zakharov, 1879:123).

In Manchu, special combinations consisting of two words are used to denote the collective meaning. The first word is represented by a cardinal number which is an attribute to the following noun. Such combinations originated from the Chinese patterns: *duin ergi* "the four corners of the world" (literally, "the four sides" < chin. *sifang* "(four) all sides," "(four) all quarters"); *duin mederi* "the whole country," "all kingdoms," "the whole world" (literally, "the four seas washing the earth" < chin. *sihai* "the four seas," "the whole country," "the whole world"); *sunja hacin i jeku* "cereals" (literally, "five kinds of cereal" < chin. *wugu* "the five cereals: rice, two kinds of millet, wheat and beans"); *tanggū hafan* "the officials" (literally, "one hundred officials" < chin. *baiguan* "one hundred officials," "the officials"); *tanggū hala* "people" (literally,"one hundred families" < chin. *baixing* "one hundred family names," "common people"); *tumen baita* "a great number of affairs" (literally, "ten thousand affairs" < chin. *bainshi* "a hundred affairs," "all kinds of affairs," "numerous affairs"); *tumen jaka* "all things," "all creations," "nature" (literally, "ten thousand things" < chin. *wanwu* "ten thousand things," "all things on the earth," "all nature") (Zakharov, 1879:124; CD).

The plural of nouns can be formed by repeating the noun; i.e. reduplication: *jalan* "generation," "world"—*jalan jalan* "generations," "worlds;" *se* "age," "year (of age)"—*se se* "ages," "years."

The combination of two synonyms can also serve to indicate plurality of nouns: *baita*, *sita* "matter," "affair"—*baita sita* "matters," "affairs;" *gasha*, *cecike* "bird"—*gasha cecike* "birds;" *jergi*, *hacin* "class," "kind," "sort"—*jergi hacin* "classes," "kinds," "sorts;" *ulin*, *nadan* "goods," "property," "possessions," "wealth"—*ulin nadan* "riches," "goods," "possessions;" *ulha*, *ujime* "domestic animal"—*ulha ujime* "domestic animals" (Zakharov, 1879:123-4; Pashkov, 1963:20). The above-mentioned analytical means of plural formation are analogous with those in the Mongol and Chinese languages.

When it is necessary to express the plurality of a number of nouns, enumerated one after another, the plural formatives *sa/se*, *ta/te* are used, but they only follow the last noun:

beile beise gung ***sa-i*** *jergi sira-ra de*
PL-GEN rank inherit-PART DAT
beile "prince of the third rank,"
beise "prince of the fourth rank,"
gung "duke" (NL:27, 114);
"When inheriting various ranks such as *beile*, *beise*, *gung* … " (Zakh:124).

2.2. *Nouns Denoting Inanimate Objects and Abstract Notions (Object Nouns)*

Object nouns, used to refer to objects in the broad sense, represent the numerous group of words most of which are names for inanimate objects. In this group of basic nouns we can include nouns denoting weapons: *beri* "a bow," *gida* "lance," "spear," *loho* "sword," *niru* "arrow;" buildings and their parts: *boo* "house," *fa* "window," *fu* "wall," *nahan* "underfloor heating flue," *uce* "door," "doorway," "entrance," *yamun* "the court," "palace," "a government office;" utensils and tools: *agūra*, *ahūra* "tool," "utensil," *anakū* "key," *buleku* "mirror," "looking glass," *coo* "shovel, "spade," *fengseku* "a small porcelain pan or bowl," *fila* "dish," "plate," *fulhū* "bag," "sack," *futa* "rope," *gohon* "hook," *suhe* "ax," "hammer;" materials and matters: *aisin* "gold," *sele* "iron," *menggun* "silver," *wehe* "stone;" plants, their parts, and their groups (clumps): *abdaha* "leaf," *bujan* "forest," *gargan* "branch," *hailan* "elm tree," *ilha* "flower," *jakdan* "pine," *moo* "tree," "wood," "stick", "pole," *orho* "grass," *use* "seed;" landscape and its components: *alin* "mountain," *bigan* "field," *bira* "river," *ekcin* "bank (of a river)," "shore," *hada* "mountain peak," *mederi* "sea," "ocean," *muke* "water," "river," "stream," *na* "earth," "ground," *omo* "lake," *tala* "plains," "steppe," "flatland," *ula* "large river;" natural phenomena: *aga* "rain," *akjan* "thunder," *edun* "wind," *juhe* "ice," *nimanggi* "snow," *talman* "fog," "mist," *usiha* "star;" nouns with time semantics: *aniya* "year," *bolori* "autumn," *coro* "the day after tomorrow," *erin* "time," *forgon* "season," *juwari* "summer," *niyengniyeri* "spring," *sikse* "yesterday," *tuweri* "winter;" nouns having part-of-day semantics: *dobori* "night," *erder* "early in the morning," *inenggi* "day," *yamji* "evening;" nouns having place semantics: *amargi* "back, "north," *ba* "place, "locality," "spot," *dergi* "top," "head," "east," *dorgi* "the inner part," *dulimba* "middle, " "center," *fejergi* "bottom," *siden* "interval space;" animals: *buhū* "deer," *coko* "chiken," *damin* "eagle,"

gasha "large bird," *geo* "mare," *gūlmahūn* "rabbit," "hare," *indahūn* "dog," *honin* "sheep," *losa* "mule," *morin* "horse," *niman* "goat," *singgeri* "mouse," "rat," *tasha* "tiger," *ulha* "domestic animal," *yarha* "leopard;" the human body and its parts: *angga* "mouth," *femen* "lips," *ilenggu* "tongue," *oforo* "nose," *yasa* "eye," *šan* "ear," *fehi* "brain," "brains," *cira* "face," *uju* "head," *gala* "hand," *bethe* "leg," *meifen* "neck," *meiren* "shoulder," *fahūn* "liver," *niyaman* "heart," *silhi* "gall bladder;" clothing: *etuku* "clothing," "garment," *mahala* "hat," "cap," *fakūri* "Manchu style trousers," *umiyesun* "belt," "sash," *gūlha* "boots," *sabu* "Manchu shoes," *wase* "socks," *tohon* "button," *wadan* "poket;" food and drink: *bele* "rice," *buda* "meal," "cooked cereals," cooked rice," *hibsu* "honey," *jeku* "grain," *jemengge* "food," "cereals," *ira* "millet," *sile* "meat soop," "broth," *ufa* "flour," "meal," *yali* "meat."

In a certain sense, nouns denoting abstract notions of various kind, viz. feelings, relations, states, actions, can also be ascribed to this groups of nouns. Here are some examples of nouns denoting abstract notions: *boljon* "agreement," *cihalan* "desire," "wish," *girucun* "shame," "disgrace," *jobolon* "harm," "trouble," "disaster," "calamity;" *mujin* "ambition," "aim," "will," *sebjen* "joy," "gladness," *turgun* "reason," "motive," "circumstances;" *urgun* "joy," "felicity," "happiness."

None of the object nouns are followed by the plural suffixes. The plurals are often expressed analytically, by adding numerals or words denoting quantity, plurality and collective meaning. Here are some examples: *gemu jaka* "all things," *nadan inggeni* "seven days," *ninggun moo* "six trees," *uheri ulin* "the whole property," "all possessions."

Plurality can be expressed by reduplication or using a pair of synonymous words: *hutu ibagan* "devils" (*hutu* "devil," "ghost," "disembodied spirit" and *ibagan* "monster," "apparition," "phantom"); *etuku adu* "clothing" (*etuku* "clothing," "clothes," "garment" and *adu* "garment").

Object nouns have the category of declension, more detailed description of which will be given in sections devoted to the noun and participle declension (see 2.8 and 5.6.2).

Nouns of this group may serve to indicate any part of a sentence. Occurring as one of the secondary parts of a sentence, object nouns normally take certain case markers. But in certain circumstances, when the semantic context allows them to act in such a manner, object nouns may occur in the form of their stems, without markers of cases.

These nouns may denote not only an object as such, but may also

characterize an object with respect to its quality. Due to this ability they may serve as attributes in a sentence. Acting as attributes, these nouns mostly denote materials of different kinds: *aisin* "gold"—*aisin weihe* "gold horn;" *senggi* "blood"—*senggi jugūn* "blood road," "blood vessel;" *sun* "milk"—*sun nimenggi* "milk butter."

In the ancient period of Manchu, the tendency of these nouns to function as attributes can be seen even more clearly. There is a considerable number of composite words developed from those stable noun-combinations, in which the first noun is an attribute to the second noun. Some instances are as follows: *boo nimaha* "whale" was formed by two nouns: *boo* "house" + *nimaha* "fish," where the noun *boo* "house" functions as an attribute to the noun *nimaha* "fish" on the syntactic level. On the semantic level only the component "big," which is included in the semantic structure of the noun *boo* "house," is activated; the quality "big" normally associated with houses. The composite word *ulme faksi* "a workman who makes needles" is derived from the combination the first word of which is *ulme* "needle" acting as the attribute to the second word *faksi* "workman" (Zakharov, 1875:162, 509; Lebedeva & Gorelova, 1994: 36-7).

When object nouns function as attributes, the marker of the genitive case *i* is frequently attached to them as in: *boo i fu* "wall of a house," *daifu i sargan* "a doctor's wife," *nimeku i turgun* "a cause of the illness," *gurun i ejen* "the khan of a state." The genitive marker singular *i* is obligatory when a noun is used to indicate an attribute occurring with several homogeneous parts of the sentence (parts of the sentence which perform the same syntactic role and refer to the same word in a sentence): *hoošan'i etuku mahala morin etufi yalufi* "(someone) put on paper clothes, hats and mounted the paper horse." The attribute *hoošan'i* "made from paper" applies equally to three nouns, namely *etuku* "clothes," *mahala* "hat" and *morin* "horse."

Nouns with place and time semantics form two separate subgroups within the object nouns class.

Nouns of place include nouns related to orientation in space: *dergi* "top," "head," "east," "upper" "above," "over;" *fejergi* "bottom," "underneath;" *dorgi* "the inner part," "inside;" *tulergi* "the outer part," "outside;" *amargi* "back," "north," "behind;" *julergi* "front," "south," "in front of;" *cargi* "the opposite side," "that side," "opposite;" *wargi* "west," "right (side)," "under," "underneath;" *hanci* "nearness," "closeness," "near," "close;" *goro* "distance," "distant," "far," "far-away," "far off," "far (from)," "a long way off."

These nouns may function in a sentence either as subject and object,

or attribute and adverbial modifier of place. Below some instances of nouns illustrating the semantics of place are given:

dergi *ergi de emu sourin* (ma. *soorin*) *bi*
east side DAT one throne COP
"There is a throne on the east side of the house;"

dorgi *de muduri meihe umuši* (ma. *umesi*) *labdu*
inside DAT dragon snake very many
"There are a great number of dragons and snakes inside;"

ere ***amargi*** *ba-de emu amba daimin bi*
this north place-DAT one large eagle COP
"There is a big eagle in the north of that settlement" (SK).

Nouns denoting various notions related to time (seasons, parts of day, etc.) can be ascribed to object nouns: *inenggi* "day;" *enenggi* "today;" *dobori* "night," "at night;" *yamji* "evening," "in the evening," *cimari* "tomorrow," "morning," "tomorrow morning;" *niyengniyeri* "spring," "in spring."

Nouns with time semantics may function in a sentence as a subject, an object, attribute, and adverbial modifier of time. In these roles they have no markers attached. When serving as an adverbial modifier of time, these nouns, in the form of a stem, may act as functional analogue of adverbs of time. As one can see, there are no morphological devices to distinguish adverbial and nominal (subject, object, attribute) functions of these nouns. The substantive function can only be distinguished from the adverbial one within the syntactic context, and this peculiarity characterizes almost all Tungus-Manchu languages with the exception of Northern Tungusic. Thus, in some dialects of Evenki, a new form, in *-ni*, developed to indicate nominal functions, whereas the old forms became adverbs, i.e. they changed their word class affiliation: *boloni* "autumn," *bolo* "in autumn;" *dolboni* "night," *dolbo* "at night."

Nouns with temporal meaning answer the question *atanggi* "when?," "in what time?" which cannot be put to nouns of other semantic groups.

Here are some examples of the use of these nouns:

cimari *ere bou* (ma. *boo*) *de* ***n'alma*** (ma. ***niyalma***)
in.the.morning this house DAT people
isa-ha
gather-PART
"In the morning people gathered near this house;"

enengi (ma. ***enenggi***) *ere ba-de ainu ebu-mbi*
today this place-DAT why stay-IMPF
"Why did (you) stay today in this place?" (SK).

The majority of postpositions, which frequently correlate with case markers, developed from nouns denoting time, place or cause (see Section 8.1).

2.3. *Sex of Living Beings*

In Manchu there is no the grammatical category of gender. The difference between male and female of human beings, animals and birds is expressed by the following means:

1) by the alternation of vowels *a* and *e*. The vowel *a* indicates the male (positive) principle in nature that is *yang* and occurs in words which denote male human beings, animals and birds. The vowel *e* indicates the female (negative) principle in nature that is *yin*, and occurs in words which denote female living beings (see Part 3, Section 6.3.). The following instances show the alternation of the vowels *a* and *e* in nouns: *ama* "father"—*eme* "mother;" *haha* "man," "male"—*hehe* "woman," "female;" *amaka* "husband's father"—*emeke* "husband's mother," *amha* "wife's father"—*emhe* "wife's mother;" *dehema* "husband of mother's sister (uncle)"—*deheme* "mother's younger sister (aunt);" *nakcu* "mother's brother"—*nekcu* "the wife of one's mother's brother;" *naca* "wife's elder brother"—*nece* "the wife of one's wife's elder brother;" *amila* "the male of animals and birds"—*emile* "the female of animals and birds;" *arsalan* "lion"—*erselen* "lioness;" *garudai* "the male phoenix"—*gerudei* "the female phoenix;"

2) by combinations of the words *haha* or *hehe* and *amila* or *emile* with the noun denoting human beings, animals, birds. To indicate the male and female of wild animals the words *muhan* "a male tiger or panther" and *biren* "tigress," "female leopard" are used correspondingly. Also to indicate the female of certain animals the word *uniyen* "female of certain animals" is used. Here are some instances: *haha niyalma* "man"—*hehe niyalma* "woman;" *amila temen* "a male camel"—*emile temen* "a female camel;" *amila coko* "rooster"—*emile coko* "hen;" *muhan tasha* "tiger"—*biren tasha* "tigress;" *muhan yarha* "a male leopard"—*biren yarha* "a female leopard;" *uniyen honin* "a female sheep (ewe);" *uniyen ihasi* "a female rhinoceros;"

3) by special words denoting male and female individuals: *ihan* "cattle: bovine, cow, ox, bull"—*eje* "a castrated bovine," "ox"—*uniyen* "a milk cow;" *nasin* "large black bear"—*sati* "a male large black

bear"—*nari* "a female black bear;" *indahūn* "dog"—*enehen/enihen* "bitch;" *nimaha* "fish"—*atuha* "a male fish"—*atu* "a female fish;" *mušu* "quail"—*gimšu* "a male quail"—*bimšu* "a female quail."

2.4. *Nouns Denoting Semantics of Quality*

In Manchu there is a very specific group of nouns denoting various qualitative characteristics of objects and functioning, due to their semantics, as attributes in a sentence (nouns of quality). Due to to the attributive function, they may perform, these nouns are referred to adjectives in most works which study the Tungus-Manchu (and Altaic) languages. It is important to point out that the semantics of quality can manifest itself not only as a qualitative characteristic ascribed to a noun, but also as an abstract concept of certain quality. Such a noun may also refer to a person who possesses a certain qualitative characterictic.

Since their main function, which is the attributive one, is not manifested morphologically, the nouns of quality cannot be opposed to other nouns and be defined as adjectives as a part of speech. In accordance with their semantics which combines different meanings, mentioned above, these nouns may carry out different syntactic roles in a sentence. Besides the attributive function, the nouns of quality can modify verbs thus displaying their ability to act as adverbs, mostly as adverbial modifiers of manner. Denoting various abstract notions, they can function as objects as well.

These three roles correspond with certain morphological characteristics. In the attributive function the nouns of quality are used in the form of a stem. When functioning as adverbial modifiers, they may be followed by the genitive marker *i*. When acting as objects, qualitative nouns occur with certain case markers.

Due to their syntactic functions they mostly serve as attributes and adverbial modifiers of manner in a sentence, but can be subjects, objects and predicates as well. Occurring in the function of objects, they change their forms in accordance with the requirement of the governing verbs. They are followed by certain case markers, commonly occurring with object nouns, and correlating with the same pronouns *ya* "what?," "which?" and *ai* "what?," "which?".

Among the nouns of quality several semantic subgroups can be distinguished. The first of them comprises nouns which denote generic notions concerning quality of objects and actions. This

semantic subgroup is represented by the following words: *amba* "big," "great," "large;" "older;" "seniority;" *ajige* "little," "small;" "younger;" "the little one;" *den* "high," "tall," "loud;" "height;" *ehe* "bad," "wicked;" "evil," "harm;" "badly;" *elehe* "peace," "calm," "well-being;" "peaceful," "slow;" "easy," "healthy," "well;" *fe* "old," "not new," "old aged;" "old times," "antiquity;" "in old times," "formerly;" *giyan* "reason," "right," "principle," "order;" "reasonable," "right," "in order," "proper;" *goho* "elegant," "dainty," "adorned;" "fop," "dandy;" *gosin* "love," "mercy," "pity;" "charitable," "gracious," "merciful;" *labdu* "many," "much;" "numerous;" "a great number;" *ice* "new," "fresh;" "the first ten days of the month;" "beginning," "the first day of a lunar month;" "at the beginning;" *majige* "a little," "a little bit;" "small in numbers;" *murin* "stubborn;" "stubbornness;" *sain* "good;" "kind," "nice," "pleasant;" "the good," "well;" *šumin* "deep;" "depth;" *tondo* "fair," "loyal," "public," "straight," "upright;" *yargiyan* "true," "real," "genuine," "factual;" "truth," "reality."

One can see that the majority of these nouns denote both qualitative characteristics of nouns and abstract qualitative notions. Correspondingly, they can be translated as substantives and adjectives. The following examples contain nouns of quality used attributively:

niyalma be ***sain*** *baita* *yabu-bu-mbi*
person ACC good affair/matter do/perform-CAUS-IMPF
"(They) make persons to do good things" (PASH2:55);
tere ***ajige*** *faha na* *de* *caci-ki*
that small seed earth DAT throw-OPT
"Throw that small seed on the earth;"
emu ***amba*** *alim-be* *dule-he*
one big mountain(*alin*)-ACC pass-PART
"(They) passed one big mountain" (SK:40).

The following examples contain nouns of quality used as subjects and objects:
etuhun *urse* *oci* ***ehe be*** *yabu-me*
powerful people/persons TOP evil ACC make-CONV
fafun be *neci-mbi*
law ACC violate-IMPF
"As far as the powerful people are concerned (as for powerful people), (they), making evil, violate law" (PASH2:44; MB);

sain ehe be *tua-ha* (ma. *tuwa-ha*) *mangi* (ma. *manggi*)
good evil ACC see-PART after
cimari *gene-ki*
in.the.morning come-OPT
"After (I) have seen something good or evil I should come in the morning;"
amba ajige *hehe haha* *fiheme isa-fi*
big small man woman fully gather-CONV
"Adults and children (literally: big and small), men and women, all fully gathered together" (SK:40).

Nouns of quality may serve as adverbial modifiers of manner:
elheken i *o-so* *ume hahila-ra* *se-he*
rather.slow GEN become-IMP NEG hurry-PART say-PART
"(He) said: "Do (it) slowly, don't hurry!" (PASH2:97);
bi majige muke omi-fi ***majige*** *amura-ki*
I some water drink-CONV a.little calm-OPT
"Drinking some water I will calm down a little;"
muke inengdari (ma. *inenggidari* ***sain i*** *eye-mbi*
water everyday good GEN flow-IMPF
"Water flows well everyday" (SK:40).
Nouns of quality may serve as a predicate:
hafan tere de ***bolgo*** *oso*, *baita* *icih'a-ra* (ma. *icihiya-ra*)
official that DAT honest be(IMP) business do-PART
de ***tondo*** *oso*
DAT fair be(IMP)
"If you are an official, be honest; if you are doing business, be fair" (PASH2:52);
ši (ma. *si*) *encu* *emu bou* (ma. *boo*) *ara-ci* ***sain***
you another one house build-CONV good
"It will be good if you build another house" (SK:40).

A subgroup of nouns denoting quality may designate the colour of objects. These nouns are normally used to indicate attributes or predicates in a sentence. This subgroup could rightfully be called adjectives because of their semantics and functions. However, similar to the majority of nouns having the semantics of quality, they do not display any morphological characteristics.

To these nouns the following ones can be ascribed: *buhe* "indigo;" *fulahūn* "pink," "reddish;" *fulgiyan* "red," "purple;" *haksan* "golden," "reddish brown;" *jerde* "sorrel (horse);" *kara* "black (of animals); *lamun* "blue;" *niohon* "greenish" (according to Norman, *niohon* means "green"); *niowanggiyan* "blue," "green;" *sahahūn* "blakish;" *sahaliyan*

"black;" *sohon* "yellowish" (according to Norman, *sohon* means "deep yellow"); *suwayan* "yellow;" *šahūn* "whitish;" *šanggiyan* "white;" *šušu* "purple," "violet;" *ulu* "white-spotted (horse);" *yacin* "black," "dark," etc.

The following examples display the attributive function of the noun of quality in a sentence:

emu ***yacin*** *daimin bi*
one dark eagle COP
"There is one dark eagle;"
tere ***sagal'an*** (ma. ***sahaliyan***) *buga* (ma. *buha* "wild buffalo") *amba*
that black bull loud
jilhan'i *suru-me* (ma. *sure-me*) *kaica-fi* *yabu-ha*
voice-GEN shout-CONV yell-CONV go.away-PART
"After bellowing loudly that black bull went away;"
yarg'an'i (ma. *yargiyan i*) *meihe muduri labdu,* ***yacin*** *geli*
reality-GEN snake dragon many dark also
bi, ***šangin*** (ma. ***šanggiyan***) *bi,*
COP(there.are) white COP(there.are)
fulg'an (ma. ***fulgiyan*** *geli bi,*
red also COP(there.are)
n'ongan (ma. ***niowanggiyan***) ***sahal'an*** (ma. ***sahaliyan***
green black
hacin muduri meihe bi
kind dragon snake COP(there.are)
"In reality, there are many snakes and dragons; there are dark, and white, and green, and black, there are different kinds of dragons and snakes" (SK:41).

Among nouns which denote semantics of quality there are several morphologically marked subgroups. All these nouns are derivative, some of them are formed from object nouns, the others are derived from verbs. They can be regarded as adjectives proper, but some of these subgroups are not numerous, and the suffixes by which they are formed, are not productive. Others include words which denote not only qualitative characteristics of nouns but abstract qualitative notions as well. And what is more important, all morphological markers by which these nominal words are formed, can be found only in the sphere of derivation. These markers do not constitute the adjective as a morphological class of words.

Nominal words of one of these subgroups are formed by suffixes

-hon/-hūn/-hun, *-shūn/-shun*. This subgroup comprises words which ascribe certain quality characteristics to nouns. In addition, some words of this subgroup may denote abstract qualitative notions as well: *aibishūn* "swollen," "a swelling;" *banjishūn* "having sufficient money or goods to lead a comfortable life;" *banuhūn* "lazy;" *biyahūn* "pale," "wan" (*biya* "the moon"); *bultahūn* "bulging," "obvious," "prominent;" *emhun* "alone," "sole," "lonely;" *eneshun* "gently sloping;" *eshun* "raw," "unripe;" "unripeness;" *etuhun* "strong," "powerfull;" "bridegroom;" *farhūn* "dark," "obscure," "unclear," "confused," "darkness;" *fundehun* "pallid;" "pallidness;" *gehun* "bright," "shining," "clear;" *getuhun* "awake;" *giltahūn* "glittering," "shining," "clean;" *godohon* "erect," "tall and straight;" *golmishūn* "rather long," "longish;" *gosihon/gosihūn* "bitter," "miserable," "suffering;" *gulhun* "complete," "intact," "entire;" *hafirahūn* "narrow," "pinched," "tight," "narrowly;" *halhūn* "hot," "heat," "hotly;" *jilehun* "audacious," "unabashed;" *joboshūn* "concerned," "worried," "concern," "worry;" *jušuhun* "sour;" *morohon* "big and round (of eyes); *munahūn* "morose," "surly," "annoyed;" *muyahūn* "entire," "intact;" *oilohon* "frivolous," superficial," "not serious" (*oilo* "surface," "outside"); *sitashūn* "deficient," "scarce;" "scarcely;" *subuhūn* "sober," "not drunk;" *suilashūn* "distressed," "afflicted;" *untuhun* "empty," "vacant," "hollow;" "emptiness," "space;" *wasihūn* "downward," "dawn;" "westward," "to the west" (*wasi-* "to descend," "to go down," "to fall (of rulers)," "to decline (value)"); *weihun* "alive;" *wesihun* "up," "upward," "east," "eastward," "honorable," "respected," "superior," "noble" (*wesi-* "to ascend," "to go up," "to raise," "to advance (in rank)").

Zakharov believed that these nominal words (with the suffixes *-hon/-hūn/-hun*, *-shūn/-shun*) denote a high degree of quality (Zakharov, 1879:83-4). However, it is not observed in regard to all nominal words of this subgroup. These nouns are mostly used in a sentence as attributes:

emu alin'i ***hafirahūn*** *kapcu de doši-fi* (ma. *dosi-fi*)
one mountain-GEN narrow gorge DAT enter-CONV
buce-he bi
die-PART COP(there.is)
"Having entered the narrow gorge of a mountain, (she) died."

bou (ma. *boo*) *i urse dobori* ***gulhun*** *araki omi-fi*
house GEN people at.night entire wine drink-CONV
sokto-ho
get.drunk-PART

"At night people of the house (servants) drank all the wine and got drunk" (SK:41).

These nouns may also serve in a sentence as adverb modifiers of manner:

na de ***oncohon*** *tuhe-he*
earth DAT on.his.side fall-PART
"(He) fell on the earth lying on the back (facing upward)" (SK:41).

They may function as predicates as can be seen from the following examples:

emu dobori ***farhūn*** *o-ho mangi ...*
one night dark grow-PART after
"One night after it grew dark ... ;"
halhūn *o-fi amba jilgan'i kaica-ha*
hot become-CONV loud voice-GEN yell-PART
"Since it became hot (he) yelled with loud voice" (SK:41).

The suffix *-ri* which may be attached to these nouns, is used to denote both plurality and a high degree of quality: *bultahūn* "bulging"—*bultahūri* "bulging out (especially the eyes);" *fiyangtahūn* "large and robust," "a giant," "a sturdy fellow"—*fiyangtahūri* "large and robust to a high degree;" *gonggohon* "deeply thoughtful," "pensive," "a deeply thoughtful person"—*gonggohori* PL of *gonggohon*; *kubsuhun* "clumsy," "large and awkward," "large and fat," "a stout/fat man"—*kubsuhuri* "massive," "unwieldy," also PL of *kubsuhun*; *lakdahūn* "hanging down," "drooping"—*lakdahūri* "fully drooping," "hanging all the way down;" *sahahūn* "blackish," "rather black"—*sahahūri* "jet black;" *sohon* "deep yellow"—*sohori* "bright yellow."

As one can see, the final *-n* is deleted before the addition of the suffix *-ri*. Analyzing this subgroup of nouns one can come to the conclusion that sometimes it is not easy to distinguish substantives from adjectives. Depending on which role they perform in a sentence, these nouns can be referred to as substantives or as adjectives. Correspondingly, the suffix *-ri* may express the meaning of plurality or a high degree of quality.

The suffix *-kan/-ken/-kon,* used to render the diminutive meaning, may be added to these nouns: *eneshun* "gently sloping"—*eneshuken* "somewhat sloping;" *eshun* "raw"—*eshuken* "somewhat raw."

Nominal words of quality may be derived from verbs and their forms. They include a subgroup of words ending in the suffix *-cuka/*

-cuke. By origin, these nouns are obsolete participial forms which, being constantly used in the role of adjectives, shifted their category status from participles to nouns of quality. These qualitative nouns are referred to as adjectives by some manchurologists. The composite suffix *-cuka/-cuke* consists of two elements, one of which is the suffix for the participle in *-ka/-ke*, and the other one arises probably from the old causative suffix *-cu* which is now obsolete (Lebedeva & Gorelova, 1994:41). This subgroup is not numerous because the suffix by which the words are formed, is not productive: *ferguwecuke* "wonderful," "astonishing" (*ferguwe-* "to be astonish," "to wonder"); *gelecuke* "dangerous," "frightful" (*gele-* "to fear"); *hairacuka* "pitiable," "pitiful" (*haira-* "to regret," "to begrudge"); *jobocuka* "causing concern," "worrisome," "distressing" (*jobo-* "to worry," "to be distressed"); *saišacuka* "praiseworthy," "worthy of commendation" (*saiša-* "to praise," "to commend"); *ulhicuke* "understandable" (*ulhi-* "to understand," "to comprehend").

Words belonging to this subgroup serve mostly as attributes in a sentence:

bi age i ***ferguwecuke*** *gūnin be aina-ha*
I sir GEN wonderful intention ACC to.do.what?-PART
se-me urgede-rakū, urunakū
say(AUX)-CONV be.ungrateful.for-PART(NEG) necessarily
ujen baili isibu-ki
valuable kindness repay-OPT
ainaha seme "surely," "without fail," "categorically" (NL:9);
"I shall not surely forget your, sir, wonderful favour, and necessarily repay your kindness" (PASH2:104);
gelecuke *sahal'an* (ma. *sahaliyan*) *bou* (ma. *boo*) *bi*
frightful black house COP(there.is)
"There is a frightful black house" (SK:41).

They also may serves as a predicate:
ere uthai ***ferguwecuke*** *se-cina*
this then astonishing say(AUX)-IMP=a note of exclamation at the end of a sentence
"This is astonishing!" (PASH2:117);
ere daifu bahji-ha durun umuši (ma. *umeši*) ***gelecuke***
this doctor be.born-PART appearance very frightful
"This doctor's appearance (is) very frightful" (SK:42).

Nouns of quality may be formed by the suffix *-ba/-be* which is added to the verbal stem: *kicebe* "assiduous," "diligent" (*kice-* "to be diligent," "to exert oneself," "to concentrate on"); *olhoba* "careful" (*olho-* "to fear"); *serebe* "careful," "meticulous," "painstaking" (*sere-* "to defend," "to guard (against)," "to prevent"). There are some instances when the suffix *-be* is added to nominal words: *hahiba* "quick," "nimble" (*hahi* "urgent," "hurried").

Nouns of quality may be formed by the suffix *-su* from verbal stems: *dahasu* "obedient," "docile" (*daha-* "to follow," "to obey"); *ejesu* "having a good memory" (*eje-* "to remember," "to take account of," "to record"); *furgisu* "spicy," "hot;" "ginger" (*furgi-* "to be hot (of taste)"); *gaihasu* "suddenly changed," "unexpectedly better" (*gai-* "to take," "to take away," "to take off"); *onggosu* "an absent-minded person" (*onggo-* "to forget"); *ulhisu* "quick to grasp," "sensitive," "keen," "clever" (*ulhi-* "to understand," "to comprehend").

Nominal words of quality may be derived from object nouns by the suffix *-ngga/-ngge/-nggo*: *boconggo* "coloured," "colourful" (*boco* "colour"); *erdemungge* "virtuous," "talented," "moral" (*erdemu* "capability," "virtue," power"); *gosingga* "beloved," "compassionate," "cherished," "loving," "merciful" (*dosin* "mercy," "pity," "love"); *horonggo*, *horonggu* "powerful," "majestic," "possessing great authority" (*horon* "power," "majesty," "authority"); *moringga* "pertaining to the horse," "mounted;" "horseman," "rider" (morin "horse"). The final *-n* of a stem is deleted before the addition of the suffix *-ngga/-ngge/-nggo*. According to Iv. Zakharov from whose grammar some examples are taken, the suffix *-ngga/-ngge/-nggo* is the only one by which the proper adjective forms of the nouns, having semantics of quality, are formed in Manchu (Zakharov, 1879:77-8).

There is another point of view concerning the nature of this suffix. According to E.P. Lebedeva, originally the suffix *-ngga/-ngge/-nggo* was used to mark possession. It may be attached to both semantic groups of nouns, viz. to those having the meaning of object in the broad sense and those having semantics of quality: *ujungga* "first," "leading" (*uju* "head," "first"); *ubungge* "pertaining parts, portions or shares" (*ubu* "part," "portion," "share," "responsibility"); *hacingga* "with distinctions," "different/various (kinds)" (*hacin* "kind," "sort," "class," "item"); *hūsungge* "powerful," "mighty" (*hūsun* "strength," "power," "might"); *baitangga* "business," "necessary" (*baita* "matter," "affair," "business," "event"), *enduringge* "divine," "holy," "sacred" (*enduri* "spirit," "god," "deity"), etc. Some of these nouns taking on

a new qualitative meaning reveal a tendency to shift their category status from object nouns to the class of adjectives: *baitangga*, *boconggo*, *horonggo*, *hūsungge*. In classical Manchu this suffix has three harmonic variants, as opposed to Sibe where, not being subjected to the law of vowel harmony, it has only one variant which is *-nge*.

2.4.1. *The Substantive-Possessive Suffix* -ngge

Apart from the form of possession in *-ngga/-ngge/-nggo*, in Manchu there is the substantive-possessive suffix *-ngge*, which has one harmonic variant. Historically connected to the form of possession in *-ngga/-ngge/-nggo*, in the course of time the suffix *-ngge* became formally and semantically different from the former (Avrorin, 1956:93-100; Lebedeva & Gorelova, 1994:51-2). When added to nouns in the attributive function, the suffix *-ngge* is preceded by the marker of the genitive *i/ni* and changes into the formant *ningge* which is mostly written separately from the noun: *ejen ningge* "belonging to a ruler, a lord, an emperor."

Even though nominal words, followed by the formants *-ngge* or *-ingge/-ningge*, historically had substantive-possessive meaning, in the course of time some of them exhibited a tendency to shift from nouns to adjectives (and be translated as adjectives). It is interesting to point out that the following nominal words are translated as substantives with possessive meaning (for instance, Norman in his *Lexicon*) or adjectives (Zakharov in his *Lexicon* and *Grammar*) by different authors: *baingge* "of a certain place," "local;" *beyeiningge* "one's own;" *dubeingge* "the end one," "the last one," "last," "final;" *dulimbaingge/dulimbangge* "the middle one," "middle;" *feingge* "an old thing," "old," "ancient;" *niyalmaingge* "belonging to someone else," "human;" *urseingge* "somebody else's."

When the suffix *-ngge* follows nouns in the attributive function, it is used to express the superlative degree of quality: *tondongge nyalma* "the most honest person."

Nominal words in the form of possession in *-ngga/-ngge/-nggo* may be attached with the substantive-possessive suffix *-ngge*: *amtanggangge* "the most tasty"—*amtangga* "tasty," "delicious"—*amtan* "taste," "smell;" *holbonggongge* "connected," "paired," "married"—*holbonngo* "connected," "paired"—*holbon* "pairing," "a pair," "mate," "marriage," "agreement."

Nominal words that end in the suffix *-cuka/-cuke* also may be followed by the suffix *-ngge*: *ferguwecukengge* "the most wonderful," "the

most astonishing," "wonder;" *ulhicukengge* "understanding," "wise" (Zakharov, 1879:81).

Normally the formant *ningge* follows nominal words, which have the meaning of quality and function as substantives in a sentence, in order to substantivize them. Substantivization is understood here as shifting a nominal word (of any functional and semantic group) or a participle to the grammatical class of substantives. In my opinion, substantivization is different to nominalization. The notion of nominalization is used in a lot of contemporary literature (Arutyunova, 1976:72; Gak, 1976:85; Paducheva, 1974:193; PDP, 1984:41-6, 174; see also general classifications of the semantics involved in nominalizations made by N.D. Arutyunova, E.V. Paducheva, and E.N. Volf in the book "*Semantika i sintaksis*," 1981:20-2, 102). The term is used to describe the process (and the result of the process) by which a word (and a combination of words) of any grammatical class may function in the noun positions, i.e. as noun analogues. Most nominalizations do not shift their category status to substantives, although some of them do under certain syntactic conditions. In a certain sense, nominalization may or may not be followed by a process of substantivization.

In this particular case the whole complex—a noun quality with the formant *ningge*—denotes a certain object which is the carrier of the corresponding attribute: *tacire de amuran ningge* "one who is fond of learning;" *nure de amuran ningge* "one who is fond of wine," "drunkard" (Zakharov, 1879:80-1). The formant *ningge* is translated by Norman as "the one which … ," "he who … " (NL:213). Here are some examples:

gasha bethe foholon ***ningge*** *dedu-re mangga*,
bird leg short SBSTR lie-PART capable
bethe golmin ***ningge*** *ele-re mangga*
leg long SBSTR fly-PART capable

Since imperfect participles in combination with the word *mangga* gain the meaning of usual actions, the following translation of this sentence is correct:

"Birds that have short legs usually lie, those that have long legs usually fly" (ORL:181);

gemu age-i adali, gucu-se de sain ***ningge***, *giyanakū*
all sir-GEN like friend-PL DAT good SBSTR limited

udu bi
how.many COP
giyanakū udu "how limited?," "how few?" (NL:110);
"Sir, among friends, are there many good people like you?" (PASH2:111; QW);
si umesi sain ***ningge*** *be sabu-hakū o-fi,*
you(SG) very good SBSTR ACC see-PART(NEG) be(AUX)-CONV
teni ere-be sain se-re dabala
then this-ACC good say-PART PTL
"Since you haven't seen anything better than this, you consider it as a good thing" (PASH2:113; QW);
sain ehe ***ningge*** *be ilga-bu-rakū*
good bad SBSTR ACC distinguish-CAUS-PART(NEG)
o-ci, bireme gemu sain se-ci geli
be(AUX)-CONV completely all good say-CONV again/still
o-mbi-o
be(AUX)-IMPF-INT
se-ci o-mbi-o "is it possible?"
"If not to distinguish good (things) from bad ones and call all of them good, is it acceptable?" (PASH2:114).
When attached to participles, the substantive-possessive suffix *-ngge* is used to nominalize the latter (see Section 5.6.5 for a more detailed discussion).

2.5. *Diminutives and Augmentatives*

Diminutives are formed from nominal words by adding the suffixes *-kan/-ken/-kon*, *-gan/-gen*, *-cen*: *adalikan* "somewhat like," "rather similar" (*adali* "like," "same"); *ambakan* "rather big," "a person who is rather large" (*amba* "big," "great"); *biragan* "a small river;" *bolgokon* "somewhat clean," "somewhat clear" (*bolgo* "clean," "clear"); *elheken* "rather calm," "rather well, gentle," "rather slow" (*elhen* "peace," "calm," "well-being;" "peaceful," "well," "slow"); *foholokon* "rather short" (*foholon* "short"); *gelfiyeken* "rather light (of colour)" (*gelfiyen* "light (of colour);" *golmikan* "rather long" (*golmin* "long"); *muheliyeken* "rather round" (*muheliyen* "round"); *olhokon* "rather dry," "rather thirsty" (*olhon* "dry," "dry up"); *saikan* "pretty," "good-looking," "beautiful;" "rather well," "nicely," "properly" (*sain* "good," "well"); *suhecen* "a small ax" (*suhe* "ax").

When functioning as subjects or objects (direct and indirect), some of these nominal words may take the plural suffix: *ambakasi* "youths," "young girls;" *ajigesi* "small ones."

Diminutives are commonly followed by the genitive case marker *i* (occasionally they appear in a stem form) and normally function as adverbial modifiers. Due to this, they reveal a tendency to shift from diminutives to adverbs: *labdukan i* "rather a lot," "rather many;" *saikan i* "a little bit better."

According to Zakharov, the word *saliyan* "just enough," "just barely enough" being shortened to the suffix *-liyan/-liyen* when following nominal words, forms diminutives as well: *heni saliyan* "tiny," "wee;" *adaliliyan* "somewhat like," "somewhat similar;" *ambakaliyan* "rather large," "somewhat big" (Zakharov, 1879:82).

Following nominal words, the word *saka* adds the meaning "as if," "like," "rather," "somewhat" to them: *ambakan saka* "rather large," "somewhat big;" *golmin saka* "rather long;" *hocikon saka* "rather nice;" *iletu saka* "rather clear;" *necikesaka* "rather level." In some cases the word *saka* is written together with preceding nouns, but sometimes they are written separately.

The morphological status of this element is not entirely clear. Obviously, it is the same word that occurring after the imperfect converb is used to denote the meaning "just," "as soon as" (see Section 5.7.1). According to Zakharov, the word *saka* is an adverb (Zakharov, 1879:82). In Norman's view, *saka* is an adjectival suffix when it occurs with nominal words. But used after imperfect converbs, it should be classified as a clause particle (NL:231).

Augmentatives are formed by the suffix *-linggū/-linggu*: *ambalinggū* "huge," "impressive," "grand;" *ehelinggu* "very bad," very wicked," "very evil."

2.6. *Degrees of Comparison*

In Manchu the nouns of quality, several subgroups of which are classified as adjectives in other languages, have no morphological category of degrees of comparison. The comparison of two objects regarding their qualitative characteristics, is expressed by a number of syntactic constructions and lexically.

2.6.1. *Comparative constructions*

The most commonly used construction for the comparative degree includes three semantic and syntactic positions. The first position is occupied by the object to which the other object is being compared. This object is expressed by a noun in the ablative case (*ci*). The second position is occupied by the object which is being compared. It is rendered by a noun in the nominative case (zero expression). Finally, the third position is taken by a noun denoting the quality being compared. Here are some examples:

manju gisun ***ci*** *nikan gisun mangga*
Manchu language ABL Chinese language difficult
"The Chinese language is more difficult than Manchu;"
*i min-**ci** ahūn*
he I(*bi/min-*)-ABL older
"He is older than me."

In some cases the first position is taken by the object which is being compared:

tere ere ***ci*** *sain*
that this ABL good
"That is better than this."

Sometimes the object which is being compared is not expressed, but it can be reconstructed from the context:

*min-**ci** amba*
I(*bi/min-*)-ABL big
"(He) is bigger than me;"
*min-**ci** ahūn*
I(*bi/min-*)-ABL older
"(He) is older than me" (PASH:26).

In Manchu there is a comparative construction in which the negative form of the verb *isi-* "to reach," "to arrive," "to come up to" (*isirakū* < *isire* + *akū*, which is the negative form of the imperfect participle) is used. This verbal form requires the dative case from the noun which denotes the object being compared:

*i min-**de** **isi-rakū***
he I(*bi/min-*)DAT approach-PART(NEG)
"He is worse than me" (literally: "He does not approach me").

Some comparative constructions may include words which denote a high degree of quality, power and superiority: *ambula* "greatly," "widely," "very much;" *ele* "still more," "much better," "especially;" *geli* "again," "also," "still," "especially;" *dabali* "exceeding," "excessively," "too;" *fulu* "excelling," "surpassing," "better;" *tulgiyen* "besides," "otherwise." In such comparative constructions the object to which the other object is compared, is expressed by a noun in the ablative case. Here are some examples:

ere niyalma ci ***geli*** *sain*
this person ABL still good
"(He) is even better than this person;"
tere niyalma ci ***dabali*** *genggiyen*
that person ABL still.more enlightened
"(He) is still more enlightened than that person;"
sure genggiyen ulhisu mergen gūwa niyalma ci ***fulu*** *o-mbi*
wise enlightened clever skilled other people ABL better be-IMPF
"Wise, enlightened, shrewd, and able people are more preferable than others" (PASH:26).

The comparative construction may include the nominal word *etenggi* "hardy," "powerful," "strong," which requires the form of the accusative case of the noun denoting the object which is being compared (Pashkov, 1964:26):
naiman i aiman be ***etenggi*** *etuhun*
name of people GEN tribe ACC strong powerful
"(That tribe) is more powerful than the Naiman tribe;"
ere elden šun i elden be ***etenggi*** *fulu o-hobi*
this light sun GEN light ACC strong much be-PAST
"This light is much stronger that the sun light "(ZAKH:85).

The comparison may be rendered by two sentences of opposing meaning. This kind of comparison may be carried out by the construction "*anggala ... isirakū.*" The postposition *anggala* "instead of," "rather than," "not only" is placed at the end of the first sentence. The negative form of the imperfect participle *isirakū* taking the last position in the second sentence, requires the form of the dative case of the preceding imperfect participle:

haksan be yabu-me jabšan be bai-re
danger ACC run-CONV advantage ACC look.for-PART
anggala, *hecin de te-fi hesebun be aliya-ra*
instead.of calmness DAT live-CONV fate ACC waite-PART
de isi-rakū
DAT approach-PART(NEG)
"Instead of looking for advantage running the danger (of something), it is better (literally: "not to approach to...") to wait (someone's) fate living in calmness" (ZAKH:85).

In Manchu there is the comparative construction "*ele* ... *ele*" (*ele* means "still more," "especially") which corresponds to the English comparative construction "the more... the more":
ele *wesihun,* ***ele*** *cokto*
still.more respected still.more proud
"The more respected, the more proud" (ZAKH:85).

The comparison of two objects with regard to a certain qualitative characteristic may be expressed by a special syntactic construction which is similar to the one used in Chinese. This construction includes two sentences, the first of which ascribes a certain quality to the object which is being compared, and the second indicates that the object to which the other object is being compared, does not possess this qualitative characteristic. The following example shows this construction which is considered to be a syntactic calque of the Chinese structure:

ere morin sain, tere morin sain akū
this horse good that horse good COP.NEG (there.is.not)
"This horse is better than that one" (literally: "This horse is good, that one is not good"). In Chinese: *Zhe pima hao, na pima bu hao* "This horse is good, that one is not good."

2.6.2. *Superlative Constructions*
The meaning of superlative degree of a noun of quality may be expressed by a syntactic construction which is similar to the comparative one. But although the object to which the other object is being compared is used in singular, the reference is plural, and the noun denoting this object, may be used both in the ablative and genitive cases. Here are some examples:

niyalma ***ci*** *sain*
person ABL good
"The best of all persons;"
niyalma ***ci*** *wesihun*
person ABL respected
"The most respected person."

niyalma ***i*** *sain*
person GEN good
"The best of all persons;"
niyalma ***i*** *wesihun*
person GEN respected
"The most respected person."

The comparative degree obtains the meaning of the superlative when the object to which the other object is being compared, is expressed by words having the meaning of plurality or a high degree of quality, such as *gemu* "all," "in every case;" *geren* "crowd," "many," "many kinds of," "numerous;" *tumen jaka* "myriad things;" *uheri* "general," "outline," "summary," "altogether," "jointly," "in general," "taken as a whole." Here are some examples:

geren *ci sain;*
many ABL good
"The best one;"

geren *ci amba*
many ABL big
"The biggest one;"

geren *ci ajige*
many ABL small
"The smallest one" (AD:38);

tumen jaka *ci fulu*
myriad things ABL better
"From all things the best one" (ORL:39).

The comparative construction where the nominal word denoting the quality is substantivized by the formant *ningge,* directly followed by the negation *akū,* also obtains the meaning of the superlative:

ere erin ci oyonggo ***ninge akū***
this time ABL important SBSTR COP.NEG (there.is.not)
"This time is the most important" (literally: "There is no more important time than this one");
kooli, ere-ci sain ***ningge akū***
law this-ABL good SBSTR COP.NEG (there.is.not)
gūnin, ere-ci jiramin ***ningge akū***
thought this-ABL profound SBSTR COP.NEG (there.is.not)
"There is nothing better than the law, there is nothing more profound than the thought" (ORL:156).

The superlative quality may be expressed by repeating nominal words when the first of them is marked by the formant of the genitive case: *ujui uju* "the first of all;" *abkai abka* "the most supreme divinity" (literally: "the divinity of all divinities") (ZAKH:85). The constructions of this type are not numerous.

The superlative quality may be formed with the help of words having the meaning of plurality or denoting a high degree of quality, as *fulu* "excelling," "surpassing," "better;" *gemu* "all," "in every case;" *geren* "crowd," "many," "many kinds of," "numerous;" *hon* "very," "most," "too;" *jaci* "very," "frequently," "too;" *teni* "just," "truly," "extremely;" *ujui* "first," "primary," "excessively;" *umesi* "very," "to a high degree." Normally these words precede nouns which denote certain qualitative characteristics: ***teni*** *amba* "extremely big/great;" ***ujui*** *oshon* "excessively cruel;" ***jaci*** *mentuhun* "very stupid;"

jaci *fahūn amba*
very courage great
"very brave;"
jaci *hanci* "very close;"
ere niyalma ***umesi*** *bayan bi*
this man very wealthy COP
"This man is very wealthy"(AD:38);
ere niyalma ***jaci*** *sain akū*
this man very good COP.NEG (there.is.not)
"This man is not good to a high degree" (PASH:27).

The idea of superlative quality may be expressed by syntactic constructions including verbs which have semantics of "superiority," "being outstanding," "surpassing," such as the following ones: *dabana-* "to cross over," "to surpass;" *dabatala* o- "to act excessively, presumptuously;" *dule-* "to pass through," "pass all bounds," "overstep the limits;" *lakca-* "to rise," "to tower above," "to surpass," "to be distinguished," "to be outstanding." The object to which the other object is being compared, is used in the form of the ablative case:

geren ***ci*** ***lakca-ha*** *niyalma*
crowd ABL surpass-PART man
"Prominent (outstanding) man" (literally: "Man who surpassed a crowd") (Zakh:86).

When the object to which the other object is being compared is

singular both in form and meaning, the construction becomes a comparative one:

min-ci ***lakca-ha*** *niyalma*
I(*bi/min-*)-ABL surpass-PART man
"The man who surpassed me" (AD:38)

The verbs *colgoro-* "excel," "to surpass" and *ete-* "to overcome," "to win," "to be victorious" also form the constructions having the meaning of the superlative degree. They require the form of the accusative case of a noun which denotes the object to which the other object is being compared:

erdemu i geren niyalma ***be colgoro-ko***
virtue GEN many man ACC surpass-PART
"The most virtuous of all people" (literally: "(Someone) who surpassed all people by his virtues") (ZAKH:86).

2.7. *Declension as a Universal System of Syntactic Subordination. Noun Declension*

Particular attention should be paid to the category of declension in the Manchu language. The term "declension" has two senses. Firstly, declension is the system of word forms required by the governing verbs. In the second sense, the term "declension" means the capacity of nouns for changing their forms in accordance with the requirement of the governing verbs. Declension has to do with suffixal inflection of word forms. In other words, the markers to indicate cases, should be determined as suffixes. This situation is true of all Tungus-Manchu languages except Manchu. The law of vowel harmony common to all Altaic word forms, does not apply to the case markers in Manchu. Preserving the material proximity to the General-Tungus-Manchu case formants, they reveal their isolation from nouns which they follow. As a result, word forms cannot exist as a synthetic whole. Case markers form analytical constructions with the noun stems in Manchu.

The primary function of case forms is to indicate syntactic roles of nouns in a simple sentence. Due to their relative freedom from the word stem, the case markers may occur not only with noun stems, but also with participles. They may indicate not only the relationship of the noun to the verb in a simple sentence, but also express various syntactic relations between principal and subordinate clauses within the complex sentence.

In Manchu, the category of declension is rather analytical and syntactic than morphological and synthetic.

Another point is that Manchu (in comparison with the other languages of the Tungus-Manchu language family) has only a few cases, namely the genitive ***i***, accusative ***be***, dative ***de***, ablative ***ci*** and the nominative which has zero expression. Subtleties in meanings cannot be expressed by the existing case markers. To compensate, Manchu has developed analytical combinations composed of case markers and postpositions. Most of the postpositions are derived from nouns with time, place or cause semantics. There is one more case form, though very problematic, which is associated with noun declension, i.e. *deri*-case form.

2.8. *Noun Case Forms (Nominative, Genitive, Accusative, Dative/Locative, Ablative)*

The marker for the NOMINATIVE (*casus indefinitus*; following another terminology, the direct) coincides with a noun stem, in other words, this case has zero expression. According to its functions, the nominative (direct) is universal in Manchu. The nominative is one of the principal syntactic cases (same as the accusative and genitive). As it is known, the principal syntactic cases express the semantic roles of agent, patient, experiencer, and stimulus, which are referred to as the participants of situations or events of the outside world. These participants are called arguments which are governed by their predicates (Plungyan, 2000:164, 167).

According to E.P. Lebedeva, when the character of the subordination naturally ensues from the semantics of components of a subordinate word-combination it is not necessary to add any case markers to a noun stem in Manchu. The addition of case markers to noun stems becomes obligatory if the character of the semantic relation within the word-combination is unclear (Lebedeva & Gorelova, 1994:44-5).

However, it is possible to analyze these language facts in a different way. In Manchu, similar to Turkic languages, the nominative is used with objects which have non-specific (generic) reference.

It is assumed by a number of turcologists that morphological categories of case and plural are not obligatory in Turkic languages. Nouns in zero-form, which is normally used to express singular and/or the nominative, appear in contexts that have semantics of plurality

and require oblique cases. In fact, the rules underlying the use of this zero-form are a more complex. This form is used to express the meaning of "non-specificity" of the grammatical category of definiteness, i.e., it is used with objects which do not have definite or specific reference (Plungyan, 2000:137).

A peculiarity of Manchu declension is that government of the case forms of nouns has no automatic or regular character, and its necessity appears only in a certain semantic context. Being normally either the subject of a sentence or the predicate, the nominative is opposed to all oblique cases. But serving to indicate unspecified objects, the nominative may be used parallel to all other case markers.

All nouns in the form of the nominative may be used as a subject and a predicate of a sentence:

bi ***hafan*** *o-ki se-mbi*
I official be-OPT say(AUX)-IMPF
"I want to be an official" (ZAKH:127);
ere ***deo*** *umesi hulcin* ***niyalma***
this younger.brother very foolish person
"This younger brother (is) a very foolish person" (PASH1);
muke *inengdari* (ma. *inenggidari*) *sain i eye-mbi*
water every.day good GEN flow-IMPF
"Water every day flows well" (SK).

Nouns in the nominative are often used as attributes of all kinds. It was mentioned above that all groups of nouns may serve as attributes. But nouns having semantics of place and quality, as well as numerals normally appear in the form of the nominative when they are used as attributes:

si ***asikan*** *niyalma, bi* ***sagda*** *niyalma*
You(SG) young person I old person
"You (are) a young person, I (am) an old person;"
tere ***bayan*** *niyalma ala-ha*
that wealthy man tell-PART
"That wealthy man told;"
duin *niyalma casi yabu-me gene-he*
four person thither go-CONV go-PART
"Four persons went thither;"

fejergi *hafasa de afabu-ha*
under official DAT entrust.to-PART
"The under officials have been entrusted (to do something)" (PASH1).

When used as attributes, object nouns are usually followed by the genitive marker (***i***, ***ni***), but may also appear in the nominative case:
tere ***mederi*** *han jili banji-ha*
that sea khan anger become-PART
"That khan of the sea became angry" (SK).

Nouns in the nominative often indicate a direct object:
giyahūn *makta-me, indahūn be cukule-me*
falcon launch-CONV dog ACC set.dog.on.prey-CONV
amca-bu-mbi
chase-CAUS-IMPF
"(They) launched falcons and set dogds on prey" (NSB:112);
emu ***hotun*** (ma. *hoton) sabu-mbi*
one town see-IMPF
"(Someone) has seen a town;"
emu ***loho*** *gai-ha*
one sword take-PART
"(Someone) took a sword;"
bi šin-de (ma. *sin-de)* ***muke*** *bai-me gaji-fi*
I you(*ši*/*šin*-SG)-DAT water seek-CONV bring-CONV
omi-bu-ki
drink-CAUS-OPT
"I shall seek water for you, bring and give to drink" (SK).

Nouns in the nominative function as adverbial modifiers of place:
tua (ma. ***tuwa***) *doši* (ma. *dosi*) *se-ci doši-ki* (ma. *dosi-ki*)
fire inside say-CONV enter-OPT
muke *doši se-ci doši-ki*
water inside say-CONV enter-OPT
"If (you) tell (me) to enter inside the fire (I) shall enter, if (you) tell (me) to enter inside the water (I) shall enter" (SK).

Nouns in the nominative may serve as adverbial modifiers of time:
soorin de ***ninju emu aniya*** *te-fi*
throne DAT sixty one year sit-CONV
"sitting on the throne for sixty one years"(ORL:153);
ilan aniya *sinagala-ha*
three year mourn-RART

"(Someone) kept the mourning period for three years" (ORL:151);
emu inenggi *boo aha-si sa-be gama-me*
one day house slave-PL PL-ACC take-CONV
"One day (he) gathered (together) (his) servants (literally: house slaves) …" (NSB:111);
cimari *bi uka-me yabu-ki*
morning I run.away-CONV go-OPT
"In the morning I shall run away" (SK).

The marker for ACCUSATIVE is ***be***, and the law of vowel harmony do not apply to it (see Part III, Section 2). Normally, in classical Manchu it is written separately from a word it follows, with the exception of the irregular pronominal stems (see Section 4.1). But there is evidence that the form *gisumbe* (< *gisun* "word," "language" + *be*) was also in use in old Manchu (Zakharov, 1879:133). In Sibe the final *-n* of a noun stem assimilates to the consonant *b* of the accusative marker, and as a result of the occurrence of morpheme concatenation on the morphemic boundary, a noun stem and the marker ***be*** are written in one: *sargambe* < *sargan* "woman" + *be* (see Part III, Section 6).

The accusative is also considered to be a principal syntactic case marker. Together with the nominative, it is used to mark participants of situations of the outside world. In Manchu, as in other Tungusic languages (and in all Altaic), the expression of the principal syntactic roles is realized through the so-called accusative (nominative-accusative) strategy. That is to say that the case marking of arguments is oriented towards the expression of the opposition between two generalized syntactic roles, namely subject and object. The subject appears in the nominative, and the object is marked by the accusative. In accusative languages, as a rule, the semantic role of experiencer coincides with the role of agent, and the role of patient with that of stimulus (Plungyan, 200:168).

The main syntactic function of the accusative is to denote a direct complement of the verb. According to this main role in a sentence, the accusative is used to indicate the direct object of a transitive verb:
i boo ***be*** *weile-mbi*
he house ACC build-IMPF
"He builds a house;"
bi hergen ***be*** *ara-mbi*
I letter ACC write-IMPF

"I write letters" (ZAKH:159);
emu n'alma (ma. *niyalma*) *bou* (ma. *boo*) ***be*** *tuak'a-mbi*
one man house ACC guard-IMPF
(ma. *tuwakiya-mbi*)
"A man guards the house;"
*ere sagram-**be*** *bi gai-ci o-mbi kai*
this woman-ACC I take-CONV be(AUX)-IMPF MDL.PTL
gai-ci o- "(it is) possible to take;" "(I) may take;"
"I may take this woman" (SK:48).

In Manchu there is a number of transitive verbs governing the accusative. The corresponding verbs in other languages often may be intransitive. These verbs are: *basu-* "to laugh at smb., smth.," "to make fun of," "to mock at;" *daha-* "to follow" (the form of the imperfect converb of this verb that is *dahame* shifted its category status from converbs to postpositions, with the meaning "according to," "in accordance with"); *ejele-* "to be master of," "to occupy by force," "establish control over;" *kadala-* "to manage," "to control," "to rule;" to *kice-* "to care about," "to concentrate on," "to be intent on;" *leole-* "to talk about," "to deliberate (on);" *se-* "to order," "to command;" *sebjele-* "to rejoice at smth.;" *uile-* "to serve," "to wait on (upon)." The following sentences include such verbs:

*ai uttu niyalma **be** **basu-mbi***
what like.this person ACC mock.at-IMPF
"How like this (someone) mocks at a person" (ORL:150);
*fe kooli **be** **dahame** yabu-mbi*
old regulations ACC according.to act-IMPF
"(Someone) acts according to old regulations;"
*ba **be** **ejele-he***
place ACC occupy.by.force-PART
"(Someone) occupied the place (country) by force;"
*sim-**be** **kadala-ra** niyalma akū*
you(*si*/*sin*-SG)-ACC control-PART person COP.NEG (there.is.not)
"There is not a person who controls you" (ZAKH:134);
*amba-sa saisa doro- **be** **kice-mbi**,*
high.official(*amban*)-PL gentleman way-ACC care.about-IMPF
*jemengge **be** **kice-rakū***
food ACC care.about-PART(NEG)

ambasa saisa "wise man," "a true gentleman" (NL:15);
"Wise men care about the way, not about the food;"
gemu deribun bisi-re ***be leole-he-ngge***
all beginning be-PART ACC deliberate.on-PART-NR
"deliberation on the being of a common beginning (of things)" (ORL:152);
*sefu sim-**be** **gene** se-he*
teacher you(*si/sin*- SG)-ACC go(IMP) order-PART
"The teacher ordered you to go" (PASH1:97);
*sain **be** **sebjele-me**, enduri-**be** **leole-me***
good ACC rejoice.at-CONV spirit-ACC deliberate.on-CONV
"to rejoice at good, to deliberate on spirit" (GAB:84);
*ejen **be** **uile-mbi***
suzerain ACC serve-IMPF
"(Someone) serves the suzerain" (ZAKH:134).

In Manchu there are a number of two-placed verbs with mental semantics that govern the accusative. This is unlike other languages having different grammatical systems where certain valencies are filled by nouns in oblique cases: *akda*- "to depend on," "to entrust (to)," "to trust;" *donji*- "to hear about smth.;" *gisure*- "to speak about smth.," "to talk about smth;" *gūni*- "to think about smth., smb.;" *hendu*- "to speak about smth., smb." The following sentences include such verbs:

*mujilen **be** **akda-ra***
heart ACC entrust-PART
"(I) shall entrust the heart (thoughts, plans, intentions) (to smb.)" (ORL:149);
*tere niyalma **be** bi **akda-mbi***
that person ACC I trust-IMPF
"I trust that person" (ZAKH:133);
*sin-i algin gebu **be** **donji-fi** goida-ha*
you(*si/sin*- SG)-GEN fame name ACC hear-CONV endure-PART
"It lasted for a long time since (I) had heard about your fame name;"
*ojo-rakū **be** **gisure-he-ngge***
do-PART(NEG) ACC speak-PART-NR
ojorakū = it won't do (NL:222);
"what is being spoken (about) won't do;"
*si mute-rakū bade mim-**be** ai*
you(*si/sin*- SG) be.able-PART(NEG) if I(*bi/min*-)-ACC what

hendu-me
speak-CONV
"If you are not able, what to speak about me?" (ZAKH:134).

The accusative may indicate the material from which something is made:
ulgiyan i cecike i funggala ***be*** *ilha ara-mbi*
pig GEN small.bird GEN feather ACC flower make-IMPF
ulgiyan i cecike " kingfisher" (NL:294);
"(They) make flowers with a kingfisher's feathers;"
ere niyalma na ***be*** *sangga ara-ha*
this man earth ACC hole make-PART
"This man made the hole from the earth" (ORL:154).

The accusative is obligatory when it indicates direct objects governed by transitive verbs in their negative form:

cira ***be*** ***tuwa-hakū***
face ACC see-PART(NEG)
"(Someone) did not see the face;"
urgun ***be*** *cira de* ***tuyembu-rakū***
happiness ACC face DAT reveal-PART(NEG)
"(Someone) did not reveal the happiness on a face;"
emu gisun ***be*** *tucibu-me* ***mute-rakū***
one word ACC bring.out-CONV be.able-PART(NEG)
"(Someone) can not be able to bring out not a single word" (ZAKH:134).

It may serve to indicate an agent caused to perform the action expressed by the verb in the causative:

tere ***be*** *baita icihiya-bu-me gene*
that/he ACC business do-CAUS-CONV go(IMP)
"Go and order him to do business" (ZAKH:161).

The accusative may express space within and means of conveyance by which the motion is going on. It is governed by verbs having semantics of motion:
morin ***be*** *yabu-me*
horse ACC ride-CONV

"to ride a horse" (PASH1:97);
jugūn ***be*** *yabu-me*
road ACC go-CONV
"to go along the road;"
bira ***be*** *doo-me*
river ACC cross-CONV
"to cross a river" (PASH1:104-5).
*hehe ere alim-****be*** *(< alin + be;* ma. *alin be) tafa-ha*
woman this mountain-ACC go.up-PART
"The woman went up the mountain" (SK:48).

The accusative indicates an adverbial modifier of manner:
bi suwen-de yargiyan ***be*** *ala-ra*
I you (*suwe/suwen-* PL)-DAT truth ACC say-PART
"I say you truly" (literally: "I say the truth to you");
mergen ***be*** *yabu-re urse ulhi-ci*
wise/wisdom ACC act-PART people understand-CONV
aca-mbi
meet/fit(AUX)-IMPF
Tv-*ci aca-* "should;" "ought," "must;"
"One should appreciate people who act wisely" (ORL:151).

The accusative may follow participles that serve as predicates in clauses which are predicative direct complements. This use of the accusative will be analysed in detail in regards to the predicative declension of participles (see Section 5.6.3). Several examples follow:
ainu wehe gisure-me mute-re ***be*** *sabu-hakū*
why stone speak-CONV may-PART ACC perceive-PART(NEG)
ni?
INT
"Why did you not perceive that stones may speak?" (GAB:112);
han'i kūaran'i (ma. *kūwarani i*) *emu ehe sukdun tuci-re*
khan-GEN stable-GEN one evil spirit appear-PART
be *sabu-ha*
ACC perceive-PART
"(They) perceived that an evil spirit appeared in the khan's stable" (SK).

It is very important to note that direct objects are not always indicated by the marker for the accusative.

According to B. K. Pashkov, the use of the accusative marker depends largely on the position of the direct object in a sentence. When a direct object is placed directly before a governing verb, the marker for the accusative can be left out. Any part of a sentence, i.e., subject, indirect object or adverbial modifier of manner may be placed between the direct object and its governing verb. To describe such a position of the direct object, Pashkov introduced into practise the term "distant." It means that the direct object appears rather far removed in the sentence from the verb that governs it. In such syntactic context the marker for the accusative is obligatory:

tere niyalma ***be*** *bi akda-mbi*
that man ACC I trust-IMPF
"I trust that man " (ZAKH:133);
*we sim-****be*** *gene se-he*
who you(*si/sin*- SG)-ACC go(IMP) say-PART
"Who ordered you to go?" (ZAKH:134);
hergen ***be*** *saikan ara*
letter ACC good write(IMP)
"Write letters better" (PASH1:98-9).

It seems that Bosson's description of the use of the accusative in contemporary Mongolian is close to that in classical Manchu as described by Pashkov. Bosson believes that when an inanimate direct object is close to the verb and is clearly the object of the action, there is no necessity in using the accusative, and the indefinite (nominative, direct—L.G.) is often used instead (Bosson, 1964:28).
According to A. Kim, in contemporary Mongolian the accusative is used with the definite object NPs, and the absence of the accusative marker signals that the NPs are used to convey indefinite objects (Kim, 1988:164).

Analyzing the Mongolic Buryat grammatical tradition, E.K. Skribnik suggests that the opposition of marked and unmarked NPs, which are used to express direct objects, can be explained in terms of definiteness vs. indefiniteness. In her opinion, this opposition is also closely connected with discourse structuring in Buryat, in which the accusative is used to mark a secondary clausal topic (Skribnik, 2001).

As mentioned above, in Turkic languages, the accusative is used

with direct objects which have specific reference (definite objects). In the Turkish language, for example, the opposition of marked and unmarked NPs, which are used to express direct objects, reflects the semantic opposition between definite vs. indefinite or specific vs. non-specific direct objects ((Nilsson, 1978-1979; Johanson, 1998 respectively). The opposition between specific vs. non-specific direct objects, as it has been suggested by L. Johanson, is closely connected with the means of pragmatic structuring in Turkish.

Analyzing grammatical traditions of some Turkic languages of Siberia, namely Turkic Yakut and Altai Turkic Telengit, Skribnik suggests that the opposition between marked and unmarked NPs in the direct object position can be explained on the basis of definiteness vs. indefiniteness. In the Yakut language, in which five cases may occur in the direct object position, the accusative suffix is used to mark a secondary clausal topic, whereas the nominative (*casus indefinitus*) is used to mark rhematic unfocussed objects, and the partitive usually marks rhematic focussed objects (Skribnik, 2001; for more detailed information concerning pragmatic structuring in languages, including Manchu, see Part V, Section 3).

According to Norman, in the important Manchu dialect, Sibe, the accusative is used with direct objects which have definite or specific reference (Norman, 1974:166).

As far as classical Manchu is concerned, there is no strict explanation as to when the marker of the accusative is obligatory and when it can be omitted, and the problem needs to be fully investigated. Although it is clear that the appearance of the accusative is closely related with the category of definiteness. Several patterns can be distinguished where the accusative is not used in Manchu:

1) a direct object and a governing verb are formed from the same root and because of that have the same semantics: *etuku etu-* "to put on clothing" (*etuku* "clothing;" *etu-* "to put on [clothing]"); *gucu gucule-* "to make friends," "to be friends with" (*gucu* "friend;" *gucule-* "to make friends"); *irgebun irgebu-* "to sing songs," "to compose verse" (*irgebun* "song;" "verse;" *irgebu-* "to sing songs," "to compose verse") (GAB:136); *ficakū fica-* "to blow a flute" (*ficakū* "flute;" *fica-* "to blow [a flute]"); *makcin makci-* "to dance" (*makcin* "dance;" *makci-* "to dance"); *nirugan niru-* "to paint a picture" (*nirugan* "picture," "painting;" *niru-* "to paint," "to draw") (ORL:154).

However, there is one exception to this rule as shown by the following example:

jalan i sebjen ***be*** *sebjele-*
world GEN joy/happiness ACC to.rejoce
"to rejoce at happiness of the world" (GAB:136).

2) in a string of direct objects only the last of them is marked by the accusative:

eme ama ***be*** *mafa se-mbi*
mother father ACC ancestor call-IMPF
"A mother and a father are called ancestors (*mafa*)" (ORL:150);

3) direct objects denoting means and ways of conveyance and governed by transitive verbs:

jugūn nei-me
road/way open-CONV
"to open a road (way)" (PASH1:105); "to open a way (by force)" (NL:164).

4) in subordinate clauses predicates expressed by participles may govern direct objects not indicated by the marker of the accusative:

baita icihiya-ra de tondo oco
business do-PART DAT honest be(IMP)
"When doing business, be honest" (PASH1:111).

In Manchu there is a number of two-placed verbs the first valency of which is replaced by the direct object not indicated by the accusative. These verbs are: *ara-* "to do/make smth. with smth.;" *weile-* "to make smth. with smth.;" *obu-* "to consider smb./smth. as smb./smth.;" *se-* "to call smb./smth. by smb./smth." Here are some examples with the above verbs:

be sim-be moo-i uren ***se-mbi****?*
who you(*si*/*sin-* SG)-ACC wood-GEN statue call-IMPF
"Who call you by wooden statue?;"

ende-bu-he be hala-rakū o-ci
err-PASS-PART ACC correct-PART(NEG) be(AUX)-CONV
tere be endebuku ***se-mbi***
that ACC mistake call-IMPF
"If do not correct errors this is called a mistake" (ORL:150);
ai be fulehe da ***obu-mbi*** *ai be temgetu*
what ACC root base consider-IMPF what ACC proof
obu-mbi?
consider-IMPF
"What is considered as a base, what is considered as a proof?" (ZAKH:133);
bireme gemu tere be sain ***se-mbi***
totally all that/he ACC good call-IMPF
"Totally all consider him as a good (person)" (PASH1:101);
na be sangga ***ara-fi*** *tomo-mbi*
earth ACC hole make-CONV live-IMPF
"Made a hole from the earth, (they) live (in it)" (ORL:154).

When the verb *se-* has the meaning "to say," "to speak," and the whole construction is used in the meaning of the Latin "*accusativus cum infinito*," the marker of the accusative indicates the only position which is replaced by a noun having the meaning of a person or by a personal pronoun:

*mim-****be*** *gisure-re se-mbi*
I(*bi/min-*)-ACC speak-PART say-IMPF
"It is said (they say) that it was me who spoke;"
enen sira-bu-re jalin ***be***
progeny continue-PASS/CAUS-PART on.account.of ACC
niyalma-i tuhen se-mbi
person-GEN purpose say-IMPF
"It is said (they say) that continuation of progeny is any person's purpose" (ORL:154).

Finally, there can be several direct objects indicated by the accusative marker in a single sentence in Manchu. It is could be explained by the fact that verbal nouns preserve verbal government and themselves may be governed by verbs. The following examples display the occurrance of several markers of the accusative in a single sentence:

waliya-ha *usin* ***be*** *suksala-bu-re* ***be***
abandon-PART field ACC open.to.cultivation-CAUS-PART ACC
hese-i *yabubu-re* *jalin*
order-GEN carry.out-PART in.order.to
"in order to carry out the order to open to cultivation of abandoned fields" (ZAKHL: 967).

There are two direct complements in this sentence, the first *suksalabure be* "opening to cultivation" and the second *usin be* "field for cultivation."

se-re-ngge *habša-ra* ***be*** *akūbu-ki* *se-ci*
say-PART-NR accuse-PART ACC stop-OPT say-CONV
tere-i
that-GEN = their
deribun ***be*** *lashala-ra* ***be*** *wesihun*
beginning ACC terminate-PART ACC honourable
obu-re ***be*** *hendu-hebi*
consider.as-PART ACC say-PAST
Tv-***ki se***- "to wish to do smth.," "to intend to do smth.;"
"It is said that he who wishes to stop accusations should consider important to prevent their beginning" (ORL:154).

The principle predicate *hendumbi* "(they) say" governs the predicative direct object expressed by the participle in the accusative which is *obure be* "that (one) should consider." The latter, in its turn, governs the predicative direct object which is expressed by the participle in the accusative *lashalara be* "to terminate," "termination" which governs the noun in the accusative *deribun be* "beginning."

The marker for the GENITIVE is ***i***, ***ni***. When nouns are changing in accordance with the requirement of the verb, the final *-n* of the stem is usually deleted. But in the genitive the final *-n* is preserved. The marker *i* is used after words ending in a vowel or in *-n*. Words ending in a consonant other than *n*, are followed by *ni*: *gurung ni doro* "inside the palace" (ZAKH:128). After words anding in *i*, especially those borrowed from Chinese, the marker for the genitive may be omitted (Möllendorff, 1892:5). There is evidence that in Sibe, if the noun stem has final *-ii*, then the genitive marker is zero (Norman, 1974:5). In most cases the marker for the genitive is written separately from words it follows: *alin i*, *gisun i*, *boo i*, *gurun i*, *juse i*, *mujilen i*, *na i*. Occasionally words and the marker for the genitive *i* following them are written as one: *abkai* (*abka* "sky," "heaven" + *i*), *biyai* (*biya* "moon,"

"month" + *i*), *booi* (*boo* "house" + *i*), *erei* (*ere* "this" + *i*), *gisuni* (*gisun* "speech," "word," "language" + *i*), *hūdai* (*hūda* "business," "good" + *i*; *hūdai ba* "market"), *hiyalmai* (*niyalma* "man," "person" + *i*).

The genitive is also considered to be one of the principal syntactic cases. Its primary syntactic function is to express an argument which is governed by a noun. Expressing only one, but a very general syntactic relationship between two nouns, the genitive case accumulated a lot of various semantic functions in the Indo-European languages (Benveniste, 1961).

It should be mentioned that in Turkic languages the use of a subordinate noun without the genitive marker indicates a non-specific interpretation (Plungyan, 2000:186). The primary semantic function of the genitive is the possessive one, according to which it indicates the possessor of an object, its origin and habitation:

boo ***i*** *ejen* "the master of the house;"
house GEN master
*abka-**i*** *ejen* "the Lord of Heaven, God" (MOLL:5);
heaven-GEN lord
*abka-**i*** *jui* "the Son of Heaven, the Emperor"
heaven-GEN son
biya ***i*** *elden* "the light of the moon;"
the moon GEN light
*in-**i*** *jaka* "his thing;"
he(*i*/*in*-)-GEN thing
*men-**i*** *baita* "my business;"
I(*bi*/*min*-)-GEN business
gurun ***i*** *dasan* "the government of the state;"
state GEN government
jui ***i*** *banin* "the character of the son" (ZAKH:128).
son GEN character

The genitive may also indicate:

1) part of a whole:

alin ***i*** *ninggu* "the top of a mountain" (ZAKH:128);
mountain GEN top
buhū ***i*** *weihe* "horns of a Manchurian deer;"
deer GEN horn

temen ***i*** *uju* "the head of a camel;"
camel GEN head
ihan ***i*** *šan* "the ears of a cow;"
cow GEN ear
meihe ***i*** *meifen* "the neck of a snake" (ORL:136-7);
snake GEN neck
muke i *sekiyen* "river-head" (SK:47);
river GEN source

2) material from which a thing is made:

yacin dobihi ***i*** *dahū*
black fox.pelt GEN fur.coat
"a fur coat [made] from pelt of black fox;"
fulgiyan erimbu *wehe* ***i*** *jingse*
red precious stone GEM knob.indicating.rank.on.an.official.cap
"a knob [made] from red precious stone" (ORL:141);
wehe ***i*** *kūaran* (ma. *kūwaran*) "a stable made from stone (a stone
stone GEN workshop
stable)" (SK:47);

3) quantity, measure, and time:

emu moro ***i*** *šahūrun muke* *omi-ha*
one cup GEN cold water drink-PART
"(Someone) drank one cup of cold water;"
nadaci *jalan* ***i*** *omolo*
the seventh generation GEN grandson
"Grandson seven times removed;"
ududu *biya-****i*** *caliyan*
several month-GEN pay.and.provisions
"pay and provisions for several months" (ORL:138);

4) persons according to their kinship and subordination:

eme ***i*** *jui* "the mother's son" (NSB:114);
mother GEN son
han ***i*** *sargan* "the khan's wife;"
khan GEN wife

*ama-**i*** *jui* "the father's son (child)" (SK:47);
father-GEN son

5) intention with which a thing (or event) is done:
urgun ***i*** *doro* "the ceremony of congratulation"
congratulation GEN ceremony
(MOLL:5).

Possessive relations may link an agent and the action this agent performs. Possessive relations may also link a patient and the current state of the patient (or the change the patient undergoes) as well as an experiencer and the action of perception of visual or auditory information. In this case, the marker of the genitive follows a word which denotes a subject of clauses of certain kinds:
na ***i*** *tuci-ke* *jaka*
earth GEN originate.from-PART thing
"things which originated from the earth" (ZAKH:128);
fudzi ***i*** *hendu-he* *donji-ha-ngge*
Confucious GEN say-PART heard-PART-NR
"(They) heard what Confucious said" (ORL:140);
dziwen *uttu oci terni yargiyan* *mujilen* ***i***
proper noun if so his honest heart GEN
gurun ***i*** *jalin* *fašša-ha-ngge* *kai*
country GEN for.the.sake.of exert.effort-PART-NR COP
"As far as Dziwen is concerned, his honest heart cares for the sake of fatherland" (ORL:135);
*in-**i*** *takūra-ha* *niyalma*
he(*i*/*in*-)-GEN delegate-PART person
"the man delegated by him" (ZAKH:129).

The attributive function, in its broadest sense, has developed from the possessive function, which is the primary semantic meaning of the genitive. Nouns followed by the marker of the genitive normally serve as attributives in a sentence:
*doro-**i*** *umiyesun* "a belt for a court dress or ceremonial garment;"
rite-GEN belt
*doro-**i*** *yoro* "a ceremonial arrow" (NL:63);
rite-GEN arrow

dorolon ***i*** *nomun* "the book of rites" (PASH1:76);
rite GEN classic.book
urgun ***i*** *cira* "a merry/lively face" (ZAKH:128);
joy GEN face
tuba ***i*** *niyalma ji-he*
that.place GEN people come-PART
"The people of that place came" (ZAKH:309);
fe ice ***i*** *baita, uru waka* ***i*** *arbun*
old new GEN bussines right wrong GEN circumstances
dursun
form/pattern/shape
"old and new businesses; right and wrong circumstances" (PASH2:57).

Occurring after nouns with semantics of objects, the genitive is used in combinations of word which become fixed nominal units:

*bithe-****i*** *niyalma* "scholar;"
book-GEN person
*cooha-****i*** *niyalma* "soldier," "warrior;"
soldier-GEN person
*golo-****i*** *amban* "provincial officials of high rank;"
province-GEN high.official
monggo ***i*** *ba* "Mongolia" (PASH1:89);
Mongolia GEN place
*hūda-****i*** *niyalma* "merchant" (ZAKH:128);
business-GEN person
hūda ***i*** *ba* "market," "marketplace;"
business GEN place
hūda ***i*** *jaka* "merchandise" (NL:139);
business GEN thing
*abka-****i*** *fejergi* "all under heaven," "the world," "China"
heaven-GEN underneath
(ORL:136).

All of the above are listed as stable word-combinations in Norman's *Concise Manchu-English Lexicon*.

In Manchu, one sentence may include a sequence of attributes in one noun phrase when attributes ascribe certain qualitative characteristics to the preceding attributes:

*julge-**i*** *da-**i*** *wang* *sa-**i*** *mujilen* *i*
ancient.times-GEN leader-GEN monarch PL-GEN intention GEN
doron *be* *sa-ci* *o-mbi*
way.of.thinking ACC know-CONV become-IMPF
sa-ci o- "(it is) possible to know;"
"It is possible to know the way of thinking of monarchs of ancient times" (PASH1:92).

The genitive is used to attribute qualitative chatacterictics not only to nouns, but to participles and verbs as well. Occurring after nouns having qualitative semantics, the genitive indicates the adverbial modifier of manner:

giyan *fiyan* ***i*** *gama-mbi* *funcen daban* ***i***
reason appearance GEN arrange-IMPF extra GEN
icihiya-mbi
put.in.order-IMPF
giyan fiyan "reasonable," "orderly," *giyan fiyan* ***i*** "in proper order," "in detail" (NL:110);
funcen daban "extra and excess," *funcen daban* ***i*** "excessively" (NL:95);
"(Someone) has arranged (deels) properly, and put (everything) in order excessively" (PASH2:58);
tere sahal'an (ma. *sahaliyan*) *buhu* (ma. *buha*) *amba jilgan'**i***
that black bull loud voice-GEN
sure-me (ma. *sure-me*) *kaica-fi* *yabu-ha*
shout-CONV yell-CONV go-PART
"That bull yelled with loud voice (loudly) and went away;"
ama *eme* *be* *saikan'**i*** *gingule-me* (ma. *ginggule-me*)
father mother ACC rather.well-GEN respect-CONV
banji
live(IMP)
"Respecting your father and mother, (let you) live well" (SK:47);
bi sain mujilen ***i*** *niyalma be* *tuwa-ra* *o-ci,*
I good intention GEN people ACC look.at-PART be(AUX)-CONV
niyalma urunakū sain mujilen ***i*** *mimbe* *tuwa-mbi*
people surely good intention GEN I(*bi/min-*)-ACC look.at-IMPF
"If I look at people with good intention then people surely look at me with good intention" (ZAKH:129).

Adverbs are normally formed by repeating the noun followed by the genitive marker: *cun cun i* "gradually;" *dahūn dahūn i* "repeatedly"

(*dahūn* "again"); *giyan giyan i* "in proper order" (*giyan* "order," "proper"); *siran siran i* "continually" (*siran* "continuation"); *ulhiyen ulhiyen i* "gradually" (*ulhiyen* "gradual") (ZAKHL, NL). The genitive may also denote the following additional meanings:

1) distributive:

geren saisa ***i*** *uju o-me mute-hebi*
all scholar GEN the.first become-CONV be.able-PAST
"He was able to become the first of all scholars" (ORL:137);
*gucu gucule-re-ngge niyalma-****i*** *sunja ciktan* ***i***
friend make.friends-PART-NR people-GEN five principle GEN
emke
one (as substantive)
"The fact that people make friends is one of the five principles of people" (ZAKH:128-9);

2) instrumental:

angga ***i*** *fodoro-me*
mouth GEN pant-CONV
"to pant with mouth;"
bulukan ***i*** *muke* ***i*** *silgiya-ra*
warm GEN water GEN rinse-PART
"rinsing with warm water" (ORL:140);
*ere suhe-****i*** *saci-mbi*
this axe-GEN chop-IMPF
"(I) shall chop with this axe;"
*tere futa-****i*** *anga* (ma. *angga*) *be hūaita-fi* (ma. *hūwaita-fi*)
that rope-GEN hole ACC tie.up-CONV
"tied up a hole with that rope" (SK:47);
amba-sa saisa niyalma ***i***
high.official(*amban*)-PL scholar/gentleman people GEN
niyalma be dasa-mbi
people ACC rule-IMPF
ambasa saisa "a worthy, wise man," "a true gentleman" (NL:15);
"Wise men rule over people by means of people" (GAB:65).

In Manchu, nouns are normally followed by the genitive before a number of postpositions. The genitive marker does not in this case

express a certain kind of a relation between the noun and the postposition, it merely serves is a formal link between them. Here are some examples where the genitive marker serves as a formal device linking a noun and a postposition following it:

*bira-**i*** *cala* "on the other side of the river;"
river-GEN on.the.other.side
*mujilen **i*** *dolo* "in a heart;"
heart GEN inside
*sin-**i*** *emgi gisure-ki*
you(*si*/*sin*- SG)-GEN with speak-OPT
"(I) shall speak to you;"
*sin-**i*** *baru ala-ki*
you(*si*/*sin*- SG)-GEN to tell-OPT
"(I) shall tell you;"
*tere-**i*** *jalin gisure-he*
this/he-GEN for.the.sake.of speak-PART
"(Someone) spoke for the sake of him" (ZAKH:128-130);
*yao sun **i*** *forgon **i*** *gese*
proper name proper name GEN time GEN like
"like at the times of Yao and Sun" (ORL:138).

The marker for the DATIVE is ***-de***. Like the accusative, the dative does not follow the law of vowel harmony. In most cases the marker of the dative is written separately from the word it follows, with several exceptions to the rule. The marker and irregular forms of personal pronouns are normally written as one. The marker *de* and the copula *bi* are also written as one in the following patterns: *amargi debi* "it is situated in the north;" *dergi debi* "it is situated in the east;" *julergi debi* "it is situated in the south;" *wargi debi* "it is situated in the west."

Like the accusative, the dative plays a very important role in the structure of Manchu utterances. Although the dative is oriented towards the expression of the peripheral semantic roles of arguments, it is used to express many of these. The dative is primarily used to indicate the semantic role of recipient, which is normally combined together with the role of addressee and in some languages with the semantic roles of benefactive and experiencer. All of these semantic roles are generalized by the case for the syntactic indirect object, i.e. the dative (Plungyan, 2000:169-70). The semantic role of

instrument, which is considered to be a peripheral argument, is also marked by the dative in Manchu. Being a polyfunctional case, the dative is used in Manchu to indicate circumstantial semantic roles, primarily, to express space and temporal relationships. Correspondingly, the dative has two basic syntactic functions: it is used to indicate an indirect object and adverbial modifier, mostly of place and, less frequently, time and cause.

Indicating an indirect object, the dative refers to the recipient of the action or the addressee of speech or another action:

ere niyalma ***de*** *bu-mbi*
this man DAT give-IMPF
"(Someone) gives to this man;"
tere niyalma ***de*** *hendu-he*
that man DAT say-PART
"(Someone) said to that man" (MOLL:5);
*abka-****de*** *hengkile-mbi*
heaven-DAT kowtow-IMPF
"(I) kowtow to heaven" (ZAKH:130);
ere sunja n'alma (ma. *niyalma*) *tere ašikta* (ma. *asihata*) ***de***
this five man that guy DAT
fonji-ha
ask-PART
"These five men asked that guy;"
wan be dang ***de*** *jaka hacin hacin boy bi (*ma. *boobai)*
proper name DAT thing various various treasure
ulin ulha adun gemu labdu bu-fi
property cattle cattle all many give-CONV
wan be dang = proper name;
"Wan Be Dang was given all kinds of things—treasure, property and cattle" (SK:48).

The dative may indicate the agent of a passive verb:

*bi in-****de*** *gele-bu-he*
I he-DAT fear-PASS-PART
"I was scared of him" (I was frightened by him) (ZAKH:162);
… julergi gurun joo ***de*** *wa-bu-fi*
senior ruling.house zhao DAT kill-PASS-CONV
"(They) were killed by the Senior Zhao ruling house;"

amargi joo gurun ***de*** *mukiye-bu-hebi*
junior zhao ruling.house DAT extinguish-PASS-PAST
"(It) was extinguished by the Junior Zhao ruling house" (ORL:145).

The dative may indicate a person who is the possessor of something. A predicate of such a sentence is expressed by the verb *bi-* "to be," "to exist" (or by the copula *bi)*, which takes the meaning "to have," "to possess" in such constructions as following:

ahun ***de*** *bithe bi*
elder.brother DAT book COP(have/there.is)
"The elder brother has a book;"
bithe-i niyalma usin i haha weile-re faksi
book-GEN person field GEN man work-PART workman
hūda-i urse ***de*** *men-i*
business-GEN people DAT we(*be/men*-EXCL)-GEN
men-i ula-ha tacin bi
we-GEN pass.on-PART skill COP
bithei nyalma "scholar," *usin i haha* "tenant farmer," *weilere faksi* "workman," *hūdai niyalma* "merchant" (NL:31, 300, 138);
"Be he scholar, farmer, workman or merchant, every man has some skills to pass on" (ORL:147);
*min-****de*** *gisun bi-fi sin-de fonji-ki*
I(*bi/min*-)-DAT word be-CONV you(*si/sin*- SG)-DAT ask-OPT
se-mbi
say(AUX)-IMPF
Tv-*ki se-* "to want/wish to do smth.;"
"I have a word, (I) want to ask you about" (literally); "There is something I want to ask you about"(ZAKH:131).

The dative may indicate parenthetical words denoting the source of a statement (dictum) or quotation:

min-i gūnin ***de*** "in my opinion" (ZAKH:144);
I(*bi/min*-)-GEN thought DAT
ejen i hese ***de*** "according to the emperor's edict"
emperor GEN edict DAT
(ZAKH:131).

The dative also indicates an instrument of the action:

angga ***de*** *hūla, mujilen* ***de*** *eje*
mouth DAT read(IMP) mind DAT memorize(IMP)
"Use your lips to read and your brain to remember;"
tere-i elden ***de*** *eldeše-me*
that-GEN light DAT shine-CONV
"Being illuminated by that light … " (ORL:145).

Both the genetive and the dative are used to indicate an instrument, but there is a difference between them. The dative is used with verbs in the past:

*beye-i gala-****de*** *jafa-habi*
self-GEN hand-DAT catch-PAST
"(Someone) caught with his hand;"
*beye-i gala-****i*** *gaisu*
self-GEN hand-GEN take(IMP)
"Take with your hand" (ZAKH:132).

The dative is used when people talk about someone else's activities:

*si yasa-****de*** *twa-ki*
you(*si/sin-* SG) eye-DAT see-OPT
"You see with your eyes"(ZAKH:132).

But when the question is about someone's own activity, then the genitive is used:

*min-i yasa-****i*** *tuwa-ci ...*
I(*bi/min-*)-GEN = my eye-GEN see-CONV
"Seeing with my own eyes ... " (ZAKH:132).

Serving as an adverbial modifier of place, time, and cause the dative may show:

1) location in space (in, at):
*alin bujan-****de*** *tomo-mbi*
mountain forest-DAT live-IMPF
"(They) live in mountains and forests;"
*kuwecihe boo-****de*** *uji-mbi*
pigeon house-DAT nurture-IMPF

"A pigeon is nurtured by a household" (ORL:146);
abka ***de*** *deye-re gasha bi*
sky DAT fly-PART large.bird COP
na ***de*** *feksi-re gurgu bi*
earth DAT run-PART wild.animal COP
"Those flying in the sky are birds: running on the earth are wild animals" (ZAKH:131);
bi ere ba ***de*** *šim-be* (ma. *sim-be*) *ala-me*
I this place DAT you(*ši*/*šin*- SG)-ACC wait.for-CONV
ningun (ma. *ninggun*) *an'a* (ma. *aniya*) *o-ho*
six year become-PART
"Six years passed since I began waiting for you here (in this place)" (SK:47);

2) destination (towards, upon, on):

tugi ***de*** *sucuna-me deye-mbi*
cloud DAT soar-CONV fly-IMPF
"(They) fly soaring towards the clouds" (ORL:147);
*ce boo-****de*** *isinji-ha*
they house-DAT reach-PART
"They reached the house;"
mukden ***de*** *gene-mbi*
place name DAT go-IMPF
"(I) go to Mukden" (ZAKH:131);
tere bou (ma. *boo*) *i uce* ***de*** *yabu-me išina-ha* (ma. *isina-ha*)
that house GEN door DAT do-CONV arrive.at-PART
"(Someone) arrived at the door of that house" (SK:47);

3) location in time (it should be mentioned that in a simple sentence an adverbial modifier of time is more often expressed by the nominative):

*tere nergin-****de*** "at that time," "at that moment" (ZAKH:131);
that time/moment-DAT
*uju-i biya-****de*** "at the first moon" (ORL:147);
first-GEN moon-DAT
*muda-ra erin-****de*** *ere ba-be boljon obu-ki*
return-PART time-DAT this place-ACC agreement make-OPT
"Let us make an agreement when to return to this place" (SK:48);

4) the limits of a certain length of road or space of time (from... to, from ... until):

golo-i *hecen ci* *gemun hecen* ***de***
province-GEN city ABL capital city DAT
"from a provincial city to the capital" (ZAKH:131);
julge-ci *te* ***de*** *isitala*
ancient.times-ABL now DAT until
"from ancient times until the present" (ORL:144);

5) as far as the temporal meaning of the dative is concerned, it is mostly found in complex sentences, in clauses expressing semantics of time. Following participles, the dative indicates a general temporal meaning:

amba-sa *teike* *gene-re* ***de*** *ala-ha*
high.official-PL the.moment go-PART DAT report-PART
"The moment the high officials were about to go, (he) reported to them;"
tuwa-ra ***de*** *ja gojime, yabu-re* ***de*** *mangga*
look.at-PART DAT easy though perform-PART DAT difficult
"Though easy to watch, it is difficult to perform" (ZAKH:131);
in-i *kemuni leole-me* *gisure-re-****de*** ...
he(*i*/*in*-)-GEN still discuss-CONV speak-PART-DAT
"when he was still discussing ... " (ZAKH:132);
ama-i *bisi-re-****de*** *tere-i* *gūnin* *be*
father-GEN be/exist-PART-DAT that-GEN opinion ACC
tuwa-mbi
look-IMPF
"When father was alive, (they) listened to his opinion" (PASH2:106);

6) the dative may indicate an adverbial modifier of manner: *jobolon* ***de*** "sorrowfully," *urgun* ***de*** "joyfully," *doron* ***de*** "according to rites," "ceremonially;"

7) cause:

emu gisun ***de*** *mergen obu-mbi,* *emu gisun* ***de*** *mergen*
one word DAT wise make-IMPF one word DAT wise

akū
COP.NEG (there.is.not)
"One word can give rise to wisdom or foolishness (ORL:144).

The dative is usually governed by nouns and verbs having semantics of evaluation such as *ja* "easy," *mangga* "difficult," *sain* "well," *amuran* "fond of," "intent on," *duibule-* "to compare," etc.:

sa-ra ***de*** *ja*
learn-PART DAT easy
"it is easy to learn;"
sure-be *yabu-re* ***de*** *amuran*
wisdom-ACC perform-PART DAT intent.on
"being intent on performing wisely" (ORL:143);
arsari *urse* ***de*** *duibule-ci* *ojo-rakū*
ordinary people DAT compare-CONV be(AUX)-PART(NEG)
"(He) cannot be compared with ordinary people" (ORL:144);
yabu-re ***de*** *mangga*
perform-PART DAT difficult
"it is difficult to perform;"
jete-re ***de*** *amuran, yabu-re* ***de*** *banuhūn*
eat(*je-*)-PART DAT good.at work-PART DAT lazy
"Being good at eating, but lazy to work" (literally); "Being greedy for food but with no appetite for work" (ZAKH:131).

The verbs that have emotional semantics such as *akda-* "to trust;" *daya-* "to be dependent on," "to rely on;" *gele-* "to fear;" *giru-* "to feel ashamed;" *golo-* "to be startled," "to be scared;" *gucule-* "to make friend;" *jaila-* "to avoid," "to get out of the way of;" *jobo-* "to suffer;" *sengguwe-* "to fear," "to dread;" *ubiya-* "to loathe;" *targa-* "to abstain from" also govern the dative:

muten *akū* ***de*** *jobo-mbi*
capability there.is.not DAT suffer-IMPF
"(Someone) suffers when there is no capability (to do smth.)" (literally); "Incapability brings suffering" (ORL:143);
faksi *anggalinggū* ***de*** *gucule-re* *de* *o-ci*
shrewd glib DAT make.friends-PART DAT be(AUX)-CONV
ekiyende-mbi
be.lacking-IMPF

"When making friends with glib (persons) then (someone) will be deficient" (literally); "Glib friends are unsatisfactory;"
boco becun ***de*** *targa*
lust quarrel DAT avoid(IMP)
"Lust and quarrels are best avoided;"
fusihūn de fonji-re ***de*** *giru-rakū*
junior DAT ask-PART DAT be.ashamed-PART(NEG)
"There is no shame in (asking) taking advice from the young" (ORL:144);
abka ***de*** *ubiya-fi*
heaven DAT loathe-CONV
"being loathed by Heaven" (ZAKH:130);
in-i donji-rakū de gele-me golo-mbi
he(*i*/*in*-)-GEN hear-PART(NEG) DAT fear-CONV be.scared-IMPF
"He is afraid of not being able to hear" (PASH2:41; MB).

The dative is also governed by the following verbs: *aca*- "to meet," "to meet together," "to correspond to," "to fit," "to be equal;" *aliya*- "to wait;" *bai*- "to ask for;" *donji*- "to listen," "to hear;" *fonji*- "to ask;" *holbo*- "to get married;" *isina*- "to reach;" *taci*- "to learn," "to study," "to become accustomed to." Here are some examples with these verbs:

in-i adaki ***de*** *bai-fi bu-habi*
he(*i*/*in*-)-GEN neighbour DAT ask-CONV give-PAST
"(He) returned what he had borrowed from his neighbour" or "Having borrowed from his neighbour (he) made repayment" (ORL:146);
*duin erin-****de*** *acabu-me*
four season-DAT adapt-CONV
"adapting to four seasons;"
erin ***de*** *aliya-hai*
time DAT wait-CONV
"having waited for the time" (ORL:144);
*sin-****de*** *fonji-ki se-mbi*
you(*si*/*sin*- SG)-DAT ask-OPT say(AUX)-IMPF
Tv-*ki sa*- "to want/wish to do smth.;"
"(I) want to ask you" (ZAKH:131).

In Manchu, many nouns are changed into syntactic words, mostly postpositions, by the attachment of the dative marker. The nouns themselves show a tendency to lose their lexical meaning, becoming partly desemanticized. Some of these words can serve as conjunctions in complex sentences.

The following postpositions occur quite frequently: *bade* "if," "in the case that" (*ba* "place," "occasion," "reason," "condition"); *dade* "in addition to" (*da* "root," "base," "foundation"); *erinde* "when" (*erin* "time"); *fonde* "when" (*fon* "time"); *jakade* "to the presence of," "up to," "by," "in front of" (*jaka* "thing," "object"); *jalinde* "for the sake of" (*jalin* "reason," "motive"); *sidende* "in between" (*siden* "space," "interval"); *turgunde* "because," "since" (*turgun* "reason," "motive"). Syntactic functions of these words will be described in more detail in chapters dedicated to postpositions and conjunctions (see 8).

Finally, if there are several homogeneous parts of the sentence to be indicated by the dative marker, only the last one is actually marked.

The marker for the ABLATIVE is ***-ci***. The ablative is grouped together with the so-called locative cases which are used to express space relationships. The ablative is used to indicate adverbial modifiers which denote the starting point in space or in time. In accordance with this basic function, the ablative displays the following syntactic meanings:

1) it indicates a starting point in space:

*boo-**ci*** *tuci-ke*
house-ABL go.away-PART
"(Someone) went away from the house " (ZAKH: 135);
*uba-**ci*** *goro akū*
this.place-ABL far COP.NEG (there.is.not)
"not far from this place (from here)" (PASH2:22);
abka ***ci*** *wasi-mbi*
sky/heaven ABL descend-IMPF
"(Smth.) is descending from the sky;"
na ***ci*** *banji-mbi*
earth ABL be.born-IMPF
"(Smth.) is growing from the earth" (PASH1:61);
*bi goro ba-**ci*** *ulin bota-mbi seme ji-he*
I distant place-ABL wealth catch-IMP in.order.(to) come-PART

bota—(ma. *buta-*) "to catch (game or fish);"
"I came from a distant place to gain wealth;"
*ere ejen'i yamun-**ci** goro akū emu amba luce*
this khan(GEN) palace-ABL far there.is.not one big tower
bisi-re bou (ma. *boo*) *bi-he bi*
be-PART house be-PART COP
"Not far from the khan's palace there was a house with a big tower" (SK:48);

2) a starting point in time:

*dergi de guri-he **ci***
east DAT move-PART ABL
"since (they) moved to the east" (ZAKH:135);
*ajigen-**ci** ere-i adali ferguecuke gasha be*
childhood-ABL this-GEN like wonderful bird ACC
šue (ma. *šuwe*) *sabu-rakū*
not.at.all see-PART(NEG)
"I haven't seen a bird as wonderful as this since childhood" (SK:48);

3) a starting point of a length of road or space of time in constructions of the type "from ... to," "from ... until":

*gemun hecen **ci** golo-i hecen de*
capital city ABL province-GEN city DAT
sandalabu-ha-ngge goro
be.distant.from-PART-NR far
"It is a great distance from the capital city to a provincial city" (ZAKH:135);

*da-**ci** dube-de isitala*
beginning-ABL end-DAT until
"from the beginning to the end" (PASH1:131);

4) the meaning of separation:

*ama eniye **ci** fakca-fi, boo-**ci** alja-fi*
father mother ABL separate-CONV house-ABL leave-CONV
inenggi goida-ha
day last.for.a.long.time-PART

"Since he separated from (his) father and mother and left the family, a long time has passed" (ZAKH:135). In his Grammar, Möllendorff gave a different translation of the above sentence: "Taking leave of his father and mother, he was long separated from his family" (Möllendorff, 1892:6).

5) the ablative marks an object with which something is compared (an object of comparison):

ere erin ***ci*** *oyonggo ningge akū*
this time ABL important SBSTR COP.NEG (there.is.not)
"There is no time more important than the present" (ORL:156);
*tere ere-****ci*** *sain*
that this-ABL good
"that is better than this" (ZAKH:135);
nenehe ***ci*** *beye umuši labdu sain o-ho*
former ABL myself very much good become-PART
"In comparison with the former I became much better" (SK:48);

6) the ablative has distributive meaning:

*ya-****ci*** *neneme ji-he bi-he*
what-ABL the.first come-PART be-PART
"Which came first?" (MOLL:6).

In Manchu, the ablative is governe d by the following verbs: *fakca-* "to leave," "to separate;" *alja-* "to leave;" *tuci-* "to come out," "to go out," "to emerge," "to appear:"
*bi boo-****ci*** *je-fi tuci-ke*
I house-ABL eat-CONV go.out-PART
"Having eaten, I went out from the house" (ORL:155);
idu ***ci*** *hoko-mbi, niyaman* ***ci*** *fakca-mbi, boo*
a.turn.at.duty ABL part-IMPF relative ABL separate-IMPF house
ci *alja-mbi, jobolon* ***ci*** *jaila-mbi*
ABL leave-IMPF disaster ABL avoid-IMPF
"(Someone) leaves his turn at duty, parts from his relatives, leaves his home and avoids disaster" (PASH2:35).

The postposition *tulgiyen* "besides" also governs the ablative:

*tere-**ci*** *tulgiyen* *buye-rakū*
this-ABL besides desire-PART(NEG)
"(Someone) desires nothing besides (more than) this" (GAB).

As for the *deri*-form in classical Manchu, scholars who consider it case marker differ in specifying its meaning. Those who recognize *deri* as a case often use different terms to designate it.

According to Zakharov, the marker *deri* can be used instead of the marker of the ablative *ci* (Zakharov, 1879:136). He gives some examples in his Grammar: *dorgideri* "from inside;" *tulergideri* "from outside;"

*giyamun **deri** gene-he*
station from go.away-PART
"(Someone) went away from (left) a station;"
muke-i *jugūn **deri** ji-he*
water-GEN way by come-PART
"(Someone) came by water" (ZAKH:136).

Here are some more examples:

muke *gisari* ***deri*** *tuci-mbi*
wather spring from go.out-IMPF
"Water stems from a spring;"
edun *sangga* ***deri*** *dosi-mbi*
wind opening through enter-IMPF
"Wind goes through a slot;"
fa ***deri*** *gala* *be* *jafa-mbi*
window from hand ACC seize-IMPF
"(Someone) from a window seizes the hand" (PASH2:65).

G. Kiyose used the term "prolative" to designate the *deri*-case form (Kiyose, 1997:150). J. Norman classified the *deri*-form together with the *ci*-form as the ablative for classical Manchu (Norman, 1974:165). As far as Sibe is concerned with respect to these two locative cases, the distribution of meaning between the case markers *ci* and *deri* suggested by Norman is different from the meaning these markers have in Radlov's texts. There *ci* is used to denote one of the functional variants of the ablative, with the main meaning of a starting point (in space or in time), and *deri* corresponds roughly to the separative

case (Lebedeva & Gorelova, 1994:49). There are a number of instances where *deri* is used in comparative constructions:

encu hehe-ši (ma. *hehe-si*) ***deri*** *fulu tua-mbi* (ma. *tuwa-mbi*)
other woman-PL from better consider-IMPF
"(He) began to consider her better than other women;"
šini (ma. *sini*) *hojihūn* (ma. *hojihon*) *tere ahūn*
you son-in-law that elder.brother
deo ningun (ma. *ninggun*) *n'alma* (ma. *niyalma*) ***deri***
younger.brother six man from
gethun (ma. *getuhun*) *mergen k'angk'an* (ma. *kiyangkiyan batur bi-me*
awake wise powerful hero be-CONV
haha sain
man good
ahūn deo "brothers"
"Your son-in-law in comparison with his six brothers is a very wise and powerful hero and a good man" (SK:49).

J. Norman refers to the *der*i-case form as the ablative, which does not seem quite appropriate, as the Latin term "ablative" means both "the starting point (in space or in time)" and "separation (specification)". The *ci*-case form is described by Norman as directional, i.e. as opposite in its semantics to the meaning of the starting point (denoting "to" rather than "from") (Norman, 1974:165-6).

2.9. *Word Formation of Nouns*

Most nouns are derivative, with the exception of a few non-derived ones which were mentioned above. In classical Manchu there were many productive noun forming suffixes. Nouns that have abstract meaning can be formed from verb stems by means of the following suffixes:

1) *-n*: *acan* "meeting," "juncture," "harmony," "concord," "union" (*aca-* "to meet," "to get together," "to combine," "to be in harmony," "to be in agreement"); *buyenin* "desire" (*buye-* "to desire," "to admire," "to like," "to love," "to do gladly"); *edun* "wind" (*edu-* "to blow" (of the wind); *efin*, *efiyen* "game," "play" (*efi*, *efiye-* "to play"); *gūnin* "thought," "opinion," "feeling," "mind," "spirit" (*gūni-* "to think,"

"to consider," "to intend"); *jabun* "answer" (*jabu-* "to answer," "to respond"); *jodon* "weave," "grass linen" (*jodo-* "to weave"); *isan* "assembly," "gathering," "a meeting" (*isa-* "to assemble," "to come together," "to gather"); *tacin* "learning," "science," "skill" (*taci-* "to teach"). With regard to these nouns it should be mentioned that in some cases it is unclear whether the nouns derived from the verb or whether the latter is of nominal derivation.

2) the suffix *-n* is used to form nouns from verbs which contain the suffix used for forming the passive and causative moods, e.g. *-bu*: *alibun* "a petition" (*alibu-* "to present a document to a superior"); *banjibun* "a compendium," "a creation," "a product" (*banjibu-* "to give birth to," "to compile," "to compose," "to make up," "to form"); *ejebun* "record," "notes" (*ejebu-* "to be recorded," "to be noted down"); *hesebun* "fate," "determination" (*hesebu-* "to ordain," "to determine"); *tuwabun* "survey," "review," "view" (*tuwabu-* "to be on view," "to show," "to exhibit"); *ulabun* "tradition," "what is handed down," "biography" (*ula-* "to hand down," "to pass on," "to hand on," "to pass to;" *ulabu-* PASS/CAUS of *ula-*); *yendebun* "inspiration," "excitement," "inducement" (*yendebu-* "to induce," "to inspire");

3) *-lan/-lon/-len* , *-ran/-ron/-ren* which can be analyzed historically as composed of suffixes *-la/-lo/-le*, *-ra/-ro/-ra* plus *-n*; the suffixes *-la/-lo/-le* and *-ra/-ro/-re* are in face verbal ones. Both non-derived and derivative verbs contain them in their morphological structure and it would be accurate to consider only the suffix *-n* as derivative for the majority of such nouns: *aisilan* "relief," "aid," "assistance" (*aisila-* "to help," "to aid," "to assist," "to provide"); *dorolon* "rite," "ceremony" (*dorolo-* "to perform a rite"); *cihalan* "desire," "wish" (*cihala-* "to like," "to be fond of," "to wish"); *gisuren* "talk," "discussion" (*gisure-* "to speak," "to talk"); *jobolon* "trouble," "disaster," "sorrow," "mourning" (*jobo-* "to suffer," "to be in need," "to worry," "to be distressed"); *ergelen* "force," "coercion" (*ergele-* "to force," "to coerce"); *erulen* "torture," "torment" (*erule-* "to torture," "to punish"); *tacuran* "commission," "duty," "mission" (*tacura-* "to send on a mission," "to delegate," "to commission"); *wakalan* "fault" (*wakala-* "to blame," "to fault," "to accuse," "to impeach," "to deem wrong");

4) *-kiyan/-kiyen*, *-hiyan/-hiyen* which can also be analyzed historically as composed of suffixes *-kiya/-kiye*, *-hiya/-hiye* plus *-n* which is, to be

precise, the only derivative one for this group of nouns. The rest belong to the verbal stems: *dasihiyan* "dusting," "shaking off" (*dasihiya-* "to dust smth.," "to dust with a feather duster," "to shake off"); *necihiyen* "calming," "soothing," "pacification;" "peaceful," "tranquil," "serene" (*necihiye-* "to console," "to calm down," "to pacify," "to subjugate"); *tacihiyan* "teaching," "training" (*tacihiya-* "to instruct," "to teach"); *tuwakiyan* "supervision," "safeguarding," "guarding (from, against);" "discretion in conduct" (*tuwakiya-* "to supervise," "to watch," "to guard," "to watch over," "to observe");

5) *-gan/-gen/-gon*, *-han/-hen/-hon*: *aligan* "support," "retainer," "base" (*ali-* "to receive," "to accept," "to support," "to hold up"); *bodogon* "consideration," "plan" (*bodo-* "to plan," "to think over"); *dengnehen* "balance," "scales;" "the leg of a boot" (NL:58) (*dengne-* "to weigh on a small steelyard," "to balance," "to complete with"); *joligan* "ransom money," "ransom" (*joli-* "to redeem," "to ransom"); *kubuhen* "border," "edging," "hem" (*kubu-* "to add a border to," "to edge," "to hem"); *nemehen* "addition," "increment" (*neme-* "to add," "to increase"); *nirugan* "picture," "chart," "map," "drawing," "painting" (*niru-* "to draw," "to paint"); *sujahan* "supporting pole," "prop," "support" (*suja-* "to prop up," "to support");

6) the suffix *-ku/-kū* is used to form verbal nouns which denote instruments and utensils, occupation, profession and rank: *alikū* "a tray," "the tray used for weighing on a scale" (*ali-* "to receive," "to except;" "to support," "to hold up"); *anakū* "key" (*ana-* "to push"); *anjikū* "hatchet" (*anji-* "to hack," "to chop with a hatchet"); *berileku* "a drill" (*berile-* "to drill"); *cirgeku* "a wooden implement used to pound earth," "a ramrod" (*cirge-* "to ram," "to pound earth"); *dabukū* "fire lighter," "small stove," "burner" (*dabu-* "to light a fire or lamp"); *dengneku* "a small steelyard" (*dengne-* "to weigh on a small steelyard"); *dobokū* "sacrificial candlestick" (*dobo-* "make a sacrifice," "to offer up," "to offer in a ceremony"); *etuku* "clothing," "garment" (*etu-* "to put on clothing," "to wear"); *harikū* "an iron (for pressing clothing)," "a cauterizing iron" (*hari-* "to iron," "to press (clothing)," "to cauterize sores on cattle"); *hašakū* "a scrubbing brush made from kaoliang stalks or the stalks of other grains" (*haša-* "to scrub"); *hedereku* "a rake" (*hedere-* "to rake"); *korikū* "chisel," "gouge," "a small curved knife" (*kori-* "to hollow out," "to dig out," "to cut out"); *laidakū* "calumniator," "slanderer," "mischievous," "ill-behaved," "self-willed

children" (*laida-* "to calumniate," "to slander," "to blame someone else for one's own errors," "to be mischievous," "to be self willed"); *nereku* "a sleeveless rain cape made from leather or oilskin" (*nere-* "to throw over the shoulders (clothing);" *niyeleku* "a stone roller," "upper millstone," "a stick for washing" (*niyele-* "to roll," "to mill (grains)," "to roll fabrics with a stone roller"); *šokū* "a currycomb" (*šo-* "to scrape," "to scrape off," "to curry" (livestock); *tacikū* "school" (*taci-* "to learn," "to study");

7) the suffix *-ku/-kū* is used to form nouns from verbs that have the suffix *-bu* (the form of the passive and causative moods). This group of verbal nouns has several meanings: instruments of human performance; a person who is characterized according to the action expressed by a verb from which this noun is derived; professions: *acabukū* "flatterer," "an obsequious person" (*acabu-* "to be obsequious," "to flatter"); *hafumbukū* "interpreter," "translator" (*hafumbu-* "to translate," "to interpret"); *tacibukū* "teacher," "instructor" (*tacibu-* "to teach," "to instruct"); *teherebuku* "balance," "scales" (*teherebu-* "to to weigh on a balance"); *ubaliyambukū* "translator" (*ubaliyambu-* "to translate from one language into another");

8) the suffix *-cun* forms verbal nouns of various abstract meanings: *akacun* "sadness," "grief" (*aka-* "to be sad," "to grieve"); *akdacun* "trust," "trustworthiness," "what one depends on" (*akda-* "to depend on," "to trust"); *aliyacun* "regret," "waiting" (*aliya-* "to regret," "to wait"); *elecun* "satiety," "satisfaction," "content," "pleased," "satisfied" (*ele-* "to suffice," "to be enough"); *gasacun* "grudge," "complaint" (*gasa-* "to grieve," "to complain," "to hold a grudge"); *girucun* "shame," "disgrace," "disgraced" (*giru-* "to be ashamed," "to feel ashamed," "to be embarrassed"); *isecun* "apprehension," "fear," "frightened," "overawed" (*ise-* "to apprehend," "to fear," "to lack courage," "to be timid"); *korsocun* "annoyance," "regret" (*korso-* "to regret," "to miss," "to be annoyed at," "to hate"); *suilacun* "distress," "labour," "agony," "hardship" (*suila-* "to be in distress," "to suffer hardship," "to be exhausted," "to be in agony"); *ulhicun* "understanding," "insight," "knowledge" (*ulhi-* "to understand," "to comprehend"); *yertecun* "shame" (*yerte-* "to be ashamed," "to be embarrassed");

9) *-sun*, *-fun*: *adasun* "lap," "lapel" (*ada-* "to accompany," "to be attached to," "to stitch together"); *hadufun* "scythe," "sickle" (*hadu-*

"to cut with a sickle," "to reap"); *hūwaliyasun* "harmony," "concord," "union," "harmonious," "in concord," "united" (*hūwaliya-* "to harmonize," "to unite," "to reconcile," "to conciliate"); *ijifun* "comb" (*iji-* "to comb," "to put the vertical threads on a loom," "to put in proper order"); *umiyesun* "girdle," "girth," "belt," "sash" (*umiyele-* "to tie a belt," "to gird oneself");

10) the suffixes *-si*, *-msi*, *-ci*, *-ji*, *-lji*, *-mji*, *-nju* are used to form nouns both from verbs and nouns. The resulting nouns designate people according to their skills, occupations, ranks, trades, and business: *adulasi* "herdman" (*adula-* "to herd"); *usisi* "farmer," "cultivator of the land" (*usin* "field for cultivation"); *bithesi* "scribe," "secretary," "clerk" (*bithe* "book," "letter"); *kumusi* "musician" (*kumun* "music"); *giyamusi* "inspector of a post station" (*giyamun* "relay station," "relay post," military post station"); *sejesi* "driver," "coachman" (*sejen* "cart"); *ulandusi* "postman," "letter-carrier," "Superintendant of a Military Post" (*ulandu-* "to hand down from one person to another," "to pass on from one person to another"); *kimcisi* "investigator" (*kimci-* "to examine," "to check," "to investigate," "to look into carefully"); *tacimsi* "student of the Imperial Academy of Learning" (*taci-* "to learn," "to study," "to be accustomed"); *dahalasi* "follower" (*dahala-* "to follow," "to pursue," "to run down"); *tuwakiyasi* "guard," "watchman" (*tuwakiya-* "to guard," "to watch," "to watch over," "to observe"); *beidesi* "judge" (*bejde-* "to examine a case," "to try a case," "to judge"); *jubesi* "storyteller," "taleteller" (*juben* "story," "tale"); *aduci* "herder" (*adun* "herd," "swarm"); *morici* "groom," "stableman," "a person who watches horses at official establishments" (*morin* "horse"); *sejeci* "cart-maker," "person in charge of official vehicles" (*sejen* "cart," "vehicle"); *boigoji* "host," "master" (*boigon* "family," "household," "property"); *dahalji* "a manservant under a life contract" (*dahala-* "to follow," "to pursue," "to run down"); *butemji*, *butumji* "cunning," "deceitful" (*butu* "dark," "dim," "hidden," "secret;" *butule-* "to cover," "to cover up," "to act secretly;" *butu-* "to hibernate"); *ukanju* "fugitive" (*uka-* "to to flee," "to run away," "to desert").

In some cases the suffix *-ci* attached to nouns, may form nouns that have the meaning of objects which are obtained as a result of doing a trade, a business, a handicraft: *ihaci* "cowhide" (*ihan* "bovine," "cow," "ox," "bull"); *honci* "sheepskin" (*honin* "sheep"); *nimaci* "goat-skin" (*niman* "goat"); *nuheci* "hide of the wild boar" (*nuhen* "a one-year-old wild pig") (Zakharov, 1879:74);

11) the suffix *-tun* is used to form nouns from both nouns and verbs. The resulting nouns denote mainly instruments and utensils: *tetun* "tool," "implement," "vessel," "dishes" (*tebu-* "to pour," "to fill a vessel," "to pack," "to put in"); *alitun* "a cup," "a small table for offerings" (*ali-* "to receive," "to accept," "to support," "to hold up").

In Manchu, a number of suffixes are used to form a group of nouns with semantics of quality, which is one of the properties of object nouns. These nouns are associated with adjectives and translated by them. They may also denote a person with regard to certain qualitative characteristics ascribed to him/her, and in that case they are treated as proper nouns. The following suffixes form nouns both from nouns and verbs:

1) *-tu*, *-du*: *albatu* "tributary," "rough," "rude," "rustic," "common," "ordinary" (*alban* "public service," "official," "public," "fiscal," "tax," "duty," "tribute"); *bekitu* "strong man," "strong," "stable" (*beki* "strong," "stable," "firm"); *dahaltu* "orderly," "manservant" (*daha-* "to follow," "to submit," "to surrender," "to obey"); *giratu* "big-boned (of livestock)" (*giran* "corpse;" *giranggi* "bone"); *girutu* "ashamed," "embarrassed" (*giru-* "to be ashamed," "to feel ashamed," "to be embarrassed"); *hūlhatu* "thief," "swindler," "thievish" (*hūlha* "thief," "robber," "secret"); *hūlhitu* "a muddleheaded person" (*hūlhi* "muddle-headed," "confused," "blurred"); *niyakitu* "a dirty-nosed child" (*niyaki* "pus," "nasal and bodily discharge"); *songgotu* "a person who cries frequently," "a crybaby" (*songgo-* "to cry," "to weep"); *turgatu* "a skinny person" (*turga* "thin," "skinny," "lean"); *urhūtu* "easily frightened (of horses and other livestock)" (*urhū-* "to shy" (of livestock); *urhūn* "shyness" (of livestock); *urhutu* "leaning to one side," "having one leg shorter than the other," "a person who leans to one side" (*urhu* "one-sided," "tilting," "partial;" *urhu-* "to lean to one side," "to be partial," "to be prejudiced to one side");

2) *-ta*, *-da*, *-to*, *-do*: *alhata* "variegation," "diversity of colours," "mottled patterns," "variegated patterns" (*alha* "many coloured," "variegated," "mottled"); *fulata* "red-eyed," "having red circles about the eyes" (*fula-hūn* "pink," "reddish"); *ganggata* "giant," "tall in stature" (*gangga*, *ganggan* "hard," "strong," "tough"); *giohoto* "beggar" (*gioha-*, *gioho-* "to beg" (for alms); *kaikata*, *kaikada* "squint-eyed/cross-eyed person," "slanting," "askance" (*kaikara-* "to be slanted," "to be crooked," "to look at askance"); *manda* "slow," "late;" *sanggata* "having holes or

openings" (*sangga* "hole," "opening"); *suwaliyata* "mixture," "blend," "mixed," "blended" (*suwaliya-* "to mix," "to mix up," "to blend together," "to combine," "to put together;" *suwaliyan* "mixture," "mixing"); *ubiyada* "detestable," "hateful," "execrable," "loathsome" (*ubiya-* "to detest," "to loathe");

3) *-ki*: *acabuki* "flatterer," "sycophant" (*acabu-* "to be obsequious," "to flatter"); *adaki* "neighbour," "neighboring," "adjacent" (*ada-* "to be close to," "to be next," "to be attached to"); *ambaki* "haughty," "proud," "pompous" (*amba* "big," "great," "vast," "important"); *goroki* "distant," "distant place," "distance" (*goro* "far," "distant"); *hanciki* "near," "near place," "vicinity" (*hanci* "near," "close"); *horoki* "having a senile aspect;" *jabšaki* "a good fortune," "advantage," "luck," "lucky" (*jabša-* "to obtain an advantage," "to derive benefit from," "to be by good luck"); *juseki* "childish," "juvenile," "childhood" (*juse* PL of *jui* "child," "son"); *oyoki* "hasty," "hurried," "bustler" (*oyo-* "to be more than half finished," "to be almost done"); *sakdaki* "having the aspect of old age (*sakda* "old," "aged," "old man"); *ufaraki* "a slight error" (*ufara-* "to err," "to fail," "to make a mistake about something," "to fail," "to lose interest").

3. *Numerals*

In the Manchu language there are several groups of numerals characterized by specific semantics and distinctive morphological markers (suffixes). The cardinal numerals are the morphological base for other groups of numerals. These are ordinal, distributive, multiplicative, and fractional numerals.

Used without nouns, the cardinal and ordinal numerals may be declined by being followed by case markers:

emu ***be*** *sa-me* *mute-he* *de,* *juwe* ***be***
one ACC know-CONV be.able-PART DAT two ACC
sa-ra-ngge *mangga* *akū*
know-PART-NR difficult COP.NEG (there.is.not)
"If (someone) was able to know "one," it is not difficult to know "two"(ZAKH:107).

When the cardinal and ordinal numerals are followed by nouns, the latter take case markers:

ilaci *jui* ***be*** *uba-de* *ji-bu-kini*
the.third son ACC this.place-DAT come-CAUS-OPT
"Let the third son come here (at this place)" (ZAKH:107).

3.1. *Cardinal Numerals*

The Manchus used the standard decimal positional system. For the first ten numbers the cardinal numerals are: *emu* "one," *juwe* "two," *ilan* "three," *duin* "four," *sunja* "five," *ninggun* "six," *nadan* "seven," *jakūn* "eight," *uyun* "nine," *juwan* "ten."

Numerals for the second group of ten numbers, with one exception, are composite. They are formed by adding one of the cardinal numerals of the first ten to the word *juwan* "ten:" *juwan emu* "eleven" (ten and one); *juwan juwe* "twelve" (ten and two); *juwan ilan* "thirteen" (ten and three), *juwan duin* "fourteen" (ten and four), etc. Only for the numeral "fifteen" a special word *tofohon* is used.

Cardinal numerals denoting multiples of ten in the first hundred are: *orin* "twenty," *gūsin* "thirty," *dehi* "forty," *susai* "fifty," *ninju* "sixty," *nadanju* "seventy," *jakūnju* "eighty," *uyunju* "ninety." In Manchu there are also special words for the following powers of ten: *tanggū* "hundred;" *minggan* "thousand;" *tumen* "ten thousand." For some larger powers of ten the following composite words are used: *juwan tumen* "a hundred thousand," *tanggū tumen* "a thousand thousand (million)," *minggan tumen* "ten million," and *tumen tumen* "a hundred million." Equally with these composite words, the loan cardinal numerals borrowed from Sanskrit were also used: *bunai*, *bujun*—*juwan tumen* "a hundred thousand," *saja*—*tanggū tumen* "a thousand thousand (million)," *jirun*—*minggan tumen* "ten million," *dungšun*—*tumen tumen* "one hundred million."

For greater powers of ten, starting from a thousand million, the Manchus used loan words borrowed from Sanskrit at the time when Buddhist works were translated.

These numerals are:

terbun (10 *dungšun*) – "a thousand million," "billion;"
cakcin (10 *terbun*) – "ten thousand million," "ten billion;"
jabsun (10 *cakcin*) – "a hundred thousand million," "a hundred billion;"
damdan (10 *jabsun*) – "a trillion;"
jiri (10 *damdan*) – "ten trillion;"
mišun (10 *jiri*) – "one hundred trillion;"

cata (10 *mišun*) – "a quadrillion;"
ganggi (10 *cata*) – "ten quadrillion;"
jamuri (10 *ganggi*) – "one hundred quadrillion;"
samuri (10 *jamuri*) – "one sextillion;"
samina (10 *samuri*) – "one ten-sextillion;"
buju baja (10 *samina*) – "innumerable," "uncountable," "countless numbers."

Numbers expressed by several figures are arranged in such a way that the largest figures are placed in the initial position, and the others are listed one after another according to their quantities, for instance: *ilan minggan hadan tanggū orin duin* "three thousand seven hundred and twenty four;" *emu minggan jakūn tanggū nadanju ninggun* " one thousand eight hundred and seventy six."

When a multitude of objects are indicated by numbers, the cardinal numerals are normally placed before nouns denoting the quantity of objects:
ilan niyalma ji-he
three man come-PART
"Three men came" (ZAKH:89).

When counting objects, the cardinal numerals are normally placed after the noun denoting objects which are numerated: *honin juwan* "ten sheep," *ihan duin* "four bulls," *morin sunja* "five horses." Instead of the cardinal numeral *emu* "one," especially in spoken language, the cardinals *emke* or *emken* are used.

Taking the marker of the dative only or adding the word *oci* (originally the form of the conditional converb from the verb *o-* "to be," "to become" which is partly desemanticized in this position), the cardinal numerals may be the base for forming adverbs: *emu de/ emu de oci* "in the first place;" *jaide* or *jaide oci* "in the second place;" *sunja de* or *sunja de oci* "in the fifth place."

Followed by the words *sasa*, *emgi* "together," the cardinal numerals also may serve as the base for forming adverbs:
ilan hofi sasa jura-ka
three person together set.out-PART
"Three (together) set out" (ZAKH:103).

Cardinal numerals may be followed by the suffix *-ngga/-ngge/-nggo*: *duingge* "folded in four," "in fours;" *sunjangga* "pertaining to the

number five;" *sunjangga inenggi* "the fifth day of the fifth month (the Dragon Boat Festival);" *nadangga* "pertaining to the number seven;" *nadangga inenggi* "the seventh day of the seventh month;" *uyungge* "pertaining to the number nine;" *uyungge inenggi* "the ninth day of the ninth month" (Zakharov, 1879:107; NL).

3.2. *Ordinal Numerals*

Ordinal numerals are formed by adding the suffix *-ci* to the cardinal numbers. Final *-n* is deleted before this suffix, with three exceptions to the rule, which are *juwanci* "the tenth," *mingganci* "the thousandth" and *tumenci* "the ten thousandth." There are several variants for "the first," namely: *uju* (originally, "head"), *ujui* (*uju* "head" + *i* = GEN), *ujuci*, *emuci*. There are also several variants for "the second" which are *jai*, *jaici*, *juweci*. The ordinal numerals *uju*, *ujui* "the first" and *jai* "the second" are used to numerate the numbers of the first ten. To numerate the numbers of the second and the following tens the regular variants *emuci* and *juweci* are used: *juwan emuci* "the eleventh;" *orin juweci* "the twenty second." Instead of *emuci*, the words *bonggo* "the first," "number one," "leading" and *sucungga* "the first," "initial," "beginning" are used to indicate years of an emperor's reign.

Other ordinal numerals are: *ilaci* "the third," *duici* "the fourth," *sunjaci* "the fifth," *ningguci* "the sixth," *nadaci* "the seventh," *jakūci* "the eighth," *uyuci* "the ninth," *juwanci* "the tenth," *tofohoci* "the fifteenth," *orici* "the twentieth," *gūsici* "the thirtieth," *dehici* "the fortieth," *susaici* "the fiftieth," *ninjuci* "the sixtieth," *nadanjuci* "the seventieth," *jakūnjuci* "the eightieth," *uyunjuci* "the ninetieth," *tanggūci* "the hundredth," *mingganci* "the thousandth," *tumenci* "the ten thousandth." In ordinal numerals, expressed by several figures, the suffix *-ci* is added only to the last word: *juwan emuci* "the eleventh," *juwan juweci* "the twelfth," *juwan jilaci* "the thirteenth," *orin ilaci* "the twenty third," *ninju jakūci* "the sixty eighth," *emu minggan jakūn tanggū nadanju ningguci* "the one thousand eight hundred and seventy sixth."

Ordinal numerals may be followed by the suffix *-ngge* which can be described here as a nominalizer. In these cases, ordinal numerals have the same function as substantives:

sunjaci-ngge de goi-ha
the.fifth-NR DAT become-PART
"(Someone) became number five in the examination;"

duici-ngge be gai-ha
the.fourth-NR ACC marry(a wife)-PART
"(He) married the fourth (wife)" (ZAKH:107).

3.3. *Distributive Numerals*

Distributive numerals are formed by adding the suffix *-ta/-te/-to* to the cardinal numbers. The final *-n* is deleted before this suffix, the exception to the rule being *juwan* "ten." However, in an earlier stage of the language, the variant *juwata* was also possible. The distributive numerals are: *emte* "one each," *juwete* "two each," *ilata* "three each," *duite* "four each," *sunjata* " five each," *ninggute* "six each," *nadata* "seven each," *jakūta* "eight each," *uyute* "nine each," *juwata* (*juwanta*) "ten each," *tofohoto* "fifteen each," *orita* (*orinta*) "twenty each," *gūsita* "thirty each," *dehite* "forty each," *susaita* "fifty each," *ninjute* "sixty each," *nadanjute* "seventy each," *jakūnjute* "eighty each," *uyunjute* "ninety each," *tanggūta* "one hundred each," *minggata* (*emte minggan*) "one thousand each," *tumete* (*emte tumen*) "ten thousand each." The harmonical variants *ningguta*, *dehita* and *nadanjuta* were mostly used in old Manchu (Zakharov, 1897:105).

The distributive numerals may also be formed by repeating the word denoting a number followed by the genitive marker: *emke emken i* "one by one," *ilan* "three"—*ilan ilan i* "by threes;" *juwan* "ten"—*juwan juwan i* "by tens."

In distributive numerals, expressed by several figures, only the last figure takes the suffix *-te*, for instance: *juwan duite* "fourteen each." The distributive numerals including the words *minggan* "thousand" and *tumen* "ten thousand," may be expressed in two ways: *minggata* or *emte minggan* "one thousand each;" *tumete* or *emte tumen* "ten thousands each" (Zakharov, 1879:1034; Pashkov, 1963:28-9; NL).

3.4. *Fractional Numerals*

The fractional numerals are formed by the word-combination the first word of which is a cardinal numeral followed by the ablative marker *-ci*. This is how a denominator is indicated. The second word of the word-combination is a cardinal numeral indicating the number of parts, that is the numerator: *ilan ci emu* "a third," *duin ci emu* "a fourth," *sunja ci ilan* "three fifths," *nadan ci juwe* "two sevenths."

Between two cardinal numerals the word *ubu* "part" followed by

the genitive (marker *i*) may be inserted: *duin ubu i emu* "a fourth," *sunja ubu i ilan* "three fifths," *nadan ubu i juwe* "two sevenths" (Pashkov, 1963:29).

3.5. *Multiplicative Numerals*

Multiplicative numerals are formed by adding the suffix *-rsu* to the cardinal numbers and dropping the final *-n*. There are two exceptions, i.e. *juwan* and *tumen* where the final *-n* is not deleted. The cardinal numeral *juwe* "two" loses the last syllable *-we*. Multiplicatives may be also formed by addition of the word *ubu* "part" to the cardinals. Here are some examples: *emursu*, *emu ubu* "single;" *jursu*, *juwe ubu* "double;" *ilarsu*, *ilan ubu* "threefold;" *uyursu*, *uyun ubu* "ninefold;" *tanggūrsu* "one hundredfold"[4].

With reference to textile fabrics the suffix *-ri* is used attached to the cardinal numbers: *ilari* "threefold," *sunjari* "fivefold," *jakūri* "eightfold" (Möllendorff, 1892:8).

3.6. *Collective Numerals*

The suffix for the collective numerals is *-nofi*. The final *-n* of the cardinal numerals to which it is added, is normally deleted: *juwenofi* "two (together)," *ilanofi* "three (together)," *duinofi* "four (together)," *sunjanofi* "five (together)," etc.[5].

3.7. *Iterative Numerals*

Iterative numerals are normally formed by adding the suffix *-nggeri* to the cardinal numbers if they end in a vowel, or the suffix *-geri* if the cardinals end in a consonant. In this case the final *-n* changes into *-ng*: *emgeri* (instead of *emugeri*) "once," *juwenggeri* "twice," *ilanggeri* "three times," *duinggeri* "four times," *sunjanggeri* "five times," *ninggunggeri* "six times," *nadanggeri* "seven times," *jakūnggeri* "eight times," *uyunggeri* "nine times," *juwanggeri* "ten times," etc. The iterative numerals can be formed analytically when the cardinal numbers are followed by

---

[4] In Norman's *Lexicon* one can find different translations of several multiplicative numerals: *emursu* "having one layer," "simple," "unlined;" *jursu* "two-layered," "double," "complex," "complicated," "pregnant;" *ilarsu* "three-tiered," "three-leveled," "three-storied" (NL:75, 166, 146).

[5] The word form *juwenofi* is given by J.Norman as the word combination *juwe nofi* "two persons," "two people" *(NL:168)*.

the word *mudan* or *meyen* "time:" *emu mudan* "once," *juwe mudan* or *meyen* "twice," etc.

3.8. *Numeratives*

In Manchu, similar to Chinese, there is a considerable number of measure words (numeratives) used with objects which are counted. Normally these words have certain lexical meanings, but when they function as numeratives they reveal the tendency to lose their meanings as lexical units and become grammatical elements. The measure words are used to indicate the quantity of objects.

Depending on the semantic group of nouns by which objects are expressed, different numeratives are used. These words are placed between the cardinal numeral and the objects which are counted: *ilan fesin loho* "three swords" (*fesin* is a numerative used with objects equipped with a handle). If objects, which are being enumerated, are known from a question, then in the answer to this question a numerative can be used as a substitute for these objects. Thus, numeratives can be used anaphorically, for example, in the answer to a question where the noun is omitted:

benji-he-ngge udu juru gūlha
deliver-PART-NR how.many? pair boot
"How many pairs of boots have been delivered?"
ilan juru "three pairs" (ZAKH:90).

The numeratives as listed by Zakharov in his Grammar are presented in the following table.

Table 6

numerative	used with nouns denoting:
afaha "sheet (of paper)," "list," "page"	sheets of paper, lists of smth., registers, rolls, inventories, bills
aligan "support," "base"	objects having support (pedestals, statues, obelisks, buildings with protruding foundation)
angga "mouth," "hole," "pass," "gate"	animals, objects having holes (pots, bags, etc.), seaports, mountain-passes
anggala "household"	people, persons in a household
bakcin "match," "opposite number," "opponent," "the opposite side"	objects forming a pair but used separately

Table 6. Cont.

numerative	used with nouns denoting:
baksan "a bundle"	bundles of wood, faggot, hay; sheaves (of papers), bunches (of keys), bales, pack camels tethered to one another, caravans, groups of troops
besergen "bed"	beds, blankets, bases for statues of Buddha
bukdan "a bend," "a fold"	folded papers, sheets in album, bundles of papers or paintings
bukdarun "roll," "scroll," "rolled up paper"	scrolls of pair inscriptions used as paintings, folded writing-books of a kind of an album
beye "body," "self"	bodies of people, carcasses of animals, complete sets of smth.
dalgan "flatness," "plane"	planes or sides of a square, objects having plate front side, viz, badges, flags, mirrors, fans, as well as pieces of sliced meat
damjan "a carrying pole"	carrying-pole loads
dasin "handle," "grip"	objects having handle, grip; staples
debtelin "notebook," "chapter of a book," "a volume (of an old-style book)"	parts or chapters of a book, notebooks bound from sheets of paper
dedun "a post station," "an overnight stopping place"	overnight stopping places and stations
defelinggu "bolt (of cloth)"	whole bolts of cloth for one or two garments
delhen "a lot," "part"	lots of ploughed land
dengjan "lamp," "light"	lamps, lights, lanterns, candle-sticks
dobton "sheath," "a small bag (for a seal)," "a container," "scabbard"	cases, instrument-cases, covers, volumes
ergen "breath"	deep breaths, breathing-spaces, respites
erguwen "a period of twelve years," "a cycle"	cycles of numeration of years according to twelve animals
erin "time," "hour"	hours, dinners, suppers, hours for eating
farsi "piece," "strip"	pieces of sliced meat, rags, shreds, drugs cut in layers—plasters
fekun "a leap," "a jump"	leaps, jumps, footsteps
fempi "a paper seal used on envelopes and on doors"	envelopes, packets, letters
feniyen "flock," "herd," "crowd"	herds, flocks, runs, crowds
fesin "haft," "hilt," "shaft," "handle"	knives, swords, sabres, spades, shovels, fans, umbrellas
fiyelen "chapter," "section of a book"	chapters and sections of books, paragraphs and articles of law, strophes
fiyen "the feathers on the arrow shaft"	arrows with featherings
fiyentehe "petal," "clove (of garlic)," "a section," "a slice"	petals of flowers, leaves of plants, cloves (of garlic), fragments of broken glass, pieces of broken crockery
fulmiyen "bundle," "package"	bundles (of wood, hay), packs, packages, bales

Table 6. Cont.

numerative	used with nouns denoting:
gala "hand," "arm"	hand sazhens equalling two Chinese feet and five inches
gargan "branch," "branch of a river," "leaf of a door"	branches, branches of a river, leaves of a door, limbs, groups of troops, parts of a whole
girin "strip," "line," "row"	houses and buildings situated parallel, blocks of buildings
gisun "speach," "word," "language"	words, sentences, statements, periods of speech, verses
giyalan "space between," "interval," "interstice"	rooms, houses
gubsu "bud (of s flower)"	buds of flowers
guksen "clouds," "a blast of wind"	clouds of various type
hacin "kind," "sort," "class," "item"	various objects and things, goods, articles of law
hafure "going through"	openings, holes
haha "male," "man"	lands granted to a man enrolled into military or government service
hošo "corner," "edge"	edges, corners, sides
hufan "company," "troupe," "artel"	artels of workmen or peasants, troupes of players or singers
hungken "forge," "smelting furnace"	forges, smelting furnaces, quantity of copper money: 5662 strings and 369 pieces
ice "new," "the first ten days of the month," "the first day of a lunar month"	the first ten days of each month in a yeara year
ikiri "pair," "twins"	pair objects of various kinds, tear-off coupons or receipts
imari "*mu* (a Chinese measure of land area)"	quantity of arable fields or lands
inden "a rest after work," "stopover (on a juorney)"	stopovers (on a journey),
jalan "a joint," "generation," "world," "rank"	sections of plants, joints, generations
jemin "a dose"	doses (of medicine)
jijun "stroke," "line," "hand (writing)"	strokes and lines, letters and hands, drafts
jukte "piece"	long and thick pieces of meat
juru "pair," "doubled"	objects forming a pair—boots, even numbers, distiches, pair-horses
justan "a strip," "a stripe"	elongated objects of various kinds
karan "platform," "stage"	theatrical perfomances, entertainments, plays
kiya "cell," "partition"	cells, honeycombs
kiyan "paper measure equaling twenty	quantity of paper

Table 6. Cont.

numerative	used with nouns denoting:
five sheets," "quires"	
mangga (instead of *angga*) "mouth," "mouth of animal"	animals with a big mouth, drinks (of water), mouthfuls, pots with wide openings
mari "time," "occasions"	times and occasions, turns and
mudan "time," "curve," "sound," "tone"	revolutions, methods or ways of motion and action, chapters and sections in narratives, melodies
meyen "part," "section," "segment"	sections, segments, divisions, pieces, chapters, groups, squadrons, ranks (of troops)
okson "step," "pace"	steps of people and animals
nofi "person"	persons having high ranks, persons (polite indication)
ufuhi "part," "share," "portion"	parts, shares of various nature
uhun "bandle," "package"	packages, bundles (of clothing)
ulcin "string"	strings (of beads, cash, etc.)
undehen "board," "rod," "plank," "staff"	planks, wooden printing blocks, beats with a bamboo rod
ursu "layer," "level"	levels of buildings, rows of troops, objects consisting of layers (boxes, baskets, cups one smaller than the next, placed one in another

Words denoting measures of length, quantity, distance, area and weight can also be referred to as numeratives. The system of measures and weights standardized during the early Qing period by the Board of Works (ma. *weilere arara fiyenten*), is given in Norman's Lexicon (NL:319-20).

There are some additional measure words in Zakharov's Grammar. They correlate to a large extent with the Russian measure terms which were in use in the author's lifetime (Zakharov, 1879:97-9).

3.9. *Words Denoting Periods of Time. Cycles*

In Manchu, specialized words were used to indicate various periods of time (ma. *erguwen* "a period of twelve years," "a cycle"). These words were used to enumerate years, months, and days according to the calendar as well as chronological years. According to the

tradition of the Oriental World, the Manchus used three Cycles. They are the10-element Cycle, the 12-element Cycle and the 60-element Chronological Cycle.

The 10-element Cycle, in Manchu *juwan cikten* "the ten heavenly stems," was used to enumerate objects up to ten and days in each decade of the month. But above all it was used to numerate chronological years combining its terms with those of the 12-element Cycle. The terms of the 10-element Cycle were named according to the ten heavenly stems or colors of the five elements, namely, earth, air, fire, water, and metal.

The 10-element Cycle is represented by the following terms:

1) *niowanggiyan* "green (the colour of tree)," "the first of the heavenly stems"[6]
2) *niohon* "greenish," "the second of the heavenly stems"
3) *fulgiyan* "red (the color of fire)," "the third of the heavenly stem"
4) *fulahūn* "reddish," "the fourth of the heavenly stems"
5) *suwayan* "yellow (the colour of the earth)," "the fifth of the heavenly stems"
6) *sohon* "yellowish," "the sixth of the heavenly stems"[7]
7) *šanggiyan* "white (the color of metal);" "the seventh of the heavenly stems"
8) *šahūn* "whitish," "the eighth of the heavenly stems"
9) *sahaliyan* "black (the colour of water)," "the ninth of the heavenly stems"
10) *sahahūn* "blackish," "the tenth of the heavenly stems"

The 12-element Cycle, in Manchu *juwan juwe gargan* "the twelve earthly branches," was used to enumerate objects up to twelve, for instance, signs of the zodiac, hence, months of the year, the year of one's birth, calendar years, hours of the twenty-four hour period, etc. The terms of this Cycle were given according to the twelve names of animals.

---

[6] The word *niowanggiyan* is translated as "ninth of the earth's branches" by Norman *(NL:215)*.

[7] The word *sohon* means "deep yellow (the color of the sunflower)" according to Norman *(NL:247)*.

The 12-element Cycle is represented by the following terms:

1) *singgeri* "rat," "mouse," "the first of the earthly branches"
2) *ihan* "bull," "the second of the earthly branches"
3) *tasha* "tiger," "the third of the earthly branches"
4) *gūlmahūn* "hare," "the fourth of the earthly branches"
5) *muduri* "dragon," "the fifth of the earthly branches"
6) *meihe* "snake," "the sixth of the earthly branches"
7) *morin* "horse," "the seventh of the earthly branches"
8) *honin* "sheep," "the eighth of the earthly branches"
9) *bonio* "monkey," "the ninth of the earthly branches"
10) *coko* "chicken," "the tenth of the earthly branches"
11) *indahūn* "dog," "the eleventh of the earthly branches"
12) *ulgiyan* "swine," "pig," "the twelfth of the earthly branches"

The 60-element Cycle is used to enumerate chronological years in the History of the World. It is formed by combination of a term from the 10-element Cycle with a term from the 12-element Cycle, i.e. the first element for the 60-element Cycle is *niowanhhiyan singgeri* "green mouse", etc., up to the tenth term of the first Cycle. To create the eleventh element of the 60-element Cycle, the first term of the 10-element Cycle and the eleventh term of the 12-element Cycle are used. To create the thirteenth element of the 60-element Cycle, the third term of the 10-element Cycle is combined with the first term of the 12-element Cycle, etc. When all the terms of the 10-element Cycle have been listed the numeration starts again, and its first term combines with those terms of the 12-element Cycle which have not yet been combined with a term of the first Cycle. In addition, when all the terms of the second Cycle are over then the first of its terms combines with an unlisted term of the first Cycle. Thus, each term of the first Cycle is combined with each term of the second Cycle six times, but any term of the second Cycle is combined with any term of the first Cycle only five times. The first element of the next 60-element Cycle, is again formed by the first term of the first Cycle combined with the first term of the second Cycle. This new 60-element Cycle also gets the name *niowanggiyan singgeri* and all names are repeated with the period 60.

The 60-element Cycle is represented by the following terms:

1. *niowanggiyan singgeri*	31. *niowanggiyan morin*
2. *niohon ihan*	32. *niohon honin*
3. *fulgiyan tasha*	33. *fulgiyan bonio*
4. *fulahūn gūlmahūn*	34. *fulahūn coko*
5. *suwayan muduri*	35. *suwayan indahūn*
6. *sohon meihe*	36. *sohon ulgiyan*
7. *šanyan morin*	37. *šanyan singgeri*
8. *šahūn honin*	38. *šahūn ihan*
9. *sahaliyan bonio*	39. *sahaliyan tasha*
10. *sahahūn coko*	40. *sahahūn gūlmahūn*
11. *niowanggiyan indahūn*	41. *niowanggiyan muduri*
12. *niohon ulgiyan*	42. *niohon meihe*
13. *fulgiyan singgeri*	43. *fulgiyan morin*
14. *fulahūn ihan*	44. *fulahūn honin*
15. *suwayan tasha*	45. *suwayan bonio*
16. *sohon gūlmahūn*	46. *sohon coko*
17. *šanyan muduri*	47. *šanyan indahūn*
18. *šahūn meihe*	48. *šahūn ulgiyan*
19. *sahaliyan morin*	49. *sahaliyan singgeri*
20. *sahahūn honin*	50. *sahahūn ihan*
21. *niowanggiyan bonio*	51. *niowanggiyan tasha*
22. *niohon coko*	52. *niohon gūlmahūn*
23. *fulgiyan indahūn*	53. *fulgiyan muduri*
24. *fulahūn ulgiyan*	54. *fulahūn meihe*
25. *suwayan singgeri*	55. *suwayan morin*
26. *sohon ihan*	56. *sohon h*onin
27. *šanyan tasha*	57. *šanyan bonio*
28. *sahahūn gūlmahūn*	58. *šahūn coko*
29. *sahaliyan muduri*	59. *sahaliyan indahūn*
30. *sahaliyan meihe*	60. *sahahūn ulgiyan*

3.10. *Words for Periods of Time*

In Manchu, there are particular words for certain days of the month and for months and years.

Months are correlated with the cardinal numerals, with the exception of three months, which have special names: *aniya biya* (also *tob biya*) "the first lunar month;" *omšon biya* "the eleventh month;"

jorgon biya "the twelfth month" (Zakharov, 1879:102). The first month of one of the four seasons is indicated by the word *uju* "head," "first" (NL:293). In addition, each month is correlated with a certain term of the 12-element Cycle:

1) the first month	*tasha biya*
2) the second month	*gūlmahūn biya*
3) the third month	*muduri biya*
4) the fourth month	*meihe biya*
5) the fifth month	*morin biya*
6) the sixth month	*honin biya*
7) the seventh month	*bonio biya*
8) the eighth month	*coko biya*
9) the ninth month	*indahūn biya*
10) the tenth month	*ulgiyan biya*
11) the eleventh month	*singgeri biya*
12) the twelfth month	*ihan biya*

A month is divided into three ten-day periods, and each of these periods has its own name. The name for the first period is *ice* "new," and a date is formed by this word and one of the cardinal numbers from one to ten following it: *ice juwe* "(to-day) is the second," *ice juwan* "(to-day) is the tenth." The second and third ten-day periods are called *juwan deri* and *orin deri* (correspondingly).

Some days of the month also have their own names: *ice* "the first day of the month;" *šongge inenggi* "the first day of the lunar month;" *aniya inenggi* "New Year's day;" *ilangga inenggi* "the third day of the third moon;" *jorgon inenggi* "the eighth day of the twelfth month;" *sunjangga inenggi* "the fifth day of the fifth month;" *nadangga inenggi* "the seventh day of the seventh moon;" *wangga inenggi* "the fifteenth day of a lunar month;" *niolhun* "the sixteenth day of the first moon," "the end of the new year's festivities;" *sucungga nadan* "the first seven days after death" (Zakharov, 1879:102; Möllendorff, 1892:7; NL). Some years also have their own names, for instance: *sucungga aniya* "the first year (of the emperor's reign)."

Hours (ma. *erin*) of the twenty-four hour period are named after the twelve animals (see the12-element Cycle). An hour is divided into *kemu* "a quarter of an hour," *fuwen* "a minute" and *miori* (*miyori*) "a second."

4. *Pronouns*

The term "pronoun" (pronominal word) is traditionally used to describe a wide range of words united by a common deitic function or its variety, i.e. the function of substitution (anaphoric function). In contrast to nouns, the pronominal words do not name persons, objects or attributes, merely refer to them. For example, the word "he" refers to a male, the words "what," "which," "such" may refer to any attributes, and the words "there," "here," "when," "how" are used to substitute adverbs denoting place, time or manner of performing an action (anaphoric function). In a certain sense, the deictic-substitutional words, that is traditional pronouns and pronominal adverbs, form a special system which is parallel to that of the nominative parts of speech and which, in miniature, duplicates the latter. Even substitutes for verbs, so-called pronominal verbs, for example, exist: the verb "to do" in English, the verb "lai" (literally: "to come") in Chinese, etc. (Maslov, 1987:166-7).

There are two possible ways of classifying all pronominal words. Pronominal words can be divided into noun-pronouns, pronominal adjectives, indefinite numerals (pronominal numerals), and pronominal adverbs according to the parts of speech they belong to. Another way to classify pronominal words is to distribute them among different semantic groups on the grounds of their semantic affiliation. It is accepted by most specialists that all Manchu pronominal words can be divided into several semantic subgroups. These are personal, possessive, demonstrative, interrogative, and indefinite pronouns. Various scholars include words that differ greatly from the semantic point of view, e.g. both words that have quantitative and qualitative semantics, in the indefinite pronouns class and hence this subgroup of pronouns is the most problematic. The word *beye* "body," "self" in different forms is used to express reflexive meaning.

4.1. *Personal Pronouns. Irregular Pronominal Case Forms*

The personal pronouns are *bi* "I," "me;" *si* "you (singular);" *i* "he," "she;" *be* "we (exclusive);" *muse* "we (inclusive);" *su(w)e* "you (plural);" *ce* "they." Not only the first and the second but also the third person pronouns are used to refer to human beings. These pronouns cannot be used to refer to objects and qualities. To refer to objects

and qualities the demonstrative pronouns *ere* "this" and *tere* "that" are normally used.

In Manchu, as in other Tungusic languages, there are two forms for the first person plural, i.e. *be* and *muse*. *Be* "we" (1 person plural exclusive) is used to refer to the number of referents, 1 ps. + 3 ps., from which 2 ps. (the interlocutor or the person spoken to) is excluded. *Muse* "we" (1 person plural inclusive) is used to refer to the number of referents, 1 ps. + 2 ps., i.e. consisting of the speaker and the listener. According to Möllendorff, *muse* means "we that are speaking together, we that belong to one family, one clan, one nation" (Möllendorff, 1892:6).

In his Grammar, Zakharov cited a very typical sentence, taken from the Russian-Chinese Treaty of 1728:

ne men-i hinggun tugurik gebungge
now we(EXCL)-GEN=our place-name place-name named
ba-de suwen-i niyalma kemuni jecen
place-DAT you(PL)-GEN=your people constantly border
daba-me yabu-mbi, ere-be muse gurun
cross-CONV go-IMPF this-ACC we(INCL) country
lashala-me gisure-rakū o-ci,
make.a.decision-CONV speak-PART(NEG) be(AUX)-CONV
amala ere jergi jecen i ba-de te-he urse
later this other border GEN place-DAT live-PART people
ishunde urunakū baita dekdebu-re de
to.one.another necessarily matter rise.again-PART DAT
isina-mbi
go.as.far.as.to-IMPF
"Now at our place, named Hinggun Tugurik, your people constantly cross the border. If we (INCLUSIVE) two countries do not make a decision, then later people who live at this and other frontier places will be forced to take up the quarrel again" (ZAKH:113).

Personal pronouns are declined similarly to nouns, but there some peculiarities in their declension. The personal pronouns for the first, second and third persons, singular and plural, with the exception of *muse* "we (inclusive)," have some irregular case forms, i.e. *min-*, *sin-*, *in-*, *men-*, *su(w)en-*, *cen-*. The stems of the personal pronouns in the oblique cases, unlike in the nominative case, terminate in the

consonant *n*. Alternation of the consonants *b* and *m* in the forms for the first and second persons, viz. *bi/min-* and *be/men-*, could be explained by regressive assimilation, due to which the initial *b* under the influence of the final *n* has changed into *m*. It is important to mention that all Tungus-Manchu languages have irregular case forms.

In classical Manchu, irregular pronominal case forms ending in *-n* change their final consonant into *-m* under the influence of the initial consonant of the marker for the accusative which is *be*: *mimbe* < *min-* "I," "me" + *be*; *simbe* < *sin-* "you (SG)" + *be*; *suwembe* < *suwen-* "you (PL)" + *be*; *imbe* < *in-* "he," "she" + *be*; *cembe* < *cen-* "they" + *be*. The marker for the accusative is usually written separately from the word it follows, with the exception of the personal, possessive, demonstrative, and interrogative pronouns, as well as monosyllabic words: *aibe* (*ai* "what?," "which?"), *babe* (*ba* "place"); *erebe* (*ere* "this"), *webe* (*we* "who?"). Personal pronouns are declined as shown in table 7.

Table 7. Pronominal Case Forms

		Singular		
Nominative	*bi* "I"	*si* "you"	*i* "he," "she"	
Genitive	*mini*	*sini*	*ini*	
Dative	*minde*	*sinde*	*inde*	
Accusative	*mimbe*	*simbe*	*imbe*	
Ablative	*minci*	*sinci*	*inci*	
		Plural		
Nominative	*be* "we (EXCL)"	*muse* "we (INCL)"	*su(w)e* "you"	*ce* "they"
Genitive	*meni*	*musei*	*su(w)eni*	*ceni*
Dative	*mende*	*musede*	*su(w)ende*	*cende*
Accusative	*membe*	*musebe*	*su(w)embe*	*cembe*
Ablative	*menci*	*museci*	*su(w)enci*	*cenci*

The meaning of the personal pronouns in the genitive case corresponds to that of the possessive pronouns:

min-i *ama* *eme* *emu mejige* *bene-fi* …
I(*bi/min-*)-GEN=my father mother one news send-CONV
"(Let you) pass a news to my father and mother … " (NSB:113);
min-i *eigen* *biši-rakū* *be*
I(*bi/min-*)-GEN=my husband be-PART(NEG) ACC

sa-rkū
know-PART(NEG)
"I do not know whether my husband is absent;"
muse-i horgon de emu morin bi
we(INCL)-GEN= our stable DAT one horse COP
"There is a horse in our stable" (SK:54).

4.2. *Demonstrative Pronouns*

The demonstrative pronouns are *ere* "this" and *tere* "that." Plurals are formed by the suffix *-se* which is attached to the clipped stems *e-* and *te-* correspondingly: *ese* (*erse*) "these" and *tese* "those." The demonstrative pronouns *ere* and *tere* have two variants of stems in the dative case. They are declined as shown in table 8.

Table 8. Demonstrative Case Forms

	Singular		Plural	
Nominative	*ere* "this"	*tere* "that"	*ese* "these"	*tese* "those"
Genitive	*erei*, *ereni*	*terei*	*esei*	*tesei*
Dative	*ede*, *erede*	*tede*, *terede*	*esede*	*tesede*
Accusative	*erebe*	*terebe*	*esebe*	*tesebe*
Ablative	*ereci*	*tereci*	*eseci*	*teseci*

The demonstrative pronouns *ere* "this" and *tere* "that" are often used instead of the third person *i* (singular) "he/she" and *ce* (plural) "they."

The demonstrative pronouns may substitute all nouns including human ones. In these cases, they are followed by case markers:

ere be ai arga i han deri tucibu-me gai-mbi
she ACC what trick GEN khan SEP take.out-CONV take.away-IMPF
"(We) shall take her away from the khan by some trick" (SK:55);
ere be tuwa-ci ...
this ACC look-CONV
"Looking at this ... "(ZAKH:114).

If serving as attributes, they are not followed by case markers:

tere niyalma beye sabu-ha
that man self see-PART
"I saw that man myself" (ZAKH:114);
enengi (ma. *enenggi*) *ere ba de ainu ebu-mbi*
today this place DAT why stop-IMPF
"Why have (you) stopped today at this place (here)?" (SK:55).

In the following sentence the dative form of the pronoun *ere* "this," which can be seen as a pronominal adverb, serves as the adverbial modifier of place:

e-de ume ebu-re
this-DAT NEG stay-PART
"Do not stay here" (SK:55).

The following two pairs of demonstrative pronominal adverbs may be assigned to this group of pronominal words: *uttu* "like this"—*tuttu* "like that" and *enteke* "like this," "this kind of," "such (a)"—*tenteke* "like that," "that kind of," "such (a)." Both pairs of pronominal words, having the qualitative-demonstrative meaning, are used as attributes. Sometimes the pair of pronominal adverbs *uba* (< **u* "this" + *ba* "place") "this (place)"—*tuba* (< **tu* "that" + *ba* "place") "that (place)" is used in the meaning "this" and "that," respectively. They are never used in combination with nouns, but always function as nominal substitutes. The pair of indefinite numerals (pronominal numerals) *utala* "so many (as this)"—*tutala* "so many (as that)" have quantitative-demonstrative meaning.

It is interesting to note that the first components of the pairs "*ere—tere*," "*uttu—tuttu*," "*enteke—tenteke*," "*uba—tuba*," "*utala—tutala*" indicate something that is situated at a short distance from the person who is speaking. They are opposed to the second components which show something that is remote in time and space. Thus, the initial vowels *e* and *u* indicate proximity, while the initial consonant *t* is used to indicate remoteness in space and time (Pashkov, 1963:31).

It should be mentioned here that there is evidence that in different versions of the Sibe dialect the demonstrative pronouns *tere* "that" and *tese* "those" may substitute the singular and plural forms of the third person *i* "he," "she" and *ce* "they" (Norman, 1974:167; Lebedeva & Gorelova, 1994:54).

4.3. *Possessive Forms of the Personal and Demonstrative Pronouns*

The possessive meaning is expressed by adding the genitive to the personal pronouns which denote the first, second and third persons, singular and plural: *mini boo* "my house," *meni* (*musei*) *boo* "our house," *sini boo* "your (SG) house," *su(w)eni boo* "your (PL) house," *ini boo* "his/her house," *ceni boo* "their house."

If used alone, not in combination with nouns, these pronouns may be followed by the possessive suffix *-ngge* or *-ningge* (which is used here as a substantivizer): *miningge* "mine," *siningge* "your (SG)," etc. In this case, they are declined similarly to nouns. They are mostly used in anwers when the object which is in possession, is already known from the question:

ere uthai we-i jaka
this then who-GEN=whose thing
"Whose is this thing?"
miningge
mine (ZAKH:114).

Demonstrative pronouns in the form of the genitive also take the possessive suffix *-ngge*: *ereingge*, *eseingge*, *tereingge*, *teseingge*. Like the personal pronouns followeded by the possessive suffix, they are never followed by nouns. As far as *uttu* and *tuttu* are concerned, they are followed by the possessive suffix in the form of the nominative (direct) case: *uttungge*, *tuttungge*.

4.4. *Interrogative Pronouns*

The interrogative pronouns are represented by words *we* "who?" (gen. *wei* "whose?;" dat. *wede* "to whom?," "for whom?;" acc. *webe* "whom?;" abl. *weci* "from whom?"); *ai* "what?," "which?" (gen. *aini* "wherewith?," "whereby?;" dat. *aide* "where?," "whither?," "why?," "how?;" acc. *aibe* "what?;" *aici* "what sort of ... ?"); *ya* "what?," "which?" (dat. *ya de* "where?," "whither?;" acc. *yabe*; abl. *yaci* "from where?"); *eke* "who is that?;" *udu* "how many?," "how much?".

These basic interrogative pronouns are used to form more complex pronouns, such as: *aba* "where?;" *aiba* (< *ai* + *ba* "place") "where?" (dat. *aibade* "where?;" abl. *aibaci* "whence?," "from where?"); *aibi* (< *ai* + *bi*=copula) "where?," "what is there?" (dat. *aibide* "where?," abl. *aibici* "whence?," "from where?," sep. *aibideri* "from

where?"); *ainu* (< *ai* + *nu* = interrogative particle) "how?," "why?;" the pronominal words *aika* (< *ai* + *eke*), *aimaka* (< *ai* + *maka*), *yamaka* (< *ya* + *maka*) (*maka* is explained by Norman as "an introductory particle of doubt or questioning: I wonder ... , could it really be that ... ;" NL:192) may have the interrogative meaning as well the indefinite meaning of "any," "some" (see 4.5); *ekehe* (< *eke* + *bihe* = the perfect participle of the verb *bi-* "to be") "who was that?;" *weingge* (< *we* + *i* = the genitive + *-ngge* = the possessive suffix) "whose?;" *weke* (< *we* + *eke*) "who is he?;" *yaba* (< *ya* + *ba* "place") "where?;" *yaka* (< *ya* + *eke*) "someone, who?". The words *aimaka* and *yamaka* may also display the adverbial meaning "probably," "seemingly." The interrogative meaning may be also expressed by the pronominal adverbs *adarame* "how?," "why?," "how so?" and *atanggi* "when?".

There are several patterns in which some pronouns combine with each other: *we ai*, *we ya* "who?". These pronouns are used with regard to a number of persons, however, the semantic difference between them is not clear. It seems that another pair of pronouns *eke ya* "who was it now?" is used when someone cannot think of a person's name (NL:72).

When the interrogative pronouns are declined, they are commonly written together with the case marker as one word: *aibe* (< *ai* + *be* = *accusative*) "what?;" *aici* (< *ai* + *ci* = ablative) "what sort of?;" *aide* (< *ai* + *de* = dative) "where?," whither?," "why?," "how?;" *webe* (< *we* + *be* = accusative) "whom?," *wede* (< *we* + *de* = dative) "to whom?," "for whom?;" *yaci* (< *ya* + *ci* = the ablative marker) "from where?". Occasionally, they are written separately, for example: *ya de* " where?," "whither?".

The most commonly used interrogative pronouns are *ai* and *ya*. They may serve as the question to all nouns without exception. The abovementioned meanings are attributed to them only in context, when combined with words belonging to different semantic groups. There are certain differences in their meanings. The pronoun *ai* "what," "how" is used when an inquiry is made about the quality of an object: *ai jugūn* "what road" (of high or poor quality?). When combined with a noun that denotes a place, the pronoun *ya* "what?," "which?" usually has the meaning of "which?". The pronoun *ya* in the dative and ablative cases serves as a question to words which function as adverbial modifiers of place: *ya de* "where?," *yaci* "from where?". Followed by the same case markers, the pronoun *ai* serves as a question to words which denote indirect objects: *aide* "in what?,"

"to whom?;" *aici* "from whom?," "from what?". These differences in meaning are often subtle and difficult to discern. Here are some examples with the pronoun *ai*:

ši (ma. *si*) *ai nimeku baha-fi*
you what illness get-CONV
"What illness did you get?;"
bira-i cargi de ši (ma. *si*) *ai be sabu-ha*
river-GEN there DAT you(SG) what ACC see-PART
"What did you see over the river?" (SK:55).

The following examples contain the pronoun *ya*:

ya ici gene-mbi, ja jugūm-be jabu-mbi, jetere jefelin
which side go-IMPF which road(*jugūn*)-ACC go-IMPF food food
ya gese baitala-mbi ai jaka gama-mbi
which like use-IMPF which thing take-IMPF
"Which side shall (I) go towards , which road shall (I) go along, which food shall (I) use, which things shall (I) take?" (SK:55-6).

Sometimes the pronouns *ai* and *ya* are used in relative function:

ya ici genere be sa-rkū
which side go-PART ACC know-PART(NEG)
"(Someone) does not know towards which side he will go;"
ama šin-de (ma. *sin-de*) *ai se-ci ai-be bu-ki*
father you(*si*/*sin*- SG)-DAT what mean-CONV what-ACC give-OPT
"The father will give you (everything) what you want" (SK:56).

The pronoun *we* "who?" is exclusively used to refer to human beings. It can have both a deictic and an anaphoric functions. The pronoun *wei* "whose" is also used to refer to human beings. Since only human nouns, whose referents are human beings, have morphological plurals the interrogative pronoun *we* also has plural formed by compounding pronominal words: *we ai* and *we ya* "who (plural)." Like *ai* and *ya*, the interrogative pronoun *we* is used in relative function:

ere morim-be we jafa-me mute-ci, we de
this horse(*morin*)-ACC who catch-CONV can-CONV who DAT
min-i sain sargan jui de bu-mbi
I(*bi/min*-)-GEN = my beautiful woman daughter DAT give-IMPF
"I shall give my beautiful daughter to whoever can catch this horse" (SK:57).

The interrogative pronoun *ainu* "how?," "why?" is derived from the pronoun *ai* and the interrogative particle *nu*. Here are some instances of the use of the interrogative pronoun *ainu*:

ainu uttu ere ba-de te-hebi
why so this place-DAT sit-PAST
"Why did (you) sit so (in such a manner) at this place?;"
ši (ma. *si*) *ainu amala o-ho*
you why behind be-PART
"Why have you been behind (everyone)?" (SK:57).

The interrogative pronoun *udu* "how much?," "how many?" serves to indicate quantitative characteristics of objects in the form of a question: *udu niyalma* "how many persons?" and *udu inenggi* "how many days?". Here is an examples:

ši (ma. *si*) *ere udu inengi* (ma. *inenggi*) *ya de*
you this how.many day which DAT
jabu-ha
walk-PART
"Where did you walk for so many days?" (SK:57).

The verbs *aina-* "to do what?" and *aise-* "to say what?," "to be called what?" are derived from the interrogative pronoun *ai*. The form of the perfect participle of the verb *aina-* "to do what?" which is *ainaha*, shows the tendency to shift from participles to interrogative pronouns: *ainaha* "what happend?," "what sort of?," "what kind of?". It mostly occurs in interrogative sentences such as: *ere ainaha mahala*? "What sort of hat is that?;" *ši ainaha niyalma*? "What sort of man are you?" (SK:57).

4.5. *Indefinite Pronouns*

The group of indefinite pronouns has developed historically to include several subgroups of pronominal words that may be differentiated by their semantics. Some of them actually have the indefinite meaning: *aika* "any," "something;" *aimaka*, *yamaka* "any," "some;" *ememu* "some;" *ememungge* "some" (as substantive); pronominal adverb *ududu* "several," "a number of," motivited by the interrogative pronominal adverb *udu* "how much," "how many." Others have a collective meaning: *ganji* "all" (this word may also function as an adverb with the meaning "completely"); *gemu* "all" (this word may function as an adverb with the meaning "even"); *geren* "all," "many;" *gubci* "all," "entire;" *ele* "all," "all, who," "all, which" (used after participles); *yooni* "all," "all together," "complete," "entire." There are others that denote many homogeneous units, such as: *eiten* "all" (in attributive position), "every;" *yaya* "every," "each." The words *dari* and *tome* also have the meaning "every," "each," however, they can more rightfully be classified as postpositions rather than pronouns since they normally follow nouns, and precede the governing verbs. Some pronominal words, with the same meaning, are formed by repeating the word, that is by reduplication: *beri beri* "each one;" *meni meni* "each," "every;" *teisu teisu* "one by one" (this reduplicated word may display the meaning "all together," "on every occasion"). The pronoun *yaya* is also formed from the reduplicated pronoun *ya ya*, the components of which had lost their phonetic independence. Pronominal words that have demonstrative meaning of "not this," "not that," "not like this (that)" have also been traditionally included in this group of pronominal words: *gūwa* "other," "another;" *gūwaingge* "someone's else;" *weri* "another," "other," "somebody else."

According to Lebedeva, the pronoun "*meni meni*" preserved the independence of components from which it is formed, but it had lost connections with the word from which it is derived. In classical Manchu, the word *meni* "our" is found, however, it is a homonym of the word *meni* which is appears in the reduplicated pronoun "*meni meni*." The latter's component *meni* goes back to the pronoun *mon* "self," "one's" which is widely used in the languages of the Nanai group. This component *meni* does not occur either in classical Manchu or in Sibe, therefore it seems to be borrowed from some dialect or cognate language. Semantically it is very close to the word *beye* "body," "self," when the latter is used as pronoun (Lebedeva &

Gorelova, 1994:58). The following sentence contains the pronoun *meni meni*:

men'i men'i tere dedu-re bou (ma. *boo*) *de bi-bu-he*
that bed-PART house DAT stay-CAUS-PART
meni meni "each," "every," (NL:197); *meni meni* "every one," each one," "individual" (YAM:145); *men'i men'i* "every one," "individual" (SK:170);
dedure boo "bedroom;"
"(They) placed everyone in bedrooms" (SK:58).

When these pronouns serve as attributives, they are not followed by case markers. Used as substantives, they are followed by case formants:
geren be ji-bu-kini se-he
all ACC come-CAUS-OPT say-PART
"(He) commanded that everyone should come (there)" (ZAKH:116).

According to Zakharov, the words *dari*, *gemu*, *tome* normally appear after the case marker following the preceding noun and in turn followed by the main verb. Here are some examples:

niyalma de gemu bi
person DAT all have
"All people have (smth.)" (ZAKH:116);
ere hotun (ma. *hoton*) *gupci* (ma. *gubci*) *ajige amba niyalma be*
this walled city all small big people ACC
gemu soli-fi
all invite-CONV
"All people, small and big, were invited to this city" (SK:58).
The expression *ajige amba niyalma* "small and big people" is framed by two semantically identical words, the first of which should be analyzed as an indefinite pronoun and the second one as a postposition.

4.6. *The Relative Meaning of the Indefinite Pronoun* "ele"

The indefinite pronoun *ele* may have a relative meaning when it occurs between two words, the first of which is used as an attributive

and the second as a substantive. In the case when the substantive is absent, the word *ba* "place," "circumstances," "occasion" functions as a substantivizer. The pronoun *ele* is frequently used after the imperfect and perfect participle forms, which function as attributives. Here are some examples:

min-i ala-ha ele ba
I(*bi/min-*)-GEN tell-PART all SBSTR
"All that I told;"
gūnin adali ele niyalma
thought same all person
"Everyone who (has) the same thoughts;"
ji-he ele niyalma
come-PART all people
"All the people who came" (ZAKH:117).

The pronoun *ele* and the participle are often written as one word. The initial *e* of the pronoun *ele* is dropped, and the participle is followed by the syllable *le*, the vowel of which is changed in accordance with the law of vowel harmony:

isina-ha-la ba
reach-PART-REL place
"All places which (smb.) reached;"
bisi-re-le baita
be-PART-REL matter
"All matters which exist;"
donji-ha-la urse urgunje-rakū-ngge akū
hear-PART-REL people joy-PART(NEG)-NR there.are.not
"There is no one who has head (smth.) and does not rejoice" (ZAKH:117).

In old Manchu the syllable *le* usually does not follow the law of vowel harmony: *donjihale*, *isinahale* (Zakharov, 1879:117).

4.7. *Pronominal Use of the Word* "beye"

In classical Manchu there are no reflexive or reflexive-possessive pronouns. The word *beye* "body," "self" is used instead. Being a noun, this word is declined in the same way as declinable nouns. The plural

is formed by the suffix -*sa* (-*se*): *beye* "oneself"—*beyesa* "themselves." The declension of the word *beye* is shown in table 9.

Table 9. Declension of the word *beye*

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	*beye*	*beyesa*
Genitive	*beye(i)*	*beyese*
Dative	*beye de* (*beyede*)	*beyese de* (*beyesede*)
Accusative	*beye be* (*beyebe*)	*beyese be* (*beyesebe*)
Ablative	*beye ci* (*beyeci*)	*beyese ci* (*beyeseci*)

When functioning as the reflexive pronoun the word *beye* is characterized by the following features:

1) the word *beye* follows the personal pronouns which are used in the genitive case:

Singular	Plural
mini beye "myself"	*meni beye* (*beyese*) "ourselves"
	musei beye (*beyese*) "ourselves"
sini beye "yourself"	*su(w)eni beye* (*beyese*) "yourselves"
ini beye "herself"/"himself"	*ceni beye* (*beyese*) "themselves"

2) in the plural there is grammatical agreement in number: instead of *mini beyese* the combination *meni beyese* is used.

In the nominative case, used before a verb, the word *beye* has the reflexive meaning "oneself:"

bi tere niyalma be beye sabu-ha
I that man ACC myself see-PART
"I saw that man myself" (ZAKH:115);
ere han-de bi beye aca-me gene-mbi
that khan-DAT I myself meet-CONV go-IMPF
"I shall go to meet this khan myself" (SK:58).

In the genitive case the word *beye* may be used as the reflexive-possessive pronoun "one's own:"

beyei boo de dosi-ka
his house DAT enter-PART
"(He) entered his own house" (PASH:31).

Followed by the originally possesive suffixes *-ngge* or *-ningge* (which functions here as a substantivizer), the word *beye* displays the reflexive-possessive meaning of "one's own" as a substantive:

– *ere uthai wei jaka*?-
this namely whose thing
– "This thing is whose?"-
– *miningge* (*beyeiningge*)-
– "Mine (own)" (PASH:31).

Followed by a case marker, this word in its reduplicated form, *beye beye*, has the meaning "between oneselves," "each other," "one another:"
ninggun niyalma beye beye i ici gisure-hei
six man each other GEN with speak-CONV
"Six men spoke with each other for a long time."

4.8. *Nouns in the Pronominal Function*

In Manchu, as in other Oriental languages, the use of personal pronouns, especially for the first and second persons, was avoid by people in educated circles. Instead, following the Manchu-Chinese etiquette, the Manchus used combinations of personal pronouns in the genitive case with the word *beye*: *mini beye* "my person," *sini beye* "your person."

In addition to these native devices, the Manchus borrowed substitutes for personal pronouns from Chinese. Following the Chinese language, the Manchus used two groups of words which could serve as substitutes for the first and second persons. The words of the first group concerned a person who addressed an interlocutor. These particular words indicated politeness, humility, and submission and can be referred to as self-deprecatory terms. By contrast, with regard to the second person, the special words of entitling as well as those which denoted posts, rank, and status, viz. polite terms of address, were used (Zakharov, 1879:108-12).

The self-deprecatory terms were used in the following situations.

Addressing subjects, the Emperor, referring to himself, used the pronoun *bi* "I," "me" and *mini beye* "myself." Addressing princes (in Manchu: *amban* and *beile*), the Emperor used such terms as *sitahūn niyalma* "poor man" (*sitahūn* "deficient," "scarce") and *emteli beye* "orphan" (*emteli* "alone," "sole").

Addressing the Emperor, his princes, referring to themselves, used the following terms: *sitahūn niyalma* "poor man," *emteli beye* "orphan," and *emhun beye* "orphan," "lonely person" (*emhun* "alone," "sole," "lonely"). The word *amban* in the sense of "servant of your majesty" was used as well. Addressing the ruler, the most close descendants of the ruling Manchu dynasty used the word *aha* "slave." According to the same pattern, addressing the ruler or high officials the Chinese originally used the word *amban*, but the Manchus used the word *aha.*

Addressing subordinates, high officials used the following terms: *adali hafan* "equal official," *emu ba i hafan* "fellow-clerk" (literally: the same place's official), *uhei deo bi* "I am a common younger brother" (*uhe* "common," "mutual," "of one kind" + *i* = GEN).

Addressing officials of higher rank, those of lower rank used the following turns of speech: *buya tušan i hafan* "official of seventh or eighth ranks" (literally: insignificant post's official);" *hartu* or *harangga hafan* "subordinate official."

Addressing the ruler, a common person should use such a self-deprecatory term as *buya irgen* "small person," "ordinary person."

Addressing officials of any rank, a common person should use the following self-deprecatory terms: *irgen niyalma* "common person," *fusihūn beye* "subordinate person," *buya beye* "insignificant person."

Persons, who were equal in age, status or rank, as well as those who were friends, when addressing each other, instead of *bi* "I" used the words *deo* "younger brother" and *buya deo* "insignificant younger brother." Instead of the pronominal substitute for the person to whom the speech was addressed (addressee or interlocutor), viz. *si* "you (SG)," they used such polite terms of address as *ahūn* "elder brother," *age, agu* = respectful term of address for men: master, sir, lord (< turk. *aga* "elder brother").

In case when the person who was speaking could not refer to himself by self-deprecatory terms due to old age or social status, he would normally use the term *mentuhun ahūn* "stupid or silly brother." The word *mentuhun* "silly," "stupid" was often used by younger relatives when they addressed the elders, for example: *mentuhun jalahi jui*

"silly nephew (son of one's brother)," *mentuhun omolo* "silly grandson."

Persons, equal in status, without indicating age or kinship, mostly used the following self-deprecatory terms: *fusihūn beye* "subordinate person," *ajige beye* "small person," *mentuhun bi* "I am a silly person," *albatu niyalma* "common, ordinary person," *sesheri beye* "vulgar, common person."

The words of the second group, being substitutes for the second person, were used to entitle or honour the interlocutor. These honorific terms were used in the following situations.

The entitling of the Emperor followed a strict Manchu-Chinese etiquette. Addressing the Emperor, such native Manchu words as *han* "emperor," "khan" and *ejen* "emperor," "ruler," "lord," "master" were used. In addition to this, there were loan-translations borrowed from Chinese: *abkai jui* "the Son of Heaven," "the Emperor." Two terms *dergi* "the Emperor" (literally: "upper")" and *dele* "the Emperor (literally: top)" corresponded with the term "your Majesty." The calques *tumen se enduringge ejen* "ten thousand years—long living- the divine lord," "the Emperor;" *genggen ejen* "an enlightened ruler" were used as well. The Chinese term for the Emperor *hūwangdi* (< *huang di*) was widely used by the Manchus[8].

When addressing the successor to the throne (the Crown Prince), the Chinese term *hūwang taidz* "Heir Apparent" was used. Other princes were called also by the Chinese term *taidz* "Heir Apparent (literally: high son)." Very young princes were called by the Manchu word *age* "Prince, Son of an Emperor" (also a polite term of address: "master, sir, lord").

When referring to female persons who belonged to the ruling Manchu Dynasty, the Chinese terms *hūwangheo* "empress," *gungju* "princess," *hūwang guifei* "an imperial concubine of the first rank," *fei* "an imperial concubine of the third rank" and *pin* "an imperial concubine of the fourth rank" were used.

When referring to princes and others who possessed hereditary titles, the Chinese terms *wang* "prince," *gung* "duke" and the Manchu words *beile* "ruler," "prince of the third rank" and *beise* "ruler,"

---

[8] Subordinated to China, foreign rulers such as the Mongolian princes and the Korean king were addressed by the word *han* "khan." However, this word had a different spelling from the one used to address the Manchu emperor. By contrast, the final *n* in the title for the Manchu emperor was written with a dot (Zakharov, 1879:110).

"prince of the fourth rank" were used. These terms were combined with such words as *tob* "straight," "right," "upright;" *mergen* "wise" or *beye* "person," for instance: *wang ni beye* "person of high rank."

When addressing civil and military officials of the first four ranks, the word *amban* "high official," "dignitary" or the combination of *amban* and *wesihun* "honorable," "respected," viz. *wesihun amban*, were used.

When addressing officials of low rank, people used the Chinese word *laoye* "master," "bureaucrat," "overlord" preceding this term by the Manchu word *amba* "high:" *amba laoye*.

When addressing persons equal in age or social status, the following terms with the meaning "you (honorific)" were used: *wesihun beye*, *wesihun nofi* "respected (high) person" or *agu, age* which was used as a polite or respectful term of address, and *ahūn i beye* "elder brother."

When addressing someone in letters, people used such polite or respectful terms as *ambalinggū beye* "dignified person," *yekengge beye* "noble, grand person." When addressing a serviceman, the following honorific terms were used: *baturu haha* "brave man," "hero;" *aisin cira* "dear person" (literally: golden face);" *wesihun cira* "respected person (literally: respected face);" *fujurungga cira* "noble person (literally: noble face)." The most used of the honorific terms were those relating to seniority of brotherhood: *gosingga ahūn* (literally: cherished elder brother), *amba ahūn* (literally: big elder brother), *ahūngga ahun* (literally: eldest elder brother).

When referring to teachers, medical doctors or artisans of various kinds, the word *sefu* derived trom the Chinese word *shifu* "master in trade, business or any troupe who undertakes to teach skill to pupils" (CD:397) was also used as a polite form of address to people who had skills or specialized knowledge. The expression *sagda sefu* "an old master" was also used.

When referring to prince's wives and other female persons who possessed hereditary titles, for instance, wife of a feudal lord (ma. *beile*), the word *fujin* derived from the Chinese word *furen* "Mrs," "madam," "lady" (CD:132) was used. The respectful term of address for young ladies was the Manchu word *gege* "elder sister." The respectful terms of address for wives of officials of various kinds were such words as the above-mentioned *fujin* and the word *taitai* again borrowed from the Chinese word *taitai* "Mrs," "madam" (CD:430). Native Manchu words were also used: *eniye* "mother," *nainai* and *niyangniyang* "housewife," "mistress of a household." According to

Norman, the word *niyang* means "girl," and the reduplicated form of this word *niyang niyang* (*niyangniyang*) must be translated as "godess" (NL:217). The respectful term for young ladies *jiye jiye* was borrowed from Chinese. It is the reduplicated form of the Chinese word *jie* "elder sister" (CD:228) which is used as a general term of address for young women. Norman gives the lexical entry *jiyei* with the translation "older sister," "miss" (NL:161).

In official relations between State ministries, boards, and departments and officials who worked there, expressions derived from the word *wesihun* "upward," "honorable," "respected" and words denoting government offices, posts, positions, and appointments were used. Here are some examples: *wesihun jurgan* "respected ministry;" *wesihun yamun* "respected office;" *wesihun ba* "respected department (place);" *wesihun amban* "respected dignitary;" *wesihun hafan* "respected officer."

The afore-cited style of using substitutes for the first and second persons was the characterizing feature of the spoken language of the nobility and the educated circles. Townspeople tried to imitate this style of speaking in order to seem more refined and sophisticated. It was not the custom of the common people to follow this style of speech and they consequently used all personal pronouns without exception (Zakharov, 1879:112).

5. *Verbal Morphology*

In the Manchu grammatical structure the verb plays a significant role in the formation of an utterance.

Three types of verbal forms, derived from the same stems by the adding of particular suffixes, exist in Manchu. Therefore each type is characterized by its own paradigm of suffixes. These forms are participles, converbs, and verbs proper. No verbal forms have morphological categories of gender or even markers denoting biological sex of living beings, person or number. This means that the verbal forms cannot be followed by suffixes which denote these grammatical categories. These notions are conveyed by the semantic and syntactic context with the help of grammatical characteristics inherent in nouns and pronouns. Thus, the verbal forms determine their relationship with the category of sex through those characteristics which are used in the language to denote this meaning by nouns. The category of number, singular and plural, is co-

ordinated with verbal forms through that of nouns and pronouns. The category of person is made evident in verbal forms by the use of personal pronouns, singular and plural, as well as other pronouns which denote plurality. A person can also be determined by context, especially in short replies to preceding questions.

According to their attitude to the category of direct object, all verbs can be subdivided into transitive or intransitive.

In Manchu, we should distinguish between the predicative copula *bi* which is likely of non-verbal nature and the existential verb *bi-* "to exist," "to be." The copula *bi*, which has affirmative modal meaning, together with the other copulae (they are described in Section 9, specially devoted to them), plays an important role in the Manchu sentence. In certain cases, it is an obligatory structural component of the predicate, especially in the sphere of the nominal type of predication. The verb *bi-* changes in accordance with the grammatical categories of time and mood. A number of non-finite verbal forms can be derived from this verb. The most frequently used ones are: the indicative forms *bi-mbi*, *bi-mbihe*, *bihebi*; the imperative forms *bi-su*, *bi-kini*, *bi-cina*, *bisi-reo*; the optative form *bi-ki*; the participial forms *bi-si-re*, *bi-si-re-ngge*, *bi-si-rakū*, *bi-si-rakū-ngge*, *bi-he*, *bi-he-ngge*, *bi-hekū*, *bi-hekū-ngge*; and the converbal forms *bi-me*, *bi-fi*, *bi-hei*, *bi-ci*, *bi-cibe*, etc. It is important to mention, that normally the copula *bi* may be combined with one of the forms of the verb *bi-*. Moreover, frequent use of the copula *bi* with certain non-finite verbal forms may lead to the formation of new verbal forms. Thus, the past form in *-habi/-hebi/-hobi* is derived from the form of the perfect participle and the copula *bi*: *-ha/-he/-ho* + *bi* > *-habi/-hebi/-nobi*. The capacity for amalgamating with various forms of the verb *bi-* is a specific feature of the copula *bi* and a productive means for creating new grammatical forms in the language.

In Manchu there is a number of verbs which under certain circumstances may lose their lexical meaning. Becoming partly desemantisized, they may serve as auxiliary verbs. Apart from the existential verb *bi-*, the auxiliary function of which is very important, the most frequently used ones are: *o-* 1) "to become," "to change into;" 2) "to be," "to exist;" 3) "to be proper," "to be permissible," and *se-* "to say," "to call," "to mean." Combined with non-finite verbal forms, these auxiliary verbs produce a considerable number of modal and temporal forms of the verb proper, as well as various

analytical constructions which will be described below, in Section 5.9.

5.1. *Verbal Parts of Speech*

All verbal stems may take participial, converbal or verbal suffixes, and in such morphologically modified forms they function normally in a sentence. The exception is the form of the second person, singular and plural, of the Imperative mood. This form coincides with the verbal stem. It may be concluded that this form of the imperative is marked by zero as it is contrasted with the other moods. The existence of unsuffixed verbal stems is a peculiarity of the Manchu language. No other Tungus-Manchu language is characterized by such a feature.

The verb proper and the converb are monofunctional parts of speech, i.e. they have only one function in a sentence. Verbs proper always serve as predicates in simple sentences and in main clauses of complex sentences. Converbs serve as principal predicative members of converbal constructions. Consequently, there is no necessity to use any additional morphological markers to express these syntactic functions. The grammatical function and semantic relations with other parts of a sentence are expressed by invariable verbal suffixes which are markers of the mood and the converb.

The participle is a polyfunctional verbal form which means that participles perform several roles in a sentence. Therefore additional devices are required to express each syntactic function. These particular devices are case markers and the nominalizing suffixes all of which will be analyzed below, in Sections devoted to participles (5.6.3 & 5.6.5).

5.2. *The Structure of a Verbal Stem and Word-Formation of Verbs*

A verbal stem consists of a root, derivative suffixes, which belong to the sphere of verbal word formation, and suffixes which denote peculiar verbal characteristics, i.e. grammatical categories of aspect, voice and mood, including tense, and in some cases indicating a person.

According to their structure the verbal stems may be non-derived and derivative. Most non-derived verbal stems are monosyllabic or disyllabic: *bai-* "to seek," "to look for;" *bi-* "to be," "to exist;" *bu-*

"to give;" *da-* "to burn," "to blow (of the wind)," "to rain," "to snow;" *je-* "to eat;" *ji-* "to come;" *o-* "to be," "to become;" *sa-* "to know," "to understand;" *se-* "to say," "to mean;" *te-* "to live," "to sit;" *wa-* "to kill;" *ara-* "to write;" *buce-* "to die;" *gele-* "to fear;" *jafa-* "to attack," "to fight;" *mute-* "can," "to be able;" *tuwa-* "to look;" *ucu-* "to sing."

Derivative stems are produced in accordance with different word formation patterns. Verbal stems may be derived from nominal words, non-derived verbs, adverbs, and onomatopoeic words by adding semantically diverse derivational suffixes. In Manchu there is a considerable number of stems which serve as the derivative base for nouns and verbs alike. The existence of such stems is a distinctive characteristic of all the Tungus-Manchu languages. In her description of the Tungus (Evenki) language, G.M. Vasilevich referred to such stems "undifferentiated" (Vasilevich, 1940). In fact, in some cases it is doubtful whether the verb is derived from the nominal word or whether the latter is the result of the process of verbal derivation, for example: *aca-n* "harmony," "union," "meeting"—*aca-* "to meet," "to meet together," "to combine;" *aci-n* "load," "burden"—*aci-* "to load;" *bele-n* "false accusation," "a treacherous murder"—*bele-* "to harm an innocent person through a false accusation," "to murder treacherously;" *buhiye-n* "a guess," "a surmise"—*buhiye-* "to suspect, "to surmise," "to guess;" *do-n* "alighting (of birds)"—*do-* "to alight (of birds and insects);" *fali-n* "tying," "binding"—*fali-* "to tie," "to bind;" *isa-n* "assembly," "a meeting"—*isa-* "to meet; *jila-n* "compassion," "pity," "love"—*jila-* "to pity," "to have compassion for," "to love;" *tuksi-n* "alarm," "anxiety"—*tuksi-* "to be alarmed," "to be anxious," "to be afraid," "to be proud," "to throb" (Möllendorff, 1892:8).

An interesting and distinctive feature of most derivational suffixes is the fact that their semantics permits them to perform not only as derivational suffixes, but also to have other functional meanings. When added to verbal stems, these suffixes denote various aspectual meanings which can be included in the field of aktionsarts. Thus, these suffixes not only add new shades of meaning to their verbal stems, but may also vary the character of action, if it is realized as a process.

Certain derivational suffixes were very productive, so the Manchus could easily form new verbs by adding them to nominal words, adverbs, and verbs proper.

The following is a list of productive suffixes, most of which were used to derive new verbs from nominal stems, although some could also be attached to verbs:

1) *-la/-le/-lo*: *aba* "hunt," "battue"—*abala-* "to hunt;" *gucu* "friend"—*gucule-* "to make friends," "to be friends with;" *akdun* "firm," "strong"—*akdula-* "to protect," "to defend;" *ejen* "ruler," "lord," "master"—*ejele-* "to rule," "to be master of," "to establish control over;" *erun* "torture," "punishment"—*erule-* "to torture," "to punish;" *genggiyen* "bright," "clear"—*genggiyele-* "to make clear," "to make bright," "to elucidate;" *hahi* "urgent," "hurried"—*hahila-* "to act quickly or urgently," "to hurry;" *hafu* "penetrating," "going through," "through"—*hafu-* "to penetrate," "to go through," "to pierce"—*hafula-* "to penetrate," "to go through;" *lasha* "asunder," "into sections," "in two," "into pieces"—*lashala-* "to break off," "to break in two;" *oron* "vacant post," "vacancy"—*orolo-* "to fill in," "to fill a vacancy," "to put a substitute in;" *sadun* "a relative by marriage"—*sadula-* "to form an in-law relationship;" *sarin* "banquet," "feast"—*sarila-* "to hold a banquet;" *songko* "trace," "track," "footprint"—*songkolo-* "to follow in the tracks of," "to imitate;" *suhe* "ax"—*suhele-* "to split with an ax;" *untuhun* "empty," "emptiness"—*untuhule-* "to be empty."

It should be mentioned that the final *-n* of the noun stem is deleted. Some verbal stems which have the same derivational suffix *-la/-le/-lo* are likely to follow the same word formation pattern, but they are not used without this suffix: *weile-* "to work;" *dahala-* "to follow," "to pursue;" *burula-* "to flee," "to take flight."

2) *-ra/-re/-ro*: *amba* "big," "great"—*ambara-* "to do on a large scale;" *colgon* "peak," "high promontory"—*colgoro-* "to surpass," "to excel;" *ehe* "bad," "evil"—*ehere-* "to become evil or fierce," "to be on bad terms with someone;" *gisun* "speech"—*gisure-* "to speak;" *monggo* "Mongolia," "mongolian"—*monggoro-* "to speak Mongolian," "to act in a Mongolian manner."

The same suffix is also used to form new verbs from verbal stems: *saci-* "to chop," "hack," "to chop off"—*sacire-* "to hack," "to chop at," "to chop into pieces."

There are some nouns, the verbs from which are derived by both suffixes *-la* and *-ra*: *gohon* "a hook;" *goholo-* "to hook," "to put on a hook;" *gohoro-* "to bend," "to form the shape of a hook," "to curl;" *taji* "naughty," "mischievous;" *tajila-* , *tajira-* "to act naughtily."

3) the suffix *-na/-ne/-no* denotes the internal capacity of an object for self-development or self-reproducing: *abdaha* "a leaf"—*abdahana-* "to leaf," "to produce leaves;" *bongko* "bud of a flower"—*bongkono-* "to form a bud;" *eifun* "a boil," "a pimple," "a swelling"—*eifune-* "to develop a boil or a swelling;" *suihe* "an ear of grain"—*suihene-* "to put forth ears (grain); *umiyaha* "worm"—*umiyahana-* "to get worms (of fruit)."

The same suffix may be attached to verbs and in this case it is normally used to add the semantics of motion, departure from or leaving a place for other places or objects.

4) the suffix *-tu* is added to nouns to derive verbs: *ulin* "goods," "property," "possessions"—*ulintu-* "to bribe;" *kimun* "enmity," "animosity"—*kimuntu-* "to feel animosity against smb."

5) the suffixes *-li, -mi* are also added to nouns to derive verbs: *bolgo* "clean," "clear"—*bolgo-* "to clean," "to make clear," "to clarify," "to explain"—*bolgomi-* "to abstain," "to fast;" *doko* "lining of a garment"—*dokomi-* "to line (a garment);" *goro* "far"—*goromi-* "to do from afar," "to go a long distance;" *monggon* "neck," "throat"—*monggoli-* "to wear on the neck;" *tohon* "button"—*tohomi-* "to button," "to button up;" *ture* "the leg of a boot"—*turemi-* "to attach the leg of a boot."

6) the suffix *-ša/-še/-šo* denotes permanent efforts which are made to attain a result, duration, and continued actions: *adali* "like," "same"—*adališa-* "to resemble," "to be like;" *banuhūn* "lazy"—*banuhūša-* "to be lazy;" *buleku* "mirror"—*bulekuše* "to look in a mirror;" *etuhun* "strong," "powerful"—*etuhuše-* "use force;" *hitahūn* "nail (of the finger or toe)"—*hitahūša-* "to press firmly with a fingernail;" *mangga* "difficult"—*manggaša-* "to have difficulties;" *narhūn* "fine," "thin"—*narhūša-* "to be fine," "to make thin;" *nimaha* "fish"—*nimahaša-* "to fish;" *oncohon* "arrogant," "overbearing"—*oncohošo-* "to be arrogant," "to be overbearing;" *sain* "good," "well"— *saiša-* "to praise," "to commend;" *saman* "shaman"—*samaša-* "to perform a shamanistic rite;" *teifun* "cane," "staff"—*teifuše-* "to to walk with a cane or a staff."

It is likely that this suffix is related to the expression of the durative or frequentative meanings of the verb (see Section 5.4).

7) the suffix *-da/-de/-do* denotes gradual involvement in an action

and the duration of a process: *acuhiyan* "slander"—*acuhiyada-* "to slander;" *balama* "mas," "crazy"—*balamada-* "to rave," "to act crazily;" *ceku* "a swing"—*cekude-* (*cekule-*) "to swing in a swing;" *dufe* "dissolute," "lascivious"—*dufede-* "to act dissolutely;" *eruwen* "drill," "auger"—*eruwede-* "to drill (a hole)," "to make a hole with an auger;" *goho* "elegant," "dainty," "fop," "dandy"—*gohodo-* "to adorn oneself," "to make up;" *hanja* "honest," "clean," "pure"—*hanjada-* "to act honestly;" *hūlhi* "muddleheaded," "confused"—*hūlhida-* "to act in a confused manner," "to be in a daze;" *jali* "plot," "intrigue"—*jalida-* "to plot against," "to intrigue against;" *jili* "anger," "temper"—*jilida-* "to get angry," "to become mad;" *onco* "broad," "wide," "generous"—*oncodo-* "to forgive," "to grant amnesty;" *oshon* "cruel," "brutal," "tyrannical"—*oshodo-* "to be cruel," "to be brutal;" *yobo* "fun," "play" "joking"—*yobodo-* "to have fun," "to joke."

8) the suffix *-ta/-te/-to* is also added to nouns to derive verbs: *gosin* "love," "mercy," "pity"—*gosita-* "to love," "to like;" *tuksin* "throbbing," alarm," "anxiety"—*tuksite-* "to be alarmed," "to be greatly anxious" (the final *-n* of noun stems is deleated).

The meaning of the derivational suffixes *-da/-de/-do* and *-ta/-te/-to* became the semantical base on which they were transformed into aspectual ones. Having undergone further development, when attached to verbs, they denote the iterative meaning (see Section 5.4).

9) the suffix *-ja/-je/-jo* in most cases denotes duration or intensity of the mental or emotional process which a person experiences: *golohon* "fright"—*golohonjo-* "to be exceedingly frightened;" *gūnin* "thought"—*gūninja-* "to think over carefully," "to reflect upon;" *ilin* "standing"—*ilinja-* "to stand unsurely (of a small child)," "to loiter," "to stand around," "to make a stop;" *murin* "stubborn," "stubbornness"—*murinja-* "to be stubborn," "to act recalcitrantly;" *niyeniyehun* "weak willed," "lacking initiative"—*niyeniyehunje-* "to be weak willed," "to be weak of character," "to lack initiative;" *talihūn* "undecided," "vacillating"—*talihūnja-* "to vacillate," "to be undecided;" *urgun* "joy," "felicity," "happiness"—*urgunje-* "to rejoice," "to be glad."

Attached to verbs, this suffix has an aspectual or reflexive meaning. The aspectual meaning is mostly related to the expression of the durative or frequentative meanings (see Sections 5.4 & 5.5).

The following suffixes are mostly used in the derivative processes

forming new verbal lexemes from verbs. It is plausible that in some cases the newly formed verbs are related to the expression of the causative meanings:

10) *-niye*: *ebe-* "to wet," "moisten"— *ebeniye-* "to wet thoroughly," "to soak" (Norman gives the following lexical meanings of these verbs: *ebe-* "to become soaked through," "to become soggy"—*ebeniye-* "to soak"); *ekiye-* "to diminish," "to be deficient," "to be too little," "to be lacking"—*ekiyeniye-* "to lessen," "to diminish;"

11) *-kiya/-kiye*, *-giya*, *-hiya/-hiye*: *aliya-* "to wait," "to regret"—*aliyakiya-* "to linger," "to pace back and forth while waiting;" *bodo-* "to calculate," "to figure;" *bodo-n* "calculation," "plan;" *bodonggiya-* "to talk to oneself," "to reckon upon" (in this case it is likely that the suffux *-kiya* is used to derive the new verb from the noun "bodon"); *foso-* "to shine," "to light up"—*fosokiya-* "to get upset because of impatience;" *hafu-* "to understand thoroughly," "to comprehend"—*hafukiya-* "to inform in detail," "to give a thorough rundown on;" *jalu-* "to be full," "to be fulfilled"—*jalukiya-* "to fill out," "to fill up;" *necin* "level," "flat," "peaceful," "calm"—*necihiye-* "to level," "to calm dawn," "to pacify" (in this case it is likely that the suffix *-hiye* is ised to derive the new verb from the noun); *sesule-* (*sesula-*) "to be startled" —*sesukiya-* "to shiver from the cold;" *taci-* "to learn," "to study," "to get used to"—*tucihiya-* "to instruct," "to train;" *tuwa-* "to look," "to look at," "to observe"—*tuwakiya-* "to watch," "to guard," "to watch over," "to observe;" *yaru-* "to lead," "to guide"—*yarkiya-* (instead of *yaru-kiya-*) "entice," "to lure;" *šušu šaša* "whispering," "speaking softly;" *šušunje-* "to whisper;" *šušunggiya-* "to whisper," "to hum."

A specific source of verbal derivation in Manchu is onomatopoeic words followed by the form of the imperfect converb from the verb *se-* "to say," "to call," "to mean," i.e. *seme* "speaking." Partly desemantisized, this verbal form takes upon itself a governing function and may be followed by all verbal suffixes. The lexical meaning is rendered by the onomatopoeic words. Here are some examples: *bubu baba seme* "mumbling"—*bubu baba se-* "to speak mumbling;" *ek seme* "a typical sound of someone who has the urge to vomit"—*ek se-* "it makes someone sick," "to be annoyed with," "to be tired of;" *hiyor hiyor se-* "to be robust;" *kaka kiki seme* "the sound of happy laughter"—*kaka kiki se-* "to laugh for one's joy;" *kek se-* "to be pleased," "to be

gratified," "to be refreshed;" *kes seme* "the sound as if cut off with a knife, sharp, sheer"—*kes se-* "to cut of with a knife or a sickle."

Used frequently with the converb *seme*, certain onomatopoeic words were amalgamated with the verb stem *se-*. The latter was changed into the suffix *-si* or *-sa*, following the stem morpheme. That became the base from which new verbs could be derived.

The following verbs have developed as a result of this process: *kabkasa-* "to answer impudently," "to talk back to" (*kab seme* "snapping, beating (of a pack of dogs);" *labsi-* "to gulp down," "devour" (*lab seme* "with the mouth packed full"); *longsi-* "to chatter on and on," "to talk foolishness" (*long seme* "to keep on talking foolishly," "to talk nonsense"); *tuksi-* "to pound, to throb (of the heart)" (*tuk tuk seme* "pounding of the heart").

Being part of the verbal stem, derivational suffixes always precede the suffixes of aspect, voice, and mood (tense and modality).

5.3. *Verbs of Motion*

In Manchu there are two derivational suffixes denoting two types of motion, opposed to each other. One of the types is connected with the idea of departure from or leaving a place for other places or towards other objects of an action, the other one expresses the idea of coming or arrival to other places as well as the achievements of the agent's object. Followed by these suffixes, in addition to their basic semantics verbs take on the meaning of motion.

The suffix *-na/-ne/-no* which is most likely historically connected with the verb *gene-* "to go" adds to verbs the meaning "to go (to do smth.): *ala-* "to tell," "to report"—*alana-* "to go to report;" *ebiše-* "to bathe," "to swim"—*ebišene-* "to go to bathe or swim;" *fata-* "to pinch," "to pick (fruit)"—*fatana-* "to go to pinch or pick;" *feku-* "to jump," "to leap"—*fekune-* "to jump across (away from the speaker)," "to jump to the other side;" *fude-* "to see off"—*fudene-* "to go to see off;" *guri-* "to move," "to transfer"—*gurine-* "to go to move," "to move to another place;" *hengkile-* "to kowtow," "to prostrate oneself"—*hengkilene-* "to go to kowtow," "to go to court;" *okdo-* "to go to meet," "to greet"—*okdono-* "to go out to meet," "to go to greet;" *omi-* "to drink"—*omina-* "to go to drink;" *simne-* "to examine," "to take an examination," "to test"—*simnene-* "to go to examine," "to go to take an examination;" *te-* "to sit," "to reside"—*tene-* "to go to sit," "to go to reside."

Followed by this suffix, verbs denote depature (going out) of the agent from a place to other places or towards the object of the action.

This synthetic form can be replaced by an analytical one, the first component of which is the form of the imperfect converb of an autosemantic verb and the second is represented by one of the forms of the verb *gene-* "to go:" *alana-*, *alame gene-* "to go to tell," "to go to report;" *tene-*, *teme gene-* "to go to sit," "to go to reside."

The suffix *-nji* which is probably derived from the verb *ji-* "to come" adds to verbs the meaning "to come (to do smth.)": *ala-* "to tell," "to report"—*alanji-* "to come to report;" *fata-* "to pinch," "to pick (fruit)"—*fatanji-* "to come to pinch or pick;" *feku-* "to jump," "to leap"—*fekunje-* "to jump across (toward the speaker);" *fude-* "to see off"—*fudenji-* "to come to see off;" *guri-* "to move," "to transfer"—*gurinji-* "to come to move," "to move here;" *hengkile-* "to kowtow"—*hengkilenji-* "to come to kowtow," "to come to court;" *okdo-* "to go to meet," "to greet"—*okdonji-* "to come to meet;" *omi-* "to drink"—*ominji-* "to come to drink;" *simne-* "to examine," "to take an examination"—*simnenji-* "to come to examine," "to come to take an examination;" *te-* "to sit," "to reside"—*tenji-* "to come to sit," "to come to reside."

Followed by this suffix, verbs denote coming, arrival of the agent to the place of the action or achievement of the agent's object. This synthetic form can be replaced by an analytical one, the first component of which is the form of the imperfect converb of an autonomous verb and the second is represented by one of the foms of the verb *ji-* "to come:" *alanji-*, *alame ji-* "to come to tell;" *tenji-*, *teme ji-* "to come to sit," "to come to reside."

The verb *ji-* "to come" has an irregular form of the imperative, i.e. *jio*. When followed by the suffix *-nji*, verbs in the imperative also have irregular forms: *alanju* "come and tell;" *dosinju* "come in;" *okdonju* "come to meet" (Zakharov, 1879:165).

5.4. *Aspect*

The grammatical category of acpect needs to be further investigated. When scholars discuss the problem of aspect in the Manchu language they take into consideration first of all the imperfect and perfect participles formed by the suffixes *-ra/-re/-ro* and *-ha/-he/-ho* respectively. According to the Russsian tradition in Manchu studies, the first form denotes the present-future and the second is connected with the expression of the past. In fact, these two participles denote

aspectual meanings rather than temporal. The participle in *-ra/-re/-ro* denotes the imperfect aspect in the grammatical space of the present-future tense, and the participle in *-ha/-he/-ho* conveys the perfect aspect in the grammatical space of the past.

As shown by V.A. Avrorin, when these two forms were fixed in classical Manchu, the aspectual meanings of both of them were in the process of transformation into temporal meanings (Avrorin, 1949).

Opposition between these two participles is of great importance not the least because they play an important role in the structure of the Manchu utterance. It is not an overstatement to say that the two participles are the basis from which most finite verbal forms have developed.

Apart from the grammatical opposition between the imperfect and perfect aspects which is limited to participles, in classical Manchu there are a few synthetic forms, albeit not as many as in other Tungusic languages, which characterize an action from the point of view of quality and quantity. Expressed by suffixes, these forms display not only different shades of lexical meanings but also aspectual distinctions in the verb. On these grounds they can be seen as instances of aktionsarts, in the sense this term is used by scholars working in Slavonic languages, rather than aspect markers (Agrell, 1908; Noreen, 1904-1912; Seidel, 1936; Isachenko, 1960; Maslov, 1962; Bondarko & Bulanin, 1967; Bondarko, 1971).

In some cases it is doubtful whether suffixes specified as aspectual are actually effect verbs respecting certain aspectual distinctions or whether they are part of verbal stems as lexical entries, i.e. can be seen as derivational ones.

Another difficulty lies in the fact that certain suffixes may denote aspectual meaning with some verbs, but with others display the meaning of voice (in the broad sense). It is questionable whether these suffixes are the same, and if so, what generic semantics might be the basis of these two lexical-grammatical categories.

Denoting aspectual distinctions in the verb, most suffixes may combine a series of meanings. Each of these meanings is realized depending on the lexical semantics of a concrete verb. The combination of meanings is limited by the semantics of iteration, frequency, duration, continuity, or intensity of an action. Most frequentative verbs are formed by these suffixes. The adverbs "repeatedly," "permanently," "constantly," and "intensively" most adequately describe the semantics of these newly derived verbs.

The suffix -ša/-še/-šo has the durative meaning with most verbs, but with some it displays the frequentative meaning: *jafa-* " to catch," "to hold," "to take hold of," "to grasp," "to grip," "to seize"—*jafaša-* "to hold continually," "to hold for a while," "to keep groping for;" *kurbu-* "to turn around," "to turn over," "to toss and turn (while sleeping)"—*kurbuša-* "to turn round and round," "to roll over and over;" "to be upset," "to be enxiuos;" *nara-* "to long for," "to feel attached to," "to linger over"—*naraša-* "to long for continually," "to linger over a long time;" *olho-* "to fear"—*olhošo-* "to be careful," "to be cautious."

When the suffix *-ša/-še/-šo* is added to the verbs ending with the suffix *-ra/-re/-ro* the vowel of the latter is dropped: *fatara-* "to pinch repeatedly," "to use things sparingly"—*fatarša-* "to pinch repeatedly," "to be in the hebit of using things sparingly;" *hafira-* "to pinch," "to press or hold between two objects," "to put pressure on," "to compel"—*hafirša-* "to live economically," "to use economically;" *sefere-* "to take a handful," "to grab with the hand"—*sefereše-*, *seferše-* "to keep on taking handsful," "to keep on grabbing;" *šoforo-* "to pinch," "to take a pinch of," "to scratch"—*šoforšo-* "to scratch all over," "to take random pinches of."

According to Zakharov, when the suffix *-ša/-še/-šo* is attached to the verbs ending in the suffix *-la/-le/-lo* the latter is deleted: *habtala-* "to squint," "to wink," "to blink"—*habtaša-* "to wink or blink repeatedly;" *hengkile-* "to kowtow"—*hengkiše-* "to kowtow repeatedly;" *šasihala-* "to slap," "to clap"—*šasihaša-* "to slap repeatedly" (Zakharov, 1879:166).

It is obvious that this suffix, displaying in the examples cited above, the aspectual meaning is closely related to the derivational suffix *-ša/-še/-šo* which serves to form new verbs from nouns. These derivative verbs also denote durative and continuous actions (see Section 5.2).

Preceded by additional elements *-n*, *-l*,*-r*, or *-gan*, *-hon*, *-hun*, the suffix *-ja/-je/-jo* when used with some verbs, has the aspectual meaning which is mostly durative. In some cases this suffix denotes the intensity of an action. Used with the following vebs, this suffix adds to them the meaning "to do smth. constantly or intensively:" *ere-* "to hope"—*erehunje-* "to hope constantly;" *golo-* "to be startled," "to be scared"—*golohonjo-* "to be exceedingly frightened;" *gūni-* "to think," "to reflect," "to consider," "to intend"—*gūnunja-* "to think over carefully," "to reflect upon;" *guri-* "to move," "to transfer"— *gurinje-*

"to move from one place to another constantly," "to lead a nomadic life;" *fulara-* "to become red," "to blush"—*fularja-* "to have a red appearance;" *haya-*"to coil," "to twist"—*hayalja-* "to wind constantly," "to twist constantly."

With other verbs the suffix *-ja/-je/-jo* has mostly reflexive meaning and should be analyzed in the chapter devoted to the grammatical category of voice (see Section 5.5).

The suffix *-ja/-je/-jo* is used to form new verbs from other parts of speech. These verbs also denote certain degree of making efforts, intensity or continuity of an action or process (see Section 5.2).

The suffix *-ca/-ce/-co* has the frequentative meaning. With some verbs it may denote duration or intensity of an action. The following verbs display the additional aspectual meaning which is formed by this suffix: *feku-* "to jump," "to leap"—*fekuce-* "to leap up," "hop over;" *hira-* "to look askance at," "to spy on"—*hiraca-* "to keep looking askance," "to spy on intently;" *jolho-* "to gush up," "to well up"-*jolhoco-* (*jolgoco-*) "to stampede," "to rush off in a fury," "to press forward in a rage."

When this suffix is added to verbs ending in the suffixes *-ra/-re/-ro* or *-la/-le/-lo*, the vowel of the latter is deleted: *bedere-* "to withdraw (at court or at a ceremony)"—*bederce-* "to withdraw many times;" *sosoro-* "to back up," "to withdraw"—*sosorco-* "to back up," "to shrink back." Norman gives the following translations of the pair of verbs: *bedere-* "to return"—*bederce-* "to retreat." These meanings cannot be considered as aspectual (NL:26).

The suffix *-ca/-ce/-co* is used to denote the associative meaning which should be analyzed in the chapter devoted to the grammatical category of voice (see Section 5.5).

To denote the iterative meaning the suffix *-ta/-te* is used. With some verbs it displays the meaning of continuous action. The suffix *-ta/-te* can be found, for example, in the following verbal stems: *ana-* "to push"—*anata-* "to push repeatedly;" *debsi-* "to fan," "to flap," "to flutter"—*debsite-* "to fan continually," "to flutter continually;" *fehu-* "to step on," "to tread on," "to trample"—*fehute-* "to trample repeatedly;" *jafa-* "to take in the hand," "to hold," "to grasp," "to grip"—*jafata-* "to grasp or to grip repeatedly" (Norman gives another translation of the verb *jafata-*, which is "to keep in rein," "to restrain;" NL:153); *niyece-* "to mend," "to fill (a post)," "to fill in"—*niyecete-* "to mend continually," "to fill in regularly;" *tuksi-* "to pound," "to throb (of the heart)," "to be alarmed," "to be anxious"—*tuksite-* "to throb

(of the heart) continually," "to be greatly anxious;" *uša-* "to pull" - *ušata-* "to pull with force." The verb stem *tuwašata-* "to look at smth. or smb. for a long time and repeatedly," "to look after" contains two aspectual suffixes one of which is used to denote the durative meaning (*-ša*), and another is used to denote the iterative meaning (*-ta*). This verb was derived from the verb *tuwa-* "to look," "to look at."

5.5. *Voice*

The grammatical category of voice is one of the most discussed topics in general linguistics. However, there is currently no conventional definition of voice. In Tungus-Manchu studies voice also remains one of the most problematic grammatical categories. The semantics of voice is still not quite clear, and scholars continue to ascribe semantically different forms to this category.

Many scholars maintain that voice doesn't possess any semantics, and that the main function of this category is to transform the syntactic structure of a sentence, i.e. the subject and the object switch roles, and this fact is reflected in the verbal form.

The universal theory of voice was developed in the early seventies. In this theory, the concept of semantic and syntactic category of diathese is used, i.e. the correspondence between the semantic roles of a verbal lexeme (agent, patient, addressee, etc.) and its syntactic roles (subject and object). The latter coincide with the parts of the sentence. Such an understanding of the category of diathese can be found in Tesniere's *Elements de Syntaxe Structurale* (Tesniere, 1976). Voice is defined as a morphologically marked diathese. In other words, voice is a mechanism, which permits a change of the diathese of a verb lexeme. The opposition between the active and passive forms underlies the category of voice in many languages. The verbal form is active when the subject corresponds with the agent while in the passive voice the subject corresponds with the patient (Mel'chuk & Kholodovich, 1970; Kholodovich, 1979; Khrakovsky, 1979; LED, 1990).

Other scholars consider the category of voice as closely related with the communicative structure of a sentence. Such an understanding of the category of voice has recently been put forward by V.A. Plungyan in his "*General Morphology*" (Plungyan, 2000:191-224). Plungyan believes that two classes of forms should be distinguished in the semantic space of voice. The first class comprises forms of voice

proper, while the second one includes forms of actant derivation. The category of voice has its own semantics, albeit this semantics is unique. The forms of voice express the attitude of the speaker to the information that is announced. Such semantic elements are referred to as communicative or pragmatic information. The morphological verbal forms of voice (as a rule, together with syntactic devices) are used to express communicative and/or pragmatic oppositions.

Voice can be defined as a verbal category, whose forms are used to indicate certain changes of the communicative rank of participants who are engaged in a situation of the outside world. The active voice indicates the initial (basic) rank structure of a sentence. The oblique voices are used to transfer the status of a participant with the highest communicative rank from one argument to the others. In fact, the function of voice is not so much the redistribution of syntactic roles as the redistribution of communicative ranks.

If a verb has two or more actants (the parts of the sentence that indicate participants of a situation), one of them is opposed to the others as the subject vs. objects. Being the principal actant in many languages, the subject is characterized by the highest communicative rank (topicality). In order to decrease the communicative rank of a subject, the forms of passive voice are used. In canonical passive constructions, the communicative rank of a direct object is normally increased, and the object occupies the position of a subject. The communicative rank of the subject is decreased, and the subject occupies the position of the object. However, there are passive constructions in which the status of the patient is not increased. Passive constructions with "zero-agent" also exist. The opposition of "active vs. passive" is considered central to the category of voice. What is very important to note is that the situation, which is described with the help of the passive construction, remains the same when the voice transformations occur.

In the theory of voice accepted in Altaic studies, the category of voice is represented by the opposition between active and passive constructions. In the active voice the agent is placed in the position of a subject and rendered by the nominative. In Manchu as in the other Altaic languages the active voice has no special morphological marker and is semantically and morphologically opposed to the passive. The active comprises the transitive and intransitive verbs: *ala-* "to tell," *te-* "to sit," "to live." To manifest the passive voice the

suffix ***-bu*** is used. This suffix belongs to a verbal stem and correspondingly to all verbal forms, which are derived from this stem. All verbs, which do not have this suffix, can be seen as active. In the passive voice the subject is placed in the position of object and rendered by one of the oblique cases, dative in the case of Manchu:

*bi in-de gele-**bu**-he*
I he(*i/in-*)-DAT fear-PASS-PART
"I was frightened by him" (PASH:34);
*in-de gida-**bu**-ha*
he(*i/in-*)-DAT press-PASS-PART
"(Someone) was pressed by him;"
*baita de uša-**bu**-ha*
matter DAT burden.with-PASS-PART
"(Someone) was burdened with the matter" (ZAKH:160);
*weri de basu-**bu**-mbi, gūnin de*
somebody.else DAT deride-PASS-IMPF thought DAT
*gida-**bu**-mbi*
hurt-PASS-IMPF
"(One) is derided by strangers and hurt by thoughts (of others)" (PASH2:57).

The object takes the position of subject in the passive construction and is marked by the nominative.

To form the passive voice the suffix ***-mbu*** is also used with some verbs. According to Zakharov, this suffix has a different shade of meaning in contrast with the suffix *-bu* (Zakharov, 1879:160).

The passive voice can be expressed analytically, by the verb *isibu-* "to bring to," "to deliver," "to send," "to take to," "to reduce to," "to drive (into, to)" which is originally the causative form of the verb *isi-* "to reach," "to arrive;" "to approach," "to come up to;" "to suffice;" "to be about to (with the imperfect participle):"

*in-i arga de buce-**bu**-he*
he(*i/in-*)-GEN plot DAT die-PASS-PART
"(Someone) was done away by his plots;"
*in-i arga-i buce-re de isi-**bu**-ha*
he(*i/in-*)-GEN plot-GEN die-PART DAT reach/approach/be.about-CAUS-PART
"(Someone) was driven to death by his plots" (ZAKH:160).

Some passive verbs, derived from active ones by the suffix -*bu*, take the reflexive meaning. Constructions with these verbs do not contain the NP (nominal phrase) which occur in the dative to express the agent in passive constructions:

gurun *dasa-**bu**-mbi*
state/ruling.house rule/correct/repair-PASS-IMPF
"The state improves;"
irgen *beye* *dasa-me* *mute-rakū* *dasa-**bu**-re*
people self rule-CONV be.able-PART(NEG) rule-PASS-PART
de *akda-mbi*
DAT trust-IMPF
"People are unable to govern themselves, therefore (they) entrust (themselves) to rulers" (ZAKH:160).

As Plungyan mentions, the notion of the so-called actant derivation is not widely accepted. This notion is associated with the term "verb-deriving morphology," introduced by B. Comrie (Comrie, 1985:301-48). The principal distinction between voice and actant derivation is that voice transformations change the pragmatic interpretation of a situation, albeit never affect its semantic interpretation. On the contrary, it is changes in the number and/or referential properties of participants of a situation, i.e. semantic transformations of the basic structure, that are distinctive features of actant derivation. The re-distribution of communicative ranks also occurs (as a rule), albeit this change is not the only one. In a sense, it is possible to think that the category of voice is a particular case of the category of actant derivation (Plungyan, 2000:208).

Actant derivation is called increasing (the so-called "valency-increasing derivation" according to Comrie) when a new obligatory participant in comparison with the basic situation appears, and this change is reflected in the morphological structure of a verb. The appearance of a new participant with the role of agent occurs more frequently, and in this case it is accepted to say about derivative causative verbs. It is very important to note that this new participant always occupies a privileged syntactic position. The new agent becomes a subject (consequently the previous subject decreases in topicality).

In Manchu, the polyfunctional suffix -***bu*** is also used to express the causative. In comparison with the active construction, in the

causative one the subject is transformed into an agentive object which is the real performer of the action (agent). This action is performed according to the will (or desire, permission, assistance, order, etc.) of the second person who is the causator. The latter causes the agent to perform the action rendered by a verbal stem. In causative constructions the subject is the causator of an action, but not the real agent. The agent is expressed by a word in the accusative:

tere-be *gene-**bu***
this(he)-ACC go-CAUS(IMP)
"Order (tell) him to go;"
i *mim-be* *gele-**bu**-he*
he I(*bi*/*min*-)-ACC fear-CAUS-PART
"He caused me to be frightened;"
tere-be *baita* *icihiya-**bu**-me* *gene*
this/he-ACC matter arrange-CAUS-CONV go(IMP)
"Go and order him to arrange the matter" (ZAKH:160);

amba-sa *saisa* *be* *an* *be* *tuwakiya-**bu**-mbi*
high.official-PL gentleman ACC usual ACC keep-CAUS-IMPF
buya *niyalma be* *waka* *be* *ulhi-**bu**-mbi*
ordinary person ACC mistake ACC understand-CAUS-IMPF
ambasa saisa "a wise man," "true gentleman" (NL:15);
"(They) force true gentlemen to follow what is customary, and force ordinary persons to realize mistakes" (PASH2:54);
niyalma be *sain* *baita* *yabu-**bu**-mbi*
person ACC good affair/matter do/perform-CAUS-IMPF
"(They) make persons to do good things" (PASH2:55).

Here are some verbs in the form of the passive voice and the causative: *wa-* "to kill"—*wabu-* 1) "to order smb. to kill," 2) "to be killed;" *weile-* "to work," "to make"—*weilebu-* 1) "to order smb. to work," 2) "to be made;" *karula-* "to repay," "to recompense"—*karulabu-* 1) "to cause (repayment or smb. to repay)," "to cause (recompense or smb. to recompense)," 2) "to be repaid," "to be recompensed."

The fact that the same suffix *-bu* is used to express the passive and causative meanings, whose syntactic functions are opposed to each other, is rather puzzling. Although there are some more languages where the polysemy of the passive and causative markers is noted (for example, Korean, a number of Turkic, etc.), the passive more

frequently developed from the markers of decreasing derivation, as a result of their grammaticalization (Plungyan, 2000:220).

Normally verbs followed by the suffix *-bu* take part in syntactic constructions that have passive and causative semantics. In some cases, however, this suffix is used to form the causative pair of verbs and performs a derivational function: *be-* "to be," "to exist;" "to stay," "to remain"—*bibu-* "to detain," "to keep back," "to retain," "to leave behind;" *sa-* "to know," "to understand"—*sabu-* "to see," "to perceive." Newly derived verbal stems, in their turn, also may take the suffix *-bu*: *sababu-* PASS/CAUS of *sabu-*.

With some verbs the suffix ***-mbu*** is used to form the causative: *dosi-* (the perfect participle has the form in *-ka*) "to enter," "to advance"—*dosimbu-* "to order smb. to enter, to advance;" *suru-* (the perfect participle has the form in *-ke*) "to quiet down," "to calm down"—*surumbu-* "to order smb. to quiet down." Here is an example with the causative suffix in the form *-mbu*:

*niyalma be gūnin usa-**mbu**-mbi*, *jaka be*
person ACC intention be.disappointed.in-CAUS-IMPF thing ACC
teisu baha-bu-mbi
assigned.place get-CAUS-IMPF
"(They) force a person to be disappointed, and force a thing to get an assigned place" (PASH2:54).

The suffix *-mbu* has a different shade of meaning in contrast with the suffix *-bu*. Here are two verbs which may be followed by both of these suffixes: *wasi-* (the perfect participle has the form in *-ka*) 1) "to descend," "to go down," "to sink;" 2) "to fall (of rulers);" 3) "to decline (of value)"—*wasibu-* 1) CAUS of *wasi-* ; 2) "to demote," "to degrade"—*wasimbu-* 1) CAUS of *wasi-* ; 2) "to demote," "to degrade;" 3) "to issue (an order)," "to send down (an edict);" *wesi-* (the perfect participle has the form in *-ke*) 1) "to ascend," "to go up," "to raise;" "to advance (in rank)"—*wesibu-* 1) CAUS of *wesi-* ; 2) "to lift," "to raise;" 3) "to promote," "to advance"—*wesimbu-* 1) CAUS of *wesi-* ; 2) "to raise," "to lift;" 3) "to advance," "to promote;" 4) "to submit, to present (to the emperor)," "to report to the throne" (Zakharov, 1879:160; NL:305, 308).

The materials of Norman and Yamamoto display the fact that in Sibe the suffix -və is used to denote the causative and passive. This fact may be considered as more evidence on the influence of the

Tungusic languages on Sibe because the suffix -və corresponds to the passive suffixes in the Negidal, the Even, and the Evenki languages: neg. *-v*, *-mu*; even. *-v*, *u/-u*, *-m*; evenk. *-v*, *-b* ~ *-p* ~ *-mu* (Konstantinova, 1964:154-5; Novikova, 1960:55-6; Tzintzius, 1982:23).

The Manchu suffix ***-nggi***, although seldom used, has a meaning close to that of the causative. This suffix has the meaning "to send smb. to do smth.:" *alanggi-* "to send to tell, to report" (*ala-* "to tell," "to report"); *boolanggi-* "to send to report" (*boola-* "to report"); *tuwanggi-* "to send to look," "to send to examine" (*tuwa-* "to look," "to look at," "to examine"). To denote the same meaning the verb *unggi-* "to send" is usually used instead. For example, the verb *alanggi-* "to send to tell" can be replaced by the analytical construction with the same meaning: *alame unggi-* "to send to tell" (*ala-me* is the form of the imperfect converb of the verb *ala-* "to tell," "to report").

There is one more type of increasing actant derivation which is very important for the Manchu language. The associative suffixes ***-nu***, ***-ca/-ce/-co*** are used to mark not the appearance of a participant with a new role, but the appearance of a new participant or participants with the same role. These suffixes indicate that an action is performed by several participants together: *afanu-* "to attack together," "to fight together" (*afa-* "to attack," "to fight"); *amgaca-* "to sleep together" (*amga-* "to sleep"); *deduce-* "to lie down together," "to sleep together" (*dedu-* "to lie," "to lie down"); *dosinu-* "to enter together" (*dosi-* "to enter"); *ilica-* "to stand together" (*ili-* "to stand," "to spot"); *kicenu-* "to strive together" (*kice-* "to strive"); *omica-* "to drink together" (*omi-* "to drink"); *songgoco-* "to weep together" (*songgo-* "to weep"); *tece-* "to sit together," "to sit down together" (*te-* "to sit," "to live"). According to its semantics, the associative takes interim place between the area of actant derivation and the area of verbal plurality.

The associative meaning can be expressed by words which denote plurality: *gemu* "all," *geren* "a crowd," "many," "many kinds of." Therefore instead of the synthetic form with the associative suffix, the combination of one of these words and a verb can be used: *isanu-ha* and *geren isa-ha* "all gathered together;" *dosi-nu-ka* and *geren dosika* "all entered."

All verbs that have the associative suffix may produce causative and passive forms. The only difference is that the causative/passive suffix *-bu* is normally followed by the suffix *-nu*, but it is preceded

by the suffix *-ca/-ce/-co*: *dosibunu-* "to order all of them to enter together;" *tecebu-* "to order all of them to sit together" or "to be seated all together."

The imperative of the causative and passive forms of the associative verbs may be expressed by a combination, the first component of which is represented by an autonomous verb and the second being the imperative form of the functional verb *se-* "to say:" *dosibunu* or *dosinu se* "order all of them to enter together"[9].

Decreasing actant derivation (the so-called "valency-decreasing derivation" according to Comrie), on the contrary, is related with the elimination of one of the actants from a situation. As a result, a new situation of the outside world is created. The most widespread type of decreasing actant derivation is the decausative one, which is, according to its semantics, reverse to the causative.

In Manchu, the suffix ***-ja/-je/-jo*** expresses the decausative meaning with some verbs, although sometimes it can mark the reflexive and passive as well. When this suffix is attached to them, the following verbs display these meanings: *debkeje-* "to come loose," "to come unraveled" (*debke-* "to bring up again," "to take up again;" *debkele-* "to untwist," "to unravel"); *dokdorja-* "to act unsettled," "to be erratic," "to jump about;" *efuje-* "to be ruined," "to be defeated," "to be dismissed from a position" (*efule-* "to destroy," "to ruin," "to break," "to dismiss"); *fondojo-* "to be broken or torn through" (*fondo-*, *fondolo-* "to penetrate," "to go through"); *fudeje-* "to develop a flaw," "to crack," "to rip;" *halanja-* "to exchange in turn," "to take turns" (*hala-* "to exchange," "to change (clothing)," "to take the place of"); *kambulja-* "to be soft and damp," "to be swampy;" *lumburja-* "to be soft, not firm (of wet earth);" *sunggelje-* "to shake," "to tremble" (*sungge-* "to waste away," "to grow skinny and pale"); *uyalja-* "to move winding like a snake," "to slither."

The reciprocal suffix ***-ndu*** is used to express a particular case of relationships between participants of a situation. It expresses an action performed through a mutual interaction of one subject with another. The number of participants does not reduce to either of the two. However, each participant takes upon him/herself the role of the other participant. As a result, each participant performs his/her own and the other one's roles simultaneously.

---

[9] Zakharov noted the fact of the irregular use of the suffix *-nu* instead of the suffix *-na/ne/-no* which denotes the meaning "to go to do smth." in the imperative: *dosinu* instead of *dosina* "come in," *tucinu* instead of *tucine* "go out," "get out," *tucibunu* instead of *tucibune* "order smb. to go out" (Zakharov, 1879:170).

The adverb *ishunde* "mutually," "to one another" is the key word used to describe the semantics of the reciprocity. Here are some verbs in the reciprocal form: *afandu-* "to fight against each other" (*afa-* "to fight," "to attack"); *aisilandu-* "to help one another" (*aisila-* "to help"); *huwekiyendu-* "to rouse one another" (*huwekiye-* "to rouse oneself," "to be enthusiastic"); *jurcendu-* "to oppose one another" (*jurce-* "to disobey," "to go against," "to go against one's word," "to turn the back on," "to oppose in battle"); *sirandu-* "to follow after one another" (*sira-* "to continue," "to follow," "to connect," "to tie together," "to inherit"); *somindu-* "to hide one another" (*somi-* "to hide").

Sometimes the boundary between the associative and reciprocal meanings is obliterated, and one is used instead of the other. This semantic vagueness also emerges in Norman's *Lexicon* where the associative and reciprocal forms are given under a single lexical entry and translated by the adverb "together."

5.6. *Participles*

The term "participle," the name used for the most universal and probably most ancient verbal form, is treated by contemporary scholars conventionally to a certain degree. The conventional character of this term has already been discussed in scientific literature.

This term is used to refer to the central and fundamental form of the Altaic (and Manchu) verb, or more precisely, to the hyperform which comprises a few grammatical paradigms on the the basis of a single generic form. Three functions of the Manchu participles are known with which three different grammatical models of participles can be put in correlation.

The first is the function of a predicate in a simple sentence or in a principal clause of a complex sentence. In this role participles reveal their verbal characteristics, such as aspect, voice, mood (tense and modality), and person. The ability to govern noun cases is the distinctive feature of the Altaic (and Manchu) participle as a verbal form.

If a language has the morphological category of person, for instance, like all Tungusic including Evenki, participles are directly followed by personal suffixes of the predicative type with the help of which they are normally conjugated. Based on the principle of indeclinability and conjugation in this syntactic function, participles have a good case for being specified as verbs proper.

If a language does not have the morphological category of person, like Manchu and Mongolian, the predicate correlates to the agent analytically, through the subject.

Serving as a principal predicate, a participle takes final position in a sentence in contrast to a participle in the attributive function. Serving as an attribute, a participle always precedes a noun which it modifies.

The second function of the participles is that they may serve as attributes or predicates in attributive constructions. It is in this second function that the Altaic (and Manchu) participles may be compared with their Russian counterparts, and really prove their name. In this function Manchu participles precede nouns which they modify. The morphological form of the participles in the attributive function can be defined as indeclinable. The type of syntactic bond between a noun and a participle can be specified as juxtaposition. The following examples show that in the attributive role Manchu participles can neither be declined nor conjugated:

na i tuci-ke jaka
earth GEN sprout-PART thing
"thing that sprouted from earth;"
bi sin-de yandu-ha baita be si te-de
I you(*si*/*sin*- SG)-DAT request-PART matter ACC you this/he-DAT
hendu-hebi-o?
speak-PAST-INT
"Did you speak to him about the matter which I requested of you?" (PASH:59).

The third function of the Altaic (and Manchu) participles is that they may serve as predicates in subordinate clauses. From the point of view of the Altaic complex sentence theory, this function of participles is of special interest. Particular attention should be paid to the fact that in the role of subordinate predicates Altaic participles may take markers of oblique cases or may be used in the nominative case with zero expression. Instead of the term "nominative," some specialists suggest using the so-called "direct" case which coincides formally with the verbal stem. Participles in most Altaic languages may be followed by personal possessive suffixes. Used with subordinate predicates, possessive suffixes become markers of the predicative-possessive type, and in this way the participles themselves can be conjugated. The ability to be conjugated permits, firstly, the

preservation of the predicative function of the participles within subordinate clauses and, secondly, with the help of cases, the placing of participles into noun positions within subordinate clauses. In other words, participles are allowed to function as noun analogues, viz. predicative subjects and objects, both direct and indirect. Manchu participles, having neither the morphological category of person (like the verb proper) nor the morphological category of possession, may be followed only by case markers. Morphologically the Altaic participles in the role of subordinate predicates can be characterized as declinable forms which in most languages may be conjugated. It is precisely these forms that underlie the mechanism of predicative declension of participles which may rightfully be called the basic mechanism of Altaic hypotaxis.

Able to take any nominalizing suffixes (case markers and nominalizers) participles are often used as substantives. In this function they act as a subject or an object governed by verbal forms.

5.6.1. *Imperfect and Perfect Participles*

In Manchu there are imperfect and perfect participles. These are characterized by a certain temporal meaning—present or past—when they serve as a predicate in a simple sentence or in a principal clause of a complex sentence. In other functions they reveal an aspectual meaning rather than a temporal one (Avrorin, 1949).

Imperfect and perfect participles may be followed by case markers when they function as nominal parts of a sentence, viz., as predicates or leading words of predicative constructions which, in their turn, play the part of a subject or an object. Such predicative subjects and objects are governed by the principal predicate of the sentence.

As mentioned above, the nominative case has no special marker. Therefore zero expression of the case should indicate that a word is used in the nominative. This is correct for all nouns which cannot be considered apart from the category of declension. However, in regard to participles, the absence of a case marker cannot be taken for the nominative form. The participle form which acts in two functions in a sentence—as a predicate and an attributive to nouns—should be analyzed outside of the case system. The same out-of-case form is used when the participle functions as a predicate of clauses if they are subordinated to a principal predicate by means of syntactic words as in:

tere niru-re fakši ji-he mangi han hendu-me
that paint-PART craftsman come- PART after khan say-CONV
"After that painter had come the khan said" (SK).

Depending on its function in the sentence, the participle may be translated in different ways. When acting as a predicate of a simple sentence the participle is translated as a verb. In the attributive function it is translated as a participle. In the function of a predicate of a clause, the participle should be translated by a combination of a verb and a conjunction. When used as an object the participle should be translated by a verbal noun or a verb which is a predicate of an object clause.

The imperfect participle has the suffix *-ra/-re/-ro*: *gene-re* (*gene-* "to go"); *ana-ra* (*ana-*"to push"); *taci-re* (*taci-* "to learn," "to study"). There are two irregular participial forms, *bisi-re* and *ojo-ro*. The first participle, *bisire*, is formed from the existential verb *bi-* "to be," "to exist" which in this case is used in the irregular form *bisi-*. All the other forms of this verb are formed from the stem *bi-*. The stem *bisi-* may be analyzed etymologically bearing in mind the Evenki participle *bisi* in which *-si* is an ancient participial suffix. The same suffix can be found in the Evenki negative auxiliary participle *esi*. Thus, the Manchu participle *bisire* has two participial suffixes, the first of them is the ancient suffix *-si*, analogous to the Evenki suffix *-si*, and the second one is the contemporary suffix *-re*. The participle *ojoro* is etymologically equal to the Evenki verb *ojara* the structure of which is transparent. The verb *ojara* is the form of the present tense of the third person, plural, of the verb *o-* "to become," where *-ja* is an aspectual suffix. Since this suffix does not occur among living derivational elements in Manchu, the participle *ojoro* has a form different from that of other imperfect participles. There are a few more imperfect participles that have irregular forms: *jetere* (*je-* "to eat"), *jidere* (*ji-* "to come"). A group of imperfect participles have the combinations of elements *n+de* inserted between the stem and the suffix *-ra/-re/-ro*: *bandara* (*ba-* "to be tired," "to be lazy," "to gnaw a hole"); *jendere* (*je-* "to bear," "to put up with," "to tolerate"); *jondoro* (*jo-* "to bring to mind," "to recall," "to mention"). Normally such verbs have irregular forms of perfect participles in *-ngka/-ngke/-ngko*. According to Iv. Zakharov, some verbs have two forms for the imperfect participles, in *-ra/-re/-ro* and *-ndara/-ndere/-ndoro*. The latter form denotes progression of the action: *akjara* "thundering," *akjandara* "gradually breaking out in thunder" (*akja-* "to thunder"); *sakdara* "ageing,"

sakdandara "gradually approaching old age" (*sakda-* "to get old," "to age"); *were* "melting," *wendere* "gradually approaching the melted condition" (*we-* "to melt") (Zakharov, 1879:186).

In the out-of-case form the imperfect participle is usually used as an attribute or a predicate:

ši (ma. *si*) *nene-me* *išinji-ci* (ma. *isinji-ci*) *uthai*
you be.first-CONV come-CONV at.once
šin-de (ma. *sin-de*) *bu-re*
you(*ši/šin-* SG)-DAT give-PART
"If you come first I shall give (something) back to you straight away;"
tua-ci (ma. *tuwa-ci*) *uhuri* (ma. *uhuri*) *fanga* (ma. *fangga*) *erdemu*
look-CONV every magic capability
taci-re *bithe* *bi-hebi*
learn-PART book be-PAST
"When (one) had a look (then discovered) that those books were for learning magic" (SK: 65).

The suffix for the perfect participle is *-ha/-he/-ho*, and for a small number of verbal stems it is *-ka/-ke/-ko*: *alaha* (*ala-* "to tell"), *genehe* (*gene-* "to go"), *jodoho* (*jodo-* "to weave"); *badaraka* (*badara-* "to expand"), *duleke* (*dule-* "to pass," "to go by"), *soroho*, *soroko* (*soro-* "to turn yellow," "to avoid as taboo"). According to Zakharov, in Manchu there are 185 verbs ending in *-ka/-ke/-ko* (87 verbs end in *-ka*, 81 verbs in *-ke* and 17 verbs end in *-ko*) (Zakharov, 1879:174). Even fewer numbers of verbs end in *-ngka/-ngke/-ngko*: *bangka* (*ba-* "to be lazy"), *cangka* (*ca-* "to stretch," "to pitch a tent or yurt"), *jengke* (*je-* "to bear," "to put up with," "to tolerate"), *jongko* (*jo-* "to bring to mind," "to recall," "to mention"), *jungka* (*ju-* "to clench the teeth"), *juwangka* (*juwa-* "to open the mouth"), *fungke* (*fu-* "to become numb"), *sungke* (*su-* "to freeze"), *šangka* (*ša-* "to cook dry," "to drain dry"), *šungke* (*šu-* "to be thoroughly acquainted with," "to know thoroughly"), *wengke* (*we-* "to melt"), *yungke* (*yu-* "to have a preference for," "to be addicted to," "to absorb (a dye)," "to soak in").

In the out-of-case form perfect participles usually act as attributes to nouns or predicates:

emu mou (ma. *moo*) *i* *dalba de* *emu sahal'an* (ma. *sahaliyan*)
one tree GEN near DAT one black
n'alma (ma. *niyalma*) *be* *sabu-ha*
man ACC see-PART
"(Someone) saw a black man near a tree;"

ere abala-me gehe-he gucu-sa ji-ci ai
this hunt-CONV go-PART companion-PL come-CONV what
seme ala-mbi
tell-IMPF
ai seme "why?," "for what reason?" (NL:8);
"What will (our) companions, who have gone hunting, tell (us) when they return?" (SK:64).

5.6.2. *Participles in the Forms of Oblique Cases*
The Manchu participles may be followed by markers of the oblique cases when they function as predicates of clauses or objects and adverbial modifiers, either independently or together with dependent words.

Participles are often used in the dative. The imperfect participles followed by the dative have the meaning of an action which takes place during the time another action is performed or is a result of the completion of that action. Here are some examples:

baita be deribu-re de, deribun be bodo-mbi
matter ACC begin-PART DAT beginning ACC think-IMPF
"When (someone) begins the matter (he) thinks about (its) beginning (how to begin this matter)" (PASH1:26).
mama de ala-ra de, mama hendu-me …
old.woman DAT tell-PART DAT old.woman say-CONV
"When (he) has told to the old woman this old woman says … ;"
*jabu-re de jogūn (*ma. *jugūn*) *de ume jilgan tuci-re*
go-PART DAT road DAT do.not voice emerge-PART
"Going along the road, (you) do not speak" (SK:66).

The perfect participles in the dative usually denote actions after which another action starts:

ajige ju-se damu sefu i jilgan be donji-ha
little little.child/son(*jui*)-PL only teacher GEN voice ACC hear-PART
de fayangga gemu tuhe-mbi se-cina
DAT courage all collapse-IMPF say-OPT
"Only boys heard the teacher's voice all (of them) lost their courage" (ZAKH:181);
muse ere wakšam-be geli wa-ha de muke iningdari
we this frog(*wakšan*)-ACC also kill-PART DAT water every.day

(ma. *inenggidari*) *lakcarakū* *eye-mbi*
uninterruptedly flow-IMPF
"After we kill these frogs water will flow uninterruptedly" (SK:68).

The accusative is the second most commonly used marker participles may be followed by. Participles in the accusative usually serve as direct objects which have the meaning of an action or a person who is characterized according to the action he performs:

in-i *mute-re* *be* *ala-habi*
he(*i*/*in*-)-GEN be.able-PART ACC say-PAST
"(They) said about his ability (to do smth.)" (ZAKH:211);
ai *turgun* *bisi-re* *be* *sa-rkū*
what reason be-PART ACC know-PART(NEG)
"I am unaware of any reason" (PASH:58);
muda-me *jide-re* *be* *jogūn* (ma. *jugūn*) *de* *aca-ha*
return-CONV go-PART ACC road DAT meet-PART
mangi (ma. *manggi*)
after
"After that (he) met (people who) returning on the road;"
ere *taci-re* *be* *ahūn* *de* *ulhibu-he*
this learn-PART ACC elder.brother DAT inform-PART
akū
there.is.not
"(He) did not inform his elder brother about his learning " (SK:66).

Participles in other oblique cases are rarely found. They may be used with marker for the ablative and genitive:

šun *tuci-re* *ci* *jabu-me* *deribu-he*
the sun rise-PART ABL go-CONV begin-PART
"After the sun rose (they) started;"
muse *de* *buce-re* *ci* *gūa* (ma. *gūwa*)
we (INCL) DAT die-PART ABL another
arha (ma. *arga*) *akū*
way there.is.not
"There is no other way (to save) us from death" (SK:66).

5.6.3. *Declension of Clauses with Participial Predicates*
Declension of participles and participial constructions quite often develops into declension of sentences (clauses).

As mentioned above, participles in the out-of-case form may be

attributes or predicates in a sentence. Participles in the form of an oblique case may serve as objects or adverbial modifiers. Participles in the nominative may be used as subjects with which predicates that have semantics of evaluation are correlated. Secondary parts of the sentence expressed by the participle may be extended, and often form participial constructions which are governed by principal predicates or another part of a sentence. In this case declension of participles does not differ from noun declension since it expresses subordinate relationships within a sentence. The appearance of case markers on the boundary between two clauses is a more complicated situation in which case markers are formal devices used to subordinate a dependent clause to a principal one.

Declension of participial constructions and declension of clauses with the participial predicate cannot be distinguished from a morphological point of view, but they can be easily distinguished syntactically.

In a participial construction the case marker directly follows the participle, and from a syntactic point of view it belongs to the participial construction which serves as a secondary part of a sentence and occurs between a subject and a predicate. In a clause, the case marker is placed between the dependent clause with the participial predicate and the principal clause and connects them with each other. If the case marker is removed, a complex sentence will be disintegrated into two independent parts.

In Manchu, the complex (or compound) sentence presumably developed in two directions. Firstly, a complex sentence may be formed by extending the participial construction within a sentence. Secondly, a complex sentence may be organized by combining two simple sentences.

In the Manchu language several types of complex sentences, containing certain case markers within their structure, exist. The presence of the participial predicate in a clause is evidence that it is the case marker which serves as a device which connects a dependent and a principal clause and it is not the conjunction homonymous with it.

The subordination of dependent clauses with the participial predicate to principal clauses is carried out mostly by two case markers, namely by forms of the dative and the accusative. The marker of the dative is used after the participle in clauses that have temporal semantics. This marker is seldom used with the participle in object

clauses. The marker of the accusative is found with the participle in object clauses. Here are some examples:

adaki boo-i anggasi hehe joodang be yarkiya-ra
neighbor house-GEN widow woman Zhoodang ACC entice-PART
de joodang cira be tob obu-fi halbu-rakū
DAT Zhoodang face ACC right make-CONV go-PART(NEG)
"When widow from the house next door enticed Zhaoodang, keeping the honour he did not go (to her home)" (PASH1:262);
boli be daha-ra emu niyalma morin i yarfun be hūlha-ra
Boli ACC follow one man horse GEN tether ACC steal-PART
be temujin i deo belkutei sa-habi
ACC Temuzhin GEN younger. brother Belkutei know-PAST
"Belkutei, the Temuzhin's younger brother, knew that a man following Boli (from the Boli's suite) stole a tether" (PASH:45);
šin-i (ma. *sin-i*) *sain ara-ha de karula-me*
you(*ši/šin-* SG)-GEN good make-PART DAT repay-CONV
ši (ma. *si*) *ai ara se-ci ai ara-ki*
you(SG) what make say-CONV what make-OPT
"Repaying you for the good you have done I shall make everything that you will say to do;"
muduri ishunde beye beye haira-ra be
dragon one.another self self love-PART ACC
sa-habi
understand-PAST
"The dragon understood how (they) love tenderly each other" (SK);
ere ejen'i sargan inengdari (ma. *inenggidari*) *ere bou* (ma. *boo*)
this khan(GEN) wife every.day this house
ici gene-re be tere daifu inengdari sabu-mbi
toward go-PART ACC that doctor every.day see-IMPF
"That doctor sees every day that this khan's wife goes every day to this house" (SK).

5.6.4. *Negative Participle Forms*

The negative participle is formed by the particle *akū* which also serves for the negation of the presence of an object or its quality. However, there is formal difference between negative forms of participles and nouns. In the structure of the negative participle the concretion between the participial suffix and the negative particle occurred whereas with nouns the negative particle *akū* is used as a separate

word. Presumably, in the past the negative particle was used with the participle as a separate word too. In Radlov's records of Sibe, the negative particle is often written separately from the participle, for example: *bure akū* "(someone) does not give (smth.)," *ulhibuke akū* "(someone) did not give to know." It can be conjectured that the negative particle *akū* preserves its lexical independence when it logically emphasized (Lebedeva & Gorelova, 1994:68). Usually the particle *akū* is not governed by the law of vowel harmony. However, in classical Manchu in most cases the particle *akū* is fully fused with the participle into one word: *arahakū* < *araha* + *akū* (*ara-* "to do," "to make"); *generakū* < *genere* + *akū*, *genehakū* < *genehe* + *akū* (*gene-* "to go"); *henduhekū* < *henduhe* + *akū* (*hendu-* "to say," "to speak"); *ohakū* < *oho* + *akū* (*o-* "to become"); *sarakū* < *sara* + *akū* (*sa-* "to know"), etc.

Some perfect participles terminating in *-ka/-ke/-ko* change the consonant *k* into *h* in their negative form: *jongko* + *akū* > *jongkakū/jonghakū* (*jo-* "to recall," "to mention"); *soyoko* + *akū* > *soyohakū* (*soyo-* "to shrink," "to wrinkle"); *talmaka* + *akū* > *talmahakū* (*talma-* "to be foggy"); *tucike* + *akū* > *tucihekū* (*tuci-* "to appear," "to emerge," "to originate from"). In complex participial forms which are formed by perfect participles derived from autonomous verbal stems and by those derived from auxiliary verbal stems, the negative particle *akū* is fused with the first component: *alahakū bihe*, *genehakū bihe*.

Instead of an affirmative utterance the Manchus widely used a so-called double negation where the first negative particle is written together with the participles and the second one occurs separately after them: *arahakū akū*, *genehakū akū*, *sarakū akū* (Zakharov, 1879:213-4).

The negative particle *unde* "not yet" is normally used after the imperfect participle even when it denotes an action performed in the past: *jidere unde* "(someone) has not come yet." Here is a sentence which includes the negative particle "*unde:*"

sin-i *gisun* *angga* *ci* *tuci-bu-re* *unde*
you(SG)-GEN word mouth ABL appear-PASS-PART not.yet
bisi-re-de, *i* *je* *inu*
be-PART-DAT he yes yes
be *aifini* *belhe-me* *jabdu-ha*
ACC already prepare-CONV complete-PART
"Although no word has been yet said by you, he has already prepared the answer: yes, exactly!" (ZAKH:215).

Only the participle is characterized by the opposition between positive and negative forms. Neither verbs nor converbs have negative forms. Therefore, in cases when the negative form of the verb or the converb is required, the negative participle is used.

Along with this pattern of verbal forms formation, Norman lists another one, discovered by him in the Sibe dialect, according to which the negative suffix *-qu* (< *aqu*) is attached directly to the verbal stem: *bii saqu* "I do not know." The negative form of the existential verb *bii* "there is/there are" is *aqu*. According to him, to obtain various modalities of the negative form, the appropriate form of the verb *o-* "to become" in its auxiliary function is used: *arəqu oki* "Let's not do it;" *arəqu oci* > *arəquci* "if you don't do it" (Norman, 1974:172).

Negative participles may serve as any part of a sentence, however, they are mostly used as a predicate of a sentence since they may replace the forms of the verb proper. Here are some examples:

cananggi bu-mbi se-ci bu-hekū, sikse
previously give-IMPF say-CONV give-PART(NEG) yesterday
bu-mbi se-ci geli bu-hekū
give-IMPF say-CONV again give-PART(NEG)
"Previously (you) said that (you) would give (smth.), but didn't give; yesterday (you) also said that (you) would give (smth.), but again didn't give" (PASH2:131);
yamji cimari erge-re be bai-rakū
evening morning rest-PART ACC seek-PART(NEG)
"(Myself) didn't seek rest (peace) from morning till evening" (PASH2:328);
ajigen-ci ere i adali fergecuke (ma. *ferguwecuke*) *gaska*
childhood-ABL this GEN like amazing bird
(ma. *gasha*) *be šue* (ma. *šuwe*) *sabu-rakū*
ACC not.at.all see-PART(NEG)
"From the childhood (I) have not seen such an amazing bird, not at all;"
ši (ma. *si*) *ere erin de han'i fuyan o-ho-be*
you this time DAT khan(GEN) wife become-PART-ACC
dahame mim-be cihala-mbi cihala-rakū
because I(*bi/min-*)-ACC love-IMPF love-PART(NEG)
"Because you became the khan's wife do (you) love me or not?" (SK:69).

The adverbialization of negative participles frequently occurs due to the fact that negative participles often function as adverbs in a sentence:

muke inengdari (ma. *inenggidari*) *lakcarakū eye-mbi*
water every.day uninterruptedly flow-IMPF
lakcarakū "uninterruptedly" < *lakca-ra akū* (*lakca-* "to break off")
"Water every day will flow uninterruptedly" (SK).
The fact that verbs and converbs have no negative forms is additional evidence for the late formation of verbs proper and converbs as compared with the participle.

5.6.5. *Substantive Forms of Participles and the Process of Nominalization of Participles*

In the Manchu language the substantive-possessive suffix ***-ngge*** which may be attached to both participles, perfect and imperfect (forms in *-ha/-he/-ho* and *-ra/-re/-ro* respectively) and to the negative forms of these participles. This suffix does not change its vowel according to the law of vowel harmony. Normally it is written together with participles.

As mentioned above, from the diachronic point of view, the suffix *-ngge* was related to the meaning of possession (see Section 2.4.1).

Following a single participle or a subordinate predicative construction with a participle as a head, the suffix *-ngge* permits both of them to play the part of a subject or an object in a sentence. I shall use the term "nominalization" to designate the process by which a word of any grammatical class may act (and the result of this acting) in the noun position (see also Section 2.4.1). From the synchronic point of view, the suffix *-ngge* can rightfully be called a nominalizer.

The nominalization of participles (and the subsequent process which is substantivization, i.e. the shift of a word to the grammatical class of substantives) has developed in several directions. Participles followed by the suffix *-ngge* may denote: 1) an abstract notion about an action and can be translated as abstract substantives: *aliburangge* "presentation of a document to a superior;" *bairengge* "an application submitted to a superior" or 2) an object which, in its turn, may be of material or immaterial nature: *minde buhengge* "what was given to me," "present," "what you have done," "a deed," 3) a subject: "one who says, thinks, etc.," "those who say, think, etc."

Not only affirmative participial forms in *-ngge* but also their negative

forms may be characterized by these meanings: *akdarakūngge* "distrust," "one who does not trust;" *saburakūngge* "what is not seen," "never seen before."

In certain cases, participles followed by the suffix ***-ngge*** may denote both an abstract action and a person who is characterized according to the action he performs. The difference between these meanings can be understood only from the syntactic context:

*saisa be huwekiyebu-re-**ngge***
wise.man/scholar ACC incite-PART-NR
"inciting wise men/scholars" or "one who incites wise men/scholars;"
*niyamniyam-ra-**ngge** gabta-ra-**ngge***
shoot (arrows).from.horseback-PART-NR shoot.an.arrow-PART-NR
gemu sain
all good
"Mounted and unmounted shooting are both good;"
"One who shoots from horseback and unmountedly is good in all respects" (ZAKH:76).

Here are some sentences where nominalizations display their different meanings:
*wesi-re forgošo-ro-**ngge** umesi hūdun*
promote-PART transfer-PART-NR very quick
"Promotions and transferences are very quick" (ZAKH:76);
bou (ma. *boo*) *de muda-ci tuci-re-**nge*** (ma. *tuci-re-**ngge***)
house DAT return-CONV leave-PART-NR
manga (ma. *mangga*) *o-mbi*
hard be-IMPF
"It will be hard to leave (again) after returning home;"
*yabu-ha-**nge*** (ma. *yabu-ha-**ngge***) *yarg'an'i* (ma. *yargiyani*) *tondo*
do-PART-NR indeed honest
akū
there.is.not
"Our action (what we did) is not honest indeed;"
*ere be muke se-me omi-ha-**nge*** (ma. *omi-ha-**ngge***)
this ACC water say(AUX)-CONV drink-PART-NR
gemu araki bi-hebi
everything wine be-PAST
"Everything that (he) drank thinking it was water was wine" (SK:70).

A participle construction with a participle as a head, may contain its own subject expressed by a noun in the genitive case:
*age i jombu-re-**ngge** aisin go i gese*
elder.brother GEN suggest-PART-NR gold jasper GEN like
gisun kai
words COP
"The elder brother's words are comparable to gold and jasper (What the elder brother said are the words like gold and jasper)" (Pang, 1986:94);
*han'i nime-re-**nge*** (ma. *nime-re-**ngge***) *majige sain*
khan-GEN ill-PART-NR a.little good
o-ho
become-PART
"The khan's illness became a little better" (SK:70).

The absence of any case markers after participles in the form in ***-ngge*** denotes the nominative which normally marks a subject. The marker of the accusative, added to participles, marks an object:
*geren hafa-sa cooha nirgen ere sargan'i jide-re-**nge***
many official-PL soldier people this woman(GEN) come-PART-NR
(ma. *jide-re-**ngge***) *be goroki-ci sabu-fi hendu-me …*
ACC distant.place-ABL see-CONV say-CONV
"Many officials and soldiers saw from afar that this woman was coming (this woman's coming) and said …" (SK:71).

Direct speech, quotations, hearsay are often introduced with participles in *-ngge*. In this function participles derived from vebs of speech are mostly used: *ala-ra-ngge* (*ala-* "to say," "to tell"), *hendu-re-ngge* (*hendu-* "speak," "to talk"), *se-re-ngge* (*se-* "to say"), *fonji-re-ngge* (*fonji-* "to ask"), *wesimbu-re-ngge* (*wesimbu-* "to report"). Participles in the form in ***-ngge*** are placed before direct speech:

*yuan fai i sargan jui hendu-re-**nge*** (ma. *hendu-re-**ngge***)
proper name GEN female child speak-PART-NR
tere ahūn deo hadan niyalma gemu hūsun
that elder.brother younger.brother seven man all power
amba niyalma
big man
"This is what Yuan Fai's daughter says: all those seven brothers are powerful and big men;"

ere fuyanū (ma. *fiyanggū*) *sargan jui dobori ere hotun'i (ma. hoton)*
this youngest female child at.night this walled.city(GEN)
emu sagda (ma. *sakda) mama jakade gene-fi*
one old old.woman to go-CONV
songo-mo (ma. *songgo-me*) *ala-ra-**nge*** (ma. *ala-ra-**ngge***) …
cry-CONV tell-PART-NR
"This is what the youngest daughter who came at night to the city's old woman tells crying" (SK:71).

In the Sibe dialect investigated by Norman, the suffix ***-nge*** (*-ngge* in Manchu) is used as a perfect finite form. This function is common for sentences which express time or place semantics:

bii bəijing-de juu (ma. *juwe*) *ani* (ma. *aniya*) *tə-xə-ŋə*
I Peking-DAT two year live-(PART-*nge*)
=PERF
"I lived in Peking for two years" (Norman, 1974:173).

In the Manchu language the syntactic element ***ba*** is used to substantivize participles. This substantivizer is used with perfect and imperfect participles, their affirmative and negative forms: *bodoro ba* "what is planned," "plan;" *gūniha ba* "what is thought," "thought;" *sere ba* "what is said," "speech." Combinations of participles with the element *ba* have occasional, not steady character. Here are some examples:

*alibu-ha **ba** bi-he*
present (a document to superior)-PART SBSTR be-PART
"There was a report to authorities;"
*afabu-ha **ba** kemuni bi*
order-PART SBSTR still COP
"There is an order (from authorities)" (ZAKH:76);
šin-de (ma. *sin-de*) *ai gūni-ha **ba** bi*
you(*ši/šin-* SG)-DAT what think-PART SBSTR COP
*gūni-ha **ba*** "(you) have thought," "your thoughts;"
"What thoughts have you got?;"
te ušin (ma. *usin*) *weile-me gene-ci ai*
now field cultivate-CONV go-CONV what
*ojo-rakū se-re **ba** bi*
what became-PART(NEG) say-PART SBSTR COP
se-re ba "what is said," "talk," "speech;"
"How can one talk about the impossibility of going to cultivate a field?" (SK:71).

5.7. *Converbs*

Manchu converbs can be categorized as a separate subclass of verbal forms. It should be particularly pointed out that converbs, as a special class of verbal forms, which function as means of subordination of one verb to another, are characterized by the existence of agent/subject valencies. In other words, Manchu converbs may be oriented towards the subject (agent) of the dominant verb, but they may also have their own grammatical subject referentially independent from the subject of the principal action. This subject, however, due to certain specific features of Manchu grammar, cannot be reflected in the converb form itself by the possessive-predicative suffixes (as is possible in other Tungusic languages). It may be expressed by either an independent word form or it is not necessarily expressed explicitly at all. In the latter case the subject is reconstructed from the syntactic context.

The major feature distinguishing the converb from the verb proper is that converbs may not serve as a predicate of a simple sentence. They may function as adverbs or predicates of adverbial clauses. They may also be used in analytical verbal constructions, which have different temporal, aspectual or modal semantics. In Manchu there are two widely used converbs, i.e. the imperfect and the perfect converbs.

5.7.1. *Imperfect Converbs*

Being one of the most commonly used forms in Manchu, the imperfect converb realizes a wide and diverse range of functions. The main meaning of the imperfect converb the suffix for which is ***-me***, is that of simultaneity of both dependent and principal actions. In other words, the converb of this type, as a dependent (non-finite) form, denotes relative tense which, as known, is not related to the moment of speaking but to the tense of the finite form.

The temporal characteristics of dependent action expressed by the imperfect converb are transmitted to this action from the finite form and from the tense characteristics it possesses. Thus, simultaneity may occur in the past, present, and future.

Empirical material connected with the functioning of the imperfect converb proves that the hypothesis of broader semantics of simple forms is correct. Thus, the simpler the form is structurally, the more developed system of functions it has (Shamina, 1985:5).

On the basis of its main meaning, that of simultaneity of both

subordinate and principal actions, the imperfect converb develops a wide range of other adverbial meanings, firstly meanings of manner in which another action is performed; condition, cause, and purpose. Here are some examples:

*bithe de foro-me, hergen be tolo-**me**, yasa*
book DAT turn-CONV letter ACC count-CONV eye
*tuwa-**me***
observe-CONV
*gala jori-**me** urebu-**me** hūla-mbi*
hand point-CONV rehearse-CONV read-IMRF
"Turning toward the book, counting written characters, observing (closely) with eyes, pointing with his hand (finger), (someone) reads (the text) rehearsing" (ZAKH:190);
*muse sibiya makta-**me** dasame dende-ki*
we(INCL) lots throw-CONV again divide-OPT
"Casting lots we shall divide (smth.) again" (ZAKH:191);
taidzung genggiyen šu hūwangdi, banitai umesi
Taizong enlightened educated emperor naturally very
*enduringge ofi, abka-i forgon be badarambu-**me***
holy as Heaven-GEN favour ACC propagate-CONV
*nei-he, gūnin be sira-**me**, erdemu be*
disclose-PART idea ACC follow.up-CONV valour ACC
*fisembu-**me**, šu i dasan be ambara-**me***
increase-CONV culture GEN rule ACC spread-CONV
selgiye-he
promulgate-PART
šu genggiyen "cultured and enlightened" (NL:263);
"As Taizong, enlightened emperor, was naturally very wise, [he] propagating disclosed the Heaven's favours, following up [the same] ideas, increasing valours, spreading [widely], promulgated his enlightened rule" (PASH1:321; literal translation);
"As Taizong, enlightened emperor, was naturally very wise, he spread the word of Heaven's favours, and building on these ideas with increasing courage extended his enlightened rule" (literary translation);
*tere-ci enen akū jalin facihiyaša-**me**, yuan wai eigen*
that-ABL heir there.is.not since grieve-CONV yuanwai husband
*sargan damu sain be yabu-**me**, juktehen be niyece-**me***
wife only good ACC do-CONV shrine ACC nourish-CONV

*weile-**me**, fucihi de kesi bai-**me***
construct-CONV Buddha DAT happiness seek-CONV
*hengkiše-**me***
kowtow.repeatedly-CONV
*enduri de jalbari-**me**, yan hiyan be jafa-fi, ba*
God DAT pray-CONV ounce(?) incense ACC take-CONV place
*ba-de hiyan dabu-**me**, geli yadahūn urse aisila-**me**,*
place-DAT incense burn-CONV also poor people help-CONV
*umudu be weihiye-**me** anggasi be aitubu-**me** sain be*
orphan ACC support-CONV widow ACC revive-CONV good ACC
yabu-fi iletule-re jakade, dergi abka gosi-fi
do-CONV expose-PART since High Heaven take.mercy-CONV
yuanwai < chin. "official;"
"As there was no heir, grief-stricken yuanwai and his wife, by doing good, helping to build a shrine, praying to Buddha, collecting incense candles, burning incense, begging happiness for kind of spirits, helping poor people as well, supporting orphans, and reviving widows, became famous for their good works and the High Heaven took mercy on them" (NSB:111)*;*
tumen baita icihiya-ha šolo de, damu bithe be
myriads deed manage-PART free.time DAT only book ACC
*hūla-me, giyan be kimci-**me** gūnin be*
read-CONV principle ACC scrutinize-CONV mind ACC
akumbu-ha
strain-PART
"In the periods when free of managing myriads of deeds, (I) only reading books and scrutinizing the truth, strained (my) mind" (PASH1:325);
ere unin deberen banji-rakū o-ci bi
this cow baby-calf give.birth-PART(NEG be(AUX)-CONV I
*omihulu-**me*** (ma. *omiholo-*) *lala-**me*** (ma. *lali-*)
suffer.hunger-CONV be.weakened.from.hungry-CONV
*kangka-**me** buce-mbi*
be.thirsty-CONV die-IMPF
"If this cow does not give birth to a baby-calf, I will die of hunger and thirst (suffering hunger, being thirsty)" (SK).

The imperfect converb is commonly used with verbs of motion, phase and modal verbs, and their functions are analogous to those of the Russian infinitive. Here are a few examples of the use of the imperfect

converb followed by verbs that have semantics of motion. In the following constructions imperfect verbs denote the purpose of an action:

*morin be dali-**me** boo-de ji-he*
horse ACC hide-CONV house-DAT come-PART
"To hide the horses, [he] went home" (PASH1:173);
*ere adaki boo-i anggasi hehe mim-be yarkiya-**me***
this lovely house-GEN widow woman I(*bi/min-*)-ACC entice-CONV
ji-he bi-he
come-PART be-PART
"This lovely woman-next-door came to entice me" (PASH2:262; CT);
sa-rkū ojo-ro jakade tuttu urgun
know-PART(NEG) be(AUX)-PART as so joy
*ara-**me** gene-hekū*
make-CONV go-PART(NEG)
ojoro jakade "as," "since;" *urgun ara-* "to congratulate," "to wish well;"
"As (I) did not know (about your arrival), so (I) did not go to congratulate you" (PASH:60);
*ere mama muke gaji-**me** gene-fi muke be*
this old.woman water fetch-CONV go-CONV water ACC
*hunio de tebu-**me** funtoko deri emu dube i*
basket DAT scoop-CONV hole SEP one side GEN
eye-mbi
run-IMPF
"This old. woman went to fetch some water, and scooped it up with a (water) bucket, and the water is running through a hole at one side" (SK).

Here are some examples of the use of the imperfect converb followed by phase verbs:
*amba edun da-**me** deribu-he*
high wind blow-CONV begin-PART
"High wind began blowing" (ORL:176);
*usin tari-**me** boo ara-**me** deribu-he*
field cultivate-CONV house build-CONV begin-PART
"(He) began to cultivate the field and to build a house" (PASH1:91);
*deo gosiholo-**me** naka-rakū*
younger.brother grieve-CONV stop-PART(NEG)
"(My) younger brother did not stop grieving" (PASH1:266).

The examples given below include imperfect converbs followed by modal verbs:

*bi nure omi-**me** bahana-rakū*
I wine drink-CONV be.able-PART(NEG)
"I am not able to drink wine" (PASH:53);
*muke gaji-**me** mute-hakū min-de*
water bring-CONV be.able-PART(NEG) I(*bi/min-*)-DAT
bu-fi ulubu-rakū (ma. *ulebu-*)
give-CONV feed-PART(NEG)
"As you were not able to bring water, I shall not give you anything to eat;"
ere buce-rakū o-ci min'i ba'i (ma. *biyai*)
this die-PART be(AUX)-CONV I(*bi/min-*)-GEN moon-GEN
elden saurin (ma. *soorin*) *šira-me* (ma. *sira-me*) *mute-rakū*
light throne inherit-CONV be.able-PART(NEG)
"If he does not die, my Light of the Moon (proper name – L.G.) won't be able to inherit the throne" (SK).

In combination with verbs of broad semantics, like *tuci-* "to appear," "to go;" *gene-* "to go," "to set off;" *ji-* "to come," "to arrive;" *gai-* "to take;" *wa-* "to kill" and others, imperfect converbs derived from verbs of concrete semantics are used to specify actions of broad semantics.

Here are the combinations of the imperfect converb with various forms of the verb *tuci-*: *uka-me tuci-he* (running away went out > ran away); *ana-me tuci-bu-he* (pushing let smb. appear > pushed out).

The following combinations include the imperfect converb with the verb *gai-*: *uda-me gai-ha* (buying took > bought); *hūlha-me gai-ha* (robbing took > robbed).

The following combinations consist of the imperfect converb with the verb *gene-*: *amca-me gene-he* (running down went > reached); *dosi-me gene-he* (entering went > entered).

Here are the combinations of the imperfect converb with various forms of the verb *ji-*: *suju-me jiu* (running come > run [here]); *muda-me ji-he* (returning came > returned).

The following combinations consist of the imperfect converb and the verb *wa-*: *gapta-me wa-ki* (shooting kill > shoot), *saci-me wa* (killing with a sabre kill > kill with a sabre). Here are some examples:

*emu gucihe o-fi deye-**me** **yabu-ha***
one pigeon become-CONV fly-CONV go-PART
"Having turned into a pigeon, (one) flew off (flying off went);"
goidahakū abala-me gene-he ilan n'alma (ma. *niyalma*)
in.a.short.while hunt-CONV go-PART three man
*muda-**me** **ji-he** mangi* (ma. *manggi*) *ere ilan niyalma*
return-CONV come-PART after this three man
fonji-me
ask-CONV
"After in a short while three people who had gone hunting returned (returning came back), these three men ask" (SK);

Combination of the imperfect converbs of synonymous verbs is more frequently used to express a higher level of action intensity:

*gemu **songo-me*** (ma. ***songgo-me***) ***fa-me*** *men'i men'i*
everyone cry-CONV sob-CONV each/every
bou (ma. *boo*) *i baru muda-ha*
house GEN to come-PART
"Everyone shedding bitter tears (crying, sobbing) went home, each to their own place;"
bou (ma. *boo*) *i doši-ha* (ma. *dosi-ha*) *be tere taitai*
house GEN fly-PART ACC that mistress
sabu-fi umuši (ma. *umesi*) ***urgunje-me*** ***bayala-me***
see-CONV very be.glad-CONV be.happy-CONV
"The mistress having seen that (the bird) flew inside the house was very pleased" (SK).

The imperfect converb is frequently used in combination with different forms of the verb *bi-* "to be" in its auxiliary function. The functions of such newly created analytical forms require more detailed study, however, we know that they have aspectual-temporal meaning in the first place, as in: *ala-me bi-me* "telling;" *banji-me bi-he* "having lived long;" *gene-me bi-he* "having gone." The form of the imperfect converb may be fused with grammatical forms of the verb *bi-* in its auxiliary function, for example: *alambime* (< *ala-me bi-me*) "telling;" *alambihe* (< *ala-me bi-he*) "having said;" *bahambihe* (< *baha-me bi-he*) "having found;" *wambihe* (< *wa-me bi-he*) "having killed;" *gasambihe* (< *gasa-me bi-he*) "having grieved." In connection with such forms it should be mentioned that some of them are considered independent

converbs, for example, the form in *-mbime* (Zakharov, 1879:191).

The form of the imperfect converb derived from verbs of locution (*verba dicendi*) such as *ala-* "to tell," "to report;" *gisure-* "to speak," "to talk;" *hendu-* "to say," "to speak" is normally used to introduce direct speech, placed in postposition to these verbs. Here are some examples:

Belkutei daha-ra urse afa-ki se-re-de,
PN follow-PART people attack-OPT say(AUX)-PART-DAT
belkutei bejige-me ***hendu-me*** *suwe ainu*
PN persuade-CONV say-CONV you(PL) why
ehe ara-ra be buye-mbi, min-i feye
evil make-PART ACC like-IMPF I(*bi/min-*)-GEN=my wound
ujele-hekū-bi naka ***se-ci***
be.serious-PART(NEG)-COP stop(IMP) say(AUX)-CONV
Tv-*ki* + *se-* "to want, to desire to do smth.;"
"When people who followed Belkutei wanted to attack him, Belkutei said: "Why do you like to make evil, my wound is not serious, stop (it)!" (PASH1:10);
tere Sidi Kur folho i dorgi de bi-fi ***hendu-me****,*
that proper name sack GEN inside DAT be-CONV say-CONV
akū (ma. *ahūn*) *ši* (ma. *si*) *šim-be* (ma. *sim-be*) *meihere-me*
brother you you(*ši/šin*-SG)-ACC shoulder-CONV
yabu-ru (ma. *yabure*) *de sada-rakū na*
walk-PART DAT be.tied-PART(NEG) INT
"That Sidi Kur, being inside a sack, says: Brother, you have shouldered me and are walking, aren't you tired?"
tere han ***gisure-me*** *tere sargan jui hairakan*
that khan say-CONV that female child regrettable
"That khan says: (I) feel sorry for that girl!" (SK).

The form of the imperfect converb derived from the verb of locution of broad semantics *se-* "to say," "to speak" may be used to introduce subordinate predication which represents information on real events in a peculiar way so that the opposition between direct and indirect speech is neutralized. In this case the form *seme* is placed in postposition to the text containing the opposition "direct speech : indirect speech," for example:

doose geren i baru suwe omi-me ele-he-o
monk everybody GEN toward you(PL) drink-CONV be.enough-PART-INT
se-me *fonji-ha de, elhe* ***se-me*** *jabu-ha*
say-CONV ask-PART DAT well say-CONV answer-PART
"[When] the monk asked everybody: "Have you had enough to drink?," [they] answered: "Enough" (PASH:61).

Constructions of this type form the basis for using the word form *seme* as an analogue of a conjunctive-analytical device (a specific analogue of expounding conjunctions such as "that," "in order to," "how"):
enenggi erde sakda ahūn be
today early.in.the morning old.man elder.brother/sir ACC
isinji-ha ***seme*** *donji-fi cohotoi dorolo-me*
arrive-PART that hear-CONV especially greet-CONV
ji-he
come-PART
"Today early in the morning (I) heard that you, sir, arrived, and (I) came especially to greet you" (PASH:57).

With negative forms of imperfect participles as well as with the form in *-rahū* which is originally the negative form of the imperfect participle (*-rahū* < *-ra/-re/-ro* + *akū*), the word *seme* forms a particular meaning designating apprehension that a certain action might take place (see also Section 5.8.3):

ama eme damu nime-rahū ***seme*** *jobo-mbi*
father mother only ill-PART(NEG) that worry-IMPF
"My only worry is that (my) father and mother might get ill" (ZAKH:210);
ere jalan de bi šim-be (ma. *sim-be*) *sabu-rakū*
this world DAT I you(*ši/šin-* SG)-ACC see-PART(NEG)
seme *gūni-ha bi-he*
that think-PART be-PART
"I thought that I might never see you again in this world" (SK).

The converbal form *seme* may develop conjunctive meaning on the basis of its primary meaning of the converb proper, also in another

direction, resulting in a conjunctive device that have specific conditional meaning (interim between real and unreal), and, furthermore, concessive meaning. The following complex sentences should be referred to the semantic space of unreality, and the word form *seme* has the meaning "even if":

*gama-**ha** **seme** tusa akū*
take-PART even.if use COP.NEG (there.is.not)
"Even if (I) took (smth.) it would be of no use" (NSB:129);

*i gene-**he** **seme**, inu baita de tusa ara-ra ba*
he go-PART even.if also matter DAT use make-PART SBSTR
akū
COP.NEG. (there.is.not)
"Even if he went (there) it would be of no use" (ZAKH:207).

Another opportunity to analyze the word form *seme* within these complex sentences is to consider it as being a part of the analytical construction Tv-*ha seme* (see Part V, Section 5.6). Most likely that *seme*, as fixed within constructions of this type, was in its way of the transition to a syntactic word of the conjunctional type.

In Manchu, apart from the above-mentioned functions, *seme* frequently marks the topic (for details see Part V, Section 3):

*uttu o-ho-de, teni niyalma **seme** jalan de*
so be(AUX)-PART-DAT then man TOP world DAT
banji-re de yertecun akū o-mbi
live-PART DAT shame there.is.not become-IMPF
"If so, then a man, while he lives in the world, will not be ashamed (shame will become non-existent)" (GAB:120).

Finally, *seme* regularly participates in the formation of onomatopoetic words (for a more detailed description of this function see Section 7). The connection of these two functions of this form with its primary function of the converb proper is obvious. Therefore, one can distinctly trace the process of formation, on the basis of one word form *seme* and its primary function, of a whole complex of language units materially similar to and functionally connected with *seme*, but having different grammatical status and different functions. These units realize their meaning in a great number of grammatical structures, and this trend determines, to a considerable extent, the

specific feature of Manchu grammar—that of polyfunctionality of language units (Gorelova, 1987).

5.7.2. *Perfect Converbs*

The suffix for the perfect converb is ***-fi***: *alafi* (*ala-* "to tell," "to report"); *isinafi* (*isina-* "to reach," "to arrive"); *jefi* (*je-* "to eat"); *obofi* (*obo-* "to wash"); *tefi* (*te-* "to sit," "to live"). It is the second most widely used converb in Manchu:

*si boo-de isina-**fi**, majige teye-**fi**, buda je-**fi***
you house-DAT arrive-CONV a.little rest-CONV food eat-CONV
*dere obo-**fi** jai ji-ki*
face wash-CONV then come-OPT
"After you having arrived home, rested a little, eaten a meal, washed (your) face, then come" (ZAKH:191).

Some verbs have an irregular suffix for the perfect converb, namely ***-pi*** or ***-mpi***: *juwampi* (*juwa-* "to open"); *sampi* (*sa-* "to stretch"); *šampi* (*ša-* "to cook dry," "to drain dry"); *wempi* (*we-* "to melt"). Here is an example:

*monggon sa-**mpi** angga juwa-mpi tuwa-mbi*
neck stretch-CONV mouth open-CONV observe-IMPF
"I observe having stretched the neck and opened the mouth" (ZAKH:193).

These verbs usually take irregular suffixes for the imperfect and perfect participles (*-ndara* and *-ngka* respectively).

The suffix ***-pi*** is sometimes used with verbs which have regular perfect participial forms, but in this case it denotes a certain tension of an action or a superlative degree of quality of being or a principal action:

*colgoro-**pi** geren niyalma ci ujula-me tuci-kebi*
excel-CONV all people ABL head-CONV appear-PAST
"Having excelled, he was above all people" (ZAKH:193).

The perfect converb denotes an action which is completed before another action is undertaken. The dependence between the subordinate action, expressed by the perfect converb, and the principal action, mostly has temporal meaning, for example:

bithe hūla-ra niyalma bolgo boo-i dolo eici nahan
book read-PART man clean house-GEN inside or oven-bed
*eici nikeku mulan de te-**fi** dere-i ninggude*
or chair DAT sit-CONV table-GEN on.the.top.of
*fi, yuwan, behe hoošan be sinda-**fi***
writing.brush ink-pot Indian.ink paper ACC put-CONV
*bithe be sara-**fi** tuwa-me hūla-mbi*
book ACC open-CONV look-CONV read-IMPF
nikeku mulan "a chair" (NL:212);
"A learned scholar, inside a clean room having sat on the oven-bed or the chair, put a writing brush, an ink-pot, Indian ink and a paper on the table, opened a book, (usually) reads" (ZAKH:192);
tere nadan g'ahūn (ma. *giyahūn*) *nadan n'alma* (ma. *niyalma*)
that seven hawk seven man
*o-**fi** šin-i* (ma. *sin-i*) *tere yirge* (ma. *ira*) *be*
become-CONV you(*ši*/*šin*- SG)-GEN that millet ACC
bai-mbi
look.for-IMPF
"Those seven hawks having turned into people, would look for your millet;"
*ejen tulgide tuci-**fi** tua-ha* (ma. *tuwa-ha*)
khan outside go.out-CONV look-PART
"Having gone outside, the khan looked at (smth.)" (SK:72).

Derived from certain verbs in their auxiliary functions, the perfect converb may indicate the reason for performing an action. Such forms show a tendency to develop gradually into analytical markers of the conjunctive variety. Most Manchu conjunctions originated from such converbal forms (see also Sections specially dedicated to analytical converbal forms and conjunctions, 5.9 & 8.3 respectively):

*si tob sere niyalma o-**fi**, bi teni uttu tafula-ra*
you upright man be-CONV I then like.this advise-PART
dabala
MDL.PTL
"I advised you (to do) like this because you are an upright man" (ZAKH:192).
According to Zakharov, the verb *aina-* "to do what?," "how? how is/are ... ?," "what's up?," "why?" always requires the perfect converbal form from the dependent verb:

*ere-be gisure-**fi** aina-mbi*
this-ACC speak-CONV do.what-IMPF
(literally: "Having said this, do (you) do what?"); "Why do you speak this?" (ZAKH:193).
*i emgeri sa-**fi** goida-ha, si kemuni*
he already know-CONV last.for.a.long.time-PART you(SG) yet
*ala-rakū o-**fi** aina-mbi*
tell-PART(NEG) be(AUX)-CONV do.what-IMPF
"He had already been known (that) for a long time, why haven't you told (that) yet?" (ZAKH:192).

5.7.3. *Conditional Converbs*
The suffix for the conditional converb is **-*ci***: *alaci* "when/if one tells;" *geneci* "when/if one goes;" *dosici* "when/if one enters." This form has mostly been considered by manchurologists as the form of the conditional mood (Zakharov, 1879:198). Möllendorff was of the view that this form constituted the conditional tense: *araci* "I should write," "if I wrote," "should I wrote" (Möllendorff, 1892:9). However, as this form may not function as a predicate of a simple sentence, it should not be analyzed as a mood marker. Being a non-finite form, it may serve only as a subordinate predicate in a conditional construction or a clause. Consequently, it is justifiable to include *-ci* with converbs.

The conditional converb indicates that the subordinate action precedes the principal action in time. The additional shade of the conditional meaning is what distinguishes the conditional form from the perfect converb. Here are some examples:

*gene-**ci** uthai gene-mbi seme hendu,*
go-CONV then go-IMPF that say(IMP)
*gene-rakū o-**ci**, uthai gene-rakū seme*
go-PART(NEG) be(AUX)-CONV then go-PART(NEG) that
hendu
say(IMP)
"If (you are intending to) go, then say that (you) will go; if (you are not intending to) go, then say that (you) will not go" (ZAKH:199; QW);
*muse uka-me tuci-**ci** sain o-mbi*
we run.away-CONV go.out-CONV good become-IMPF
"If we run away it will be good;"

ši (ma. *si*) *ere ba-de banji-me cihala-**ci** men'i*
you(SG) this place-DAT live-CONV want-CONV we(EXCL)-GEN
ere abka-i ba-de sasa banji-ki
this heaven-GEN place-DAT together live-OPT
"If you want to live in this place, (then) live in heaven together with me" (SK:74).

The verbs *aca-* "to meet," "to get together," "to combine," "to correspond to," etc. and *o-* "to become," "to be," being partly desemantized, always require the conditional converb before them. The whole construction has the following meanings: "should," "ought" or "must" (Tv-CONV *aca-* "should do smth"):

*bithe-i hafan o-**ci**, irgen be*
book-GEN official be-CONV the.common.people ACC
*gosi-me, giyan be bai-me icihiya-**ci***
cherish-CONV order ACC seek-CONV manage-CONV
aca-mbi
AUX-IMPF
"If (you) are a civil official, (then) cherishing the common people, seeking after order, (you) should manage affairs;"
*cooha-i hafan o-**ci**, cooha-i urse be*
military-GEN official be-CONV military-GEN people ACC
tacihiya-me urebu-me, meni meni afa-ha
train-CONV practice-CONV every fight-PART
*ba-be tuwakiya-**ci** aca-mbi*
place-ACC guard-CONV AUX-IMPF
meni meni "every," "each" (NL:197);
"If (you) are a military official, (then) training military people, (you) should guard every place where (military people) are fighting" (ZAKH:205).

From a historical point of view, it is likely that the suffix of the conditional converb is connected with the marker of the ablative *ci*. These elements are not only materially identical but they have certain semantic similarity since the temporal meaning of the ablative case is sometimes very close to that of the conditional converb. Compare, for example, the use of the participle in the form of the ablative case with the use of the conditional converb:

šun tuci-re ci yabu-me deribu-he
sun rise-PART ABL go-CONV start-PART
"When the sun rose (they) started;"
bou (ma. *boo*) *de ji-**ci** umai jaka hacin*
house DAT come-CONV not.at.all thing various
n'alma (ma. *niyalma*) *šue (ma. šuwe) akū*
people not.at.all there.is.not
"When one comes back home, there are no people and things, not at all" (SK:75).

In Manchu, verbal stems cannot be declined, and this is the only obstacle to bringing together the ablative and the conditional form. Among all verbal words only participles can be declined. The question of whether or not verbal words denoting secondary parts of the sentence could be materially identical and declined in the past, has not yet been investigated.

5.7.4. *Concessive Converbs*
The concessive converb is formed by the suffix ***-cibe***. Presumably, the suffix *-cibe* consists of two elements, *-ci* and *be*, and the first element *-ci* has conditional meaning. Another interpretation of the origin of this form is also possible: the conditional stem in *-ci* is followed by the component *be* which have concessive meaning. In Turkic languages the concessive forms are formed in a similar fashion. A hypothesis about connection between the suffixes for conditional and concessive meanings has semantic justification since concessive semantics naturally follows from the conditional meaning. The following sentences contain concessive converbs:

*fulun caliyan bi-**cibe**, inenggidari baitala-rakū*
salary just.enough exist-CONV every.day use-PART(NEG)
de isi-rakū
DAT suffice-PART(NEG)
"There is a salary, but it is not sufficient for day-to-day necessities" (ZAKH:206);
tere jue (ma. *juwe*) *n'alma* (ma. *niyalma*) *ere ba-de bi-**cibe***
that two man this place-DAT be-CONV
šue (ma. *šuwe*) *sabu-rakū o-ho*
not at.all see-PART(NEG) be(AUX)-PART

"Although those two men were at this place (here) (they) were not seen at all;"
nadan aniya tacibu-cibe jinkin'i erdemu be tacibu-rakū
seven year teach-CONV in.fact skill ACC teach-PART(NEG)
"Although studied for seven years, in fact he did not learn any skills" (SK:75).

5.7.5. *Converbal Forms in* -hai/-hei/-hoi

The converbal form in ***-hai/-hei/-hoi*** or ***-kai/-kei/-koi*** is used to denote action that is durative and intermittent (for a long time, continually, constantly, permanently); frequentative (often, many times, again and again, repeatedly); or intensive (intently, persistently, steadily). Here are some examples: *alahai* "telling many times;" *jonkoi* "reminding again and again, constantly;" *tehei aliyambi* "someone waits sitting for a long time." Presumably, this form originated from the perfect participle followed by the marker of the genitive case: *-hai/-hei/-hoi* < *-ha/-he/-ho* + *i* = GEN. Serving as an adverb of manner in a sentence, the perfect participle was regularly followed by the suffix for the genitive. Gradually, adverbial meaning was assigned to this participial form which shifted its category status from participles to converbs. The newly formed converb preserved the perfective meaning by which the perfect participle was characterized but it gained an additional meaning of duration:

*yasa hada-**hai** tuwa-mbi*
eye fix.the.eyes.on-CONV look.at-IMPF
"(Someone) stares at (smth./smb.) intently" (ZAKH:194);
ere bayan n'alma (ma. *niyalma*) *jui tere muke be daha-me*
this rich man child that river ACC follow-CONV
*yabu-**hai** muke i sekin* (ma. *sekiyen*) *de išina-ha* (ma. *isina-ha*)
go-CONV river GEN origin DAT reach-PART
"That rich man's son having gone along the river for a long time, reached the source" (SK:76).

The syntactic construction formed by the imperfect and perfect participles in the genitive followed by the word *teile* "just," "only," "alone" is noted by some authors. The meaning of this construction is rendered as "to the extent of ... ": *mutere-i teile* "with all one can," "with all one's capabilities," "to extent of one's power;" *jabduha-i teile* "as time permits," "as opportunity allows" (Zakharov, 1879:194;

NL:152, 275). There are also constructions formed by repeatition of the same stem, where the first component is represented by the perfect participle and the second by the converb: *baha bahai* "unintentionally" (*baha-* "to get," "to obtain"); *nambuha nambuhai* "at random," "by chance," "unintentionally" (*nambu-* "to catch," "to have fall into one's hand") (Zakharov, 1879:194; NL:22, 209). To substitute meanings that are rendered by this converb, the words *emdubei* "continually," "persistently," "steadily," "frequently," "earnestly" and *daruhai* "often," "continually," "regularly" are often used.

5.7.6. *Terminal Converbs*

The terminal converb in ***-tala/-tele/-tolo*** indicates such subordinate action which is going on simultaneously with the principal action. The latter continues until the final completion of the dependent action. Therefore, completion of the subordinate action is that terminal limit up to which the principal action is leading: *ala-tala* "until telling;" *gene-tele* "until going;" *mana-tala* "until full completion," "until an end" (*mana-* "to come to an end," "to diminish"); *sakda-tala* "till old age, until old." Here are some examples:

jing erin o-hobi, geli sin-i boo-de
now time become-PAST still you(*si/sin-* SG)-GEN house-DAT
*isina-**tala** baita be tookabu-rakū-n*
arrive-CONV matter ACC delay-PART(NEG)-INT
"Now the time has come, while arriving at your house should we still delay the matter?;"
*hūsun moho-**tolo***
strength be.depleted-CONV
"until depleting one's strength" (ZAKH:197);
*utala aniya o-**tolo**, heni majige ba-ngkakū*
so.many.as.this year be-CONV at.all a.little be.tired-PART(NEG)
"So many years have passed, but he has not tired at all" (ZAKH:197);
muse eigen sargan emu jalan-de
we(INCL) husband wife one world-DAT
dosu-mbu-me (ma. *dosimbume*) *sagda-**tala** banji-mbi*
enter-CAUS-CONV get.old-CONV live-IMPF
"Until (we) grow old we, the husband and the wife, shall live in the same world;"

*emu bia (ma. biya) o-**tolo** bou* (ma. *boo*) *i dorgi de*
one month pass-CONV house GEN inside DAT
emhun te-fi
alone sit-CONV
"Until one month had passed [he] sat at home alone" (SK:76).

The terminal converb is not used very often in classical Manchu and can be considered an old form. Its use is mainly limited to the syntactic words *isitala* "up to," "until" and *otolo* "till," "until," which were originally converbs formed from verbs *isi-* "to reach," "to come to," "to arrive" and *o-* "to be," "to become."

This formally analogous converb is preserved in all Tungus-Manchu languages. Presumably, the suffix *-tala/-tele/-tolo* consists of two components: *-ta/-te/-to* and *-la/-le/-lo*. The second component can be considered as the suffix of the locative case *-la/-le/-lo*. In Manchu this suffix remains only in the structure of converbal suffixes *-tala/-tele/-tolo* and *-nggala/-nggele/-nggolo*. In Manchu there is another converb which includes the element *-ta/-te/-to*, i.e. converb formed by the suffix *-tai/-tei/-toi* which is also combined from two elements: *-ta/-te/-to* and *i*. Attached to a verbal stem, this suffix denotes an extreme degree of an action:

ergele-tei gama-ha
force-CONV take-PART
"(One) took by force;"
buce-tei afa-mbi
die-CONV fight-IMPF
"(One) fights until death;"
ejen be weile-re-de beye-be waliya-tai
emperor ACC serve-PART-DAT self-ACC throw-CONV
o-me mute-re amban kai
be(AUX)-CONV be.able-PART high.official COP
"When serving the emperor (one) is an official who is able to sacrifice (throw) oneself" (ZAKH:194).

5.7.7. *Converbal Forms in* -nggala/-nggele/-nggolo

The converb in ***-nggala/-nggele/-nggolo*** denotes the subordinate action before which the main action takes place. Here are some examples:

dosi-nggala asuki isibu-mbi
enter-CONV noise make-IMPF
"Before entering (one) makes a noise;"
gisun waji-nggala yasa-i muke far seme eye-he
speech finish-CONV eye-GEN water in.large.quantity flow-PART
far seme "in large quantity" (NL:83);
"Before (one) finished speaking, one's eyes streamed with tears in large quantity" (ZAKH: 198).

This converb, like the others, may be derived from certain verbs in their auxiliary function, chiefly from the verb *o-* "to be," "to become:" *onggolo* "before." All such forms show a tendency to shift to another grammatical class of words, viz. into conjunctions: *isitala* "up to," "until;" *onggolo* "before;" *otolo* "until;" *oci*, *seci* "if;" *ofi* "because."

5.7.8. *Negative Forms of Converbs*
Manchu converbs derive their negative forms by specific constructions combined from two components. One of them is represented by a participle in its negative form and another by a corresponding converb derived from the verbs *bi-* "to be," "to exist," *o-* "to be," "to become" or *se-* "to say" in their auxiliary function. The following sentence contains the negative form of the conditional converb:

te gaija-rakū o-ci, gūwa gai-ka
now take-PART(NEG) be(AUX)-CONV other take-PART
de, sin-i dolo ume ehe gūni-he
DAT you(SG)-GEN=your inside NEG amiss think-PART
ehe guni- "to take something amiss" (NL:71);
"If you don't take (it), and someone else takes, then don't take this amiss" (PASH2:126).

The negative form of the conditional converb is represented here by the construction *gaijarakū oci* "(literally: "if one doesn't take"). In the following sentences the negative form of the conditional converb is formed by the negative form of the participle derived from an autonomous verb and the conditional converb derived from the auxiliary verb *o-*:

gene-rakū o-ci, uthai gene-rakū seme hendu
go-PART(NEG) AUX-CONV then go-PART(NEG) that say(IMP)

"If (you are not intending to) go, then say that (you) will not go" (ZAKH:199; QW);
ši (ma. *si*) *agda-rakū* *o-ci* *tulergi* *de*
you believe-PART(NEG) be(AUX)-CONV outside DAT
bou (ma. *boo*) *i* *torgome* (ma. *torhome*) *yabu-me* *tua* (ma. *tuwa*)
house GEN around go-CONV look-IMP
"If you do not believe (me), go and look outside, around the house;"
ere *buce-rakū* *o-ci* *min-i*
this die-PART(NEG) become-CONV I(*bi*/*min*-)-GEN=my
b'ai (ma. *biya-i*) *elden* *sourin* (ma. *soorin*) *šira-me* (ma. *sira-me*)
the.moon-GEN light throne inherit-CONV
muta-rakū
be.able-PART(NEG)
"If he dies, my son, the Light of the Moon, will not be able to inherit the throne" (SK).

5.8. *Finite Verbal Forms*

As already mentioned in 5 & 5.1, in Manchu all verbal forms can be divided into finite and non-finite ones. Non-finite verbal forms have already been described in previous sections dedicated to participles and converbs. Finite verbal forms serve exclusively as finite predicates which are predicates of simple sentences or predicates of principal clauses of complex sentences.

In the Manchu language all finite forms can be ascribed to one of the following moods: the indicative, the imperative, the optative, and the prohibitive. The grammatical category of mood denotes the attitude of the action, rendered by a verb, to the reality from the point of view of the speaker. The category of mood is a morphological (grammatical) means of expression of modality. The grammatical meanings of forms of the mood arose from their use in speech which is the earliest and most important functional form of language and which implies the presence of a speaker, a person who is speaking or writing and who is the central element (or factor) responsible for organizing cognitive and communicative content. This person not only indicates the action as a fact of reality (the indicative, fact-mood)) but evaluates this action as desirable (optative mood), or possible (potential mood), or supposed (suppositional subjunctive mood), etc. This evaluation renders the subjective attitude of a person who is

speaking to the action as a fact of the reality. Each language has its own set of moods. Since each language should indicate an action as a fact of reality all languages possess the category of the indicative which is opposed to the other moods (oblique moods). In other words, the opposition between the indicative and oblique moods is the semantic basis of the grammatical category of mood.

5.8.1. *The Indicative. Finite Forms Ascribed to the Indicative*
Written Manchu monuments reflect a stage of the language when the indicative forms had not been finally formed.

Genesis of most forms ascribed to the indicative seems to be transparent. All indicative forms arose from non-finite verbal forms, participles and converbs. Inconsistancy in the way these forms are written—sometimes their components are written separately, sometimes they are written as one—confirms the fact that they are fixed in the process of their development. Most specialists assign the following forms to the indicative:

1) The form in ***-mbi***.
This suffix is attached directly to a verbal stem. Zakharov believed that the suffix *-mbi* is a result of the combination of two elements, i.e. the suffix of the imperfect converb *-me* and the copula *bi*: *-mbi* < *-me* + *bi* (Zakharov, 1879:173).

It should be mentioned that there are different opinions about the meaning of this form, and no one is universally accepted. According to some manchurologists, the suffix *-mbi* is used to express the present tense (Zakharov, 1879:173; Möllendorff, 1892:9). The others consider that the form in *-mbi* is used to indicate both the present and future therefore it can rightfully be called the form of the present-future tense (Lebedeva & Gorelova, 1994:78). There is an opinion according to which the suffix *-mbi* is defined as a marker for the aorist, an aspectual-temporal category (Haenisch, 1986:51). D. Sinor considers that the *-mbi* marker is indefinite. In his opinion, *-mbi* does not represent the action in time and does not indicate whether the action is accomplished or not (Sinor, 1968:268-9). According to the most widespread point of view, the form in *-mbi* is considered to be an imperfect finite form (Norman, 1974:168-9). I will refer to this form as the imperfect finite form. The imperfect form has the following grammatical meanings:

a) it is used to indicate usual and frequentative or abstract actions. This meaning is close to that of the generic time:

*indahūn dobori tuwahiya-mbi, coko erde hūla-**mbi***
dog night guard-IMPF chiken early.in.the.morning sing-IMPF
"A dog keeps guard at night, a rooster crows early in the morning" (ORL:193);
*muke de do-**mbi** nimaha je-**mbi***
water DAT alight-IMPF fish eat-IMPF
"(A bird?) alights on the water, eats fish" (ORL:195);
*inenggi elben gana-**mbi**, dobori futa muri-**mbi***
day thatch take-IMPF night rope weave-IMPF
"In the day-time (people) gather thatch, at night (people) weave ropes (usually)" (PASH2:31);

b) it is used to denote a concrete action which is synchronous to the moment of speech:
*saman hehe ainu yobodo-**mbi**?*
shaman woman why joke-IMPF
"Shamaness, why are you kidding around?" (NSB:59);
*si aibi-de gene-**mbi**?*
you(SG) where-DAT go-IMPF
"Where are you going to?" (PASH2:2);
*ai baita yabu-**mbi**?*
what matter do-IMPF
"What are (you) doing?"
bi tere buhu-i (ma. *buha*) *soko (ma. suku) weihe be gaji-me*
I that bull-GEN pelt horn ACC bring-CONV
*gene-**mbi***
go-IMPF
"I am going to bring the pelt and horns of that bull" (SK:78);

c) the form in ***-mbi*** is used to indicate the future tense:
*jai uttu o-ho-de, bi usha-**mbi**-kai*
further like.this be-PART-DAT I be.angry-IMPF-MDL.PTL
"If it goes on like this, I shall be angry" (ORL:193);
*i inenggi ji-**mbi**-o jide-rakū-n?*
he day come-IMPF-INT come-PART(NEG)-INT
"Will he come to-day or not?"

*urunakū ji-**mbi***
certainly come-IMPF
"(He) will certainly come" (ZAKH:178);
*tere han-de bi beye aca-me gene-**mbi***
that khan-DAT I myself meet-CONV go-IMPF
"I myself shall go to meet that khan" (SK:78);

d) there are some instances when the form in ***-mbi*** indicates such action which has been completed prior to the moment of speech and consequences related to this are relevant to the present moment:
*šun dekde-re ergi uce be tuci-**mbi***
sun rise-PART side door ACC appear-IMPF
"A rising sun has appeared in the doorway" (NSB:70-1).

The form in ***-mbi*** normally serves as a predicate of a simple sentence or a predicate of a principal clause of a complex sentence:
*bi hergen be ara-**mbi***
I character ACC write-IMPF
"I am writing characters" (ZAKH:159);
*nenden amagan be sa-ha-de, doro de hanci o-**mbi***
the.past future ACC know-PART-DAT Tao DAT near become-IMPF
"When (you) know the past and the future, (you) will approach to the Tao" (PASH2:30).

Sometimes the form in *-mbi* occurs in a subordinate clause when dependence between two events (situations) of the outside world is expressed analytically, by converbal or participial forms of the verb se- "to say" in its auxiliary finction (*seme*, *seci* "in order"):
*bi goro ba-ci ulin bota-**mbi*** (ma. *buta-*)
I distant place-ABL property catch-IMPF
seme ji-he
say(AUX)-CONV come-PART
"I came from a distant place in order to gain property (make a fortune);"
ama jui we ya gene-mbi se-ci ishunde
father child who who go-IMPF say(AUX)-CONV each.other
*joboco**-mbi***
worry-IMPF

"The father and the son are worrying about each other (being unable) to deside which of them will go" (SK:78).

Complex predicates identical to the imperfect form from the semantic and functional points of view, could serve as the proof of the hypothesis that the form in *-mbi* originated from the imperfect converb in *-me* and the copula *bi-*, for example*:*

*juwe niyalma sefu i emgi nure omica-**me***
two man teacher GEN together wine drink.together-CONV
bi
COP
"Two men together with the teacher drink wine" (PASH2:274; LD);

yarg'an'i (ma. *yargiyan-i*) *gaika-**me***
really praise-CONV
fergue-ma (ma. *ferguwe-**me***) ***bi***
be.astonished-CONV COP
"(He) is really very much astonished" (SK:78).

In such cases the copula *bi* obligatorily occurs as a separate word since only one syntactic word may follow homogeneous parts of a sentence. The copula *bi* is always placed after the last autonomous word, however, it is not fused with this verbal form because of actual relations with another verbal form.

The copula *bi* may follow all verbal, participial, and converbal forms. It shows a tendency to combine with autonomous words. Norman mentions two imperfect finite forms in *-mi* and *-mə* in the dialect he described. He believes that both imperfect forms correspond to the Literary Manchu form in *-mbi* and that the form in *-mi* is functionally identical to the literary form. Nevertheless, there is a difference between the two forms though its character is not quite clear. In Norman's opinion the elder members of the Sibe family, which provided his language material, used the form in *-mi* more frequently than the younger members of the same family, especially in narration (Norman, 1974:169).

2) The form of the perfect participle in ***-ha/-he/-ho***, ***-ka/-ke/-ko***, ***-ngka/-ngke/-ngko*** is often used to indicate an action which took place in the past. Here are some examples:

deo bohori elan i ba-de
younger.brother proper name name of place GEN place-DAT

*te-**he***
live-PART
"(His) younger brother Bohori lived in Elan place" (GAB:91);
*juwe di be jafa-**ha***
two god ACC take.prisoner/capture-PART
"(He) captured two gods (emperors?)" (ORL:176);
*hehe heni tani jobodo-**ho***
woman only joke-PART
heni tani "a bit," "a little," "only" (NL:128);
"The woman was only joking" (NSB:60).

The majority of specialists ascribe this form to the indicative, however, I do not support this view due to the fact that the form is a participle in one of its main functions— that of a predicate of a simple sentence (see 5.6.1).

3) The form in ***-habi/-hebi/-hobi*** and ***-ngkabi/-ngkebi/-ngkobi.*** This form is used to indicate the past indefinite. As for the origin of this form, it seems to originate from two components, the suffix of the perfect participle *-ha/-he/-ho*, *-ngka/-ngke/-ngko* and the copula *bi*: *-habi/-hebi/-hobi* < *-ha/-he/-ho* + *bi*. Here are some examples:

malta de oforo i sangga juwe yasa-i sidende
hippopotamus DAT nose GEN hole two eye-GEN in.between
*banji-**habi***
become-PAST
"The nostrils of the hippopotamus were situated between its eyes" (ORL:195)[10];
*nimanggi i elden de bithe hūla-**habi***
snow GEN light DAT book read-PAST
"(One) read books by the light (reflected) by snow" (ORL:196);
absi sin-i coko indahūn be min-i hūla-ra
why you(SG)-GEN chicken dog ACC I(*bi/min-*)-GEN call-PART
*sasa amasi foro-me gene-**hebi***
together backward turn-CONV go-PAST
"Why did your chicken and your dog turn back as soon as I called them?" (NSB:59);

[10] The word *malta* is translated by Norman as "beluga," "white whale," "dolphin" (NL:192). Zakharov considered this word as a name for hippopotamus and also for a mythical creature which looks like a hippopotamus (ZAKHL:872).

*juwe dalba-de juwan funce-re haha-si ili-**habi***
two side-DAT ten be.in.excess-PART woman-PL stand-PAST
"More than ten women stood on both sides" (NSB:134);
tere bayan n'alma-i (ma. *niyalma i*) *mou* (ma. *moo*) *olho-me*
that rich man-GEN tree dry.up-CONV
*buce-**hebi***
die-PAST
"Having dried up, that rich man's tree died;"
*tere ba-de emu amba gurun'i ejen bi-**hebi***
that place-DAT one big state-GEN khan be-PART
"In that place the ruler of a big state lived" (SK:79).

This form has its negative counterpart: *alahabi—alahakūbi (ala-* "to tell', "to report"); *jihebi—jihakūbi* (*ji-* "to come"); *jonohobi—jonohakūbi* (*jono-*"to mention").

Since the copula *bi* without any additional suffixes may be used only as a component of a finite form, its fusing with the suffix of the perfect participle (and the imperfect converb) brought into being the verbal forms which serve as predicates of a simple sentence or a principal clause of a complex sentence.

In Literary Manchu the copula *bi* and the participial suffix *-ha/-he/-ho* are often written as one, although these are exceptions to this. When the copula *bi* follows the perfect participle as an independent lexical unit we are dealing with the analytical form of the past tense. In this case one can notice the living relationship between the developing verbal form of the past tense in *-habi/-hebi/-hobi* and the older analytical form expressed by the construction "the perfect participle + the copula *bi.*" The copula *bi* may be replaced by the copula *kai* which is sometimes written separately from the verb. Thus, instead of the form *alahabi* the combination *alaha kai* occurs.

As finite forms, both the imperfect in *-mbi* and perfect in *-habi/-hebi/-hobi*, are used in the predicate position. When the autonomous component for one of them is expressed by the converb and for the other by the participle, we have every reason to claim that non-finite forms are the oldest in Manchu and that the forms of the indicative mood have developed from converbs and participles.

Norman states that the perfect finite form has the suffix *-hi*, and for some verbs *-qi* in the dialect he has studied. It is obvious that this from originated from the known form *in -habi/-hebi/-hobi: -habi* > *-havi* > *-hai* > *-hi* (Norman, 1974:169; Gorelova, 1986:313).

4) The analytical form Tv-*ha/-he/-ho bihe* or *-ngka/-ngke/-ngko bihe*. This form is constructed analytically, by the suffix of the perfect participle and existential verb *bi-* "to be," "to exist," followed by the same suffix of the perfect participle. This analytical form has the meaning of the past perfect: *alaha bihe* "(one) had told;" *araha bihe* "(one) had written;" *genehe bihe* "(one) had gone;" *gisurehe bihe* "(one) had said;" *jongko bihe* (one) had mentioned;" *tehe bihe* "(one) had sat," etc. The second element of this form, *bihe*, may be followed by the copula *bi* or *kai*: *alaha bihebi*, *alaha bihe kai*. These constructions occur at the end of speech (or syntactic period).

5) The form in ***-mbihe***.
This form is used to indicate actions which took place in the past. Some specialists specify this tense as the past indefinite: *alambihe* "(one) told," *genembihe* "(one) went;" *obombihe* "(one) washed" (Zakharov, 1879:174; Pashkov, 1963:36). Others consider this tense to be the past continuous: *arambihe* "(one) was writing" (Mollendorff, 1892:10).

Zakharov suggests that this form originated from the imperfect converb in *-me* derived from an autonomous verb and the perfect participle derived from the verb *bi-*: *-mbihe* < *-me* + *bihe*. He lists several verb forms: *alambihe* < *alame bihe*; *genembihe* < *geneme bihe*; *obombihe* < *obome bihe* (Zakharov, 1879:174). Here are some examples:

*malaha boo-de weile-**mbihe***
hat house-DAT make-PAST
"(They) made hats (usually) at home;"

*bi kemuni ere-be niyalma de ere-**mbihe***
I still this-ACC people DAT rely-PAST
"I still relied on this man" (PASH1).

6) The form in ***-mbihebi.***
As for the origin of this form, it seems to originate from the known form in *-mbihe* and the copula *bi* which are written as one in most cases. According to Pashkov, the form in *-mbihebi* is used to indicate usual and frequentative actions which took place in the distant past (Pashkov, 1963:36). In some cases the copula *bi* is written separately from the preceding verb in *-mbihe*. Here are some examples:

*hūwangheo beye nimala fata-**mbihebi***
empress themselves mulberry.tree pick-PAST
"It used to be that empresses themselves picked berries from the mulberry tree;"

bithe be damjan i *ujan de lakiya-fi hūla-me*
book ACC carrying.pole GEN end DAT hang-CONV read-CONV
*yabu-**mbihe bi***
walk-PAST COP
"(He) used to walk reading a book which he hung up to a carrying pole" (ORL:194).

The analytical form TV-*me bihebi* probably has the same meaning:
nadan tanggū anggala emu ba-de je-me bi-hebi
seven one.hundred persons one place-DAT eat-CONV be(AUX)-PAST
"Seven hundred persons used to eat in the same place (at the same table)" (ORL:95).

7) The form of the imperfect participle in ***-ra/-re/-ro*** is used to denote the future:

gebu algin duin dere de hafuna-ra
fame fame four direction DAT form.free.passage.to.another.place-PART
"Fame will be spread in four directions (the four cardinal points);"
*bi sin-de emu sain arga tacibu-**re***
I you(*si/sin-* SG)-DAT one good method teach-PART
"I will teach you a good method" (ORL:180);
be damu ging hecen de isina-ha manggi
we(EXCL) only capital(city) city DAT arrive-PART after
*bu-**re** dabala*
give-PART MDL.PTL
"We shall give (smth.) back only when we arrive at the capital" (PASH1:93).
The form in *-ra/-re/-ro* may be used also to indicate the present:
*haha niyalma baita bi-ci teng tang seme jabu-**re***
man man business be-CONV firm do-PART
tang seme "hard," "firm," "fluent;" *teng seme* "hard," "firm," "solid;" *teng tang seme* "equally matched," "straightforward" (NL:271,276);
"If men have business (to do) they do it firmly" (PASH1:75).

8) The form of the optative in ***-ki*** is also used to indicate the future. It is obvious that this future is loaded with the modal meaning of desire or intention (one is going to do smth.), for example:

*muse idu banjibu-**ki***
we(INCL) a.turn form/set.up-OPT
"We are going to set up a turn;"
*fa hūbala-**ki***
window paste.paper.over.a.window-OPT
"(I) am going to paste paper over windows" (ORL:173);
urunakū ujen baili isibu-ki
necessarily serious kindness repay-OPT
"(I) will repay a serious kindness necessarily" (PASH1:58).

9) There is an analytical form which is used to indicate the future. This form consists of the imperfect participle and the form of the optative derived from one of the functional verbs *bi-*, *o-* or *se-* in their auxiliary functions: *alara biki* "(one) will tell;" *genere oki* "(one) will go;" *dosoro seki* "(one) will bear." It seems that this form is also characterized by the meaning of an intention or desire. According to Zakharov, this form has a strongly pronounced stylistic colour. It is used mostly in dialogue being replaced in written speech by the form in *-mbi* in combination with the adverbs *urunakū* "certainly," "surely," "for sure," "necessarily," and *toktofi* "certainly," "surely," "without fail" (Zakharov, 1879:178; NL:299). Here is an example:

si amagan inenggi urunakū hūwaša-mbi toktofi
you(SG) later day surely develop-IMPF certainly
simne-me dosi-mbi
examine-CONV succeed.in.an.examination-IMPF
amagan inenggi "later," "a later day;"
"Later you will surely perfect yourself and certainly succeed in an examination" (ZAKH:178).

Having observed all these forms, one can come to the conclusion that most of them cannot be described as the indicative. Only three forms can be specified as fact-mood, viz., the imperfect finite form in *-mbi*, the perfect finite form in *-habi/-hebi/-hobi*, *-ngkabi/-ngkebi/-ngkobi*, and the past indefinite finite form in *-mbihe*. Pashkov suggests ascribing to the indicative one more form in *-mbihebi* which is used to indicate frequentative actions in the distant past (Pashkov, 1963:36). The origin of these forms is quite clear, and all of them have their own analytical counterparts: *-mbi* < *-me* + *bi*; *-habi/-hebi/*

-hobi < *-ha/-he/-ho* + *bi*; *-mbihe* < *-me* + *bihe*; *-mbihebi* < *mbihe* + *bi*. Nevertheless the meanings of these forms require further investigation.

5.8.2. *Oblique Moods. Optative. Imperative. Prohibitive*

The indicative is opposed to the oblique moods which designate different attitudes of the person speaking to what is being said (statement, dictum). The diversity of paradigms of the oblique moods stems from the variety of these relationships. Oblique moods are used to denote deontic modality. According to grammatical tradition, the following oblique moods can be establish for Manchu: the optative, the imperative, and the prohibitive.

5.8.2.1. *Optative*

The suffix for the synthetic form of the optative is ***-ki***. This form indicates an action which the person speaking has a desire or an intention to perform or to be performed: *bi geneki* "I will go" (with the shade of affirmation), *si geneki* "you would go" (not in the meaning of a strong order but in the meaning of a desire), *i geneki* "let him/she go." Since the optative denotes actions which are not realized, which are to take place in the future, it is inevitably related to the expression of the future. However, the relationship of the optative with the future is a secondary feature which results from the modal nature of this form. That is why the optative forms are often used to indicate the future, and the form in *-ki* is considered by most specialists as one which denotes the future indicative. When the optative is referred to the second and the third persons (singular and plural) its meaning is very close to that of the imperative. There is a structural reason against analyzing the optative forms for the second and the third persons as the imperative. These forms would become separated from the form for the first person, and the paradigm of the optative would disintegrate. The imperative meaning of the optative occurs only in specific grammatical conditions when reference is made to the second and the third persons. In such cases the imperative meaning arises as additional and secondary to the meaning of the optative. The optative does not possess the category of tense. Here are some examples on the use of the optative:

muse	*aca-hakū-ngge*	*kejine*
we(INCL)	get.together-PART(NEG)-NR	a.long.time

goida-ha, *bi dosi-fi* *majige te-**ki***
last.for.a.long.time-PART I enter-CONV a.little sit.down-OPT
"We have not seen each other fore a long time; I will come in and sit down for a while" (PASH2:191: MOLL:47);
daritai *se min-i* *sargan jui be*
older.relative PL I(*bi/min-*)-GEN=my female child ACC
*inu majige tuwa-**ki***
also a.little see-OPT
"Let older relatives also see my daughter" (ORL:172);
muse *te* *bou* (ma. *boo*) *i* *baru* *muda-**ki***
we(INCL) now house GEN towards return-OPT
"Let us return home now;"
ši (ma. *si*) *ere* *ba-de* *banji-me* *cihala-ci*
you(SG) this place-DAT live-CONV wish-CONV
men'i *ere abka i* *ba-de*
we(*be/men-* EXCL)-GEN this heaven GEN place-DAT
sasa *banji-**ki***
together live-OPT
"If you wish to live in this place, live together with us in heaven;"
tere ajige faha be *na de* *caci-**ki***
that small seed ACC earth DAT throw-OPT
"Throw these small seeds on the earth" (SK:80).

5.8.2.2. *Imperative*

The imperative denotes a direct desire (request or order) of the speaker to cause the interlocutor to perform an action. Since the imperative designates actions which have not begun, it is entirely contained in the grammatical space of the future, however, the imperative does not possess the grammatical category of tense. Participants of an imperative speech act may include besides the speaker and the listener (or listeners) a third person (or persons) from whom a reaction is expected. Consequently, in Manchu there are a number of forms which denote a speaker's will (desire, order) addressed to both the second and the third persons. In Manchu, the imperative forms are closely related to the expression of honorific meanings. Specialists usually distinguish five forms differing with respect to the honorific meaning they possess.

1) The most commonly used form for the imperative coincides with the verbal stem: *ala* "tell," *gene* "go," *se* "say," *te* "sit down," *wa* "kill."

It denotes an address to the second person (singular or plural) occupying a lower or similar position in respect to the person who is speaking.

In comparison with the other languages of the Manchu-Tungus linguistic community, only Manchu (and its Sibe dialect) has the imperative form which is rendered by the simplest verbal form—the verbal stem. However, one should keep in mind that this imperative form may include voice and aspectual suffixes: *tebu* "be seated," "to settle;" *tuwašata* "look after smb." Here are some examples:

tacikū-i ju-se, min-i gisun be donji
school-GEN child-PL I(*bi/min-*)-GEN word ACC listen(IMP)
tacikūi juse "pupils," "students;"
"Pupils! Listen to my words!" ("Listen to me") (PASH1);
si gai-ki se-ci, uthai gaisu
you(SG) take-OPT say(AUX)-CONV then take(IMP)
Tv-*ki se-*(aux)- "to want to do smth.;"
"If you want to take (smth.) then take (it)" (PASH2:126);
ama eme be saikan'i gingule-me (ma. *ginggule-me*)
father mother ACC properly respect-CONV
banji
live(IMP)
"Live properly, respecting (your) mother and father;"
mim-be geli sasa makta
I(*bi/min-*)-ACC too together throw(IMP)
"Throw me together (with smb.) too" (SK:81).

Used as the imperative, non-suffixal verbal stems may denote the following meanings:

a) an order:
si majige ili
you(SG) a.little stand(IMP)
"You stand still for a while;"
umiyesun be golbon de lakiya
belt ACC clothes.rack DAT hang.up(IMP)
"Hang up the belt on a clothes rack;"
etuku be saikan bukda
clothing ACC properly fold(IMP)
"Fold the clothing properly" (ORL:166);

suwe hūdun baihana-me gene
you(PL) quickly go.to.search-CONV go(IMP)
"You go and search for (her) at once!" (NSB:22).

b) an order with an overtone of advice:
dobori deri hūlha holo be seremše
night every thief fraudster ACC beware(IMP)
"Beware of thieves every night;"
aniya-dari bisan hiya be seremše
year-every flood drought ACC beware(IMP)
"Beware of flood and drought every year" (ORL:166);

c) a request or commission:
min-i funde emu jasigan ara
I(*bi/min*-)-GEN for one letter write(IMP)
"Write me a letter;"

d) necessity or obligation:
min-i gūnin de suwe-ni dolo ama-ta
I(*bi/min*-)-GEN=my opinion DAT you(PL)-GEN inside father-PL
o-ho niyalma ju-se be targabu,
become-PART man child(*jui*)-PL ACC admonish(IMP)
ahū-ta o-ho niyalma
elder.brother(*ahūn*)-PL become-PART man
deo-te targabu
younger.brother-PL admonish(IMP)
"In my opinion, those (of you) who have become fathers, should admonish (their) children, and those who have become elder brothers, should admonish (their) younger brothers" (ORL:167);

e) the imperative can be used to refer to actual events, states, etc. which are unexpected for the speaker. In other words, it can be used as an indicative form loaded with the meaning of suddenness:

gaitai kiyatar seme emgeri akjan akja
suddenly rumbling(ONOM) once a.thunder thunder(IMP)
"Suddenly thunder burst out (with the sound of rumbling)" (ORL:165).

One can find sentences where a non-suffixal form denotes strong intention on the part of the speaker to perform an action. Thus, it

is possible to classify this usage of the imperative as the categorical future:

bi boo-de cai fuifu-fi sim-be aliya
I house-DAT tea boil you(*si/sin-* SG)-ACC wait(IMP)
"Having boiled tea I shall wait for you at home"(PASH1).

A number of verbs have an irregular form of the imperative. Some verbs are formed by the suffixes *so* and *su*: *oso* (*o-* "to be," "to become"); *baisu* (*bai-* "to ask for," "to seek for," "to wish"); *bisu* (*be-* "to be"); *gaisu* (*gai-* "to take"); *takasu* (*taka-* "to know a person," "to recognize," "to identify"). It is interesting to mention that the suffix *-su* is used to indicate the imperative forms in the Nanai (Gold) language: *oso* "be," "become;" *gasu* "buy"(this verb correlates with the Manchu verb *gai-* "to take"); *disu* "come" (this verb correlates with the Manchu verb *ji-* "to come"). These Nanai forms are considered to be the most ancient, however, in the contemporary language the new forms are normally used side by side with old forms: *odu*, *gadu*, *didu* (Avrorin, 1961, 124-5).

Some imperative forms are formed by the suffixes *-fu*, *-nu* or *-n*: *je/jen* (*je-* "to bear," "to tolerate"); *jefu* (*je-* "to eat"); *jon* (*jo-* "to mention"); *yon* (*yo-* "to do," "to walk," "to leave"). Apparently, the verbal form *jefu* only seems irregular while in reality it is formed according to the general rule. In the imperative, in contrast with the other forms (*jembi*, *jefi*, *jeke*, etc.), the verb *jefu* has preserved the old stem which is similar to that existing in the Nanai (*den-*) and Evenki (*jep-/jev-/jevu-*) languages (Avrorin, 1961:124; Lebedeva & Gorelova, 1994:81).

The imperative form of the verb *ji-* "to come" is formed by the suffix *-u*: *jiu* (presumably, originated from *jisu* > *jiu*). The verbs ending in the suffix *-nji* or *-ji* terminate in *-u* in the imperative: *alanji-* "to come to report"—*alanju*; *benji-* "to send (hither)," "to deliver (hither)"—*benju*; *gaji-* "to bring," "to bring along"—*gaju*.

2) The optative form in ***-ki*** is often used as imperative when a person who is speaking treats the person addressed as an equal. This form occurs to soften the imperative attitude:

*ala-**ki***
tell-OPT
"Let (me) speak;"

*te-**ki***
sit-OPT
"Please, sit down" (ZAKH:179);
*leole-**ki***
discuss/talk.over-OPT
"Let's talk" (ORL:172).

3) The form in *-**kini*** is used to address a person who is lower in social position. It denotes an order to perform an action immediately: *alakini* "let him speak" or "allow him to speak;" *gaikini* "let him take" or "allow him to take;" *genekini* "let him go" or "allow him to go." Here are some examples:

*jalan aššа-me jakūn jui sabu-**kini***
generation move-CONV eight child see-IMP
"Moving generations, let him see eight children;"
sergūdai ere-ci amasi ninju aniya nimeku akū
proper name this-ABL after sixty year illness there.is.not
*tanggū aniya targa akū ujun ju-se uji-**kini***
hundred year abstain there.is.not nine child(*jui*)-PL raise-IMP
"Sergūdai, after this, will not be ill for sixty years and will not abstain for a hundred years. Let him raise nine children" (NSB:58).

According to Zakharov, the form in *-kini* consists of the suffix of the optative *-ki* and the interrogative particle *ni*. It is used in respect to the second or the third persons in order to cause the addressee to act or fulfil a command immediately:

*yabu-bu-**kini***
carry.out-PASS-IMP
"(They) are ordered to carry out;"
*sin-i ciha i o-**kini***
you(*si/sin-* SG)-GEN desire GEN be-IMP
"Let it be in accordance with your desire" (ZAKH:180);
suwe *gene-**kini**, mim-be ume dabu-re*
you(PL) go-IMP I(*bi/min-*)ACC NEG press.to.come-PART
"You should go, but not press me to come" (ORL:172).

According to Lebedeva, the form in *-kini* is used when the person addressed is to cause another person (persons) to perform an action: *okini* "order him (or them) to become," *gajikini* "order him (them) to

bring." In her opinion, the suffix *-kini* consists of two components. The first is represented by the marker of the optative in *-ki*, and the second component *ni* indicates the third person. It originated, as in other languages of the Tungus-Manchu family, from the pronoun of the third person in the genetive: *i* "he" + *(n)i* > *ini*. Here are some example:

hehe n'alma (ma. *niyalma*) *oci gemu deijiku gaji-me*
woman person TOP all firewood bring-CONV
*ji-**kini***
come-IMP
"As far as women are concerned, let them come bringing firewood;"
ere daifu i sargan mergen erdemu be dahame
this doctor GEN wife wise powerful ACC since
men'i jue (ma. *juwe*) *n'alma* (ma. *niyalma*)
we(*be/men*-EXCL)-GEN=our two man
*de sargan o-**kini***
DAT wife be-IMP
"Since this doctor's wife is very wise, let her be a wife to both of us" (SK:81).

According to Norman, the form in *-kini* is used as the optative in the Sibe dialect. It is used to express a desire or wish concerning the third person (Norman, 1974:172).

4) The form in ***-cina/-kina*** is considered to be an imperative form by most specialists (Zakharov, 1879:180-81; Pashkov, 1963:37). The form in *-cina/-kina* is used by the speaker when he addresses someone who is lower in social position. The accomplishment of the action is considered by the speaker as desirable: *alacina* (*alakina*) "speak out (if you wish);" *tuwacina* (*tuwakina*) "have a look (if you wish)," etc.

According to Zakharov, this form originated from the combination of the conditional converb in *-ci* and the interrogative particle *na*: *-ci* + *na* > *-cina*. In the author's opinion, this form expresses a polite request formulated as a question. The meaning rendered by the form in *-cina* can be translated as the following words and phrases: "please," "very likely," "let it be," "let it be in this way," "isn't it so?," "isn't it true?". The word form *bicina* (the form in *-cina* derived from the verb *bi-* "to be," "to exist") can be translated as "let it be," "let it be in this way!," "isn't it true?". The word form *secina* (the form in

-cina derived from the verb *se-* "to say") means literally "let me say." It is very often used as a note of exclamation at the end of an utterance in the meaning "this way it is!," "so it goes!" (Zakharov, 1879:180-1). Here are some examples:

*uba-de te-**cina***
place-DAT live-IMP
"Please, live in this place;"
*kemuni ji-**cina***
often come-IMP
"Please, come often" (ORL:174).
si ainu hendu-rakū, min-de daljakū
you why say-PART(NEG) I(*bi/min-*)-DAT unconnected.with
*se-he bi-**cina***
say-PART be-IMP
"Why didn't you explain, but said that I had nothing to do with this;"
ajige ju-se damu sefu i jilgan be donji-ha de,
small child(*jui*)-PL only teacher GEN voice ACC hear-PART DAT
*fayangga gemu tuhe-mbi se-**cina***
soul all fall-IMPF say-IMP
"As soon as little children hear the teacher's voice, all [of them] lose courage [at once], so it goes (literally: let me say)!" (ZAKH:181);
damu ai emgeri sin-de bai-ki se-he be
only what one you-DAT ask-OPT say(AUX)-PART ACC
*daha-me, si uthai te-de bu-**cina***
follow-CONV = since you then that(*tere*)/he-DAT give-IMP
"Since he wants to ask you for smth. for the first time, give (it) to him" (PASH2:117);
*ši ama-i ici emu mudan t'ua-**cina*** (ma. *tuwa-**cina***)
you father-GEN toward one time look.at- IMP
"Won't you have a look at your father?" (SK:83).

5) The interrogative form of the imperfect participle in ***-rao/-reo*** is also used as the imperative. This form is used to address older people or those of higher social position (or status). Persons may be addressed by the speaker of equal age or position, but in this case this form is used to express extreme politeness or humility on the part of the speaker. Here are some examples:

*te-**re-o***
sit-IMP(PART-INT)
"Please, sit down!" (ZAKH:180);
si unenggi sa-ra-ngge getuken o-ci, uthai
you(SG) really know-PART-NR clear be(AUX)-CONV then
*min-de ulhi-bu-me ala-**re-o***
I(*bi/min-*)-DAT understand-CAUS-CONV tell-IMP(PART-INT)
"Actually, if you know (smth.) exactly (literally: clearly), then explain (it to me), please" (PASH2:80);
*gilja-me gama-**ra-o***
forgive-CONV forgive-IMP(PART-INT)
"Please, excuse me" (NL:106);
sakda eme be gūni-fi haila-mbi
old mother ACC think-CONV feel.sympathy-IMPF
*dulembu-**re-o***
pass.through-IMP(PART-INT)
"Thinking of [my] old mother, please, feel sympathy with me and let me pass" (NSB:63).

The same form normally serves as the interrogative participle:
bai-re-ngge min-i jui i ajigen ergen
ask.for-PART-NR I(*bi/min-*)-GEN=my child GEN young life
*be aitubu-**re-o***
ACC revive-PART-INT
"This is what (I) ask: won't (you) revive the young life of my son?" (NSB:31).

That is why the form in *-rao/-reo* may be considered as the interrogative form of the imperfect participle or the imperative form depending on its function in the syntactic context.

Norman considers the form in *-cina* (*-cinaa*) as the hortative. In his opinion, this form is used to express an exhortation or wish concerning the second person in the dialect he described (Norman, 1974:172).

Normally, all synthetic forms for the imperative may be replaced by analytical ones which consist of a converbal form derived from an autonomous verb and an imperative form derived from one of the following functional verbs *bi-*, *o-* or *se-*: *ala—alame bisu*, *alame oso*; *alakini—alame okini*; *alarao—alame sereo*.

5.8.2.3. *Prohibitive*

By its meaning, the prohibitive mood is the negative imperative concerning the second person (singular and plural). Formally it is distinguished from the imperative which is expressed by zero and coincides with the verbal stem. The prohibitive is formed with the suffix of the imperfect participle ***-ra/-re/-ro*** and the interrogative particle ***ume*** which precedes the participle: *ume genere* "do not go," *ume songgoro* "do not cry." Here are some examples:

age ***ume*** *ehe gūni-**re***
elder.brother/sir NEG evil think-PART
"Sir, do not take something amiss!" (PASH2:86;QW);
ume *haira-**ra***
NEG feel.sympathy-PART
"Do not feel sorry (for smb.)" (NSB:13);
ume *helede-**re***
NEG loiter-PART
"Do not loiter!" (SK:26);
bai-re-ngge ***ume*** *holto-**ro***
wish-PART-NR NEG lie-PART
"This is what I wish: do not lie!" (NSB:59);
ši (ma. *si*) *taka* ***ume*** *saci-**re*** *bi ebu-ki*
you for.a.short.time NEG hack-PART I get.down-OPT
"You do not hack for a short time; I will get down;"
dorgide muduri meihe umuši (ma. *umesi*) *labdu, ši* ***ume***
inside dragon snake very a.lot.of you(SG) NEG
*gele-**re***
fear-PART
"There are a lot of dragons and snakes inside, do not be afraid" (SK:82).

The form for the prohibitive is a special form which stays apart from other verbal forms in Manchu. The composite character of this form, especially the form of an autonomous verb, is very close to the negative forms which can be discovered in other languages of the Tungus-Manchu family. At the same time the positive form of the imperative concerning the second person in Manchu is sharply different from those occurring in other Tungus-Manchu languages. Presumably, the imperative and the prohibitive forms concerning the second person developed as a result of totally different processes and in different periods of time.

5.8.3. *Forms of Epistemic Modality*

In Manchu, forms of epistemic modality include a variety of grammatically opposed forms which denote different attitudes of the speaker towards the action viewed as real or unreal. To speak about a fact, the speaker uses the indicative forms. To speak about something which is unreal, possible, probable, desirable, potential, etc., the speaker can choose different forms of epistemic modality. Forms of real modality, that is indicative, are mostly expressed synthetically, by simple verbal forms. Forms of unreal modality are formed analytically.

The meaning of a desire, wish or an intention to perform an action is expressed by the analytical form which consists of the optative form of an autonomous verb and a form of the verb *se-* "to say" in its auxiliary function: *alaki sembi* "I (you/he/she) wish to tell; *geneki sehebi* "I (you/he/she) wished to go." Here are some examples:

sin-i beye gene-ki se-he dabala,
you(*si*/*sin-* SG)-GEN self go-OPT say(AUX)-PART merely
we sim-be gene se-he
who you(SG)-ACC go(IMP) say-PART
"You yourself wished to go; who forced you to go?" (literally: "who said to you: go!") (PASH2:101; QW);
bi in-i mudan be dinji-ci, sin-de
I he(*i*/*in-*)-GEN = his sound ACC hear-CONV you(SG)-DAT
aika jaka bai-ki se-re gese
something thing ask.for-OPT say(AUX)-PART like
"I am hearing his voice; it seems he is asking you for something" (PASH2:116; QW);
nure omi-ki se-me gūni-ci nure tuci-mbi
wine drink-OPT say(AUX)-CONV think-CONV wine appear-IMPF
"If (you) wish to drink some wine, wine will appear;"
dobi uncehen be tuki-fi (ma. *tukiye-*) *na be tanda-me*
fox tail ACC raise-CONV earth ACC beat-CONV
kaica-ki se-re-de ...
shout-OPT say(AUX)-PART-DAT
"When a fox, having raised its tail, is going to beat (with it) on the earth ... " (SK:85).

The meaning of potentiality is expressed by the analytical form which consists of the form of the conditional converb in *-ci,* derived from

an autonomous verb, and a form of the verb *o-* "to be," "to become" in its auxiliary function: *seci ombi* "(it is) possible to say," *gūnici ombi* "(it is possible to think." The following patterns may also express this meaning: Tv-*me baha-* and Tv-*me mute-* (*baha-* "to be able," *mute-* "can," "to be able"). Here are some examples:

tondo nomhon niyalma se-ci o-mbi
upright docile man call-CONV be(AUX)-IMPF
"It is possible to call (him) an upright and docile man;"
bi nure omi-me bahana-rakū
I wine drink-CONV be.able-PART(NEG)
"I am not able to drink wine" (PASH1:74);
emu gisun be tucibu-me mute-rakū
one word ACC pronounce-CONV be.able-PART(NEG)
"(One) is not able to pronounce a word" (ZAKH:134);
giyam-be (ma. *giyan be*) *bodo-ci ere sargam-be*
regulations-ACC follow-CONV this woman-ACC
(ma. *sargan be*) *bi gai-ci o-mbi*
I take-CONV be(AUX)-IMPF
"According to the regulations, I can take this woman;"
ši min-i sargan o-ci o-mbi-o?
you I(*bi/min-*)-GEN wife become-CONV be(AUX)-IMPF-INT
"Can you become my wife?" (SK:85).

The analytical form, which consists of the imperfect converb in *-me* derived from an autonomous verb and a form of the verb *tuwa-* "to look at," "to see" in its auxiliary function, indicates an attempt to perform an action: *bodome tuwambi* "I (you/he/she) try to look at smth.;" *gajime tuwambi* "I (you/he/she) try to take smth.". Here are some examples:

bi ere dobori bodo-me tua-mbi (ma. *tuwa-mbi*)
I this night think-CONV look(AUX)-IMPF
"I shall try to think tonight;"
geli emu meyen sende-me (ma. *cende-*) *tua-ki* (ma. *tuwa-ki*)
again one time verify-CONV look(AUX)-OPT
"(We) shall try to verify once more" (SK:86).

An action which must (should, ought to) be performed is also expressed analytically. This analytical form consists of the form of

the conditional converb derived from an autonomous verb and a form of the verb *aca-* "to meet," "to get together," "to combine" in its auxiliary function. Here are some examples:

ere gisun be niyalma tome kice-ci aca-mbi
this word ACC people every study-CONV meet(AUX)-IMPF
"All people must study these words" (GAB:23);
erin-dari gele-re, olho-ro be tebu-ci
time-every fear-PART fear-PART ACC keep.in.one's.heart-CONV
aca-mbi
meet(AUX)-IMPF
"At all times one ought to keep in one's heart an apprehension and caution" (ZAKH:188);
manju bithe hūla-ra niyalma oci, urunakū hergen tome
Manchu book read-PART person TOP necessarily letter each
gemu getukele-me sa-ci aca-mbi
all make.clear-CONV know-CONV meet(AUX)-IMPF
"Every person, who studies Manchu, necessarily ought to know every letter exactly" (PASH2:69; QW).

The analytical form, which consists of the negative form of the imperfect participle in *-rahū* (*-rahū* < *-ra* + *akū*) and a grammatical form of the verb *se-* "to say" in its auxiliary function, normally denotes the meaning of apprehension that an action might take place contrary to a desire or expectation. This meaning is very close to that expressed by the following patterns including connecting devices: "(in order) not to do + inf.;" "(so) that ... may not (might) + inf.;" "in order that ... may not (might) + inf.;" "I am afraid that." The composite morpheme *-rahū* may be replaced with the participial suffix *-ra*, but the meaning of the whole analytical form does not change: *alarahū sembi*, *alara sembi* "(I) am afraid that (he) might tell." Sometimes the negative form of the imperfect participle in *-rakū* in combination with a form of the verb *se-* are used to produce the same meaning. Here are some examples which express the meaning "anxious expectation:"

ama eme damu nime-rahū se-me jobo-mbi
father mother only ill-PART(NEG) say(AUX)-CONV worry-IMPF
"I worry that my father and mother might get ill;"
banuhūn heolen o-jorahū
lazy negligent become-PART(NEG)

"(I am afraid) that (lest) (he) might (should) become lazy and negligent" (ZAKH:210);
gūwa emu baita de gene-ki se-ci, geli
another one business DAT go-OPT say(AUX)-CONV again
sim-be ji-de-rakū se-mbi
you(*si/sin-* SG)-ACC come-PART(NEG) say(AUX)-IMPF
"(I) wanted to go on another business, but (was afraid) that (lest) you might (should) come (to visit me)" (PASH2:92; QW).

The form in *-rahū* may be replaced by the interjection *ayoo* "not likely," "nothing of the kind" which takes a place directly before the functional verb:

amušabu-re ayoo se-mbi
become.sleepy-PART not.likely say(AUX)-IMPF
"(I am afraid) that (lest) (I) might (should) become sleepy"[11];
damu sain niyalma ji-de-rakū o-jo-rahū,
only good people come-PART(NEG) AUX-PART(NEG)
ehe niyalma geli jide-re ayoo se-mbi
bad people also come-PART not.likely say(AUX)-IMPF
"(I am afraid) that (lest) good people might (should) not come, and there is also a danger that (lest) bad people might (should) come" (ZAKH:210).

To stress the meaning of apprehension both forms are used:

ala-rahū ayoo se-mbi
tell-PART(NEG) not.likely say(AUX)-IMPF
"(I am afraid) very much that (lest) (one) might (should) tell" (ZAKH:210).

In negative sentences with the functional verb *o-*, the negative particle *akū* is attached to a participial form of an autonomous verb, whereas the morpheme *-hū* (< *akū*) occurs with grammatical forms of the verb *o-* in its auxiliary function:

tuwa-rakū o-jo-rahū
see-PART(NEG) AUX-PART(NEG)
"(I am afraid) that (lest) (one) might (should) not see" (ZAKH:211).

[11] Norman in his Lexicon gives another analysis of the word form *amušabure*, i.e. *amu* "sleep" + *šabura-* "to get sleepy" > *amušabu-* "to become sleepy" (NL:16, 256). The word *ayoo* is considered by him as a final particle denoting fear or doubt (NL:21).

It seems that the combination of the negative form of the imperfect participle (*-rakū*) with the word *ayoo* has the same meaning of "anxious expectation:"

bi damu age si jide-rakū ayoo
I only sir you(SG) come-PART(NEG) not.likely
se-re dabala
say(AUX)-PART MDL.PTL
"I am only (afraid) that you, sir, might (should) not come (to visit me)" (PASH2:74; QW).

The modal meaning of probability can be expressed lexically, with the help of the following words: *ainci* "perhaps," "probably," "apparently," "presumably;" *aise* "perhaps;" *dere* "probably," "likely." The first word normally stands in the beginning of a sentence, and the two last ones are placed at the end of it. Very often the word *dere* is written as one with a verb. The word *ainci* may be omitted, however either *aise* or *dere* are obligatory at the end of sentences expressing modality of probability. Here are some examples:

ainci baitala-ci o-mbi dere
probably use-CONV be(AUX)-IMPF likely
"Probably, it is possible to use (it);"
ere gese-ngge oci ainci bi-dere
this same-NR TOP probably be/exist-likely/probably
"(Things) similar (to this) are likely to exist;"
min-i boo-de ji-mbi dere seme aliya-hai,
I(*bi/min-*)-GEN house-DAT come-IMPF probably that wait-CONV
si umai ji-hekū
you(SG) NEG come-PART(NEG)
"I had been waiting for a long time (thinking), that you, probably, would come (to visit me), but you didn't come;"
gene-he aise
go-PART perhaps
"Likely, he has gone away" (ZAKH:209).

5.9. *Analytical Verbal Forms and Constructions*

Analytical verbal forms are very widespread in Manchu. They are used to denote various temporal, modal, and aspectual meanings. I shall use the term "analytical form" to refer to language entities which

are combined from participial or converbal forms derived from autosemantic verbs and finite forms—participles or verbs—derived from the verbs *bi-* "to be," "to exist," *o-* "to be," "to become" or *se-* "to say" in their auxiliary functions. Analytical verbal forms are used to indicate predicates in simple sentences or in principal clauses of complex sentences.

Most synthetic forms which are ascribed by specialists to the indicative mood, are analytical in origin. These include the imperfect and perfect finite forms in *-mbi* (< *-me* + *bi*) and *-habi/-hebi/-hobi* (< *-ha/-he/-ho* + *bi*). The form in *-mbihe* is also analytical in origin: *-mbihe* < *-me* + *bihe* (see for details 5.8.1). The alternation of synthetic and analytical variants of these forms is striking evidence of an immediate connection between them. One can observe the variants Tv-*mbi* and Tv-*me bi*; Tv-*habi/-nebi/-hobi* and Tv-*ha/-he/-ho bi*; Tv-*mbihe* and Tv-*me bihe* even in the same corpus of texts (possibly, with different shades of meenings). Ascribed to the indicative, the analytical forms Tv-*ha/-he/-ho bihe* and Tv- *ngka/-ngke/-ngko bihe* have no corresponding synthetic forms.

As it was shown in Section 5.8.3, the forms of epistemic modality are also characterized by analytical structure.

In the auxiliary function some more verbs may be used: *ali-* "accept," "to receive;" *baha-* "to get," "to obtain," "to be able;" *goida-* "to last for a long time," "to endure;" *hami-* "to approach," "to be close;" *jafa-* "to take in the hand," "to hold," "to grip;" *šangga-* "to finish," "to come to an end," "to be accomplished;" *waji-* "to finish." A peculiarity of these verbs is that their lexical meanings are weakened within analytical constructions, but do not vanish entirely.

Combined with a main (autosemantic) verb, the verb *ali-* forms the passive construction. In this case the verb *ali-* follows the main verb which occurs in the form of the imperfect participle followed by the accusative:

han ci banji-re be ali-ha
khan ABL be.born ACC get-PART
"He was born of a khan" (literally: "He has got (his) birth from a khan") (PASH:53).

The verb *ali-* in the form of the imperfect converb frequently combines with the verb *gai-* "to take" preceding it, as in:

gosi-re be ali-me gai-mbi
love-PART ACC get-CONV take-IMPF
"He is loved" (literally: "He is getting a love") (PASH:53).

Within analytical constructions the verb *baha-* "to get," "to obtain," "to be able" may occupy the first position, and the main (autosemantic) verb follows it taking certain temporal and modal grammatical formants. In these combinations the verb *baha-* has the form of the perfect or conditional converbs which are governed by the main verb. The latter gains additional meaning which can be rendered by the verbs "to achieve," "to attain," "to gain":

baha-fi *sa-ha*
get-CONV know-PART
"(One) succeded in learning (it)" or "(One) managed to learn (it);"
baha-fi *aca-hakū*
get-CONV meet-PART(NEG)
"(One) failed to meet (smb.)" (PASH:52).

Performing in the auxiliary function, the verb *baha-* may occupy the usual place for auxiliary verbs—that is the position after the main verb. In this case the main verb may occur in the form of the perfect converb:

jafa-fi *baha*
grasp-CONV get(PART)
"(One) succeeded in grasping (smth.)" (PASH:52).

The main verb may occur in the form of the imperfect converb, and the whole construction indicates the potential meaning of an action:
nure *omi-me* *bahana-rakū*
wine drink-CONV be.able-PART(NEG)
"I am not able to drink wine" (PASH:52).

The verb *goida-* "to last for a long time," "to endure" in the forms of the imperfect converb or the perfect participle in combination with the main (autosemantic) verb indicates that an action expressed by this construction took place long ago. Here are some examples:

bi ara-ha *goida-ha*
I write-PART endure-PART
"I have written long ago;"
donji-fi *goida-ha*
hear-CONV endure-PART
"I heard long ago" (PASH:53).

The form of the imperfect converb of this verb shows a tendency to shift its category status from converbs to adverbs as well as the negative form of the perfect participle: *goidame* "long ago," "long since," "for a long time;" *goidahakū* "before long," "in a short time." This tendency is seen in the following example: *goidame te-mbi* "(One) has been sitting for a long time" (PASH:53).

The verb *hami-* "to be close to," "to approach," "to almost reach" in the form of the imperfect converb or the perfect participle in the combination with the main verb has the adverbial meaning "about to," "on the point of," "almost":

buce-re hami-me
die-PART be.close.to-CONV
"being close to death" or "approaching to death;"
emu aniya hami-ka
one year almost.reach-PART
"Almost a year (passed)" (PASH:53).

The verb *jafa-* "to take in the hand," "to grasp," "to hold," "to grip" occupies the first position in the analytical construction. Taking the suffix of the perfect converb, this verb add the meaning "to set (to)," "to get down (to)" to the main verb:

fe forgon i niyalma be jafa-fi gisure-ci
old time GEN people ACC grasp-CONV talk-CONV
"If (we) set to talk about people of the old time ... " (PASH:52).

The verbs *šangga-* "to finish," "to terminate successfully," "to be accomplished" and *waji-* "to finish," "to end" in preposition to the main verb indicate that an action, expressed by it, refers to the plusperfect:

waji-fi obu-ha manggi šangga-me
finish-CONV make-PART after be.completed-CONV
ara-ha
write-PART
"(One) wrote after he had finished what he had made (a matter)" (PASH:52).

As one can see, these combinations display a smaller degree of cohesion between their elements because the lexical meanings of

functional verbs do not disappear entirely. The functional verbs in these constructions partly preserve their lexical meanings in contrast with the analytical forms where the verbs *bi-*, *o-*, *se-* perform a solely auxiliary function.

Another kind of combination of autosemantic and functional verbs exists. The distinctive feature of these combinations is that they serve as subordinate predicates, i.e. those language units which are used to indicate predicates in subordinate clauses. In these combinations, the functional verbs normally take converbal or participial suffixes, and participles are followed by certain case markers. I prefer to call such combinations analytical constructions, in contrast with analytical forms.

As shown in 5.6.1, participles, perfect and imperfect, display aspectual characteristics rather than temporal ones. Converbs have no grammatical category of absolute tense at all (see for details 5.7). They are characterized by relative (retrospective) tense. It means that their temporal characteristics depend on the tense of finite verbal forms which designate principal actions. Manchu participles and converbs developed specific analytical constructions to denote the whole complex of modal-temporal and aspectual meanings. At the same time they preserved the main function of non-finite forms, participles and converbs, that indicate various relationships (including specific temporal ones if they are the particular meanings of participles and converbs) between subordinate and principal forms and, using them, between subordinate and principal clauses. Usually these constructions consist of two components, the first of which is represented by a finite, or participial, or converbal form of an autosemantic verb, whereas the second element is a participle in a certain case form or a converb derived from one of the functional verbs. Normally, these are the Manchu verbs *bi-* "to be," "to exist;" *o-* "to be," "to become;" and *se-* "to say." These analytical constructions are very numerous. They have a very diverse structure and semantics. Presumably, the class of analytical constructions is open, i.e. the language may develop new patterns of them. This process of elaboration of new patterns stems from the necessity to find better ways of expressing the diversity of relationships between the events of the outside world which are rendered by principal and subordinate clauses. These analytical constructions are the basis for developing various conjunctive devices including conjunctions proper. Under certain conditions, the functional components of analytical constructions tend to loosen their sentence-bound rigidity and exibit

the ability of functioning beyond the given syntactic context (e.g., in combinations with finite verbal forms and names), gradually developing into analytical markers of the conjunctive variety. This is a characteristic of most Manchu subordinate conjunctions, developed from participial-case and converbal forms, e.g., *ojorode*, *ohode* "when;" *bici*, *oci*, *seci* "if;" *bicibe*, *ocibe*, *secibe* "although," "though;" *seme* "that," "in order," "so that," "though;" *ofi* "because."

In this context it is appropriate to point out that the process of separation of the functional component in the analytical construction is easier if this component contains fewer grammatical markers and, therefore, performs fewer functions in the structure of the dependent clause. Thus, in the Tungusic languages—for example, in Evenki—the process of separation seems more problematic in the case of the so-called personal converbs having personal suffixes in their linear structure rather than with so-called simple converbs having no markers of person. In Manchu, this process is easier than in Evenki, since it is facilitated by the specific features of the Manchu morphological basis and the structure of its verbal forms. The following is an incomplete list of analytical constructions in classical Manchu:

1) Constructions where the functional component is expressed by the imperfect converb derived from the verb *bi-*. The autosemantic component can be expressed by the forms of the imperfect and perfect participles in their positive and negative forms:

a) Tv-*ha bime*

utala taci-ha bi-me, kemuni
so.many.as.this learn-PART be(AUX)-CONV still
ubaliyambu-me mute-rakū
translate-CONV can-PART(NEG)
"Having been learning for so many years (one) still cannot translate" (ZAKH:191);

b) Tv-*rakū bime*

tere anggala min-i beye šuntuhuni alban de
that not only I(*bi*/*min*-)-GEN self all.day duty DAT
ka-me jabdu-rakū bi-me
fulfil-CONV have.time-PART(NEG) be(AUX)-CONV
tere anggala "moreover," "all the more;"

"Moreover, since I myself have no time to fulfil (my) duty during all the day long, … " (PASH2:93; QW).

2) Constructions where the functional component is expressed by the imperfect converb derived from the verb *se-*. The autosemantic component can be expressed by the forms of the imperfect and perfect participles, in their positive and negative forms:
a) Tv-*ha seme*
wesihun foro-ro gūnin akū o-ci,
upward turn.toward thought there.is.not be(AUX)-CONV
tanta-ha se-me, *inu ai tusa*
beat-PART say(AUX)-CONV also what benefit
"If there is not a thought which turns (smb.) toward the top, even if (one) beats (him), what is the profit?" (ZAKH:199).
b) Tv-*rakū seme*
sin-i baha-ra giyan o-ci, uthai
you(SG)-GEN get-PART right be-CONV then
temšě-rakū se-me inu baha-mbi
contend-PART(NEG) say(AUX)-CONV also get-IMPF
"If you have the right to get (smth.), even if (you) don't contend, (you) all the same will get (it)" (PASH2:122; QW).

3) Constructions where the functional component is expressed by the converb in *-hai/-hei/-hoi* derived from the verb *bi-*: Tv-*me bihei*

uttu banji-me bi-hei ere hehe dergi de
so live-CONV be(AUX)-CONV this woman soul DAT
gūni-me ...
think-CONV
"Having lived for such a long time, this woman thought in her soul ...;"
eigen sargan junafi banji-me bi-hei
husband wife two.persons live-CONV be(AUX)-CONV
"Husband and wife, two persons, lived for a long time … " (SK:85).

4) Constructions where the functional component is expressed by the conditional converb derived from the verbs *bi-* , *o-* , and *se-*: Tv-*me bici*; Tv-*me oci*; Tv-*ra bici*, Tv-*ha bici*, Tv-*ra oci*; Tv-*rakū oci*; Tv-*rakū seci*; Tv(IMP) *seci*.

As can be seen from the examples listed above, patterns are different in respect of the form of autosemantic components which they contain in their structure. These autosemantic components may be expressed by the following forms:
a) the imperfect converb in *-me*: Tv-*me bici*
gucu-se-i dolo gucule-re-de, damu ishinde
friend-PL-GEN inside make.friends-PART-DAT only mutually
mujilen de tebu-me
heart DAT keep-CONV
bi-ci, teni gucu i doro dabala
be(AUX)-CONV then friend GEN rule COP(only)
mujilen de tebu- "to be concerned about, to keep in mind" (NL:203);
"When people are friends, they follow the main principle of friendship only if they care about each other" (PASH2:87; QW);
b) the imperfect participle in *-ra/-re/-ro*: Tv-*ra/-re/-re oci*
yaya baita de damu beye-i cihakū ba-be, inu
every matter DAT only self-GEN unwilling matter-ACC also
niyalma de ume isibu-re o-ci,
people DAT NEG repay-PART be(AUX)-CONV
aya-ci ojo-rakū se-re
great(*ayan*)-ABL be-PART(NEG) say(AUX)-PART
ba uthai akū dere
SBSTR then COP.NEG (there.is.not) probably
"On every occasions, if we don't do to others what we don't wish to themselves, everithing will be fine (I suspect)" (PASH1:102; QW);
c) the negative form of the imperfect participle in *-rakū:* Tv-*rakū oci*
bi esi mute-re-i teile
I certainly be.able-PART-GEN to.the.extent.of
faššа-ci talu de sin-i baita be
exert.effort-CONV by.chance DAT you(SG)-GEN matter ACC
mutebu-ci, si inu ume urgunje-re
bring.about-CONV you certainly NEG rejoice-PART
sin-i baita be mute-rakū o-ci,
you(SG)-GEN matter ACC be.able-PART(NEG) be(AUX)-CONV
si inu ume usha-ra
you(SG) certainly NEG be.angry-PART
muterei teile "with all one can," "with all one's capabilities;"
talu de "by chance," "in case ... " (NL:206, 271);
"I will try to do my best; if I accomplish your task, don't cheer; if I don't, don't be angry with me" (PASH1:106; QW);

ere buce-rakū o-ci min'i
this die-PART(NEG be(AUX)-CONV I(*bi/min*-)-GEN=my
b'ai (ma. *biyai) elden sourin šira-me mute-rakū*
moon light throne inherite be.able-PART(NEG)
"If he dies my Light of the Moon (proper name) will not be able to inherit the throne" (SK:85). This construction is used to combine the negative and conditional meanings.

d) the imperative form with zero expression: Tv(IMP) *seci*
ahūn si gisun gisure-rakū o-ci
elder.brother you word speak-PART(NEG) be(AUX)-CONV
mim-be gisure se-ci uju be gekše
I(*bi/min*-)-ACC speak(IMP) say(AUX)-CONV head ACC nod(IMP)
(ma. *gehešе-*)
"Elder brother (or sir), if you can't say a word and want to speak, nod your head" (SK).

This sentence contains two analytical constructions. The first of them, Tv-*rakū oci*, is used to denote the negative and conditional meanings together. The second, Tv(IMP) *seci*, is used to denote the meanings of desire and imperative together.

e) the perfect participle in -*ha/-he/-ho*: Tv-*ha/-he/-ho bici*
ehe niyalma de hajila-ha bi-ci,
bad people DAT become.intimate.with-PART be(AUX)-CONV
te sain niyalma ojo-rakū bi-he
now good man be-PART(NEG) be(AUX)-PART
"If (he) was intimate with bad people, he could not be a good man now" (ZAKH:199; QW);
donji-mbihe bi-ci, *urgun i doro-i*
hear-PAST be(AUX)-CONV joy GEN rule-GEN
acana-me gene-ci aca-mbihe
go.to.meet-CONV go-CONV meet(AUX)-PAST
urgun i doro "congratulations;" Tv-*ci aca-* = should, ought, must;
"If (I) heard (about your arrival), (I) should come to congratulate (you)" (PASH2:85; QW).

In these two sentences the analytical construction, being a predicate of a subordinate clause, denotes an unreal condition which does not correspond with reality.

doši-ha (ma. *dosi-ha*) *bi-ci tere sapali mangusi*
enter-PART be(AUX)-CONV that yellow bull-mangus
horgon'i (ma. *horho*) *dorgi de dedu-he bi-he bi*
cattleshed-GEN inside DAT lie-PART be(AUX)-PART COP

"When (he) had entered that yellow bull-mangus was lying in the cattleshed;"
muke de makta-ha bi-ci tere haha jui
water DAT throw-PART be(AUX)-CONV that man child
hendu-me …
say-CONV
"When (they) have been thrown into water that fellow says … ;"
moro be ungku-me (ma. *ungke-*) *sinda-ha bi-ci*
cup ACC turn.upside.down put-PART be(AUX)-CONV
tere moro dorgi-ci hacinge (ma. *hacingga*) *jete-re*
this cup inside-ABL all.kinds.of eat-PART
omi-re yali buda *gemu tuci-he*
drink-PART meat cooked.cereal all appear-PART
"When (he) put down the cup, having turned it upside down, inside this cup all kinds of meals, drinks, meat, and cooked cereal appeared" (SK:84).

In the last two examples the analytical construction Tv-*ha bici* is used to indicate that the main action occurs while the state of the subject, which is the result of completing the dependent action, continues.

5) Constructions where the functional component is expressed by the concessive converb derived from the verbs *bi-*, *o-*, *se-*: Tv-*ra bicibe*; Tv-*ra ocibe*; Tv-*ha bicibe*; Tv-*ha ocibe*; Tv-*ki secibe*. These constructions are used to combine the perfect and imperfect meanings of participles or the modal meaning of a desire with the concessive meaning of subordinate predicates.

6) Constructions where the functional component is expressed by the perfect converb: Tv-*rakū ofi*
ere n'alma (ma. *niyalma*) *ere i erdemu be*
this man this GEN capability ACC
sa-rakū o-fi šue (ma. *šuwe*) *uša-me*
know-PART(NEG) be(AUX)-CONV totally pull-CONV
gama-hai
deal.with-CONV
"Since this man didn't know about this capability (here: magic), he pulled (the reins) again and again" (SK).
tere wehe be tuk'i-me (ma. *tukiye-me*) *jailabu-re hūsun*
that stone ACC raise-CONV move.aside-PART power

tesu-rakū *o-fi*, *sele* *i*
suffice-PART(NEG) be(AUX)-CONV iron GEN
fakši (ma. *faksi*) *jui* *suhemci* (ma. *suhecen*) *be* *gai-fi* *wehe*
workman child small.axe ACC take-CONV stone
be *hūala-me* (ma. *hūwala-*) *efule-fi*
ACC split-CONV break-CONV
"Since the power was not sufficient to raise the stone and to move it aside, the son of a blacksmith, having taken an axe, split the stone into pieces" (SK:85).
The analytical construction Tv-*rakū ofi* is used to combine the meanings of negation and cause.

7) Constructions where the functional component is expressed by the converb in *-nggala/-nggele/-nggolo* derived from the verb *o-*:
Tv-*ra onggolo*
jura-ra o-nggolo
start-PART be(AUX)-CONV
"before starting" (ZAKH:198).

8) Constructions where the functional component is expressed by the dative of the perfect and imperfect participles derived from the verbs *bi-*, *o-*, *se-*: *bisirede*, *bihede*, *ojorode*, *ohode*, *serede*, *sehede*. Here are some patterns of these analytical constructions:
a) Tv-*me ohode*
bi *ara-me* *o-ho-de* *min-i*
I write-CONV be(AUX)-PART-DAT I(*bi/min-*)-GEN = my
gucu *uthai* *boo-de* *dosinji-ha*
friend then house-DAT enter-PART
"When I was writing, my friend entered into the house" (ZAKH:150);
aikabade *sin-i* *baru* *bai-me* *o-ho-de*,
if you(SG)-GEN toward ask.for-CONV be(AUX)-DAT
bisi-re-i *teile* *in-de* *acabu-me* *bu-ci*,
be-PART-GEN only he-DAT please-CONV give-CONV
teni *inu* *i* *gese*
then correct GEN like
Tv-*ra/-re/-ro i teile* "to the extent of … ;"
"If (he) asks you for (smth.) and if (you) give him what (you) have to please him, that will be all right" (PASH2:120; QW);
b) Tv-*ki serede*
belkutei *daha-ra* *urse* *afa-ki*
PN follow-PART people attack-OPT

se-re-de, belkutei bejihiye-me hendu-me …
say(AUX)-PART-DAT PN console-CONV say-CONV
"When people, who follow Belkutei, want to attack him, he says: ... " (PASH:10);
sakda ahūn i uttu aisila-me wehiye-me
old elder.brother/sir GEN like.this help-CONV support-CONV
ulin bu-ki se-re-de, ai gelhun akū
wealth give-OPT say(AUX)-PART-DAT what timid there.is.not
ali-me gai-rakū
accept-CONV take-PART(NEG)
gelhun akū "dare to …", "fearlessly" (NL:104);
"If you, elder brother (sir), wish to give me wealth to help me and support me, how can I dare not to accept (it)?" (ZAKH:202);
tere han loho be goci-fi saci-ki
this khan sword ACC pull.out-CONV hack-OPT
se-re-de tere han'i sargan
say(AUX)-PART-DAT this khan-GEN wife
han'i gala-deri jafa-ha
khan-GEN hand-SEP grasp-PART
"When khan, having pulled out the sword, wanted to hack (him), the khan's wife grasped the khan's hand" (SK:85).
The analytical construction Tv-*ki serede* is used to combine the meaning of desire together with conditional or temporal relationships between main and dependent clauses of a complex sentence.
c) Tv-*ha/-he/-ho sehede*
ere-ci sain ningge be sabu-ha se-he-de,
this-ABL good SBSTR ACC see-PART say(AUX)-PART-DAT
geli tere be sain, se-mbime, ere sain se-rakū
again that ACC good call-CONV this good say/call-PART(NEG)
kai
COP
"You call (thing) good, if you haven't seen anything better than it; when you again see something better, you will call it good and what you called good before you would not call good any longer" (PASH2:113; QW).
d) Tv-*rakū sehede*
doose hendu-me damu ardashūn banuhūn weile-me
Taoist.priest say-CONV only effeminate lazy work-CONV
jobo-ro de mute-rakū ayoo
suffer-PART DAT can-PART(NEG) not.likely

se-he-de, *mute-mbi* *se-me* *jabu-ha*
say(AUX)-PART-DAT can-IMPF say-CONV answer-PART
"When a Taoist priest said: (I am afraid) only that (you) might be lazy and effeminate, and not capable of doing hard work, (one) answered: (I) can" (PASH2:271; LD). In this sentence the analytical construction Tv-*rakū sehede* in combination with the word *ayoo* "not likely" is used to denote the modality of apprehension or "anxious expectation" (see also 5.8.3). Besides, the form of the imperfect participle in the dative (*sehede*) is used to denote the temporal relationships between principal and dependent clauses.
All constructions which have been noted above, include two components. However, in the case when one component that is a form of an autosemantic verb is analytical, the whole construction contains three components, for example: *ala-me bi-he bi-ci* (*o-ci*); *ala-ha bi-he bi-ci* (*o-ci*); *ala-ha bi-he bi-fi* (*o-fi); ala-ha bi-he bi-cibe* (*o-cibe*), etc.

Note should be taken that the verbs *bi-* "to be," "to exist;" *o-* "to be," "to become," and *se-* "to speak," "to say" may function not only within analytical constructions where the first component is expressed by an autosemantic verb, but with nouns where these verbs display their primary lexical meaning. Here are some examples:

jiha *akū* *o-fi* *tuttu* *uda-hakū*
money there.is.not be-CONV therefore buy-PART(NEG)
"Being without money, one didn't buy (smth.)" (ZAKH:192);
aika sain *bithe* *bi-ci*, *min-de* *emu udu* *debtelin* *be*
if good book be-CONV I-DAT one several volume ACC
juwen bu-fi *hūla-ki*
loan give -CONV read-OPT
juwen bu- "to lend," "to give on loan" (NL:168);
"If you have a good book (manuscript), please, lend me one or several volumes (of it) to read;"
ama-i *bisi-re-de* *gemu tere-i* *gūnin* *be*
father-GEN be-PART-DAT all that-GEN thought ACC
tuwa-mbi
look.at-IMPF
"If the father exists, all consider his thoughts (feelings)" (ZAKH:201; QW);
ulin *akū* *bi-cibe*, *jui bi*
property there.is.not be-CONV son COP
"Although there is no property, but there is a son" (ZAKH:205).

5.10. *Interrogative Forms of Verbs*

In Manchu there are a number of interrogative particles which combined with verbal forms, construct interrogative verbal forms, positive and negative. The interrogative particle ***ni*** may be written separately or together with the verbal form as one word. It is normally used at the end of a sentence or a period of speech:

*si ere be aibide baha-fi sa-ha bi-he-**ni***
you(SG) this ACC where can-CONV know-PART be(AUX)-PART-INT
"How could you know this?"

It should be mentioned that the universal interrogative particle *ni* is used not only after verbal forms but after nouns as well:

*ere ai turgun **ni***
this what reason INT
"What is the reason for this?" (ZAKH:216).

Following negative verbal forms, the interrogative particle *ni* changes into the element *n* which is written with the preceding verbal form as one: *akū* + *ni* > *akūn*. Here are some examples:

*si sabu-rakū-**n***
you(SG) see-PART(NEG)-INT
"Have not you seen?;"
*abka gala-rakū-**n***
sky clear.up-PART(NEG)-INT
"The sky has not cleared up, has it?;"
*gene-ki se-rakū-**n***
go-OPT say(AUX)-PART(NEG)-INT
"(You) want to go, don't you?" (ZAKH:216).

In the interrogative form the words *sain* "good," "well," *yargiyan* "true," "real," "truth," "reality" change into the forms *saiyūn* and *yargiyūn*: *si saiyūn* "How are you?;" *yargiyūn* "Is it true?".

The interrogative particle ***ni*** may be used to express an exclamation when it is expressed in the form of a question. Intonation plays an important role in the formation of these sentences, however,

it has never been studied in Manchu. Here are some examples:

*dule i tuba-de bi-he-**ni***
really he that.place-DAT be-PART-INT
"But he really was there?!";
suwem-be hendu-he-ngge, yala uthai
you(*suwe/suwen-* PL)-ACC speak-PART-NR indeed suddenly
*ji-he-**ni***
come-PART-INT
"(We) have been talking about you, and (you) suddenly came!;"
dule si uba-de bi-fi niyalma-i baru
this.way you(SG) this.place-DAT be-CONV people-GEN toward
*gisure-mbi **ni***
talk-IMPF INT
"This way you have stayed here and talk to people!" (ZAKH:219).

Attached to verbal forms, the interrogative particle *o* also serves to express a question. The following verbal forms may be followed by the interrogative particle ***o***: *-ha/-he/-ho + o > -hao/-heo/-hoo*; *-ra/-re/-ro + o > -rao/-reo/-roo*; *-mbi + o > -mbio*; *bi + o > bio*. Following the vowel *a*, *e* or *o*, this element is pronounced as [u], whereas following the vowel *i*, it sounds as [yu] (Zakharov, 1879:217). Here are some examples:

*ba-ha-**o*** "Didn't you get (smth.)?;"
*yabubu-ci ojo-ro-**o***
put.into.effect-CONV be(AUX)-PART-INT
"Is it possible to put into effect?;"
*ere gese geli kooli bi-**o***
this same also rule COP-INT
"Are there any rules of this type?;"
*tuba-de gene-ki se-mbi-**o***
that.place-DAT go-OPT say(AUX)-IMPF-INT
"Do you wish to go there?" (ZAKH:217);
sim-be geli niyalma se-ci
you(*si/sin-* SG)-ACC also human.being/man call-CONV
*o-mbi-**o***
be(AUX)-IMPF-INT
"Is it possible to call you a man?" (PASH1:54; QW).

The interrogative particle *o* may follow not only predicates expressed by verbal forms but also by other parts of speech, for example, nouns or pronouns. This happens in cases when the predicate is expressed by other parts of speech or there is no need to repeat the verbal form, as in the following examples:

geren niyalma dorgi fala-ci aca-ra-ngge
many people inside be.exiled-CONV meet(AUX)-PART-NR
*we-be-**o***
who-ACC-INT
Tv-*ci aca-* = should, ought, must;
"Of all people who must be exiled-CONV, whom?";
*tere niyalma horonggo-**o***
that man powerful-INT
"Is that man powerful or not?" (ZAKH:218).

To emphasize a question, a combination of the two interrogative particles is often used: *ni* + *o* > *nio*. The interrogative element *nio* is written separately from the preceding word. It is mostly used in sentences where there are no finite verbal forms:

*ere aika sin-i sa-ra-ngge **nio***
this something you(*si*/*sin-* SG)-GEN know-PART-NR INT
"Is it the (same) that you know?";
*ere sain akū **nio***
this good COP.NEG (there.is.not) INT
"This is not good, is it?" (ZAKH:217).

Two more interrogative verbal forms in *-mna* and *-cina* may be observed in samples of Sibe dialect recorded by V.V. Radlov and classical Manchu by Iv. Zakharov respectively. It is likely that these forms developed from the interrogative particle *na* combining with the imperfect and conditional converbs in the following fashion: *-me* + *na* > *-mna*; *-ci* + *na* > *-cina* (Lebedeva & Gorelova, 1994:83; Zakharov, 1879:180-1). Here are some examples from the Sibe dialect:

sue (ma. *suwe*) *sain'i bi-**mna***
you(PL) good-GEN be-INT

"You do live well, don't you?;"
sargan jui, muse jue (ma. *juwe*) *niyalma be*
female child we(INCL) two person ACC
*acabu-re arga baga-**mna***
join-PART way can-INT
"Girl, could you (find) a way to join both of us, a son and a mother?" (SK:83).

In Manchu, a question may be expressed by a specific syntactic construction, or by repeating verbal words, mostly participles, the first of them being used in the positive form and the other in the negative. In some cases, the last participle is followed by one of the interrogative particles. Thus, the following patterns of interrogative syntactic constructions can be found: Tv-*ra* Tv-*rakū*; Tv-*ra* Tv-*rakūn*; Tv-*ra* Tv-*rakū bio*; Tv-*ra* Tv-*rakū semeo*; Tv-*ra* Tv-*rakū nio*; Tv-*ha* Tv-*hakū;* Tv-*ha* Tv-*hakūn*; Tv-*ha* Tv-*hakūn biheo;* Tv-*mbi* Tv-*rakū;* Tv-*mbi* Tv-*rakūn*; Tv-*mbio* Tv-*rakūn*; Tv-*mbihe* Tv-*mbihekū*; Tv-*mbihe* Tv-*mbihekūn*. Here are some examples:

jide-re jide-rakū nio
come-PART come-PART(NEG) INT
"Will one come or not?"
gene-mbi gene-rakū-n
go-IMPF go-PART(NEG)-INT
"Does one go or not?"
songgo-ho songgo-hakū-n
cry-PART cry-PART(NEG)-INT
"Did one cry or not?" (ZAKH:218);
ce kemuni ji-mbi-o jide-rakū-n
they as.is.customary come-IMPF-INT come-PART(NEG)-INT
"Shall they come as is customary or not?" (ZAKH:217);
ši tuta-mna tuta-rakū
you(SG) stay.on-INT stay.on-PART(NEG)
"Will you stay (any longer) or not?" (SK:83).

A question is frequently expressed by the word *mujangga* "true," "real," "correct," "truly," "actually," "indeed" followed by the interrogative particle *o*: *mujanggao/mujanggo* "is it true that ... ?"; "can it be that ... ?" This interrogative word normally follows a participle in the negative form:

ojo-rakū *mujanggao*
be-PART(NEG) is.it.true.that?
"Is it true that it is impossible?" (ZAKH:218).

6. *Adverbs. Modes of Word Formation. Different Semantic Classes of Adverbs*

In Manchu adverbs form a grammatical class of words which denote attributes ascribed to a quality or an action. Adverbs are uninflected, i.e. they don't possess grammatical word forms, but are characterized by the lexical and derivative correlation with all grammatical classes of autonomous words and by the presence of particular morphemic means used for forming adverbs. The last characteristic is optional. The basic syntactic function of adverbs is the attributive one in the broad sense. That is the ability to modify verbs, other adverbs and, finally, the whole sentence.

From the point of view of historical morphology, all adverbs are divided into pronominal, nominal, and verbal. The pronominal adverbs are the most archaic ones: *uba* "here," *tuba* "there," *uttu* "like this," "so," "thus," *tuttu* "like that," "so," "thus." By their origin the majority of nominal adverbs are stereotyped case forms having chiefly spatial-temporal semantics such as the dative, the ablative, etc., for example: *dade* "originally," "at first," "in the beginning" (< *da* "root," "base," "foundation" + *de* = DAT); *babade* "everywhere" (< *ba ba* "every place," "everywhere" + *de* = DAT; *ba* "place"). Adverbs may arise from certain verbal forms, mostly converbs: *eitereme* "thoroughly," "generally," "in any case" (< *eite-* "to do thoroughly" + *me* = imperfect converb); *neneme* "formerly," "previously," "beforehand" (< *nene-* "to be first," "to be ahead" + *me* = imperfect converb).

In accordance with their derivative structure, all Manchu adverbs can be distributed amongst two groups. The first group includes adverbs devoid of symbolic value and the second one comprises derivative (with symbolic value) adverbs.

Adverbs belonging to the first group are represented by a small number of words. The majority of these words have lost the correlation with grammatical classes of words. At the same time, many of them, for example, those having semantics of place, are common for all Tungus-Manchu languages. The following adverbs may be considered as non-derived: *ne* "now," "at present," "current;"

te "now," "at present;" *teni* "just," "then and only then," "for the first time;" *uthai* "then," "thereupon," "at once," "immediately;" *doigon* "beforehand," "previously;" *erde* "early," "early in the morning;" *sikse* "yesterday;" *uba* "here;" *tuba* "there;" *tule* "outside;" *ambula* "greatly," "very much;" *asuru* "very," "exceedingly;" *kejine* "a lot;" *umesi* "very," "to a high degree" (*umesi* and *asuru* are used only with adjectives, *kejine* and *ambula* are used with adjectives as well as verbs); *labdu* "many," "much;" *komso* "few," "little," "a little;" *majige* "a little," "a little bit;" *uttu* "so," "thus," "like this;" *tuttu* "so," "thus," "like that;" *gese* "like," "same;" *emgi*, *sasa* "together;" *geli* "also," "still," "again;" *esi* "certainly," "of course," etc.

As shown in 2.2, object nouns that have time, place or cause semantics may function in a sentence as adverbial modifiers of time, place or manner. On the grounds that they may act as functional analogues of adverbs, these nouns are often ascribed to this part of speech. They are nouns denoting various notions related to time (seasons, times of day, etc.): *inenggi* "day," "in the day-time," "by day;" *dobori* "night," "at night;" *yamji* "evening," "in the evening;" *cimari* "morning," "tomorrow;" *coro* "after tomorrow;" *niyengniyeri* "spring," "in spring;" *juwari* "summer," "in summer;" *bolori* "autumn," "fall," "in autumn;" *tuweri* "winter," "in winter," etc. The following object nouns are related to orientation in space: *dergi* "top," "head," "east," "upper;" "above," "over;" *fejergi* "bottom," "underneath;" *dorgi* "the inner part," "inside;" *tulergi* "the outer part," "outside;" *amargi* "back," "north," "behind;" *julergi* "front," "south," "in front of;" *cargi* "that side," "opposite," "beyond;" *wargi* "west," "right (side)," "underneath," "under;" *hanci* "nearness," "closeness," "near," "close," "close by;" *goro* "distance," "distant," "far," "far-away," "far off," "a long way off," "far (from)."

Motivated adverbs are characterized by a distinct correlation with other grammatical classes of autonomous words. It is possible to distinguish the following subgroups of derivative adverbs which are formed from nominal and pronominal words:

1) adverbs derived from nominal words by the marker of the genitive: *butui* "secretly" (< *butu* "dark," "hidden," "secret" + *i* = GEN); *cihai* "as one wishes," "according to one's desires" (< *ciha* "wish," "desire" + *i* = GEN); *kemuni* "often," "still," "yet" (< *kemun* "measure," "model," "rule," "regulation" + *i* = GEN); *manggai* "merely," "simply" (< *mangga* "hard," "difficult" + *i* = GEN).

In the structure of some adverbs of this group, one can easily recognize the genitive case marker although nominal words with the same stems but without this marker cannot be found in the language: *balai* "in vain," "vainly," "carelessly," "falsely," "unreasonably;" *gaitai* "suddenly," "by chance;" *uthai* "then," "thereupon," "immediately," "at once;"

2) adverbs derived from nouns (including those that have semantics of place) by the marker of the dative: *dade* "originally," "at first," "in the beginning" (< *da* "root," "base," "foundation" + *de* = DAT); *fejergide* "underneath" (< *fegergi* "underneath" + *de* = DAT); *dergide* "above" (< *dergi* "top," "above," "over," "upper," "east" + *de* = DAT); *dorgide* "inside" (< *dorgi* "the inner part," "inner," "inside" + *de* = DAT); *tulergide* "outside" (< *tulergi* "the outer part," "outer," "outside" + *de* = DAT);

3) pronominal adverbs derived from pronominal words by the marker of the dative: *ubade* "at this place," "here" (< *uba* "here" + *de* = DAT); *tubade* "at that place," "there" (< *tuba* "there" + *de* = DAT); *aide* "where?," "whither?," "why?," "how?" (< *ai* "what?," which?," "how?" + *de* = DAT); *aibade*, *aibide* "where?" (< *aiba*, *aibi* "where?" + *de* = DAT);

4) pronominal adverbs derived from pronominal words by the marker of the ablative: *ereci* "after this," "hence," "from this" (< *ere* "this" + *ci* = ABL); *tereci* "after that," "then," "from that" (< *tere* "that" + *ci* = ABL); *ubaci* "hence," "from here " (*uba* "here" + *ci* = ABL); *tubaci* "thence," "from there" (< *tuba* "there" + *ci* = ABL); *aibaci*, *aibici* "whence?," "from where?" (< *aiba*, *aibi* "where?" + *ci* = ABL);

5) adverbs derived from nouns, mostly from those that have semantics of time, by the postposition *dari* "each," "every:" *inenggidari* "every day," "daily;" *biyadari* "every month," "monthly;" *aniyadari* "every year," "yearly;" *mudandari* "every time;"

6) quantitative adverbs derived from numerals by the dative: *emu de* (*oci*) "in the first place" (< *emu* "one" + *de* = DAT); *jaide* "in the second place" (< *jai* "second" + *de* = DAT);

7) other quantitative adverbs are formed by adding the words *geri* (*nggeri*) "time," "number of times;" *jergi*, *mari, mudan* "time" and the

postposition *dari* "each," "every" to numerals: *emgeri*, *emu mudan*, *emu mari* "once;" *juwenggeri*, *juwe mudan* "twice;" *ilanggeri* "thrice," etc.;

8) adverbs derived from nouns by adding the negative particle *akū*: *derakū* "without shame," "without face" (*dere* "face," "reputation"); *erin akū* "never" (*erin* "time"); *fahūn akū* "without courage" (*fahūn* "courage"); *fakjin akū* "without support," "helpless" (*fakjin* "support"); *hercun akū* "inattentive," "not paying attention" (*hercun* "attention").

Adverbs may be formed from verbal forms:

1) adverbs derived from participles by the marker of the dative: *emembihede* (< *ememu* "some" + *bihe* = perfect participle from the verb *bi-* "to be," "to exist" + *de* = DAT);

2) used permanently in the adverbial function, some imperfect converbs (form in *-me*) shifted their category status from converbs to adverbs: *ambarame* "extraordinarily," "extremely" (*ambara-* "to do on a large scale"); *aname* "in order," "in sequence," "one after another," "one by one" (*ana-* "to push," "to extend," "to appoint"); *bireme* "completely," "thoroughly," "universally" (*bire-* "to rush (into)," "to roll (dough, seed, etc.)," "to attack"); *eitereme* "generally," "in any case," "thoroughly" (*eitere-* "to do thoroughly," "to do repeatedly"); *dahime* "again" (*dahi-* "to repeat," "to do again"); *hahilame* "fast," "quickly," "urgently" (*hahila-* "to act guickly or urgently," "to hurry"); *neneme* "formerly," "previously," "beforehand" (*nene-* "to be first," "to be ahead"); *nurhūme* "connected," "in a row," "in a series" (*nurhū-* "to be connected," "to be in series"). It appears that the pronominal adverbs *adarame* "how?," "why?" and *enteheme* "eternally," "always" can be included in this group, however, the verbal stems from which they are formed, are unknown.

3) used permanently in the adverbial function, some perfect converbs (form in *-fi*) shifted from converbs to adverbs: *toktofi* "certainly," "surely," "without fail" (*tokto-* "to fix," "to settle," "to determine," "to decide");

4) used permanently in the adverbial function, some converbs in *-tai/-tei/-toi* shifted their category status from converbs to the class of adverbs: *banitai* "by nature," "inborn" (*bani-* "to live," "to be born"); *biretei* "totally," "universally," "completely" (*bire-* "to rush (into)," "to

roll (dough, seed, etc.)," "to attack"); *bucetei* "until death," "scorning death," "to the last," "desperately" (*buce-* "to die"); *cohotoi* "especially," "particularly" (*coho-* "to do especially, "to consider as the most important aspect"); *faršatai* "fearlessly," "recklessly," "without heed for life" (*farša-* "to risk one's life," "to act carelessly"); *šanggatai* "finally," "indeed," "actually" (*šangga-* "to finish," "to terminate successfully," "to be accomplished"); *waliyatai* "to the death," "without regard for one's own safety" (*waliyata-* "to fling about," "to lose (face)," "to throw around)." The adverb *entehetei* "forever" presumably has the same origin.

5) negative forms of the imperfect participle very often undergo adverbialization: *cikirakū* "not snugly fitting" (< *ciki-* "to insert or attach snugly," "to fit exactly" + *rakū* = negative form of the imperfect participle); *lakcarakū* "uninterruptedly" (< *lakca-* "to break off" + *rakū* = negative form of the imperfect participle); *baktarakū* "extremely" (< *bakta-* "to contain," "to encompass" + *rakū* = negative form of the imperfect participle).

Derivative adverbs are formed on the basis of the non-derived ones and nouns that have semantics of place:

1) pronominal adverbs derived by the suffix *-si*: *absi* "how?," "where to?," "whither?" (*aba* "where?"); *uttusi* "in this direction," "over here" (*uttu* "like this"); *tuttusi* "in that direction" (*tuttu* "like that"); *gūwabsi* "to another place," "elsewhere" (< *gūwa* "other," "another" + *ba* "place" + *si*);

2) the same suffix *-si* can be seen in the structure of the following adverbs with semantics of place: *amasi* "backward," "to the back," "toward the back;" *casi* "in that direction," "thither," "there" (*cala* "over there," "on the other side," "previously"); *desi* "upward;" *julesi* "forward," "southward;" *tulesi* "outward," "toward the outside," "inside out" (*tule* "outside");

3) some adverbs that have semantics of place contain the suffix *-ri* in their structure: *deleri* "on top" (*dele* "top," "on top"); *dolori* "inside" (*dolo* "inside," "the inside," "inner"); *juleri* "in front;" *oilori* "on the surface," "on the outside" (*oilo* "surface," "outside").

Adverbs with semantics of place seemingly preserved the ancient

case markers in their structure. These markers are absent both from classical Manchu and the Sibe dialect. The suffix *-si* ~ *-ši* ~ *-hi* ~ *-ki* ~ *-gi* was presumably formerly a marker of the directive, and the suffix *-ri* < *-li* was a marker of the prolative. The suffix *-ri* is, by its origin, a component of the composite suffix *-deri* (the separative in classical Manchu, and the ablative in Sibe) (Lebedeva & Gorelova, 1994:88).

4) the suffix *-hun/-hūn* is also used to derive adverbs with semantics of place: *fusihūn* "down," "downward," "westward;" *wasihūn* "down," "downward," "westward;" *wesihun* "up," "upward," "eastward." The suffix *-hun/-hūn* is typical for nouns with semantics of quality, and it is evidence of what suggests a rather complicated path of development of these adverbs. Presumably, the nouns *fusihūn*, *wasihūn*, *wesihun* were derived from the adverbial words *fusi*, *wasi* and *wesi* respectively, and then, being used as adverbial modifires of place, they shifted to adverbs.

The adverbs *wasi* "downward" and *wesi* "upward" have been preserved in the Sibe dialect (Lebedeva & Gorelova, 1994:88). Here is one example:

deši waši tua-ci (ma. *tuwa-*), *umai jaka sabu-rakū*
upward downward look-CONV NEG thing see-PART(NEG)
"When having a look upward and downward, (one) saw nothing" (SK:88).

It is interesting to note that adverbs can also be derived by adding the words *seme* or *sere*, by origin the impefect converb and the imperfect participle, respectively, of the verb *se-* "to say," "to mean," to the onomatopoeic words: *bodor seme* "mumbling through the teeth" (*bodor* = the sound of mumbling); *bur bur seme* "gurgling forth," "swelling up (of a water spring)" (*bur bur* = the sound of a water running out of a spring); *dar seme* "shivering" (*dar* = the sound of shaking from cold or fright); *fiyak fik seme* "suddenly," "with sudden movements," "without deliberation" (*fiyak fik* = the sound of jumping from the bush); *fer far seme* "weakly," "fluttering slowly like a butterfly in flight" (*fer far* = the sound of a butterfly or a bird fluttering); *gang gang seme* "like wild geese crying" (*gang gang* = the sound of a flock of wild geese calling); *hei hai seme* "crying," "with cry" (*hei hai* = the sound of crying); *hiyor hiyar seme* "neighing," "strongly," "obstinately" (*hiyor hiyar* = the sound of a horse neighing); *hūwasa hisa seme* "stepping on

dry leaves" (*hūwasa hisa* = the sound of stepping on dry leaves); *je ja seme* "screaming," "shouting loudly" (*je ja* = the sound made by men working); *kaka kiki seme* "laughing," "with a laugh" (*kaka kiki* = the sound of happy laughter); *kalar seme* "kindly," "courteously," "harmoniously;" *kohong kohong seme* "coughing," "with cough" (*kohong kohong* = the sound of repeated coughing); *konggir seme* "ringing," "tinkling" (*konggir* = the sound of a small bell); *mung mang seme* "lowing," "bellowing," "roaring" (*mung mang* = the sound made by cattle or deer); *putur seme* "drop by drop," "bit by bit," "gradually," "unevenly" (*putu*r = the sound of a large bird taking off); *sir siyar*, *sir sar seme* "walking slowly" (*sir siyar*, *sir sar* = the sound of grass and leaves moving slightly), etc. This derivational pattern is very productive since the onomatopoeic words are very diverse and widespread in Manchu. From the synchronic point of view, the words *seme* and *sere* merely signal the fact that onomatopoeic words are used in the adverbial function. Originally the combination of onomatopoeic words with word forms *seme* or *sere* literally meant: speaking like this (that), speaking in this (that) way. Here are examples:

ere dobori emu jaka tok tak seme uyunggeri tanta-ha
this night one thing ONMT say-CONV nine.times strike-PART
"This night one thing struck nine times with the sound "*tok tak*" (the sound of repeatedly striking a hollow wooden object);"
arkan seme jabu-re sagda (ma. *sakda*) *mama i*
barely say-CONV go-PART old old.woman GEN
adali o-hobi
like become-PAST
"[They] became like an old woman who barely moved" (SK:90).

From both the semantic and syntactic points of view all adverbs can be divided into two groups, namely qualitative and non-qualitative (adverbs of circumstance). The qualitative adverbs denote the quality of an attribute or an action. The adverbs of circumstance denote temporal, spatial, causal or final relationships which are specified in such terminological word-combinations as adverbs of time, adverbs of place, adverbs of cause, adverbs of purpose, adverbs of manner, and adverbs of degree. In accordance with their semantics, all adverbs can be divided into the following semantic subgroups:

1) Adverbs that have semantics of qualitative evaluation. Most specialists include nouns with semantics of quality in this group of adverbs. Some examples of these are: *sain* "good," "well;" *ehe* "bad," "evil," "badly;" *tob* "straight," "upright," "right," "just;" *getuken* "clear," "lucid," "understandable," "clearly;" *arsari* "ordinary," "common," "everyday," "commonplace," "commonly;" *enggici* "secret," "secretly," "privately," etc. These nouns cannot be considered as adverbs proper although they are frequently used to indicate the quality of an attribute or an action. Here are some more adverbs belonging to this semantic group: *acu facu* "with loving tenderness;" *mekele* "in vain," "vainly," "emptily," "merely." Many qualitative adverbs originated from imperfect converbs. The latter, being permanently used in the function of adverbial modifiers, shifted their category status from converbs to adverbs: *dahūme*, *dasame* "again;" *dabume* "including," "comprising;" *enculeme* "separately," "in addition," etc.

2) Adverbs that have semantics of quantitative evaluation. This subgroup comprises the following quantitative adverbs: *labdu* "many," "much;" *komso* "few," "little," "a little;" *ududu* "several," "a number of;" *utala* "so many (much) as this;" *tutala* "so many (much) as that;" *heni*, *majige* "a little," "a bit;" *daruhai* "often," "continually," "regularly;" *tongga* "rare," "rarely," "few," "seldom;" *dabali* "excessively," "exceeding," "too;" *dembei* "greatly," "in high degree," exceedingly;" *elemangga* "on the other hand," "on the contrary," "still more," "especially;" *fulu* "excelling," "surpassing," "better;" *hon* "very," "most," "too;" *jaci* "frequently," "too," "very;" *nememe* "moreover," "on the contrary," "especially;" *umesi* "very," "to a high degree." Numeral (number) adverbs can also be included in this subgroup. That is adverbs which semantically and formally coincide with several subgroups of numerals and denote the so-called "coefficient of repitition": *emgeri* "once," *juwenggeri* "twice," *ilanngeri* "three times," etc., as well as collectivity: *juwenofi* (*juwe nofi*) "two persons," "two people," "the two of (us, you, them)," "both (of);" *ilanofi* "the three of (us, you, them)," etc. (see Section 3 on Numerals). Those derived from numerals by words *mari*, *mudan* "time (as in one time, two times, etc.)," *dari* "each," "every" (postposition) also belong to this group of adverbs: *biyadari* "every month," "monthly;" *inenggidari* "every day," "daily;" *mudandari* "every time;" *emu mari* "once," "one time;" *juwe mari* "two times;" *ilan mari* "three times," etc.

3) Adverbs that have semantics of time: *ne* "now," "at present" "currently;" *te* "now," "at present;" *dade* "at first," "in the beginning," "originally;" *neneme* "formerly," "previously," "beforehand;" *amala* "after," "later;" *aifini* "a long time before," "much earlier;" *jakan* "just now," "not long (in duration)," "recently;" *emembihede* "sometimes," "now and then," "at times;" *erde* "early," "early in the morning;" *enenggi* "today;" *coro* "the day after tomorrow;" *sikse* "yesterday;" *cananggi* "the day before yesterday," "previously;" *doigonde* "beforehand," "previously;" *uthai* "at once," "immediately;" *amasi* "after," "henceforth;" *erileme* "at the right time," "on time," "from time to time."

4) Adverbs that have semantics of place. Three subgroups can be distinguished amongst adverbs of place semantics. Those belonging to the first subgroup are used to indicate the location of an object with non-motion verbs, for example: *eri* "this is here;" *uba* "here;" *tuba* "there," *tule* "outside;" *dele* "on top;" *fejile* "under," "underneath;" *juleri* "in front;" *amala* "behind;" *bakcin* "opposite;" *babade* "everywhere." Adverbs belonging to the second subgroup are used to indicate the place from where an object moves. These words may be defined as pronominal adverbs with deictic meaning: *ubaci* "from here;" *tubaci* "from there;" *aibaci*, *aibici* "from where." Adverbs belonging to the third subgroup are used to indicate the place where an object moves to: *ubade* "to this place," "here;" *tubade* "to that place," "there;" *absi* "to where;" *gūwabsi* "to another place," "elsewhere"[12]. The fourth subgroup includes adverbs indicating the place along or through which an object moves: *alirame* "along a mountain;" *bigarame* "through the wilds," "across the wilderness;" *butereme* "along the mountain's foot;" *dalbarame* "along the side;" *dalirame* "along the shore," "along a riverbank;" *golorome* "through other provinces," "across other provinces."

7. *Interjections and Onomatopoeic Words*

Interjections take special place amongst other grammatical classes of autonomous words. One group of interjections serve to express emotions. The following interjections are used to denote affection,

[12] Norman in his *Lexicon* gives other translations of the forms "*ubade*" and "*tubade*," i.e. as "at this place" and "at that place" respectively (NL:290, 281).

surprise or praise: *ai*, *adada ebebe* = an exclamation of surprise; *adage* = an exclamation of affection used when patting an old person or a child on the back; *ajaja* = an exclamation of affection; *aya* = an interjection of praise or surprise. The interjections *a*, *ak*, *ok* are used to express fear or fright. The interjections *a*, *ara*, *ara fara*, *are* serve to express pain, grief or regret; *ake* is used when touching something hot. The interjection *ei* is a signal of derision. Another group of interjections is used as signals of volitional inducements. Thus, the interjections *ei*, *oi* are used to attract attention. The interjection *ma* is used when handing something to another person. The interjection of response is *a*, and *a a* is an interjection of casual response. The interjections *en*, *en en seme*, *je* are used to answer affirmatively. The exclamations *gūi gūi*, *gūje* are used to call a falcon, and *wer wer* is used to call a dog. The interjection *a si* is used for driving chickens or birds, and *cu* is used to set a dog on someone or thing. The latter also means "get out!" The interjections *takasu* and *takūlu* mean "wait a moment," "just a moment."

A number of interjections can reveal different meanings depending on what sensations are caused by a certain action. Thus, according to Zakharov, the interjection *a* may express fear, as well as response or affirmation; the interjection *ai* is used to express pain, as well as surprise; the interjection *aya* is a signal of surprise, as well as fear or pain; the interjection *e* is used as an exclamation of affirmation or response; the interjection *ei* serves to express fear or for calling people's attention (Zakharov, 1879: 315). According to Norman, the interjection *a* serves to express fear or response, *e* is used as an exclamation of surprise or exasperation, as well as for getting someone's attention; the interjection *ei* is used for getting attention or as a signal of derision (NL:3, 69, 71). It is important to note that all interjections are characterized by syntactic isolation and absence of formal links witn preceding and following elements in the spoken chain.

Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish interjections from onomatopoeic words. Thus, Zakharov classified the language elements *ei ei* and *kaka kiki* as interjections used to express laughter, while Norman defines these entities as onomatopoeic words: *ei ei* = a sound of a derisive laughter, and *kaka kiki* = a sound of happy laughter (Zakharov, 1879:315; NL:71, 170). Undoubtedly, these language entities are related to the expression of laughter.

The onomatopoeic words are ascribed to the interjections by

tradition because of lack of precise creteria for distinguishing them, although it seems that in Manchu most onomatopoeic words can be clearly distinguished from interjections on semantic grounds. Onomatopoeic words are extremely widespread in Manchu, and a great number of such words had been fixed by the time Zakharov's *Lexicon* was published. Many of them can be also found in Norman's *Lexicon*. An impressive quantity of significant language material is presented in the article published by G. Stary. He has also described several important patterns according to which new verbs had been derived from onomatopoeic words in Manchu (Stary, 1981:209-22).

Onomatopoeic words express attitudes of human beings and all living creatures caused by certain actions or states as well as states of inanimate objects which are in motion. Though their semantics is rather vague, they express a certain sort of propositional content. They refer to the situation (the state of affairs) as a whole when the subject and the predicate do not constitute separate parts of the utterance.

In his Grammar, Zakharov distinguished 29 subgroups of most frequently used onomatopoeic words (Zakharov, 1879:315-20). According to him, the onomatopoeic words may express the following types of sounds caused by different actions of all living creatures including human beings as well as by moving of inanimate objects (with meanings as given in Norman's *Lexicon*):

1) cough: *keng* = the sound of coughing; *keng kang* = the sound of many people coughing or clearing their throats; *kohong kohong*, *korkong korkong* = the sound of repeated coughing;
2) vomiting: *ok*, *or*;
3) snoring: *ko ka* = the sound of sniffing or snoring; *kor* = the sound made when something gets caught in the throat; *hir har* = the sound of wheezing in the throat or snoring; *kūr kar* = the sound made when there is phlegm in the throat;
4) spitting and clearing one's throat: *hak* = the sound of clearing one's throat; *pei* = the sound of spitting; *pei pai* = the sound of repeated spitting; *piyas pis* = the sound of spitting to show contempt;
5) breathing and sighing: *šuwang šang* = the sound of sighing and groaning; *ha* = the sound made by breathing on frozen objects; *he fa* = the sound of gasping, panting; *ho ha* = the sound of sighing made by a tired person; *pu* = the sound of blowing with the mouth; *pu pur* = the sound made when blowing out the fire;

6) crying, weeping or moaning: *hei hai* = the sound of crying; *u u* = the sound of weeping; *gar gar* = the sound made by a small baby; *miyang* = the sound of a child's crying; *miyang ming* = the sound of many children crying; *miyar mir* = the sound of children crying; *miyar miyar* = the sound made by a baby crying;
7) talking, muttering, murmuring: *badar* = the sound of speaking without due deliberation, speaking wildly; *bar bar*, *bar bir*, *ger*, *gur*, *lor* = the sound of many people tallking together; *dur* = the sound of many people talking or laughing;
8) shouting of different nature: *ang* = a scream used in battle; *ar* = the sound of calling or shouting; *gar* = the sound of shouting; *gar gar* = the sound made by a small baby; *gar gir* = the sound made by a group of people arguing; *ger gar*, *tek tak* = the sound of shouting and quarreling; *ja ji* = the sound made by many people screaming; *jar*, *je ja* = the sound made by men working; *jor* = the sound of many humans screaming; *jor jar* = the sound of people screaming; *kū ca* = the sound of fighting; *kūwak cak* = the sound of fighting with poles or sticks;
9) being squeamish: *ek* = the sound made when one is squeamish;
10) stammering, stuttering: *keke kaka*;
11) chuckling or snorting: *for for*, *hiyor hiyar* = the sound made by a horse snorting or neighing; *hor* = the sound of neighing, whinnying; *kus* = the sound made when one is not able to keep from laughing; *pus* = the sound of bursting out laughing; *sur suk* = the sound of chuckling;
12) noise and rustle made by walking: *bir biyar* = the sound made by many people going in a body (according to Norman, *bir biyar* imitates the sound made by hanging to the floor (of clothing); NL:30); *hūwasa hisa* = the sound made by stepping on dry leaves; *hūwar hir* = the sound of clothing rubbing together; *kata kiti* = the sound of shoes treading on a hard surface; *kutu kata* = the sound on walking feet; *kafur* = the sound of walking on ice or snow (crunching); *kafur kifur* = the sound made in stepping on ice or snow; *kūwas kis* = the sound made by someone dragging his feet; *picik pacak* = the sound of walking in mud;
13) shivering, shaking from cold or fright: *dar*; *dordon dardan*;
14) shouting or roaring of animals and barking of dogs: *ang ang* = the sound made by camels and donkeys; *fer fer* = the sound of yelping dogs; *ger* = the sound made by snarling dogs; *giyang* = the sound of a dog barking; *gur* = the sound of snarling, growling; *jor* = the sound

of many dogs, chickens or animals screaming; *miyang ming*, *miyar miyar* = the sound made by the young of deer, roe and sheep*; mung mang* = the sound made by cattle or deer; 15) singing, chirrupping, screaming of birds, crowing of roosters: *fer far* = the sound of a butterfly or a bird fluttering; *gang gang* = the sound of a flock of wild geese calling; *gar gir* = the sound made by a flock of crows; *giyar giyar*, *giyar gir* = the sound made by monkeys and birds; *giyong* = the sound made by the wings of a phoenix in flight; *goko* = the sound of chickens cackling; *gon gan* = the cry of a goose or swan; *gūli gali* = the call of the oreole; *gūwar gūwar* = the cry of ducks, frogs or doves; *ja ja* = the sound made by a bird when it is caught; *jak jik* = the sound of birds screaming in flight; *jang jing* = the sound made by birds looking for one another; *jar jir* = the sound made by birds early in the morning; *jing yang* = the sound of birds singing harmoniously; *jor jar* = the sound of birds screaming; *kiyar* = the sound made by a wild hawk; *kiyar kir* = the cry of alarm made by birds of prey and martens; *kior* = the sound of a bird taking off suddenly; *kotor* = the sound of pheasants flying or taking off; *kotor katar* = the sound of a flock of pheasants flying; *per par* = the sound of birds beating their wings; *potor patar* = the sound of a group of birds flying; *pur* = the sound of birds taking flight; *putur, putur potar* = the sound of a large bird taking off; *yur yar* = the sound of birds flying in row (in file);
16) sounding of various insects: *jar*, *jar jar*, *jir jir* = the sounds made by crickets; *jar jir*, *jor jar* = the sound of grasshoppers and other insects flying; *per par* = the sound of insects beating their wings; *per pir* = the sound of a grasshopper taking off; *piyang* = the sound of crickets chirping; *sar sar* = the sound of grasshoper flying, the sound of insects chirping; *yang ing* = the sound of insects flying;
17) jingling, ringing, tinkling of bells, drums, etc.: *cang cang*, *cang cing*, *kanggir kinggir*, *tang tang* = the sound of bells; *jing jiyang* = the sound of flutes and stone bells; *hanggir hinggir* = the tinkle of bracelets and anclets; *holor halar* = the sound of many bells; *kalang*, *kalang kiling* = the sound of metal or stone objects banging together; *kalar kalar* = the sound of metal objects hitting one another; *kalar kilir* = the sound of keys or small bells jingling; *kanggir* = the sound of metal or porclain falling; *kiyalang* = the sound of a single bell; the sound of metal colliding with another object; *konggir* = the sound of a small bell; *konggir kanggir* = the sound of many small bells; *kung cang*, *kūwang cang* = the sound of drums and cymbals; *kutur* = the sound of incessant drumbeating; *šak šik* = the sound of tingling; *tang ting* = the sound

of hitting iron; *tong tong* = the sound of a shaman's drum; *tung tang* = the sound of bells and drums; *tung tung* = the sound of a drum; *ung* = the sound of a bell; *yang yang* = the sound of bells ringing;
18) beating, chopping, hitting, striking: *cing cang* = the sound of chipping wood and ice; *giyok* = the sound of crashing; *hob*, *kūwas* = the sound of chopping wood; *kūwata kiti* = the sound of a hard object striking something; *piyak* = the sound of slapping; *pok* = the sound of hitting something; *šuwak* = the sound of hitting with a whip; *šuwak šik* = the sound of several whips striking; *tak* = the sound made by hitting something solid; *tak tik* = the sound made when chopping wood; *tang ting* the sound of chopping a tree; *tok* = the sound of striking a hollow wooden object; *tok tok* = the sound of repeatedly striking a hollow wooden object; *yak* = the sound made by a whip;
19) flaming, blazing; firing muskets; exploding firecrackers; breaking dried wood; mowing with a sickle, tearing clothing, etc.: *cur* = the sound of a rocket flying; *cur car* = the sound of firecrackers and rockets; *hūng* = the sound of a fire; *hūr*, *hūr hūr* = the sound of blazing, flaming; *kes* = the sound made by a knife, sharp, shear when cutting off; *kes kes* = the sound of breaking dried wood or brushwood; *kifur kiyafur* = the sound of crunching or gnashing; *kiyak* = the sound of dried wood breaking; *kiyak kik* = the sound of a large tree splitting; *kūwang* = the sound of knocking on wood; the sound of explosion; *kūwas kis* = the sound of a breaking stick; the sound of a sickle mowing; *pak* = the sound of exploding firecrackers; *pak pik* = the sound of many small firecrackers going off; *pes* = the sound of something soft being torn or broken; *pes pas* = the sound of something soft ripping; *pus pos* = the sound of silk or leather tearing; *tes* = the sound of rope, thread, or a leather thong breaking under stress; *tur tar* = the sound of a muskets firing;
20) breaking, crunching, gritting: *fasar*, *feser* = the sound of breaking something into many pieces; *kafur kifur* = the sound of crunching on teeth; *kakūr* = the sound of gritting the teeth; *katur* = the sound of crunching; *katur kitur* = the sound of eating hard brittle things (like ice); *kete kata* = the sound of dried fruits and biscuits eaten by children; *kiyas* = the sound of something brittle breaking; *kiyatur kitur* = the sound of clods being crushed under wagon wheels; *piyas* = the sound of breaking, splitting;
21) noise made by something falling on the earth, on the floor, in water: *fak fik*, *pata piti* = the sound of fruit falling from a tree; *fatak* = the sound of falling objects; *hūwalar hilir* = the sound of fishnets

in water; *kanggir* = the sound of metal or pocelain falling; *kanggūr* = the sound of a wall falling; *kanggūr kinggūr* = the sound of a large structure collapsing; *katak kitik* = the sound of an object falling from a high place; *kung*, *kutung* = the sound of a large object falling to the ground; *pak* = the sound made by a hard object falling on the floor; *sar sar*, *sar sir* = the sound of leaves falling;
22) noise made by wind: *hoo*, *hoo hio* = the sound of the wind blowing violently; *hūwasar* = the sound made by desiccated plants in the wind; *šeo ša* = the sound made by the wind blowing; *šor šar* = the sound of a storm, the sound of wind and rain;
23) noise made by a thing being dragged, or drawn: *fasak* = the sound made by a beast or a bird suddenly emerging from a thicket; *fosok* = the sound of a wild beast leaping from cover; *hoso hasa* = the sound of shaking paper; *hūwar* = the sound of a thing being dragged on the ground; *kūwas kis* = the sound of dragging sacks of grain on a floor; *šuwar* = the sound of a sword being drawn from a scabbard, a snake moving rapidly, or an arrow passing through the air;
24) noise made by water: *bur bur* = the sound of water gurgling forth, of a water spring swelling out; *busu busu* = the sound of a rain; *cor* = the sound of water gushing forth uninterruptedly; *fotor*, *jir jir* = the sound of water bubbling; *hūng hiyong* = the sound of the tide; *hūwalar* = the sound of wading in water, the sound of flowing water, the sound of splashing; *hūwanggar* = the sound when it is raining copiously; *hūwanggar hūwalar* = the sound of water roaring and splashing; *konggor* = the sound of pouring water; *pocok*, *pocong* = the sound of things hitting the water; *tab*, *tab tib* = the sound of dripping water; *yur yur* = the sound of rippling water when flowing;
25) noise made by running horses, carts, or people: *hūng hiong* = the sound of running horses; *kakūng kikung* = the sound made by a heavily loaded cart or by a heavy load; *ketek katak* = the sound of cart wheels on a rough surface; *kiyakūng*, *kiyakūng kikung* = the sound made by a heavily loaded wagon, with a rumbling sound; *kiyatur kitur* = the sound of clods being crushed under wagon wheels; *kunggur* = the sound made by empty wagons;
26) piercing some object throughout: *cos* = the sound of ricocheting or rebounding; *kiyob*, *kob* = the sound of arrow piercing a target; *pos* = the sound of an arrow piercing an object; *pus* = the sound of piercing something; *tos* = the sound made by an arrow or other like implement piercing some object cleanly;
27) the sound of thunder: *kunggur* = the sound of heavy thunder;

kunggur kanggar = the sound of thunder; *kiyatar* = the sound of roaring of thunder;
28) snapping at each other: *kab* = the sound of snapping, beating of a pack of dogs; *kab kib* = snapping at each other of dogs fighting or beating;
29) the sound of something sizzling when frying: *car cir.*

Many of the above listed onomatopoeic words are polysemantic to a high degree, for example: the word *ha* may imitate the sounds 1) made by breathing on frozen objects, 2) made when eating something hot or salty, 3) the cry of a bird of prey when it sees a man; the word combination *hūng hiyong* may imitate the sound: 1) of the tide, 2) of running horses; the word *jar* may imitate the sounds 1) made by men working hard, 2) made by crickets, 3) made by a bone-headed arrow; the word combination *kūwas kis* imitates the sounds 1) made by someone dragging his feet, 2) of a sickle mowing, 3) of dragging sacks of grain on a floor, 4) of a breaking stick (NL:120, 140, 156, 183).

As one can see from the above material, most interjections are monosyllabic, while most onomatopoeic words are disyllabic with the second syllable closed, ending in the sounds *b*, *k* (a letter rendering this sound is *k* with two dots), *ng*, *r* or *s*.

Many onomatopoeic words are formed by repeating the same word (or element): *cang cang* (the sound of bells); *kohong kohong* (the sound of repeated coughing); *kalar kalar* (the sound of metal objects hitting one another); *sar sar* (the sound of grasshoppers flying). The others are formed by adding the second element which includes vowels opposed to those of the first one. In other words, if the first word (element) contains back vowels the second has front (or neutral) vowels and *vice versa.* Two elements may have different vowels, for example: *her har* (the sound of clearing one's throat); *je ja* (the sound made by men working); *keng kang* (the sound of many people coughing or clearing their throats); *kaka kiki* (the sound of happy laughter); *kunggur kanggar* (the sound of thunder); *pak pik* (the sound of many small firecrackers going off); *tab tib* (the sound of dripping water); *šor šar* (the sound of a storm, also of wind and rain).

As mentioned in Section 6, adverbs may be formed by adding the word form *seme* (originally the imperfect converb derived from the verb *se-* "to say") to an onomatopoeic word, for example: the onomatopoeic word *ar* imitates the sound of calling or shouting, and the adverb *ar seme* means "shouting loudly;" the onomatopoeic word

cang imitates the sound of bells, and the adverb *cang seme* means "hard," "fast;" the onomatopoeic word *gar* imitates the sound of shouting, and the adverb *gar seme* means "loudly;" the onomatopoeic word *hiyor hiyar* imitates the sound of a horse neighing, and the adverbs *hiyor hiyar seme* means "neighing," as well as "strongly," "obstinately;" the onomatopoeic word *tur* imitates the sound of a galloping horse, and the adverb *tur seme* means "at a gallop," "fast." This mode of adverbial formation is mostly used when there are no adverbs proper with the same meaning in the language.

In the absence of a governing verb, the converb *seme* becomes the main verb, and the verbal stem *se-* may assume any grammatical form required: *pak pik* = the sound of many small firecrackers going off; *pak pik se-he* "(a rocket) went off;" *for for* = the sound of neighing or snorting; *for for se-he* "(a horse) got snorted;" *hūr seme* "blazing," "flaming;" *hūr se-he* "became a bit tipsy"[13].

In Manchu, combinations of onomatopoeic words with the verbal stem *se-* became the basis for forming new verbs: *ek se-* "to feel sick," "to be tired of," "to be annoyed" (*ek* = the sound made when one is squeamish); *gūli gali se-* "to cry like an oriole" (*gūli gali* = the sound of calling an oriole"); *hiyor hiyor se-* "to be robust" (*hiyor* = the sound of the feathers on a flying arrow; *hiyor hiyar* = the sound of a horse neighing or snorting; *hiyor hiyar seme* "strongly," "obstinately"); *kaka kiki se-* "to chuckle," "to giggle," "snigger" (*kaka kiki* = the sound of happy laughter); *kek se-* "to be pleased," "to be gratified," "to be refreshed" (< *kek*; *kek seme*). In a number of such combinations, the morpheme *se* started to be pronounced as one with the onomatopoeic word: *cibse-* "to be quiet" (*cib cab* "quiet," "still;" *cib cib seme* "very quiet," *cib seme* "quietly"); *kekse-* < *kek se-* "to be pleased," "to be gratified," "to be refreshed;" *kiyalang se-* "to ring," "to clang" (*kiyalang* = the sound of a single bell, the sound of metal colliding with another object).

Changed to the morpheme *si*, the morpheme *se* gave rise to a new derivational suffix *si*: *caksi-* "rattle," "to vibrate," "to beat a cymbal" < *cak cak se-* < *cak seme*; *koksi-* 1) "to cackle," 2) "to cry (of pheasants in spring time)" < *koko se-* < *koko* = the sound made by chickens; *tuksi-* "to pound," "to throb (of the heart)" < *tuk seme* "pounding (of the heart)" (Zakharov, 1879:321; NL:41, 178, 283; Stary, 1981:213, 219).

---

[13] Norman translates *ek se-* as "to be tired of," "to be annoyed with" (NL:72).

G. Stary gives some other patterns of formation of new verbs from onomatopoeic words or adverbs corresponding to them. According to his language material, new verbs may be formed by the suffixes *-(r)a/-(r)e*, *-(r)i*, *-(r)u*, *-(r)ša/-(r)še*, *-ja/-je*, *-da/-ta*: *dakdarša-* "to jump (upon)," "to act in aggressive manner" < *dakda dakda / dakda dikdi* "in great leaps;" *giltarša-* "to shine brightly," "to gleam" < *gilta gilta* "shining," "glowing"/ *gilta gilti* "glittering," "gleaming" (see also *giltarila-* "to shine," "to glitter"); *seberše-* "to drip" < *seb sab* = the sound made by falling drops; *seb sab aga-* "to rain in scattered drops;" *sab* "dripping, "in scattered drops;" *caru-* "to fry," "to deep-fry" < *car seme* "painful (of a burn)," "at a breath," "at a stroke" < *car cir* = the sound of meat sizzling (used to describe a painful wound); *mura-* 1) "to roar," "to low," "to bellow," "to neigh," 2) "to call deer with a whistle" < *mung mang seme* "lowing," bellowing," "roaring" < *mung mang / mung mung* = the sound made by cattle or deer (see also *murada-* "to roar from rage;" *murakū* "a whistle for calling deer;" *muran* "a battue held at the time of the deer-breeding season;" *mur mar* "obstinate," "stubborn"); *guluje-* "to slitter" < *gulur seme* "slittering;" *gūwari-* "to croak (of frogs)" < *gūwar se-* "to quack," "to croak" < *gūwar gūwar* = the cry of ducks, frogs or doves; *miyasida- / miyasita-* "to walk unsteadily," "to fly unsteadily (of an arrow)" < *miyasi miyasi* "unsteady," "staggering;" *miyasihida- / miyasihita-* "to walk unsteadily" < *miyasihi miyasihi* "unsteady," "staggering" (Stary, 1981: 209-22). These verbs and some others formed by the suffixes *-ša/-še*, *-ja* can also be found in Norman's *Lexicon*, for a example: *heoše-* "to be hesitant," "to be undecided" < *heo seme* "passable," "sufficient but not perfect," "fairly well;" *cakja-* "to become crusted over (of snow)" < *cak seme* 1) "neatly," "firmly (wrapped)," 2) "freezing" (NL:40, 128).

Some new verbs appeared as a result of combining verbs and adverbs, which derived from the onomatopoeic words by means of the word form *seme*: *cing seme da-* "to flame" (*cing seme* "flaming," "flashing"); *dar seme šurge-* "to shake from cold or fright" (*dar seme* "shivering"); *fir seme ara-* "to write fluently" (*fir seme* "quietly, "calmly," "fluently"), *heo seme banji-* "to get by fairly well" (*heo seme* "fairly well"), etc. (NL:45, 54, 88, 128).

8. *Syntactic Words*

Syntactic words are not used as parts of the sentence. They serve to convey various semantic-syntactic relationships between autonomous words, word-combinations, clauses or sentences. The main function of syntactic words is connecting, distinguishing or correlating words of basic parts of speech or clauses (or sentences).

Syntactic words play a very important role in the Manchu language, much more noticeably than they do in other languages of the Tungus-Manchu language community. Together with case forms or alone, they denote relationships between words within word-combinations. In combination with case markers of the preceding nouns, they are used to denote additional grammatical meanings within word-combinations. They may also link clauses within complex sentences or simple sentences within compound ones.

According to their grammatical meaning and functions, all syntactic words can be distributed amongst several classes, namely, postpositions, conjunctions, syntactic words of a conjunctional type and particles. Although most syntactic words can be clearly included in one class or another, in some borderline cases their distinctions can be blurred. Amongst syntactic words there are ones which may convey relationships between autonomous words within word-combinations as well as those between clauses within complex sentences or simple sentences within compound ones.

All syntactic words occupy the position of a governing word within a word-combination or a sentence. According to the general rule of word order, subordinate words precede those by which they are governed, syntactic words, with a few exceptions, normally stand after the words or syntactic units which they govern, and directly before those on which they depend. The link between syntactic and autonomous words or syntactic units is normally expressed only by the position they take. Autonomous words may be governed by syntactic ones by means of certain case markers. The case markers are placed between the autonomous and syntactic words.

It should be stressed that the sphere of syntactic words in the Manchu language requires further investigation.

8.1. *Postpositions*

In Manchu, postpositions are uninflected syntactic words which serve to denote syntactic relationships between nouns or a noun and a verb.

Postpositions govern nouns, pronouns or nominalized (or substantivized) participles which they follow. If governed words occur in certain case forms, postpositions follow the latter specifying their syntactic meanings.

Manchu postpositions are represented by two structural types. Basic (non-derived) postpositions or those the etymology of which is not clear, are ascribed to the first structural type: *baru* "to," "toward;" *emgi* "with," "together with;" *gese* "like;" *jalin* "because of," "on account of;" *manggi* "toward," "with;" *sasa* "with," "together with;" *tule* "outside," etc.[14].

Derivative postpositions can be ascribed to the second structural type. Most derivative postpositions are of nominal origin: *dade* "in addition to" (< *da* "base," "foundation," "root," "source" + *de* = DAT); *funde* "in place of," "instead of," "for" (< *fun* + *de* = DAT); *dorgide* "in inside" (< *dorgi* "the inner part," "inner," "inside" + *de* = DAT); *jakade* "to the presence of," "up to," "by," "in front of" (< *jaka* "thing," "object" + *de* = DAT); *ninggude* "on top of" (*ninggu* "top," "on top" + *de* = DAT); *sidende* "in between" (< *siden* "space," "interval," "a while" + *de* = DAT); *songkoi* "according to," "in accordance with" (< *songko* "trace," "track" + *de* = DAT); *tulergide* "on the outside," "outside" (< *tulergi* "the outside part," "outer," "outside" + *de* = DAT).

Derivative postpositions may also be characterized by converbal origin. Several forms, mostly of the imperfect and terminal converbs, via adverbs, shifted to the class of postpositions: *dahame* "according to" (< *daha-* "to follow" + *me* = imperfect converb); *isitala* "up to," "until" (< *isi-* "to reach," "to arrive," "to come to" + *tala* = terminal converb); *otolo* "until" (< *o-* "to become," "to be" + *tolo* = terminal converb); *tuwame* "in accordance with," "depending on" (< *tuwa-* "to look," "to look at" + *me* = imperfect converb).

Each postposition governs a certain noun case, and according to that, all of them can be distributed amongst the following groups:

1) postpositions requiring the nominative case: *jaka* "together with;"

2) postpositions requiring the genitive: *adali* "like;" *baru* "toward;"

[14] The postpositions *gese* "like," *emgi*, *sasa* "with" were defined before as adverbs: *gese* "like," "same;" *emgi*, *sasa* "together" (for details see Section 6). In Manchu, words frequently shift from one grammatical class to another, partly losing their original lexical meaning and developing specific grammatical meanings instead.

dele, *deleri* "on top;" *dergi* "above," "over;" *dorgide* "inside;" *emgi* "with;" *gese* "like;" *fejergi*, *fejile* "under', "underneath;" *funde* "instead of," "in place of," "for;" *hanci* "near," "by;" *jakade* "in the presence of," "up to," "by," "in front of;" *jalin* "on account of;" *manggi* "toward," "with;" *sasa* "with;" *sidende* "in between;" *songkoi* "according to," "in accordance with;" *teile* "only;"

3) postpositions requiring the dative: *isitala* "up to," "as soon as;" *otolo* "up to;"

4) postpositions requiring the ablative: *amala* "behind;" *amasi* "toward the back;" *ebsi* "up till now;" *julesi* "toward the front;" *tulgiyen* "besides," "otherwise."

Postpositions which are characterized by verbal origin, require the same case that underlying verbal stems do. Thus, the postpositions *dahame* "according to" (*daha-* "to follow") and *tuwame* "in accordance with," "depending on" (*tuwa-* "to look," "to look at") require the form of the accusative; *aisilame* "with the help of" (*aisila-* "to help") and *acame* "in accordance with" (*aca-* "to meet," "to join") require the form of the dative. Some postpositions may govern two case forms. Here are some examples:

*ere baita sin-**ci** **tulgiyen**, gūwa niyalma ainaha seme*
this matte you(*si*/*sin-* SG)-ABL apart other people surely
inu sa-rkū
so know-PART(NEG)
ainaha seme "surely," "categorically," "without fail" (NL:9);
"As to this matter, nobody (literally: other people) is as knowledgeable in it as you" (PASH2:80; QW);
*bi hono age **i** **jakade** gene-fi, tacibu-re be*
I still sir GEN to go-CONV instruct-PART ACC
donji-ki se-me gūni-re bade
listen-OPT say(AUX)-CONV intend-PART since
sin-i boo-de feliye-rakū
you(*si*/*sin-* SG)-GEN house-DAT walk/take.steps-PART(NEG)
mujangga-o
actually-INT
mujanggao= is it true that …?; can it be that …? (NL:203);
"Since, for some time, I have had intentions to come to you to listen

to your instructions, sir, how I cannot help stepping into your house (and sitting there for a while)?" (PASH2:73; QW);
*uttu o-ho-de, bi teni sin-**i***
like.this be(AUX)-PART-DAT I just you(*si*/*sin*- SG)-GEN
***funde** gene-fi faššа-ci o-mbi*
instead.of go-CONV exert.efforts-CONV become(AUX)-IMPF
uttu ohode "if so;"
faššа-ci o- "can exert efforts;"
"If so, I can go instead of you and do my best (to solve your problem)" (PASH2:107; QW).

In accordance with their semantics, all postpositions can be divided into several subgroups: 1) locative postpositions; 2) temporal postpositions; 3) comitative postpositions,
4) causal postpositions, 5) postpositions of similarity and 6) restrictive postpositions.

1) The group of locative postpositions includes the following ones: *baru* "toward;" *dalbade* "on one side;" *dele*, *deleri* "on top;" *dergi* "above," "over;" *dergide* "on;" *dorgide* "inside;" *fejile*, *fejergi* "under," "underneath;" *hanci* "closed to;" *isitala* "up to;" *jakade* "by," "up to," "in front of;" *juleri* "in front;" *julesi* "toward," "toward the front;" *julergi* "in front of;" *ninggude* "on top of;" *sidende* "in between;" *tule*, *tulergi* "outside;" *tulergide* "outside." Here are several examples of locative postpositions. All of them govern the genitive with the exception of *isitala* "up to" which governs the dative:

*muse te boo **i** **baru** muda-ki*
we now house GEN toward come.back-OPT
"We wish to come back home now;"
*ere mama **i** **baru** gene-he*
this old.woman GEN to go-PART
"(Someone) went to this old woman;"
*ejen muduri **baru** hendu-me …*
khan dragon to say-CONV
"The khan says to the dragon …;"
*ere sagda uce **i** **jakade** te-he*
this old.man door GEN by sit-PART
"This old man sat by the door;"

ere sunja niyalma ***i*** ***jakade*** *išina-ha* (ma. *isina-ha*)
this five person GEN up.to reach-PART
"[They] reached these five men;"
uhuri (ma. *uheri*) *da-ci* *dube-****de*** ***išitala*** *gemu* …
altogether beginning-ABL end-DAT to all
"(When) all from the beginning to the end..."(SK:91).

One can notice that a number of locative postpositions are materially identical to nouns which have semantics of place: *amala* "behind;" *amargi* "back," "behind;" *amasi* "backward," "to the back," "toward the back;" *dele* "top," "on top;" *deleri* "top," "surface," "superficial;" *dergi* "top," "above," "over," "upper;" *dorgi* "the inner part," "inner," "inside;" *fejergi* "bottom," "under," "underneath;" *julergi* "front," "in front of," "before;" *juleri* "front," "in front;" *ninggu* "top," "on top;" *tule*, *tulergi* "the outer part," "outer," "outside." Most of these nouns may reveal characteristics of a noun, adjective or adverb when functioning in a sentence. Some of them are regularly followed by the dative: *dergi de, dorgi de, ninggu de*, *tulergi de*. Frequently used to modify qualities and actions, they assumed, through the function of an adverbial modifier, the ability to specify locative relationships between categorematic words. These forms did not totally lose their relationships with their autonomous counterparts, but they became partly desemantized in the course of time. Their nominative function, that of naming objects, transformed into a syntactic one, i.e. denoting syntactic relationships between words of full meaning.

Used as locative postpositions, they are often presented by the form of one of the locative cases, the dative or the ablative. Nevertheless, they are mostly used in the dative which is governed by the main verb. In its turn, the dative form of the syntactic word governs the genitive form of the subordinate noun. Here are several examples of syntactic words which have full counterparts:

*sourin'****i*** ***dergi de*** *emu šain meihe haya-fi*
throne-GEN top DAT one white snake coil.up-CONV
dedu-hebi
lie-PAST
"One white snake was lying coiled up on the throne" (compare the syntactic word *dergi de* "on" with the noun with place semantics *dergi* "top" in the dative case);
*hotun'****i*** (ma. *hoton*) ***tulergi*** ***de*** *tata-fi*
settlement(GEN) the.outer.part DAT camp-CONV

"They camped outside the settlement" (compare the syntactic word *tulergi de* "outside" with the noun of place semantics *tulergi* "the outer part" in the dative);
mengun'i (ma. *menggun*) *fengseku i* *cihe* (ma. *cai*) *be* *sagda*
silver-GEN bowl GEN tea ACC old.man
i ***julergi*** *šinda-fi* (ma. *sinda-fi*)
GEN front put-CONV
"Put the silver bowl in front of the old man" (compare the syntactic word *julergi* "in front of" with the noun of place semantics *julergi* "front");
*hotun'**i*** (ma. *hoton*) ***hanci*** *išina-ha* (ma. *isina-ha*)
town-GEN near come-PART
"(They) came close to the town" (compare the syntactic word *hanci* "close to" with the name of place semantics *hanci* "proximity," "close," "near," "near by") (SK:93).

The locative postpositions are significantly more numerous than the others, such as temporal or causal. The explanation is that locative relationships are typical for a simple sentence, within word-combinations, between nouns or a noun and a verb. Temporal or causal postpositions are more typical for complex sentences, when the relationships between clauses become more actual than those between words. Therefore most syntactic words with temporal or causal semantics occur mainly in complex sentences. Locative postpositions can develop temporal semantics when used in complex sentences. Within complex sentences they show a tendency to shift their category status from postpositions to syntactic words of the conjunctional type.

2) The temporal postpositions are *amari* "after," "afterwards;" *isitala* "up to," "until," "as soon as;" *manggi* "after;" *otolo* "until." They are more often used in complex sentences revealing a tendency to shift to the grammatical class of conjunctions (or syntactic words of the conjunctional type). Some postpositions may denote both locative and temporal relationships: *amasi* "to the back," "toward the back;" "after," "henceforth."

3) The comitative postpositions *emgi* and *sasa* "with" govern the genitive case of a noun (or a pronoun). Here are some examples on comitative postpositions:

*bi šin-**i*** (ma. *sin-i*) ***emgi*** *gene-mbi*
I you(*ši/šin-* SG)-GEN with go-IMPF
"I shall go with you;"
ninggun sargan jui sain sejen de te-fi ele ulha jaka
six woman child good cart DAT sit-CONV all cattle thing
*hacin aha nehu **i** **sasa** gemu tuci-ha*
various slave slave.girl GEN with all leave-PART
"Six daughters sat in good carts and left with all the cattle, various property, and slaves" (SK:92).

When the word *sasa* does not occur with the genitive case, it should not be considered as a postposition but as an adverb:
*šin-**i*** (ma. *sin-i*) ***emgi*** *jabu-fi buce-ci banji-ci*
you(*ši/šin-* SG)-GEN with go-CONV die-COND live-COND
sasa
together
"(I) will go with you, we shall die or live together"(SK:92).

4) The postposition *jalinde* "for the sake of" governs the genitive case of a noun:
šin'i (ma. *sin-i*) *emu niyalma **i** **jalinde** nadan*
you(*ši/šin-* SG)-GEN one person GEN for.the.sake.of seven
niyalma be wa-ra
person ACC kill-PART
"For the sake of you, one man, I killed seven men."

Used as a postposition, the word *jakade* may reveal the same meaning:
*min'i ama **i** **jakade** miau niru-re*
I(*bi/min-*)-GEN father GEN for.the.sake.of oratory paint-PART
jalin ši abka gene
in.order.to you heaven go(IMP)
"You should go to heaven in order to paint the oratory for the sake of my father" (SK:92).

4) The postpositions with the meaning of similarity are *adali* and *gese* "like." They govern the genitive case of a noun or follow participles which occur in the out-of-case form. Here are several examples:
*ši buce-ci bi geli buce-**he** **adali** kai*
you(SG) die-CONV I also die-PART like COP
"If you die I also shall be like dead;"

sagda mama ***i*** ***adali*** *o-hobi*
old old.woman GEN like become-PAST
"(They) became like an old woman" (SK:92).

6) The restrictive postposition *teile* "only," shifted from the grammatical class of adverbs, governs the genitive case of a noun or a participle. Following a participle, the postposition *teile* means "to the extent of:" *jabduhai teile* "as time permits," "as opportunity allows;" *muterei teile* "with all one can," "with all one's capabilities," "to the extent of one's power" (NL:152, 206). Sometimes it is used together with the adverb *damu* which also has a restrictive meaning. Both having restrictive semantics, any of these two words can be omitted, but the restrictive meaning does not vanish:
damu *ilan sargan'****i*** ***teile*** *ilan boo de te-he*
only three woman-GEN only three house DAT live-PART
bi
COP
"Only three women lived in three houses" (SK:92).

As mentioned, several postpositions regularly follow participles in out-of-case form. Thus, the syntactic word *manggi* "after" is often used after the perfect participle or imperative; the postpositions that have the meaning of similarity *adali*, *gese* "like," "same" may also be used after participles; the restrictive postposition *teile* "only" may govern the genitive case of the perfect and imperfect participles. The syntactic word *jakade* may also occur after the imperfect participle, and in this case it has the meaning "since," "when" and reveals a tendency for shifting to the class of conjunctions. It is important to mention, that when occurring after participles, which may serve as predicates of clauses, postpositions change their grammatical meaning to a certain extent. Their main function transforms into that of connecting clauses, not words, and therefore they can rightfully be considered conjunctions (or syntactic words of the conjunctional type) rather than postpositions. One can see that some syntactic words may serve as postpositions or conjunctions depending on what syntactic context they are used in.

8.2. *Conjunctions*

The question of the existence of conjunctions as a separate part of speech in Manchu deserves special consideration. Although almost

all Manchu grammars contain a chapter dedicated to conjunctions, as a grammatical category, this fact is partly explained by the need of translating Manchu texts into a number of European languages. Presumably, the absence of conjunctions was a characteristic of the ancient state of the Manchu language in which the system of participles and converbs was highly developed. Since many syntactic relations might be expressed by participial and converbal forms, there was no need for a large number of conjunctions. The most recent state of the language is characterized by a more developed category of the conjunction which is closely connected with establishing the system of the expanded and the complex sentence. Nevertheless, most syntactic words which can be analyzed as conjunctions, are in a state of transition into this class of syntactic words, and they display their affiliation with other parts of speech at the same time.

Besides conjunctions proper, in Manchu there are a number of categories of syntactic words which are used to link syntactic units. These categories include postpositions which can be engaged in the system of complex sentences and syntactic words of the conjunctional type which partly preserve a lexical meaning together with that of linking clauses or sentences, i.e. a syntactic function. Used in the function of linking clauses, i.e. as conjunctions, postpositions normally change their meanings.

It is accepted by the majority of manchurologists to categorize most words listed below as conjunctions. In order to classify a word as a conjunction proper, the standard theoretical requirements should be met, however, only a few of these words strictly satisfy these requirements.

All Manchu conjunctions can be divided into basic (non-derived) and derivative. From the point of view of morphological structure the conjunctions *damu* "but," *eici* "or," *geli* "and," *jai* "and," *uthai* "then," "thereupon," "and then" are morphologically simple, however, these words originally belonged to other parts of speech. They became conjunctions by means of conversion. Thus, the words *damu* "only;" *geli* "also," "stiill," "again;" *jai* "again," "still," "more," "later" can be treated as adverbs, the word *uthai* originally was a pronominal adverb with the meaning "then," "at once;" the word *eici* "perhaps" is a parenthetical word. Like many words in Manchu, these ones are also characterized by polysemantics and polyfunctionality. Depending on the syntactic context they may realize any of their grammatical features and play different roles in a sentence.

The derivative conjunctions include *aikabade* "if," "in the case that;" *erinde*, *fonde* "when;" *bici*, *oci* "if;" *bicibe*, *ocibe*, *gojime* "though," "although;" *ofi* "because;" *tuttu oci* "if like that', "if thus," "in that case;" *tuttu ofi* "therefore," "so," etc. Derivative conjunctions may have nominal, pronominal, adverbial or verbal origin:

1) the following derivative conjunctions are formed from nouns by the dative case: *bade* "when," "in the case that," "if," "since" (*ba* "place" + *de* = DAT); *dade* "besides (that)," "when" (*da* "base," "foundation," "root," "source" + *de* = DAT); *erinde* "at the time when" (*erin* "time" + de = DAT); *fonde* "at the time when" (*fon* "time" + *de* = DAT); *jakade* "when," "since" (*jaka* "thing," "object" +*de* = DAT); *turgunde* "because," "since" (*turgun* "reason" + *de* = DAT). The words *dade*, *jakade* were classified as postpositions earlier (see Section 8.1). In fact, under certain conditions, they can be used to link clauses within complex sentences, which is the grammatical function of conjunctions or syntactic words of the conjunctional type (see Section 8.3). What is important to stress is that used as conjunctions (or syntactic words of the conjunctional type), they change their meanings.

2) the following conjunctions are derived from pronouns *ai* "what" and *ere* "this:" *ereni* "by this," "through this," "from this," "therefore;" they are often used in a sentence in pairs*: aibe ... aibe ...* "as ... as ...;" *ereni ... ereni ...* "hence," "therefore" (Pashkov, 1963:43).

3) the following conjunctions originated from adverbs including pronominal ones: *uttu*, *tuttu* "so;" *damu* "but" (as an adverb, this word has the meaning "only");

4) the following conjunctions originated from converbs, mostly imperfect, perfect, and conditional ones, which are derived from the verbs *bi-* "to be," "to exist," *o-* "to become," "to be" in their auxiliary function: *bime* "and" (the form of the imperfect converb of the verb *bi-*); *ofi* "because" (the form of the perfect converb of the verb *o-*); *bici*, *oci*, "if" (the form of the conditional converb of the verbs *be-* and *o-* respectively); *bicibe*, *ocibe* "though," "although" (the form of the concessive converb of the verbs *bi-* and *o-*). Several conjunctions originated from converbal forms derived from the verb *se-* "to say," "to mean" when it functions in its partly desemantized variant: *seme*

"that," "in order to," "though," "although;" *secibe* "though," "although" (forms of the imperfect and concessive converbs of the verb *se-* respectively); *seci* "if" (the form of the conditional converb of the verb *se-*). Serving as a conjunction, the form of the imperfect converb *dahame* "as," "since" being derived from the verb *daha-* "to follow," always requires the marker of the accusative *be*. Seemingly, almost all these forms, perhaps with the exception of the words *bime* and *ofi*, cannot be considered as conjunctions proper. Earlier (see Section 5.9), it was already shown that the so-called analytical constructions became the basis on which most conjunctions of converbal origin are produced. Functioning outside of analytical conctructions, these forms partly retain their verbal nature.

5) The following conjunctions originate from participles derived from the verbs *bi-* "to be," "to exist," *o-* "to be," "to become," and *se-* "to say" in their auxiliary function.These participles are mostly used in the dative: *bisirede* "when," "at that time, when"(the form of the imperfect participle of the verb *bi-* + *de* = DAT); *bihede* "when," "if" (the form of the perfect participle of the verb *bi-* + *de* = DAT); *ojorode* "at that time, when," "when" (the form of the imperfect participle of the verb *o-* + *de* = DAT); *ohode* "when," "if" (the form of the perfect participle of the verb *o-* + *de* = DAT); *serede* "when" (the form of the imperfect participle of the verb *se-* + *de* = DAT); *sehede* "when," "if" (the form of the perfect participle of the verb *se-* + *de* = DAT). Analytical constructions can also be considered as the basis on which these conjunctions or, to be more precise, syntactic words of the conjunctional type, are produced. Used to connect clauses, these syntactic elements preserve their aspectual-temporal meanings within analytical constructions which they are included in (for details see Section 5.9).

Composite conjunctions consist of two elements which are either both simple conjunctions or a simple conjunction and another word belonging to some other part of speech. These include *aikabade* "if," "in the case that" (*aika* = conjunction "if," *bade* = conjunction "when," "in the case that," "if," "since"); *aika oci* "if" (*aika* = conjunction "if," "whether," *oci* = a syntactic word of the conjunctional type "if"); *hono bade* "when still" (*hono* "still," "yet," *bade* = conjunction "when," "in the case that," "if"); *sere anggala* "instead of," "not only (but also)" (*sere* = imperfect participle of the verb *se-*, *anggala* = postposition "in

place of," "instead of," "rather than," "not only"); *teile akū* "not only" (*teile* = postposition "only," *akū* = negative copula/particle); *tere anggala*, *tere dade*, *terei dade* "in addition to" (*tere* "that," *anggala* = postposition "in place of," "instead of," "rather than," "not only;" *terei* < *tere* "that" + *i* = genitive, *dade* = conjunction "when," "besides that"); *tere onggolo* "before that," "beforehand" (*tere* "that," *onggolo* "before," "in front"); *terei amala* "after that" (*tere* "that" + *i* = genitive, *amala* = postposition "after," "behind"); *udu bicibe* "although there is," "though" (*udu* "although," *bicibe* = the form of the concessive converb from the verb *bi-*); *uttu ofi*, *tuttu ofi* "so" (*uttu* = pronominal adverb "like this," *tuttu* = pronominal adverb "like that," *ofi* = the form of the perfect converb of the verb *o-*); *uttu ohode*, *tuttu ohode* (*uttu* = pronominal adverb "like this," *tuttu* = pronominal adverb "like that," *ohode* = the dative form of the perfect participle of the verb *o-*). Composite conditional and concessive conjunctions are normally divided by a clause or a syntactic unit into two elements. The first of them is placed at the beginning of the text which has conditional or concessive meaning, and the second element stands at the end of this text. Thus, the text with conditional or concessive meaning (conditional or concessive clauses) is delimited by two syntactic words which serve as parenthesis. Here are some examples:

sin-de *aika sain bithe* ***bi-ci***, *min-de*
you(*si/sin-* SG)-DAT if good book be-CONV I(*bi/min-*)-DAT
emu udu debtelin be juwen bu-fi hūla-ki
one several volume ACC loan give-CONV read-OPT
juwen bu- "to give a loan," "to lend;"
"If you have a good book, lend me, please, one or two volumes (of it) to read" (ZAKH:201). A clause with conditional meaning, is delimited by the conjunction *aika* "if" and the form of the conditional converb *bici* which has not totally lost its lexical meaning of "to be."

aikabade *giyangna-me urebu-me tuwancihiya-me*
if explain-CONV practice-CONV correct-CONV
getukele-rakū
elucidate-PART(NEG)
o-ci, *arbun mudan tongki jijun i durun*
be(AUX)-CONV shape sound dot stroke GEN rule
tuta-ra gojime, tere-i jurgan elei
survive-PART although that-GEN meaning almost

burubu-re *de* *isina-mbi*
disappear-PART DAT achive-IMPF
"If there is no correct explanation and elucidation (of six classes of word stems—L.G.), then even if the shape (of letters), their fonation, dots, lines, and the rules (of their combining) were maintained, (we) would achieve only vague understanding of their meanings" (PASH2:319; QW). In this sentence the conditional clause is delimited by the conjunction *aikabade* "if" and the analytical construction *getukelerakū oci* where the functional element *oci* is also used to render the conditional meaning.

honin deberen ***udu*** *amtangga* ***bi-cibe***,
sheep the.young.of.animals although tasty be-CONV
geren i *angga de* *acabu-ra-ngge* *mangga*
all GEN mourh DAT please-PART-NR difficult
"Although a lamb is tasty, it is difficult to please everybody" (PASH:61);

udu *gai-ki* ***se-me*** *inu baha-rakū*
although take-OPT say(AUX)-CONV so get-PART(NEG)
kai
MDL.PTL
"No matter how (you) wanted to take (smth.), you will not get (this item)" (PASH2:127; QW). Clauses with concessive meaning are delimited by the conjunction *udu* "although" and the converbal forms *bicibe* and *seme* which also have a concessive meaning.

According to their meaning, all Manchu conjunctions are divided into coordinating and subordinating ones. Coordinating conjunctions can be subdivided into 1) copulative (connective), 2) adversative, 3) disjunctive. They are used to connect elements which are syntactically symmetrical, i.e. which perform identical syntactic functions. These three types of conjunctions differ as the types of logical and/or semantic relationships they denote.

1) The main function of the copulative conjunctions is to connect elements which are semantically symmetrical. The words *geli* "also," "still," "again;" *jai* "still," again;" *hono* (*hono bade*) "still," "yet;" *kemuni* "still," "yet" are normally used in the function of the copulative conjunction. The imperfect converb *bime* "being," derived from the verb *bi-* in its auxiliary function, is also used in the role of the copulative conjunction. The conjunction *dade* "besides (that)" and

the syntactic word-combinations *tere dade*, *tere anggala* "in addition to" also have connective meaning. The syntactic word-combinations *sere anggala* and *teile akū* have the connective meaning "not only (but also). Used as a conjunction, the word *uthai* reveals the connective meaning "then," "thereupon," "and then."

2) The main function of the adversative conjunctions is to connect such syntactic elements which are in opposition. These conjunctions are: *bai* "but," *akūci* "otherwise," *bimbime* "however."

3) The disjunctive conjunctions are used to denote relationships between syntactic elements that indicate the possibility to choose between them. The disjunctive conjunctions are *eici* "or;" *eici* ... *eici* ... "either ... or;" *embici* "or."

4) There is another type of conjunctions, i.e. explicative ones, which connect such syntactic elements when the second of them is introduced to explain or concretize the first: *duibuleci* "for example" (originally the conditional converb from the verb *duibule-* "to compare," "to give as an example"); *tebici* "namely" (<*te* "now," "at present" + *bici* = conditional converb from the verb *bi-* in its auxiliary function). The attribution of this type of conjunctions is rather problematic because the type of semantic and syntactic relationships they denote is not coordinative. Strictly speaking both semantic and syntactic relationships between elements are not symmetrical.

Subordinating conjunctions can be subdivided into 1) temporal, 2) causal, 3) resultative, 4) conditional, 5) concessive, 6) final and 7) comparative.

1) Temporal conjunctions include *bade* "when;" *erinde*, *fonde* "at the time when." Being polysemantic, the conjunction *bade* means not only "when" but may indicate other syntactic meanings, such as "if," "since." According to Pashkov, the conjunction *dade* is also used to denote temporal relationships and in that case it may have the meaning "when" (Pashkov, 1963:43).The grammatical meaning, similar to these temporal conjunctions, is expressed by the dative form of the imperfect and perfect participle derived from the verbs *bi-*, *o-*, and *se-* in their auxiliary function: *bisirede*, *ojorode*, *serede*, *bihede*, *ohode*, *sehede* "when." Bearing in mind that in some syntactic contexts, the syntactic meanings "when" and "if" can be neutralized, it

becomes understandable that these forms may have the syntactic meaning "when" + "if," and trough that, the conditional meaning "if." However, these forms mostly occur in analytical constructions discussed in Section 5.9. Besides the function of linking syntactic units, they preserve other functions which display the verbal nature of these forms and manifest themselves within both analytical constructions and clauses.

2) Causal conjunctions are *dahame* "because," "since" (with preceding accusative case form *be*); *erei jalin* "because of this;" *jakade* "when," "since;" *ofi* "because;" *turgunde* "because," "since."

3) Resultive conjunctions are *jalin* "in order to;" *seme* "for," "in order to."

4) Conditional conjunctions are *aika*, *aikabade* "if." The conjunction *bade* can also be used to express the conditional meaning in certain syntactic contexts. Exhibiting the conditional meaning, the converbal forms *bici*, *oci*, *seci* (conditional converbs derived from the verbs *bi-*, *o-*, *se-* respectively) are also used to connect clauses in conditional complex sentences. Similar to syntactic means of connection with temporal meaning, these forms mostly occur as elements of analytical constructions. They reveal their affiliation with the connecting words and partly preserve their converbal grammatical functions (see Section 5.9). The composite conjunction *uttu oci* (*uttu* = pronominal adverb "thus," "like this," *oci* = conditional converb derived from the verb *o-*) has the meaning "if it is like this," "if it is so." Similar to this, the composite conjunction *tuttu oci* consists of two elements, the pronominal adverb *tuttu* "thus," "like that" and the conditional converb *oci* derived from the verb *o-*, and has the meaning "if like that," "if thus," "in that case."

5) Concessive conjunctions are *eicibe*, *gojime*, *seme* (originally the imperfect participle of the verb *se-*) "though," "although." The verbal forms *bicibe*, *ocibe*, *secibe* (the concessive converbs derived from the verb *bi-*, *o-*, *se-* respectively) are also used to render the concessive syntactic relationships. The composite conjunctions *uttu seme* "although it is thus," "nevertheless" and *tuttu seme* "although it is so," "however" may also express the concessive relationships between clauses. The composite conjunction *tutte seme* which consists of two

elements, the second one originally being the imperfect converb of the verb *se-*, but independently may serve as a concessive conjunction, also has the concessive meaning "nevertheless," but in other syntactic contexts it has the adversative meaning "however."

6) Final conjunctions are *ereni* "therefore," *uttu ofi* and *tuttu ofi* "therefore," "so." The composite conjunctions consist of two elements, the second ones originally being the perfect converb of the verb *o-*, but it may independently serve as the causal conjunction *ofi* "because," "since."

7) Comparative conjunctions are *adali*, *gese* "like" which shifted their category status from postpositions to conjunctions. Another comparative conjunction is *ele ... ele ...* "the more ... the more ... " which is originally derived from the pronoun *ele* "all." A syntactic word of the conjunctional type *anggala* has the meanings "instead of," "in place of," "rather than."

Almost all conjunctional words are placed at the end of the sentence (clause) which they govern, with the exception of composite conjunctions and those serving as connecting devices together with converbs or participles. Thus, conditional relationships can be expressed by the conjunctions *aika*, *aikabade* "if" in combination with conditional converbs in *-ci*. The same conditional meaning can be rendered by the following syntactic patterns: "*aika ... bici*," "*aika ... oci*," "*aika …seci*;" "*aika ... bihede*," "*aika ... ohode*," "*aika ... sehede*." The forms *bici*, *oci*, *seci* are conditional converbs derived from the verbs *bi-*, *o-*, *se-*. The forms *bihede*, *ohode*, *sehede* are perfect participles derived from the verbs *bi-*, *o-*, *se-* respectively and attached by the form of the dative. The conjunction *alkabade* "if" may be used instead of the conjunction "*aika*." Here are some examples:

aika *jete-re jaka benji-**ci**, ali-me*
if eat-PART thing send(hither)-CONV receive-CONV
gai-fi, karu jaka bu
take-CONV retribution thing give(IMP)
"If (they) send eatables, take (them) and give (them) things in return" (PASH:60). To express the conditional meaning, the conditional conjunction *aika* "if" is used in the subordinate clause. This conjunction is placed in the beginning of the clause which is

terminated by the conditional converb *benjici*, for the second time expressing the same syntactic meaning.

aika *turgun* ***bi-ci***, *suen-i* (ma. *suweni*)*nadan niyalma be*
if cause exist-CONV you(PL)-GEN seven person ACC
gemu wa-mbi
all kill-IMPF
"(In the case) if the cause exists (I) shall kill all seven of you" (SK:94).

The conditional relationships between subordinate and principal clauses are expressed by the conditional conjunction *aika* "if" and conditional converb *bici* derived from the verb *bi-* "to be," "to exist." Used in this sentence, the verb *bi-* has full lexical meaning.

aikabade *baita* ***tuttu*** ***o-ho-de***, *aina-ci*
if matter like.that become-PART-DAT do.what?-CONV
ojo-ro
become-PART
ainaci ojoro "What can one do (so it turns out well)?" (NL:9);
"If the matter becomes like that, what can one do?" (ZAKH:202).

Concessive relationships may be expressed in accordance with the same syntactic pattern. The first component, which has the concessive meaning, is placed in the beginning of a clause, and the second stands at the end: *udu ... bicibe*, *udu ... ocibe*, *udu … seme*, *udu … secibe*. The same meaning can be expressed by the word *udu* and the concessive converb of any verbal stem. The pronominal (indefinite) numeral *udu* "several" in such patterns transforms its meaning into the concessive "although:"

udu *gisure-he* ***se-me***,
although talk-PART say(AUX)-CONV = although
inu daha-rakū
so obey-PART(NEG)
"Although (he) was told (he) is not going to follow (this advice)" (ZAKH:207);

8.3. *Syntactic Words of Conjunctional Type*

According to their principal grammatical characteristics, conjunctions may occur with words of different morphological nature. Some syntactic words occur only with certain morphlogical forms and in a certain syntactic context. In other words, they are not free forms

and consequently cannot be considered as conjunctions proper.

As mentioned, most postpositions connect not only words of full meaning in word-combinations, but by changing their grammatical meaning, they can be also used to link clauses in complex sentences. That is the principal function of conjunctions. Linking clauses, these syntactic words follow participles which mostly appear in the out-of-case form.

For example, the syntactic word ***manggi***, when used as a postposition, requires the genitive form from a subordinate noun, in which case it means "toward," "with." Used as a conjunction, it follows only the forms of the perfect participle or imperative and conveys temporal relationships between clauses. As a syntactic word of conjunctional type, ***manggi*** means "after" and is always placed at the end of a temporal clause, the predicate of which denotes the action which preceded that of the principal one:

*tere erin de o-**ho** **manggi**, si aliya-me*
that time DAT be-PART after you(SG) regret-CONV
gūni-ha seme inu
think-PART although so
amca-pakū o-mbi
make.up(for losses)-PART(NEG) be(AUX)-IMPF
"After that, even if you regretted it (deeply), you would not be able to make up (for losses)" (PASH2:126; QW);
*se-**he** **manggi**, songgo-ro be naka-fi emgeri*
say-PART after cry-PART ACC stop-CONV once
hengkile-fi hendu-me …
kowtow-CONV say-CONV
"After (the *yuanwai*—officer) said, (*Ahalji* - proper name) stopped crying, kowtowed once (to the *yuanwai*) and said …" (NSB:114);
eigen sargan jue (ma. *juwe*) *niyalma suele-me* (ma. *suwele-me*)
husband wife two person search(for)-CONV
*han'i jakade gaji-**ha** **manggi** (ma. **manggi**) han*
khan-GEN up.to bring-PART after khan
t'ua-fi (ma. *tuwa-fi*) *hendu-me…*
look-CONV say-CONV
"After two people, husband and wife, were brought to the khan, the khan looked at (them) and said …" (SK:94).

Originally an adverb of place, the postposition ***amala*** "behind," "after," "later" requires the ablative from a subordinate noun. Used

as a conjunction, the syntactic word ***amala*** has temporal meaning "after" and is used to denote temporal relationships between clauses in a complex sentence:

*ere gemu muse ba sin-i yabu-**ha***
this all we(INCL) place you(*si/sin-* SG)-GEN leave-PART
***amala** weile-me šangga-bu-ha*
after build-CONV finish-PASS-PART
"After you had left our place, all this was finished being built" (SK:95).

The postposition ***anggala*** "in place of," "instead of," "rather than" is also used to connect clauses. In these cases, the word of conjunctional type ***anggala*** "instead of" follows participles which act as predicates of clauses:

*uttu simacuka-i omi-**re** **anggala**, ainu heng o be*
like.this boring-GEN drink-PART instead.of why PN ACC
hūla-me gaji-rakū ni
call-CONV bring-PART(NEG) INT
"Instead of drinking so boringly, why not invite (fairy) Heng O?" (PASH2:279; LD);
min-i gūnin de o-ci, oyemburakū
I(*bi/min-*)-GEN think DAT be(AUX)-CONV unimportant
*bi-me baibi niyalma-i baru temše-**re** **anggala**,*
be-CONV vainly people-GEN with debate-PART instead.of
hono emu dere ara-ra de isi-rakū
still one likely do-PART DAT reach-PART(NEG)
mini gūnin de "in my opinion;" *dere ara-* "to meet" (NL:58);
"In my opinion, instead of unimportant and vain debating with people, it's better to agree (with them)" (PASH2:123; QW);
sue (ma. *suwe*) *uttu temše-**re** **angala*** (ma. ***anggala***)
you (SG) like.this quarrel-PART instead.of
mahala be bi jafa-ki, sue uhuri (ma. *uheri*) *niyalma goro*
hat ACC I grip-OPT you all person far
gene-fi šin'i (ma. *sin-i*) *ici suje-me*
go-CONV you(*ši/šin-* SG)-GEN toward(POST) run-CONV
jiu
come(IMP)

"Instead of your debating like this, I shall grip this hat, and all of you who have moved away, run toward me" (SK:96).

The postposition ***jalin*** "on account of," "because of" requires the genitive from a word which it governs. Acting as a syntactic word of conjunctional type, it has the meaning "in order to" and follows participles which appear in the out-of-case form:

ere miau (ma. *miyoo*) *de bisi-re burhan be tua-**ra***
this oratory DAT exist-PART Buddha ACC look-PART
(ma. *tuwa-ra*) ***jalin*** *haha hehe ton akū*
in.order.to man woman number there.is.not
labdu niyalma juan (ma. *juwan*) *ilan inengi* (ma. *inenggi*)
many people ten three day
isa-fi …
gather-CONV
"In order to look at the Buddha which was in this oratory, innumerable people, men and women, gathered on the thirteen days" (SK:96).

The postposition ***songkoi*** "according to," "in accordance with" governs the genitive case of a noun. Used as a syntactic word of conjunctional type, it normally follows participles which serve as predicates of a clause:

*burkan'i wašimbu-**ha songkoi** duka de emu*
Buddha-GEN order-PART in.accordance.with gate DAT one
niyalma ji-fi ili-ha bi
man come-CONV stand-PART COP
"In accordance with what the Buddha has ordered, one man came to the gate and has been standing (there)" (SK:97).

The postposition ***jakade*** "in the presence of," "up to," "by," "in front of" governs the genitive case of a noun. Acting as a syntactic word of conjunctional type, it changes its meaning into "when," "since," and follows participles:

*tere sakda-sa, sengge urse waji-me hami-**re** **jakade**,*
that old.man-PL old men finish-CONV be.close.to since
narhūn gisun somishūn gūnin, ulhiyen i iletu akū
concealed word hidden sense gradual GEN clear there is not

o-mbi
became-IMPF
"Since those elders are very close to death, concealed words with hidden meanings have become gradually unclear (concealed words are being forgotten by them)" (PASH2:327; BB);
*ahun̄ deo baha-fi aca-**ra***
elder.brother younger.brother be.able-CONV get.together-PART
***jakade**, alimbaharakū urgunje-he*
when greatly rejoice-PART
"When brothers were able to get together, they were very glad" (PASH2:5; QW);
sin-i beye tubade bi-si-re jakade,
you(*si/sin-* SG)-GEN = your self at.that.place be-PART when
bi teni baha-fi ukca-ha
I only.then be.able-CONV get.free-PART
"When you youself are there (at that place), only then I can leave (the place)" (PASH2:7; QW);
*jai geli emu meyen ambarame icihi-**re*** (ma. *icihiya-*) ***jakade***
again again one time strongly shake-PART because
amba *bisan o-fi*
great flood become-CONV
"Because (he) shook strongly one more time, a great flood happened" (SK:95).

The postposition ***dahame*** "according to" governs the accusative form of the preceding noun. Connecting clauses, not a noun and a verb, this syntactic word also governs the accusative form of the preceding participle, but changes its syntactic meaning which becomes "because," "since:"

dasan i baita šu yangse gemu ere-ci
government GEN matter culture beauty all this-ABL
*tuci-**re** **be** **dahame** …*
appear-PART ACC since
"And since the art of government, culture, everything stems from (the national literature—L.G.) …" (PASH2:328; BB);
*sin-i boco fiyan emu adali **be***
you(*si/sin-* SG)-GEN complexion appearance one like ACC
***dahame** aikabade sim-be yarkiya-ci*
since if you(*si/sin-* SG)-ACC entice-CONV

si erdemu be ekiyembu-re weile be ume yabu-re
you(SG) virtue ACC diminish-PART affair ACC NEG do-PART
"Since we look very much alike, if (the woman-next-door—L.G) comes to entice you, don't have an affair (with her) because this will diminish your virtue" (PASH2:262; CS);
ama bi sagda (ma. *sakda*) *niyalma o-**ho** **be** **dahame**,*
father I old man become-PART ACC since
uthai gene-ki
then go-OPT
"Since I, father, became an old man, (I) will go" (SK:94).

From the above examples it can be seen that the same syntactic words are used to connect words of full meaning—nouns or a noun and a verb—as well as clauses in the complex sentence. The syntactic meaning which they reveal on the level of word-combination, is normally transformed when they act on the level of the complex sentence. Since they can be used only with certain grammatical forms, they can hardly be considered as conjunctions proper.

In Manchu there is a special class of forms which may also serve to connect clauses in the complex sentence. Originally these included converbs, mostly imperfect, perfect, conditional, and concessive, or participle, imperfect and perfect, in the dative, derived from one of the verbs *bi-*, *o-* or *se-* in their auxiliary function: *bime*, *seme*, *bifi*, *ofi*, *bici*, *oci*, *seci*, *bicibe*, *ocibe*, *secibe*, *bisirede*, *ojorode*, *serede*, *bihede*, *ohode*, *sehede*. Some of them are used only within analytical constructions which were discussed earlier (see 5.9). In specific syntactic contexts this converbal and participial forms show a tendency to become isolated, loosening links with the whole construction, and to shift from converbs and participles to syntactic words of conjunctional type. This is the path of development which many syntactic words and conjunctions proper have followed in the Manchu language.

For example, the causal relationships between clauses may be expressed by the analytical construction Tv-*ha ofi* where the form of the perfect converb ***ofi*** takes responsibility for rendering the syntactic meaning "because:"

*abka **yanji-ha** **o-fi***
sky become.evening-PART become(AUX)-CONV
tere miau (ma. miyoo) *i jakade inde-he*
that oratory GEN by rest-PART

"Because the sky was growing dark (he) rested (near) by that oratory" (SK).

The syntactic word *ofi* "because" may function not only within analytical constructions, but often occurs after words which belong to other parts of speech. In certain respects, this form advanced further towards complete transformation into a conjunction proper.

bi baita umesi largin labdu ***ofi***, *umai solo*
I business very abundant many because totally leisure
baha-rakū
get-PART(NEG)
"Because of numerous duties, (I have) no leisure whatsoever" (PASH2).

As a result of combining the word *ofi* with the pronominal adverbs *uttu* "like this" and *tuttu* "like that," two other conjunctions developed: ***uttu ofi***, ***tuttu ofi*** "therefore," "so." As one can see, causal conjunctions have been transformed into final ones. The syntactic combinations ***uttu ofi*** and ***tuttu ofi*** are normally placed at the beginning of a subordinate clause:

tere okto be muse baha-rakū ***uttu ofi*** *bi buce-mbi*
that drug ACC we(INCL) get-PART(NEG) therefore I die-IMPF
"We did not get that drug therefore I shall die" (SK:96).

As shown above, the form ***bici*** often occurs within analytical constructions where it takes resposibility for rendering the syntactic meaning "if" (see 5.9). The same form may be used independent of such analytical constructions, following nominal words:

emu kengse lasha gisun ***bi-ci***, *niyalma inu gasa-ra*
one resolute definite word be-CONV people so complain-PART
ba akū
SBSTR there.is.not
kengse lasha "decisive', "resolute;"
"If there is a decisive, resolute word, people shall not complain" (PASH2:129; QW).

The other converbal and participial forms, mentioned above, may also occur independently, outside of analytical constructions, with words of different grammatical nature. The process of gradual

transition of these forms into syntactic words of conjunctional type, and further, into conjunctions proper, may be observed in Manchu. Here are some more syntactic words of conjunctional type in Manchu. The syntactic word ***tetendere*** "assuming that," "provided that," "in the case that," "if," "since" is normally used after conditional converbs:

*ji-**ci** **tetendere**, bi urgunje-he se-me*
come-CONV if I rejoice-PART say-CONV
waji-rakū bade…
finish-PART(NEG) if
"If (you, sir) come (to my house), I cannot help rejoicing" (PASH2:74; QW).

The syntactic words ***jaka*** and ***saka*** are normally used after imperfect converbs to denote a prompt change of actions (the meaning "just," "as soon as, "about to"):

*banji-**me** **saka** uthai gisure-me bahana-mbi*
be.born-CONV just at.once speak-CONV be.able-IMPF
"He has just been born, and he can already speak" (ZAKH:195);
*sabu-**me** **jaka** gūli-ka gese*
see-CONV just be.in.good.terms like
"They have only just met, and seem to be friends already" (ZAKH:195).

The syntactic word ***nakū*** is normally used after the imperative to denote a prompt change of actions or an unexpected action opposite to the meaning of the principal action:

*uju beki fu de **cunggūšabu***
head firm wall DAT to.beat.the.head.on.smth.(IMP)
***nakū**, kub seme tuhe-ke*
as.soon.as (fell).in.a.heap fall.down-PART
kub seme "out of energy," "exhausted," "(feel) in a heap" (NL:180);
"As soon as (his) head hit against the hard wall, (he immediately) fell dawn (on the floor)" (PASH2:297; LD);
niyalma be urunakū tuba-de unggi-re be
men ACC must that.place-DAT send-PART ACC
***se** **nakū,** i ainaha seme unggi-ki*
say(IMP) as.soon.as he categorically send-OPT

se-hekū
say(AUX)-PART(NEG)
aina-ha seme "surely," "without fail," "categorically" (NL:9);
As soon as he was told to send a man there, he categorically refused (literally: didn't want) sending (anyone)" (ZAKH:196).

The syntactic word of conjunctional type ***isirakū*** (originally the negative form of the imperfect participle of the verb *isi-* "to reach," "to arrive," "to approach," "to come up to:" *isirakū* < *isi* +*rakū*), used with the preceding marker of the dative *de*, has the meaning "not as good as," "it's better to ... ".

9. *Particles*

In many different schools of linguistic tradition, words that cannot otherwise be classified and that have certain peculiar characteristics are collectively labeled with the name "particles." In Manchu grammar, particles, as a class of syntactic words, remain lest understood word category.

Nevertheless, according to their semantics and functions, all Manchu particles can be subdivided into several groups, i.e. 1) predicative, 2) negative, 3) interrogative, 4) exclamatory and 5) restrictive particles.

1) Predicative particles play a very important role in the Manchu language. The most important and widely used predicative particle is ***bi***. It has a role similar to that of a copula. Following a nominal word, this universal copula is an obligatory structural component of the nominal predicate. It is combined with a noun or a functional analogue of nouns to produce the actual attribute of the subject, i.e. the attribute ascribed to the subject in the utterance, for example:

abka de deye-ra gasha ***bi***,
sky DAT fly-PART bird COP
na de feksi-re gurgu ***bi***
earth DAT run-PART wild.animal/beast COP
"Those flying in the sky are birds, those running on the earth are animals" (PASH1:40; QW).

The copula *bi* should not be identified with the existential verb *bi-*

"to be," "to exist" which is represented by a paradigm of word forms. This verbal stem may be followed by suffixes denoting different moods, and in the indicative it is followed by suffixes denoting grammatical tense: *bi-mbi* (IMPF), *bi-hebi* (PAST), *bisu* (IMP), *bi-ki* (OPT). This verbal stem may produce participles, their positive, negative or interrogative forms: *bi-si-re*, *bi-si-rakū*, *bi-si-re-ngge*, *bi-si-rakū-ngge*, *bi-he*, *bi-hekū*, *bi-he-ngge*, *bi-hekū-ngge*, *bi-mbihe*, *bi-mbi-hekū*, *bi-si-re-o*. It may produce converbs: *bi-me*, *bi-mbi-me*, *bi-fi*, *bi-hei*, *bi-ci*, *bi-cibe* (Gorelova, 1988:74). But, without doubt, there is semantic likeness between the two language entities.

There are a number of modal particles which can be used as substitutes of the copula ***bi***, and in certain syntactic contexts, can be classified as copulae. These include ***kai***, ***inu***, ***be***, ***dere***, ***dabala***. An importan characteristic shared by all these particles is the fact that they are used to indicate the end of a sentence or a syntactic period, participating in the formation of predicativity, alone or in combination with a preceding nominal word. When they occur after verbal forms, their modal meaning assumes particular importance. When they serve as predicates (or their structural components), their predicative meaning prevails over the modal one. All these particles possess a strongly pronounced modal meaning. Thus, the predicative particle ***kai*** has modality of truth, trustworthiness:

umesi sain ***kai***
very good COP
"This is the best (one)" (PASH2:20; QW);
fudzi hendu-me fonji-ha-ngge amban ***kai***
Confucious say-CONV ask-PART-NR important COP
"Confucious said: What you are asking about is really great" (PASH2:20; QW);
bi yargiyan -i sa-rkū ***kai***
I reality-GEN know-PART(NEG) PART(indeed)
"Actually I don't know" (PASH2:80; QW);
ere taka-rakū niyalma ***kai***
this know(a person)-PART(NEG) person COP
"This is a stranger indeed;"
ši buce-ci bi geli buce-he adali ***kai***
you(SG) die-CONV I also die-PART like COP
"If you die I also shall be like a dead (person)" (SK).
Norman believes that the particle *kai* is a sentence particle used to show emphasis (NL:169).

Originally an adverb with the meaning "also," "too," "even," when serving as a copula, the particle ***inu*** possesses a strongly pronounced affirmative modality:

jaka-i uheri sekiyen ***inu***
thing-GEN all origin COP
"(This) is the origin of all things (indeed);"
sui gurun be sira-ha-ngge tang gurun
PN ruling.house ACC inherit-PART-NR(TOP) PN ruling.house
inu
COP (indeed)
"As far as the ruling house which inherited Sui dynasty is concerned, it was the Tang ruling house (indeed)" (ORL:206).

The copula ***be*** also forms the predicativity of an utterance:

juwan boo serengge ajige gašan ***be***
ten house TOP small village COP
"Ten houses is a small village" (PASH:46; MB);
tondo serengge dulimba ***be****; ginggun serengge cibsen* ***be***
loyalty TOP center COP respect TOP quietness COP
"As to the loyalty, it is a core; as to respectfulness, it is peace of mind" (PASH2:56; JB).

The predicative particle ***dere*** is characterized by suppositional modal semantics: "probably," "likely." This particle is used in such cases when an event (of the outside world) only seems true to a person, but in reality it does not exist, for example:
hiyoošun deocin serengge tere gosin be yabu-re
filial fraternal.deference TOP that love ACC realize-PART
fulehe ***dere***
root COP
"Fraternal deference is the foundation to realize love (humanity)" (PASH:50);
tere tasha aniyange (ma. *aniyangge*) *ašikta* (ma. *asihata*) *ainci*
that tiger pertaining.to.a.(certain).year guy probably
muke de buce-he ***dere***
water DAT die-PART MDL.PTL (probably)
aniyangge = pertaining to a certain year in the twelve-year cycle (NL:18);

"That guy who was born in the year of the tiger probably died in the water " (SK).

The sentence particle ***dere*** is used to form unreal conditional sentences:

sa-ci *uthai sin-de* *ala-mbi* ***dere***
know-CONV then you(*si/sin-* SG)-DAT tell-IMPF MDL.PTL

"If I knew, (I) would have told you" (PASH2:81; QW);

min-de *bisi-re-ngge* *o-ci* *in-de*
I(*bi/min-*)-DAT be-PART-NR be(AUX)-CONV he(*i/in-*)-DAT
bu-mbi ***dere***
give-IMPF MDL.PTL
"If I had something, I would give (it) to him" (PASH2:117; QW).

Originally an adverb, the word ***dabala*** "only" may serve as a predicative (sentence) particle, partly losing its lexical meaning. The predicative particle *dabala* is also used to substitute the copula *bi*:

tere min-i *waka* ***dabala***
this I(*bi/min-*)-GEN mistake COP
"This is, of course, my mistake" (ORL:221);
bi gene-ki *se-ci,* *inu min-i* *ciha,*
I go-OPT say-CONV so I(*bi/min-*)-GEN = my desire
gene-rakū *o-ci,*
go-PART(NEG) become(AUX)-CONV
inu mini ciha ***dabala***
so my desire COP
"If I want to go, that is up to me; if I don't want to go, that is also up to me (indeed)"
(PASH2:77; QW).

Possessing restrictive meaning, the particle ***dabala*** normally follows the imperfect participle:

bi damu sin-i *angga-i* *canggi gene-mbi* *se-he* *be*
I only you-GEN mouth-GEN just go-IMPF say-PART ACC
donji-re ***dabala***
hear-PART PTL(only)
"I have just heard (literally: from your lips) you sayng that you will go" (PASH2:76; QW);

han'i jui damu uju be gida-fi yabu-re ***dabala***
khan-GEN son only head ACC nod-CONV go-PART PTL(only)
jai jai jilgan tuci-rakū o-ho
second/again voice give-PART(NEG) become-PART
jai jai, when used with the negative form of a verb, means "the negation + at all;"
"Just having nodded his head, that khan's son goes without saying anything at all" (SK:97).

In both examples, the segment of a sentence, at the end of which the particle *dabala* is placed, begins with the word *damu* "only." As a result, this segment is found contained between two words of similar meaning (*damu ... dabala*).

Originally a perfect participle derived from the verb *waji-* "to finish," the form ***wajiha*** "that's it," "that's all," "that will be all right," is also used to indicate the end of a sentence. It always follows the imperfect participle:

min-de bu-ci uthai ***waji-ha***
I-DAT give-CONV then finish-PART
"If (you) give me, that will be all right;"
ere niyalma umesi jalingga fuhali tsaotsao ***waji-ha***
this man very wicked really finish-PART
"This man is very wicked, a real 'tsaotsao,' that's all" (ZAKH:322);
mejige baha-ci, sin-de benebu-ci
news get-CONV you(*si*/*sin*- SG)-DAT inform.smb.of.smth.-CONV
uthai ***waji-ha***
then finish-PART
"Having received the news (information), I will let you know, that's it" (PASH2:97; QW);
sin-i baita be mutebu-ci, uthai ***waji-ha***
you(*si*/*sin*- SG)-GEN matter ACC fulfill-CONV then finish-PART
"If he carries out your assignment, that will be good" (PASH2:98; QW).

2) The negative particles are ***akū***, ***waka***, ***ume***, ***unde***, ***umai***. Some of them can be used as predicative copulae: *akū*, *waka, unde*.

The particle ***akū*** "there is not," "there are not," "isn't here/there" is the negation of the existential copula *bi* "there is," "there are." This universal negative particle may follow autonomous words of almost all grammatical classes. It may occur with participles to deny the action expressed by them:

ere taci-re be ahūn de ulhibu-he
this learn-PART ACC elder.brother DAT let.know-PART
akū
PTL.NEG
"(He) has not let the elder brother know about this learning" (SK:98).

The particle ***akū*** may be used for the negation of the existence of an object: *tusa* ***akū*** "there is no use;" *etuku* ***akū*** "there is no clothing." It may occur with attributes: ***dutu*** *akū* "not deaf;" *dogo* ***akū*** "not blind." Besides, the particle *akū* is used in the meaning of the preposition "without:" *gūnin* ***akū*** *niyalma* "stupid person" (a person who has no brains); *kooli akū weile* "lawless matter." Acting as a negative copula, the particle ***akū*** forms the predicativity of an utterance:

ubaci goro ***akū***
from.here far PTL.NEG
"It is not far from here" (PASH2:22; QW);
emu be sa-me mute-he de, juwe be
one ACC know-CONV be.able-PART DAT two ACC
sa-ra-ngge mangga ***akū***
know-PART-NR difficult NEG
"Once (a man) is able to understand one thing, it is easy for him to understand the second" (PASH2:29; OB);
min-i sargan ***akū*** *be dahame ši min-i*
I(*bi/min-*)-GEN wife NEG ACC since you(SG) my
sargan oci o-mbi-o?
wife TOP become-IMPF-INT
"Since I have no wife, would you become my wife?"(SK:98).

The negative predicative particle ***waka*** is used to negate nominal predicates:

ere sagda min-i banji-ha ama ***waka***
this old.man I(*bi/min-*)-GEN be.born-PART father PTL.NEG (is.not)
"This old man is not my own father (This old man is not the father who gave birth to me);"
uninge (ma. *unenggi*) *yargiyan* ***waka*** *baita be*
really true PTL.NEG (is.not) matter ACC

han ainu agda-mbi?
khan why believe-IMPF
"Khan, why do you believe in this matter which really is not true?" (SK:99).

The negative particle ***unde*** "not yet" is mostly used with imperfect participles directly following them. It is used to indicate that the action expressed by a participle, has not been accomplished yet:

aga naka-ra ***unde***
rain stop-PART PTL.NEG(not.yet)
"The rain has not stopped yet" (ORL:215).
The particle ***unde*** may form a composite particle with the particle ***kai***:
ming gurun i suduri tetele tokto-ro
PN ruling.house GEN history up.till.now fix-PART
unde ***kai***
PTL.NEG(not.yet) PTL
"The history of the Ming ruling house has not fixed yet" (ORL:215).

The negative particle ***ume*** is used as a component of the prohibitive mood which is represented by the combination of the particle *ume* and the form of the imperfect participle (for more details see 5.8.2.3). The negative particle ***umai*** "(not) at all," "totally," "entirely" is formed by the particle *ume* and the interrogative pronoun *ai* "what?" (*umai* < *ume* = NEG + *ai* "what?"). The particle *umai* is always used together with the particle *akū* and serves to enhance a meaning of the negation. While the particle *umai* stands at the beginning of a sentence (or at least, before the particle *akū*), the particle *akū* terminates it:

min-de ***umai akū*** *bade mim-be ai-be*
I(*bi*/*min*-)-DAT NEG NEG since I(*bi*/*min*-)-ACC what-ACC
bu se-mbi
give(IMP) say-IMPF
"Since I have nothing, what do you want me to give him?" (PASH2:117; QW);
umai *jobolun* (ma. *jobolon*) *išinji-****rakū*** (ma. *isinji-rakū*)
NEG danger threaten-PART(NEG)
"No danger threatens (us);"

umai *niyalma* ***akū***
NEG person COP.NEG(there.are.not)
"No persons are there" (SK).

It should be stressed that the semantics and functions of even the most used copulae have not yet received a satisfactory description. Composite copulae ***bikai, bikai dere***, ***dere kai***, ***akūbi***, ***unde kai*** are formed as combinations of the simple ones mentioned above. They require special discussion too. Most of them are briefly mentioned in the unpublished manuscript "Syntax of the Simple Sentence in the Manchu Language" by B.K. Pashkov (PASH1:48). Here are some examples of the composite predicative copulae:

uttu ohode, teni niyalma seme jalan de banji-re de
like.this if then man TOP world DAT live-PART DAT
yertecun ***akū*** ***o-mbi***
shame COP.NEG (there.is.not) COP(be-IMPF)
"If so, while living in this world, a man has no reason to be ashamed" (GAB:120);
ere-i adali jaka unca-ra-ngge ***inu bi-kai***
this-GEN like thing sell-PART-NR COP COP-COP
"Things similar to this (one) are available on sale" (ZAKH:220; PASH2:20; QW).

2) In Literary Manchu there are three interrogative particles, namely, ***na***, ***o***, ***ni*** (***n***). The particle ***na*** combines with nouns and all verbal forms. It is always placed after words to which it applies. The interrogative particle ***na*** and the word it follows may be written as one word or separately. Here are some examples:

ši sain ji-he-na, bou (ma. *boo*) *de gemu*
you well come-PART-INT house DAT everything
*sain-****na****?*
all.right-INT
"Have you come well, is everything all right at home?"
ši bayan niyalma i sargan ***na***, *ejen'i fuyan*
you(SG) wealthy man GEN wife INT khan-GEN khan's.wife
na?
INT
"Are you a wealthy man's wife, or are you a khan's wife?"

sue (ma. *suwe*) *araki omi-rakū-**na**?*
you (SG) wine drink-PART(NEG)-INT
"Don't you drink some wine?" (SK:97-98).

In Literary Manchu as a result of fusing the form of the conditional converb (form in **-ci**) and the particle ***na***, a special interrogative verbal form in ***-cina*** was formed: *-ci* + *na* > *-cina*. According to Zakharov, this form denotes a polite request in the manner of a question, and it is considered a form of the imperative mood (Zakharov, 1879:180-1). In the Sibe dialect there is a special interrogative verbal form in ***-mna*** which was formed on the basis of the imperfect converb (form in ***-me***) and the particle ***na***: *-me* + na > *-mna*. In the course of time it has lost its converbal character and shifted from converbs to a verb proper, serving as the predicate of an interrogative sentence:

sue (ma. *suwe*) *sain'i* *bi-**mna***?
you (SG) good-GEN be-INT
"Do you live well?" (SK:83).

The interrogative particle ***o*** combines with participles and verbs proper:
damu niyalma be koro ara-fi, beye de tusa ara-ki
onle person ACC offence do-CONV self DAT benefit do-OPT
se-ci *o-mbi-**o**?*
say(AUX)-CONV be(AUX)-IMPF-INT
"Is it possible to benefit doing harm to others?" (PASH2:119; QW);
kice-rakū-ci *o-mbi-**o***?
try-PART(NEG)-CONV be(AUX)-IMPF-INT
kicerakūci < kice-rakū + o-ci;
"Is it impossible to try (to do that)?" (PASH2:48; MB);
šin-i (ma. *sin-i*) *jergi gasha be geli n'alma* (ma. *niyalma*)
you(*ši/šin-* SG)-GEN kind bird ACC like human.being
o-fi *eigen* *gai-ci* *o-mbi-**o***?
become-CONV husband take-CONV become-IMPF-INT
" May I, a human being, take a bird like you as a husband?" (SK:98).

The interrogative particle ***o*** may be attached to copulae:
eime-re *kooli* *bi-**o**?*
loathe-PART custom COP-INT
"Why should I loathe you?" (literally: "Is there a custom to loathe you?") (PASH2:74; QW);

geren niyalma-i dorgi fala-ci aca-ra-ngge
crowd people-GEN inside punish-CONV meet(AUX)-PART-NR
*we-be-**o**?*
who-COP-INT
fala-ci aca- "should be punished;"
"Who is that person (from this crowd) who must be punished?" (PASH2:15; QW).

The interrogative particle ***ni*** is mostly used at the end of a sentence or a syntactic period to denote a question. Following verbs or participles, this particle is mostly written separately, however, they may be occasionally written as one word as well. Here are some examples with the interrogative particle ***ni***:

*ere ai turgun **ni**?*
this what reason INT
"What is the reason of this?" (PASH2:17; QW);
*ere gese kooli geli bi-**ni**?*
this like norm also COP-INT
"Are there any laws similar to this one? (PASH2:46; MB);
*aina-hai baha-mbi-**ni**?*
do.what?-CONV = how get-IMPF-INT
"How could it happen?" (PASH2:34; OB);
*si ere be aibide baha-fi sa-ha bi-he-**ni**?*
you this ACC where be.able know-PART be(AUX)-PART-INT
"Where could you get to know this?" (ZAKH:216);
*ere ai bi-he **ni**?*
this what be-PART INT
"What is this?"
*ai baita bi-he-**ni**?*
what matter be-PART-INT
"What is the matter?" (SK:98).

The interrogative particle ***ni*** is often used after the negative particle ***akū***:

*we ya de emu hešu hašu baita **akū** **ni**?*
who what DAT one trifling matter PTL.NEG INT
hešu hašu "trifling," "petty," "annoying" (NL:129);
"Is there anybody who has no trifling duties?" (PASH2:93; QW);
*bi ainu taka-**rakū** **ni**?*

I why know-PART(NEG) INT
"Why am I not aware (of this)?" (PASH2:60; JB).

In negative participles which are formed by the negation ***akū***, the particle ***ni*** often undergoes transformation into ***n***:

*abka gala-**rakū-n** ?*
sky clear.up-PART(NEG)-INT
"The sky is clearing up, isn't it?;"
*gene-ki se-**rakū-n**?*
go-OPT say(AUX)-PART(NEG)-INT
"Do you wish to go or don't you?" (ZAKH:216);
tere-i gūnin be tuwa-ci o-mbi-o
that-GEN thought ACC see-CONV be(AUX)-IMPF-INT
*ojo-**rakū-n** ?*
be(AUX)-PART(NEG)-INT
tuwa-ci o- "possible to see (know);"
"Is it possible to know his opinion (thoughts) about this matter or is it not possible?" (PASH2:96; QW).

The words *sain* "good," "well" and *yargiyan* "true," "real," "truth," "reality" have the interrogative forms *saiyūn* "How are you?" and *yargiyūn* "Is it true?" Here are two examples:

si saiyūn "How are you?" (NL:231);
ere baita yargiyun
this event real(INT)
"Is this event true?" (ZAKH:217).

The interrogative particle ***ni*** can be used to express an exclamation in such sentences where the exclamation is combined with a question:

*dule i tubade bi-he-**ni***
in.fact he there be-PART-INT/EXCLM
"In fact, he was there!"
dule si ubade bi-fi niyalma-i baru gurure-mbi
in.fact you(SG) here be-CONV people-GEN toward talk-IMPF
ni
INT/EXCLM
"In fact, you are sitting here and talking to people!" (ZAKH:219).

To emphasize the question, a combination of interrogative particles is often used:

ere sain akū ***ni-o****?*
this good PTL.NEG (there.is.not) INT-INT
"Isn't it a good (deed)?" or "Isn't it good?" (PASH2:18; QW).

4) In old Manchu the following exclamatory particles were widely used: ***na***, ***ne***, ***no***, ***nu***, ***jiya***, ***jiye,*** and ***ya***. Even at the time when Iv. Zakharov was writing his Grammar, these particles were not frequently used (Zakharov, 1879:219). Here are some examples:

*bi-****na***
be-EXCLM "There is!"
wakala-rakū ***na***
blame-PART(NEG) EXCLM
"(You) don't blame (smb.)!"
ere sain ***jiya***
this good EXCLM
"This is good!"
muse uthai yabu-me ***jiye***
we(INCL) at.once go-CONV EXCLM
"So, we go at once!"
absi sain ***jiye***
how good EXCLM
"How good it is!"
inu ***ya***
yes EXCLM
"correct!," "exactly!" (ZAKH:219).

Particles emphasizing the meaning of words they follow can also be found in Manchu. The particle ***tome*** "each," "every" is presumably a form of the imperfect converb derived from the verbal stem "to-" (compare with *ton* "number") which had in the past the meaning "to count" but had gone out of use. The particle *tome* is used to designate the totality of objects of the same nature, and at the same time it is used to indicate any single object which this totality contains. The particle *tome* is used as a postposition, occurring only with nouns:
ilan niyalma ***tome*** *sargan gai-ha bi*
three man every wife take-PART COP
"Each of three man has chosen a wife (for himself)" (SK:100).

The particle ***dari*** "each," "every" occurs only with nouns which denote periods of time: *biyadari* "every month," *aniyadari* "every year,"

inenggidari "every day." Since it had lost its morphological independence, the particle *dari* developed into a form similar to a derivational suffix:

muke inengdari (ma. *inenggidari*) *sain'i eye-mbi*
water every.day good-GEN run-IMPF
"Water runs well every day" (SK:100).

10. *Reduplication of Words. Grammatical Meanings of Pair Words*

Applicable to certain morphological classes of words, reduplication and pair words, as grammatical methods, are widely used in Manchu. Both methods are used to form new words, synthetic and analytical forms, phraseological units. Nouns with semantics of place and time are reduplicated and combined in pair words much more rarely than other classes of nominal words. Verbs proper as well as the perfect, conditional, and concessive converbs are never reduplicated or combined in pair words. The imperfect converbs are combined in pair words more frequently than other grammatical classes of words of full meaning.

Reduplication is a repetition of autonomous words without changing their phonetic and morphological shape. The pair word is a combination of two synonyms or two words belonging to the same lexical set of words. A pair word may be represented by combination of two antonyms. Being an element of reduplicative or pair word combinations, each word preserves its independent phonic compositon.

Both reduplicative and pair word combinations may serve to express plurals (or more properly collectives): *jalan jalan* "generations," "worlds" (*jalan* "generation," "age," "world"). Here is one more example:

ere enduri hutu ala-ha
this spirit desembodied.spirit tell-PART
"These spirits have told [something]" (SK:101).

The pair word *enduri hutu* consists of the word *enduri* "God," "spirit" and the word *hutu* "devil," "disembodied spirit." These two words belong to the same lexical set, and they are used in this way to indicate plurality.

adun ulha ulin jaka jetere omire ele hacin
herd domestic.animal property thing meal drink all various
baitalan gemu bi
thing.in.daily.use everything COP
"Domestic animals, property, meals and drinks, various things in daily use, everything there is" (SK:101).

In this sentence there are three pair word combinations. The first of them, *adun ulha* consists of two words which belong to the same lexical set: *adun* "herd" and *ulha* "livestock," "domestic animal." This pair word serves to indicate plurality. The second pair word combination *ulin jaka* contains two words referring to the same lexical set of words, the word *ulin* "goods," "possessions," "property," "wealth" and the word *jaka* "thing." This pair word combination is also used to express plurality. The third pair word combination *jetere omire* contains two imperfect participles in their substantive use, that is the participle *jete-re* "what is eaten," "meal" (*jete-* "to eat") and the participle *omi-re* "what is drunk," "drink" (*omi-* "to drink"). This pair word is used to express a general notion "subsistence of every kind," "meals and drinks," which is associated with the notion of plurality.

The plurality of persons or objects, where each person ot object is regarded as separate is expressed by this grammatical device and is used together with the category of plural. Here is an example:

emken emken sargan ju-se de ulin nadan jaka hacin
one one woman child(*jui*)-PL DAT property seven thing various
ulha morin n'alma (ma. *niyalma*) *tome bu-hei*
domestic.animal horse people every give-CONV
"(He) gave property, various things, domestic animals, horses, people, everything to every (his) seven daughters, one by one" (SK:102).

The lexical meaning "every," "one by one" is expressed twice in this sentence. Firstly, it is expressed by the reduplication of the word *emken* "one" (*emken emken* "one by one") and secondly, by the particle *tome* "every" placed at the end of the sentence. Double expression of the same grammatical meaning by two different grammatical devices occurs frequently in Manchu texts.

Reduplicative and pair word combinations are often used as grammatical devices to indicate grammatical meanings of high degree

of intensity of an action and high degree of qualitative characteristics which a person or an object possesses.

High degree of intensity of an action is usually expressed by pair words represented by two imperfect converbs which have synonymous meaning:

gemu songo-me (ma. *songgo-me*) *fa-me* *men'i men'i*
all cry-CONV be.tired-CONV each/every
bou (ma. *boo*) *i* *baru muda-ha*
house GEN to return-PART
songgome fa- "to weep bitterly (when parting)" (NL:248);
"All have returned to their houses weeping bitterly" (SK:102).

In this sentence the high intensity of the action is expressed by the pair of the imperfect converbs which may be ascribed to the same lexical set: *songgome fame* "weeping bitterly" (*songgo-* "to cry," *fa-* "to be tired").
kata-me *kangka-me* (ma. *kanggka-me*) *buce-he* *bi*
dry-CONV be.thirsty-CONV die-PART COP
"Suffering from thirst very much, (he) has died" (SK:102).

In this sentence the high intensity of the action is expressed by the pair of imperfect converbs which possess synonymous semantics, that is *katame kanggkame* "suffering from thirst very much" (*kata-* "to dry" and *kanggka-* "to be thirsty").

To express a high degree of qualitative characteristics which a person or an object possesses, normally nouns that have the meaning of an object, quality, personal nouns (much more rarely than other classes of nouns) and almost all groups of pronouns are used. Here are some examples:

emu amba yafan kūaran (ma. *kūwaran*) *sabu-mbi*
one big garden courtyard see-IMPF
"(He) has seen a big and beautiful garden" (SK:102).

The pair word combination *yafan kūwaran* "beautiful garden" consists of the word *yafan* "garden," borrowed from Chinese, and the word *kūwaran* "courtyard."
ai ai jaka be ambula ba-ha
what what thing ACC many get-PART

"(They) have got many various things" (SK:102).

The reduplication of the pronoun *ai* "what" in the attributive function has the meaning "various" ("what, what").

The permanent use of any reduplicative and pair word combinations has led to a situation where some of them have lost their original semantics. On this basis many idiomatic word-combinations were formed: *giyan giyan i* "in detail," "in proper order" (*gian* "reason," "principle," "order"); *emken emken* "one by one," "little by little" (*emken* "one"); *yaya* "every," "each," "any" (*ya* "which?," "what?"); *ududu* "several," "a number of," "many" (*udu* "how much?," "how many?").

Reduplication and pair words normally occur in languages which do not belong to the Tungus-Manchu language community, for instance, in Chinese. Seemingly, in Manchu, reduplication and pair words, as grammatical methods, were borrowed from the Chinese language.

This page intentionally left blank

PART FIVE

SYNTAX

This page intentionally left blank

PART FIVE

SYNTAX

1. *Preliminaries*

Syntax is usually defined as a linguistic discipline which studies such language entities as word-combinations and sentences, both simple and composite. The rules according to which word-combinations and sentences are built from word forms are often also included in syntax. I accept, in this book, a view of the subject and role of syntax according to which syntax investigates, on the one hand, the rules for linking words and word-combinations, and, on the other hand, the language units within which these rules are realized (Beloshapkova, 1977:5; Cheremisina & Kolosova, 1987:6). The major task of syntax is the study of certain syntactic patterns and rules, according to which connected speech, as a free combination of lexical units, is carried out.

A sentence, which serves to form and express human thought, is the central and fundamental unit of syntax. The main distinctive feature of a sentence as opposed to language units of lower level is that the sentence is an utterance; it is communicative. This means, firstly, that the sentence reflects a certain situation (an event or a state of affairs) of the outside world, and, secondly, that it possesses the communicative purpose of affirming or negating smth., of asking about smth., or impelling smb. to do smth. According to this, sentences may be affirmative, negative, interrogative or imperative. As a unit of communication, the sentence realizes its communicative purposes through the syntactic categories of modality and tense. The latter are expressed by the verbal forms of mood and tense, as well as by intonation, modal words, and words denoting localization in time.

According to their syntactic structure, sentences are very diverse. Nevertheless, they are mostly realized by word-combinations of varying degrees of complexity. Realized through a word-combination, a sentence possesses predicative structure. This means that it has either a predicative word form, including a nominal (non-ver-

bal) predicate, or two strictly correlated principal parts of a sentence—the subject and the predicate. In reality, these constructions become sentences due to the intonation with which they are pronounced. Words and non-predicative word-combinations may become sentences only in certain syntactic conditions including dialogue. When they become sentences, such word-combinations acquire a certain communicative function, a connection to a certain situation of the outside world, and a certain intonation (Maslov, 1987:168-9).

The second aspect of syntactic objects is related to the concept of syntactic relationships. Without syntactic relationships there are no syntactic objects since the latter are always understood as constructive, formed according to a certain pattern. Opposed to each other, the notions of coordination and subordination are the fundamental concepts in the study which investigates syntactic relationships. Subordination is defined as an inequitable relationship when one component depends on another (or one component is governed by another). The subordinating relationship is mostly used in the structure of word-combinations and it may be: 1) attributive, 2) objective, or 3) adverbial. At the level of a sentence, subordination manifests itself in the relationship between dependent and principal clauses in complex sentences as well as between the principal part of an expanded sentence and the participial or adverbial constructions which it includes. The ways of expressing subordinate relationships at the level of a complex sentence differ from those between words in word-combinations or in a simple sentence. To express subordinating relationships in the Tungus-Manchu languages the following grammatical means are used mostly: 1) government, 2) agreement, and 3) juxtaposition. Another means of subordination referred to as "reflection" in scientific literature is also found in Manchu. The term "reflection" was initially introduced by V.A. Avrorin to designate a special means of expressing syntactic relationships in attributive word-combinations (Avrorin, 1960:31-42). Later this term was applied to the attributive word-combinations studied by O.A. Konstantinova and E.P. Lebedeva in the Evenki language (Konstantinova & Lebedeva, 1953:241-2). The term was also used by B.D. Kolesnikova in her "Syntax of the Evenki Language." She referred to "reflection" in Evenki as a special means of expressing syntactic relationships when subordinating relationships between the principal and dependent components of a construction (word-combination) man-

ifest themselves by means of the form of the principal (governing) component. There are two types of "reflection:" 1) the "reflection" of the person and the number of the dependent component of a word-combination by means of personal-possessives suffixes which are attached to the principal component; 2) the "*reflection*" of the quantitative characteristics of the dependent component of a word-combination by means of the grammatical form of the principal component. The first type of "reflection" semantically denotes possessive relationships in the broad sense. The dependent component (determinatum) of an attributive word-combination formed by means of "reflection," is normally expressed by a noun, or a personal pronoun of the third person, singular or plural, or a word of another parts of speech which can function in the role of a noun. The principal component (determinandum) of such an attributive word-combination has the possessive suffix for the third person, singular or plural, in its structure (Kolesnikova, 1966:37-42). Here are some examples in Evenki:

Nungan ***amākā*** *abdun-mā-****n*** *baka-ra-n.*
he bear lair-ACC-3.POSS.SG find-PERF-3.PR.SG
"He has found the bear's lair;"
Bi ollomōcin-i-m *diab-dū-****n***
I come.to.fish(PERF)-CONN-1.PR.SG boat-DAT-3.POSS.SG
amākā-v.
grandfather-1.POSS.SG
"I went fishing in my grandfather's boat" (KOL:38-9).

In the Eastern Evenki dialects the first type of "reflection"can be observed in the attributive word-combinations which consist of personal pronouns for the first and the second persons, singular and plural and a noun:

bi *pōta-****v***
I bag-1.POSS.SG
"my bag;"
si *gule-****s***
you house-2.POSS.SG
"your house" (Kolesnikova, 1966:38).

In fact, the term "reflection" was introduced to designate a variety of attributive word-combinations close to those which were referred

to in Turkic studies as "izafet," an originally Arab term. The term "izafet" is widely used in Turkology to designate attributive word-combinations, both components of which are expressed by nouns. Specialists in Turkology normally distinguish three types of attributive constructions (word-combinations) components of which are linked by means of "izafet." Each of these types differs not only morphologically but also with respect to the semantic and syntactic relationship between the components of a construction. The attributive word-combination constituted according to "izafet I," is used to denote qualitative characteristics attributed by the dependent component to the main one. Both components of the construction have no morphological formants. The dependent component of the word-combination formed according to "izafet II," is used to attrubute relative characteristics to the governing component which is followed by the possessive suffix of the third person, for example: ***tϋrk*** *dil*-***i*** "the Turkish language" (Turkish). "Izafet III" is used to denote possessive relationships in the broad sense; the dependent component is followed by the formant of the genitive, and the governing component is followed by the possessive suffix of the third person, for example: АТ-ЫНГ ӨЛУМ-И "the death of a horse" (Turkmen) (LE, 1990:172). Some turkologists distinguish "izafet IV" which is also used to denote relative-posessive characteristics. In this case only the dependent component is morphologically marked; it is followed by the marker of the genitive.

The attributive word-combinations formed by means of the first type of "reflection" in Tungusic, is very close to those formed by means of "izafet II" in Turkic. Turkologists have different opinions regarding the definition of the grammatical means by which the "izafet-constructions" are formed. Some do not give a special definition at all (Maizel, 1957). Others define the grammatical means of this syntactic relationship as a kind of government (Kononov, 1956:411-2). Some view "izafet" as a special kind of agreement (Ubryatova, 1950:39, 43).

It should be noted that "reflection," with some variations, is widely used in all Tungusic languages except Manchu. Instead of "izafet II," common to all Tungusic, in Manchu the third and the fourth types of "izafet" are widely used. The third type of "izafet" is commonly used in participial constructions which contain their own subject expressed by a noun in the form of genitive. Being a head of a construction, the participle is followed by the suffix *-ngge* which

can be defined as a nominalizer in classical Manchu, however, it's origin can be traced to the possessive suffix. These participial constructions have already been partly described in **Morphology** (see Section 5.6.5). They are analyzed further in **Syntax** of complex sentences (see Sections 5.3.3 & 5.4.3). The fourth type of "izafet" is used in attributive word-combinations where the genitive realizes its possessive function (see Part IV, Section 2.8).

According to contemporary ideas (notions) of general morphology, "izafet" is a morphological means for marking syntactic subordination in the structure of a head noun within a noun syntagma. The head noun contains a morphological marker which signals that this head noun has a certain dependent element. This strategy of expressing the dependent syntactic status of a noun is opposed to the category of the case, which marks the syntactic subordination in the structure of a dependent noun within a verbal-noun (predicative-argument) syntagma (Plungyan, 2000:184-5). The opposition of these two types of encoding syntactic relationships was initially introduced by J. Nichols and designated by the terms "head-marking" vs. "dependent-marking" (Nichols, 1986:56-119). Plungyan believes that two types of "izafet" exist in Turkic languages. A subordinate (dependent) noun may occur in the form of the nominative or in the form of the genitive while a head noun always contains a morphological marker which coincides with the possessive suffix of the third person and which signals that this head noun has a subordinate noun. The absence of the genitive case marker indicates that the subordinate noun has no a definite or specific reference (Plungyan, 2000:186). When this morphological device is seen in this way, "izafet I" and "izafet IV" cannot be considered as the "head-marking" type of encoding syntactic subordination (dependence).

Agreement and government are also the kinds of subordinating relationships which are expressed morphologically. In the case of agreement, it is a repetition of one, two or several grammemes belonging to the governing word (determinandum) in the structure of the dependent word (determinatum). Agreement is exclusively used to express attributive relationships in Evenki and Even (Lamut) (Kolesnikova, 1966:43). The other Tungus-Manchu languages including classical Manchu do not use the agreement. In the case of government, the governing word requires certain grammemes from the subordinate word. These grammemes do not repeat those be-

longing to the governing word. Government is widely used to express subordinating relationships in Manchu. Since juxtaposition has no morphological expression, it is usually interpreted as the most simple subordinating relationship. Juxtaposition is widely used in Manchu as well.

Coordination is a grammatical expression of both semantically and syntactically symmetrical relationships between components. Despite the close semantic relationship between components, the latter are independent grammatically since there is no formal expression of subordination of one component to the other. Coordinative relationships in the Altaic languages (including Tungus-Manchu) differ from those in inflexional languages, for instance, in Russian, where there is no such phenomenon as group grammatical expression of the parts of the sentence. Formal specificity becomes clearer when coordinating conjunctions appear. These conjunctions link components of the same type although the type itself can be understood very widely. Morphological parallelism of forms without conjunctions can be considered as the formal grammatical means of expressing coordination.

In classical Manchu, differentiation of the parts of speech was in the stage of formation. As already shown, it is very difficult to divide all nominal words into grammatical classes (see Part IV, Section 2). There are also many nouns and verbs that have the same stems. As a result of weak differentiation of the parts of speech, the parts of a sentence have become of greater importance for the organization of the Manchu utterance.

Word-order is an important grammatical means to distinguish the parts of a sentence. In the Manchu language the general rule of word-order is to the effect that the subordinate component of a syntactic unit always stands before the governing one. The attribute stands before the noun on which it depends, the object precedes its governing verb, and the subject stands before the predicate. Therefore, if the subject and the predicate have the same syntactic structure, their word-order is the only possible way of distinguishing them. The predicate occupies the final position in the sentence. Subordinate predicates precede the principal ones and take suffixes of the non-finite forms, e.g. converbs or participles followed by the case markers.

Relationships between subordinate and principal parts of a complex sentence are expressed by special syntactic devices which are

used to determine and specify the syntactic division of a sentence and substitute the weakly developed system of the distinctive parts of speech. Besides word-order, the most important devices which serve to express subordinating syntactic relationships between words are the following: government, juxtaposition, correlation, and parallelism. The variety of attributive constructions formed by means of "izafet III" and "izafet IV" is also of great importance in Manchu, however, the structure of these constructions is different to the ones in the other Tungusic languages.

2. *Grammatical Means of Expressing Syntactic Relationships in Manchu*

1) Word-order is the basic and obligatory means to distinguish the parts of a sentence. The position of a part of a sentence, as in the other Altaic languages, is governed by the general rule according to which a dependent component always precedes a principal one. Word-order is often the only way to distinguish the leading parts of the sentence—a subject and a predicate— when they are rendered by a syntactic group with the same grammatical structure.

A direct object is usually placed between leading parts of the sentence, a subject and a predicate. Despite the fact that the direct object has the strongest bond with the predicate, it may occupy one of three possible positions relative to the predicate.

a) The direct object may stand directly before the predicate:
donji-ci si te manju ***bithe*** *taci-mbi se-mbi*
hear-CONV you(SG) now Manchu book learn-IMPF say-IMPF
The imperfect form of the verb *se-* "say" is used to mark the closing of the direct speech.
"So I hear you are studying Manchu now, eh?" (MOLL:15; TM);
bi ***hergen be*** *ara-mbi*
be letter ACC write-IMPF
"I write letters" (PASH:54);
uthai ***cacari maikan be*** *ca-fi …*
immediately tent tent ACC pitch-CONV
"(They) immediately pitched (their) tents …" (NSB:112).

b) It may be separated from the predicate by an adverbial modifier of manner, an indirect object, or direct speech:

bithe be *ure-me* *hūla*
book/letter ACC be.familiar.with-CONV read(IMP)
bithe hūla- "to study" (NL:31);
"Study (the writing system) thoroughly" (PASH:54);
anculan giyahūn kuri ***indahūn be*** *saikan*
hawk a.dog.striped.like.a.tiger dog ACC good
i *ulebu-fi …* *belhe*
GEN feed-CONV prepare(IMP)
anculan giyahūn "hawk" (NL:17);
"Feed hawks and dogs rather well" (NSB:112);
min-i ***gisun be*** *ama* *eme* *de* *getuken*
I(*bi/min-*)-GEN = my word ACC father mother DAT clear
i *fondo* *ula-ra-o*
GEN completely pass.to-PART-INT
The form *-rao* is used to denote the imperative here.
"Please, pass on my words to (my) father and mother clearly and in full" (NSB:113).

c) It may even precede a subject:
tere niyalma be *bi akda-mbi*
that man ACC I trust-IMPF
"I trust that man" (PASH:54).
An indirect object normally stands before a predicate:
ere ***niyalma de*** *bu-he*
this man DAT give-PART
"(He) gave (something) to this man" (PASH2:3; AH);
sa-ci *uthai* ***sin-de*** *ala-mbi* *dere*
know-CONV then you(*si/sin-* SG)-DAT tell-IMPF MDL.PTL (probably/likely)
"If (I) knew, (I) should tell you" (PASH2:81; QW).
An adverbial modifier of time normally precedes the subject, but may follow it:
sikse *si* *aibide* *gene-he* *bi-he*
yesterday you(SG) where go-PART be-PART
"Where have you been yesterday?" (PSH2:91; QW);
jai inenggi *sergūdai fiyanggū* *ama* *eme* *fakca-ra*
next day PN PN father mother leave-PART
doro-i *hengkile-fi …*
rite-GEN kowtow-CONV
fiyanggū "youngest," "least," "smallest" (NL:89);

"The next day Sergūdai Fiyanggū kowtowed to (his) father and mother following the parting ritual …" (NSB:112);
muse ***cimari*** *abala-me tuci-mbi*
we (INCL) morning hunt-CONV leave-IMPF
"Tomorrow morning we will go hunting" (NSB:112).
An adverbial modifier of place may precede a subject, but more often comes after it:
sin-i boo ***aibide*** *te-hebi*
you(*si*/*sin*- SG)-GEN = your house where sit/reside/be-PAST
"Where is your house?" (PASH2:143; QW);
age si ***ubade*** *te-hebi-o*
elder.brother/sir you(SG) at.this.place/here reside-PAST-INT
"Do you live here (at this place; in this neighbourhood—MOLL:36), sir?" (PASH2:172; TM);
nahan de *emu funiyehe sara-ka sakda*
oven-bed DAT one hair become.white-PART old
mama te-hebi
grandmother sit-PAST
"A grey-haired old woman was sitting on a nahan (oven-bed used in Manchuria; chin. *kang*)" (NSB:119).
An attribute always precedes the noun it modifies, and rearrangment is impossible:
min-i beye ***fulgiyan*** *fi i emke*
I(*bi*/*min*-)-GEN = my self red brush (< chin. *bi*) GEN one
emken i kimci-me dasa-ha
one GEN check-CONV correct-PART
emke emken i "one by one," "little by little" (NL:74);
"Checking (manuscripts) one by one, I myself corrected (mistakes) with a red brush" (PASH2:329; BB);
suru *morin de yalu-fi …*
white(horse) horse DAT ride-CONV
"(He) mounted a white horse" (NSB:112).

As one can see from the above examples, a subject normally precedes the predicate which occupies the last position in a sentence.

Dependent predicates always precede the principal ones and subordinate clauses always precede the principal ones in complex sentenses.

Positions of the parts of the sentence, in addition to word-order, may be marked in some cases by particles. Thus, certain particles

are used to mark a subject. Different particles are used with other parts of a sentence, viz. predicates, objects or attributes.

In contrast to the other Tungusic languages, the Manchu sentence may include the so-called thematic subject which normally precedes a grammatical subject. This thematic subject is often followed by special particles which are described in detail below (see Section 4.1.1).

2) Government, as a grammatical means, is used to express subordinating relationships when the governing component of a word-combination requires a certain grammatical form (or forms) from the dependent component. The grammatical form of the latter is different from that of the governing component. Governing words determine the grammatical form of subordinate ones. In Manchu, different classes of words with semantics of action, e.g. verbs, participles, converbs, and verbal nouns, can function as governing words. When the relationship between governing and subordinate words is obligatory the government can be defined as strong. When the relationship is not obligatory the government can be defined as weak. Ability to govern strongly is closely related to direct and indirect transitivity. Governing words which possess the category of transitivity, cannot be used without subordinated words in certain cases. Such sentences as "*I weile-mbi*" ("He builds"), " *I gai-mbi*" ("He takes") can be understood as incomplete. Complete sentences are:

i boo be weile-mbi
he house ACC build-IMPF
"He builds a house;"
i bithe be gai-mbi
he book ACC take-IMPR
"He takes a book."

Words can be characterized by weak government if they do not possess the category of transitivity. Sentences in which they are used are always complete:

min-i gucu ji-he
I(*bi/min-*) = my friend came-PART
"My friend came."

The position of a subordinate word (or a group of words, or a dependent clause) as well as case markers are the formal devices to

express government. Case markers may sometimes be omitted. In Manchu, postpositions may also govern subordinate elements. Here are some examples:

bi ***bithe be*** *hūla-mbi*
I book ACC read-IMPF
"I read a book" ("I am reading a book");
bi tere ***niyalma de*** *hendu-he*
I that person DAT say-PART
"I said to that person" (PASH2:3; AH);
bi ***boo-ci*** *tuci-ke*
I house-ABL go.out-PART
"I went out of the house;"
da-ci *dube-****de*** ***isitala***
beginning-ABL end-DAT up.to
"from the beginning to the end" (PASH2:22; AH).

Subordinate elements may serve as direct or indirect objects and adverbial modifiers. They may be rendered by a single word, or an expanded syntactic group, or subordinate clause, or direct speech. Here are some examples:

cira be *taka-ra* *gojime* ***mujilen be***
face ACC know-PART although heart ACC
sa-rkū
know-PART(NEG)
"Although (I) know the face (of a person) (I) do not know (his) heart (thoughts);"
yasa-i ***tuwa-ra-ngge*** ***tasara-ha*** ***ba*** ***bi-sire*** ***be***
eye-GEN look-PART-NR be.wrong-PART SBSTR be-PART ACC
sa-ci *aca-mbi*
know-CONV meet-IMPF
Tv-*ci aca-* = should, ought, must*; sa-ci aca-* "(one) should know;"
"(One) should know what you see with your eyes is wrong (misleading)" (PASH1:8).

The last sentence shows that the form of the accusative "*be*" is of syntactic nature since it serves here to mark the direct object which has the structure of a sentence (clause): *yasai tuwarangge tasara ba bisire*

be "what (you) see with (your) eyes is misleading."

3) As mentioned above (see Section 1), "izafet" is a very specific kind of expression of the subordinating relationship in the Altaic languages (it is worth reminding here that the term "Altaic" is understood in this book to encompass the typological affinity of the languages). Most of them have the morphological category of possession which is used to express this kind of subordinating relationship. The category of possession is expressed by personal-possessive suffixes. The primary function of these suffixes is to denote the possessive semantics which in some cases may be treated as a type of attributive semantics. Because the morphological category of possession is the most fundamental in Altaic, special care must be taken to explain how it manifests itself in word-combinations of different semantic nature. Possessive relations link nouns which denote an owner and an object which is in the owner's possession, for example, in Evenki: ***amin*** *avun-i-**n*** "father's hat" [father hat-he/his]. They may link nouns which designate the whole and the part: evenk. ***hargi*** *dyapka-**n*** " edge of a forest" [forest edge-it/its], as well as a unit of measure and an object which is measured. Relationships between persons according to their kinship and subordination may also be expressed by the possessive suffixes, for example, in Evenki: ***hute*** *akīn-i-**n*** "a child's elder brother" [child elder brother-he/his]. Even word-combinations, where the first element can be put in correlation with an agent and the second denotes the action which the agent performs, may be organized structurally by means of the possessive construction. In this case the semantics of a possessive word-combination is very close to that of a predicative construction. As a matter of fact, such word-combinations, formally possessive, are predicative according to their content (Avrorin, 1959). These possessive constructions are widely spread in the Turkic, Mongolian, and Tungusic languages. The following are examples of word-combinations where the predicative relationship between two components is manifested by the form of a possessive construction:
Evenki:

Tadū baka-ra-n untal-va bu
there find-PERF-3.SG.PR boots-ACC we

o-nā-vā-vun.
make-PART-ACC-1.PL.POSS
"There he found (special Tungusic) boots which were made by us;"
Bu mervun sine-ve ***eme-nē-du-s***
we ourselves you-ACC come-PART-DAT-2.SG.POSS
urun-e-v.
rejoice-PERF-1.PL.PF
"We rejoiced that you came (We rejoiced at your coming)"[1].

In classical Manchu there is no the morphological category of possession. Presumably in the old language this category was expressed by the suffix ***-ngge***, originally of possessive nature. The possessive meaning of the suffix *-ngge* is seen even in the classical language where it acts as a nominalizer rather than a possessive suffix. Quite often participles may be followed by the suffix *-ngge* which reveals its possessive nature in the following constructions:

ere sargan i ***ji-dere-ngge***
this women GEN come-PART-NR
"this women's approach;"
ejen i ***buce-he-ngge***
lord GEN die-PART-NR
"the khan's death;"
min-i ***ubaliyambu-ha-ngge***
I(*bi/min-*)-GEN = my translate-PART-NR
"what I translated," "my translations;"
sin-i ***taci-ha-ngge***
you(*si/sin-* SG)-GEN = your learn-PART-NR
"your learning."

Thus, the possessive relationships between an agent and an action performed by him/her, may be rendered by the construction "noun/pronoun GEN Tv-PART-*ngge*." Formally possessive, they are predicative in content. When such constructions have no complementary components describing the situation in a more detailed way, participles can rightfully be translated as nouns of action. When they are expanded with dependent words these constructions obtain the

[1] The bar over letters is used in the examples from Evenki to indicate long vowels.

ability to reflect certain situations of the outside world in more detail and therefore have good reasons to be classified and translated as subordinate clauses.

The attributive (possessive) relationships between nouns are normally expressed by the genitive in Manchu. The following are examples of nominal word-combinations where the genetive is used to denote the attributive (possessive) relationships: *moo i ejen* "the owner of a tree;" *han i sargan* "the khan's wife;" *abdaha i amtan* "the smell of a leaf;" *abkai elden* "sky light" (the light from the sky); *juse i usabun* "affection towards children." There are constructions of this type where possessive relationships link not two nouns, but a noun and a participle. In this case the first component of the possesive construction may be regarded as an agent and the second as a predicate. Formally possessive, these relationships, according to their content, are transformed into predicative:

ama ***i*** *hūla-ra*
father GEN call-PART
"the father's call;"
han ***i*** *ji-he*
khan GEN come-PART
"the khan's coming;"
*sin-**i*** *ara-ha*
you(*si/sin-* SG)-GEN do-PART
"what you have done," "your action (act)."

4) Juxtaposition is defined as a kind of grammatical means of expressing subordinating relationships when the form of the dependent component of a word-combination does not depend on a governing component and does not change according to its requirements. It is known that jaxtaposition is more typical for analytical languages or for those that have analytical features, for example, Turkic. In Manchu, jaxtaposition is often the only possible device to combine components into word-combinations, for instance, an attribute and a determined member, an adverbial modifier and a predicate. The word-combinations "*sain yabumbi*" ("one acts well") and "*sain baita*" ("good matter") are distinguished depending on whether a subordinate component combines with a verb or a noun. In these examples the syntactic position is the only device to express, in the first case, the adverbial modifier of manner, and, in the second case, the attribute.

In Manchu, the ability to be combined with governing words by means of juxtaposition, is typical for nouns with the meaning of quality, as well as for demonstrative, interrogative or indefinite pronouns and participles when they serve as attributes. Serving as adverbial modifiers, adverbs and converbs are also linked to governing words by means of juxaposition. A peculiarity of juxtaposition regarding grammatical characteristics of dependent words is that some of them, nouns and adverbs, are used in their invariable forms, but others, converbs and participles, which in fact are the special verbal forms, express the subordinating relationship by their own forms. In other words, the formally dominating verb requires special converbal or participial forms from the dependent component.

The relationships between components, which are linked in word-combinations by means of juxtaposition, can vary in respect to closeness. Thus, a tighter link is typical for the relationship between adverbial modifiers of manner expressed by qualitative or quantitative adverbs, and predicates. In this case adverbs characterize the action in regards to its quality or quantity. Adverbial modifiers of time and place characterize a sentence as a whole, therefore their relationships with predicates are not so tight.

In some cases syntactic word-combinations which have attributive meaning and components of which are linked by means of juxtaposition, become lexical words: *siden haha* "juvenile," "minor" (*siden* "interval," *haha* "man"). Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish juxtaposition from collateral subordination:

ama jui i boo
father son GEN house
"the house of a father and a son;"
ama-i jui i boo
father-GEN child GEN house
"the house of the father's son;"
sain ehe be yabu-mbi
good evil ACC make-IMPR
"One makes good and evil."

5) Correlation is a grammatical means which is used to express the predicative relationship between a subject and a predicate in Manchu sentences. It is mostly limited to nominal predication.

From the point of view of general linguistics, the nature of the

predicative relationship, i.e. how a subject and a predicate coordinate, deserves special discussion. Some scholars consider this relationship subordinating, with the subject being a governing member. Others give equal rights to the subject and the predicate. The relationship between them is considered neither subordination nor coordination. In their opinion, the predicative relationship has a special nature when a subject and a predicate formally coordinate with one another. Finally, there is a point of view according to which the relationship between a subject and a predicate is considered subordination, but with the predicate being a governing member. According to this concept, the predicate is the dominant part of the verbal sentence (Tenier, 1988; Kholodovich, 1979:293-8). Some scholars believe that the question about the grammatical nature of the predicative relationship cannot be solved with a help of a formal criterion. A functional criterion should be involved, and according to this view, a predicate must be considered as a dominant, at least in a verbal sentence. This is a verb-predicate which determines the pattern of such a sentence (Maslov, 1987:178-9).

As far as Manchu is concerned, the predicative relationship between a subject and a predicate is formally expressed by a particular grammatical means which can be called correlation. In the case of correlation, the subject is followed by specific markers which require certain markers from the predicate. As a result, the correlation between two groups of markers has evolved. Elements of one of them serve to mark the subject (the group of subject), and the others are used to mark the predicate (the group of predicate). This formal expression of syntactic relationships is typical for nominal predication. Thus, the word *serengge* (originally the imperfect participle followed by the suffix *-ngge* and derived from the verb *se-* "to say" in its auxiliary function) requires the copula *be* in the predicative position. The imperfect and perfect participle, followed by the suffix *-ngge*, in their positive and negative forms, coordinate with the negative copula *akū*. If a predicate is expressed by the word *gūnin* "thought," "opinion," "feeling," a subject is followed by the word *sere*, originally the imperfect participle derived from the verb *se-* in its auxiliary function, etc. Such correlative patterns are discussed in more detail in a section dedicated to nominal predication (see Section 4.1).

6) Parallelism is a link between the homogeneous parts, simple and expanded, in a fused sentence as well as between homogeneous collaterally subordinated or coordinated sentences (clauses) in a composite sentence. Parallelism manifests itself by the following features: 1) repeating the parts of a sentence or sentences which are characterized by the same syntactic structure; 2) the parallel parts of a sentence have the same number of words; 3) the parallel parts of a sentence have the same word order; 4) the parallel parts of a sentence should have the same grammatical form, or in the case of different morphological forms, their syntactic structure should have the same meaning. Parallelism can by characterized as total when all four features are present. It may be partial if not all of the features are realized. The presence of the first feature is obligatory for all types of parallelism. Parallelism can be considered a type of coordination. Here are some examples:

aisin menggun oci guise de tebu-mbi,
gold silver TOP chest DAT put.in-IMPF
bele jeku oci tsang de asara-mbi
rice grain TOP granary DAT store-IMPF
"As for gold and silver, they are put in a chest, but as for rice and grain, they are stored in a granary" (PASH2:3; AH).

In this compound sentence, parallelism is realized in its total form: both simple sentences have topic-comment structures. Topics and comments (rhematic parts of sentences), which contain adverbial modifiers of place and predicates, are parallel in both simple sentences. All parallel members consist of the same number of words: the topic includes two words, and the other parts of the sentence have one word each. Each sentence is characterized by the same word order: the topic stands first, the predicate terminates the sentence, and the adverbial modifier of place, which belongs to the rhematic part of the sentence, stands between the topic and the predicate. All parallel members have the same grammatical structure: topics are followed by the word form *oci* that is a special topic marker, adverbial modifiers of place are marked by the dative, and both predicates are expressed by the finite imperfect form in *-mbi* (for data concerning the means of pragmatic structuring in Manchu see Section 3).

baita be deribu-re de, deribun be bodo-mbi,
business ACC begin-PART DAT beginning ACC plan-IMPF
deribun de kice-fi, dube de
beginning DAT concentrate.on-CONV end DAT
heolede-rakū
be.careless-PART(NEG)
"When starting a business, (he) plans the beginning; concentrated on the beginning, (he) calculates the end (of the business)" (PASH2:38; MB).

This compound sentence includes two complex sentences each of them containing a temporal clause, although expressed differently: in the first sentence the temporal clause is expressed by the imperfect participle in the dative, and in the second sentence the temporal clause is rendered by the perfect converb. The principal predicate of the first complex sentence is expressed by the imperfect finite form, but the principal predicate of the second complex sentence is expressed by the negative form of the imperfect participle.
In addition to the above, parallelism is used as grammatical means of expressing the comparative degree, for example (see also Part IV, Section 2.6.1):

ere morin sain,
this horse good
tere morin sain akū
that horse good COP.NEG (there.is.not)
"This horse is better than that" (literally: "This horse is good, that horse is not good").

To a certain degree every language possesses a syntactic means such as parallelism. However, in Manchu parallelism is so widespread due to translations from Chinese where it is one of the basic grammatical and stylistic means.

3. *The Means of Pragmatic Structuring in Manchu*

As it is widely accepted among linguists, the sentence structure can be fully described only as a multilevel hierarchy in terms of different levels of grammar. Various semantic, syntactic, prosodic, and

discourse characteristics should be taken into consideration in exploring the sentence structure.

Apart from its formal-syntactic structure, every sentence has an information structure which is studied in discourse pragmatics. The information structure of a sentence, a term introduced by M. Halliday (1967), deals with different grammatical structures of a sentence that appear under different communicative circumstances and reflect "a speaker's assumptions about the hearer's state of knowledge and consciousness at the time of an utterance" (Lambrecht, 1994:XIII). According to Lambrecht, the most fundamental categories which engaged in the information structure of a sentence are: presupposition and assertion, identifiability and activation, topic and focus (Lambrecht, 1994:6). Every sentence in any specific language has its own information structure which manifests itself through different formal devices. Special morphological markers, certain syntactic-creating and complex constructions, forms of syntactic constituents are used to organize the information structure. The position and ordering of these constituents in the sentence, special lexical items; prosodic factors (intonation contour, sentence stress) also play a great role in the formation of the information structure of a sentence (Li & Tompson, 1976; Gundel, 1988; Harlig & Bardovi-Harlig, 1988; Kim, 1988; Lambrecht, 1994; etc.). Any information structure reveals itself within a discourse. However, it is an entity of sentence grammar, not discourse (Lambrecht, 1994:7).

It is now commonly accepted to describe the information structure of a sentence in terms "theme-rheme," "topic-comment," "topic-focus," "topic-secondary topic-focus," "known vs. un-known/ new," "discourse-OLD vs. discourse-NEW," "background-focus"[2].

Some linguists consider that notions in these pairs roughly correspond to each other, however, others prefer viewing them as differing in certain properties.

The binary opposition "theme" vs. "rheme" and further "topic" vs. "comment" as belonging to the communicative structure of a sentence, was intensively analyzed within the Prague School tradi-

[2] J. Gundel suggests to distinguish between the pragmatic opposition "topic" vs. "comment" and syntactic opposition "topic" vs. "focus." According to her, "an expression which refers to the topic (as pragmatic entity—L.G.) and which occupies a syntactic position reserved for topics will be referred to as syntactic topic," and "that part of the sentence which encodes the comment (as pragmatic entity—L.G.) will be referred to as the focus" (Gundel, 1988:210-11).

tion (Mathesius, 1928 (1964); 1929 (1983); Daneš, 1974; Firbas, 1966; 1974; etc.). Theme is an initial, starting point for developing actual information, this is what is more or less known to the addressee of communication. Rheme is the new information which is told about the theme, and it is the main purpose and basic communicative content of the utterance. In the simplest cases the theme may coincide with the subject of a sentence, and the rheme—with the predicate. The theme, as a rule, is given by the preceding context and it may be inferred from it. The theme may be omitted without any damage for the understanding of the utterance. The rheme is never omitted and it is considered "as being charged with "communicative dynamism" (Kim, 1988:148). Normally, the theme stands before the rheme in the lineal structure of the sentence. To emphasize the rheme, it is placed forward, at the beginning of the sentence. In this case the rheme is characterized by a special intonation contour, and on the level of communicative content—by a greater degree of expressivity and emotionality.

The so-called actual division of a sentence, a term introduced by Mathesius, is normally rendered by intonation and word order in some languages. However, when word order is mostly used as a means of expressing a formal-syntactic division of a sentence, languages develop some other means of expressing the actual division of a sentence. Thus, to mark the rheme, emphatic and restrictive particles are often used. Demonstrative pronouns are frequently used to mark the theme, and indefinite ones often mark the rheme. In some languages, special syntactic constructions are also used to denote the theme and the rheme. For example, in English the theme may be rendered by the syntactic construction "as smb./smth. is/are concerned." The English construction "that is he who ..." is an example of a syntactic construction which is used to indicate the rheme when it is the subject of a sentence. The definite and indefinite articles can be used to actualize the information. The indefinite article is often used to indicate the rheme, while the definite article marks the theme. The actual division of a sentence may be expressed by the transformation of voices. For example, in English the transformation of the active voice into passive is often used to express actual information (Maslov, 1987:184-5).

The definition (and the notion) of topic has undergone certain changes, from the intuitive characterization of topic as "what the speaker is talking about" ("what a sentence is about") to a rather

refined one, proposed by Lambrecht. According to him, the topic "has to do with the pragmatic relation of aboutness between discourse referents and propositions in given discourse context" (Lambrecht, 1994:xiv)[3]. Nevertheless, the majority of scholars agree that the notion of topic is discourse oriented and context dependent. The topic is a referential entity, and it may be given, known or old (predictable) information. The topic is not determined by the verb, and it is "syntactically independent of the rest of the sentence." Nominal phrases (NPs), which are used to render the topic, must be definite or generic. The topic tends to occupy the sentence-initial position[4]. The topic is likely to be a universal entity, however, it may manifest itself in different ways in various languages (Li & Tompson, 1976:X, 463, 465, 484, etc.; Harlig & Bardovi-Harlig, 1988:127; Kim, 1988; Gundel, 1988).

From the point of view of the "synchronic" vs. "diachronic" dichotomy, subjects can be analyzed as grammaticalized topics (Li & Tompson, 1976:484). T. Givón proposes that subjects are diachronically derived from topics, and W. Lehmann made an attempt to show that subjects have been a result of their development from topics in Indo-European languages (Givón, 1976; Lehmann, 1976).

The notion of comment and, further, focus, has been also developing, from such definition as "the main predication that is asserted, questioned, etc., relative to the topic" to the definition of topic as "that element in a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition and which makes the utterance of a sentence informative" (Gundel, 1988:210-11; Lambrecht, 1994:xiv, respectively).

Nevertheless, the majority of specialists agree that comment (or focus) is context independent, it is not a referential entity, it is re-

---

[3] The notion of "aboutness" has been elaborated by other scholars; for example, T. Reinhart studies theme (or topic) in terms of "pragmatic aboutness" (Reinhart, Tanya. *Pragmatics and Linguistics: An Analysis of Sentence Topics.*—Philosophica 27, 1981:53-93).

[4] Topic and focus tend to be arranged in a special linear order, which reflects the quality of information, represented by these entities. This tendency is described by the so-called *Information Flow Principle* (IFP) (Kim, 1988:149). A. Kim quotes this principle as it is formulated by S. Kuno: "words in a sentence are arranged in such a way that those that represent old, predictable information come first, and those that represent new, unpredictable information last" (Kuno, 1978:54).

lated with new information, and it is indefinite (Harlig & Bardovi-Harkig, 1988:127; Gundel, 1988:212-3).

The notions of topic and focus are based on such fundamental categories as givenness, contrastiveness, definiteness, and referentiality (Chafe, 1976; Givón, 1976).

Later on, when cross-linguistic studies of languages revealed that the binary opposition of "theme-rheme" and "topic-comment" (or "topic-focus") is not sufficient to describe the diversity of information structures in existing languages, some other notions, related to those of "topic" and "focus," have been formulated. These are "relative topicality," "referential predictability," "thematic continuity," "first clausal topic," "secondary clausal topic," "contrastive focus," "rhematic focus," etc. (Kim, 1988; Givón, 1976, 1983, 1988; etc.)[5].

T. Givón discovered that topicality has scalar nature, and some scalar dimensions can be measured and quantified in discourse. According to him, there are two major components of topicality, namely, anaphoric topical property of "predictability," and "topic importance." These components are referred to as discourse measurements of topicality, and closely related "with the phonological size of the grammatical device used to code the referent." It was found that the continuity of topics or referents can be measured in terms of the number of clauses between occurrences, the number of recurrences of the referent in the preceding discourse, etc. (Givón, 1988:249). The underlying principle for obtaining the code-quantity scale has been formulated by Givón as follows: "The less predictable /accessible a referent is, the more phonological material will be used to code it" (Givón. 1988:249).

A few languages of the Altaic family, including contemporary Mongolian and Turkish, as well as Altaic-like Japanese and Korean, have been more or less explored with regard to devices which are used to form their informative structures (Erguvanli, 1984; Kim, 1985a, 1985b; Kuno, 1978). The communicative organization of a sentence is now intensively investigated in Ob-Ugrian studies[6].

---

[5] According to Kim, the rhematic focus is such an element of the information structure of a sentence that is, firstly, "the core portion of the rheme," which may be the Np, analyzed as a lexical replacement of the WH-word, and, secondary, it is an "element, representing new information and highlighted by an intonation order" (Kim, 1988:148). He also suggests a hypothesis that in rigid verb-final languages with SOV word order the focused element occurs immediately before the verb (Kim, 1988).

[6] I am indebted to Elena K. Skribnik who got me acquainted with the facts

However, I am not aware of any Tungus-Manchu studies in this field. The only exception is Pashkov's "*The Manchu Language*" which includes some data related to the so-called thematic subject (Pashkov, 1963:48-9). This phenomenon, being analyzed from the point of view of a contemporary state of discourse pragmatics, displays clear evidence that it can be identified with topic (see also Section 4.1.1 in which the subject is discussed).

Classical Manchu seems to be a language in which topic-comment (topic-focus) structures play an important role. However, it is not an easy task to discover all patterns used to describe the information structure of a sentence in this language. Firstly, the difficulty lies in the fact that the relevant empirical examination requires to explore "linguistic units larger that a single sentence"[7]. Although the information structure concerns sentence grammar, it reveals its properties within a discourse (Lambrecht, 1994:7). As for Manchu, there is no accurate discovery procedure by which one can distinguish sentences (propositions) from each other within a paragraph, as well as paragraphs within the whole text. On the other hand, there is no procedure by which one can reestablish all properties of a single sentence (proposition) which have been lost in the process of division of fragments (paragraphs, text) into separate sentences (see also Section 5). Secondly, there are no available data from classical Manchu about sentence stress and intonation patterns which are engaged in signaling the pragmatic organization of a sentence. Thirdly, at this stage of investigation, the only possibility is to speak about overtly expressed topics (the comment is always overtly expressed) whereas "a pragmatic topic is not always encoded as a syntactic topic" (Gundel, 1988:211). Furthermore, some suggested facts cannot be proved or verified by using the experimental methodology in classical Manchu.

Below I suggest a preliminary approach to the problem. More detailed exploration is yet to be done.

---

of Ob-Ugrian studies in discourse pragmatics. I greatly benefited from reading her paper "*The Means of Pragmatic Structuring in Nothern Mansi*" (to appear in 2001), which was delivered at the 9th International Congress for Finno-Ugric studies (Tartu, August 2000) and at the Conference "Languages and Peoples in Siberia" (Novosibirsk, October 2000). I had been thinking for some time about devices, which are used to express the communicative structure of a sentence in Manchu, but it was her paper that inspired me to put first results in this field in written form.

[7] Quoted in J. Gundel, "*Universals of Topic-Comment Structure*", 1976:209.

Manchu is one of those languages in which word order of SOV type, is predominantly engaged in the expression of the formal-syntactic organization of a sentence. Although certain rearrangements are possible, these are not of great importance for the expression of changes in the communicative organization of a sentence. The topic tends to occupy the sentence-initial position in Manchu, which agrees with the statement proposed by Givón: "The string-initial position invites the hearer to pay more attention, and thus to store and retrieve the information more efficiently" (Givón, 1988:276).
Although, as mentioned above, the information structure of a sentence has not been the subject of a comprehensive investigation in Manchu, it seems to be closely related to the existence of theoretically interesting and materially diverse devices.

Firstly, in Manchu, a number of special word forms are normally used to mark the topic of a sentence. Following Gundel, I use the term "*topic marker*" to indicate the status of these word forms[8]. The following word forms are used the most to mark the topic: ***oci***, ***seci***, ***seme***. Being originally verbal forms (mostly imperfect and conditional converbs) derived from the verbs *o-* "to become," "to be" and *se-* "to say," "to call," "to mean," they literally render the following meanings: "if being/becoming smb. or smth.," "if speaking about smb. or smth." It should be noted that in this particular case the word form *seme* realizes its conditional meaning (see also Part IV, Section 5.7.1).

Synchronically, these words are used to signal the topic of a sentence. Diachronically, it is obvious that these topic markers developed from conditional clauses, "which share with topic the property of being given (presupposed) in relation to the rest of the sentence" (Gundel, 1988:219). Here are some examples:

(1) *etuhun urse* ***oci*** *ehe be yabu-me fafun be*
powerful people TOP evil ACC make-CONV law ACC
neci-mbi
violate-IMPF
"As far as the powerful people are concerned (as for powerful people), (they), making evil, violate law" (PASH2:44; MB);

[8] In fact, Gundel refers the term "topic marker" (and "focus marker") to morphemes that are used to mark topic (and focus) (Gundel. 1988:216). I think it is also appropriate to apply this term to word forms, not only to morphemes.

(2) *sektefun* ***oci*** *silun baitala*
pad.used.for.sitting TOP lynx use(IMP)
"As far as a pad is concerned, (you should) use lynx" (PASH1:42);

(3) *aisin menggun* ***oci*** *guise de tebu-mbi,*
gold silver TOP chest DAT put.in-IMPF
bele jeku ***oci*** *tsang de asara-mbi*
rice grain TOP granary DAT store-IMPF
"As for gold and silver, (they) are put in a chest, but as for rice and grain, (they) are stored in a granary" (PASH2:3; AH).The following translation is also possible: "As for gold and silver, (people) put (them) in a chest, but as for rice and grain, (people) store (them) in a granary."
The dative forms of the words *guise* "chest" and *tsang* "granary" are used to indicate rhematic focuses in sentences. These locatives occur in the immediately preverbal position.

(4) *tere* ***seci*** *sin-i* *deo*
that/he TOP you(*si*/*sin*- SG)-GEN = your younger.brother
"As far as he is concerned (as for him), (he) is your younger brother" (ORL:137);

(5) *uttu o-ho-de* *teni niyalma* ***seme*** *jalan de*
so be-PART-DAT = if then person TOP world DAT
banji-re de yertecun akū o-mbi
live-PART DAT shame there.is.not become-IMPF
"If so, then a man, while he lives in the world, will not be ashamed (shame will become non-existent)" or "If so, while a person lives in this world, there are no (reasons) to be ashamed " (GAB:120). The topic is rendered by the word *niyalma* "a man," "a person" followed by the topic marker *seme*. The grammatical subject is expressed by the word *yertecun* "shame" semantically related to the word *niyalma* "a man, " "a person" (a person—his shame, he is ashamed).

What is important to note is that in all these sentences, topics are adjoined to full sentence comments, semantic structures of which imply their own grammatical subjects, co-referential to topics, however, these are not overtly expressed. In translations these co-referential constituents are mostly rendered by pronouns.

The word form ***sere***, originally a form of the imperfect participle, may be used to indicate the topic. In this case, it is also used for the following two purposes. Firstly, it is used to denote the modality of desire in combination with the preceding form of the optative mood (Tv-*ki se-*). Secondly, the word form *sere*, as a participial form, is used to put the whole verbal expression into a noun position, in this particular case, the position of subject, which is also sentence-initial:

(6) *doro be getukele-ki* ***se-re*** *gūnin*
doctrine ACC explain-OPT say-PART=TOP thought
"A desire to explain the doctrine is (his) intention (thought)" (PASH1:34).

The word form ***serengge*** (literally "what is told," "that which is said"), originally a form of the imperfect participle followed by the suffix *-ngge* (a nominalizer), is also used to mark the topic:

(7) *gosin* ***se-re-ngge*** *niyalma, jurgan*
mercy say-PART-NR(TOP) human.being the.right
se-re-ngge *acabun kai*
say-PART-NR(TOP) duty COP
"As for mercy, (it concerns) human being, as for the right, (it concerns) duty" (PASH1:33);

(8) *menggun jiha* ***se-re-ngge*** *ergen be*
silver money/coin say-PART-NR(TOP) life ACC
uji-re sekiyen
nourish-PART source
"As far as silver and (copper) coins are concerned (as for silver and coins), they are the source of nourishing a life" (ZAKH:322);

(9) *e a*
negative.principle (*yin*) positive.principle (*yang*)
serengge, *emu adali sukdun kai*
say-PART-NR(TOP) one same spirit/vital.fluid COP
"As for *yin* and *yang*, they are equally physical" (GAB:120).

The word form ***sehengge*** (literally "what was told," "that which was said"), originally a form of the perfect participle followed by the suffix *-ngge* (a nominalizer), is also used to mark the topic:

(10) *šu* *be* *taci-mbi* ***se-he-ngge***, *irgebun*
literature ACC study-IMPF say-PART-NR(TOP) verse
bithe *be* *kice-re* *be*
book ACC be.diligent-PART COP
"As far the study of literature is concerned, the diligent study of *The Book of Songs* (chin. *shijing*) is (the most important thing)" (PASH2:55; JB). In this particular case, the word form *sehengge* is used to put the whole verb phrase *šu be taci-mbi* "to study literature" into the sentence-initial position, i.e. into the position of subject.

What is important to note is that when an utterance contains a topic marker, developed from the verb *o-* "to be," "to become," the rhematic part is usually expressed by a verbal phrase (see examples 1, 2, 3). When a topic marker developed from the verb *se-* "to say," "to call," "to mean," which is partly desemantized, the rhematic part is normally expressed by NPs, accompanied by a copula or without it (see examples 4-10). The primary function of these topical markers is to put words of any grammatical classes into the position of subject, and from this point of view they can be analyzed as subject markers which are engaged in the formation of nominal predication (see also Sections 4.1.1 & 4.1.2). The position of subject, which is normally the sentence-initial position in Manchu, is very important from the point of view of the communicative organization of utterance. This position of a language unit is loaded with the highest communicative rank within a sentence.

Secondly, the following syntactic-topic constructions are used to mark the topic in Manchu.

1) The so-called "double subject" constructions. The topic and the subject both occur in such constructions so they can be easily distinguished from each other. The topic may be adjoined to the full comment (Li & Tompson, 1976:468; Gundel, 1988:224).

The first scholar who made an attempt to describe this phenomenon in Manchu was B.K. Pashkov. He distinguished two subjects, the thematic and grammatical ones. However, the phenomenon was noted much earlier by Iv. Zakharov (Zakharov, 1879:322).

According to Pashkov, the thematic subject serves as a theme for the whole sentence which has a grammatical subject as well. Both of them may be rendered by the same word forms, mostly by nominal words (including substantives) in the nominative which has zero expression. The obligatory characteristic of the thematic subject is

that it always appears at the very beginning of the sentence. A subject can be considered as thematic if a sentence contains a grammatical subject as well. Thus, the thematic subject should be distinguished only in the case when there are two subjects in a sentence, thematic and grammatical. The predicate of a sentence mostly correlates with the thematic subject through the grammatical one. Otherwise, the whole sentence serves as a predicate correlated with the thematic subject (Pashkov, 1963:48-9). The example is as follows:

(11) *tasha* (thematic subject/TOP) *juwan juwe* (grammatical subject)
tiger ten two
ilaci-de *bi*
third-DAT COP
"A three year old tiger looks like a twelve year old one" (ORL:147).

2) The second type is usually referred to as left dislocational syntactic-topic constructions. In this case the sentence contains a pronominal form which is co-referential with the NP used to express the topic (Gundel, 1988:224). In Manchu, the demonstrative pronouns *ere* "this" or *tere* "that," as well the word *beye* in the meaning of the reflexive pronoun "self," are normally used in the role of such a pronominal element. In this case, these pronouns realize the anaphorical function (about pronominal use of the word *beye* "body" see Part IV, Section 4.7):

(12) *hiyoošun deocin* ***serengge***
filial duty.of.a.younger.brother say-PART-NR(TOP)
tere (grammatical subject) *gosin* *be* *yabu-re* *fulehe dere*
that mercy ACC act-PART root COP
"Respect for parents and younger brothers, this is the foundation of displaying mercy" (PASH1:33).
In this particular case, the topic is also followed by the topic marker *serengge*.

(13) *niyalma de* *takūra-bu-re* *niyalma* (thematic subject/
man DAT send-PASS-PART man
TOP) ***beye*** (grammatical subject) *suila-mbi*,
self be.exhausted-IMPF

niyalma be takū-ra
man ACC send-PART
niyalma (thematic subject/TOP) *gūnin* (grammatical subject)
man mind
jobo-mbi
worry-IMPF
"A man, who is sent by other people, is exhausted physically, a man who sends other people, (his) mind worries" (PASH1:31). The comment of the second part of this sentence includes the grammatical subject *gūnin* "mind," which is semantically related to and denotes only one feature of the topic expressed by the word *niyalma* "a man," "a person" (a man—his mind).

There are specific constructions in which the topic correlates with the grammatical subject through the demonstrative pronouns *ere* "this" or *tere* "that" in the form of the ablative:

(14) *kooli* (thematic subject/TOP) *ere-ci sain*
law this-ABL good
ningge (grammatical subject) *akū*,
SBSTR COP.NEG

(15) *gūnin* (thematic subject/TOP) *ere-ci jiramin*
thought this-ABL thick
ningge (grammatical subject) *akū*
SBSTR COP.NEG
"There is nothing better than a law, and there is nothing more profound than a thought" (PASH1:31).

3) This type includes the so-called subject-creating constructions, mostly passive in Manchu. As a result of passive transformations, the direct object is normally promoted to the subject position and, as a result, its communicative rank (topicality) increases:

(16) *ere-be tuwa-ci mujin bisi-re-ngge* ***baita***
this-ACC look.at-CONV resolution be-PART-NR thing
jiduji ***mute-bu-mbi***
finally can-PASS-IMPF
"If a man but resolve, the thing (he wants to do) is done" (MOLL:44). Pashkov translates this sentence literary as "Looking at this (example), (then we can conclude that the following proverb is true): when/if

there is a resolution, the thing can be done" (PASH2:186).

4) Syntactic subject-creative constructions may be formed according to the following pattern: S {Tv-PART + *-ngge*} == P {NP (COP)}[9]. The suffix *-ngge*, which has been earlier defined as a nominalizer, plays here a crucial role. It is used to put participles and participial phrases into the position of subject (see also Sections 4.1.1, 4.1.2 & 5.4.3).

The suffix *-ngge*, originally possessive, is closely related to the category of possessivity. This category deals with referentiality / specificity, and therefore plays an important role in the organization of the informative structure of a sentence.

Participles, in their positive and negative forms, followed by the suffix ***-ngge***, are permitted to occupy nominal positions in the sentence, mostly the sentence-initial position, which is the position of subject. This is the position of a sentence constituent with the highest communicative rank in the Manchu sentence. Hence the suffix *-ngge* can be referred to as rank-ordering of topic-marking devices. Occurring alone, these participles are normally translated as verbal nouns:

(17) *niyamniya-ra-**ngge*** *gabta-ra-**ngge***
shoot.from.horseback-PART-NR(TOP) shoot-PART-NR(TOP)
gemu sain
all good
"Mounted shooting and unmounted shooting, they are both good;"

(18) *wesi-re* *forgošo-ro-**ngge*** *umesi hūdun*
advance(in rank)-PART transfer-PART-NR(TOP) very quick
wesire forgošoro "promotion" (NL:308);
"As far as promotions are concerned, they are very quick" (ZAKH:76).

Expanded with their own direct objects (and subjects), these participles play the role of the predicative subject which is topicalized:

[9] Constructions of this type are referred to as cleft-constructions by Gundel (Gundel, 1988:224). I analyze them in different way, as polypredicative constructions with predicative subjects (see Sections 4.1.2. & 5.4.3).

(19) ***terni urgun jili be***
that(GEN) happiness anger ACC
tuembu-hekū-ngge *uttu*
be.revealed-PART(NEG)-NR(TOP) like.this
terni < *tere/ter* + *ni* = genitive;
"The fact that neither his happiness nor anger was revealed, (was really true) like this" (ORL: 176);

(20) ***baibi jete-rakū-ngge*** (thematic subject) *ere-ci*
for.nothing eat-PART(NEG)-NR-TOP this-ABL
amba ningge (gramm. subject) *bi-o*
big SBSTR COP-INT
"Among those who earn their bread, are there any bigger than he?! (literally: "Among those who do not eat for nothing, are there any bigger than he?!") (PASH1:37);

(21) ***min'i ji-he-nge*** (ma. ***ji-he-ngge***) *umusi sain baita*
I(*bi/min-*)-GEN come-PART-NR(TOP) very good matter
"The fact that I came, is a very good thing;"

(22) ***suen'i*** (ma. *suweni*) ***tere uhuri*** (ma. *uheri*) ***weile-me***
you(*suwe/suwen-* PL)-GEN that taken.as.a whole work-CONV
ara-ha-nge (ma. ***ara-ha-ngge***) *gemu sain o-kini*
make- PART-NR(TOP) all/everything good be-IMP
"Everything that you have made (taken as a whole), may it be good" (SK).

Predicative heads of these constructions, expressed by participles in *-ngge*-form, can be translated by the following expressions: "he who … ," "she who … ," "those who … ," "the fact that … ," "that which … ". The suffix *-ngge* should be specified in such constructions not only as a nominalizer, but also as a rank-ordering of topic-forming markers. The rhematic part of these constructions is normally expressed by NPs, together or without a copula (semantic classification of predicates, used to render nominal predication, is represented in Sections 4.1.2 & 5.4.3).

Participles in *-ngge*-form may be followed by the accusative marker. In the Sibe dialect, there are many such forms (Lebedeva & Gorelova, 1994:70-1). When occurring alone, such participles can be analyzed as predicative objects. When expanded with dependent words, they

can be viewed as heads of predicative constructions, which also function as predicative objects. What is important to note is that participles, followed only by the accusative marker, without the suffix *-ngge*, normally function as predicative objects too. The following question arises naturally: if there is any difference in the meanings of the two forms, Tv-PART + ACC and Tv-PART-*ngge* + ACC. Let us consider several examples:

(23) *boo-de* *dasa-bu-ha-**ngge*** ***be***
house-DAT correct-CAUS-PART-NR(TOP) ACC
gurun de *tucibu-mbi*
country/ruling.house DAT present.to-IMPF
"(Someone) presents to the Court a submission how to improve regulations in the ruling house" (PASH2:29; OB);

(24) *age si* *men-de* *tacibu-re-**ngge***
sir you(SG) we(*be/men-* EXCL)-DAT teach-PART-NR(TOP)
be *we* *se-mbi*
ACC who mean-IMPF
"Sir, for whom do you take (that person) who teaches us?" (PASH2:182).
Möllendorff gives another variant of this sentence:
age si *men-de* *tacibu-re* *niyalma be*
sir you(SG) we(*be/men-* EXCL)-DAT teach-PART man ACC
we *se-mbi*
who say/call-IMPF
"(I see) you think that it is a regular professor that teaches us" (MOLL:41).

As one can see, the same meaning is expressed by two different forms. In the first variant, the participle occurs in the *-ngge*-form before the form of the accusative, and in the second version, the participle is only followed by the accusative marker.

(25) *geren* *haf-sa* (ma. *hafasa*) *cooha* *nirgen* (ma. *irgen*) *ere* *sargan'i*
many official(*hafan*)-PL soldier people this woman
*jide-re-**nge*** (ma. *jide-re-**ngge***)
come-PART-NR(TOP)
be *goroki-ci* *sabu-fi* *hendu-me…*
ACC distant/distant.place-ABL see-CONV say-CONV

"Many officials and soldiers saw from the distance that this woman was approaching and said …" (SK:71).

In all these sentences, participial forms in *-ngge* encode direct objects, which are thematically more important than subjects, i.e. have the highest communicative rank in the sentence. They are also referentially more predictable, which becomes obvious from the syntactic context. However, we do not observe the promotion of directs objects, predicative in their nature, into the position of subject.

5) Syntactic subject-creative construction may be formed according to the following pattern: S{Tv-PART + *ba*} == P {NP (COP)}. The syntactic element *ba*, which was earlier defined as substantivizer, is used to place a participial phrase into the position of subject.

(26) *manju bithe-de untuhun hergen baitala-ra* ***ba*** *umesi labdu*
Manchu book-DAT empty letter use-PART SBSTR very many

"As far as auxiliary particles are concerned, in Manchu books there are many of (them)" (PASH2:51; JB). Placed in the position of subject, the whole participial phrase acquires at the same time the status of the highest communicative rank within the sentence.

4. *Syntax of the Simple Sentence*

The simple sentence is a binary syntactic unit where two principal members, a subject and a predicate, are put into correlation. There are two types of predicative relationships between them, viz. nominal and verbal predication. In the first case, a predicate is normally expressed by a nominal word accompanied by a copula or appearing without it. A predicate can also be expressed by a copula without a nominal word. In the second case, a predicate is expressed by a verb, or a verb combination, or an analytical verbal form.

4.1. *Grammatical Structure of a Nominal Sentence*

The most widespread pattern of a simple sentence where the principal parts are linked by nominal predication, is the following one: S (N) = P{N (+ COP)}/{COP}.

In a general case, a nominal predicate includes two structural positions, one of which is filled by a nominal word and the other by a copula, for example:

muse ***niyalma bi***
we(INCL) people COP
"We are people" (PASH:50).

Being a structural component of the nominal predicate, a copula is combined with a nominal word (or a functional analogue of a nominal word) to produce the actual attribute of the subject, i.e. the attribute ascribed to the subject in the utterance. In Manchu, the most widely used copula is *bi*. Originally the imperfect finite form of the verb *o-* "to be," "to become" in its auxiliary use, the word form *ombi* may also occur as a structural component of a nominal predicate, i.e. a copula. According to B.K. Pashkov, the copula *bi* represents permanent attributes intrinsic to the subject, while the copula *ombi* represents temporary ones (Pashkov, 1963:50):

senggi fulgiyan ***bi***
blood red COP
"Blood is red;"
mergen ***ombi***
wise COP
"(He) is wise;"
min-de *ahūn* ***ombi***
I(*bi/min-*)-DAT elder.brother COP
"(He) is my elder brother" (PASH:50).

The copula is frequently omitted, as in:

gisun *tome* ***ijishūn***, *hergen aname* ***tomorhon***
word/speech all correct letter one.by.one clear
"Every sentence is correct, every letter is clear" (PASH2:161; TM.). Möllendorff translated this as: "Every sentence runs as it should; every letter is clear" (MOLL:28);
muse ***ahūn***
we(INCL) brother
"We (are) brothers" (PASH1:44);
suwen-i *gisun* ***umesi giyan***
you(*suwe/suwen-* PL)-GEN = your word very true

"Your words are very true" (NSB:115).

When it is required to refer the content of a sentence to the grammatical sphere of the past or the future, the temporal or, to be more precise, aspectual-temporal forms of the verbs *bi-* and *o-* are used:

taidzu wang ***o-ho***
Taidzu monarch be-PART(PERF)
"Taidzu was a monarch" (PASH1:44);
nišan saman ambula bayan
place-name shaman greatly/enormously rich
o-ho
become-PART(PERF)
"Nishan shamaness became enormously rich" (NSB:140);
wesihun be sira-ha-ngge ilan wang ***bi-hebi***
supreme.power ACC inherit-PART-NR three king be-PAST
"Those who inherited supreme power were three kings (princes)" (ORL:176);
si emu sain niyalma ***bi-he-ni***
you(SG) one good person be-PART(PERF)-EXCLM
"You are a really good person!" (NSB:127).

Grammatical forms of the verb *bi-* and *o-* can be followed by the copula *bi*:

yilan (ma. *ilan*) *sargan jui* ***bi-he*** ***bi***
three female child be-PART(PERF) COP
"There were three daughters" (SK).

The first component of a nominal predicate can be rendered by any nominal word, alone or extended with complementary words, for example:

mudan gai-re-ngge ***sain*** *bi-me* ***tomorhon***
pronunciation take-PART-NR good be-CONV = and clear
"Your pronunciation has become good and clear" (PASH2:153; TM). Möllendorff translated this as "Your pronunciation is good [and you speak quite intelligibly]" (MOLL:21).
si aika ***gurun gūwa-o***
you if/whether country other-INT
gurun gūwa "a foreigner;"
"You are not a foreigner, are you?" (PASH2:166; TM). Möllendorff

translated this as "You are one of us, are you not?" (MOLL:19);
umesi baktarakū bayan
very extremely rich/rich.man
"(He was) extremely rich" (NSB:111).

A number of other copulae may function as substitutes of the copulae *bi* and *ombi*, such as *kai*, *be*, *inu*, *dere*, *dabala* (for details see Part IV, Section 9). Possessing certain modal meanings, all of them take part in the formation of nominal predication:
si nikan bithe bahana-ra niyalma ***kai***
you Chinese book comprehend-PART man COP
"You are a Chinese scholar" (literally: "You are a man who has studied Chinese books")
(PASH2:159; MOLL:26; TM);
ere da sekiyen ***dabala***
this source beginning COP
"(Certainly) this is the source of all beginnings" (ORL:220);
ere gemu hesebun ***kai***
this all fate COP
"All this is fate" (NSB:135);
min-i beye weihun gurun i nišan
I(*bi/min-*)-GEN = my self alive country GEN place-name
saman ***inu***
shaman COP
"I myself am Nishan shamaness from the country of living (people)" (NSB:126).

In Manchu there are several negative copulae, such as *akū*, *waka*, *unde* that also may form predicativity of nominal sentences negating nominal predicates (for details see Part IV, Section 9). Here are some examples:

fuhali te-de bakcin ***waka***
actually that-DAT match COP(NEG) (is not)
"In fact, I am no match for him" or "In fact, I cannot be compared with him" (PASH2:155; TM). Möllendorff translated this as: "I am as far from being his match" (MOLL:22).
bi saman ***waka***
I shaman COP(NEG) (is not)
"I am not a shamaness" (NSB:119);

ehe fayangga ***waka***
bad soul COP(NEG) (is not)
"I have no bad intentions" (literally: "there is no bad soul") (NSB:133);
enteke niyalma be sa-ra ***unde***
this.sort.of man ACC know-PART COP.NEG (not yet)
"(I) have not known this man yet" (literally: " There has not been yet the knowledge of this man") (PASH:51).

A negative copula can be followed by any grammatical forms of the verbs *bi-* or *o-*:

age sin-i ere uthai ***waka***
elder.brother/sir you(*si*/*sin-* SG)-GEN = your this then NEG
o-hobi
be-PAST
"Sir, your (actions) are really wrong" (PASH2:92; QW).

From the semantic point of view, sentences with nominal predication are represented by two different types. Firstly, these are sentences where the predicate denotes a permanent attribute of an object (or an event of the outside world), in particular the presence or absence of this object (or event), for example:
senggi fulgiyan bi
blood red COP
"Blood is red;"
tere anggala, hono emu aldungga ba-bi
that not.only still/yet one strange thing-COP
tere anggala "moreover;"
"Moreover, there is another strange thing" (PASH2:166; TM). Möllendorff translated this as "Then there is another odd thing" (MOLL:32);
majige nikan mudan akū
little Chinese accent COP.NEG (there.is.not)
"There is not even a little Chinese accent" (PASH2:154; TM). Möllendorff translated this as: "He speaks without a particle of Chinese accent" (MOLL:22);
majige cilcin akū
little fault COP.NEG (there.is.not)
"There is not even a little fault" (PASH2:161; TM). Möllendorff translates this as: "I have not a fault to find" (MOLL:28);

urgun be cira de serebu-rekū-ngge akū
happiness ACC face DAT reveal-PART-NR COP.NEG (there.is.not)
"There do not exist those who do not show happiness on their faces" (ORL:212).

On the other hand, these are sentences where an object (or a given event) is characterized through correlation with the categories of human thought. This semantic type includes two groups of sentences: constructions of classification, where the given object is put into correlation with a certain class of objects, and constructions of identification, where the objects are identified with each other. From the logical point of view identification is a particular case of classification. Here are some examples:

muse niyalma bi
we(INCL) people COP
"We are people;"
ere niyalma sain akū
this man good COP.NEG (there.is.not)
"This man is not good" (ORL:212);
ferguwecuke enduri saman kai
wonderful deity shaman COP
"(You) are really a wonderful shamaness" (NSB:121);
tere jide-re-nge (ma. *jide-re-ngge*) *men'i* (ma. *meni*)
that come-PART-NR we(*be/men*- EXCL)-GEN = our
mama kai
old.woman COP
"The one who is coming is our old woman" (SK).

In sentences with nominal predicativity, the forms of subjects are put into correlation with the forms of predicates. Before discussing these forms, special attention should be paid to the category of subject in Manchu in general.

4.1.1. *The Category of Subject*
The identification of a constituent of a sentence with the subject is one of the most difficult questions of the theory of syntax. As shown in many recent studies, there is no universal definition of subject, and "subjects can vary in their properties even within a specific language" (Li, 1976:ix). Subject is basically seen as a relational notion.

This notion conveys the grammatical function performed by one of the principal constituents of the "subject-predicate" structures. The majority of the properties of subjects, as listed by E. Keenan, are syntactic in nature (Keenan, 1976).

In Manchu, the category of subject is characterized by several distinctive features. First of all, as compared with other Tungusic languages, such characteristics of subject as number and person are not reflected by the verbal form. Secondly, in sentences subjects are often omitted, especially in their co-referential use, when referents are most predictable. Since semantic and syntactic sentence structures imply subjects, as the important constituent of the sentence, subjects can be easily reconstructed from the syntactic context. However, this reconstruction requires operating with language units larger than a single proposition. Thirdly, certain Manchu sentences may include a subject and a topic, and in some cases there is no precise discovery procedure using which one can easily distinguish between them. According to Pashkov, one can speak about the topic (thematic subject) only in case when both of them present in a sentence (Pashkov, 1963:48). In my view, subject-creative constructions can be referred to as the so-called rank-ordering of topic-marking devices because they are used to increase the communicative rank of language entities placing them into the position of subject. In Manchu these constructions are simultaneously subject-creative and rank-ordering.

In simple verbal sentences the overtly expressed grammatical subject may be rendered by the nominative form of a nominal word, a nominal phrase or a pronoun, as in:

sin-i ***boo*** *aibide te-he-bi*
you(*si/sin-* SG) house where sit/live/be-PART-COP
"Where is you house?" (PASH2:143; QW);
gūwa ju-se *sabu-fi* ***gemu*** *golo-fi sucu-me*
other child(*jui*)-PL see-CONV all be.scared storm-CONV
boo-de dosi-fi…
house-DAT enter-CONV
"Other kids saw (that) and became scared, all rushed to (their) home…" (NSB:128);
geren aba i urse *morin be dabki-me…*
all battue GEN people horse ACC whip.on(a horse)
"All hunters whiped on horses…" (NSB:112);

beile age *jugūn de nime-me* ***beje*** *dube-he*
ruler master road DAT be.ill-CONV self die-PART
"The master got sick on the way and died" (NSB:114);
bi *juwan aniya funceme nikan bithe taci-ha*
I ten year over Chinese book study-PART
funce- "to be in excess;" *funceme* "over," "in excess" (NL:95);
"I have been studying Chinese for over ten years" (MOLL: 16);
si *uba-de te-he-bi-o*
you(SG) here-DAT live-PART-COP-INT
"Do you live here?" (PASH2:172; TM);
sin-i ***beye*** *gene-ki se-he dabala,* ***we***
you(*si/sin-* SG) self go-OPT say(AUX)-PART MDL.PTL who
sim-be gene se-he
you(si/sin-)-ACC go(IMP) say-PART
"You yourself wanted to go, who forced you to go (literally: who told you: go!)?" (PASH2:101; QW).

In sentences that are organized by means of nominal predication, subjects may also be expressed by nominal words, nominal phrases or pronouns (see also Section 4.1):

bi *gulu suwayan ningge*
I pure yellow SBSTR
gulu suwayan = the pure yellow banner, which is one of the eight Manchu banners, military organization of the Manchus (NL:114);
"I am of the pure yellow banner" or "I belong to the pure yellow banner" (PASH2:134; QW);
min-i ***age*** *ne lamun funggala*
I(*bi/min-*)-GEN sir now blue feather
the word *age* is used here in the meaning of *ahūn* "elder brother;"
lamun funggala "Junior Bodyguard (wearing the Blue Feather)" (NL:185);
"My elder brother is now the Blue Feather Junior Bodyguard" (My elder brother is now one who wears Blue Feather on his hat)" (PASH2:141; QW);
ajige juse *cun cun i mergen haha o-mbi*
small children gradually wise man become-IMPF
chun chun i "gradually," "by degrees" (NL:48);
"Children gradually become wise men" (ORL:147);

A nominal word may be followed by one of the markers ***oci***, ***seci***, ***seme***, ***sere***, ***serengge, sehengge*** which are also used to indicate the topic (theme). In such cases the grammatical subject may coincide with the theme (see examples 4-10 in Section 3). There is one more example:

amban serengge *hese be ali-fi wen be*
high.official THM(TOP) edict ACC receive-CONV education ACC
selgiye-re-ngge
disseminate-PART-NR
"A high official, having received an edict, disseminates education" or "A high official is one who, having received an edict, disseminates education" (PASH1:33).

To create grammatical subjects, the suffix ***-ngge*** is widely used in Manchu sentences. Following participles, standing alone or expanded by complementary words, this suffix is used to put them into the subject position (for details see Part IV, Sections 2.4.1. & 5.6.5 and Part V, Sections 4.1.2 & 5.4.3). These participial constructions are predicative in nature:

*buce-re banji-ra-**ngge** emu erin i anan-de bi*
die-PART live-PART-NR(TOP) one time GEN sequence-DAT COP
"Life and death span a short period of time" (AD:66);
baldu bayan i jui sergūdai fiyanggū be
PN rich.man GEN child PN PN ACC
*baha-fi gaji-ha-**ngge***
be.able-CONV bring-PART-NR(TOP)
ejehen muten ajigen akū
(?) skill small COP.NEG (there.is.not)
"The fact that you could bring the Baldu Bayan's son Sergūdai Fiyanggū, demonstrates remarkable skills" (NSB:137).

As mentioned above, occurring in the sentence-initial position, participles and participial phrases in *-ngge* form, acquire the highest communicative rank (topicality) in a sentence (see examples 17-22 in Section 3).

Both a thematic and a grammatical subject may be expressed by participles followed by the suffix ***-ngge***:

*sain ehe be yabu-ra**-ngge*** (topic), *dorgi-ci*
good evil ACC make-PART-NR(TOP) inside-ABL

*tuci-rakū-**ngge*** (gramm. subject.)
appear-PART(NEG)-NR
akū, *mujilen ci* *deribu-rakū-**ngge*** (grammatical subject)
there.is.not heart ABL begin-PART(NEG)-NR
aku
COP.NEG (there.is.not)
"In doing good or evil, there is nothing that could not appear from the inner state (of a person), and that could not originate from the heart" (GAB:81).

Strictly speaking, most constructions, which contain participles in the form in *-ngge*, overstep the limits of a simple sentence. Many forms, especially those containing subordinate components, may function as heads of predicative constructions. These constructions themselves semantically and structurally refer to a simple sentence which renders a situation or an event of the outside world and functions within a communicative unit of a higher rank. Playing the role of a predicative subject, many participial constructions that contain forms in *-ngge* should be taken into consideration in the Syntax of polypredicative constructions (see Section 5.4.3).

To create grammatical subjects, the marker *ningge* is also used. This marker is defined as a substantivizer since it is such an element by which nominal words shift their category status to substantives (see Part IV, Section 2.4.1 and Part V, Section 4.1.2).

Participles followed by the substantivizer *ba*, may also serve as grammatical subjects (see example 17 in Section 3). The role of grammatical subject, expressed by participles followed by the substantivizer *ba*, is also closely related to the expression of the rank-ordering devices. When occurring in the position of subject, a participle, followed by substantivizer *ba*, acquires the highest communicative rank (topicality).

4.1.2. *Correlation Between a Subject and a Predicate in the Sphere of Nominal Predication*

The question about the character of the predicative relationship between a subject and a predicate has already been discussed in Altaic studies, but it has not be completely solved untill recently (PDP, 1984:108).

As for Manchu, this question also deserves special discussion, especially in the sphere of nominal predication. As shown above, a

subject (or a syntactic group of subject) is characterized by special forms which correlate with forms of the nominal predicate (or a syntactic group of predicate). Thus, there are many reasons to state that the predicative relationship between a subject and a predicate is expressed by special correlative forms, and the relationship itself may be called correlation. This term was initially suggested by B.K. Pashkov in his manuscript devoted to studying the simple sentence in Manchu and was then used in further development of Manchu studies (Gorelova, 1988:80).

I have found a set of sentence patterns in which the predicative relationship can be defined as correlation.

1) The following patterns represent sentences where the predicate denotes a permanent attribute of an event of an object, in particular their presence or absence. The subject in such sentences is expressed by participles, both imperfect and perfect, in their positive and negative forms, followed by the suffix *-ngge*:

a) S {Tv-*ra-ngge/-ha-ngge*} === P {N}
b) S {Tv-*ra-ngge/-ha-ngge*} === P{COP}
c) S{Tv-*ra-ngge/-ha-ngge*} === P{N COP (*bi*, *ombi*, *oho*, *kai*, ...)}
(In this pattern a predicate may be represented by a nominal word, or by the copula *bi* (or some other copulae), or by both of these two structural elements.).
d) S{Tv-*ra-ngge/-ha-ngge*; Tv-*rakū-ngge/-hakū-ngge*}=== P{*akū/waka*}.

From the synchronic point of view, the suffix ***-ngge***, attached to participles, takes part in the formation of the so-called nominalizations (for details see Part IV, Sections 2.4.1 & 5.6.5). Nominalizations may be predicative or non-predicative. In some languages these two types of nominalizations are formally opposed to each other. For instance, in Russian, non-predicative nominalizations are mostly conveyed by abstract nouns (substantives). However, in the Altaic languages, including Manchu, which has a relatively small number of abstract nouns, the opposition between the two types of nominalizations is not so obvious. In order to determine whether or not a nominalization is predicative, one has to take into account a number of characteristics of the syntactic construction which includes a participle in the form in *-ngge*. Predicative nominalizations have semantics and a formal structure which refer to those of a simple

sentence. When a nominalization is represented by a single participle, it can be considered as non-predicative with a greater probability than a nominalization which is represented by a participle expanded with complementary words, especially direct objects.

In Manchu there are nominalizations which have a formal structure of a sentence, but do not correspond semantically to a situation or an event of the outside world. Their semantics may be understood as an object in the broad sense, a material object ("thing") or non-material object ("act," "matter"). Such nominalizations may be called predicative substantives. The patterns of the first type are normally represented by predicative and non-predicative nominalizations as well as predicative substantives. Here are some examples:

*aca-ha-**ngga** **tongga***
meet-PART-NR rare/few
"(Our) meetings were infrequent" (PASH2:240; GH);
*tere durun i fiyana-ra-**ngge** gemu **holo kai***
that form/shape GEN feign-PART-NR all false COP
"(Demonstration of) pretended (friendship) is a lie" (PASH2:87; QW);
*damu fucihiya-ra-**ngge** teni majige weihuhen **o-ho***
only cough-PART-NR then a.little light become-PART
"As for cough, and even it became a little bit slighter" (PASH2:244; GH);
*wehe ai jibsi-me iktam-bu-ha-**ngge** **inu sain***
stone what lie.in.layers collect-PASS-PART-NR really good
"(Your) rockery (rock-garden) is really good" (literally: "Collected and laid in layers stones are really good" (PASH2:192; TM);
buceli be tunggala-ha se-me golo-fi
ghost ACC encounter-PART say(AUX)-CONV be.startled-CONV
*ergen jocibu-he-**ngge** **gemu bi***
life lose-PART-NR all COP
"There were those who having encountered the ghost, were startled to death" (PANG:94);
*niyalma untuhuri taci-ra be kice-re-**ngge** **waka***
a person in.vain study-PART ACC study-PART-NR is.not
"It is not true that a person's efforts to study may be in vain" ("The claim that a person makes efforts to study in vain is not true") (ORL:214);

abka-i *fejergi* *irgen* *tumen* *jaka* *be*
heaven-GEN under people a.myriad thing ACC
*haira-rakū-**ngge*** ***akū***
be.compassionate-PART(NEG)-NR COP.NEG (there is not)
abkai fejergi "all under heaven," "the universe," "the world;"
"The claim that people are not compassionate with a myriad of animals in the world, is wrong" (PASH2:315; MFB);
n'alma (ma. *niyalma*) *ere* *i* *adali* *muda-me*
people this/he GEN like return-CONV
*ji-he-**nge*** (ma. *ji-he-**ngge***) ***akū***
come-PART-NR COP.NEG (there.is.not)
"None such as he were among those who returned" (SK).

2) The following pattern represents sentences where a given event (or an object) is put into correlation with a certain class of objects (constructions of classification) or those where the events (or objects) are identified with each other.
S{Tv-*ra-ngge/-ha-ngge*} === P{N *bi/kai/inu/dere/* ...}
The sentences of the second semantic type contain predicative substantives. These have the meaning of an object (material or non-material) or a person depending on the semantic class of a noun by which the main predicate is expressed. Here are some examples:

age-i *jombu-re-**ngge*** *aisin* *go* *i* *gese*
elder.brother/sir-GEN suggest-PART-NR gold jasper GEN like
gisun ***kai***
word COP
"What the elder brother (or sir) said are words like gold and jasper" ("The words of the elder brother (sir) are like gold and jasper") (PANG:94);
min-i *eigen* *gai-ha-**nge*** (ma. *gai-ha-**ngge***) *emu*
I(*bi/min*-)-GEN) husband take-PART-NR one
gurgu *gaska* (ma. gasha) ***inu***
wild.animal bird COP
"One whom I married was actually a wild animal, in fact, a bird" (literally: "One whom I took as a husband was actually a wild animal, in fact, a bird " (SK).

3) The third type of sentences are those in which words of different morphological classes assume the position of subject by taking on specific markers. These markers correlate with the form of the predi-

cate. The patterns according to which these sentences are formed are as follows:

a) S {N *serengge*} === P {N};
b) S {N *serengge/sehengge*} === P {N *bi/kai/be/dabala*};
c) S {N *serengge*} === P {*uthai* N *bi/be*}.

The word forms ***serengge*** and ***sehengge*** are the forms of the imperfect and perfect participles respectively, followed by the suffix (the nominalizer) *-ngge*, and derived from the verb *se-* "to say." Being partly desemantized, these forms are used as markers of the subject, and correlate with the nominal predicate which can be expressed by a nominal word, or one of the copulae *bi/be/kai/dabala*, or a nominal word plus a copula:

tere age ***serengge*** *muse-i fe adaki* ***kai***
that sir TOP we(INCL)-GEN old neighbour COP
se-re-ngge
say-PART-NR = that which is said/ what is said =TOP
"That gentlman is our old neighbour" (MOLL:43; TM);
julge-i ambaki ***serengge*** *hanja* ***bi-he***
ancient.times-GEN high.official TOP honest be-PART
"As for high officials of ancient times, they were honest" (ZAKH:127);
bi ***serengge*** *teni taci-ha* ***saman***
I TOP just learn-PART shaman
"As for me, I am a shamaness who learned (these skills) very recently" (NSB:121).

As mentioned, the word forms *serengge* and *sehengge* are used to put words of any grammatical classes in the position of the subject. Even verbs followed by these forms may serve as subjects:

*gabta-**mbi*** ***serengge*** *muse-i manju-sa-i*
shoot.an.arrow TOP we(INCL)-GEN Manchu-PL-GEN
oyonggo baita
important thing
"As for dismounted archery, it is the most important thing for the Manchu people" (PASH2:202; QW);
*karula-**ki*** ***serengge*** *ai gisun*
repay-OPT TOP what word/speech

"As for (your) desire to repay (my kindness), don't mention it (literally: what is the talk about!)!" (PASH2:151; QW). Möllendorff translated this as "Talk of handsome return, indeed!" (MOLL:20);
*age bithe hūla-me gene-**ki** **sehengge** sain baita*
elder.brother/sir book read-CONV go-OPT TOP good thing
dabala
COP
"Sir, your desire to study is a good idea indeed" (PASH2:184; QW). Möllendorff translated this as "Your desire to study Manchu is a thing commendable in itself" (MOLL: 43).

In the two sentences above, the subject is expressed by the analytical construction Tv-*ki se-* which denotes the modality of desire. This construction is placed in the position of the subject by means of the nominalizer *-ngge* and therefore can function as a noun analogue in a sentence, in this particular case—as a subject.
*banin **serengge** uthai giyan be*
nature TOP then law COP
"Nature is a law" (PASH2:43; MB);
*weihun gurun i nišan saman **serengge** uthai bi*
alive country GEN place-name shaman TOP then COP
"I am Nishan shaman from the country of the living" (NSB:133).
These patterns may include the partly desemantized adverb *uthai* "then," "at once," "immediately" which indicates the predicative group. In some variants of these patterns, the word *uthai* may be omitted.

4) The word ***uthai*** is also often used in sentences formed according to the pattern S{N *ningge*} === P{(*uthai*) N}, where the subject is expressed by a nominal word with semantics of quality and substantivized by the sunstantivizer ***ningge***, *as in:*
ten cokohon ningge uthai alin
highest.point vertical SBSTR then mountain
"The highest things are mountains" (PASH1:36).

5) The substantivizer ***ningge*** is also used in the pattern S{N *ningge*} === P{*akū*}, where the subject is expressed by a nominal word with semantics of quality, for example:
*ere erin ci oyonggo **ningge** akū*
this time ABL important SBSTR COP.NEG (there.is.not)

"There is no more important time than this (one)" (PASH1:37).

6) The word form ***sere***, originally the imperfect participle from the verb *se-*, is used to place words of different grammatical class in the position of the subject. It correlates with the word ***gūnin*** "thought" serving as the predicate. Such sentences are formed according to the pattern S{Tv-*ki sere*} === P{*gūnin*}:

*doro be getukele-**ki** **sere gūnin***
doctrine ACC explain-OPT TOP thought
"(He) wants to explain the doctrine" (literally: The desire to explain the doctrine is (his) thought" (PASH1:34).

The grammatical explanation is as follows: the analytical construction Tv-*ki se-* denotes the modality of desire; in order to be placed in the position of the subject, i.e. to function as a subject, the auxiliary verb *se-* takes the form of the imperfect participle (*-re*). This is the form of the participle which allows the syntactic construction to perform the role of the subject.

7) In Manchu there are sentences which contain two nominalizations. The first of them takes the position of the subject, and the other occupies the position of the predicate. In such constructions, the pattern of identification is transformed into the pattern where the subject and the attribute ascribed to it are equivalent semantically and structurally. The pattern according to which such sentences are formed is the following:

S{Tv-*ra-ngge/-ha-ngge*} === P{Tv-*ra-ngge/-ha-ngge* (*kai*)}. Here is an example:

*ama jui be tanta-ra-**ngge**, jui be gosi-ra-**ngge** **kai***
father son ACC beat-PART-NR son ACC love-PART-NR COP
"The father who beats a son is actually he who loves a son" (PASH:57).

There is another variant of this pattern: S {N *serengge*} === P {Tv-*ra-ngge (kai)*}. Here are some examples:

*amba-sa saisa-i hafan **serengge** jurgan be*
high.official-PL gentleman-GEN officer TOP duty ACC
*yabu-re-**ngge** **kai***
perform-PART-NR COP

ambasa saisa "a worthy, wise man, a true gentleman" (NL:15);
jurgan be yabu- "to perform one's duty" (NL:166);
"For noble men (true gentlemen) to serve as high officials is to perform (their) duties" (ORL:137);
amban ***serengge*** *hese be ali-fi wen be*
high.official TOP edict ACC receive-CONV education ACC
*selgiye-re-****ngge***
disseminate-PART-NR
"High officials having received an imperial order, disseminate education " (PASH1:33).

8) In Manchu there are specific sentences, formally verbal, which are formed in accordance with the following syntactic pattern: S{Tv-*ra-ngge*} === P{Tv-*mbi*}.

The new information (rheme) is rendered by the subject, not by the predicate, which is not obligatory from the semantic point of view. The subject is expressed by a nominalization. The nominalization rendering a subject and the verb rendering a predicate, are both formed from the same verbal stem:
gabta-ra-ngge *gabta-mbi* *geli*
shoot.an.arrow-PART-NR shoot-IMPF also
gidala-ra-ngge *gidala-mbi*
pierce.with.a.spear-PART-NR pierce-IMPF
"Those who have to shoot, (they) shoot, and those who have to pierce, (they) pierce" (NSB:112).

9) Correlation can be realized by means of the syntactic pattern S {Tv-*ra ba*} === P {N}, where the subject is expressed by the form of the participle substantivized with the help of the substantivizer ***ba***, and the predicate is rendered by a nominal word:
*manju bithe-de untuhun hergen baitala-****ra*** ***ba*** *umesi labdu*
manchu book-DAT empty letter use-PART SBSTR very many
"In Manchu books auxiliary particles (the so-called empty words) are widely used" (PASH2: 51; JB).

All syntactic patterns, listed above, manifest the syntactic relationships they denote by means of the correlative forms of the subject and the predicate. However, many of them contain subjects expressed by predicative nominalizations which themselves semantically and structurally refer to a sentence. Strictly speaking, sentences

containing predicative nominalizations cannot be considered as simple. They function as predicative subjects in a sentence, syntactically belonging to a higher level than that of a simple sentence and therefore should be discussed in the Syntax of complex sentences (polypredicative constructions) (see Section 5.4.3).

4.2. *Grammatical Structure of a Verbal Sentence*

A verbal sentence renders a certain situation (event, process) of the outside world. Normally this situation includes some participants (persons, objects, etc.). Whether or not these participants are used in a sentence, the possibility of their presence is conditioned by the semantics of the verb. Each participant of a real situation is put into correlation with an actant. This term denotes the part of a sentence which designates a certain participant: an agent (a source of a verbal action), or a patient (an object of a verbal action), or an experiencer (who perceives visual or auditory information), or a stimulus (a source of information for the experiencer), or an addressee (towards whom an action (or information) is referred), or a recipient (who becomes the possessor of the patient as a result of purposeful action of the agent), or a benefactive (who must benefit by the final result of an action), or an instrument (by which an action is performed), or material (from which an object is made), or theme (what is spoken about). In some languages, certain participants, usually agents, may be rendered by a verbal form.

In addition, a situation described by a sentence, possesses a number of characteristics which are not conditioned by the lexical meaning of the verb. Certain characteristics, very important for the meaning of an utterance, can be expressed by various adverbial words, which play circumstantial roles (< lat. *circumstantia*). Some characteristics are rendered by aspectual and temporal verbal forms.

The ability of a verb to be combined with actants, i.e. the nominal parts of a sentence, and "to open places" for them, is called valency of a verb. Each verb possesses a certain number of valencies which may determine the number of actants. Manchu verbs have not been thoroughly investigated from this point of view. Nevertheless, some old grammars contain information concerning the ability of verbs to combine with nouns which followed by certain case markers.

Valency is considered obligatory when "a place" which a verb

"opens" for a participant, is filled with a noun. Valency is considered optional when it may or may not be realized. Many Manchu verbs are oriented toward the subject (agent). This subject, however, owing to specific features of Manchu morphology, cannot be reflected in the verb form itself by means of predicative (or possessive) finite suffixes as is possible in many other Tungusic languages. This subject may either be expressed by an independent word form or it may not necessarily be expressed explicitly at all. In the latter case, the subject is reconstructed from the syntactic context.

If a verb may have two or more actants one of them is hierarchically opposed to the other as a subject to objects. The subject is the principal actant, and grammatical superiority is determined by a verb. In Manchu, the subject of verbal sentences is expressed by the same forms as that of sentences with nominal predication. The subject can be rendered by nominalizations, for example:

sin-i *taci-ha-ngge* *labdu* *nonggibu-ha*
you(*si*/*sin*- SG)-GEN learn-PART-NR much advance-PART
"You really have made very great progress" (MOLL:28) (literally: "Your studies have advanced very much").

However, the nominalizations are more typical of nominal sentences and more often take part in the formation of nominal predication. Besides, the predicative nominalizations, extended with subordinate words, in many cases do not meet the requirements of the simple sentence because the subject itself has a predicative structure. The structure of the predicative nominalizations more properly refers to that of a sentence.

Complements are normally classified into direct and indirect. The parts of the sentence, which play circumstantial roles, are classified according to their meaning into adverbial modifiers of place, time, manner, cause, purpose, etc. It is yet to be resolved how to correctly classify an adverbial component that has, for example, the meaning of place. In sentences such as "He lives in a village," the component "in a village" is normally considered to be an adverbial modifier of place. However, verbs are not used without such adverbial modifiers, which being obligatory components, may be considered as special actants.

Traditionally, an attribute is also included in a sentence. However, an ordinary attribute is a member of a non-predicative word-

combination, not a sentence. Such an attribute is not governed by a verb-predicate. By contrast, a predicative attribute is a component of a composite verbal-nominal predicate, and sentences containing such structural components, are a kind of contamination of verbal and nominal sentences:

yasa tuwa-hai aldasi buce-mbi
eye look-CONV short-lived die-IMPF
yasa tuwahai "in an instant," "right before one's eyes" (NL:313);
"In a split second (I) shall die young" (NSB:113).

4.2.1. *Simple Verbal Predicate*
A simple verbal predicate is expressed by imperfect and perfect participles as well as finite verbal forms of the indicative and forms of oblique moods (imperative, optative, prohibitive).

When serving as a simple verbal predicate, the imperfect participle is occasionally used to denote the present, but more often it is used to denote the future:

sain be tukiyece-rakū fašša-ha be
good ACC boast-PART(NEG) exert.effort-PART ACC
bardanggila-rakū be ***buye-re***
brag-PART(NEG) ACC desire-PART
"(I) don't want to boast of doing good or brag about my exertion" (ORL:181);
bi sin-de emu sain arga ***tacibu-re***
I you(*si/sin-* SG)-DAT one good method teach-PART
"I shall teach you a good method" (ORL:180).

Serving as a simple predicate, this form may be used in the meaning of the imperative or the optative when addressing people of equal or lower social position (or status):
tuwa ***yata-ra***
fire strike.a.fire (with a flint)
"Strike a fire;"
min-i emu gusin be ***donji-re***
I(*bi/min-*)-GEN = my one word ACC listen-PART
"Listen to one word of mine;"

bai-me ***gisu-re***
wish-CONV speak-PART
"Tell me, please" (ORL:182).

The interrogative form of the imperfect participle in ***-rao/-reo*** may also serve as a simple predicate. Denoting the imperative, it is used to address older people or those of higher social position. Persons, addressed by the speaker, may be of equal age or social status, but in this case this form is used to express extreme politeness or humility. This meaning may be rendered by such expressions as "with your permission," "by your leave," "please, allow me to do smth.," "I ask you humbly:"

ala-ra-o
tell-PART-INT
"Please, tell me;"
oncodo-ro-o
forgive-PART-INT
"Please, forgive me" (ZAKH:180);
min-i *jui* *i* *ajigen* *ergen* *be*
I(*bi/min-*)-GEN = my child GEN young life ACC
aitubu-re-o
resuscitate-PART-INT
"Please, resuscitate the young life of my child" (NSB:121).

When serving as a simple predicate the perfect participle usually denotes the past:

deo *bohori* *elan* *i* *ba-de* ***te-he***
younger.brother PN place-name GEN place-DAT live-PART
"(His) younger brother Bohori lived in Elan (place)" (GAB:91);
julge-i *ming gurun* *i* *forgon de* *emu*
ancient.times-GEN PN dynasty GEN time DAT one
lolo *se-re* *gasan* ***bi-he***
place-name call-PART village be-PART
"Many years ago, at the time of Ming dynasty there was a village called Lolo;"
ambula *urgunje-me* *gebu* *be* *uthai* *susai*
very.much rejoice-CONV name ACC thereupon fifty

se-de ***banji-ha***
year(of age)-DAT be.born-PART
sergūdai fiyanggū *se-me* *gebule-fi*
PN PN(youngest) call-CONV name-CONV
fiyanggū "youngest, smallest, least; the last-born child" (NL:89);
"Having rejoiced greatly, (they) named him Sergūdai Fiyanggū (because he) was born when they were both fifty" (NSB:111).

The perfect participle may be followed by the sentence particle *kai*, which displaying affirmative modality, indicates the end of a sentence:

emgeri sin-i *boo be* ***taka-ha***
already you(*si/sin-* SG)-GEN = your house ACC recognize-PART
kai
MDL.PTL
"I have already found out where you live (your house)" (MOLL:38; TM);
age yalu *bi sin-de* ***jaila-ha*** ***kai***
sir ride(IMP) I you(*si/sin-* SG)-DAT avoide-PART COP
"Keep on your horse, sir, pray! I went out of your sight" (MOLL:47; TM);
min-i *haji sure jui emgeri* ***buce-he***
I(*bi/min-*)-GEN = my beloved wise child already die-PART
kai
MDL.PTL
"My beloved clever son has already died indeed" (NSB:115).

The perfect participle may be followed by some other sentence particles, for example, the particle *dere* which denotes the modality of presumption:

weihun gurun de uju tuci-ke *amba gurun de*
alive country DAT first appear-PART big country DAT
algin algi-ha *nišan saman*
fame be.famous-PART place-name shaman(ness)
ji-fi ***gama-ha dere***
come-CONV take-PART MDL.PTL (probably)
"(I think) that Nishan shamaness who appeared in the counry of living

beings and became famous in the great country, came and took (him)" (NSB:128).

The forms of the indicative normally serve as simple verbal predicates. The imperfect form in ***-mbi*** is mostly used to denote the present and the future tenses. It is occasionally used to denote the past tense, mostly when the form in *-mbi* is preceded by the perfect converb in *-fi* (for details see Part IV, Section 5.8.1). Here are some examples:

gere-ndere de ***guwe-mbi***
become.bright-PART DAT sound-IMPF
"(Smth.) sounds at dawn" (literally: "When it becomes bright (smth.) sounds") (ORL:182);
ainu uttu ***gisure-mbi***
why.so/like.this talk-IMPF
"What are you talking about!" (MOLL:19; TM);
bithe hūlana-me ***gene-mbi***
book go.to.read-CONV go-IMPF
"(I) go to my studies" (MOLL:39; TM) (literally: "I go to read books");
holo saman ***holto-mbi***
lying shaman deceive-IMPF
"A lying shaman deceives" (NSB:121);
si ainu gele-ho golo-ho durun i ***ekše-mbi***
you why fear-PART be.scared-PART shape GEN be.in.a.hurry-IMPF
"Why are you in a hurry seemingly so scared?" (NSB:118);
cargi bakcin dalin de emu niyalma weihu be
that.side the.opposite.side riverbank DAT one man boat ACC
suru-me ***jabu-mbi***
punt.a.boat-CONV go-IMPF
"From the opposite side of the riverbank a man is going punting a boat" (NSB:158);
tookabi-ci suwem-be gemu ***tanta-mbi***
procrastinate-CONV you(*suwe/suwen-* PL)-ACC all beat-IMPF
"If you procrastinate, (I) shall beat you all" (NSB:115);
boo i gubci ere mejige be donji-fi gemu
house GEN all this news ACC hear-CONV all
songgoco-mbi
cry-IMPF

"Having heard this news, all people of the household (gathered) and cried" (NSB:114);
ahalji bahalji geren ahasi sa kiyoo be šurde-me
PN PN all servant PL litter ACC go.around-CONV
uku-fi songgo-ro jilgan de alin
crowd.around-CONV cry-PART voice DAT mountain
holo gemu ***uradu-mbi***
valley all re-echo-IMPF
"Ahalji, Bahalji, and all the servants crowded around the litter, and crying echoed though all the mountains and valleys (NSB:113).

The form in *-mbi* may be followed by the sentence particle *kai* that serves as an additional sign denoting affirmative modality and indicating the end of a sentence:

jai uttu o-ho-de, bi ***usha-mbi-kai***
further like.this be-PART-DAT I be.angry-IMPF-MDL.PTL
"If it goes on like this, I shall be angry" (ORL:193);
min-i deo ere siden de teni
I(*bi*/*min*-)-GEN = my younger.brother this interval DAT highly
hacihiya-me manju bithe ***hūla-mbi-kai***
exert.oneself-CONV Manchu book read-IMPF-MDL.PTL
"My younger brother is now working as hard as he can at Manchu" (MOLL:30; TM);
solina-ci hono jide-rakū jalin
invite-CONV yet come-PART(NEG) because.of
jobošo-mbi-kai
be.greatly.distressed-IMPF-MDL.PTL
"I never asked you to come, because I feared you would refuse" (MOLL:50; TM).

The form in *-mbi* may be followed by some other sentence particles, for example, the particle *dere* which denotes the modality of presumtion:

damu sin-i taci-rakū be
only you(*si*/*sin*- SG)-GEN = your learn-PART(NEG) ACC
hendu-mbi dere
speak-IMPF MDL.PTL (probably)
"(My only fear would have been) that you were not anxious for learning" (MOLL:19; TM);

udu tere ten de isina-me mute-rakū
although that hight DAT reach-CONV be.able-PART(NEG)
bi-cibe inu urunakū
be(AUX)-CONV certainly without.doubt
hamina-mbi dere
go.near.to-IMPF MDL.PTL (probably)
"Although we cannot reach the point he (has attained), we shall not be very far behind him (I suspect)" (MOLL:25; TM).

Being a negative counterpart of the form in *-mbi*, the negative form of the imperfect participle is normally used as the predicate of a negative sentence:

doro erdemu gosin jurgan dorolon waka oci mute-rakū
law wisdom mercy the.right ceremony NEG TOP be.achieved-PART(NEG)
"Law, wisdom, mercy, right cannot be achieved without ceremony" (ORL:193);
ama i gūnin antaka be ***sa-rkū***
father GEN thought what.about ACC know-PART(NEG)
"I would like to know what you, father, think about this?" (literally: "I don't know my father's thoughts (about this)" (NSB:111);
ere yeken akū aha ainu ***ala-rakū***
this ignoble there.is.not servant why report-PART(NEG)
damu ***songgo-mbi***
only cry-IMPF
yeken akū "ignoble;" "lowly," "debased," "not upright" (NL:314);
"Ignoble servant, why are you only crying and not reporting?" (NSB:114);
tere sagda dosi-me jide-re de utala
this old.man enter-CONV come-PART DAT so.much.as.this
waliya-ra yali efen apki jergi be
make.an.offering.at.a grave-PART meat bread wine et cetera ACC
tuwa-rakū
look-PART(NEG)
"When that old man came in, (he) didn't (even) have a look at meat, bread and wine" (NSB:117).

The indicative finite forms which denote the past, also function as simple verbal predicates (for details see Part IV, Section 5.8.1):

1) the perfect form in *-habi/-hebi/-hobi*, *-kabi/-kebi/-kobi*, *-ngkabi/-ngkebi/-ngkobi*:[10]
di se-me ***tukiye-hebi***
emperor say-CONV call-PAST
"(He) introduced (himself) as the emperor;"
abka-i fejergi be ***uherile-hebi***
heaven-GEN under ACC unite-PAST
abkai fejergi "all under heaven;"
"(He) united (all parts of) the empire together" (ORL:196);
jugūn i andala nimeku baha-fi ***buce-habi***
road GEN halfway illness get-CONV die-PAST
"Halfway he became ill and died" (NSB:111);
tofohon se-de Heng Lang šan alin
fifteen year(of age)-DAT place-name mountain (chin.) mountain
de abala-me gene-fi beye ***dube-hebi***
DAT hunt-CONV go-CONV himself die-PAST
"When he was fifteen, he went to hunt on Henglang mountain and died" (NSB:111);
emu amba omo de aisin menggun doohan ***ca-habi***
one big lake DAT gold silver bridge build(a bridge)-PAST
"Across a big lake the bridge was built" (NSB:136);
min-i beye nei taran ***tuci-kebi***
I(*bi/min*-)-GEN = my myself sweat (heavy)sweat appear-PAST
nei taran "perspiration," *nei tuci*- "to sweat" (NL:210);
"I myself sweated heavily (being scared)" (NSB:130).

The negative counterpart of this form, that is the form in *-hakūbi/-hekūbi*, also serves as a simple verbal predicate.

2) the analytical form Tv-*ha/-he/-ho bihe* or Tv-*ngka/-ngke/-ngko bihe*:
bi ergi emu niyamangga niyalma-i boo-de ***gene-he*** ***bi-he***
I this.side one related(by blood) man-GEN house-DAT go-PART be(AUX)-PART
"I have been to visit (literally: to the house of) a relative of mine" (PASH2:172; TM). Möllendorff translated this as "I have been to visit a relation of mine who lives down yonder" (MOLL:35);

[10] Permanent use of the copula *bi* after the perfect participle has led to the formation of the past form in *-habi/-hebi/-hobi*. The copula *bi* is often written separately from the participle *bihe* (*bihe bi*), but in other cases they are written as one word (*bihebi*). The unstable way of writing shows that the process of forming the past form had not been completed.

sakda-si i tanggū se-de isina-ha erin-de
old-PL GEN one.hundred year(of age) reach-PART time-DAT
hiyoošula-me
act.filially-CONV
sinagala-me fude-ki seme majige ***gūni-ha bi-he***
mourn-CONV accompany-OPT that little think-PART be(AUX)-PART
"(I) thought to act filially when old (father and mother) reach their old age and (I) wanted mourning to accompany (them to their last journey)" (NSB:113).

This form may be followed by the sentence particles *bi* or *kai* which are used to indicate the end of the speech. These particles may be written separately from or together with the component *bihe* (Zakharov, 1879:177).

3) the form in ***-mbihe***:
bi kemuni ere-be niyalma de ere-mbihe
I constantly this-ACC people DAT hope-PAST
"I constantly inspired people with this hope" (ORL:194).

4) the form in *-mbihe* may be followed by the sentence particle *bi* which is written either separately or as one word. This form is used to indicate usual and frequent actions which took place in the distant past:
ši irgebu-me ***mute-mbihebi***
verse compose-CONV be.able-PAST
"(She) was able to compose verse (while still a child)" (ORL:194);
waida-mbihe bi
scoop.out-PAST COP
"(He) used to scoop out (with a large spoon)" (ORL:78).

5) the analytical form Tv-*me bihebi* servs as a predicate. It is also used to indicate the distant past.

Oriented towards the future, the optative form in ***-ki*** serves as a simple verbal predicate. Preserving its modal meaning of desire this form is normally used to denote the future tense of the indicative:

muse uthai uttu ***o-ki***
we(INCL) then like.this act-OPT
"We shall act like this" (ORL:173);

aina-ha seme baili be onggo-rakū urunakū
do.what?-PART kindness ACC forget-PART(NEG) certainly
ujele-me ***karula-ki***
value.highly-CONV repay-OPT
ainaha seme "surely," "without fail" (NL:9);
"I shall never forget your kindness, and shall not fail to repay it handsomely" (MOLL:19; TM);
encu inenggi jai cohome ji-fi gulhun emu inenggi
other day again especially come-CONV entire one day
gisure-me ***tece-ki***
speak-CONV sit.together-OPT
"I shall come another time and spend the day with you" (MOLL:39; TM);
bi dosi-fi majige ***te-ki***
I enter-CONV a.little sit.down-OPT
"I shall step in and sit down for a moment" (MOLL:48; TM).

Finite forms of the oblique moods may also function as simple verbal predicates (for grammatical data devoted to the oblique moods see Part IV, Sections 5.8.2, 5.8.2.1-3).

The most widespread form for the imperative is that which coincides with the verbal stem. Closely related to the honorific forms, this form denotes an address to the second person (singular and plural) occuping a lower or similar position in respect to the person who is speaking:

cacari boo be sejen de ***tebu***
tent house ACC cart DAT put.in(IMP)
cacari boo "a square tent with cloth sides" (NL:40);
"Put a tent into a cart;"
niyalma morin enggemu jergi be ***teksile***
people horse saddle and.so.forth ACC prepare(IMP)
"Prepare people, horses, and saddles;"
cooha-i agūra beri niru jergi be ***belhe***
soldier-GEN weapon bow arrow and.so.forth ACC prepare(IMP)
coohai agūra "weapons" (NL:47);
"Prepare weapons, bows, and arrows" (NSB:112).
The meaning of order may be strengthened by using the personal pronouns of the second person (singular and plural):

si majige ***ili***
you(SG) a.little stand(IMP)
"You stand still for a while" (ORL:166).

The imperative form may be followed by the syntactic words *manggi* and *nakū*. However, predicates expressed by these combinations, occur in dependent clauses with temporal meaning which can be rendered by the conjunction "after" (see Part IV, Section 8.3).

When the optative (form in *-ki*) refers to the second and third persons (singular and plural) its meaning is very close to that of the imperative (see Part IV, Section 5.8.2.1):

age wesi-fi ***te-ki***
elder.brother/sir ascend-CONV sit-OPT
"Take the upper seat, please" (MOLL:36; TM);
muse giyan be majige ***gisure-ki***
we(INCL) justice ACC a.little talk-OPT
"Let us talk a little about fairness" (NSB:129).

The imperative form in *-kini*, which is used to address a person who is lower in social position, may serve as a simple verbal predicate (see Part IV, Section 5.8.2.2):

halhūn o-ci majige tukiyecebu hūwanggiyarakū
hot be-CONV a.little take.away(IMP) it.makes.no.difference
mukiyebu-kini
cool.off-IMP
"If it (tea) is too hot, let it be taken away (for a while), that it may get cooler" (MOLL:37; TM);
ura šurde-me uyun juse ***uji-kini***
buttocks spin-CONV nine children give.birth-IMP
"Let (him) father nine children;"
jalan aššа-me jakūn jui ***sabu-kini***
generation move-CONV eight son see-IMP
"Giving birth to generation let him see eight sons" (NSB:130).

The imperative form in *-cina/-kina* may serve as a simple verbal predicate:
majige je-fi ***gene-cina***
a.little eat-CONV go-IMP

"Do try and eat a little, then you may go" (MOLL:38; TM).

The form of the prohibitive mood often functions as a simple verbal predicate (for data concerning the prohibitive mood see Part IV, Section 5.8.2.3):

nashūn be ***ume ufara-bu-re***
opportunity ACC NEG miss-CAUS-PART
"Do not throw away the opportunity" (MOLL:30; TM);
jabša-bu-ci inu ***ume urgunje-re***
be.by.good.luck-PASS-CONV so NEG rejoice-PART
ufara-bu-ci inu ***ume usaha-ra***
fail-PASS-CONV so NEG be.distressed-PART
"If it succeeds by good luck, don't rejoice, if it fails, don't be distressed" (NSB:121).

Interrogative verbal forms may also serve as a predicate in a simple sentence:

age si manjura-me ***bahana-mbi-o***
elder.brother/sir speak.Manchu-CONV be.able-IMPF-INT
"Sir, can you speak Manchu?" (PASH2: 216; DM);
age sin-i boo-de manju sefu
sir you(*si*/*sin*- SG)-GEN = your house-DAT manchu teacher
soli-habi-o
invite-PAST-INT
"Sir, have you invited a teacher of the Manchu language (to give lessons on a regular basis) at your home?" (PASH2:223; DM);
suwe hono in-i banin be
you(PL) still/yet he(*i*/*in*-)-GEN = his nature ACC
sa-rkū ni-o
know-PART(NEG) INT-INT
"Haven't you known his character yet?" (PASH2:243; GH);
age si ubade ***te-hebi-o***
sir you at.this.place/here live-PAST-INT
"Sir, do you live here (at this place)?" (PASH2:172; TM). Möllendorff translated this as "Do you reside in this neighbourhood, sir?" (MOLL:36);
sa-ha bi-ci aifini sim-be
know-PART be(AUX)-CONV earlier you-ACC

tuwanji-rakū ***bi-he-o***
come.to.see-PART(NEG) be(AUX)-PART-INT
"If I only knew (that you lived here), I would have come to see you much earlier" (PASH2:173; TM). Möllendorff translated this as "If I had been aware that you lived here, I should have called before" (MOLL:36);
age boo-de dosi-fi ***te-rakū-n***
sir house-DAT enter-CONV sit.down-PART(NEG)-INT
"Sir, won't you step in and sit down?" (MOLL:47).

4.2.2. *Complex Verbal Predicate*
Complex verbal predicates are expressed by combinations of verbal forms constructed in accordance with the following patterns.

1) The pattern of the first type is formed by the imperfect participle of an autonomous verb and any finite form of verbs that have semantics of motion (*gene-* "to go," *yabu-* "to go," "to walk," "to leave," *ji-* "to come"), modality (*bahana-* "to be able," *mute-* "can," "to be able," "to be possible"), and different phases of action (*deribu-* "to begin," *šangga-* "to finish," "to be accomplished," *waji-* "to finish") (for details see Part IV, Section 5.9):

*meni meni fakca-me belhene-****me*** ***gene-he***
each each separate-CONV prepare-CONV go-PART
meni meni "each," "every;"
"Each (of them) rushed to prepare (meal)" (NSB:115);
*suwe hūdun baihana-****me*** ***gene***
you(PL) quick go.to.searh.for-CONV go(IMP)
"Go to look for (her) quickly!" (NSB:118);
*muse cimari abala-****me*** ***tuci-mbi***
we(INCL) tomorrow hunt-CONV go.out-IMPF
"Tomorrow morning we shall go hunting" (NSB:112);
*geli gisure-ki se-ci angga juwe-****me***
again speak-OPT say(AUX)-CONV mouth move-CONV
mute-rakū
can-PART(NEG)
"When (he) wanted to say something else (he) could not open his mouth" (NSB:113);
tere saman ji-ci sergūdai fiyanggū se-re
that shaman come-CONV PN PN say-PART

anggala uthai juwan sergūdai se-he seme
not.only.(but also) then ten PN say-PART at.least
*inu weijubu-**me** **mute-mbi kai***
even bring.back.to.life-CONV can-IMPF MDL.PTL
fiyanggū "youngest," least," "smallest" (NL:89);
The word form *sere* is used here to emphasize the object (*Sergūdai Fiyanggū*); the combination of the forms *sehe seme* is used not only to accentuate the object but also to denote a sort of adversative meaning.
"If that shamaness comes, (she) can bring to life not only one Sergūdai Fiyanggū but also even ten Sergūdai" (NSB:118);
*bi nure omi-**me** **bahana-rakū***
I wine drink-CONV be.able-PART(NEG)
"I am not able to drink wine" (PASH:53);
gelhun akū ali-me mute-rakū
fainthearted there.is.not accept-CONV can-PART(NEG)
gelhun akū "dare to …," "fearlessly" (NL:104);
"How dare I to accept (this)!" (literally); "You are so kind!" (PASH2:239; GH);
*nišan saman yayada-**me** **deribu-he***
place-name shaman speak.unclearly begin-PART
"Nishan shaman begun to practise shamanism (literally: speak unclearly) (NSB:119);
saman dere obo-fi buda belhe-fi je-me
shaman face wash-CONV cooked.sereal prepare-CONV eat-CONV
waji-fi
finish-CONV
"Shamaness having washed her face, having prepared cooked cereal, finished to eat ..." (NSB:122).

2) The pattern of the second type of complex verbal predicate is used to express epistemic modality (for details see Part IV, Section 5.8.6). Predicates of this type are formed by the conditional converb or the optative derived from an autonomous verb and the finite forms of the verbs *aca-* "to meet," "to get together," "to combine," *se-* "to say," "to mean," "to call," or *o-* "to be," "to become" in their auxiliary function.

The analytical form Tv-***ki se***- has the meaning of a desire or an intention to perform an action:

*bi daci fu de gene-fi elhe be bai-**ki***
I by.nature residence DAT go-CONV well-being ACC ask.for-OPT
***se**-mbihe*
say(AUX)-PAST
elhe be bai- "ask after a person's health" (NL:73);
"In any case I wanted to go to you and ask you about your health" (PASH2:238; GH);
*emu mudan abala-me tuci-**ki** **se**-mbi*
one time hunt-CONV go.out-OPT say(AUX)-IMPF
"(I) want to go hunting" (NSB:111);
*ujen agūra be unu-me gama-**ki** **se**-mbi*
heavy burden ACC shoulder take-OPT say(AUX)-IMPF
"(I) want (you) to shoulder a heavy burden" (NSB:121);
*ainaha niyalma gelhun akū ere furdan be dosi-**ki***
what.sort.of man timid NEG this gate-way ACC enter-OPT
***se**-mbi*
say(AUX)-IMPF
gelhun akū "dare to ...," "fearlessly" (NL:104);
"What sort of a man wants to enter the gate-way so fearlessly?" (NSB:126).

The analytical form Tv-***ci o***- has the meaning of potentiality:

*tondo nomhon niyalma se-**ci** **o**-mbi*
upright docile man call-CONV be(AUX)-IMPF
"It is possible to call (him) an upright and docile man" (PASH:53);
*sim-be geli niyalma se-**ci***
you(*si/sin*- SG)-ACC still human.being call-CONV
***o**-mbi-o*
be(AUX)-IMPF-INT
"Is it still possible to call you a human being?" (PASH2:83; QW);
*ubade min-i jui be tacibu-**ci***
at.this.place/here I(*bi/min*-)-GEN = my child ACC teach-CONV
***o**-mbi*
be(AUX)-IMPF
"At this place (I) can educate my son" (PASH2:307);
*bahana-rakū-**ci** **o**-mbi-o*
be.able-PART(NEG)-CONV be/become(AUX)-IMPF-INT

"How is it possible not to understand this?" (PASH2:147; TM). Möllendorff rendered the meaning of the sentence as "It would never do to be without a knowledge of Manchu, would it?" (MOLL: 15). However, this meaning can only be understood from the syntactic contex. The form *bahana-rakū-ci* is derived from two word forms; the first one is the negative form of the imperfect participle, and the second one is the form of the conditional converb from the verb *o-* "to be," "to become" in its auxiliary function: *bahanarakūci* < *bahanarakū* + *oci*. This is a good example of the formation of new grammatical forms from analytical constructions.

The analytical form Tv-***ci aca***- has the meaning of an action which should (ought, must) be performed:

*erin-dari gele-re, olho-ro be tebu-**ci***
time-every fear-PART fear-PART ACC keep.in.one's.heart-CONV
***aca**-mbi*
meet(AUX)-IMPF
"At all times one should keep in his heart an apprehension and caution" (ZAKH:188);
manju bithe hūla-ra niyalma oci urunakū hergen tome gemu
manchu book read-PART man TOP surely letter every all
*getukele-me sa-**ci** **aca**-mbi*
make.clear-CONV know-CONV meet(AUX)-IMPF
"Everybody who studies Manchu, should learn each letter well" (PASH2:69; QW);
enteheme banji-re be bai-ki se-ci
eternal live-PART ACC look.for-OPT say(AUX)-CONV
*doigonde jaila-**ci** **aca**-mbi*
previously avoid-CONV meet(AUX)-IMPF
"If one looks for eternal life, the first thing (he) should do is to avoid (sins)" (PASH2:260; CT).

3) The pattern of the third type is formed by converbal or participial forms of autonomous verbs and finite forms derived from verbs the lexical meaning of which although weakened within certain analytical constructions has not entirely disappeared. On the contrary, certain meanings of these verbs become important.

The most widely used verbs with special meanings are *ali-* "accept," "receive;" *baha-* "to get," "to obtain," "to be able;" *goida-* "to last for a long time," "to endure;" *hami-* "to approach," "to be close

to," "to almost reach;" *jafa-* "to take in the hand," "to hold," "to grasp;" *šangga-* "to come to an end," "to terminate successfully," "to finish," "to be accomplished;" *waji-* "to finish" (for details see Part IV, Section 5.9).

4.3. *Objects (or Complements). Direct and Indirect Objects*

In Manchu a verb may govern direct and indirect objects. Generalizing the semantic roles of patient, stimulus, as well as agent caused to perform the action, the direct object is characterized by the following features. Firstly, the direct object depends on the governing verb. It may also be governed by postpositions which have verbal origin and therefore still retain verbal government. Secondly, the direct object may be expressed by nominal words, pronouns, and participles. All these words are normally followed by the accusative which is the case of the direct object, for example:

age *i* *amba* ***algin be*** *donji-fi*
elder.brother/sir GEN great fame ACC hear-CONV
goida-ha
last.for.a.long.time-PART
"For a long time I have heard about your fame" (PASH2: 72; QW);
be *ilmun han* *i* ***hese be*** *ali-fi* *ere*
we (EXCL) PN khan GEN order ACC carry.out-CONV this
furdan be *tuwakiya-mbi*
gateway ACC guard-IMPF
Ilmun-han is the ruler of the underworld (NL:148) (in conception of shamanism—L.G.).
"Following the Ilmin khan's order, we guard this gateway" (NSB:126);
in-i *beye-de* *etu-he* ***suje sijihiyan***
he(*i*/*in*)-GEN self-DAT put.on-PART silk long.gown
(ma. *sijigiyan*) ***be*** *su-fi* *tere* *sakda-de* *bu-he*
ACC take.off-CONV that old.man-DAT give-PART
"Having taken off his own silk gown, (he) gave (it) to the old man" (NSB:117);
tere ***be*** *baita* *icihiya-bu-me* *gene*
that/he ACC business do-CAUS-CONV go(IMP)
"Go and order him to do business" (ZAKH:161).

The marker for the accusative is frequently omitted, probably when direct objects do not have definite or specific reference (for more

detailed information concerning the accusative see Part IV, Section 2.8). Here are some examples:

donji-ci si te manju ***bithe*** *taci-mbi*
hear-CONV you(SG) now Manchu book learn-IMPF
"As I have heard, you are studying Manchu now;"
bi juwan aniya funceme nikan ***bithe*** *taci-ha*
I ten year over Chinese book learn-PART
"I have been studying Chinese for over than ten years" (MOLL:16).

Thirdly, the direct object mainly precedes the governing verb. It may stand directly before a verb, for example:

bi ***hergen be*** *ara-mbi*
I letter ACC write-IMPF
"I am writing the letters" (ZAKH:159);
aha-si sa-be alin ***moo be*** *saci-fi...*
servant-PL PL-ACC mountain tree ACC fell-CONV
"The servants cut down a tree on the hill ..." (NSB:113);
sain be *jabu-me ...*
good ACC make-CONV
"making good (things) ..." (NSB:111);

asihan hehe jorho de obo-ho ***etuku be*** *lakiya-me*
young woman willow DAT wash-PART clothing ACC hang-CONV
walgiya-mbi
sun-IMPF
"A young woman hangs washed clothing on an willow" (NSB:118).

The direct object may be separated from a governing verb by an indirect object, or an adverbial modifier of manner, or direct speech:
urgun be *cira-de tuyembu-rakū*
joy ACC face-DAT be.exposed-PART(NEG)
"(One) shall not betray one's joy on his/her face" (ZAKH:134);
hergen be *saikan ara*
letter ACC nicely write(IMP)
"Write letters nicely" (PASH1:99);
anculan giyahūn kuri indahūn ***be*** *saikan i ulebu-fi*
hawk dog dog ACC rather.well GEN feed-CONV
belhe
prepare(IMP)
anculan giyahūn "hawk" (NL:17);

kuri "a dog striped like a tiger" (NL:181);
"Feed hawks and dogs well (this time)" (NSB:112).

The direct object may stand before the subject:

tere ***niyalma be*** *bi akda-mbi*
that man ACC I trust-IMPF
"I trust that man" (ZAKH:133).

In classical Manchu there are sentences where several direct objects occur, one depending on the other. This can be explained by the fact that verbal nouns preserve verbal government and may be governed themselves (for examples see Part IV, Section 2.8).

The predicative object expressed by participles is also marked by the accusative:

bi niyalma-i ***gisure-re be*** *ulhi-re* *gojime*
I person-GEN speak-PART ACC understand-PART although
min-i *beye gisure-me* *o-ho-de*
I(*bi*/*min*-)-GEN self speak-CONV be(AUX)-PART-DAT
oron *unde*
not.at.all NEG
"Although I understand other people when they speak (Manchu), but myself I cannot speak Manchu at all" (PASH2:165; TM). Möllendorff translated this as "I understand it, certainly, when I hear it spoken, but it will be sometime yet before I can speak it myself" (MOLL:31).

In this sentence the predicative object (predicative actant) *niyalmai gisurere be* "what people say" semantically and syntactically refers to a sentence (dependent clause, predicative construction) therefore it is discussed in Syntax of complex sentences (polypredicative constructuions) (see Sections 5.4.4 & 5.4.5).

Generalizing the semantic role of recipient, which is normally combined with the roles of addressee and benefactive, as well as the roles of agent of the passive construction (sentence) and instrument, indirect objects are usually expressed by nominal words and pronouns in the dative case (for more detailed information concerning the dative see Part IV, Section 2.8). Being a polyfunctional case, the dative is also used in Manchu to indicate circumstantial semantic roles, primarily, to express space and temporal relationships. Here

are some examples of indirect objects in the dative:

ere ***niyalma de*** *bu-he*
this man DAT give-PART
"(He) gave (smth.) to this man" (PASH2:3; AH);
tere ***niyalma de*** *hendu-he*
that man DAT say-PART
"(Smb.) said (smth.) to that man" (MOLL:17; TM);
ahūn de *bithe bi*
elder.brother/sir DAT book COP
"Elder brother has a book" (ORL:147);
sin-i ***baili de*** *aini karula-mbi*
you(*si*/*sin*- SG)-GEN = your kindness DAT whereby repay-IMPF
"How can I repay your kindness?" (PASH2:34; OB);
min-i beye ama eme i jila-me
I(*bi*/*min*-)-GEN self father mother GEN love-CONV
uji-ha ***baili de***
give.birth.to-PART kindness DAT
karula-me mute-rakū
repay-CONV can-PART(NEG)
"(Now) I cannot return kindness to my father and mother for giving me birth and (their) love" (NSB:113).
omosi mama de *aca-fi hengkile-ki se-mbi*
PN old.lady DAT meet-CONV kowtow-OPT say(AUX)-IMPF
Omosi-mama = the female divinity responsible for the continuity of a family; a protectress of children and posterity in shamanism (L.G.); the Manchu goddess of good fortune and fecundity (NL:223);
"(I) want to kowtow to Omosi-mama" (NSB:133);
sin-de *amasi bu-re doro bi-o*
you(SG)-DAT backward give-PART law COP-INT
"Is it possible that such a law exists in accordance to which I have to give (Sergūdai Fiyanggū) back to you?" (NSB:127);
*bi in-**de** gele-bu-he*
I he-DAT fear-PASS-PART
"I was frightened by him" (ZAKH:162);
imcin be bira ***muke de*** *makta-fi*
drum.used.by.shamans ACC river water DAT throw-CONV
"(She) dipped (her) drum into the river" (NSB:126);
emu bira-i cikin ***dalin de*** *isinji-fi*
one river-GEN the.bank.of.a.river riverbank DAT reach-CONV
"(They) have reached the bank of a river" (NSB:124).

Indirect objects, marked by the dative, may depend not only on a verb but on a noun as well. Indirect objects normally precede the governing word. If there is no direct object in a sentence, the indirect object stands directly before the governing word.

Under certain circumstances it is difficult to distinguish between an indirect object and an adverbial modifiers of place or time. For example, the following sentences contain nouns in the dative regarding which one cannot accurately determine if the syntactic components in question should be considered as indirect objects or adverbial modifiers of place:

heng lang šan ***alin de*** *abala-me*
place-name mountain(chin.) mountain DAT hunt-CONV
gene-fi ...
go-CONV
"(He) went hunting to Henglang mountain" (NSB:111);
kioo weile-fi beile age be ***kioo de*** *dedubu-fi* ...
litter make-CONV master master ACC litter DAT put.to-CONV
"(They) put their master on the litter ..." (NSB:113);

jugūn i ***dalba de*** *emu taktu be sabu-bu-mbi*
road GEN side DAT one tower ACC see-PASS-IMPF
"Near the road (she) saw a tower" (NSB:133).

Following participles, especially those extended with subordinate components, the dative serves to form participial constructions in simple sentences. When such constructions have their own direct objects and subjects, they semantically and structurally refer to a sentence and can be considered ato be dependent clauses in complex sentences (see Section 5.4.5):

hūla-ra de *amba bulehen deje-me gene-fi*
call-PART DAT big crane fly-CONV go-CONV
"When (he) called, a big crane came flying" (NSB:133);
tere sakda dosi-me jide-re de *utala*
that old.man enter-CONV come-PART DAT so.many (much).as.this
waliya-ra yali efen arki
abandon-PART meat bread strong.liqour
jergi be tuwa-rakū
et.cetera ACC look.at-PART(NEG)
"When he entered (the house), he did not even have a look at meat,

bread, wine, and other eatables" (NSB:117).
Indirect objects may be marked by the ablative (for more detailed information about the ablative see Part IV, Section 2.8.):

morin ci *ebu-fi* *boo-de* *dosi-fi…*
horse ABL get.down-CONV house-DAT enter-CONV
"(He) got down from the horse and entered the house" (NSB:119).

The verbs *alja-* "to leave," "to separate (from)," "to part (from); *fakca-* "to split," "to separate," "to leave," "to part;" *tuci-* "to exit," "to go out," 'to leave" govern the ablative:
ama eme ci *fakca-fi* ***boo-ci*** *alja-fi*
father mother ABL separate-CONV house-ABL leave-CONV
inenggi goida-ha
day endure-PART
"(Many) days endured after he had separated from his father and mother and left his house" (PASH2:22; AH);
bi ***boo-ci*** *je-fi* *tuci-ke*
I house-ABL eat-CONV leave-PART
"I left (my) house, having got a bite" (ORL:156);
buce-re *banji-re* *gemu meimeni* *gaji-me* *ji-he*
die-PART live-PART all each.one bring-CONV come-PART
hesebun ci *tucinde-rakū*
fate ABL appear-PART(NEG)
"Death and life depend on the fate with which each one came (into the world)" (NSB:122).

Under certain circumstances it is difficult to distinguish an indirect object marked by the ablative from an adverbial modifier of place followed by this case:
ere ***ba-ci*** *goro akū* *nisihai* *bira i* *dalin*
this place-ABL far there.is.not place-name river-GEN riverbank
de *te-he*
DAT live-PART
"That is not far from this place, on the bank of Nisihai river, where the shamaness lives" (NSB:118).

The marker of the ablative may follow a participle, but it seldom occurs:
dergi de ***guri-he*** ***ci***
east DAT move-PART ABL

"From the time of moving to the East" (ORL:155).

A participle in the ablative may serve as the head of a participle construction which has its own direct object and subject. In this particular case the participle construction should be considered as a dependent clause of a complex sentence (see Section 5.4.5).

4.4. *Adverbial Modifiers*

In Manchu adverbial modifiers may be expressed by nominal words that have semantics of quality, place, time or cause as well as by adverbs, converbs, and nouns used in locative cases. Here are some examples:

min-i *boo-de* *dari-fi* ***majige***
I(*bi/min-*)-GEN = my house-DAT pass-CONV a.little
te-re-o
sit.down-PART-INT
"Won't you step into my house and sit down for a while?;"
kimci-me *tuwa-mbi*
look.into.carefully-CONV look-IMPF
"(I) look (at smth.) carefully;"
dembei *mangga o-ho*
exceedingly difficult become-PART
"It has become exceedingly difficult" (PASH:55);

Adverbial modifiers may denote place, time, cause, goal, condition, manner or degree of actions. Serving as adverbial modifiers of manner, nouns that have semantics of quality sometimes take the marker of the genitive, but are often used without the genitive. Here are some examples:

sain *yabu-mbi*
good act-IMPF
"(I) act well" (PASH:55);
muke iningdari (ma. *inenggidari*) ***sain'i*** *eye-mbi*
water every.day good-GEN flow-IMPF
"The water flows well every day;"
bi ***majige*** *muke omi-me* ***majige*** *amura-ki*
I a.little water drink-CONV a.little be.fond.of-OPT
"Having drunk a little water, I will slake slightly" (SK:40);

b'a (ma. *biya*) *otolo* *bou* (ma. *boo*) *i* *dorgi* *de* ***emhun***
month until house GEN inside DAT lone/lonely
te-fi
sit-CONV
"Until (expiration) of a month, (he) sat at home lonely" (SK:41);
suwe ***hūdun*** *baihana-me* *gene*
you quick go.to.search.for-CONV go(IMP)
"Go somewhat quicker to search for (her) (NSB:118).

Serving as adverbial modifiers of place or time, nouns with semantics of place or time normally take markers of locative cases, dative and ablative. They often take no case markers whatsoever (for more detailed information concerning nouns that have semantics of place and time see Part IV, Section 2.2):

dorgi ***de*** *muduri* *meihe* *umuši (*ma. *umesi) labdu*
the.inner.part/inside DAT dragon snake very many
"There are many dragons and snakes inside;"
amargi ergi de *emu* *yacin* *daimin* (ma. *damin*) *bi*
north side DAT one dark eagle COP
"There is a dark eagle in the north place (of that settlement);
dobori *bou* (ma. *boo*) *de* *bi-he* *bi*
hight/at.night house DAT be-PART COP
"(Smb.) was at home at night" (SK:38);
jugūn i ***andala*** *nimeku* *baha-fi* *buce-hebi*
road GEN midway illness get-CONV die-PAST
"On the midway (he) became ill and died" (NSB:111);
cimari *ere* *miau* (ma. *miyoo*) *de* *n'alma* (ma. *niyalma*)
morning this oratory DAT people
isa-ha
gather-PART
"In the morning people gathered near this oratory;"
enengi (ma. *inenggi*) *ere* *ba-de* *ainu* *ebu-mbi*
day/today this place-DAT why stop-IMPF
"Why have you stopped today at this place?" (SK:39).

4.5. *Attributes*

In Manchu attributes are normally expressed by nominal words, attributive word-combinations, pronouns, and participles. In sentences attributes always stand before nouns which they modify, as

in:
muse gemu ***sain*** *gucu kai*
we(INCL) all good friend COP
muse gemu "we both;"
"We both are good friends" (PASH2:86; QW);
ya *ba-de alban dana-mbi*
which place-DAT public.service go.to.take.care.of-IMPF
"Which place do you work?" (PASH2:236; GH);
min-i sefu ***julergi holo-i*** *niyalma*
I(*bi*/*min*-)-GEN = my teacher south valley-GEN man
julergi "front side," "south" < *juleri* "front" + *ergi* "side;"
"My teacher is a man from the South valley (of China)" (PASH2:226: DM).

According to their forms, all attributes can be distributed into three types. Firstly, attributes may occur in the form of a stem of nominal words, pronouns, and participles:

aišin (ma. *aisin*) *weihe*
gold horn "gold horn;"
sengi (ma. *senggi*) *jogūn* (ma. *jugūn*) "the blood road" (SK:36);
blood road
duka-i ba-de emu ***dara*** ***kumcuhun buce-re***
gate-GEN place-DAT one lower.back crooked die-PART
hamika *dara*
almost lower.back
mehu-me ***yabu-re*** *sagda mafa ji-fi*
bow.down-CONV go-PART old old.man come-CONV
"A crooked, desperate, with bowed back, old man came to the gate" (NSB:116);
ajige ***eberi*** *saman ainaha icihiya-me mutebu-re*
very.young weak shaman what.sort.of manage-CONV can-PART
"How can a very young weak shamaness manage (it)?;"
gūwa *mute-re saman sa-be baisu*
other be.able-PART shaman PL-ACC ask.for(IMP)
"Ask for other able shamans" (NSB:121).

Secondly, attributes may occur in the form of the genitive (for more details concerning the genitive see Part IV, Section 2.8). The following attributive constructions denote possessive relationships between nominal words:

*biya-**i*** *elden*
moon-GEN light "light of the moon," "moonlight;"
alin ***i*** *ninggu*
mountain GEN top "top of a mountain," "mountain top;"
*abka-**i*** *jui*
heaven-GEN son "the Son of Heaven" (ZAKH:128);
urgun ***i*** *cira*
joy GEN face "joyful face" (PASH1:83);
duin mederi ***i*** *onco, tumen jaka* ***i*** *largin*
four sea GEN wide a.myriad thing GEN multitude
"space of four seas (of China), lots of various things" (PASH2: 57; JB);
*han'**i*** *jui*
khan-GEN son "the khan's son;"
bou (ma. *boo*) ***i*** *fu*
house GEN wall "the wall of a house;"
nimeku ***i*** *turgun*
illness GEN reason "the reason of illness" (S.K. 37).

Serving as attributes, nominal words in word-combinations of the same type sometimes occur in the form of the genitive, sometimes without any markers. It is not clear enough whether the genitive is obligatory or optional in such constructions, and the problem itself requires further investigation. Most likely that the use of a subordinate noun without the genetive marker indicates a non-specific interpretation.There is one representative example from the Sibe dialect:

aišin *weihe be bou* (ma. *boo*) *i dergi ergi de*
gold horn ACC house GEN east side DAT
n'ingun (ma. *ninggun*) *fa t'ebu-ha*,
six window make-PART
mengun'i (ma. *menggun i*) *weihe be dalba ergi de*
silver-GEN horn ACC side side DAT
fa t'ebu-ha (ma. *tebu-*)
window make-PART
"On the eastern side of the house (he) made six windows from a gold horn, and on the lateral side (he) made windows from a silver horn" (SK:37).

Thirdly, nominal words in the so-called possessive form in ***-ngga/***

-ngge/-nggo may also serve as attributes. This suffix has the meaning of possessing smth., pertaining to smb. or smth.: *baitangga* "usable," "applicable," "useful" (*baita* "affair," "matter," "business"); *boconggo* "colored," "colorful" (*bocon* "color"); *horonggo* "possessing great authority, power," "poweful," "majestic" (*horon* "majesty," "authority," "power"); *hūsungge* "powerful," "mighty" (*hūsun* "strength," "power," "might"); *mujilengge* "having purpose or aim," "spirited," "stout-hearted" (*mujilen* "mind," "intention," "heart"). All these word forms exhibit a tendency to shift to a different grammatical class of words, i.e. adjectives.

In Sibe this suffix does not change its vowel according to the law of vowel harmony. It mostly occurs in the form in ***-nge***, and its vowel coincides with that of the participial suffix *-ngge* (Lebedeva & Gorelova, 1994:51-2):

ere ulg'an (ma. *ulgiyan*) ***uju-nge*** *daifu eigen sargan*
this pig head-POSS doctor husband wife
jue (ma. *juwe*) *n'alma* (ma. *niyalma*) *umuši* (ma. *umesi*) *amba*
two people very great
ubu-nge (ma. *ubungge*) *n'alma kai*
fate-POSS people COP
"This medical doctor, who has a pig's head, and his wife, they are both people with lucky fate" (SK:52).

A Manchu sentence may have a string of attributes when each preceding one deals with the following one:
*julge-**i*** *daifan sa-**i*** *mujilen **i*** *doro(n) be*
ancient.times-GEN high.official PL-GEN mind GEN way ACC
sa-ci *o-mbi*
know-CONV be(AUX)-IMPF
"It is possible to know the way of thinking of high officials of the ancient times" (PASH:54).

Attributes may be expressed by a single word or a word extended with subordinate components:
jai bithe-de šungke sefu be bai-fi bithe
secondly book-DAT knowledgeable teacher ACC seek-CONV book
hūla
read(IMP)
"You must go and take lessons of competent professors of the language as well"

(MOLL:34; TM);
manju gisun de gucu-se de adana-fi
manchu word/speech DAT friend-PL DAT go.to.attend-CONV
gisure
speak(IMP)
"Visiting your friends who are good in Manchu, you should speak Manchu with them" (PASH2:169; TM). Möllendorff translated this as "...if you have any friends who are good Manchu scholars, you should be for ever talking with them" (MOLL:34).

Attributes may be expressed by participles, alone or extended with subordinate components. If an extended participle construction has its own direct object and subject it refers semantically and structurally to a sentence (clause). Such sentences are analyzed in Syntax of the polypredicative constructions (see Section 5.5).

Here are some sentences where attributes are expressed by extended participle constructions which, being predicative structurally and semantically, refer to a sentence:

we ai gelhun akū ji-fi, ***min-i ejele-he***
who what timid NEG come-CONV I(*bi/min*-)-GEN possess-PART
jaka be gai-mbi
thing ACC take-IMPF
gelhun akū "dare to ... ," "fearlessly" (NL:104);
ai gelhun akū "how dare ...?" (NL:8);
"Who will dare to come and take the thing which I possess?" (PASH2:127; QW);
si teni dergi-de fonji-ha etuku silgiya-fi
you just eastern/left-DAT ask-PART clothing rinse.out-CONV
walgiya-ra *tere hehe uthai saman inu*
dry-PART that woman then shaman COP
"That woman, whom you have just made inquiries (about) on the left bank (of a river) and who has rinsed out and dried clothing, she is a shamaness" (NSB:119).

4.6. *Homogeneous Parts of the Sentence*

Two (or more) parts of the sentence are called homogeneous if they perform the same syntactic function and are governed by the same component of a sentence. In Manchu, relationships between homo-

geneous parts of the sentence—in the case when they are rendered by nominal words—are expressed by juxtaposition:

indahūn coko *ulha* *kai*
dog chicken domestic.animal COP
"Dog and chicken are domestic animals;"
bu-re *gebu* *de* ***sain ehe*** *bi*
give-PART name DAT good evil COP
"There are a good and an evil in the given name" (ORL:128).

Homogeneous parts of the sentence may be linked by the converbal form *bime* which is used as an analogue of a connective conjunction:

kapihūn bime golmin
flat and long
"(Smth.) is flat and long" (ORL:127).

Homogeneous parts of the sentence may be linked by pronouns that have a generalizing meaning, for example, ***gemu*** "all" and indefinite numerals, for example, ***geren*** "many," "many kinds of:"

geren *cooha* *irgen*
many soldier the.common.people
"Many soldiers and common people" (ORL:129);
tokso *asikan* *urse* ***gemu*** *uce* *tuci-me* *tuwa-ra*
village young people all door go.out-CONV look.(at)-PART
akūngge *akū*
that.which.is.not there.is.not
"All people of the village—young and old—went out of doors to look at (the procession)" (NSB:112).

If the homogeneous parts of the sentence require a case marker, only the last of them is followed by it:

niyalma morin enggemu jergi ***be*** *teksile*
people horse saddle sort ACC prepare(IMP)
"Prepare people, horses, saddles (and other things);"
jai *inenggi sergūdai fiyanggū ama* *eme* ***de***
following day PN PN father mother DAT
fakca-ra *doro-i* *hengkile-fi* ...
part-PART rite-GEN kowtow-CONV

"The following day Sergūdai Fiyanggū according to custom at parting kowtowed to his father and mother" (NSB:112).
Homogeneous parts of the sentence may be expressed by several participles the last of which is followed by the suffix ***-ngge***:

*buce-re banji-re-**ngge** emu erin i anan-de bi*
die-PART live-PART-NR one time GEN sequence-DAT COP
"Life and death span a short period of time" (AD:66);
niyalma be too-re, firu-re akšula-ra, akšun
people ACC abuse-PART curse-PART slander-PART slanderous
*idun gisun girubu-re-*ngge *ere gemu niyalma be*
rough word shame-PART-NR this all people ACC
gisun de wa-ra-ngge inu
word DAT kill-PART-NR MDL.PTL
"Abusing, slandering people, shaming with rough words—all this—is killing people by words" (ORL:137).

Homogeneous verbal parts of the sentence are linked by the converbal form in ***-fi***:

*nacin alin ci wasi-**fi**, tere buya ju-se*
PN mountain ABL go.down-CONV that small child(*jui*)-PL
*be gemu wa-**fi**, giyahūn be ali-**fi**, morin be*
ACC all kill-CONV falcon ACC take-CONV horse ACC
dali-me amasi boo-de ji-he
conceal-CONV backword house-DAT come-PART
"Hacin went down from mountains, killed those small kids, took a falcon, and came home to conceal horses" (AD:66-7).

5. *Syntax of Composite Sentences. Compound and Complex Sentences*

A composite sentence is a syntactic unit (polypredicative construction) formed by the combination of several (minimally, two) syntactic units (predicative constructions). This combination manifests itself by the conjunctive connection of coordination or subordination as well as by the asyndetic connection. In classical theory of syntax there are several strongly pronounced fundamental characteristics of composite sentences. These characteristics are:

1) overtly expressed intonation contour, 2) polypredication (each part of a composite sentence is a predicative unit/ construction/clause), 3) conjunctional or asyndetic means of the syntactic bond (connection) (LE, 1990:471).

In this description of Manchu syntax, intonation is not examined because the book is primarily devoted to the written Manchu language. In my view, intonation manifests itself in full measure in the spoken language and must be investigated by means of instrumental phonetics.

Based on the known classifications of Russian composite sentences it is possible to postulate three principles that regularly recur in different classification schemes. The first principle is the presence or absence of conjunctions (or other means of conjunctional type) which link predicative parts in a composite sentence. According to this principle, all composite sentences are divided into conjunctive and asyndetic ones. The second principle is related to the opposition of coordination and subordination of predicative parts. In some classifications this division is applied to all composite sentences, in others it is used only in respect to composite sentences with the conjunctional link of predicative parts. The third principle is related to the attitude of the dependent part (predicative construction/clause) to the principal one as a single whole or to its certain syntactic component (Cheremisina & Kolosova, 1987:96-7).

Most recently developed classifications usually begin with the classification of composite sentences into conjunctive and asyndetic ones. To make a distinction such as this, we must clearly understand what the term "conjunction" means. Even in European languages one finds a wealth of words of conjunctional type in addition to conjunctions proper. For example, relative pronouns and pronominal adverbs are primarily used as syntactic components of subordinate clauses (predicative constructions) of complex sentences, but due to their anaphoric orientation, they perform a connective function between clauses (predicative parts/constructions). For example, in English, the relative pronouns *who* (*whom*), *which*, *that* are regularly used to link clauses. At the same time they are considered to be parts of dependent attributive clauses: *The library is in the house* ***which*** *(****that****) stands at the corner*; *The book* ***which*** *(****that****) is lying on the table is mine*; *There are many people* ***who*** *do not smoke*; *My friend* ***that*** *(****whom****) you saw yesterday is a good doctor* (PEG, 1995:42). Conjunctive pronouns, such as *who*, *whom*, *whose*, *what*, *which* are also used to link clauses, for instance: ***Who*** *will go there is not known yet*; *Ask him* ***which*** *of these*

books he will take; *I don't know* ***whose*** *book is on my table*; *The question is* ***what*** *he will tell us* (PEG, 1995:40). These conjunctive pronouns also retain their role as parts of dependent clauses.

In Altaic, on the one hand, there are not many analytical connectives comparable with European conjunctions. In fact, Manchu has more analytical connectives than other Tungusic languages. However, the majority of them have been fixed in the process of formation from nouns and participles in certain case forms as well as from converbs. In some syntactic contexts it is difficult to define the grammatical status of such words. On the other hand, in Altaic, the expression of relationships between predicative parts of composite sentences is realized by the same means which are used to link word forms in simple sentences (Ubryatova, 1976:7). This fact can be explained by the agglutinative character of combining morphemes in the structure of word forms. These morphemes (suffixes) are much more syntactic than those in the European languages are. In Altaic, the basic means of the syntactic bond are morphemes or strings of them, sometimes followed and modified by analytical connectives. Altaic facts show that markers of syntactic bond should be understood as segments of the plan of expression, which perform the function of connection. It may be a separate word comparable with the conjunction proper, a combination of words, a morpheme or a string of morphemes. It may also be a combination of morphemes with analytical elements of various nature, for example, particles specifying the semantics of relationships between predicative parts (constructions) of composite sentences (Cheremisina & Kolosova, 1987:109). From the European point of view, most Altaic composite sentences should be considered as having no conjunctions. Nevertheless all of them have their own means of expressing coordination and subordination as two different types of relationships between clauses (predicative constructions). It is worth noting here that although the subject of the present treatise is the syntactic structure of classical Manchu (sometimes with comparable facts from other Tungusic languages), it should be kept in mind that most Altaic languages reveal a number of similar syntactic characteristics. This fact is clearly shown in the book "*Predikativnoe sklonenie pričastij v altajskich jazykach [Predicative Declension of Participles in the Altaic Languages]*, where the term "Altaic" is understood, as in this Grammar, to encompass the typological affinity of the languages (PDP, 1984).

The question about the content and limits of coordination and

subordination has not been satisfactorily resolved yet. Although coordination is usually opposed to subordination, in fact there is no strict opposition between them. Subordination is used to express semantic dependence between clauses (predicative constructions) which is not expressed by coordination. The latter has another function. It is not used to characterize predicative parts from the point of view of semantic hierarchy. In this respect coordination does not overstep the limits of parataxis (asyndeton) where the semantic dependence between predicative parts usually is not expressed. The connective, adversative, and disjunctive kinds of coordination are considered basic and universal. In case of need, coordinative syntactic structures may render semantic dependence but with the help of lexical means or subordinative conjunctions. Specialists refer to such cases as the contamination of coordination by subordination (ED, 1990:484).

As for subordination, a dependent clause (predicative construction) normally has to do with a principal clause which is meant as a single whole (complex sentences of two members) or with one of the syntactic components of a principal clause (complex sentences of one member). Being components of two-member sentences, the dependent and principal clauses (predicative constructions) are related with each other as names of distinct situations or events of the outside world that are put into relationships of simultaneity or as events happening at different times, or causal-resultative, conditional, final, etc. relationships. In Altaic, all these relationships are rendered by specific non-finite verbal forms which serve as predicates of subordinate clauses (predicative constructions). Subjects of predicative constructions do not participate in the expression of semantic dependence. In case of one-member sentences, in most Altaic, Manchu included, this dependence is also expressed by specific forms of subjects which regularly take the form of the genitive in explanatory and attributive clauses (predicative constructions). It is obvious that this intensified expression of subordination manifests much stronger relationships of semantic dependence (Cheremisina & Kolosova, 1987:105).

In Manchu we practically deal with large fragments of text, a kind of syntactic periods (paragraphs). They normally consist of a number of predicative units (constructions, clauses). The predicative units enter into various syntactic relationships with one another. On the level of expression these relationships manifest themselves in differ-

ent ways: by means of participial or converbal forms which can be complicated with different analytical formants (postpositions, conjunctions, syntactic words of the conjunctional type). At least two problems arise in connection with this.

Firstly, what are the criteria for delimiting these large portions of text from each other? A preliminary analysis allows to consider that the following word forms may serve as syntactic delimitors. Firstly, it is the copula *bi*. Secondly, it is the finite forms containing the morpheme *bi* which was originally the copula *bi*: the imperfect form in *-mbi*, the past forms in *-habi/-hebi/-hobi (-ngkabi/-ngkebi/-ngkobi), -mbihe, -mbihebi;* the analytical form *-ha/-he/-ho bihe* (*-ngka/-ngke/-ngko bihe*). Thirdly, it is the so-called sentence particles *kai*, *dabala*, *inu*, *dere*, *be*. Possessing strongly pronounced modal meanings, these particles can also be used as copulae. It is clear that this aspect of the general problem of analyzing syntactic units, which are larger than a syntactic binomial, requires further investigation.

Secondly, bearing in mind that the major task of polypredicative syntax is studying syntactic binomials, i.e. such constructions which denote relationships between two predicative units, one should learn how to divide these large fragments of text (paragraphs/syntactic periods) into parts. The procedure of dividing a syntactic period, which is in most cases a string of predicative constructions, into syntactic binomials is artificial to a certain degree. Nevertheless this procedure seems to provide the only possibility for obtaining the minimal syntactic unit which is able to be analyzed. Extracting a syntactic binomial from the text where only the principal predicate, which is also the linearly last one, is expressed by a finite form, we remove additional meanings and relationships which arise from syntactic relationships of this binomial to the others. Analyzing syntactic binomials, we do not traditionally take into account these additional meanings and relationships. It is clear that the registration of additional syntactic meanings that appear as a result of interrelations between all syntactic binomials (predicative constructions) that form the whole period, should be based on a well-worked procedure. It seems that while dividing the whole paragraph into predicative constructions, at the same time we should compile an "inventory" of those syntactic relationships that are being removed at certain stages of analysis.

Thirdly, as mentioned above, principal and subordinate predicates normally have their own agent/subject valencies which are not filled

with word forms within the given predicative constructions. These agents (or subjects) should be reconstructed from the syntactic context that is represented by a certain syntactic period (paragraph/fragment). In such cases, the procedure of analysis should follow that of obtaining the more detailed structure of a predicative construction. However, this detailed structure should not semantically contain anything that is absent in the original construction.

It should be noted that the absence of not only agents (subjects) of principal and subordinate parts of the predicative constructions but also the whole implicit syntactic structures is a distinctive feature of Manchu syntax.

5.1. *Compound Sentences*

The compound sentence is defined as a polypredicative syntactic construction the parts of which are semantically and syntactically symmetrical. Despite of the fact that close syntactic links exist between each parts, these parts have relative syntactic independence. They are obligatorily combined into a single sentence by rhythmic-intonational devices. Unfortunately, compound sentences have not been studied sufficiently until recently in Manchu, and the problem itself requires further investigation.

It is commonly agreed among manchurologists that coordination may be expressed by juxtaposition or by coordinating conjunctions. In classical linguistics coordinating conjunctions are divided into the connective, adversative, and disjunctive ones. In Manchu the words *bime* (originally the imperfect converb derived from the verb *bi-* "to be," "to exist"); *geli* "also," "again," "still;" *jai* "again," "still," "more," "later;" *kemuni* "often," "still," "yet" normally serve as connective (copulative) conjunctions. The words *akūci* (< *akū* "there is/are not" + *oci* = conditional converb derived from the verb *o-* "to be," "to become"), *bimbime* (originally the imperfect converb derived from the word form *bimbi*), *bai* "only" are used as the adversative conjunction "but." The words *eici* and *embici* serve as the disjunctive conjunction "or" (see Part IV, Section 8.2).

In my view, parallelism is also used to express coordination. In a sense, parallelism can be considered as a kind of coordinative relationship (for details see Section 2). Here are some examples of compound sentences the parts of which are connected by means of parallelism:

baha-ra de fulehe bi, ufara-ra de fulehe
get-PART DAT root COP lose-PART DAT root
akū
COP.NEG (there.is.not)
There is grounds to getting, there is no grounds to losing;"
nure be komsokon omi, baita be fulukan
wine ACC a.little.less drink(IMP) business ACC a.little.more
i ulhi
GEN understand(IMP)
"Drink wine just a little less, understand business just a little more;"
folo-ho-ngge inu muwa, boco inu
carve-PART-NR MDL.PTL coarse colour MDL.PTL
elden akū
gloss COP.NEG (there.is.not)
"Both the caving is coarse and the colour is without gloss" (PASH:55);
erdemu be da obu-mbi, muten be dube
virtue ACC base consider.as-IMPF capability ACC extremity
obu-mbi
consider.as-IMPF
"Virtues are considered as the foundation, talents are considered as the summit" (PASH2:32; OB);
anabu-ha niyalma alin be tuwakiya-mbi, bošobu-ha
yield-PART person mountain ACC look.at-IMPF persist-PART
niyalma boo-de tuwakiya-mbi
person house-DAT look.at-IMPF
"A pliant person takes the upper hand" (Literally:" An yielding person looks at a mountain, but a persistent person looks at a house") (PASH2:123; QW).

5.2. *Complex Sentences*

It is common belief among linguists that compound sentences do occur in most language groups of the world. The fact that complex sentences occur in Altaic languages is denied by some scholars (Milevskii, 1963:29-30). In contrast with this opinion, a comparative typological study of complex sentences in the Altaic languages, including Manchu, which has been recently carried out by a group of linguists of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Prof. M.Iv. Cheremisina and her colleagues and students), shows that these sentences do occur in these languages. However,

they are formed by means of specific mechanisms that are not typical for European hypotaxis (PDP, 1984; STSPC, 1986, etc.).

I believe that Manchu possesses a developed system of complex sentences. However, they differ not only from those occurring in most European languages but also partly from those occurring in most Tungusic. The complex sentence is defined here as a polypredicative construction, the parts (clauses) of which are characterized by inequality of their syntactic rights and by syntactic dependence of subordinate clauses on the principal ones.

In European languages it is usual to express complex sentences analytically, by means of various conjunctions which define the syntactic meaning of a sentence. Rigid restriction is imposed on the structure of subordinate and principal clauses. Both must contain finite verbal forms acting as predicates. Each predicative form can be put in correlation with the noun in the nominative. This noun represents the subject of the action carried out and which, together with the finite verbal form, constitutes the predicative base of each part of a complex sentence.

In the Altaic languages, including Manchu, there is also a very limited class of complex sentences where interdependence between their predicative parts (clauses) is realized through analytical connectives, that is, through conjunctions. The conjunctions normally combine with finite verbal forms, which are used to render subordinate predicates. Such patterns of complex sentences are not numerous, so that just a few conjunctions of European type occur in the Altaic languages. It is true that in recent times such patterns have been widely spread in Siberian languages. This is partly due to the creation of literary languages from dialects which were unwritten at least until the twenties, and partly to the effect of Russian literature in translation on the native languages. Furthermore, a number of new patterns, where relative pronouns and adverbs are used to link clauses, have appeared recently. At the same time these words are parts of the dependent clauses. It is undoubtedly the case that most such patterns of complex sentences are syntactic calques from Russian. Such patterns can be illustrated by the following examples from Evenki:

Ucitel nungan-mā-n gūn-e-n, ***ange-va***
Teacher he-ACC-3.SG.POSS ask-PERF(*re/ne*)-3.SG.PR which-ACC
kniga-va esī nungan tang-ʒa-ra-n.
book-ACC now he read-ASP(DUR)-PERF-3.SG.PR

"The teacher asked him, which book he was currently reading" (KOL:228).

In this sentence the relative (or conjunctive) pronoun-adjective *ange-va* "which" (in the form of the accusative) is used, firstly, as a part of the dependent clause, and, secondly, as a syntactic word which serves to link two clauses, the principal and the dependent.

Bi sā-ca bi-cē-v, ***īdū*** *nungartin*
I know-PART be(AUX)-PAST-1.SG.PR.POSS where they
diken-ʒe-cē-tin
hide-ASP(DUR)-PAST-3.PL.PR.POSS
"I knew where they were hiding" (BROD).

In this sentence the word *īdū* "where" is a relative (originally interrogative) pronoun-adverb which performs two functions. The first one is a function of a part of a dependent clause, and the second one is to link two clauses, the dependent and the principal. This function is that of a conjunction.

Eme-re-n parohot, ***anti-dū*** *su*
arrive-PERF-3.SG.PR steamboard which-DAT you(PL)
suru-ʒengē-sun
go-FUT-3.PL.PR.POSS
"The steamboat, which you are to board, has just arrived" (KOL:227).

In this sentence the relative pronoun-adjective *anti* "what," "which" is used as a part of the attributive dependent clause and as a syntactic word which serve to connect two clauses.

Ōkīr *min-dū bi-cē-n*
when I(*bi/min-*)-DAT be-PAST-3.SG.PR
dyur annganī-ngi-v, *amī-m*
two year-OBL.POSS-1.SG.POSS father-1.SG.POSS
bu-cē-n
die-PAST-3.SG.PR
"When I was two years old, my father died" (KOL:228).

In this sentence the word *ōkīr* "when" is a relative (originally interrogative) pronoun-adverb which serves as a part of the dependent clause and as a syntactic word used to connect clauses.

This type of connection between clauses within a complex sentence had not been basic for Tungusic languages till recently.

In accordance with the latest studies, the existence of specific non-finite verbal forms is typical of Altaic hypotaxis. These forms, either through their component suffixes or in combination with certain analytical markers, mostly cases, postpositions, and other connectives of conjunctional type, express firstly the dependence between at least two clauses (predicative constructions) which are used to describe situations or events of the outside world. They also determine the syntactic meaning of interdependence between these events. It is a characteristic of the Altaic languages that the subordination of a dependent clause to a principal one is rendered by suffixes which are elements of the linear structure of non-finite verbal forms. Therefore, no additional devices of linking are needed to express subordination. Within a subordinate clause, non-finite verbal forms are the basic exponents of predicativity. Nouns that denote the subject of the action carried on, together with non-finite verbal forms, make up the predicative base of a subordinate clause. They usually occur in the form of the nominative, or under special circumstances, in the form of the genitive and the accusative (like in Manchu).

Let us show with the help of the following examples how non-finite verbal forms function in two Altaic languages, Evenki and Manchu, which belong to the Tungus-Manchu language family. Despite their morphological structures differing in detail, which will be discussed below, both languages construct their complex sentences by identical means.

Evenki:

Enī-m *e-cē-n* *sā-re,*
mother-1.SG.POSS NEG-PAST-3.SG.PR.POSS know-PERF
si *tineve* ***eme-nē-vē-s***.
you(SG) yesterday come-PART-ACC-2.SG.PR.POSS
"My mother did not know that you arrived yesterday" (KOL:200).

The fact of interdependence between the principal and subordinate clauses, as well the syntactic meaning of this dependence, is rendered by the participle in *-na/-ne/-no* in the form of the accusative (*-va/-ve/-vo*).

Bira ***dongotode-ngēsi-n*** *bu* *homoti-va*
river freeze-CONV-3.SG.PR.POSS we bear-ACC

akin-nun-mar *va-cā-vun*
brother-COM-REFL.POSS kill-PART-1.SG.PR.POSS
"When the river froze my brother and I killed a bear."

The non-finite verbal form (participle) in *-ngasi/-ngesi/-ngosi*, serving as a predicate of the subordinate clause, indicates, firstly, the fact that there is a dependence between two clauses, and secondly, that the dependent and the principal actions are carried out simultaneously.
Manchu:

baita be ***deribu-re de***, *deribun be bodo-mbi*
matter ACC start-PART DAT beginning ACC think.over-IMPF
"When (one) starts (to do something) (he) thinks over how to begin" (PASH2:29; OB).

The relationship between two predicative constructions (clauses) as well as the character of the relationship are expressed by the imperfect participle in *-ra/-re/-ro* in the form of the dative.

ere niyalma ***ji-ci*** *yargiyan i jobo-rakū*
this man come-CONV reality GEN worry-PART(NEG)
yargiyan i "certainly," "surely;"
"If this man comes certainly (I) shall not worry" (NSB:122).

The fact and character of the relationship between two clauses are expressed by the conditional converb in *-ci*.

5.3. *Basic Ideas and Terms for the Theory of the Altaic Hypotaxis*

In all Altaic, including Manchu, there is no clear boundary between participial and converbal constructions, on the one hand, and dependent clauses, on the other hand. Participial and converbal constructions are characterized by different syntactic and semantic structures. They can be extended with subordinate syntactic components including their own subjects and direct and indirect objects. Their syntactic structure as closely related to their semantics. For example, semantically the participial constructions can denote an event (fact, situation, state of affairs) of the outside world, or an object in the

broad sense, a material ("thing") or non-material ("act"). All these semantic structures correspond to certain syntactic ones (see Part IV, Section 5.6.5 and Part V, Section 4.1.2).

When a subordinate predicate is expressed by a participle derived from an intransitive verb, and as a result a participial construction has no direct object, or a participle is derived from a transitive verb, but the position of a direct object is not filled, the participial construction normally denotes a name of action or a material thing, for example:

suwe-ni *tuwašata-ra* *be* *ali-fi*
you(*suwe*/*suwen*- PL)-GEN take.care.of-PART ACC accept-CONV
bani-ha *ara-mbi*
become-PART do-IMPF
baniha ara- "to thank;"
"(I) thank (you) for taking care (of me)" (PASH2:245; GH);
tere b'a-i (ma. *biyai*) *elden in'i* *ama* *eme* *i*
that moon-GEN light he(*i*/*in*-)-GEN father mother GEN
gisure-re *be* *donji-fi*
speak-PART ACC hear-CONV
biyai elden "the Light of the Moon" = proper name;
"That Light of the Moon has heard his father and mother's talk" (SK);
damu *heni* *majige* *cai* *abdaha* *uda-fi* *bene-bu-ha-ngge*
only a.little a.little tea leaf buy-CONV send-CAUS-PART-NR
kai *labdu* *akū*
COP much COP.NEG (there.is.not)
"I bought very little of tea, hence what I sent would be not enough" (PASH2:248; GH).

When a subordinate predicate is expressed by a transitive verb and what is more, the position of a direct object is filled, i.e. a participial construction includes a direct object, the whole construction normally denotes a situation of the outside world. Such subordinate participial predicates often have their own agent/subject valency that may or may not be filled by a noun. Under all these syntactic conditions a subordinate participial construction is structurally and semantically very close to a subordinate clause, and one has all grounds to consider such a predicative construction as being identical to a clause. Here is an example:

emu dobi emu indahūn emu gasha ica-fi becun
one fox one dog one bird get.together-CONV quarrel
ara-me ishunda (ma. *ishunde) beye beye be*
make-CONV to.one.another self self ACC
sai-me ili-ha sabu-fi
bite-CONV stand-PART see-CONV
beye beye "each other;"
"(He) saw that a fox, a dog, and a large bird, having got together, made a quarrel, stood and beat each other" (SK).

The presence of a relative pronoun in a subordinate participial construction also indicates that it has semantics of an event (or situation):

ere sagda mama inu ya ici yabu-ha be
this old old.lady also which direction go-PART ACC
sa-rakū o-ho
know-PART(NEG) be(AUX)-PART
"It is also unknown where this old woman has gone;"
min-i sargan jui tere šindamani bou bi (ma. *boobai*)
I(*bi/min-*)-GEN = my female child that precious.stone
be yade waliya-ha be sa-rkū
ACC where throw.away-PART ACC know-PART(NEG)
"My daughter does not know where (she) has lost the precious stone "*shindamani*" (SK).

The syntactic semantics of participial constructions depends not only on their syntactic structure but also on the semantic type of principal predicates. This point is discussed in 5.4.4.

According to the widely accepted theory of the complex sentence, both predicates, principal and subordinate, should be expressed by finite verbal forms, i.e. verbs. In Altaic, most utterances, which express various relationships between situations of the outside world, are rendered by special constructions which are radically different from those in European languages. Therefore the theory of the complex sentence needs to be specially discussed and worked out in detail in regards to the Altaic languages, including Manchu.

5.3.1. *The Polypredicative Construction as an Elementary Syntactic Unit of the Theory of Compound and Complex Sentences*

It is accepted by the majority of specialists that the cognitive content of a sentence is the proposition which is a semantic structure corresponding to an event (the state of affairs, situation) of the outside world. The syntactic form of a sentence is the most adequate way to express the semantic structure of the proposition (Vendler, 1968; Arutyunova, 1976; Gochet, 1980; Beloshapkova, 1981 and others).

From the semantic point of view, a complex sentence is the relationship between two propositions (minimally). Evidently, in every language there are many syntactic constructions conveying this meaning. However, from the syntactic point of view these constructions are different. Some of them are complex in the generally accepted sense. This means that both predicative parts (clauses), principal and subordinate, have the grammatical form of a sentence with their own subjects and predicates. Others deviate to a certain extent from the standard understanding of complexity.

I shall use the term "polypredicative construction" (PPC) to describe the object of this study. Semantically PPC is a special syntactic unit—like a word-combination, a simple sentence, and a compound sentence—the function of which is to denote the relationship between minimally two events of the outside world, i.e. propositions. Because the most adequate form to represent a proposition is in a grammatical form of a sentence, a rigid requirement on the utterances denoting various relationships between events of reality is imposed. This restriction is that both parts of PPC must be represented by a "predicative construction" (PC). This is another term to be introduced within the given syntactic framework. The predicative construction is a sentence from the point of view of its grammatical organization, i. e. a predicative syntactic form. The term "predicative construction" corresponds not only to a principal clause but to a subordinate one as well. Polypredicative constructions can be considered complex sentences if they have two predicative bases (subject and predicate) and if no component of one predicative base is a component of the other (Cheremisina, 1979; PDP, 1984; STSPK, 1986; Cheremisina & Kolosova, 1987). From this point of view, the above sentences, containing predicative nominalizations, are not complex sentences proper, but they are not simple sentences either

(see Sections 4.1.1 & 4.1.2). The name "polypredicative constructions" is the most adequate term for them.

5.3.2. *Subordinate Predicativity and its Forms*

Due to the specificity of Altaic hypotaxis, subordinate clauses differ from principal ones and from simple sentences. Firstly, from the communicative point of view, they express relatively incomplete thought. Secondly, from the grammatical point of view, they differ structurally because they contain the connective marker within their grammatical form that serves as the subordinate predicate.

The basic notion of the theory of simple sentence, i.e. predicativity, when shifted to the theory of complex sentence, must be subjected to certain changes. It is inevitable, that playing the role of a subordinate clause, the proposition, as a semantic structure, undergoes changes as well. The predicativity of a subordinate clause is a specific syntactic mechanism that demonstrates the formal peculiarity of it. Following the basic ideas of the syntactic theory of Altaic hypotaxis, suggested by M.Iv. Cheremisina, I use the term "subordinate predicativity" to describe this mechanism. In the Altaic languages, both a predicate and a subject of a subordinate predicative construction (clause) are formed in a different way in contrast with a principal clause or a simple sentence. All Altaic have very ramified systems of non-finite verbal forms which may serve as predicates in subordinate clauses (or as subordinate predicates).

In the Altaic languages there are three main classes of non-finite verbal forms participating in the formation of complex sentences. These include participles in certain case forms (verbal-nominal forms), participles in the indeclinable form (participles proper), and converbs. Analytical constructions, which also serve as subordinate predicates, can be considered as a particular case of participial and converbal constructions. All of them constitute the predicative aspect of the subordinate predicativity.

Participles play the most important role since the mechanism of their predicative declension is the basis of the Altaic complex sentences.

It is important to note, that there is another aspect of subordinate predicativity. This aspect is connected firstly to a subject of a dependent predicative construction (clause), and secondly to the system of personal-possessive suffixes which are attached to non-finite verbal forms.

A word, which denotes a subject performing an action within a dependent clause, that is a subordinate subject, may occur in the form of some oblique cases. It may be the genitive in Manchu (the other Tungusic and Yakut do not have this case), Mongolian, and Japanese (Sanzheev, 1953:158-61; 188-94; Syromyatnikov, 1978:115). In Manchu, the form of the genitive is often used to indicate the subject of a dependent clause (PC). The accusative can mark a subordinate subject as well. The examples are:
Manchu:

sikse suwen-i min-de šangna-ha
yesterday you(*suwe/suwen-* PL)-GEN I(*bi/min-*)-DAT present-PART
tere cai abdaha i amtan umesi sain
this tea leaf GEN smell very good
"The smell of that tea leaf you presented me yesterday is very good" (PASH:59; PASH2:248; GH). The subordinate clause *sikse suweni minde šangnaha* "you presented me yesterday" which is the attribute to the noun *abdaha* "leaf" contains the pronoun *suwe* "you" in the genitive (*suweni*) serving as the subordinate subject.
im-be ji-fi majige te-re-o seme hendu
he(*i/in-*)-ACC come-CONV a.little sit-PART-INT in.order tell(IMP)
"Tell him to come (to my house) and sit (with me) for a while" (PASH:58).

Subordinate clause *imbe jifi majige tereo* "let him come and sit down for a while" contains its own subject which is rendered by the personal pronoun in the accusative (*imbe* < *i(n)* "he" + *be*).

With the exception of Manchu and Mongolian where the verbal morphological category of person does not exist, in all Altaic languages there are two systems of personal suffixes which are strictly opposed to each other. Personal-predicative suffixes, originating from personal pronouns in the nominative, occur with finite verbal forms, which serve as predicates in principal clauses or in simple sentences. Taking personal suffixes of this type, the finite verbal forms are normally conjugated. These suffixes can be defined as personal-predicative. Personal-possessive suffixes, originating from personal pronouns in the form of the genitive, occur with non-finite verbal forms that serve only as predicates in subordinate clauses. These suffixes can be defined as predicative-possessive.

5.3.3. *The Morphological Category of Possession in Altaic*

The primary function of personal-possessive suffixes is to denote the semantics of possession that is sometimes treated as a special kind of attributive semantics. Because the morphological category of possession is the most fundamental one in Altaic, special care must be taken to explain how it manifests itself in word-combinations of different semantic nature.

As shown in Section 2, possessive relationships may link nominal words in word-combinations of various semantic nature. Even word-combinations, where the first element can be put in correlation with an agent and the second denotes the action, which the agent performs, may be structurally organized by means of the possessive form. In this particular case the semantics of a possessive word-combination is very close to that of a predicative construction. Thus, such word-combinations, formally possessive, are predicative in regards to their cognitive content. These possessive constructions are widespread in all Tungusic languages, including Evenki.

The following are some examples of word-combinations where the predicative relationship between two elements manifest itself by the form of a possessive construction:

Evenki:

Tadū baka-ra-n unta-l-va bu
there find-PERF-3.SG.PR footwear-PL-ACC we
o-na-vā-vun.
make-PART-ACC-1.PL.PR.POSS
"There he found (special Tungusic) footwear we had made;"
Bu mervun sine-ve eme-nē-dū-c
we ourselves you(*si*/*sin*- SG)-ACC come-PART-DAT-2.SG.PR.POSS
urun-e-v.
rejoice-PERF(*e* < *ne*)-1.PL.PR
"We rejoiced that you came (We rejoiced at your coming)" (BROD).

In Manchu there is no morphological category of possession. The possessive relationships between nouns are rendered by a particular syntactic construction that is formed on the basis of the genitive: *moo i ejen* "the tree's owner;" *han i sargan* "the khan's wife;" *abdaha i amtan* "the smell of a leaf;" *abka-i elden* "sky light (light from the sky). In some constructions of this type the possessive relationships link a noun and a participle rather than two nouns. In this case the first

component of the possessive construction can be regarded as a subject and the second as a predicate. Being formally possessive, these relationships, according to their content, are transformed into predicative relationships, as in:

ama i hūla-ra
father GEN call-PART
"the father's calling;"
han i ji-he
khan GEN come-PART
"the lord's coming;"
sin-i are-ha
you(*si*/*sin*- SG)-GEN do/make-PART
"What you have done."

Quite often participles may be followed by the suffix *-ngge* that reveals its possessive nature in such constructions:
ere sargan i jide-re-ngge
this woman GEN come-PART-NR
"this woman's approach;"
ejen i buce-he-ngge
khan GEN die-PART-NR
"the khan's death."

When these constructions have no complementary components describing the situation in more detail, participles could rightfully be translated as nouns of action. Extended with dependent words, these constructions obtain the ability to reflect certain situations of the outside world in greater detail and therefore have good reasons to be specified and translated as subordinate predicative constructions (clauses).

5.4. *Altaic Participles as the Basic Non-finite Verbal Forms Denoting Subordinate Predicativity*

Referred to as the most widespread and probably the most ancient verbal form in Altaic, including Manchu, the term "participle" is accepted by contemporary scholars in a very conventional way. Most verbs proper and converbs are derived from participles in Tungus-Manchu (Gorelova, 1980:3-31). A number of morphological char-

acteristics of the Altaic participles are described in the chapter devoted to the Manchu participles which have some features common to all Altaic participles (see Part IV, Section 5.6).

I analyze below Manchu participles from a syntactic point of view.

5.4.1. *The Participle as the Fundamental Form of the Altaic Verb*

The term "participle" corresponds to the fundamental form of the Altaic verb, or more precisely, the hyperform that comprises a few grammatical paradigms on the basis of a single genetic form. The Altaic participle is known to have three functions. These functions can be put into correlation with three different grammatical patterns.

The first function is to denote a predicate in a simple sentence or in a principal clause of a complex sentence. In this role participles reveal their verbal characteristics, such as aspect, voice, mood (tense and modality), and person. The ability to govern noun cases is a distinctive feature of the Altaic participle as a verbal form. If a language has the grammatical category of person, participles are directly followed by personal suffixes of predicative type with the help of which they are normally conjugated. Based on the principle of indeclinability and conjugation in this syntactic function, participles have a good case for being specified as verbs proper. If a language has no grammatical category of person, like Manchu and Mongolian, a predicate correlates to an agent analytically, through a subject. Serving as a principal predicate, a participle takes final position in a sentence in contrast to a participle in the attributive function. Serving as an attribute, a participle always precedes a noun which it modifies.

In their second function the participles may serve as attributes and predicates in polypredicative constructions with attributive semantics. It is precisely in this case that the Altaic participles can be considered analogous to the Russian ones, for example. In this function Manchu participles precede nouns which they modify. The grammatical form of participles in the attributive function should be defined as indeclinable. The type of syntactic bond between a noun and a participle can be specified as jaxtaposition. The following examples show that in the attributive role Manchu participles can be neither declined nor conjugated.

Manchu:

bi	*sin-de*	*yandu-ha*	*baita*	*be*	*si*	*tede*
I	you(*si*/*sin*- SG)-DAT	beg -PART	matter	ACC	you(SG)	

hendu-hebi-o
speak-PAST-INT
tede < *te* = *tere* "that" + *de* = DAT; this demonstrative pronoun can be used to substitute the personal pronoun *i* "he/she" (see Part IV, Section 4.2); "Have you spoken to him about the matter which I asked you to do?" (PASH:59);
ajigen ci kadala-ra bargiyata-ra niyalma akū
youth ABL control-PART protect-PART people there.is.not
ojo-ro jakade, damu sula baisin yabu-re
be(AUX)-PART since only free at.leisure perform-PART
de amuran
DAT intent.on
sula baisin "unemployed," "at leisure" (NL:252);
"Since from his youth he has not had people around who would control and protect (him), he is prone to laziness" (PASH2:6; AH);
sin-i boo-de jui emu inenggi
you(*si*/*sin*-)-GEN house-DAT child/son one day
banji-ha indahūn bi
be.born dog COP
"In your house (you have) a dog which was born on the same day with the boy" (NSB:121).

In Evenki, in order to agree with nouns, participles have a grammatical apparatus of declension that is identical to that of nouns. In some dialects the grammatical agreement in case suffixes may be added to that in numbers:
Evenki:

Tadū baka-ra-n unta-l-va
there find-PERF-3.SG.PR footwear-PL-ACC
enīn-i-n
mother-CONN-3.SG.POSS (his)
o-nā-l-vā-n
make-PART-PL-ACC-3.SG.PR.POSS
"There he found (special Tungusic) footwear which his mother had made (for him)" (BROD:53).
In some Evenki dialects participles are linked with nouns to which they are attributed through jaxtaposition:
Hun-i-l bi-ʒe-ri-tin
girl-CONN-PL be-ASP-PART-3.PL.PR.POSS

okoshko-li-tin
window-PRLT-3.PL.POSS
sangar-kan-duli deg-ce.
hole-DIMIN-PRLT fly.in-PAST(3.SG.PR)
"(He) flew in through the hole of a window to where the girls were" (BROD:52).

In their third function the Altaic participles may serve as predicates in subordinate parts (clauses) of complex sentences. From the point view of the Altaic complex sentence theory, this function of participles is of special interest. Particular attention should be paid to the fact that in the role of subordinate predicates. Altaic participles may take markers of oblique cases or may be used in the nominative with zero expression. Instead of using the term "the nominative," some specialists suggest recognizing the so-called direct case which coincides formally with the participle stem (see Part IV, Section 5.6.1).

As already mentioned, participles in most Altaic languages may take personal-possessive suffixes. Used with subordinate predicates, possessive suffixes are transformed into suffixes of predicative-possessive type, and participles themselves may be conjugated. The ability to be conjugated permits, firstly, the preservation of the predicative function of participles within subordinate clauses and, secondly, with the help of cases, to place participles into noun positions within subordinate propositions. In other words, participles are allowed to function as noun analogues, viz. predicative subjects and objects, direct and indirect. Only case markers may follow Manchu participles, having neither the morphological category of person (like the verb proper) nor the morphological category of possession. Morphologically the Altaic participles in the role of subordinate predicates can be characterized as declinable forms, which may be conjugated in most languages. It is precisely these forms that underlie the mechanism of predicative declension of participles which may rightfully be called the basic mechanism of Altaic hypotaxis.

5.4.2. *Mechanism of the Predicative Declension of Participles*
With the aid of the definition of the predicative declension of participles, particular attention should be paid to the category of noun declension in Altaic.

As mentioned in Part IV, Section 2.7, the term "declension" is interpreted usually in two ways. Firstly, declension is the system of noun forms that are required by a governing verb. Secondly, the

term "declension" signifies the ability of nouns to change their forms in accordance with the requirement of government. This means that morphological formants for noun case forms are usually specified as suffixes. This is the situation that exists in most Altaic languages except Manchu and (probably) Japanese. The law of vowel harmony, which assembles the Altaic word form as a single entity, does not apply to the case markers in Manchu. As shown in recent studies, due to certain sound changes, when the palatal-velar harmony got lost in medieval times, such case markers as *be* (accusative), *de* (dative-locative), *deri* (prolative or separative) lost their harmonical counterparts in Manchu (Kiyose, 1996). Preserving a material proximity to the generic Tungusic case markers, they reveal their isolation from the nouns they follow. As a result, unable to act as a synthetic whole with case markers, word forms constitute a kind of analytical construction with them. It seems absolutely natural that case markers are written separately from noun stems in Manchu.

The primary function of case markers is to indicate the syntactic roles of nouns in a simple sentence. In Manchu, being morphologically relatively free from the nouns they follow, case markers may occur not only with nouns, but also with participles. They may indicate not only relationships of nouns to verbs in simple sentences, but also express relationships between principal and subordinate clauses within complex sentences. It is very important to note that in all Altaic languages the category of declension is more syntactic than morphological. In Manchu, the category of declension is analytical and syntactic rather than synthetic and morphological. The following examples show how the marker for the accusative acts with a noun and a participle in Manchu:

1) *i boo be weile-mbi*
he house ACC build-IMPF
"He builds a house;"

2) *ai turgun be bisi-re be sa-rakū*
what reason ACC be-PART ACC know-PART(NEG)
"I do not know the reason."

Another point concerning the peculiarity of Manchu noun declension is that Manchu, in contrast with other Altaic languages, does not have a lot of case markers. There are only five of them: *i* for genitive, *be* for accusative, *de* for dative, *ci* for ablative, *deri* for sepa-

rative or prolative. Case markers cannot express some very subtle meanings. To compensate, Manchu developed analytical combinations composed of case markers and postpositions. Most postpositions are formed on the basis of nouns that have time, place, and cause semantics. Serving to link subordinate and principal predicative constructions (clauses), they show a tendency to become connectives (syntactic words of conjunctional type) or conjunctions proper:

in-i *sargan* *basu-me* *inje-re* *jakade, wang*
he(*i*/*in*-)-GEN = his wife mock-CONV laugh-PART when PN
sheng giru-me … *fanca-hai*
PN be.ashamed-CONV get.angry-CONV
"When his wife laughed and mocked at (him), Wang Sheng felt ashamed and got angry" (PASH2:298; LD). The noun *jaka* means "thing;" used as a conjunction, the word form *jakade* (*jaka* "thing" + *de* = DAT) means "when," "since."

ahūn *ji-he* *turgunde, deo* *gene-he*
elder.brother come-PART since younger.brother go-PART
"Since the elder brother came, the younger brother went away" (PASH:60). As a noun, the word *turgun* means "reason," as a conjunction, the word *turgunde* (< *turgun* + *de* = DAT) means "because," "since."

Preserving material similarity to the noun (nominal) declension, the participle (participial) declension reveals some special features. Firstly, it includes fewer cases than the nominal declension. Thus, in Evenki, out of twelve cases only five are used in the participle declension. In Manchu, normally two noun cases occur with participles, viz. accusative and dative (I have encountered only a few instances where the genitive and ablative are used with participles). Secondly, in comparison with noun cases, participle cases have other variants of meanings. Thirdly, different participles are characterized by different sets of case markers.

In conclusion, I propose the following definition: predicative declension of participles is a grammatical mechanism regulating usage of case forms (synthetic in most Altaic languages or analytical as in Manchu) to constitute polypredicative constructions (clauses) of different types in Altaic. From a morphological point of view, one can speak about declension of participles, but from a syntactic point of view, it is declension of predicative constructions (clauses). Declen-

sion of clauses also appears to be relevant for Japanese (Feldman, 1952:230-76). The role of a subordinate predicate requires the existance of both special nominal and verbal features from participles. That is to say participles should be conjugated like a verb, and declined like a noun in order to express various relationships between predicates and nominal parts of the sentence.

5.4.3. *Nominalizations in Manchu*

In lineal morphemic forms of participles, which are used to render subordinate predicates, personal-possessive suffixes do not denote possessive relations. They are used to indicate a grammatical person of the subject that is put into correlation with the participle. Being shifted to the predicative declension of participles, the formal apparatus of the noun possessive declension becomes equal to the declension and conjugation of participles. In the sphere of subordinate predicativity the category of possession partly re-establishes its connection with nouns and is subsequently developed. It becomes the semantic basis that allows, on the one hand, the preservation of the predicative function of participles displaying such verbal characteristics as mood, aspect, modality, tense, and person, and, on the other hand, putting them, with the aid of case formants (suffixes or markers), in the position of verbal arguments (actants). These conditions allow participles to act as analogues of nominal parts of the sentence, i.e. predicative subjects and objects (predicative actants). The apparatus of predicative declension of participles becomes the formal device for expressing the syntactic nominalization of the predicative construction. I use the term "nominalization" here to define the process (and also the result of it) of semantic and formal adaptation of predicative constructions, which enables them to perform nominal roles within the complex sentence (see also Part IV, Section 2.4.1 & 5.6.5). The predicative nominalization is such a transformation of a syntactic predicative structure (and, correspondingly, the syntactic semantics) under which the given proposition, preserving its predicative characteristics, ceases to be a communicative unit on its own right (as a predicative sentence structure) and becomes a nominal component within a communicative unit of higher rank (PDP, 1984:173).

In the absence of the apparatus of possessive declension, Manchu has special nominalizer -***ngge***, which following a single participle or a subordinate predicative construction with a participle as a head,

permit both of them to act as predicative arguments (actants) within complex sentences. As mentioned above, originally the suffix *-ngge*, which is not ruled by vowel harmony but is written together with participles, had possessive meaning (Avrorin, 1953:93-100). In Manchu the suffix *-ngge* is added to the imperfect and perfect participles (forms in *-ra/-ro/-re* and *-ha/-he/-ho, -ka/-ke/-ko, -ngka/-ngke/-ngko* respectively) and to the negative forms of these participles. More often the nominalizer *-ngge* puts the predicative construction into the position of a subject in a complex sentence, for example:

*Fudzi hendu-me fonji-ha-**ngge** amban kai*
Confucious say-CONV ask-PART-NR great COP
Confucious said: "What (you) are asking about is really great" (PASH2:20; AH);
*aikabade ere bithe-de eje-he-**ngge** getuken akū*
if this book-DAT remember-PART-NR clear there.is.not
o-ci, gūwa-i bithe-de
be/become-CONV another-GEN book-DAT
teisulebu-he-de, uthai tengkime sa-me mute-rakū
encounter-PART-DAT then clearly know-CONV can-PART(NEG)
o-mbi
be(AUX)-IMPF
tengkime sa- "to know clearly" (NL:277);
"If, what is to be learnt from this book, is unclear to you, then if you see the same in another book, you will not be able to learn it either" (PASH2:69; QW);
*men'i yabu-ha-**nge*** (ma. ***-ngge***) *yargiyan'i*
we-GEN perform-PART-NR reality-GEN = certainly
tondo akū
honest COP.NEG (there.is.not)
"What we performed (our action) is certainly not honest" (SK).

The marker of the accusative may be added to a participle in ***-ngge*** serving as a head of the predicative construction. The latter plays the role of the predicative object:

*boo-de dasa-bu-ha-**ngge** be* gurun
house-DAT correct-CAUS-PART-NR ACC country/ruling.house
de *tucibu-mbi*
DAT present.to-IMPF

"(Someone) presents to the Court a submission how to improve regulations in the house" (PASH2:29; OB);
tere olho-ho mou (ma. *moo*) *be dahame olho-ho mou*
that dry-PART tree ACC because dry-PART tree
*ejen'i buce-he-**nge*** (ma. *buce-he-**ngge***) *be sa-habi*
owner-GEN die-PART-NR ACC know-PAST
"Because that tree dried up, (we) knew about the death of its owner" (SK).

From the semantic point of view, nominalizations may denote: 1) an abstract concept of action, 2) an object to which the action is applied; this object may be of material or immaterial nature, 3) a person.

Here are some sentences in which nominalizations display their different semantics:

*boo de muda-ci tuci-re-**ngge** mangga o-mbi*
house DAT return-CONV leave-PART-NR hard be-IMPF
"It will be hard to leave (again) after returning home" (PASH1);
*damu fucihiya-ra-**ngge** teni majige weihuken o-ho*
but cough-PART-NR then a.little light become-PART
"As for cough (is concerned), even it has become better" (PASH2:244);
*tere be muke se-me omi-ha-**nge*** (ma. *omi-ha-**ngge***) *gemu*
that ACC water say-CONV drink-PART-NR all
arki bi-hebi
wine be-PAST
arki means also distilled liquor or spirits (NL:20);
"Everything that (he) drank thinking it was water was wine in fact;"
*tere jide-re-**nge*** (ma. *jide-re-**ngge***) *men'i*
that come-PART-NR we(*be/men-* EXCL)-GEN
mama kai
old.woman COP
"The one who is coming is our old woman" (SK).

Nominalizations may also denote a certain state of affairs (a situation or an event) of the outside world. In this case, especially if these formally possessive constructions include their own direct objects and subjects, possessive relations can be treated as predicative and the predicative constructions themselves tend to be transformed into a

subordinate clause. When the principal predicates have semantics of evaluation (*sain* "good," "well;" *sain baita* "good matter;" *yargiyan* "truth," "true;" *ehe* "bad," "badly," "evil," etc.) these constructions, which formally possessive, but predicative according to their cognitive content, normally denote a situation (a fact, an event) of the outside world. Here are some examples:

*mafa-ri i mujilen be mujilen obu-re-**ngge**,*
ancestor-PL GEN heart ACC heart consider-PART-NR
abka-i fejergi mukūn i niyalma de haji
heaven-GEN under clan GEN people DAT dead/beloved
akūngge akū
that.which.is.not/that.which.doesn't.exist COP.NEG
abkai fejergi "all under heaven," "the world," "the universe" (NL:4); "If (people) adopt their ancestor's spirit (heart) as they're own spirit (hearts), then, in the world, there is friendship between clan's members without any defects" (or "there is true love between clan's members") (PASH2:315; MFB);
*urunakū fukjin nei-he-**ngge** mangga se-me*
necessarily foundation open-PART-NR difficult say-CONV
gūni-me …
think-CONV
"(I) necessarily think how difficult to lay a foundation" (PASH2:316; MFB);
šin'i (ma. *sin-i*) *ji-he-**nge*** (ma. *ji-he-**ngge***) *umuši* (ma. *umesi*)
you(*ši/šin-* SG)-GEN come-PART-NR very.much
sain o-ho
good be-PART
"It is very good that you came" ("The fact that you came is very good");
n'alma (ma. *niyalma*) *muda-me ji-he-**nge*** (ma. *ji-he-**ngge***)
man return-CONV come-PART-NR
yargan'i (ma. *yargiyan i*) *ferguecuke* (ma. *ferguwecuke*) *baita*
true/truth-GEN astonishing matter
"It is actually astonishing that the man has returned" (SK).

It is important to note that a nominal word or pronoun which denotes a subject of a subordinate predicative construction, is often followed by the marker of the genitive. Thereby the whole construction displays a formally possessive structure to a great degree:

sin-i *leole-re-**ngge*** *min-i* *gūnin*
you(*si/sin-* SG)-GEN reason-PART-NR I(*bi/min-*)-GEN thought
de *tob* *seme* *acana-ha*
DAT exactly go.to.meet-PART
tob seme "just," "exactly," "is just so" (NL:278);
"Your reasonings are exactly in line with mine" (PASH2:252; GH).

However, when the subordinate construction represents a situation of the outside world in a more detailed way, having a number of dependent words, it becomes semantically and structurally very close to a clause, and a noun denoting a subject may occur in the form of the nominative (direct):

tere *sele* *i* *fakši* (ma. *faksi*) *wehe* *be* *hūwala-me*
that iron GEN workman stone ACC split-CONV
(ma. *hūwala-me*) *šim-be* (ma. *sim-be*) *tuci-bu-ha-**nge***
you(*ši/šin-* SG)-ACC go.out-CAUS-PART-NR
(ma. *tuci-bu-ha-**ngge***) *yarg'an* (ma. *yargiyan*) *o-kini*
truth be-IMP
sele i faksi "blacksmith" (*sele* "iron," *faksi* "workman") (NL:237);
"The fact that that blacksmith split a stone has rescued you, is truth" (SK).

As already mentioned, there is another marker to indicate nominalizations, or to be more precise, substantivizations. This is the marker ***ba*** (see Part IV, Sections 2.4.1 & 5.6.5):
fuhali *heni* *majige* *ekuye-he* ***ba***
actually a.little a.little diminish-PART SBSTR
akū
COP.NEG (there.is.not)
"It is not true that (wine in a jug) diminished even a little" (PASH:57).

Nominalizations may have the structure of a sentence but their content is not a proposition. The semantics of nominalizations can be correlated with that of an object, material ("a thing") or non-material ("a word," "action," "deed," "matter") or a person. These so-called asymmetric constructions are widespread in Manchu.

5.4.4. *Strict Correlation between Semantics of a Principal Predicate and a Participle Case in Altaic*

It is important to point out that in all Altaic languages the governing of a verb is strictly determined by its semantics. Thus, the accusative case of participles is governed by verbs with semantics of the manipulation of information, i.e. the search for information, its receiving, storage, transmission and inner manipulation of it (PDP, 1984). This semantics is represented by the mental verbs (verbs of speech, thought, memory), and by verbs of perception as well.

In Evenki, the following verbs belong to this group: *sa-* "to know," "to learn;" *til-* "to understand;" *tag-* "to recognize," "to learn;" *dyaldat-* "to think;" *den-* "to remember;" *omngo-* "to forget;" *ice-* "to see;" *doldi-* "to hear;" *dolcat-* "to listen;" *mede-* "to get information, news;" *gun-* "to say," "to tell," "to speak;" *ulgucen-* "to tell," "to narrate;" *tedev-*, *silba-* "let (someone) know," "to report;" *hangnukta-* "to ask."

In Manchu, the following verbs belong to this group: *sa-* "to know," "to understand;" *tuwa-* "to see," "to look," "to look at," "to take a look;" *sabu-* "to see," "to perceive;" *se-* "to say," "to call," "to mean;" *ala-* "to tell," "to report," "to inform;" *gisure-* "to speak," "to talk;" *hendu-* "to say," "to speak;" *donji-* "to listen," "to hear;" *gūni-* "to think;" *ulhi-* "to understand," "to comprehend."

Here are some examples showing how the accusative of the participle, heading subordinate predicative construction, is determined by the semantics of the principal predicate:

Evenki:

Bi ***sā-l-i-m*** *minngī girkī-v*
I learn-ASP-CONN-1.SG.PR(PERF) my friend-1.SG.POSS
amakān.
soon
eme-ʒengē-vē-n
come-PART-ACC-3.SG.PR.POSS
"I have learned that my friend will come soon" (KOL:200).

Manchu:

in-i beye hono ya inenggi ai erin-de
he(*i*/*in*-)-GEN body/self still/yet which day which time-DAT
buce-re be gemu
die-PART ACC even
sa-rkū
know-PART(NEG)

"[These shamans] are even unable to find out on which day and in which time a man died" (NSB:118);
ere ejen'i *sargan iningdari* (ma. *inenggidari*) *ere* *bou* (ma. *boo*)
this khan-GEN wife every.day this house
ici ***gene-re*** ***be*** *tere* *daifu* *iningdari*
toward go-PART ACC that medical.doctor every.day
sabu-mbi
see-IMPF
"That doctor sees sure this khan's wife goes to that house absolutely every day" (SK).

Verbs with semantics of manipulation of information may govern the accusative form of participles followed by the suffix ***-ngge***:
age min-i *ubaliyambu-ha-****ngge*** ***be***
sir I(*bi/min*-)-GEN translate-PART-NR ACC
tuwa-fi majige *dasata-ra-o*
look.at a.little correct-PART-INT
"Will you do me the favour to look over these translations, sir, and make a few corrections?" (MOLL:27; TM).

Participles in the dative are governed by verbs that have semantics of human reaction (mainly emotive) to events of reality that stimulate certain acts (emotive verbs): *to rejoice*, *to be glad*, *to grieve*, *to be sad*, *to worry*, *to be anxious*, *to be ashamed*, etc. It is obligatory that polypredicative constructions of this type include the subject of consciousness, in its explicit form, which should respond to a certain stimulus with a certain reaction. Here are examples of the use of participles in the dative case:
Evenki:

Hute-ver ***eme-nē-dū-n***
daughter-1.PL.REFL.POSS come-PART-DAT-3.SG.PR.POSS
urunce-kseken *nyukanimat-ta* *hute-ver.*
be.glad-CONV kiss-PERF(3.PL.PR) daughter-1.PL.REFL.POSS
"They were glad that their daughter came, and kissed her" (PDP: 90).
Manchu:

sim-be ***aca-ha*** ***de*** *bi umesi ambula*
you(*si/sin*- SG)-ACC meet-PART DAT I very very.much

urgunje-mbi
be.glad-IMPF
"I am very glad that (I) met you."

The nominative form of participles is put in correlation with principal predicates characterized by special a semantic and formal type. These predicates, may, firstly, denote human reaction to the event-stimulus that is rendered by the predicative subject.
Evenki:

Nungan suru-mecin-i-n upkat-va
he be.away-PART-CONN-3.SG.PR.POSS all-ACC
ibderi-l-ve sivin-mukan-ʒe-ngki-n.
relative-PL-ACC be.anxious-CAUS-ASP(DUR)-PAST-3.SG.PR
"(The fact) that he is away, made all his relatives anxious" (PDP:114).

The position of the subject of emotion is replaced with a noun in the accusative (*ibderil-ve*) in such constructions. The main predicate contains the causative suffix *-mukan*, but the causator itself is not a person. It is the event-stimulus rendered by the predicative subject that assumes the role of the causator (*Nungan surumecin* "He is away").
Secondly, principal predicates may denote certain characteristics of an event (or a situation), which is rendered by the predicative subject. Patterns of this type can be divided into two subgroups.
The first subgroup includes such informative structures where principal predicates denote a permanent attribute of an event, particularly, the presence or absence of it, as well as various phase, local or temporal characteristics:
Evenki:

Okin-da sin-du uha-va ***o-na-v***
never you(SG)-DAT harm-ACC do-PART-1.SG.PR.POSS
acin.
COP.NEG (there.is.not)
"There is not a fact that I have ever done harm to you " ("I have never done harm to you") (BROD:68).
Manchu:

niyalma untuhuri taci-ra be ***kice-re-ngge***
person in.vain study-PART ACC strive-PART-NR
waka
COP.NEG (is.not)

"The fact that a person strives to study in vain does not exist" (literally); "It is never true that it is a waste of time to struggle with study" (ORL:214);
sin-i ***manjura-ra-ngge***
you(*si/sin-* SG)-GEN speak.Manchu-PART-NR
majige muru tuci-kebi
a.little form come.forth-PAST
Pashkov translated this sentence literally as "Your Manchu speech has acquired a certain form" (PASH2:165; TM). Möllendorff rendered the meaning of this sentence as follows:
"(Well, I hear that) you have made such way in Manchu, that you are beginning to speak it quite correctly" (MOLL:31).

The second subgroup includes such informative structures where a given event is characterized through correlation with the categories of human thought including the evaluation of the event that is rendered by the predicative subject. In this particular case, principal predicates are expressed by nominal words with semantics of evaluation.
Evenki:

Talā nungan ***tat-cangā-n*** *sō aya*
there he study-PART-3.SG.PR.POSS very good
"The fact that he can study there is very good" (KOL:200);
Manchu:

gurun i bithe ***holbobu-ha-ngge*** *umesi oyonggo*
state GEN book be.connected.with-PART-NR very important
"Everything related to the national literature is very important" (PASH2:328; BB);
saman hehe i gosi-me ***tuwa-ha-ngge*** *gemu*
shaman woman GEN have.mersy-CONV divine-PART-NR all
yargiyan
true
"What the shamaness has divined all is true" (NSB:120);
min'i ***ji-he-nge*** (ma. ***ji-he-ngge***) *umuši* (ma. *umesi*) *sain*
I(*bi/min-*)-GEN come-PART-NR very good
baita
matter
"It is a very good thing that I came" (SK).

The evaluation may have an emotive shade of meaning, for example:

šin-i (ma. *sin-i*) *emgi emu jalan de inengdari*
you(*ši/šin-* SG)-GEN together one world DAT every.day
(ma. *inenggidari*) *emu ba-de bi-fi* ***banji-rakū-nge***
one place-DAT be-CONV live-PART(NEG)-NR
(ma. ***banji-rakū-ngge***) *umuši (ma. umesi) goshūn (ma. gosihūn)*
very miserable
"The fact that we, being in the same place, do not live together in the same world every day, is very miserable" (SK). The principal predicate is expressed by the nominal word that have semantics of the emotive evaluation *gosihūn* "miserable."

Principal predicates can be expressed by verbs which derived from the same stems as participles heading subordinate predicative constructions. Having a distinctive structure, these sentences are not semantically polypredicative. They do not represent two situations (or events) of the outside world (such structures are discussed in Section 4.1.2):

ulha adum-be ***ulebu-re-nge*** (ma. ***ulebu-re-ngge***)
livestock herd-ACC feed-PART-NR
ulebu-mbi ***t'uak'a-ra-nge*** (ma. ***tuwakiya-ra-ngge***)
feed-IMPF guard-PART-NR
t'uak'a-mbi (ma. *tuwakiya-mbi*)
guard-IMPF
"Those who (normally) feed livestock, they feed; those who (normally) guard (smb. or smth.), they guard;"
doro ***alibu-re-nge*** (ma. ***alibu-re-ngge***) *alibu-mbi,*
rite present-PART-NR present-IMPF
hengkile-re-nge (ma. ***hengkile-re-ngge***) *hengkile-mbi*,
kowtow-PART-NR kowtow-IMPF
songoro-me songo-me (ma. *songgo-*) ***urgunje-re-nge***
cry-CONV cry-CONV rejoice-PART-NR
(ma. ***urgunje-re-ngge***) *urgunje-mbi*
rejoice-IMPF
"Those who (must) render homage to (him), they rendered; those who (must) kowtow (to him), they kowtowed; those who rejoiced until they cried, they rejoiced" (SK).

The principal predicate can be rendered by nominalization as well. In this case, the polypredicative construction is constituted by two nominalizations. The second nominalization is often followed by one

of the copulae: *kai*, *inu*, *dere*, etc. Thus, the pattern according to which such sentences are formed is as follows:

S {NOM} === P {NOM} + COP.

Semantically these patterns have been defined as the "patterns of structural equivalence" (PDP:110). They are widespread in Manchu:
*ama jui be tanta-ra-**ngge** jui be gosi-ra-**ngge** kai*
father child ACC beat-PART-NR child ACC love-PART-NR COP
"The father who punishes the child is the one who loves him indeed" (PASH:57);
tere-ci ahūn deo de durun o-fi,
that-ABL elder.brother younger.brother DAT rule be-CONV
*gurun boo be dasa-ra-**ngge**, uthai ama eme i*
country house ACC rule-PART-NR then father mother GEN
*mujilen be mujilen o-bu-ha-**ngge***
heart ACC heart become-PASS-PART-NR
"Hence, following the rule which exists between brothers, the government of the state and the house will be such as if your (own) heart is made up from the hearts of your father and your mother (your forefathers)" (PASH2:316; MFB).

As mentioned above (see Part IV, Sections 2.4.1 & 5.6.5; Part V, Sections 4.1.1. & 4.1.2), being predicates of participial constructions which function as predicative subjects, participles are normally followed by the suffix *-ngge*. Serving as a nominalizer, the suffix *-ngge* puts the whole participial predicative construction in the position of a subject and renders the meaning "he/she/they (who)," "what," "the fact that," "that which."

5.4.5. *Two Systems of Forms within the Predicative Declension of Participles and two Functional and Semantic Classes Related to these Forms*

In all Tungus-Manchu (and Altaic) languages there is a formal and functional opposition between two systems within the predicative declension of participles. The first system is related to roles of arguments (actants), subjects and objects, of subordinate predicative constructions (SPC) within polypredicative constructions (PPC). These roles are based upon the participants' attitude toward the action they perform, and through this action, upon one participant's attitude toward another. The center of the first system is the accusative case around which the others are grouped, usually the nominative, da-

tive, and ablative cases. In the system of predicative declension of participles the accusative is used to organize such polypredicative constructions where the relationship between subordinate and principal predicative constructions (clauses) can be defined as government. The accusative marks the direct object, but this object, by contrast to that of the noun (nominal) declension, represents a certain event of the outside world (information). The principal predicative construction (principal clause) denotes a certain act of mental activity related to intellectual or perceptive manipulation of this information. The following complex sentences show that the subordinate clauses within them have the meaning of predicative objects:
Evenki:

Bu denca-ʒa-ra-v *mun-e*
we remember-ASP(DUR)-PERF-3.PL.PR we(*bu/mun-*)-ACC
gūn-nē-vē-c.
speak-PART-ACC-2.SG.PR.POSS
"We remember what you said to us yesterday (KOL:200).
Manchu:

amaga inenggi ai de ***isina-ra be*** *sa-rkū*
future day what DAT reach-PART ACC know-PART(NEG)
amaga inenggi "later," "a later day" (NL:14);
"It is hard to predict what you will achieve in future" (PASH2:209; DM);
ai-be nenden obu-fi ilhi aname
what-ACC first do-CONV next one.by.one
ibede-re be tacibu-re be bai-mbi
advance.gradually-PART ACC instruct-PART ACC ask.for-IMPF
ilhi aname "in order," "one after another" (NL:147);
"(One) ought to seek guidance what to do first, and how, gradually, to advance further" (PASH2:210; DM);
muduri ishunde beye beye ***haira-ra be*** *sa-habi*
dragon to.one.another self self love-PART ACC understand-PAST
"The dragon understood how (they) love each other tenderly" (SK).

The form of the dative within the predicative declension of participles denotes a relationship between subordinate and principal predicative constructions (clauses) which can be defined as the emotive reaction of a person to an event or a situation of reality.

The event (or the situation) of the outside world is the stimulus of the human respond. The dative case of participles, heading subordinate predicative constructions, marks the indirect object that has predicative structure. Here are some examples of the indirect objects rendered by participles in the dative:
Evenki:

Bu mervun eda sine-ve sel-i-mce-l-bun,
we themselves why you-ACC dislike-CONN-PART-PL-
kata ***eme-ne-du-c***
1.PL.PR.POSS on.the.contrary come-PART-DAT-2.SG.PR.POSS
urun-e-v.
be.glad-PERF-1.PL.PR
"Why should we dislike you? On the contrary, we are glad that you came (PDP, 90).
Manchu:

šin-i (ma. *sin-i*) *sain* ***ara-ha de*** *karula-mbi*
you(*ši/šin-* SG)-GEN good do-PART DAT repay-IMPF
"I shall repay your kindness" (literally: "I shall repay you for the good you have done") (S.K.).

Polypredicative constructions with participles in the nominative case denote the reaction of a person to a certain mental stimulus that is expressed by the predicative subject. These constructions may also include particular informative patterns where, firstly, some event is not an object of intellectual manipulation or perception but its stimulus, and, secondly, patterns where some event of reality is attributed according to its characteristics (including evaluation through a human mind). Polypredicative constructions of this type cannot be defined as complex proper since a subordinate clause with a participle in the nominative as a head is a part (a subject) of a principal clause. It should be reminded here that in complex sentences proper both the subordinate and principal predicative bases should have their own subject and predicate.

When the principal predicate is expressed by a verb in the passive or causative form, the syntactic connection between this predicate and a subordinate predicative construction can be defined as government. The suffix for voice transforms the model of government in such a way that a subordinate construction takes the place of a subject. If the principal predicate is expressed by a noun, which

mostly has semantics of evaluation, the problem of determining the syntactic bond between this predicate and a dependent construction is not simply resolved. In Manchu, this type of syntactic bond could probably be defined as correlation since the appearance of the nominalizer *-ngge* in subordinate predicative constructions requires special copulae serving as principal predicates. The most widely used copulae are *bi* "there is/are;" *ombi* (< *o-* "to be," "to become" + *mbi* = IMPF) "there is/are;" *akū* "there is not/there are not;" *waka* "is/are not." Other copulae can function as substitutes of the copulae *bi* and *ombi*, such as *kai*, *be*, *inu*, *dere*, *dabala*, etc. (see Part IV, Section 9). Here are some examples of polypredicative constructions with participles in the nominative form:
Evenki:

Hunat ***sara-ri-n*** *soma elekin*
girl hesitate- PART-3.SG.PR.POSS very good
"It is good that the girl hesitates" (BROD:69).
Manchu:

sin-i ***gisu-re-ngge*** *umesi* *inu*
you(*si/sin-* SG)-GEN speak-PART-NR to.a.high.degree COP(correct)
"What you are saying is to a high degree (absolutely) correct" (PASH:57).

From the semantic and functional point of view, the content of polypredicative constructions with participles in the accusative, dative, and nominative cases, is the reflection of events of the outside world in a human mind and the manipulation of the information on these events. These may be called "modus—dictum" polypredicative constructions of "reality—mentality" type.

The second system is related to the roles of adverbial modifiers (circumstantial roles) of subordinate predicative constructions. This function is the expression of various characteristics of the principal events (propositions, clauses). This system is formed by various locative cases and locative variants of the polyfunctional cases. The meaning of the locative variants of the polyfunctional cases is transformed firstly into temporal semantics and through that into the meaning of conditionality in all its variants (condition, cause, consequence, purpose, and concessive meaning).

Participles in these cases function as predicative adverbs. The subordinate polypredicative constructions containing these participles are used to denote various adverbial characteristics of principal

clauses (predicative adverbial modifiers of place, time, cause, etc.).

If in a simple sentence the locative meanings of the adverbial cases can be considered as basic and primary, in complex sentences temporal meanings of locative cases become of greater importance. In complex sentences participles in case forms, displaying their locative meanings, are very rare. This can be explained by the fact that realization of the locative meaning requires a certain transformation of the semantics of the subordinate predicative construction (PDP:28). The primary meaning of proposition transforms into that of an object. Most such constructions occur in Evenki:

Tar emūkin etirkēn ***inde-ce-dū-n***, *tikin hegdi*
that one old.man live-PART-DAT-3.SG.PR.POSS now large
gulesēg bisi-n.
settlement there.is-3.SG.PR
"(In that place) where that old man lived, there is now a large settlement" (KOL:201).

In Altaic, including Manchu, the dative-locative case is mostly used to indicate predicative adverbs with temporal meaning. In Evenki, the dative occurring with participles, usually indicates that two actions, subordinate and principal, are performed simultaneously:

Dilacā ***tiki-l-li-dū-n***, *nungan*
the.sun set-INCH-PART-DAT-3.SG.PR.POSS he
āk-ca-n.
moor-PAST-3.SG.PR
"When the sun began to set, he moored (to the bank of the river)" (KOL:201).

To denote temporal meaning within the complex sentence, the locative (*-la/-dula*) and ablative (*-duk*) cases are used as well. These case forms occurring with participles indicate that the subordinate action is completed before another (principal) action is undertaken, as in the following examples:

Gorot-tulā ***suru-cē-duk-i-n***, *ilan*
city-LOC go.away-PART-ABL-CONN-3.SG.PR.POSS three
annganī-l ilten-cē-tin
year-PL pass-PAST-3.PL.PR
"Since I left for the city, three days have passed" (KOL:202);

Alac-i-l-na-la-vun *ilan*
wait.for(*alat-*)-CONN-INCH-PART-LOC-1.PL.PR.POSS three
anngani o-da-n.
year be-PERF-3.SG.PR
"Since we began wait for (him), three years passed."

In Manchu, the dative in the paradigm of the predicative declension conveys generic temporal relations between events. If the form of the dative occurs with imperfect participles, the pattern mostly indicates that two actions, subordinate and principal, take place at the same time, or that the principal action continues while another (subordinate) action is performed:

baita be ***deribu-re de***, *deribun be bodo-mbi*
business ACC begin-PART DAT beginning ACC think.over-IMPF
"When (one) begins (to do) business (he) thinks over how to start" (PASH:47);
geren šabi-sa torhome erše-me surtenu-me
all student-PL around serve-CONV run.in.all.directions-CONV
takurša-bu-re de, *emu antaha hendu-me …*
employ.as.a.servant-PASS-PART DAT one guest say-CONV
"When all learners served, mooving around (the guests), one guest said …" (PASH2:276; LD);
tere saman be ***bai-re de*** *saikan i*
that shaman ACC ask-PART DAT rather.well GEN
ginggule-me baisu
act.respectfully-CONV ask(IMP)
"Asking the shamaness, ask (her) nicely and respectfully" (NSB:119).

If the form of the dative occurs with perfect participles, the pattern indicates that the subordinate action is completed before another (principal) action is undertaken:

muse ere wahšam-be ***wa-ha de***, *muke*
we this frog-ACC kill-PART DAT water
iningdari (ma. *inenggidari*) *lakcarakū eye-mbi*
every.day uninterruptedly flow-IMPF
"After we have killed these frogs water will flow every day uninterruptedly" (SK).

Bearing in mind that temporal and conditional meanings may be

neutralized in some syntactic contexts it is naturally determined that participles in the dative may denote conditional relationships between subordinate and principal actions within polypredicative constructions (complex sentences):

han mim-be ***wakala-ha-de*** *bi adarame*
khan I(*bi/min*-)-ACC accuse-PART-DAT I how
ali-me mute-mbi
support-CONV can-IMPF
"If khan kills me how can I ask (him) (a favour for you)?" (NSB:130).

To denote temporal meanings of subordinate predicative constructions, the ablative is often used. The imperfect and perfect participles followed by the form of the ablative indicate that the subordinate action is completed before the principal one is undertaken:

bithe cagan ***banjibu-ha ci*** *abka-i fejergi*
book book compose-PART ABL heaven-GEN under
jurgan giyan be inu hergen de baktam-bu-ha.
right principle ACC also letter DAT contain-PASS-PART
abkai fejergi "all under heaven," "the universe;"
"Since books were composed, the principles of the whole empire were contained (in the form of) letters" (PASH2:318; BB);
šun ***tuci-re ci*** *yabu-me deribu-he*
the sun rise-PART ABL go-CONV start-PART
"After the sun rose, (they) started" (SK).

Causal relationships between two situations (propositions) within the complex sentence are conveyed by means of locative case forms (or locative variants of polyfunctional case forms), the meanings of which are transformed into the causal one.

In Evenki, causal meaning of subordinate predicative constructions is expressed by means of the dative, ablative, and instrumental case forms:

Edin-rī-di-n, *munngī*
blow(wind)-PART-INST-3.SG.PR.POSS our
dyav-vun sōt sōmna-l-la-n.
boat-1.PL.POSS very roll-INCH-PERF-3.SG.PR
"Our boat started rolling (and pitching) badly because the wind blew" (KOL:201).

In Manchu, locative, temporal, and causal relationships between situations may be rendered by specific constructions. These constructions are attributive from the point of view of their syntactic structure, whereas from a semantic point of view they render adverbial meanings. In such constructions participles serve as predicative attributes modifying nouns with semantics of place, time, and cause. In such constructions these nouns lose some of their meaning. In the dative case, these nouns show a tendency to shift to locative, temporal, and causal postpositions and through them to become conjunctions (correspondingly): *bade* "where," "if," "since" (*ba* "place" + *de* = DAT); *erin de* "when" (*erin* "time" +*de* = DAT), *fonde* "when" (*fon* "time" + *de* = DAT); *turgunde* "because," "since" (*turgun* "reason," "cause" + *de* = DAT); *jakade* "when," "since" (*jaka* "thing" + *de* = DAT); *jalinde* "because," "for the sake of" (*jalin* "reason" + *de* = DAT). The word *jalin* may be used in the form of the nominative in the meaning "because of," "in order to."

Below are examples of sentences of this type in which the above mentioned words occur after participles:

sefu sin-i ***yabu-ha-le ba-de***, *fu*
teacher you(*si*/*sin*- SG)-GEN walk-PART place-DAT outside.wall
fajiran de se-me dali-bu-me
wall DAT say-CONV = even block.off-CAUS-CONV
mute-rakū
can-PART(NEG)
"Wherever you, the teacher, may walk, even walls cannot block (you) off" (PASH2:292; LD);
adu ***mana-ha*** (***erin***) ***de*** , *gucu komso*
garment be.tattered-PART time DAT friend a.little
"When garments are tattered (there are) few friends" (PASH:60);
ahūn ji-he ***turgunde*** *deo gene-he*
elder.brother come-PART because younger.brother go-PART
"Because the younger brother went away, the elder brother came (instead of him)" (PASH:60).

From the semantic and functional point of view, the content of polypredicative constructions with participles in case forms with adverbial meaning is the relationships between events or situations (minimally two) of the outside world. This are polypredicative constructions of "reality–reality" type. The type of syntactic bonds be-

tween subordinate and principal predicative constructions (clauses) should be characterized as "juxtaposition" since the usage of some case markers is conditioned not by requirement of the principal predicate, but by generic semantics, rendered by the whole polypredicative construction.

5.5. *Three Major Classes of Non-finite Verbal Forms Used to Denote the Subordinate Predication*

In Altaic languages, including Manchu, there are three major classes of non-finite verbal forms which participate in the formation of subordinate predication and through that in the formation of polypredicative constructions some of which can be considered complex sentences.

1) The first class includes nominal verbal forms, traditionally defined as participles. These forms, performing the function of predicates of subordinate predicative constructions (clauses), may take case forms and personal suffixes of the possessive type (with the exception of the Manchu and Mongolian languages, where the verbal category of person does not exist). The existence of a declension system for nominal verbal forms allows, on the one hand, to preserve the predicative function of non-finite verbal forms within subordinate predicative constructions (clauses) and, on the other hand, to put these nominal verbal forms, with the aid of case markers, in the position of verbal actants. This means that it allows them to act as analogues of the nominal parts of the sentence, i.e. as predicative subjects and objects (direct and indirect). The mechanism of predicative declension of participles, which forms the basis of Altaic hypotaxis, is mostly used in functional-semantic types of complex sentences. As mentioned above (see Section 5.4.5), their content is the "reflection" of events (or situations) of the outside world in the human mind, and the manipulation of the information on these events. In sentences of this type, the predicative head of the principal part of the sentence—represented by "mental" verbs (of speech, thought, memory, perception, etc.)—functions as a governor in relation to the subordinate part of the sentence. As shown above (see Sections 3.4.3—5), predicative subordinate constructions (clauses) of the "reality—mentality" type may serve as predicative actants (subject and object).

The following are examples of subordinate predicative constructions (clauses) serving as predicative subjects in Manchu:

ama eme deri delhe-fi ***ji-he-nge*** (ma. ***ji-he-ngge***) *abši*
father mother SEP part-CONV come-PART-NR how
(ma. *absi*) *sain baita*
good matter
"How nice that (you) came having parted with your father and mother;"
ere moro be ***baha-ha-nga*** (ma. ***baha-ha-ngge***) *yarg'an'i*
this bowl ACC get-PART-NR indeed
(ma. *yargiyan i*) *sain baita o-ho*
good matter be-PART
"It is good indeed that (you) have got this bowl" (SK).

The following sentences contain subordinate predicative constructions (clauses) serving as direct predicative objects:

ainu wehe gisure-me ***mute-rakū be***
how stone speak-CONVcan-PART(NEG) ACC
sabu-rakū ni
perceive-PART(NEG) INT
"Why don't you perceive that stones can talk?" (GAB:112);
boli be daha-ra emu niyalma morin i yarfun be
PN ACC follow-PART one man horse GEN tether ACC
hūlha-ra be *temujin i deo belkutei sa-fi …*
rob-PART ACC PN GEN younger.brother PN know-CONV
"Belkutei, the Temuzhin's younger brother, learned that a man from the Boli's retinue (literally: a man who follows Boli) robbed a tether (for horse)" (PASH:45);
muduri ishunde beye beye be ***haira-ra be***
dragon to.one.another self self ACC love.tenderly-PART ACC
sa-fi ekcin-de ana-me tuci-bu-he
know-CONV bank-DAT push-CONV come.out-PART
beye beye "each other;"
"The dragon realized how tenderly (they) love each other and pushed (them) out on the bank (of a river)" (SK).

Subordinate predicative constructions (clauses) may serve as indirect predicative objects:

šin'i (ma. *sin-i*) *sain ara-ha de karula-mbi*
you(*ši/šin-* SG)-GEN good do-PART DAT repay-IMPF
"I will repay you for all the good you have done (for me)" (SK).

These three syntactic roles of the nominal verbal forms, i.e. predicative subjects, direct and indirect objects, were discussed in detail above (see Sections 3.4.2—4).

Serving as predicative actants, primarily objects, the nominal verbal forms (participles) can be followed, instead of case forms, by some functional elements which participate in the expression of syntactic meanings of complex sentences. Thus, the information about the outside world can be represented by special polypredicative constructions developed on the basis of analytical constructions rendering direct speech (see Section 5.7). A subordinate predicative construction which is the cognitive content of the information, is introduced by the word form ***seme***, originally the converbal form derived from the verb *se-* "to say," "to mean." Constructions of this type form the basis for using the word form *seme* as an analogue of a conjunctive-analytical devices (a special analogue of expounding conjunctions such as "that," "how"). Here are some examples:

enenggi erde sakda ahūn be
today early.in.the morning old elder.brother/sir ACC
isinji-ha ***seme*** *donji-fi cohotoi dorolo-me*
arrive-PART that hear-CONV especially greet-CONV
ji-he
come-PART
"This morning I heard that you, sir, arrived, and (I) came specially to greet you" (PASH:57);
ere jalan de bi šim-be (ma. *sim-be*) *sabu-rakū* ***seme***
this world DAT I you(*ši/šin-* SG)-ACC see-PART(NEG) that
goni-ha (ma. *gūni-ha*) *bi-he*
think-PART be(AUX)-PART
"I thought that I would never see you in this world" (SK).

The word form *seme* may also develop in another direction. On the basis of its primary meaning as a converb proper, it may develop into a conjunctive device with conditional meaning and, subsequently, with concessive meaning (see also further on in Section 5.6):

i gene-he ***seme*** *inu baita de tusa ara-ra ba*
he go-PART though even matter DAT use make-PART ACC
akū
COP.NEG (there.is.not)
"Though he went (there), but it would be of no use" (ZAKH:207).

Strictly speaking, combinations of the "Tv-*ha seme*" type can be defined in two ways. Firstly, as mentioned above, such combinations can be treated as constructions developed on the basis of those, which are used to introduce direct speech. Secondly, they can be defined as analytical constructions functioning as subordinate predicates (see Section 5.6). Within such constructions, the word form *seme* might reveal a tendency to loosen its links with preceding participles. Responsible for the expression of the conjunctive function, under certain conditions, the word form *seme* can display the tendency to lose its close connection with preceding participles. In the course of time, this form got to be used as an analogue of conjunctions with expounding and, a result of further development, concessive meanings. The development of a conjunctional type syntactic word from the word form *seme*, has likely been a complex process, which has not yet been completed.

As mentioned above (see Section 5.4.5), participial case forms—mostly expressing space, time, and cause—can perform the function of subordinate predicates in complex adverbial sentences. Temporal polypredicative constructions (complex sentences with temporal meaning) are a semantic nucleus of adverbial polypredicative constructions. Many temporal constructions are formed by participles in the dative:

ejen be ***uile-re*** ***de*** *tondo unenggi be tebu-ci*
master ACC serve-PART DAT loyal honest ACC show-CONV
aca-mbi
meet(AUX)-IMPF
Tv-*ci aca-* is an analytical form which has the modal meaning of obligation (should, must, ought);
"When one serves his master, (he) should show loyalty and honesty" (PASH2:29; OB);
adaki boo-i anggasi hehe jooden be ***yarkiya-ra***
neighbour house-GEN widow woman PN ACC entice-PART
de
DAT

jooden cira be tob obu-fi
PN face ACC upright make-CONV
halbu-rakū
take.into.one's.home-PART(NEG)
"When a widow-next-door enticed Jooden, he having kept his credit (literally: the honour of his face) refused to go (with her)" (PASH2:262; LD);
muse ere wahšam-be ge ***wa-ha de*** *muke*
we(INCL) this frog-ACC elder.brother kill-PART DAT water
iningdari (ma. *inenggidari*) *akcarakū eye-mbi*
every.day uninterruptedly run-IMPF
"After we have killed these frogs, the water will be running uninterruptedly every day" (SK).

Participial forms can combine with various functional elements—postpositions, syntactic words of conjunctional type, particles, etc.,—which specify and sometimes considerably modify the syntactic meaning of adverbial polypredicative constructions. Thus, the form of the perfect participle followed directly by the syntactic word *manggi* "after" denotes the subordinate action which preceded the principal one (for more details concerning the syntactic word *manggi*, originally a postposition, see Part IV, Sections 8.1& 8.3). Here are some examples:

jin ši ***ba-ha*** ***manggi*** *sim-be gama-ra*
get-PART after you(*si/sin*- SG)-ACC take-PART
jin ši (=*dosikasi*) "a holder of the highest degree in the imperial examination system" (NL:64);
"After obtaining "*jin ši*" (the highest degree) I will marry you" (PASH2:264; CT);
tere aniya tere inenggi tere dobori de ***isina-ha*** ***manggi***
that year that day that night DAT go.so.far.as-PART after
jai kimci-me icihiya-ki
again investigate-CONV arrange-OPT
"After a certain year, a certain day, and a certain night come, we will arrange a conference again" (literally) or "In a certain year, on a certain day, at nightfall, we will meet to confer again" (PASH2:30; OB);
yuan wai de ***ala-ha*** ***manggi*** *baldu bayan*
official(< chin.) DAT report-PART after PN rich.man

urgunje-me hendu-me urunakū enduri ji-fi
rejoice-CONV say-CONV for.sure deity come-CONV
"After (servants) reported yuanwai, Baldu Bayan having rejoiced said: "Certainly it was a divinity who came" (NSB:118).

Following the form of the imperfect participle, the syntactic word of conjunctional type *jakade* "when," "because," "since" denotes temporal or causal relationships between predicative constructions (clauses) (for more details concerning the word *jakade* see Part IV, Sections 8.1 & 8.3):

ahūn deo baha-fi ***aca-ra***
elder.brother younger.brother be.able-CONV meet-PART
jakade *alimbaharakū urgunje-he*
when greatly rejoice-PART
"When brothers got together, they were very happy" (PASH2:5; AH);
sa-rkū ***ojo-ro*** ***jakade*** *tuttu urgun*
know-PART(NEG) become-PART because so happiness
ara-me gene-hekū
make-CONV go-PART(NEG)
urgun ara- "to congratulate" (NL:298);
"Because I did not know (about your arrival), I did not come to congratulate you" (PASH:60);
sain be yabu-fi ***iletu-re*** ***jakade*** *dergi*
good ACC make-CONV become.obvious-PART because above
abka gosi-fi …
heaven have.mercy-CONV
"Because (they) became famous for (their) kindness, the Supreme Heaven had mercy (on them)" (NSB:111);
gisun getuken ***ojo-ro*** ***jakade****, uthai sefu soli-fi*
speech lucid became-PART because then teacher invite-CONV
"Because (his) speech became judicious, (they) invited a teacher (for him) (NSB:111).

In the Sibe dialect the syntactic word *jakade* follows the genitive form of the imperfect participle:

ere sargan jui uttu tuttu t'ua-ci (ma. *tuwa-ci*) *umai*
this female child like.this like.that look-CONV (not).at.all
n'alma (ma. *niyalma*)
person

ojo-ro ***i*** ***jakade*** *ere gaska* (ma. *gasha*) *fonji-me* …
become-PART GEN because this bird ask-CONV
"This girl looked hither and thither, and because there was nobody around, she asked this bird" (SK).

Participles followed by the syntactic word of conjunctional type (***be***) ***dahame*** "because," "since" denote causal relationships between predicative constructions in complex sentences (for details see Part IV, Section 8.3):

enenggi jabšan de emgeri taka-ha be dahame,
today good.luck DAT already know-PART ACC since
age si waliya-me guni-rakū
elder.brother/sir you(SG) abandon-CONV think-PART(NEG)
o-ci, min-i boo-de majige
be(AUX)-CONV I(*bi/min-*)-GEN house-DAT a.little
fele-re-o
step-PART-INTR
"Since now I am lucky to know you, if you don't want to avoid meeting me would you be so kind as to step in my home and stay there for a while?" (PASH2:72; QW).

Polypredicative constructions (complex sentences) with participial constructions that have various adverbial meanings, express various relationships between (minimally) two events of the outside world. Semantically they are very close to those complex sentences that are organized by means of converbs.

2) The second class of non-finite verbal forms, participating in the formation of complex sentences, is the class of converbs (for details see Part IV, Section 5.7). This term encompasses a class of non-finite verbal forms, which express the subordination of one verb to another. In Altaic languages, converbs are subdivided into two distinctly different groups. Converbs belonging to the first group are not conjugated and may or may not have an agent/subject valency. Those belonging to the second group are conjugated and either display their own agent/subject valency or indicate the identity of the subject of the principal and subordinate parts (clauses) of the complex sentence. In Manchu, converbs never take suffixes expressing persons, but they may correspond to their own subject when the

latter differs from the subject of the principal part. This class of non-finite verbal forms is used in the functional-semantic type of complex sentences, the content of which is the relation between events of the outside world. Converbs are used to form complex sentences, the subordinate parts of which have various adverbial meanings: time, condition, cause, etc. Here are some examples of complex sentences of the "reality—reality" type:

a) converbal constructions render the conditional relationships between clauses (for details concerning the conditional converb in *-me* see Part IV, Section 5.7.3):
deo *bi* *baha-fi* ***hūwaša-ci*** *gemu*
younger.brother I succeed-CONV develop-CONV all
age-i *kesi* *kai*
elder.brother/sir-GEN grace COP
"If I managed to succeed (in Manchu studies), that will entirely be due to you kindness" (PASH2:149; TM). Möllendorff translated this as "If I manage to succeed at all, I shall regard it entirely as your work" (MOLL:18);
inenggidari ***hūla-ci*** *gisun* *eje-mbi*
every.day read-CONV word/speech remember-IMPF
erindari *gisure-ci* *ilenggu* *ure-mbi*
every.time speak-CONV tongue be.accustomed-IMPF
Literally: "If (you) read (books) every day, (you) will memorize words; if (you) speak (Manchu) on a regular basis, (your) tongue will be accustomed (to pronounciation)" (PASH2:169;TM). Möllendorff translated this as "Read some Manchu every day, and talk incessantly, until the habit of speaking comes quite naturally to the mouth" (MOLL:34);
si *ere* *gese* *sain* *angga* ***bai-ci*** *hono* *sin-de*
you this like good mouth ask.for-CONV still you(*si*/*sin*- SG)-DAT
basa *majige* *weri-mbi*
recompense a.little leave/retain.in.one's.possession
"If you beg (me) in good manner, I shall leave a little recompense for you" (NSB:128).

To render conditional relationships, converbal constructions with conditional converbs can be preceded by the conjunction *aika* or *aikabade* "if" (for details see Part IV, Section 8.2):

aika *holto-me niyalma-i baita be eitere-fi niyalma*
if lie-CONV people-GEN affair ACC deceive-CONV people
de ehe ***sabu-bu-ci***, *beye inu dere*
DAT evil perceive-PASS-CONV self too probably
ufara-mbi-kai
lose-IMPF-MDL.PTL
"If being engaged in people's affairs (you) deceive them, and people discover the evil, you can lose (your face)" (PASH2:252; GH);
aika *gūwa* ***ba-ci*** *yongkiyan sain ningge baha-ci ere*
if other place-DAT complete sain SBSTR get-CONV this
bithe-de juki-me ara-ci inu o-mbi
book-DAT fill.in-CONV make-CONV correct become-IMPF
"If I get more complete information from other places, (I) shall insert some comments and refinements into this book" (NSB:142);
aika *abala-me* ***tuci-ki*** *se-ci ahalji bahalji*
if hunt-CONV go.to-OPT say(AUX)-CONV PN PN
sa-be gama-me gene
PL-ACC take-CONV go(IMP)
"If (you) want to go hunting, (you) may go, but take Ahalji, Bahalji, and others" (NSB:112).

b) converbal constructions render concessive relationships between clauses (for details concerning the concessive converb in *-cibe* see Part IV, Section 5.7.4):

jalan i baita, amba ajige adali akū ***bi-cibe*** *hacin*
world GEN matter big small like there.is.not be-CONV kind
tome emu banji-ra giyan bi
every one live-PART principle COP
"Although big and small things (matters) are incomparable in the world, all of them belong to the nature" (PASH2:211; DM);
udu tuttu ***bi-cibe*** *yargiyan i gūnin dolo*
although like.that be-CONV truth GEN thought inside
ali-me mute-rakū korso-mbi
accept-CONV can-PART(NEG) regret-IMPF
"Although (what you are saying) is true, I cannot help grieving" (NSB:115);
ememu urse untuhun doro be udu dembei habcihiyan
some people idle rite ACC although in.high.degree affable

bi-cibe aikabade in-i baru emu gūnin mujilen i
be-CONV if he(*i*/*in*-)-GEN toward one opinion heart GEN
baita be hebdene-ci damu oilori deleri seme yabu-mbi
affair ACC go.to.talk.over-CONV only superficially make-IMPF
oilori deleri "superficial" (NL:222); *oilori deleri seme* "superficially;"
"Although some people seem to be pretty affable in idle talks, but if one asks (them) for advice (literally: about some confidential affair), they shall show interest (in smb.) only superficially" (PASH2:88; QW).

All of the above converbal constructions begin with the conjunction *udu* "although," which in combination with the concessive converb in -*cibe,* render the concessive meaning of these complex sentences. Converbs may be followed by certain syntactic words, which specify and modify the syntactic meanings of relationships between predicative constructions in complex sentences.

Developing one of its meanings, that is "an interval," the syntactic word *jaka* may follow the imperfect converb. The combination of the imperfect converb and the syntactic word *jaka* is used to denote the meaning "just," "as soon as," "about to" (Zakharov, 1875:957; NL:153), for example:

sabu-me ***jaka****, gūli-ka gese*
see-CONV just be.in.good.terms like
"They have only just met, and they seem to be friends already" (ZAKH:195).

The same syntactic meaning is rendered by the combination of the imperfect converb and the word *saka* "just," "as soon as" (Zakharov, 1875:557; NL:231), for example:
banji-me ***saka*** *uthai gisure-me bahana-mbi*
be.born-CONV just then speak-CONV able-IMPF
"He has just been born, and he can already speak" (ZAKH:195).

Zakharov noted that these two words, *saka* and *jaka*, occurring after perfect participles, may be used to denote the same syntactic meaning (Zakharov, 1875:557, 957).

3) A third class of non-finite verbal forms participating in the formation of complex sentences includes forms which are attributes or predicates in attributive subordinate constructions (clauses), and

which are more rightfully called participles rather than nominal verbal forms. Such participles are used in the type of complex sentences the content of which includes two events (situations of the outside world) taking place in connection with the same object. Examples are shown below:

gucu ***gucule-re*** *urse de doron o-bu-habi*
friend make.friends-PART people DAT model became-PASS-PAST
"People who wanted to find friends, tried a person like him" (ORL:143);
sikse suwen-i min-de ***šangna-ha***
yesterday you(*suwe/suwen-* PL)-GEN I(*bi/min-*)-DAT reward-PART
tere cai abdaha i amtan umesi sain
that tea leaf GEN smell very good
"The smell of that tea, which you gifted me yesterday, is very good" (PASH:59; PASH2:248; GH);
si weihun gurun nisihai bira-i dalin de
you(SG) upward country place-name river-GEN riverbank DAT
te-he *nišan saman waka-o*
live-PART place-name shaman(ess) COP.NEG-INTR
"Aren't you the Nishan shaman who lives on the bank of the Nisihai River in the country of living beings?" (NSB:134);
ere gemu gaji-me ji-he hesebun i ***toktobu-ha***
this all bring-CONV come-PART fate GEN fix-PART
ton kai
fate COP
"Everything depends on the fate which has brought one into the world" (NSB:112);
ere n'ingun (ma. *ninggun*) *muke* ***aca-ha*** *ba-de*
this six river meet-PART place-DAT
n'ingun da mou (ma. *moo*) *guribu-k*i
six trunk.of.a.tree tree move-OPT
"Here in this place where six rivers join, (we) shall plant six trees" (SK).

The so-called pseudo-attributive predicative constructions, which are widespread in Manchu, are discussed in 5.4.5. The nouns in principal clauses of complex sentences, which these constructions modify, have partly lost their lexical meanings. Normally having semantics of place, time or cause, these nouns show a tendency to become conjunctions in complex sentences. Such constructions are attribu-

tive from the point of view of their structure; semantically they are adverbial:

tere niyengniyeri, tere juwari, tere bolori, tere tuweri teisule-he
that spring that summer that autumn that winter come-PART
***erin-de**, jai toktobu-me gisure-ki*
time-DAT again fix-CONV talk-OPT
"When (literally: at that time when) a certain spring, a certain summer, a certain autumn or a certain winter comes, (we) shall agree on the date and get together for a conference" (PASH2:30; OB).

The Tungus-Manchu languages make use of all afore-mentioned structural principles for creating complex sentences, and there seems to exist a certain correspondence between the principles preferred in concrete utterances and the basic functional-semantic classes of those utterances. However, the role of every type of polypredicative constructions (complex sentences) is defined in each language by a number of factors. Primarily, it depends on the morphological basis of the language. For example, Manchu being more analytical than Evenki, developed fewer non-finite (participial, participial-case, and converbal) verbal forms, and therefore quite a number of structural-semantic types of subordinate relationships cannot be expressed by synthetic means. To compensate this, Manchu, with its weakly developed morphological apparatus, has produced other types of connectives, including postpositions, conjunctions, syntactic words of conjunctional type, etc. Specific analytical constructions, functioning as subordinate predicates in polypredicative constructions (complex sentences), are the basis on which various conjunctive devices are formed.

5.6. *Analytical Constructions Functioning as Subordinate Predicates*

Analytical constructions, which function as subordinate predicates in complex sentences, have already been discussed in Part IV, Section 5.9.

The first component of these analytical constructions is a participial, converbal or finite form of an autosemantic verb, whereas the second component is a converb or participial-case form derived from one of the functional (auxiliary) verbs. In Manchu these include *bi-* "to be," "to exist;" *o-* "to be," "to become;" *se-* "to say," "to mean."

In complex sentences these analytical constructions perform two functions. Firstly, they constitute the predicative head of the subordinate clause, expressing a whole complex of modal-temporal and aspectual meanings formed on the basis of the grammatical meanings of the components of a construction. The second function is that of indicating the relationships between the subordinate and principal clauses. Analytical constructions are numerous and vary widely in their structure and semantics. Due to the necessity to express diverse relationships between the situations (or events) of the outside world, new patterns of these constructions appear frequently in contemporary Altaic languages (including Tungusic).
The most widespread analytical constructions serving as subordinate predicates in polypredicative constructions (complex sentences) in classical Manchu are as follows.

1) Constructions, where the functional component is expressed by the conditional converb derived from the verbs *bi-*, *o-*, *se-*, may include different verbal forms serving as the first component.

a) The first component is the imperfect participle: Tv-*ra oci*.
bi sain mujilen i niyalma be ***tuwa-ra o-ci***,
I good heart GEN people ACC look-PART be(AUX)-CONV
niyalma urunakū sain mujilen i mim-be tuwa-mbi
people certainly good heart GEN I(*bi*/*min*-)-ACC look-IMPF
"If I treat people nicely, they will certainly be nice to me" (PASH2:16; AH).

b) The first component is the negative form of the imperfect participle: Tv-*rakū o-ci*.
jai aikabade manju bithe hūla-rakū ubaliyambu-re
second if Manchu book read-PART(NEG) translate-PART
be ***taci-rakū o-ci***
ACC learn-PART(NEG) became(AUX)-CONV
juwe gemu sartabu-re de isina-mbi
two both be.delayed-PART DAT arrive-IMPF
"Then, if I cannot master Manchu and learn to translate, I shall have broken down at both ends of the line" (MOLL:16; TM);
sue (ma. *suwe*) ***agda-rakū*** (ma. *akda-*) ***o-ci***
you(SG) trust-PART(NEG) be(AUX)-CONV
tulergi de bou (ma. *boo*) i
outside DAT house GEN

torgome (ma. *torhome*) *yabu-me* *t'ua* (ma. *tuwa*)
around go-CONV look(IMP)
"If you don't trust (me), go outside and have a look around the house" (SK).

These two patterns of subordinate predicates are used to denote conditional relationships between predicative constructions in complex sentences.

c) The first component is the perfect participle: Tv-*ha bici*.
sefu ***ba-ha*** ***bi-ci***, *hono majige*
teacher be.able/get-PART be(AUX)-CONV still a.little
yebe *bi-he*
better be-PART
"If you were able to find a teacher, it would be better (for you)" (PASH2:252; HG);
ehe niyalma de ***hajila-ha*** ***bi-ci,*** *te*
bad people DAT become.friends.with-PART be(AUX)-CONV now
sain niyalma ojo-rakū *bi-he*
good person become-PART(NEG) be-PART
"If (you) had friends among wrong people, (you) wouldn't be a good person now" (ZAKH:199).

This pattern of a subordinate predicate is used to denote unreal conditional relationships between predicative constructions in complex sentences.

d) The combination of the optative form and the verb *se-* "say" is used to denote the modality of desire (for information about epistemic modal forms see Part IV, Section 5.8.3). When the verb *se-* is followed by the form of the conditional converb, the whole construction is used to render a conditional relationship between predicative constructions in complex sentences, but this conditional meaning is loaded with the modality of desire: Tv-*ki seci*.
suwe *in-i* *baru* *fakjin* ***gai-ki*** ***se-ci***,
you(PL) he(*i*/*in*-)-GEN toward support take-OPT say(AUX)-CONV
tere uthai baibi *gūnin* *baibu-ha* *kai*
that then vainly thought use-PART COP
gūnin baibu- "to be upset" (NL:118);
"If you wish to rely on him, it will be in vain and your plans will be upset" (PASH2:242; GH);

geli ***gisure-ki se-ci*** *angga juwa-me*
also speak-OPT say(AUX)-CONV mouth open.the.mouth-CONV
mute-rakū
can-PART(NEG)
(He) wanted to say something else, but couldn't open his mouth" (NSB:113);
aika ***maimaša-ki se-ci***, *si geli menggun*
if do.business-OPT say(AUX)-CONV you (SG) also silver
jiha akū
money COP.NEG
"If (you) wish to trade, but again you have no money" (PASH2:255; GH).

2) Constructions in which the functional component is expressed by the form of the concessive converb, derived from the verb *be-*, and the autosemantic component is expressed by the negative form of the imperfect participle, are used to denote concessive relationships in complex sentences: Tv-*rakū bicibe*.

muse damu mujilen be teng seme jafa-fi, *gūnin*
we(INCL) only heart ACC firm take-CONV thought
girkū-fi taci-ci udu tere ten de
concentrate-CONV learn-CONV although that highest.point DAT
isina-me ***mute-rakū bi-cibe***,
reach-CONV can-PART(NEG) be(AUX)-CONV
inu urunakū hamina-mbi dere
certainly surely come.near-IMPF MDL.PTL
teng seme "hard," "firm;" *dere* = the modal particle expressing a presumption;
"If we firmly make up (our) mind to study Manchu and concentrate (our efforts) on this, then even if we didn't quite reach the point he has attained, but should not probably be very far behind him" (PASH2:158; TM). Möllendorff translated this as "... all we have to do is to make up our mind and apply ourselves to the language; and if we don't quite reach the point he has attained, we shall not be very far behind him, I suspect" (MOLL:25).

The autosemantic component can be replaced by the negative form of the perfect participle in these constructions:

udu *hacin i* *min-i* *jaka be* *hūlha-fi*
although sort GEN I(*bi/min-*) thing ACC steal-CONV
gaji-hakū ***bi-cibe*** *weri* *sain*
bring-PART(NEG) be(AUX)-CONV another/other good
banji-re *jalgan akū* *niyalma be* *sui akū*
live-PART length.of.life there.is.not person ACC guilt there.is.not
jui be *gaji-ci* *o-mbi-o*
child ACC bring-CONV become(AUX)-IMPF-INT
sui akū "innocent," "without guilt" (NL:250);
"Although (you) have stolen nothing from me, how could you take away from me an innocent child, who hasn't lived at all" (NSB:127).

3) Analytical constructions in which the perfect participle is followed by the form of the imperfect converb, derived from the verb *se-*, are used to denote concessive meaning: Tv-*ha seme*.

aika folkole-me *taci-re* *alhata i*
if make.an.interval-CONV learn-PART from.time.to.time
hūla-ra *o-ci* *udu* *uju*
read-PART be(AUX)-CONV although head
šara-tala ***taci-ha*** ***se-me*** *inu*
become.white-CONV learn-PART say(AUX)-CONV also
mekele *o-mbi*
in.vain become-IMPF
alhata i "from time to time;"
"If you read (Manchu books) from time to time and study (Manchu) making interruptions, even if you lived until your hair turned grey, it would be in vain" (PASH2:160; TM);
aika emu inenggi fiyakiya-ra *juwan inenggi šahūra-ra* *adali*
if one day glow-PART ten day be.cold-PART like
taci-ci *uthai orin aniya bithe*
learn-CONV then twenty year book
hūla-ha ***se-me*** *inu* *mangga kai*
read-PART say(AUX)-CONV also difficult COP
"If you glow for one day and are cold for ten days in your study, you may read for twenty years, but it will come to nothing" (MOLL:27).

In such constructions the word form *seme* reveals a tendency to become a syntactic word of the conjunctional type, so that in this

particular case its function can be considered equal to that of the concessive conjunction.

4) Constructions in which the functional component is expressed by the form of the perfect converb, and the autosemantic component is expressed by the negative form of the imperfect participle, are used to denote a causal relationship between predicative constructions in complex sentences: Tv-*rakū ofi*.

tere wehe be tuk'i-me (ma. *tukiye-) jailabu-re hūsun*
that stone ACC lift-CONV move.aside-PART power
tesu-rakū ***o-fi*** *sele i*
be.enough-PART(NEG) be(AUX)-CONV iron GEN
fakši jui suhumci (ma. *suhe*)
workman child axe
gai-fi wehe be hūala-me (ma. *hūwala-*) *efule-fi* …
take-CONV stone ACC split-CONV break-CONV
sele i faksi "blacksmith," "ironworker" (NL:237);
"Since there is not enough strength to lift and move that stone aside, the blacksmith's son has split the stone by an axe to pieces" (SK).

5) The functional component can be expressed by the participial case form —the dative of the perfect participle—derived from one of the functional verbs. The autosemantic component is expressed by the form of the imperfect converb. This analytical construction is used to denote temporal or conditional relationships between predicative constructions in complex sentences: Tv-*me ohode*.

bi ***ara-me*** ***o-ho-de***, *min-i gucu*
I write-CONV be(AUX)-PART-DAT I(*bi/min*-)-GEN = my friend
uthai boo-de dosinji-ha
then house-DAT come.in-PART
"When I was writing, my friend entered the room" (ZAKH:150);
gūwa niyalma sin-de emu baita ***fonji-me***
other man you(*si/sin*- SG)-DAT one matter ask-CONV
o-ho-de, *si uthai*
be(AUX)-PART-DAT you then
da-ci dube-de isitala giyan giyan i ala-mbi
root-ABL end-DAT up.to order order GEN tell-IMPF

daci dubade isitala "from the beginning to the end" (NL:51); *giyan giyan* i "in detail" (NL:110);
"If anybody asks you about any matter, you tell him everything in full details from the beginning to the end" (PASH2:82; QW);
gūnin girkū-fi giyalan lakcan akū emu
thought exert-CONV interval interruption there.is.not one
taci-me o-ho-de *juwe ilan aniya i*
learn-CONV be(AUX)-PART-DAT two three year GEN
siden de in-i cisu-i dube da tuci-mbi
middle DAT he*(i/in-)*-GEN private-GEN end root appear-IMPF
ini cisui "by itself," "of its own accord" (NL:149); *dube da* "the very beginning" (NL:65);
"If you learn (Manchu) exerting your mind without any interruptions, in two or three years, as a matter of course, you will be well on your way" (PASH2:159; TN). Möllendorff translated this as "All you need is an exclusive devotion of you mind to the one subject. Don't let any thing interfere your studies, and let these be progressive; and in two or three years, as a matter of course, you will be well on your way" (MOLL:26-7).

6) The functional component may be expressed by the dative form of the imperfect participle derived from the verb *se-* which, together with the optative form of the autosemantic verb, is used to express the modality of desire: Tv - *ki serede*.

tere han loho be goci-fi ***saci-ki***
that khan sword ACC take.out-CONV slash-OPT
se-re-de, tere *han'i sargan han'i*
say(AUX)-PART-DAT that khan(GEN) wife khan(GEN)
gala-deri afa-ha
hand-SEP seize-PART
"When that khan wanted to kill (him) with a sward, the khan's wife seized the khan's hand" (SK).

The functional form *serede* can be replaced by the form *sehede* that is the dative form of the perfect participle, and the whole construction has the pattern TV-*ki sehede*.

As pointed out above (see Part IV, Section 5.9), under certain conditions, the functional components of analytical constructions tend to loosen their sentence-bound rigidity and exhibit the ability of

functioning beyond the given syntactic context (e.g., in combination with finite verbal forms and nouns), gradually developing into analytical markers of the conjunctive variety. This is a characteristic of most Manchu subordinate conjunctions, developed from participial case and converbal forms, e.g., *bisirede* "when," *bihede* "when," "if;" *ojorode* "when," *ohode* "when," "if;" *serede* "when," *sehede* "when," "if;" *bici*, *oci*, *seci* "if;" *bicibe*, *ocibe*, *secibe* "though," "although;" *seme* "that," "so that," "though;" *ofi* "as," "since." Here are some examples:

bi baita umesi largin labdu ***ofi***, *umai šolo*
I matter very trouble many since then free.time
baha-rakū
be.able-PART(NEG)
"Since I have so many things to do, (I) have no free time at all;"
si tob seme niyalma ***ofi***, *bi teni uttu tafula-ra*
you (SG) upright person since I then like.this advice-PART
dabala
MDL.PTL(only)
tob "straight," "upright," "right," "just;" *tob seme* "just," "exactly," "is just so" (NL:278);
"Only because you are an upright person, I advice you;"
jiha akū ***ofi*** *tuttu uda-hakū*
money there.is.not since like.that buy-PART(NEG)
"Since I had no money, (I) couldn't buy (anything)" (ZAKH:192).

Even in these sentences the word form *ofi* preserves its verbal nature forming predicates together with nouns, or words of other grammatical classes.

In this context, it should be pointed out that the process of separation of the functional component of the analytical construction is easier if this component contains fewer grammatical forms and, therefore, performs fewer functions in the structure of the dependent clause. Thus, for example, in Evenki the process of separation seems more problematic in the case of converbs, which have personal suffixes in their linear structure rather than with simple converbs which have no markers of person. In Manchu, this process is easier than in Evenki, since it is facilitated by characteristic features of the Manchu morphological basis and the structure of its verbal forms.

5.7. *Direct and Indirect Speech*

According to B.K. Pashkov, direct speech is indicated by the form of the imperfect converb derived from the verb *se-* "to say" *(seme)* which follows directly after it. From texts of dialogues in classical Manchu, it becomes evident that other grammatical forms of the verb *se-* "to say" are also used to indicate direct speech. The most widespread forms are *sere*, *sehe*, *semeo*, *sembi*, *sehekubio*, *sembikai*. Here are some examples:

age *sin-i* *ere* *gisun* *majige*
elder.brother/sir you(*si/sin-* SG)-GEN=your this speech a.little
tašarabu-hakū ***se-me-o***
make.an.error-PART(NEG) say-CONV-INTR= closing the direct speech
"Nay, my young friend, I think you are making a slight mistake" (MOLL:24; TM).

The form of the negative rhetorical question is used to denote the affirmative meaning of the utterance, for example:

uttu *kai* *mim-be* *adarame* *gisure*
like.this/so MDL.PTL I(*bi/min-*)-ACC how speak(IMP)
se-mbi
say-IMPF
kai = modal particle showing emphasis (NL:169);
"If everything goes in this way, I shall never learn to speak (Manchu)" (PASH2:167; TM). Möllendorff translated this as "how am I to make a speaker?" (MOLL:32). The form of the rhetorical question is used to express the affirmative meaning of the utterance.

ere-ci *inenggi* *šun* *saniya-ha* *manggi* *hergen*
this-ABL day sun/day extend-PART after letter
ara-bu-mbi *se-re* *anggala* *hono*
write-CAUS-IMPF say-PART not.only also
ubaliyambu ***se-mbi-kai***
translate(IMP) say-IMPF-MDL.PTL
sere anggala "not only (but also);"
"But presently, after the days begin to lengthen, we shall be taught to write and to translate, too" (PASH2:181; MOLL:40; TM).

Direct speech is often introduced by mental or perceptive verbs: *bai-* "to request," *donji-* "to hear," *fonji-* "to ask," *jabu-* "to answer," etc. In such cases the end of the direct speech is also indicated by any of the grammatical forms of the verb *se-* "to say." Thus, the word form *donjici* (the form of the conditional converb derived from the verb *donji-* "to hear"), used to introduce direct speech, requires one of the following forms: *sere*, *sehe* or *sembi*, as in the following examples:

bi aika sin-de emu baita fonji-me
I if you(*si/sin-* SG)-DAT one matter ask-CONV
o-ho-de, si uthai
be(AUX)-PART-DAT you then
sa-rkū ***se-re***, *donji-hakū* ***se-re***
know-PART(NEG) say-PART hear-PART(NEG) say-PART
"When (if) I ask you about something, you usually say: "I don't know, I didn't hear" (PASH2;89; QW);
min-i bai-re-ngge age
I(*bi/min-*)-GEN request-PART-NR elder.brother/sir
gosi-ci šada-mbi se-me aina-ra
be.kind.to-CONV get.tired-IMPF say-CONV do.what?-PART
"What I have to ask, then, is this: that you will so far take an interest in me as to put yourself to a little trouble on my account; I will tell you how" (MOLL:18; TM).

It should be noted that there is no strict opposition between direct and indirect speech in Manchu. In many cases the opposition between direct and indirect speech is neutralized, and therefore it is actually difficult to define the structure of such sentences properly, for example:

donji-ci si te manju bithe taci-mbi ***se-mbi***
hear-CONV you now Manchu book learn-IMPF say-IMPF
"So I hear you are studying Manchu, eh?" (MOLL:15);
sufan duin erin be daha-me, duin bethe de bi-mbi
elephant four time ACC follow-CONV four foot DAT be-IMPF
se-mbi
say-IMPF
duin erin "four seasons" (NL:65);

"People say that elephant stands on his own four feet at all times" (PASH:60);
buda be tuwana beleni bisi-re-ngge be
rice ACC go.to.look(IMP) ready-made be-PART-NR ACC
hasa banju ***se***
hurry(IMP) produce(IMP) say(IMP)
"(Boy), go and see what there is in the kitchen, and order (literally: say) (servants) to bring quickly whatever is ready" (PASH2:177; TM).
Möllendorff translated this as "Boy, go and see what there is in the kitchen, and bring quickly whatever is ready" (MOLL:37-8);
sakda-sa-i hendu-he gisun an be tuwakiya-ci,
old.man-PL-GEN say-PART word common ACC keep-CONV
amtan baha-mbi ***se-hekū-bi-o***
taste obtain-IMPF say-PART(NEG)-COP-INT
an be tuwakiya- "to follow what is customary" (NL:17);
amtan baha- "to acquire a taste" (NL:16);
"Don't you know that the elders used to say that to exercise moderation is to reveal one's good taste?" (ZAKH:322).

In some sentences the opposition between direct and indirect speech is expressed more clearly:

ai seme embubei fonji-mbi ***se-he***
what continually ask-IMPF say-PART
ai seme "why?," "for what reason?" (NL:8);
"Why, he says, do you ask this again and again?" (PASH2:98; QW).

Constructions in which the word form *seme* appears postpositionally, directly following the "direct : indirect speech" opposition, constitute the semantic and grammatical basis for using this form as an analogue of expounding conjunctions such as "that," "how," "in order to" (see Part IV, Section 5.7.1).

In the Sibe dialect direct speech is mostly introduced by the form of the imperfect converb derived from the verbs of speech: *ala-* "to tell," "to report;" *gisure-* "to speak," "to talk;" *hendu-* "to say," "to speak;" *se-* "to say." Here are some examples:

tere Sidi Kur hendu-me ši (ma. *si*) *mim-be*
that PN PN say-CONV you(SG) I(*bi/min-*)-ACC

meihere-me *yabu-ra* *de*
lift.to.the.shoulder-CONV go-PART DAT
šada-rakū *na*
become.tired-PART(NEG) INTR
"That Sidi Kur says: "You go having lifted me to the shoulders; haven't you became tired?;"
tere han gisure-me *tere sagran jui*
that khan say-CONV that female child
haira-kan
regret/compassion/tenderness(*hairan*)-DIM
"That khan says: (I) feel sorry for that girl!" (SK).

POSTSCRIPT

Every language tells a different story. So does Manchu. It illustrates how two principal features of language, i.e., polysemantics and polyfunctionality, can determine the intrinsic nature of the language. Polysemantics of words, especially verbs, allows the denoting of different meanings with words that are materially identical. Polyfunctionality of language elements allows the creating of semantically and syntactically complicated texts with a very scanty set of grammatical elements.

In Manchu, there are a number of words, which have developed an impressive range of very important grammatical functions, partly losing their original lexical meanings. A typical example of such polyfunctionality is the word form *seme*, which is originally the form of the imperfect converb derived from the verb *se-* "to say", "to mean." Apart from its direct function, which is the function of a converb proper, it may indicate also direct or, in some cases, indirect speech. It may serve as an analogue of conjunctions that are used to render the meanings "in order to," "that," "though" as well. It may indicate the topic, which is a distinctive feature of Manchu language. At last, it may form adverbs from onomatopoeic words, and the quantity of such adverbs in Manchu is quite impressive.

A number of verbs of full lexical meanings may serve as functional elements of verbal analytical constructions, which are widespread in Manchu. The verbs *be-* "to be," "to exist;" *o-* "to be," "to become;" *se-* "to say," "to mean" are those which are most often engaged in this process. Having partly lost their lexical meanings, they are mostly used in the form of converbs, imperfect, perfect or conditional, and in the dative form of participles. The functional verb forms, being responsible for the expression of the syntactic relationships between clauses, develop roles, which can be compared with those of conjunctions. The syntactic words *bime, bifi, bici, bicibe; ofi, oci, ocibe; seme, seci; bisirede, bihede; ojorode, ohode; serede, sehede* are all of such origin. Under certain circumstances, they may occur not only within analytical constructions, but also after words of different grammatical classes, gradually developing into analytical markers of the conjunctive variety. The possibility of formation of new patterns of such

analytical constructions can be considered as an important internal source of creating new original grammatical means in Manchu. The fact that new analytical constructions continue to appear in contemporary dialects of Evenki serves as indirect evidence that this particular grammatical means of word formation could be productive in Manchu as well.

Materially identical language elements, after certain semantic changes, can function on different levels of the language. Thus, on the level of a simple sentence, case markers are used to express syntactic relationships between lexical words (nouns and verbs or nouns) as well as between lexical words and postpositions. On the level of the complex sentence, the same case markers, following participles in the linear structure of a text, are used to express different syntactic relationships between clauses, not words. This way, the case markers have become engaged in the predicative declension of participles, which is the main mechanism of Manchu hypotaxis. On the level of a simple sentence, postpositions serve to specify and modify syntactic relationships between lexical words. Due to the necessity of expressing the diversity of relationships between events of the outside world, the same postpositions can be used to express various syntactic relationships between clauses. However, this function is already performed by conjunctions. Developing these functions, postpositions would normally change their semantics. For example, as a postposition, the word *manggi* means "toward," "with" while as a conjunction it means "when." The word *jakade* as a postposition means "by," "in front of," "up to," "to the presence of" while as a conjunction, it means "when," "since," etc.

It is very difficult to define the grammatical status of many Manchu words because they can be used on different levels of the language, partly losing their lexical meanings and gradually acquiring grammatical (syntactic) meanings.

The formation of grammatical (morphological and syntactic) categories in Manchu, proves the idea of contemporary linguistics that most language categories are scalar in nature. The complexity and scalarity of language facts cannot be reduced to binary oppositions, with their strongly pronounced poles apart. Each category includes elements, which may correspond to a certain degree on a scale, so that the properties of a grammatical category become apparent more or less evidently. For example, the description of complex sentences in terms of the binary opposition "simple – complex" is not suf-

ficient to analyze the variety of syntactic constructions. There may be different degrees of complexity. Syntactic constructions, which include more than one predication, should by analyzed in terms of polypredicativity (the theory of polypredicative constructions in Altaic languages was proposed in the framework of the Novosibirsk school by M.Iv. Cheremisina and her colleagues and students). The binary opposition of topic (theme, given, known, old information) and comment/focus (rheme, unknown, new information) has been also recognized insufficient to analyze the language data. It was replaced by the text-based quantified methodology with more involved concept of discourse functions and 'continuity' of topics/referents that has been recently developed (T. Givón et al.).

The Manchu language illustrates the fact that the diachronic and synchronic descriptions of a language cannot always be sharply divorced from each other. Many contemporary word forms can be decomposed and the historical origin of their components is usually transparent. Many language facts can adequately be understood only if they are analyzed as being in the process of their development. For example, a number of nominal words can be used as the basis for the formation of postpositions and conjunctions. These words are *ba* "place," *da* "root," "base," "foundation," *erin*, *fon* "time," *jaka* "thing," *turgun* "reason," etc. Partly losing their lexical meaning, the dative forms of these words can be used in the function of postpositions or conjunctions: *bade* "when," "if," "since," *dade* "in addition to," "besides (that)," *erinde, fonde*, "when," *jakade* "when," "since," *turgunde* "because," "since." The fact that many postpositions and conjunctions of verbal origin preserved the verbal government also cannot be explained without bearing in mind the historical origin of these forms.

Original Manchu texts, which have survived to date, show that the language had been in a state of transition. From the time when the first Manchu rulers attempted to create a standard language on the basis of various Jurchen dialects, scattered across vast spaces, to the time when the first books on Manchu were published, a very short time had passed from a historical perspective. The early manuscripts show the instability of many language phenomena, including word forms and syntactic constructions. Some features, like the vowel harmony, had been declining, but many had been developing. It is possible to observe the tendency to create synthetic verbal forms from analytical ones. The latter were used to express various

aspectual and temporal-modal meanings, which could not be expressed by synthetic forms. The existing Manchu manuscripts reflect to some extent the process of appearance of new synthetic forms in the language. Components of a number of verbal forms can be written in two different ways, together or separately: *-ha/-he/-ho* + *bi* and *-habi/-hebi/-hobi, -mbihebi* and *-mbihe* + *bi,* etc. The way of writing, although is not itself a proper tool that should be used in language description, serves as an indirect sign of the process. The opposition between direct and indirect speech had also been in the process of development.

In this grammar, I tried to show that the Manchu language possessed great internal resources for further development and creation of new grammatical means. As it is well known, Manchu had coexisted side by side with Chinese, and had been greatly influenced by it. The cultural and numerical superiority of China was the main reason why the Manchu language had no proper conditions to reveal its internal capacity, and its development had stopped. When the Manchu rulers, in the middle of the eighteenth century, had realized that the language was in a state of decline, this process had become irreversible.

This page intentionally left blank

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

which are used as grammatical category labels in interlinear morphemic translation

ablative	ABL	exclusive	EXCL
accusative	ACC		
affirmative	AFF	final	FINL
agent(ive)	AG	finite	FINT
aspect	ASP	first person	1
auxiliary	AUX	future	FUT
causative	CAUS	genitive	GEN
circumstantial	CIRC		
collective	COLL	honorific	HON
comitative	COM	hortative	HORT
comparative	CMPAR		
concessive	CONC	imperative	IMP
conditional	COND	imperfect	IMPF
conjunction	CNJ	inchoative	INCH
connective	CONN	inclusive	INCL
continuative	CONT	instrumental	INST
converb	CONV	intensifier	INTSF
copula	COP	interrogative	INT
		intransitive	ITR
dative	DAT	irreal(is)	IRR
deictic of 1 ps.	D1	iterative	IT
2 ps.	D2		
3 ps.	D3	locative	LOC
demonstrative	DEM		
desiderative	DES	manner	MAN
diminutive	DIM	modal	MDL
directional	DIR	modifier	MOD
distributive	DISTR		
durative	DUR	negative	NEG
		nominalizer	NR
exclamation	EXCLM	nominative	NOM

noun (phrase)	N(P)
numeral classifier	CLER
obligative/-ional	OBLIG
oblique	OBL
onomatopoeic	ONMT
optative	OPT
participle	PART
particle	PTL
passive	PASS
past	PAST
perfect	PERF
person third person	3
plural	PL
possessive	POSS
postposition	POST
potential	POT
present	PRS
prolative	PRLT
proper name	PN
reciprocal	REC
reduplication	RDP
reflexive	REFL
relative	REL
resultative	RSLT
rheme	RHM
second person	2
separative	SEP
singular	SG
subject	SUB
subjunctive	SBJV
substantivizer	SBSTR
superlative	SUP
temporal	TEM
terminative	TERM
theme/thematic (subject)	THM
third person	3
transitive	TR
topic(al)	TOP
verbal stem	Tv
vocative	VOC
volitional	VOL

SOURCE ABBREVIATIONS

AD Adam, Lucien. *Grammaire de la langue Mandchoue*. Paris 1873.

AH "*Manju bicihei gisun de aisilara mudan i hergen*" (ma.) [*Syntactic Words and Particles in the Manchu Written Language*], the third volume (chin. *juan zhi san;* ma. *ilaci debtelin*) of "*Manchu nikan hergen i qing wên qi mêng bithe"* (ma.). Peking 1730, original edition.

BB *"Manju gisun i buleku bithei šutucin"* (ma.) [*Preface to the Dictionary of the Manchu Language*]. In: *"Qing wen jian"* (chin.). Peking 1708, original edition.

BROD Brodskaja, L.M. *Složnopodčinennoe predloženie v evenkijskom jazyke* [*The Complex Sentence in the Evenki Language*]. Nauka: Novosibirsk 1988.

CD *Concise English-Chinese & Chinese-English Dictionary*. Oxford University Press, 1986.

CT "*Dva brata. Konfucianskij rasskaz"* [*"Two Brothers. Confucious tale"*]. There are no any references.

DM *"Dehi meyen"* (ma.) [*Forty Chapters*]. In: "*Qing hua wen da si shi tiao dehi Meyen.*" Peking 1759, original edition.

GAB Gabelentz, N.S. *Eléments de la grammaire Mandchoue*. Altenburg 1832.

GH *"Guan hua zhi han"* (chin.) [*Manchu-Chinese Dialogues of Grand Style*], Chapters I-XIII (the end of the nineteenth century).

JB *"Dasame foloho manchu gisun i untuhun hergen i temgetu jorin bithe"* (ma.) [*Syntactic Particles in the Manchu Language*]. Peking 1896, original edition.

KOL Kolesnikova, V.D. *Sintaksis evenkijskogo jazyka* [*Syntax of the Evenki Language*]. Moskva—Leningrad 1966.

LD "*Loo šan alin i doose*" [*Laoshan's daos*]. A story from the collection "*Liao zhai zhi yi*" (chin.) by Pu Sungling.

LE *Linguistic Encyclopaedia.* Ed V.H. Yartzeva. Moskva 1990.

MB *"Monggo bithei toktoho hergen"* (ma.) [*The Mongolian Writing*]. In: "*San he bian lan*" (chin.) *"Ilan hacin i gisun kamcibuha tuwara de ja obuha bithe"* (ma.). Peking 1792, original edition.

MFB *"Han i araha mukden i fujurun bithe"* (ma.) [*Ode to Mukden*

Written by Khan]. Peking 1748, original edition.

MOLL von Möllendorff, P.G. *A Manchu Grammar*. Shanghai 1892.

NL Norman, Jerry. *A Concise Manchu-English Lexicon*. Seattle 1978.

NSB *Nišan samani bithe* [*The Tale of the Nišan Samaness*]. Edition of the text, translation into Russian, and foreword by Volkova, M.P. Moskva 1961.

OB *"Sula hergen i hacin"* (ma.) [*Syntactic Words*] in: "*San he bian lan*" (chin.) "*Ilan hacin i gisun kamcibuha tuwara de ja obuha bithe*" (ma.). Peking 1792, original edition.

OJB *"Manchu gisun i oyonggo jorin i bithe"* (ma.) [*The Book of the Essential Manchu Dialogues*]. In: *"Qingwen zhiyao"* (chin.). Peking 1810, original edition.

ORL Orlov, A.M. *Grammatika man'čžurskogo jazyka* [*Manchu Grammar*]. St. Petersburg 1873.

PANG Pang, T.A. *Funkcii man'čžuskogo pričastija s pokazatelem =ngge* [*Functions of the Manchu Participle with the Marker =ngge*]. V knige: Istoriko-kul'turnye kontakty meždu narodami Altaiskoj lingvističeskoj obščnosti. Tezisy dokladov Postojannoj Meždunarodnoj Altaističeskoj konferencii [In: Historical-cultural Contacts among the Peoples of the Altaic Linguistic Community. Proceeding of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference], vol. 2. Moskva 1986.

PASH Pashkov, B.K. *Man'čžurskij jazyk* [*The Manchu Language*]. Moskva 1963.

PASHS1 Pashkov, B.K. *Sintaksis man'čžurskogo prostogo predloženija* [*Syntax of the Simple Sentence in the Manchu Language*], vol. 1. Doctorate thesis, typescript.

PASHS2 Pashkov, B.K. *Sintaksis man'čžurskogo prostogo predloženija. Obraztzy man'čžurskoj ustnoj i pis'mennoj reči* [*Syntax of the Simple Sentence in the Manchu Language. Specimens of the Written and Spoken Manchu Language*], vol. 2. Doctorate thesis, typescript.

PDP *Predikativnoe sklonenie pričastij v altajskich jazykach* [*Predicative Declension of Participles in the Altaic Languages*], Cheremisina, M.I. & Brodskaja, L.M. & Gorelova, L.M. et al. Nauka: Novosibirsk 1984 (in Russian).

PG *Praktičeskaja grammatika anglijskogo jazyka* [*Practical Grammar of the English Language*], ed. Rozendorn. T.P. Kiev 1995.

QW "*Qing wên qi mêng*" [*Principles of the Manchu Reading and Writing*

or *The Manchu Language for Beginners*] (see *Description of Linguistic Materials*).

SK *SIDI KUR. A Sibe—Manchu Version of "the Bewitched Corpse" Cycle, transcribed by V.V. Radlov*. Eds Martin Gimm, Giovanni Stary, Michael Weiers.—Aetas Manjurica 4. Wiesbaden 1994.

STSPC *Strukturnye tipy sintetičeskich polypredikativnych konstrukcij* [*Structural Types of the Synthetic Polypredicative Constuctions*], Cheremisina, M.I. & Brodskaja, L.M. & Skribnik, E.K. Nauka: Novosibirsk 1986.

TM *"Tanggū meyen"* (ma.) [*Hundred Chapters*]. In: *"Qingwen zhiyao"* (chin.) *"Manchu gisun oyonggo jorin i bithe"* (ma.) [*The Important Manual of the Manchu Language*]. Peking 1810, original edition. This book represents a late version of the *"Tanggū meyen."*

YAM Yamamoto, Kengo. *A Classified Dictionary of Spoken Manchu*. Tokyo 1969.

ZAKH Zakharov, Iv.I. *Grammatika man'čžurskogo jazyka* [*Manchu Grammar*]. St. Petersburg 1879.

ZAKHL Zakharov, Iv.I. *Polnyj man'čžursko-russkij slovar'* [*A Complete Manchu-Russian Lexicon*]. St.Petersburg 1875.

This page intentionally left blank

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adam, Lucien. Grammaire de la langue Mandchoue. *Paris 1873.*

Agrell, Sigurd. Aspektänderung und Actionsartbilding beim polnischen zeitworte. *Lund 1908.*

Aixin Jueluo & Wula Xichun. Manyu yufa [Manchu Grammar]. *Neei Menggu renmin chupanshe* [Inner Mongolia People's Publishing House]:1983 *(in Chinese).*

Alekseev, V.M. Passkazy Liao Zhaja o neobyčajnom [Strange Stories by Liao Zhai]. *Moskva 1988 (in Russian).*

Alpatov, V.M. Struktura grammatičeskich edinic v sovremennom japonskom jazyke [Structure of Grammatical Elements in the Contemporary Japanese Language]. *Nauka: Moskva 1979 (in Russian).*

Alpatov, V.M. Zamečanija o japonskoj padežnoj sisteme [Notes on the Japanese Case System]. *V knige: Padeži i ich ekvivalenty v stroe složnogo predloženija v jazykach narodov Sibiri* [*Case Markers and their Equivalents in the System of the Complex Sentence in the Languages of Siberia*]. *Novosibirsk 1981:66-79 (in Russian).*

Alpatov, V.M. Altajskie jazyki i obsčaja lingvistika [Altaic languages and General Linguistics]. *In: Altaica. Moskva 1997:10-22.*

Amiot [*Amyot*], *Joseph-Marie.* Éloge de la ville de Moukden, poème composé par Kien-Long, empereur de la Chine et de la Tartarie, actuellement régnant. *Paris 1770.*

Amiot [*Amyot*], *Joseph-Marie.* Grammaire tartare-mantchou. *Paris 1787.*

An Jun. Xibo yuyan wenzi ji manyu manwen de jixu [Research on the Sibe and Manchu Languages and Writings].—*Manyu yanjiu* [*Manchu Language Research*], *no. 2, 1985:41-7.*

Ard, J. A. Sketch of Vowel Harmony in the Tungus Languages. *In: Studies in the Languages of the USSR, ed B. Comrie. Carbondale 1981:23-43.*

Arutyunova, N.D. Predloženije i ego smysl [Sentence and its Content]. *Moskva 1976 (in Russian).*

Avrorin, V.A. O kategorijach vida i vremeni v man'čžurskom jazyke [On Categories of Aspect and Tense in the Manchu Language].—*Izvestija AN SSSR* [*Proceedings of the Academy of Sciences of USSR*], *t.VII (1), 1949 (in Russian).*

Avrorin, V.A. Predikativno-prityažatel'nye formy v nanajskom i drugich tunguso-man'čžurskich jazykach [Predicative-Possessive Forms in Nanaj and other Tungus-Manchu Languages]. —*Voprosy jazykoznanija* [*Problems of Linguistics*], *no. 3, 1953:93-100 (in Russian).*

Avrorin, V.A. Grammatika nanajskogo jazyka [Grammar of the Nanai Language]. *T. I-II. Moskva–Leningrad 1959 (in Russian).*

Avrorin, V.A. Osobyj sposob vyraženija sintaksičeskoj svyazi [A Special Means of Expressing Syntactic Relationship]. *V knige: Voprosy grammatiki* [*In: Grammatical Problems*]. *Moskva–Leningrad 1960 (in Russian).*

Avrorin, V.A. Sintaksičeskie issledovanija po nanajskomu jasyku (Syntactic Studies in the Nanai Language]. *Leningrad 1981 (in Russian).*

Avrorin, V.A Grammatika pis'mennogo man'čžurskogo jazyka [Grammar of the Written Manchu Language]. *Nauka: Sankt-Peterburg 2000 (in Russian).*

Baskakov, N.A. Priroda prityažatel'nych opredelitel'nych slovosočetanij i ich rol' v evolyucii složnych sintaksičeskich konstrukcij v tyurkskich jazykach [Nature of the Possessive Attributive Word-Combinations and their Role in the

Evolution of the Complex Syntactic Constructions in the Turkic Languages].—*Sovetskaja tyurkologija* [*Soviet Turkology*], *no. 4, 1971:15-23 (in Russian).*

Baskakov, N.A. Altajskaja sem'ja jazykov i ee izučenie [The Study of the Altaic Language Family]. *Moskva 1981 (in Russian).*

Beloshapkova, V.A. Sintaks [Syntax]. *V knige: Sovremennyj russkij jazyk* [*In: The Contemporary Russian Language*]. *Moskva 1981:363-552 (in Russian).*

Benveniste, Emile. K analizu padežnych funkzij [To the analysis of case functions]. *V knige: Obsćaja ligvistika* [*In: General Linguistcs*]. *Moskva 1974:156-64 (in Russian).*

Benveniste, Emile. Obsčaja ligvistika [General Linguistcs], *translation from French. Moskva 1974 (in Russian).*

Benzing, Johannes. Die tungusischen Sprachen: Versuch einer vergleichenden Grammatik. *Wiesbaden 1955.*

Bertagaev, T.A. K probleme složnych predloženij [On the Problem of Complex Sentences].—*Voprosy jazykoznanija* [*Problems of Linguistics*], *no. 4. 1953:43-59 (in Russian).*

Bertagaev, T.A. Sintaksis sovremennogo mongol'skogo jazyka v sravnitel'nom osvesčenii [Syntax of the Conpemporary Mongolian Language from the Comparative Point of View]. *Moskva 1964 (in Russian).*

Bichurin, N.Ja. Sobranie svedenij o narodach, obitavšich v Srednej Azii v drevnie vremena [A Collection of Materials Concerning the Peoples Inhabited Central Asia in Ancient Times]. *T. 1-2. Moskva—Leningrad 1950-1953 (in Russian).*

Bobrovnikov, Alexej. Grammatika mongol'sko-kalmytzkogo jazyka [Grammar of the Mongolian-Kalmyk Language]. *Kazan 1949 (in Russian).*

Boer, de Elisabeth. Present State of the Study of Evenki Vowel Harmony. *In: Proceedings of the 38th Permanent International Altaistic Conference (PIAC), ed G. Stary. Harrassovitz Verlag: Wiesbaden 1996:121-33.*

Bondarko, A.V. Vid i vremya russkogo glagola [Aspect and Tense of the Russian Verb]. *Moskva:1971 (in Russian).*

Bondarko, A.V. Teorija značenija i traktovka kategorij zaloga [The Theory of Meaning and the Interpretation of the Categories of Voice]. *V knige: Problemy teorii grammatičeskogo zaloga* [*In: Problems of the Theory of Grammatical Voice*]. *Leningrad 1978:43-9 (in Russian).*

Bondarko, A.V. Teorija morfologičeskich kategorij [Theory of Morphological Caterories]. *Leningrad 1976.*

Bondarko, A.V. & Bulanin, L.L. Russkij glagol [The Russian Verb]. *Leningrad 1967.*

Bosson, J. Modern Mongolian. *Bloomington, Indiana University:1964.*

Brodskaja, L.M. Složnopodčinennoe predloženie v evenkijskom jazyke [The Complex Sentence in the Evenki Language]. *Novosibirsk 1988 (in Russian).*

Castrén, M. Grundzüge einer Tungusischen Sprachlehre nebst kurzem Wörterverzeichniss, *herausgegeben von Anton Schiefner.—Nordische Reisen und Forschungen, Bd. IX. St.-Petersburg 1856.*

Chafe, Wallace L. Givenness, Contrastiveness, Definiteness, Subjects, Topics, and Point of View. *In: Subject and Topic. Ed Charles N. Li. Academic Press: New York–London 1976:149-88.*

Charekov, S.L. Prilagatel'nye v mongol'skich jazykach v sravnenii s drugimi altajskimi [Ajectives in the Mongolian Languages Compared with the Other Altaic]. *Nauka: Leningrad 1990 (in Russian).*

China. Facts & Figures. Population and Nationalities. Beijing (China), October 1987.

Cheremisina, M. Iv. Nekotorye voprosy teorii složnogo predloženija [Some Problems of the Theory of the Complex Sentence]. *The Novosibirsk State University: Novosibirsk 1979 (in Russian).*

Cheremisina, M.Iv. & Kolosova, T.A. Očerki po teorii složnogo predloženija [Essays

on the Theory of the Complex Sentence]. *Nauka: Novosibirsk 1987 (in Russian).*

Cheremisina, M.Iv. & Brodskaja, L.M. & Gorelova, L.M. et. al. Predikativnoe sklonenie pričastij v altajskich jazykach [Predicative Declension of Participles in the Altaic Languages]. *Nauka: Novosibirsk 1984 (in Russian).*

Cheremisina, M.Iv. & Brodskaja, L.M. & Skribnik, E.K. et.al. Strukturnye tipy sintetičeskich polipredikativnych konstrukcij v jazykach raznych sistem [Structural Types of the Synthetic Polipredicative Constructions in the Languages of Different Language Systems]. *Nauka: Novosibirsk 1986 (in Russian).*

Ch'en Chien-hsien. The Decline of the Manchu Language in China during the Ch'ing Period (1644-1911). *In: Altaica Collecta. Wiesbaden 1976:137-54.*

Comrie, B. Causative verb formation and other verb-deriving morphology. *Shopen (ed.), 1985:301-48.*

Cordier, H. Bibliotheca sinica. Dictionnaire bibliographique des ouvrage relatifs a l' Empire Chinois. *Paris 1904:2756-7.*

Crossley, Pamela Kyle. Orphan Warriors: Three Manchu Generations and the End of the Qing World. *Princeton 1990.*

Crossley, Pamela Kyle. The Manchus. *Blackwell Publishers: Cambridge—Oxford, 1997.*

Dobrolovskii, I. Heilongjiang tongzhi jiliao (Sokrasčennoe vseobsčee opisanie Heilundzyanskoj provincii) [Abridged Description of the Heilongjiang Province]. *Vol. 1. Harbin 1908.*

Dostál. A. Studie o vidovém systému v staroslověnštině. Praha, jêzyku rosyjskim. Wroclaw 1963.

Efremov, N.N. Složnopodčinennye predloženija vremeni v jakutskom jazyke [Complex Sentences with Temporal Semantics in the Jakut Language]. *Nauka: Moskva 1984 (in Russian).*

Erguvanli, E.E. The Function of Word Order in Turkish Grammar. *University of California Press: Berkeley 1984.*

Fraser, M. & Forbes, A. Tanggu Meyen and other Manchu Reading Lessons. *London 1924.*

Feldman, N.I. O real'nom i fiktivnom sklonenii predloženij v sovremennom japonskom jazyke [About Real and Fictitious Declension of Sentences in the Contemporary Japanese Language].—*Učenye zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniya Akademii Nauk SSSR* [*Proceedings of the Institute for Oriental studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR*], *t.IV. Moskva 1952:230-276 (in Russian).*

Firbas, Jan. On Defining the Theme in Functional Sentence Analysis. *Travaux Linguistiques de Prague 1, 1966:267-80.*

Firbas, Jan. Some Aspects of the Czechoslovak Approach to Problems of Functional Sentence Perspective. *In: Papers on Functional Sentence Perspective. Ed F. Daneš. The Hague, Academia, Prague, Mouton 1974:11-37.*

Fuchs, W. Beitrage zur mandjurischen Bibliographie und Literatur. *Tokyo 1936.*

Fuchs, W. Chinesische und mandjurischen Handschriften und seltene Drücke. *Wiesbaden 1966.*

Gabelentz, H.C. Eleḿents de la grammaire Mandchoue. *Altenburg 1832.*

Gabelentz, H.C. Manschu-mongolische Grammatic. Aus dem San-ho-pian-län übersetzt. Zeitschrift für die Kande des Morgenlandes. *Bd. 1, H.3. Göttingen 1837.*

Gak, V.G. Nominalizacija skazuemogo i ustranenie sub'jekta [Nominalization of the Predicate and Deletion of the Subject]. *V knige: Sintaksis i stilistika* [*In: Syntax and Stylistics*]. *Moskva 1976 (in Russian).*

Givón, Talmy. Topic, Pronoun and Grammatical Agreement. *In: Subject and Topic. Ed Charles N. Li. Academic Press: New York—London 1976:149-88.*

Givón, Talmy. Topic Continuity in Discouse: A Quantitative Cross-Language Studies. *Ed Talmy Givón. Benjamins: Amsterdam 1983:1-42.*

Givón, Talmy. Direct Object and Dative Shifting: Semantic and Pragmatic Case. *In: Objects: Towards a Theory of Grammatical Relations. Ed F.Plank. Academic Press: New York 1984:151-82.*

Givón, Talmy. The Pragmatics of Word order: Predictability, Importance and Attention. *In: Studies in Syntactic Typology. Eds Michael Hammond, Edith Moravcsik, and Jessica Wirth. John Benjamins: Amsterdam-Philadelphia 1988:209-39.*

Gochet, P. Outline of a Nominalist Theory of Propositions: an Essay in the Theory of Meaning and the Philosophy of Logic. *Dordrecht: Holland & D. Reidel Pub. Co.: Boston 1980.*

Gorelova, L.M. Funkcii pričastij i ich otnošenija k deepričastijam v evenkijskom jazyke [Functions of Participles and their Relations to Converbs in the Evenki Language]. *V knige: Infinitnye glagol'nye formy* [*In: Non-finite Verbal Forms*]. *Nauka: Novosibirsk 1980:1-31 (in Russian).*

Gorelova, L.M. Sposoby vyraženija podčinenija v polipredikativnych konstrukciyach v man'čžurskom jazyke [Means of the Expression of Subordination in Polypredicative Constructions in the Manchu Language]. *V knige: Grammatičeskie issledovanija po jazykam Sibiri* [*Grammatical Studies in the Siberian Languages*]. *Nauka: Novosibirsk 1982:40-57 (in Russian).*

Gorelova, L.M. The Sibe Dialect of the Manchu Language as Interpreted by Russian and Foreign Linguists.—*Indian Journal of Linguistics. Kalcutta 1986:300-17.*

Gorelova, L.M. Man'čžurskoe slovo seme i sistema ego sintaksičeskich funkcij [The Manchu Word seme and the System of its Syntactic Functions]. *V knige: Pokazateli svyazi v složnom predloženii* [*In: Markers of Connection in the Complex Sentence*]. *Novosibirsk 1987:65-72 (in Russian)*

Gorelova, L.M. Korrelyacija glavnych členov predloženija v man'čžurskom jazyke [Correlation between the Principal Parts of the Sentence in the Manchu Language]. *V knige: Komponenty predloženija (na materiale jazykov raznych sistem)* [*In: Components of the Sentence (with Reference to Languages of Different Systems)*]. *Novosibirsk 1988:74-81 (in Russian).*

Gorelova, L.M. Polysemantics and Polyfunctionality of Language Units as Two Principal Features of Manchu Grammar. *In: Historische und bibliographische Studien zur Mandschuforschung. Eds Martin Gimm, Giovanni Stary, Michael Weiers.—Aetas Manjurica 3. Otto Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden 1992:109-16.*

Gorelova, L.M. Manchu as Compared with the Other Tungus-Manchu Languages within the Paradigm of Syntheticism / Analytism. *In: Proceedings of the 38th Permanent International Altaistic Conference (PIAC), ed G. Stary. Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden 1996:153-8.*

Gorelova, L.M. Manchu-Chinese Syntactical Parallels.—*Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung. Tomus L (1 –3), 1997:99-106.*

Gorelova, L.M. Compound Sentences in the Manchu-Tungus Languages (on the Basis of Evenki and Manchu Data). *In: Beiträge zur Geschichte, Sprache und Kultur der Mandschuren und Sibe. Eds Martin Gimm, Giovanni Stary, Michael Weiers.—Aetas Manjurica 6. Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden 1998:49-56.*

Gorelova, L.M. Past and Present of a Manchu Tribe: The Sibe. *In: Post-Soviet Central Asia. Eds Touraj Atabaki, John O'Kane. Tauris Academic Studies: London—New York in association with the International Institute for Asian Studies: Leiden—Amsterdam 1998:324-30.*

Grebenschikov, A.V. Kratkij očerk obrazcov man'čžurskoj literatury [A Sketch of Specimens of Manchu Literature].—*Izvestija Vostočnogo Instituta (Proceedings of the Oriental Institute*], *t. 32 (2). Vladivostok 1909 (in Russian).*

Grebenschikov, A.V. Man'čžury, ich jazyk i pis'mennost' [The Manchus, their

Language and Script].—*Izvestija Vostočnogo instituta* [*Proceedings of the Oriental Institute*], *t. 14 (1). Vladivostok 1912 (in Russian).*

Grube, Wilhelm. Die Sprache und Schriften der Jučen. *Leipzig 1896.*

Gundel, Jeanette K. Universals of Topic-Comment Structure. *In: Studies in Syntactic Typology. Eds Michael Hammond, Edith Moravcsik, and Jessica Wirth. John Benjamins: Amsterdam—Philadelphia 1988:209-39.*

Haenisch, von Erich. Mandschu Grammatic. *VEB Verlag Enzyklopädic. Leipzig 1986.*

Halliday, Michael A.K. Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English. *Part II.—Journal of Linguistics 3.199-244.*

Harlez, de Ch. Manuel de la langue Mandchoue. *Paris 1884.*

Harlig, Jeffrey & Bardovi-Harlig Kathleen. Accentuation Typology, Word Order, and Theme-Rheme Structure. *In: Studies in Syntactic Typology. Eds Michael Hammond, Edith Moravcsik, and Jessica Wirth. John Benjamins: Amsterdam–Philadelphia 1988: 125-46.*

Hu, Z. Elunchunyu jianzhi. *Beijing 1986.*

Ikegami, J. Manchu Materials in European Libraries.—*The Toyo Gakuho, vol. 45, N 3, 1962:105-21; vol. 47, N 3, 1964:144-6.*

Ikegami, J. Versuch einer klassifikation der tungusischen Sprachen. Sprache, Geschichte and Kultur der altaischen Völker. *Akademie-Verlag: Berlin 1974:271-2.*

Ikeuchi, Hiroshi. A Study of Su-shen.—*Memoirs of the Research Department of Toyo Bunko, 1930, N 5.*

Isachenko, A.V. Grammatičeskij stroj russkogo jazyka v sopostavlenii so slovackim. Morfologija [The Grammatical System of the Russian Language in Comparison with Slovak. Morphology]. *Bratislava 1960 (in Russian).*

Istorija Zolotoj Imperii [The History of the Gold (Golden) Empire], *ed V.Ye. Larichev. Nauka: Novosibirsk 1998 (in Russian).*

Janhunen, J. Material on Manchurian Khamnigan Evenki.—*Castrenianum Toimitteitta (40). Helsinki 1991.*

Jin Ning. A Catalogue of Sibe-Manchu Publications (1954-1989), *ed G. Stary. Otto Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden 1989.*

Jin Ning. The Sibe-Manchu Legend of "Blackening the Face".—*Aetas Manjurica 2, 1991:147-73.*

Jin Ning. Sibe-English Conversations. *Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden 1993.*

Johanson, L. The Structure of Turkic. *In: The Turkic Languages. Eds L. Johanson & É.Á. Csató. London—New York 1998:30-66.*

Kałużyński, Stanislaw. Fedor Muromskij i sobrannye im v Kul'džinskom rajone linguističeskie materialy [Fedor Muromskii and linguistic materials collected in Kuldzha].—*Rocznik Orientalistyczny 32, 1969:85-96.*

Kałużyński, Stanislaw. Die Sprache des Mandschurischen Stammes Sibe aus der Gegend von Kuldscha. *Warszawa 1977.*

Kanda, Nobuo. Present State of Preservation of Manchu Literarure.—*Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko, N 26. Tokyo 1968:63-95.*

Kessler, Adam T. Empires Beyond the Great Wall. The Heritage of Genghis Khan. *Contributors: Shao Qinglong, Wen Shanzhen, Hung Xueying, Zhang Wenfang, An Li, Ding Yong. Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County 1993.*

Keenan, Edward L. Towards a Universal Definition of "Subject." In: Subject and Topic. Ed Charles N. Li. Academic Press: New York—London 1976:303-33.

Kessler, Lawrence. Ethnic Composition of Provincial Leadership during the Ch'ing Dynasty. *Journal of Asian Studies 28:3. May 1969:489-511.*

Khasanova, M.M. K 90-letiju Valentina Aleksandrovicha Avrorina [On the Occasion of V.A. Avrorin's Ninetieth Anniversary].—*Gumanitarnye nauki v Sibiri* [*The*

Humanities in Siberia], *vol. 4, 1998:109-12 (in Russian).*

Kholodovich, A.A. Problemy grammatičeskoj teorii [Problems of the Theory of Grammar]. *Leningrad 1979 (in Russian).*

Khrakovskii, V.S. Passivnye construkcii [The Passive Constructions]. *V knige: Tipologija passivnych konstrukcij. Diatezy i zalogi* [*In: Typology of Passive Constructions. Diatheses and Voices*]. *Leningrad 1974:5-45 (in Russian).*

Kim, Alan Hyun-Oak. The Grammar of Focus in Korean Syntax and its Typological Implication. *Doctoral Dissertation, University of Southern California, 1985a.*

Kim, Alan Hyun-Oak. The Functions of Linear Order in Korean Syntax. *In: Harvard Studies in Korean Linguistics. Harvard University: Cambridge 1985b:154-67.*

Kim, Alan Hyun-Oak. Preverbal Focusing and Type XXIII Languages. *In: Studies in Syntactic Typology. Eds Michael Hammond, Edith Moravcsik, and Jessica Wirth. John Benjamins: Amsterdam—Philadelphia:1988:147-69.*

Kiyose, Gisaburo N. A Study of the Jurchen Language and Script: Reconstruction and Decipherment. *Kyoto: Horitsubunka 1977.*

Kiyose, Gisaburo N. The Post-velar q, γ and χ in Jurchen and Manchu. *A Paper delivered at the 38th Meeting of PIAC, 1995.*

Kiyose, Gisaburo N. The Collapse of Palatal-Velar Harmony from Jurchen to Manchu. *In: Historical and Linguistic Interaction between Inner-Asia and Europe.—Studia Uralo-Altaica (39). Szeged 1997:147-50.*

Klaproth, Jules. Chrestomathie Mandchou, on Recueil de Textes Mandchou. *Paris 1828.*

Kolesnikova, V.D. Sintaksis evenkijskogo jazyka [Syntax of the Evenki Language]. *Moskva—Leningrad 1966 (in Russian).*

Kolosova, T.A. Russkie složnye predloženuja assimetričnoj struktury [Russian Complex Sentences with Asymmetric Structure]. *Voronezh 1980 (in Russian).*

Kononov, A.N. Grammatika sovremennogo tureckogo literaturnogo jazyka. [Grammar of the Contemporary Turkish Language]. *Moskva—Leningrad 1956 (in Russian).*

Konstantinova, O.A. Evenkijskij jazyk. Fonetika, morfologija [The Evenki Language. Phonology, Morphology]. *Moskva—Leningrad 1964 (in Russian).*

Konstantinova, O.A. & Lebedeva, E.P. Evenkijskij jazyk. Učebnoe posobie dlya pedagogičeskich učilišč [The Evenki Language]. *Moskva—Leningrad 1953 (in Russian).*

Krotkov, N.N. Poezdka osen'ju 1899 goda v Sibinskij buddijskij monastyr' [A Trip to a Sibe Buddhist Monastery in Autumn 1899]. *Archiv Instituta vostokovedenija Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, St. Petersburg, fond 32, opis' 1* [*N.N. Krotkov's Archives of the Institute for Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, fond 32, invent.1*] *(in Russian).*

Krotkov, N.N. Kratkie zametki o sovremennom sostojanii šamanstva u Sibo, zivuščich v Ilijskoj oblasti i Tarbagatae [Brief Notes on the Present Situation of Samanism among the Sibes living in the region of Ili and Tarbagatai].—*Zapiski Vostočnogo otdelenija Imperatorskogo Russkogo archeologičeskogo obščestva (ZVORAO), t. 21 (2-3). St. Petersburg 1911-12 (in Russian).*

Kuno, Susumu. Danwa no Bunpo [The Grammar of Discourse]. *Taishukan: Tokyo 1978.*

Kuznetzov, V.S. Nurhaci. *Nauka: Novosibirsk 1985 (in Russian).*

Kychanov, E.I. Čžurčženi v XI v. [The Jurchens in the XIth century]. *V: Sibirskij archeologičeskij sbornik* [*In: The Siberian Collection of Archeological Materials*]. *Novosibirsk 1966 (in Russian).*

Künner, N.V. Kitajskie izvestija o narodach Juzhnoj Sibiri, Tzentral'noj Azii i Dal'nego Vostoka [Chinese Records about Peoples of Southern Siberia, Central Asia, and the Far East]. *Moskva 1951 (in Russian).*

Lao She. Hongqi zhi xia [Beneath the Red Banner], *trans. D.J. Cohn. Chinese Literature (Panda Books): Peking 1982.*

Lambrecht, Knud. Information Structure and Sentence Form (topic, focus, and the mental representations of discourse referents). Cambridge 1994.

Larichev, V.Ye. Neolit Dunbeja i ego svyazi s kul'turami Severo-Vostočnoj Azii [The Late Stone Age of Dongbei and its Links with Cultures of the North-Eastern Asia]. *V: Archeologičeskij sbornik* [*The Collection of Archeological Materials*]. *Ulan-Ude 1959 (in Russian).*

Larichev, V.Ye. Paleolit Mančžurii, Vnutrennej Mongolii i Vostočnogo Turkestana [Paleolith of Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, and Eastern Turkistan]. *V: Sibir', Central'naja i Vostocnaja Azija v drevnosti. Epocha paleolita* [*Siberia, Central and Eastern Asia in Ancient Times. The Epoch of Paleolith*]. *Novosibirsk 1976 (in Russian).*

Larichev, V.Ye. Istorija čžurčženej (XI-XII vv.) [The History of the Jurchens (XI-XIIth centuries)]. *V: Materialy po drevnej istorii Sibiri* [*In: Materials on the Ancient History of Siberia*]. *Ulan-Ude 1964 (in Russian).*

Larichev, V.Ye. Kratkij očerk istorii čžurčženej do obrazovanija Zolotoj imperii [A Brief Essay of the History of the Jurchens before the Formation of the Gold Empire]. *V: Istorija Zolotoj imperii* [*In: The History of the Gold Empire*]. *Novosibirsk 1998:34-87 (in Russian).*

Laufer, Bertold. Skizze der manjurischen Literatur.—*Keleti Szemle, t. IX. Budapest 1908.*

Laufer, Bertold. Descriptive Account of the Collection of Chinese, Tibetan, Mongol and Japanese Books in the Newberry Library. Chicago 1913:1-44.

Laufer, Bertold. Očerk mongol'skoj literatury [Essay of the Mongolian Literature]. *Leningrad 1927 (in Russian).*

Lebedeva, E.P. Prostoe predloženie v man'čžurskom jazyke sravnitel'no s evenkijskim [The Simple Sentence in the Manchu Language as Compared with the Evenki Language].—*Učenye zapiski LGPI* [*Proceedings of the Leningrad Pedagogical Institute*], *t. 111, 1955 (in Russian).*

Lebedeva, E.P. Fuyu (Puye). *V knige: Formirovanije kul'turnych tradicij tunguso-man'čžurskich Narodov* [*In: Formation of Cultural Traditions of the Tungus-Manchu Peoples*]. *Novosibirsk 1985:3-26 (in Russian).*

Lebedeva, E.P. & Gorelova, L.M. SIDI KUR. A Sibe-Manchu Version of the "Bewitched Corpse" Cycle transcribed by V.V. Radlov. *Eds Martin Gimm, Giovanni Stary, Michael Weiers.— Aetas Manjurica 4. Otto Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden 1994 (in Russian).*

Lehmann, Christian. Directions for Interlinear Morphemic Translations.—*Folia Linguistica XVI, 1982:199-224.*

Lehmann, W.P. From Topic to Subject in Indo-European. *In: Subject and Topic. Ed Charles N. Li. Academic Press: New York—London 1976:445-56.*

Li, Charles N. & Thompson, Sandra A. Subject and Topic: A New Typology of language. *In: Subject and Topic. Ed Charles N. Li. Academic Press: New York—London 1976:457-89.*

Li, Teh Ch'i. Union Catalogue of Manchu Books in the National Library and the Library of the Palace Museum. *Peking 1933.*

Li Shulan. Xibo yu manyu bi jiao yanjiu juyao [The Sibe Language as Compared with the Manchu Language].—*Zhongguo yuwen, no. 4, 1983:298-306.*

Li Shulan & Zhong Qian. Xibo yu jianzhi [A Sketch of the Sibe Language]. *Beijing 1986.*

Li Shulan & Zhong Qian & Wang Qingfeng. Xibo yu kouyu yanjiu [The Spoken Sibe Language]. *Beijing 1984.*

Lichtenberk, F. Multiple Uses of Reciprocal Constructions.—Australian Journal of Linguistics 5.1, 1985:19-41.

Ligeti, L. A propos de l'écriture Mandchoue.—*Acta Orientalia, vol II. Budapest 1952.*

Lin Gan. Donghushi [The History of the Eastern Hu]. *People's Press of Inner Mongolia: Huhehaote 1989.*

Maizel, S.S. Izafet v tureckom jazyke [Izafet in the Turkish Language]. *Moskva—Leningrad 1957 (in Russian).*

Malyavkin, A.G. Man'čžurskij variant chroniki gosudarstva An'cun'-Gurun' [The Manchu Variant of the Chronicle of the Anchun-Gurun State].—*Izvestija SO AN SSSR (Serija obsčestvennych nauk)* [*Proceedings of the Siberian Branch of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (Seria of the Humanities), vol.1, N 1. Novosibirsk 1977 (in Russian).*

Malyavkin, A.G. Kommentarii k tekstu letopisi "Istorija doma Tszin', pravivsego v severnoj časti Kitaja s 1114 po 1233 gody [Comments to the Text of the Chronicle "The History of the Jin Dynasty Which Ruled in Northern China since 1114 till 1233"]. *In: Istorija Zolotoj Imperii (The History of the Gold Empire). Novosibirsk 1998:233-84 (in Russian).*

Maslov, Ju. S. Voprosy glagol'nogo vida v sovremennom zarubežnom jazykoznanii [Problems of the Verbal Aspect in Modern Foreign Linguistics]. *Moskva 1962.*

Maslov, Ju.S. Vvedenie v jazykoznanie [Introduction to Linguistics]. *Moskva 1987 (in Russian).*

Mathesius, Vilém. On Linguistic Characterology with Illustrations from Modern English.—*Actes du Premier Congrès international de linguistes à la Haye:53-63. Reprinted in: A Prague School Reader in Linguistics. Ed J. Vachek. Indiana University Press: Bloomington 1928 (1964).*

Mathesius, Vilém. Functional Linguistics. *In: Praguiana. Ed J. Vachek. John Benjamins: Amsterdam 1929 (1983).*

Mathesius, Vilém. O tak nazyvaemom aktual'nom členenii predloženija [Towards the so-called Actual Devision of the Sentence]. *In: Pražskij lingvističeskij kružok* [*Travaux linguistiques de Prague*]. *Moskva 1967 (in Russian).*

Mel'chuk, I.A. & Holodovich, A.A. K teorii grammatičeskogo zaloga (opredelenie, isčislenie) [Towards the Theory of the Grammatical Category of Voice (definition, quantification)]. *V: Narody Azii i Afriki* [*In: Peoples of Asia and Africa*], *N 4, 1970:111-24 (in Russian).*

Menshikov, P.N. Kratkij istoričeskij očerk Man'čžurii [A Brief Historical Sketch of Manjuria]. *Harbin 1917 (in Russian).*

Milevskii, T. Predposylki tipologičeskogo jazykoznanija [Pre-requisites for Typological Linguistics]. *V knige: Issledovanija po strukturnoj tipologii* [*In: Researches on Structural Typology*]. *Moskva 1963:3-31 (in Russian).*

Mišig, L. Ulaγan Baγatur qota-daki ulus-un nom-un sang-un manjŭ nom-un kŭmŭrgen-dŭr bayiγ-a manjŭ nom-un γarcaγ. *Ulaan-baatar 1959.*

Möllendorff, von P.G. Manchu Grammar with Analysed Texts. *Shanghai 1892.*

Möllendorff, von P.G. Essay on Manchu Literature.— *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXIV, no. 1, 1889-1890.*

Muromskii, F.V. Predvaritel'nyj otčet o poezdke v Kul'džinskij rajon komandirovannogo Russkim komitetom studenta Fakul'teta vostočnych jazykov F.V. Muromskogo v 1906 godu [A Preliminary Report of the Student of the Faculty of the Oriental Languages F.V. Muromskii, sent by the Russian Committee on an Official Journey to the Kuldzha Region in 1906].—*Izvestija Russkogo komiteta dlya izučenija Srednej i Vostočnoj Azii v istoričeskom, archeologičeskom, lingvističeskom i etnografičeskom otnošenijach* [*Proceedings of the Russian Committee for Studying Central and Eastern Asia in Historical, Archaeological, Linguistic, and Ethnographical Aspects*], *N 7. St. Petersburg 1907 (in Russian).*

Muromskii, F.V. Otčet o poezdke v Kul'džinskij rajon F.V. Muromskogo v 1907-1908 godach [A Report of F.V. Muromskogo on a Trip to the Kuldzha Region in 1907-1908].—*Izvestija Russkogo komiteta dlya izučenija Srednej i Vostočnoj Azii v istoričeskom, archeologičeskom, lingvističeskom i etnografičeskom otnosenijach* [*Proceedings of the Russian Committee for Studying Central and Eastern Asia in Historical, Archaeological, Linguistic, and Ethnographical Aspects*], *N 9. St. Petersburg 1908 (in Russian).*

Nadelyaev, Vl.M. Sovremennyj mongol'skij jazyk [The Contemporary Mongolian Language]. *Novosibirsk 1988 (in Russian).*

Nichols, J. Head-marking and Dependent-marking Grammar. *Language 62:56-119.*

Nilsson, B. Definiteness and Reference in Relation to the Turkich Accusative. *In: Orientalia Suecana XXVI-XXVIII 1978-1979:118-31.*

Noreen, A. Värt sträk. *Lund 1904-1912, Bd.v.*

Norman, J. A Sketch of Sibe Morphology.—*Central Asiatic Journal, Vol. XVIII, no. 3, 1974:159-73.*

Novikova, K.A. Očerki dialektov evenskogo jazyka. Ol'skij govor [The Dialects of the Even Language]. *Moskva—Leningrad 1960 (in Russian).*

Nowak, Margaret & Current, Stephen. The Tale of the Nišan Shamaness. *University of Washington Press: Seattle 1977.*

Okada, Hidehiro. Mandarin, A Language of the Manchus; How Altaic? *In: Historische und bibliographische Studien zur Mandschuforschung. Eds Martin Gimm, Giovanni Stary, Michael Weiers.—Aetas Manjurica 3. Otto Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden 1992.*

Orlov, A.M. Grammatika man'čžurskogo jazyka [Manchu Grammar]. *St. Petersburg 1873 (in Russian).*

Orlovskaja, M.N. Imena susčestvitel'nye i prilagatel'nye v sovremennom mongol'skom jazyke [Substantives and Adjectives in the Contemporary Mongolian Language]. *Moskva 1961 (in Russian).*

Paducheva, E.V. K semantike sintaksisa [Towards the Semantics of Syntax]. *Moskva 1974 (in Russian).*

Pang, T.A. Man'czurskaja chrestomatioja "Tanggū meyen" (Sto glav) kak istoriko-literaturnyj pamyatnik epochi Tsing [The Manchu Reading-book "Tanggū meyen" as Historical and Literary Monument of the Qing Dynasty]. *V: Tezisy i doklady XIII Naučnoj konferencii "Obsčestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae (In: Proceedings of the XIII Scientific Conference "The society and state in China"], vol. 2. Moskva 1982:149-55.*

Pang, T.A. Man'čžurskie razgovorniki iz sobranija LO IVAN [Manchu Phrase-books from the Collection of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute for Oriental Studies]. *V: PP i PIKNV. XVII godičnaja naučnaja sessija LO IVAN SSSR (doklady i sobščenija). Janvar' 1982, čast' I* [*In: Proceedings of the XVIIth Scientific Session of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute for Oriental Studies of the USSR*], *part I. Moskva 1983:79:84 (in Russian).*

Pang, T.A. Funkcii man'čžurskogo pričastija s pokazatelem =ngge [Functions of the Manchu Participle with the Marker =ngge].—*V knige: Istoriko-kul'turnye kontakty meždu narodami Altajskoj lingvističeskoj obsčnosti. Tezisy dokladov Postojannoj Meždunarodnoj Altaističeskoj konferencii* [*In: Historical-cultural Contacts among the Peoples of the Altaic Linguistic Community. Proceedings of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference (PIAC)*], *vol. 2. Moscow 1986 (in Russian).*

Pang, T.A. A Historical Sketch of the Manchu Language Studies and Teaching in Russia.—*Central Asiatic Journal, vol. 35 (1-3), 1991.*

Pang, T.A. Izučenie man'čžurskogo jazyka v Pekinskoj Duchovnoj missii [Studying Manchu Language in Peking Ecclesiastical Mission]. *V knige: Pravoslavie na*

Dal'nem Vostoke [*In: Orthodoxy in the Far East*]. *St. Petersburg 1993:119-26 (in Russian).*

Pang, T.A. N.N. Krotkov's Manuscript "A Trip to a Sibe Buddhist Monastery in Autumn 1899." *Beiträge zur Geschichte, Sprache und Kultur der Mandschuren und Sibe. Eds Martin Gimm, Giovanni Stary, Michael Weiers.—Aetas Manjurica 6. Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden 1998: 77-122.*

Pashkov, B.K. Liao zhai zhi yi. Opyt kritiko-bibliograficeskogo obozrenija [Strange Stories by Liao Zhai. Critical-Bibliographic Commentary]. *V: Sbornik trudov professorov i prepodavatelej Gosudarstvennogo Irkutskogo universiteta* [*Collected Articles Witten by Professors and Lecturers of the Irkutsk State University*]. *Otdel I. Nauki gumanitarnye. Vypusk II* [*Part I. The Humanities. Vol. II*]. *Irkutsk 1912 (in Russian).*

Pashkov, B.K. Sintaksis man'čžurskogo prostogo predloženija [Syntax of the Simple Sentence in the Manchu Language]. *Author's abstract of the Doctorate dissertation. Moskva 1950 (in Russian).*

Pashkov, B.K. Man'čžurskij jazyk [The Manchu Language]. *Moskva 1963 (in Russian).*

Pevnov, A.M. Analitičeskie formy vremeni evenkijskogo deepričastija na –mi [The Analytical Forms of Tense of the Evenki converb in –mi]. *V knige: Jazyki narodov Sibiri* [*In: The Languages of the Peoples of Siberia*]. *Kemerovo 1978:137-50 (in Russian).*

Plungyan, V.A. Obščaja morfologija [General Morphology]. *Moskva 2000 (in Russian).*

Poppe, N.N. Dagurskij dialect [The Dagur Dialect]. *Leningrad 1930 (in Russian).*

Poppe, N.N. Materialy po solonskomu jazyku [Materials on the Solon Language]. *Leningrad 1931 (in Russian).*

Poppe, N.N. Introduction to Altaic Linguistics. *Wiesbaden 1965.*

Pozdneev, A.M. Razyskanija v oblasti voprosa o proischoždenii i razvitii man'čžurskogo Alfavita [The Study of the Origin and Development of the Manchu Alphabet].—*Izvestija Vostočnogo instituta* [*In: Proceedings of the Oriental Institute*], *t.II (2). Vladivostok 1901 (in Russian).*

Pozdneev, A.M. Opyt sobranija obraztzov man'čžurskoj literatury [Experience of Collecting Speciments of Manchu Literature], *t. III (1). Vladivostok 1903 (in Russian).*

Pozzi, Alessandra. A Journey to the Original Places of the Manchu People (1982).—*Zentralasiatische Studien, no. 20, 1987:208-18.*

Pozzi, Alessandra. Two Divinities in the Sibe World: Siri Mama and Hairkan Mafa. *In: Proceedings of the 35th Permanent International Altaistic Conference. Taipei, Taiwan 1993:405-15.*

Predikativnoe sklonenie pričastij v altajskich jazykach [Predicative Declension of Participles in the Altaic Languages], *Cheremisina, M.I. & Brodskaja, L.M. & Gorelova, L.M. et al. Nauka: Novosibirsk 1984 (in Russian).*

Puyraimond J.-M. Catalogue du Fonds Mandchou. *Paris 1979.*

Qinggetaier. Guanyu man wenzi mu di liu yuanyin de duyin [About the Pronounciation of the Sixth Vowel in the Manchu Language]. *In: Minzu yanjiu wenji. Minzu chupanshe: Peking 1998:398-402.*

Radlov, V.V. & Vasiliev, V.P. & Zaleman, K.G. Obščelingvističeskaja azbuka, sostavlennaja na osnovanii russkich bukv [A General Linguistic Alphabet Compiled on the Basis of the Russian Letters]. *St. Petersburg 1888 (in Russian).*

Rassadin, V.Iv. Morfologija tofalarskogo jazyka v sravnitel'nom osvesčenii (Morphology of the Tofalar Language from the Comparative Point of View). *Moskva 1978 (in Russian).*

Rudakov, A.V. Materialy po istorii kitajskoj kul'tury v Girin'skoj provincii [Materials on the History of Chinese Culture in the Girin Province], *t. 1. Vladivostok 1903 (in Russian).*

Sanzheev, G.D. Man'čžursko-mongol'skie jazykovye paralleli [Manchu-Mongolian

Language Parallels].—*Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR, otdelenie gumanitarnych nauk* [*In: Proceedings of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Department of the Humanities*], *N 8-9, 1930 (in Russian).*

Sanzheev, G.D. Sravnitel'naja grammatika mongol'skich jazykov [Comparative Grammar of the Mongolian Languages]. *Moskva 1953 (in Russian).*

Scherba, L.V. Russkie glasnye v kačestvennom i količestvennom osvesčenii [Russian Vowels in Qualitative and Quantitative Interpretation]. *Leningrad 1983 (in Russian).*

Scherba, L.V. Jazykovaja sistema i rečevaja dejatel'nost' [The Language System and Speech]. *Leningrad 1974 (in Russian).*

Scherbak, A.M. Očerki po sravnitel'noj morfologii tyurkskich jazykov. Imya [Essays on Comparative Morphology of the Turkic Languages. The Noun]. *Leningrad 1977 (in Russian).*

Scherbak, A.M. Očerki po sravnitel'noj morfologii tyurkskich jazykov. Glagol (Essays on Comparative Morphology of the Turkic Languages. The Verb]. *Leningrad 1981 (in Russian).*

Seidel, E. Zu den Function des Verbalaspekts. *Travaux du circle Linguistique de Prague 6. Prague 1936.*

Semantika i sintaksis konstrukcij s predikatnymi aktantami [Semantics and Syntax of Constructions with Predicate Actants]. *Materialy Vsesojuznoj konferencii "Tipologičeskie metody v sintaksise raznosistemnykh jazykov* [*Materials of the Conference "Typological Methods in Syntax of Various Language Systems"*]. *Leningrad 1981 (in Russian).*

Serebrennikov, B.A. Karegorija vida i vremeni v finno-ugorskich jazykach permskoj i volžskoj gruppy [The Category of Aspect and Time in the Finno-Ugric Languages of the Permian and Volga Groups]. *Moskva 1960 (in Russian).*

Sevortyan, E.V. K probleme častej reci v tyurkskich jazukach [On the Problem of the Parts of Speech in the Turkic Languages]. *V knige: Voprosy grammatičeskogo stroja* [*In: Problems of the Grammatical System of Languages*]. *Moskva 1955 (in Russian).*

Sevortyan, E.V. Kategorija padeža [The Category of the Case]. *V knige: Issledovanija po sravnitel'noj grammatike tyurkskich jazykov. Morfologija* [*In: Researches on the Comparative Grammar of the Turkic Languages. Morphology*]. *Part 11, Moskva 1956 (in Russian).*

Shamina, L.*A.* Strukturnye i funkcional'nye tipy polipredikativnych konstrukcij so značeniem vremeni v tuvinskom jazyke [Structural and Functional Types of the Polypredicative Constructions with Temporal Semantics in the Tuva language]. *The Autjor's abstract of the Doctorate dissertation. Alma-Ata 1985 (in Russian).*

Shavkunov, E.V. Gosudarstvo Bohai i pamyatniki ego kul'tury v primor'je [The Bohai State and its Cultural Monuments in Primorskii Krai]. *Leningrad 1968 (in Russian).*

Shirokogorov, S.M. Social Organization of the Manchus. *Shanghai 1924 (reprint: New York 1973).*

Shmidt, P.P. Vstupitel'naja lekcija po man'čžurskomu jazyku, čitannaja v Vostočnom institute v 1907g. [Introductory Lecture on the Manchu Language Delivered at the Oriental Institute in 1907]. *Vladivostok 1907 (in Russian).*

Shmidt, P.P Učebnik man'čžurskogo jazyka v trech častyach [Textbook on the Manchu Language in Three Parts]. *Vladivostok 1907-1908 (in Russian).*

Shutova, E.I. Problemy sintaksičeskoj teorii [Problems of the Theory of Syntax]. *Nauka: Moskva 1984 (in Russian).*

Shutova, E.I. Sintaks sovremennogo kitajskogo jazyka [Syntax of the Contemporary Chinese Language]. *Nauka: Moskva 1981 (in Russian).*

Sidikhmenov, V.Ja. Man'čžurskie imperatory Kitaja [Manchurian Emperors of China]. *Moskva 1985 (in Russian).*

Sinor, Denis. La langue mandjoue. *In: Handbuch der Orientalistik. Fünfter Band: Altaistik. Dritter Abschnitt: Tungusologie. Leiden—Köln, E.J. Brill, 1968.*

Sinor, Denis. The Inner Asian Warriors.—*Journal of the American Oriental Society 101:2, April—June, 1981:133-44.*

Skachkov, P.E. Očerki istorii russkogo kitaevedenija [Essays on History of Chinese Studies in Russia], *prilozhenie 3 (Archivnye materialy) [appendix 3 (Archives Materials)]. Moskva 1977 (in Russian).*

Skribnik, E.K. Polipredikativnye predloženija v buryatskom jazyke [Polypredicative Sentences in the Buryat Language]. *Nauka: Novosibirsk 1988.*

Skribnik, E.K. Sistema polipredikativnych konstrukcij s infinitnymi formami glagola v buryatskom jazyke [The System of the Polypredicative Constructions with Verbal Non-finite Forms in the Buryat Language]. *The Author's abstract of the Doctorate dissertation. Ulan-Ude 1989 (in Russian).*

Skribnik, E.K. Variation of Noun Phrase Markers in Siberian Languages. *In: W. Boeder—G. Henschel (Hrsg.) Variürende Markierung von Nominalgruppen in Sprachen unterchiedlichen Typs. Studia Slavica Oldenburgensia 4. Oldenburg 2001:345-64.*

Skribnik, E.K. The Means of Pragmatic Structuring in Nothern Mansi. *In: Proceedings of the 9th International Congress for Finno-Ugric studies (Tartu, August 2000). Tartu, to appear in 2001.*

Stachovski, M. & Menz, A. Yakut. *In: The Turkic Languages. Eds L. Johanson & É.Á. Csató. London—New York 1998:417-33.*

Stary, Giovanni. Le interiezioni e le costruzioni onomatopeiche in Mancese. *In: Annali di Ca' Foscari XX/3, serie Orientale 12. Venezia 1981:209-22.*

Stary, Giovanni. Three Unedited Manuscripts of the Manchu Epic Tale "Nišan saman-i bithe." Facsimile Edition with Transcription and Introduction. *Wiesbaden 1985:VIII-X.*

Stary, Giovanni. Opera mancesi in Italia e in Vaticano. *Wiesbaden 1985.*

Stary, Giovanni. A New Subdivision of Manchu Literature: Some Proposals.—Central Asiatic Journal 31 (3-4), 1987:287-96.

Stary, Giovanni. L'Ode di Mukden' dell'imperator Ch'ien-lung: Nuovi spunti per un analisi della tecnica versificatoria mancese. *Cina 17, 235-51.*

Stary, Giovanni. Manchu Studies. An International Bibliography, vols 1-3. *Otto Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden 1990.*

Stary, Giovanni. Disappearance and Survival of a Dominant Nation: the Manchu Case. *In: The East and the Meaning of History. Roma 1994:469-79.*

Stary, Giovanni & Di Cosmo, Nikola & Pang, Tatiana A. & Pozzi, Alessandra. On the Tracks of Manchu Culture. *Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden 1995.*

Sun Jinyi et al. Nuzhenshi [A History of the Jurchens]. *Jilin Historical Press, Changchun City 1987.*

Sunik, O.P. Očerki po sintaksisu tunguso-man'čžurskich jazykov [Essays on Syntax of the Tungus-Manchu Languages]. *Leningrad 1947 (in Russian).*

Sunik, O.P. Glagol v tunguso-man'čžurskich jazykach [The Verb in the Tungus-Manchu Languages]. *Moskva-Leningrad 1962 (in Russian).*

Syromyatnikov, N.A. Razvitie novojaponskogo jazyka [Development of the Modern Japanese Language]. *Moskva 1978 (in Russian).*

Tesniere, Lucien. Elements de Syntaxe Structurale. *Paris. Librairie C. Klinkslech, 1976. Russian translation:* Osnovy strukturnogo sintaksisa. *Moskva 1988.*

Tipologija konstrukcij s predikatnymi aktantami [Typology of Constructions with Predicate Actants]. *Ed Khrakovskij. Leningrad 1985 (in Russian).*

Todaeva, B.H. Mongol'skie jazyki i dialekty Kitaja [The Mongolian Languages and

Dialects of China]. *Moskva 1960 (in Russian).*

Tzintzius, V.Iv. Množestvennoe číslo v tunguso-man'čžurskich jazykach [Plurals in the Tungus-Manchu Languages].—*Učenye zapiski LGU, serija filologičeskich nauk* [*Proceedings of the Leningrad Pedagogical Institute*], *vol 10 (69), 1956 (in Russian).*

Tzintzius, V.Iv. Sravnitel'naja fonetika tunguso-man'čžurskich jazykov [Comparative Phonetics of the Tungus-Manchu Languages]. *Leningrad 1949 (in Russian).*

Tzintzius, V.I. Hegidal'skij jazyk [The Negidal Language]. *Leningrad 1982 (in Russian).*

Ubryatova, E Iv. Issledovanija po sintaksisu jakutskogo jazyka. Prostoe predloženie [Researches on Syntax of the Yakut Language. Simple Sentence]. *Part I. Moskva 1950 (in Russian).*

Ubryatova, E.Iv. Issledovanija po sintaksisu jakutskogo jazyka. Složnoe predloženie [Researches on Syntax of the Yakut Language. Complex sentence]. *Part II, t. 1-2, Novosibirsk 1976 (in Russian).*

Ubryatova, E.Iv. Predikativnoe sklonenie v jakutskom jazyke [Predicative Declension in the Yakut Language]. *V knige: Padeži i ich ekvivalenty v stroe složnogo predloženija v jazykach narodov Sibiri* [*In: Case Markers and their Equivalents in the System of Complex Sentence in the Languages of the Peoples of Siberia*]. *Novosibirsk 1981:3-11 (in Russian).*

Vasilevich, G.M. Sbornik materialov po evenkijskomu (tungusskomu) fol'kloru [A Collection of Materials on the Evenki (Tungus) Folklore]. *Leningrad 1936.*

Vasilevich, G.M. Očerki dialektov evenkijskogo (tungusskogo) jazyka [The Dialects of the Evenki (Tungus) Language] *Leningrad 1948.*

Vasilevich, G.M. Očerk grammatiki evenkijskogo (tungusskogo) jazyka [A Sketch of Grammar of the Evenki (Tungus) Language.] *Učpedgiz: Leningrad 1941.*

Vasiliev, V.P. Man'čžurskaja chrestomatija dlya načal'nogo prepodavanija [Manchu Reading Book for Primary Teaching]. *St. Petersburg 1863.*

Vendler, Z. Adjectives and Nominalizations. *The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 1968.*

Vladimirtzev, B.Ja. Sravnitel'naja grammatika mongol'skogo pis'mennogo jazyka halhasskogo narečija [Comparative Grammar of the Written Mongolian Language of the Khalkha Dialect]. *Leningrad 1929 (in Russian).*

Volkova, M.P. Nišan samani bithe (Predanie o Nišanskoj šamanke) [The Tale of the Nišan Shamaness]. *Edition of the text, translation into Russian, and foreword by M.P. Volkova. Moskva 1961.*

Volkova, M.P. Opisanie man'čžurskich rukopisej Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR Description of the Manchu Manuscripts of the Institute of the Peoples of Asia of the USSR. *Nauka: Moskva 1965 (in Russian).*

Volkova, M.P. Daicing guruni ioni bithe—"Polnaja kniga velikoj dinastii Tzing" [The Complete Book of the Great Qing Dynasty]. *V: PP i PIKNV. X godicnaja naucnaja sessija LO IVAN SSSR* [*In: Proceedings of the Xth Scientific Session of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute for Oriental Studies*]. *Moskva 1974:61-2 (in Russian).*

Volkova, M.P. Termin "man'čžu" i ego značenije dlya ponimanija istorii vozniknovenija gosudarstva u man'čžurov [The Term "Manchu" and its Significance for Understanding the History of Foundation of the Manchu State]. *V: XI naucnaja konferencija "Obsčestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae. Čast' II* [*In: Proceedings of the XIth Scientific Conference "The Society and the State of China. Part II*]. *Moskva 1980 (in Russian).*

Volkova, M.P. Opisanie man'čžurskich ksilografov Instituta vostokovedenija AN SSSR [Description of the Manchu xylographs of the Insitute for Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR]. *Nauka: Moskva 1988 (in Russian).*

Vorob'jev, M.V. Čžurčženi i gosudarstvo Tszin' (X v.—1234 g.). Istoričeskij očerk [The Jurchens and the State Jin (Xth century—1234). A Historical Essay]. *Moskva 1975 (in Russian).*

Wada, S. The Natives of the Lower Reaches of the Amur River as Represented In Chinese records. *In: Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko, 1938, N 10.*

Wylie, Alexander. Translation of the T'sing Wan K'e Mung. A Chinese Grammar of the Manchu Tartar Language with Introductory Notes on Manchu Literature. *Shanghai 1855.*

Zakharov, Iv. Iv. Grammatika man'čžurskogo jazyka [Manchu Grammar]. *St. Petersburg 1879 (in Russian).*

Zhang, Y.C. & Li, B. & Zhang, X. The Oroqen language. *Jilin 1989.*

Zhao Yue. Youmu minzu de lishi yaolan—Hulunbeier shaoshu minzu yicun jianshu [The Cradle of Pastoral Nomadic Peoples in Ancient Times—A Brief Description of the Cutural Remains of the Minority Peoples of the Nulunbeier Banner Region]. *NWK, 1:1991.*

Zinder, L.R. Obsčaja fonetika [General Phonetics]. *Moskva 1979.*

DICTIONARIES

Akhmanova, O.A. Slovar' lingvističeskich terminov [Dictionary of Linguistic Terms]. *Moskva 1966.*

Concise English-Chinese & Chinese-English Dictionary. *Oxford University Press, 1986.*

Kyalundzyuga, V.T. & Simonov, M.D. An Udeghe Language Dictionary. Khor River Region Dialect, *vol. I. PEOS, 1998: Stenshev 1998.*

Lingvističeskij enciklopedičeskij slovar' [Linguistic Encyclopaedia], *ed V.N. Yartzeva. Moskva 1990 (in Russian).*

Maruzo, Zh. Slovar' lingvističeskich terminov [Dictionary of Linguistic Terms]. *Moskva 1960.*

Hauer, Erich. Handwörterbuch der Manschusprache. *Otto Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden 1952-1955.*

Norman, Jerry. A Concise Manchu-English Lexicon. *University of Washington Press: Seattle—London 1978.*

Sravnitel'nyj slovar' tunguso-man'čžurskich jazykov [Comparative Dictionary of the Tungus-Manchu Languages], *vol. I, II. Ed Tzintzius, V.Iv. Leningrad 1975, 1977.*

Vasiliev, V.P. Man'čžursko-russkij slovar' [Manchu-Russian Dictionary]. *St. Petersburg 1866.*

Vasilevich, G.M. Evenkijsko-russkij (tungussko-russkij) dialektologičeskij slovar' [Evenki-Russian Dialectal Dictionary]. *Leningrad 1934.*

Vasilevich, G.M. Evenkijsko-russkij slovar' [Evenki-Russian Dictionary]. *Moskva 1958.*

Yamamoto, Kengo. A Classified Dictionary of Spoken Manchu. *Tokyo 1969.*

Zakharov, Ivan I. Polnyj Man'čžursko-russkij slovar' [A Complete Manchu-Russian Lexicon]. *St. Petersburg 1875.*

MANCHU MANUSCRIPTS

SU Sahaliyan ula wajimbuhe baitai dangse [The Journal of Completed Documents Concerning the Russian "Maritime Province" (Primorskii Krai, Priamur'je)]. *Manuscript Department of the Library of the Oriental Faculty of the St. Petersburg University, shifr MD 203.*

JG Jakūn gusai manjusai mukūn hala be uheri ejehe bithe [General Review of Manchu Clans, Being in the Eight Banners]. *Manuscript Departments of the Library of the Oriental Faculty of the St. Petersburg University, shifr MD 22.*

ARCHIVES

Academic Archives: Archives of the Academy of Sciences of Russia, St. Petersburg Branch. V.V. Radlov's fund, no.177, invent. 1, item 35.

Oriental Archives: Archives of Orientalists of the Institute for Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg Branch of the Academy of Sciences of Russia. O.A. Ivanovskii's fund, N 20, invent.1, item 15.

Archives of Orientalists of the Institute for Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg Branch of the Academy of Sciences of Russia. O.A.Ivanovskii's fund, shifr V-30.

Archives of Orientalists of the Institute for Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg Branch of the Academy of Sciences of Russia. N.N. Krotkov's fund, N 32, invent.1.

Archives of Orientalists of the Institute for the Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg Branch of the Academy of Sciences of Russia. Fund N 39, invent.1, item 1.

Archives of Orientalists of the Institute for Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg Branch of the Academy of Sciences of Russia. Fund N 75, invent.1, item 35.

This page intentionally left blank

INDEX OF DIALECTS, LANGUAGES AND LANGUAGE FAMILIES

A
Altaic 18, 123, 126-7, 137, 145, 166, 245, 253, 392-3, 398, 408, 468-9, 472, 475-6, 478, 481-3, 486-8, 494, 499, 503, 507, 513, 519, 532
~ language family 123, 408
~ language group 18
~ languages 126-7, 137, 145, 166, 245, 253, 392-3, 398, 468-9, 472, 475-6, 478, 481-3, 486-8, 494, 499, 503, 507, 513, 519, 532

B
Borzya (the dialect of Khamnigan Evenki) 93
Buryat (language) 171
Mongolic ~ 171

C
Chinese (language) 7, 10, 24-5, 27-8, 38, 42, 50, 71, 77, 102, 139, 159, 214, 227, 229-31, 382-3, 404, 533

E
Eastern Evenki (dialects) 389
English 214, 406, 467
Even (= Lamut) (language) 5, 91, 137, 250, 391 (*see also*)
Evenki 5, 89-93, 129-30, 137, 143, 234, 250, 252, 299, 314, 388-9, 391, 398, 473, 475, 482, 485, 488, 494, 503, 518, 525, 531 (*see also* Tungus, Tungusic)
~ dialect 90-1, 93, 143, 485, 531
~ language 5, 89, 91-3, 129-30, 137, 234, 250, 252, 299, 314, 388-9, 391, 398, 473, 475, 482, 485, 488, 494, 503, 518, 525
Literary ~ 90-1, 93
European (languages) 467-8, 473, 478

F
Finno-Ugric (languages) 409

G
Gold 94 (*see also* Nanai)

I
Indo-European (languages) 176, 407

J
Japanese (language) 4, 408, 481, 487-8
Jurchen 9, 25, 49, 94-5, 97, 103 532
~ dialect 532
~ language 9, 25, 49, 94-5, 97
Jin ~ 103
Ming ~ 103

K
Kazakh (language) 42
Khamnigan Evenki (the dialect of Evenki) 93
Korean 4, 93-4, 248, 408
~ language 4, 93, 248, 408
Middle ~ 94

L
Lamut *See* Even

M
Manchu
~ language 4, 5, 9, 10, 25-30, 33, 41, 50, 54-5, 66, 67-9, 71, 77, 86, 95, 97, 99, 102, 113, 116, 123-5, 129, 133, 137, 139, 142, 145, 153, 156-7, 159, 162-3, 166, 172-4, 179, 181, 190, 200-1, 209, 212, 227-8, 230-4, 238-40, 245-7, 250, 252, 255-6, 259, 263, 266, 280, 283, 285, 295-6, 304, 309, 314, 322-3, 325-6, 331, 335, 351-3, 365, 367-8, 379-80, 388, 390, 392-3, 397, 400-4, 409-10, 413-5, 434-5, 437, 455, 459-60, 464, 467-9, 471-3, 475-6, 478, 481-4,

487-9, 493-4, 499, 502-5, 507-8, 513, 517-8, 525-6, 530-3
classical ~ 77, 81-2, 84, 94-5, 97-8, 103, 112, 114, 124, 132, 153, 166, 171-2, 193-4, 210, 215-6, 223, 225, 241, 261, 283, 314, 331, 391-2, 399, 409, 455, 468, 519, 526
Literary ~ 41, 44, 78, 83-4, 87-8, 103, 289, 291, 375-6
old ~ 166, 204, 379
Written ~ 42-3, 467
Man'kova (the dialect of Evenki) 92
Mongol (language) 49, 139
Mongolian 3, 33, 42, 49, 50, 57, 101, 127, 171, 252, 408, 481, 484, 507
~ language 33, 42, 49, 50, 57, 101, 127, 252, 408, 481, 484, 507
~ language family 3
contemporary ~ 171

N
Nanai (=Gold) (language) 5, 33, 93, 131, 223, 299
Negidal (language) 5, 250
Nepa (the dialect of Evenki) 90

O
Ob-Ugrian (languages) 408-9
Oroch (language) 5, 137
Orochon (language) 92-3
Xunke ~ 93
Orok (language) 5

P
Podkamennaja Tunguska (the dialect of Evenki) 90
Poligus (the subdialect of Evenki) 90
Proto-Tungusic (language) 15, 89, 103

Q
Qitan (language) 49

R
Russian (language) 9, 42, 252, 392, 473

S
Sanskrit (language) 50, 63, 68, 102, 201
Sibe (dialect / language) 5, 30, 38-45, 78, 84-6, 102, 113-4, 116, 132, 153, 165, 172, 175, 218, 223, 249-50, 260, 262, 266, 196, 301, 331, 376, 417, 463, 512, 528
Spoken ~ 42-5
Siberian (languages) 473
Slavonic (languages) 241

T
Telengit (language) 172
Altai Turkic ~ 172
Tofalar (language) 128
Tungus (=Tungusic) (language) 93, 234 (*see also* Evenki)
Tungus-Manchu 5, 15, 78, 126, 137-8, 143, 145, 162-3, 216, 233-4, 283, 301, 304, 326, 344, 383, 388, 391, 475, 483, 499, 518
~ languages 5, 15, 78, 126, 137-8, 143, 145, 162, 216, 233- 4, 283, 304, 326, 388, 391, 483, 499, 518
~ language community 344, 383
~ language family 163, 301, 304, 475
Tungusic (languages) 3, 44, 88, 91-2, 93-4, 112, 129, 136-7, 143, 166, 215, 241, 250, 252, 267, 313, 390, 393, 437, 468, 473-4, 481-2, 519
~ dialect 92
~ language family 3
Northern ~ 143
Southern ~ 112
Turkic (languages) 3, 128-9, 163, 171, 176, 248, 280, 390-2, 400
contemporary ~ 129
parent ~ 128
Turkish (language) 172, 408

U
Ude (language) *See* Udeghe
Udeghe (=Ude) (language) 5, 137
Uigur (language) 42
Ulcha (language) 5
Urul'ga (the dialect of Evenki) 92
Urulyungui (the dialect of Evenki) 93

Y
Yakut (language) 128, 172, 481
Turkic ~ 172

INDEX OF NAMES OF PEOPLES, NATIONS, PLACES, COUNTRIES, TITLES, PERIODS OF REIGNS AND PROPER NAMES*

A
Agūda 9, 16, 25
Aigun (river) 30
Aisin Gioro 20, 25, 28
Aisin Sheri 39
Alchuk (river) 13
Altaic mountains 3
Amur (river) 5, 8, 13, 16, 20, 33, 35
Anchegu *See* Mohe
Argun (river) 36

B
Baishan 12
Beijing (=Peking) 6, 8, 16-7, 22, 26-7, 40
Beiling 29
Beishi (chronicle) 32
Beizhen (county) 6
Benxi 6, 30
  ~ city 30
  ~ county 6
Bianjing 17
Bodo (=Gudo) *See* Mohe
Bodune (*ma.* Bedune) 13, 35-36 (*see also* Sibes)
  ~ Sibes 36
Bodune (=Boduna) 13
Bohai (=Parhae) 16 (*see also* Parhae)

C
Cabcal 39
  ~ town 39
  ~ Autonomous County 39
Cabucar 38
Changbaishan 9
China 5, 8, 11, 15, 17-9, 25, 27-8, 30-2, 35, 38, 41, 92
  Central ~ 8
  Northeast ~ 18
  Northern ~ 11, 17-8
  Northwest ~ 8
  South ~ 8
  Southwest ~ 8
Chinese 8, 12, 18, 27, 34-5, 38, 49-50, 228
  ~ court 49
  ~ culture 50
  ~ empire 8
  ~ manuscript 35
  ~ people 12, 18, 27, 38, 50, 228
  ~ records 12
  ~ scholar(s) 34-5
Cheng Liuwang 12
Cicik Zhungxiang 15

D
Dahai 50-1, 53
Dagurs 4, 37
Dalai Nor (lake) 36
damofo mandu 15
Daujiazi 7
Dergi Hecen 29
Di 33
Dongling 29
Dolantu Karun 39

E
Egypt 49
  ancient ~ 49
Erdeni-*bakši* 50
Eurasia 3
Evenks 18

F
Fe Ala 29
Fengcheng (county) 6
Fengning (county) 6
Fuman 29

* The symbol ~ represents the position of the head word within a word combination or in a complex technical term.

Fune *See* Mohe
Fushun 29
Fuyu 31, 34

G
Gagai-*jarguci* 40
Gan (river) 92
Gankui 92
Genghis Khan 17
Giocangga 18, 29
Gioro *see* Aisin Gioro
Golds 18
Golmin-Shanyan-alin (union) 17
Great Khingan Range 8
Gūaleca 35
Gudo (=Bodo) *See* Mohe
Gushi (=Haoshi) *See* Mohe

H
Hada (tribal federation) 18
Haidar (river) 36
Hairkan mafa 40
Hamhŭng 8
Han (people) 7
Han (period) 11, 34
Haoshi (=Gushi) *See* Mohe
Harbin 9, 13
Hebei (province) 6-8, 17, 29
Heilongjiang (=Sinkiang) 6-7, 31, 34-5
Heishui (=Amur) *See* Mohe
Henan (province) 17, 32
Hetu Ala 29
Hoifa (tribal federation) 18
Hoifan (=Hoifa) 36
Hong Taiji (=Qing Taizong) 7, 19, 22, 25, 27, 29
Hu 32-4
  ~ peoples 33
  Eastern ~ 32-4
Huairen (county) 6
Huhehaote (= Huhu hoton) 36
Hui (people) 7
Hūlun 17-8
  ~ confideration 18
  ~ union 17
Hulunbeier (area) 33-4
Huns 34
Hunqun 20
Hurha (river) 13

I
Ilantumen 20
  ~ Jurchens 20 (*see also* Jurchens)
Ili 31, 36, 38, 41
  ~ river 31
  ~ valley 37, 41

J
Jerim 36
  ~ seim 36
Jianzhou 18, 20 (*see also* Jurchens)
  ~ federation 20
  ~ post 18
Jiefan 29
Jilin (province) 6, 8, 12, 29, 31, 35, 40
Jin 9, 10, 16-8, 20, 24-5, 49
  ~ dynasty 9, 17, 20
  ~ empire 9, 10, 16-8, 25, 49
  ~ khanate 24
  ~ Jurchens 32, 49
Jishen 11 (see also) Sushen
Jungaria 37-8
Jurchen 16, 18, 35
  ~ empire 35
  ~ foremen 18
  ~ tribal league 16
  ~ tribes 18
Jurchens 8-10, 12, 16-21, 25, 32, 49 (*see also* Jin)
  Jianzhou ~ 18, 49
  Jin ~ 32, 49
Jusheri (tribal federation) 18

K
Kangxi 22, 28, 36
Kazakhs 38
Koguryŏ (state) 5
Korea 15
Korean 18, 20, 33, 49
  ~ boundary 20
  ~ court 49
  ~ kingdom 33
  ~ realm 18
Koreans 7, 18, 50
Kuancheng (county) 6
Kuandian (county) 6
Kurbin (river) 93

L
Later Jin 7, 21, 23-4, 49

~ empire 24
~ khanate 7, 21, 23, 49
Later Tang (dynasty) 10
Li Ji 15
Liao (river) 8
Liao 16, 32, 35
~ dynasty 32
~ empire 16, 35
~ state 16
~ territories 16
Liaodong 14
Liaohe (river) 14, 36
Liaoning (province) 6, 8, 14, 21, 29, 30-1
Limo (=Sumo, Songmo) *See* Mohe

M
Manchu 6, 8, 17, 23-6, 28-9, 37
~ autonomous counties 6
~ bannerman(men) 23
~ clan-tribal unions (=confederations) 17
~ culture 28
~ dynasty 37
~ empire 29
~ identity 24-5
~ literacy 26
~ military troops 8
~ nation 28
~ nobility 24
~ people 31, 49
~ race 26
~ rulers 27
~ society 24, 28
~ soldier(s) 24
~ union 17
Manchu-Mongol Autonomous County 6
Manchuria 8, 10, 12, 15-7, 25, 28-29, 33
South ~ 12
Manchus 7, 8, 19-21, 28-30, 32, 35, 38, 40, 50-1, 54, 71, 77, 98, 201, 210, 227-9, 234
New ~ 32
Peking ~ 77
Maritime province (=Primorskii Krai) 8
Mediterranean 49
Ming 8, 18, 21, 49, 94
~ dynasty 8, 18
~ empire 18
~ period 94
~ times 49
Mohe 10, 12-6, 33-4
Anchegu ~ 13
Fune ~ 13
Gudo (=Bodo) ~ 13
Gushi (=Haoshi) ~ 13
Heishui (=Amur) ~ 13, 16, 33-4
Limo (=Sumo, Songmo) ~ 12, 13
Northern ~ 13
Songari ~ 14
Southern ~ 12
Mohes 12-4
Mongolia 33, 92
Inner ~ 33, 92
Mongolian 35-6
~ people 18
~ princes 35
~ slavery 36
Mongols 7, 9, 17-8, 21, 25, 32-3, 35-6, 38
Möngke Temür 20
Mukden 6, 29, 35-7 (*see also* Shenyang)
~ Sibes 36

N
Neyen (tribal federation) 18
Nonni (river) 8, 13, 35-6
Northern Wei (period) 12 (*see also* Wei)
Nurhaci (=Qing Taizu) 7, 8, 17-8, 20-3, 25, 27, 29-32, 50
Nüzhen(s) 10, 16 (*see also* Jurchens)

O
Oirats 36
Orochons 18
Ögödei 17

P
Parhae 15 (*see also* Bohai)
Peking 6 (*see also* Beijing)
People' Republic of China 6, 29-31, 38, 54, 71
pre-Han (period) 11
pre-Qin (Chinese records) 33
Primorskii Krai *See* Maritime province

Q
Qianlong 20-1, 26, 28, 36, 51
Qin 11, 14
~ dynasty 1 4
~ empire 11
~ period 11
Qing 7, 8, 19-21, 23-4, 27-8, 209
~ court 26
~ dynasty 19, 23, 27-8
~ empire 7, 8, 19, 23-4
~ period 209
~ state 20-1, 24
Qing Taizong 7 (*see also* Hong Taiji)
Qing Taizu 7 (*see also* Nurhaci)
Qinglong (county) 6
Qingyuan (county) 6
Qiqihar 7, 34-7
~Sibes 36-7 (*see also* Sibes)
Qitan (empire) 35
Qitans 16, 34
Qorcin Mongols 35-6 (*see also* Mongols)

R
Russian-Chinese Treaty 215
Russian Cossack 35
Russian Far East 12
Russians 38

S
Sakhalin Island 5
Sanjiazi (village) 7
Sansing 13
Sea of Okhotsk 5
Shaanxi (province) 17
Shang (conquest) 32
Shang-Yin (period) 11
Shanxi (province) 17
Shenyang (=Mukden) 6, 7, 29, 31
Shira Muren (river) 36
Shiwei 32-4
Bei (=Northern) ~ 34
Bo ~ 33-4
Da ~ 33-4
Lodan ~ 33
Menggu ~ 33
Mengwu ~ 32
Nan (=Southern) ~ 34
Northern ~ 33
Southern ~ 32-3
Shun (Sage King) 10
Shunzhi (times) 22
Sibe (=*chin.* Xibo) 35-42
Qiqihar ~ 36-7 (*see also* Qiqihar)
Sibe-Cabcal (Atonomous county) 31, 38-9
Siberia 3, 5, 172
Sibes 7, 18, 31-2, 36-40, 45
Bodune ~ 36 (*see also* Bodune)
Mukden ~ 36 (*see also* Mukden)
Qiqihar ~ 36-7 (*see also* Qiqihar)
Siri (=Sirin) mama 40
Siwei (=Shiwei) 32
Sui (dynastic chronicle) 34
Syria 49

T
Taizu 35 (*see also*) Nurhaci
Taksi 18, 29
Tang 10, 13-4, 15, 32, 33
~ dynasty 33
~ empire 15
~ era 13, 15, 32
~ times 10
Tiancong (reign period) 50
Tianming (reign period) 50
Toghon Temur 9
Tumen-ula (river) 8
Turko-Mongolian (hereditary military slavery/servitude) 2, 25
Turks 33- 4
Northern ~ 34

U
Uazhi Tuyu 16
Uigurs 38, 49
Turkic ~ 49
Ula (river) 18, 35
Ula (tribe) 18, 36
Urumqi 39
Ussuri (river) 8, 13, 16

W
Wanyan 16-7
Wei 11-12, 34
~ cort 12
~ dynasty 11-2
~ period 12
Northern ~ (dynasty, period) 12, 34
Weichang (county) 6
Weishu 32

Wuji 10, 12-3

X
Xia (period) 32
Xianbei 34
~ people 34
Tuoba ~ 34
Xinbin (county) 6, 7, 29
Xibo 31 (*see also* Sibe)
Xinhai (revolution) 28, 42
Xinjiang (=Sinkiang) (province) 6, 8, 23, 28, 31-2, 37-42
~ Sibe 7, 31
Xiuyan (county) 6
Xunke 93

Y
Yao (Sage King) 10
Yalu (river) 8
Yaluula (tribal federation) 18
Yangshailu 36
Yanwei (dynasty, era) 13, 32-3
Yehe 18, 35
Yilou 10, 12
Yitong (county) 6
Yongling 29
Yongzheng 20, 22
Yu (Sage King) 10
Yuan (dynasty) 9
Yuanminguan 26
Yunnan (province) 37

Z
Zeya (river) 33
Zhongdu (=present-day Beijing) 17
Zhou (era, period) 11-2, 30

This page intentionally left blank

INDEX OF TECHNICAL TERMS

A
ablative 157-9, 161, 163, **190**, **192-3**, 204, 220, 258, 279-80, 326, 328, 331, 415, 458-9, 460, 487-8, 499, 503, 505
aboutness **407**
absolute *See* tense
accusative 94, 113, 158, 162-3,**166-75**, 182, 216, 248, 258-60, 265, 310, 346, 354, 358, 364, 397, 417-8, 453-5, 474-5, 481, 487-8, 490, 494-6, 499, 500, 502
acoustic (data) 89
actant **244-5**, **247**, **250-1**, 436-7, 455, 489-90, 499, 507, 509
  predicative ~ 455, 489-90, 507, 509 (*see also* predicative)
  principal ~ 437 (*see also* principal)
  verbal ~ 507
  ~ derivation **244-5**, **247**, **250** (*see also* derivation)
activation **405**
active **244-7**, 406
  ~ construction **247**
  ~ verb **246-7**
  ~ voice **416** (*see also* voice)
actual **405-6**
  ~ division of sentence **406**
  ~ information **405** (*see also* information)
addressee **182-3**, 228, 244, 300, 405, 436, 455 (*see also* semantic role)
adverbial modifier 393-5, 397, 400-1, 403, 437, 454, 457-8, 459-60, 503
  ~ of cause 437, 503
  ~ of manner 393, 400-1, 437, 454, 459
  ~ of place 395, 401, 403, 437, 457-8, 460, 503
  ~ of purpose 437
  ~ of time 394, 401, 437, 457, 460, 503
adverbialization 330
adversative **356-7**, 359, 450, 469, 471
  ~ conjunction **356-7**, 471
  ~ meaning 359, 450
affirmative 232, 261, 263, 266, 314-5, 325, 369, 370, 387, 440, 442, 526
  ~ form 314-5, 325, 369
  ~ meaning 526
  ~ modal meaning 232
  ~ modality 370, 440, 442 (*see also* modality)
  ~ sentence 387 (*see also* sentence)
  ~ utterance 261
agent **163**, **166**, **169**, **178**, **183, 239-40, 244-8**, 398-9, 436-7, 453, 455, 482, 484 (*see also* semantic role)
agglutination **112**
agglutinative **3**, **5**, **112**, 468
agreement 226, 388, 390-1, 485
  grammatical ~ 485 (*see also* grammatical)
allophone **61**, **80**, **82**, **86-8**, **97-8**
  voiced ~ 87
Alphabet 50, 54, 58, 71, 77-9, 82, 90-1, 97-8
  [Chinese phonetic] 71
  [Cyrillic] 77-9, 82, 90-1, 97-8
  [Latin] 91
  [Manchu] **54**, **59**, **71**
  [Mongolian] 50
Altaic (theory) 3
alternation 44, 61, 96-7, **116-7**, 144, 310
  ~ of consonants 61, **116**
  ~ of phonemes **116**
  ~ of vowels **117,** 144
alveolar **87** (*see also* stops)
analogue 143, 154, 254, 274, **420**, 433, 510, 530
  functional ~ 143, 327, 368, **420** (*see also* functional)
  noun ~ 154, 254, 433 (*see also* noun)
  ~ of conjunction 510, 530

analytical 6, 101, 112, 123, 138-9, 162-3, 233, 240, 250, 267, 275, 272, **277**, **303**, **305-7**, **309-14**, **317-21,** 354, 356, 358, 365-6, 380, 400, 433-4, 444-5, 451-2, 468, 470, 473, 480, 487-8, 509-10, 518-9, 522-5, 530-1
~ category 163 (*see also* category)
~ connective 468, 473
~ construction 101, 162, 233, 250, 267, 275, **309-14**, **317-21**,354, 356, 419, 433-4, 444-5, 450-2, 475, 480, 487-8, 509-10, 518-9, 522-5, 530-2 (*see also* construction)
~ converbal form **277**
~ counterparts 294
~ device 112
~ element 6, 468
~ feature 400
~ form 101, 240, 272, 291-4, **303**, **305-7**, 321, 380, 444-5, 450, 470, 488, 510
~ formant 470
~ language 6, 123, 400, 518
~ marker 277, 313, 475, 525, 530
~ means 138-9
~ structure 6, 310 (*see also* structure)
~ verbal form 309-10, 313, 419, 532
anaphoric **214**, **221**, **408**, 414
~ function 214, 221, 414
~ topical property 408
animate (object) 138, 140
antecedent 133
antepenultimate (vowel) 102
antonym 380
aorist 286
apprehension 274, 307-8, 321
meaning of ~ 307-8
modality of ~ 321 (*see also* modality)
semantics of ~ **274** (*see also* semantics)
archaic 127, 137, 326
argument **163**, **166**, **176**, **182, 245**, 490, 499
predicative ~ 490
articulation 85, 113
place of ~ 85, 113
aspect **241**, 252, 484, 489
aspectual 234, 237, **241-4,** 254, 297, 309, 313, 421, 436
~ form 421, 436
~ meaning 234, 237, **241-4,** 254, 309, 313,519, 533
~ suffix 297
aspectual-temporal 272, 285
~ category 285
~ meaning 272
aspirated (consonant) 57, **63**, **71**, **86-7** (*see also* consonant)
assertion **405**, **407**
assimilation **216**
regressive ~ **216** (*see also* regressive)
associative (meaning) 243, **250-2**
asymmetric (construction) 493
asyndetic 466-7
~ connection 466
~ means 467
~ sentence 467
asyndeton 469
attributive 145, **178**, 253, 326, **388-91**
393, **398**, **400**-1, 467, 469, 474, 506, 516-8
~ clause 467, 469, 474 (*see also* clause)
~ construction 253, **390**, **393**, 461, 506, 517-8 (*see also* construction)
~ function 145, **178**, 326, 484 (*see also* function)
~ meaning **401**
~ relationship 391, **400**
~ semantics **398**, 482, 484 (*see also* semantics)
~ subordinate construction 516
~ word-combination **388-91** (*see also* word-combination)
augmentative **155-6**
autonomous 240, 251, 261, 284, 288-9, 291-2, 303-8, 334, 344, 372, 380, 449-50, 452
~ verb 240, 251, 284, 292, 303-8, 449-50, 452
~ verbal stem 261
~ word 289, 326-7, 334, 344, 372, 380
autosemantic 310-11, 313-16, 321,

348, 518, 521, 523
~ component 314-16, 521, 523
~ counterpart 348
~ verb 310-11, 313, 321, 523
auxiliary 232, 261-2, 272, 277, 284, 288, 294, 305-8, 310-11, 313, 353, 356-7, 365, 402, 434, 518, 450-1
~ function 232, 262, 272, 277, 284, 288, 294, 305-8, 310-11, 313, 353, 356-7, 365, 402, 450-1
~ verb 232, 284, 311, 434, 518
~ verbal stem 261

B
banner **23**, **25**, 35, 37
Eight banners **20-3**, 25, 37
bannerman (men) **22-8**, 37
bar 62, 79, 90, 129
horizontal ~ 79
benefactive 182, 436, 455 (*see also* semantic role)
bilingual (text) 28
bilingualism 28
binary (opposition) **405**, **408**, 436, 455, 531-2 (*see also* opposition)
biological sex 116, 133
borrowing 80, 85-6, 98, 102, 135
[Chinese] 86, 135
[Mongolian] 80, 85, 98, 102
[Sanscrit] 86
Buddhism 37

C
calque 159, 229, 473
syntactic ~159, 229, 473 (*see also* syntactic)
cardinal (numerals) **200-6**, 212
case 100, 113, 130, 141, 145, **162-5**, **168**, **172**, **190**, **193**, 200, 215, 217, 220, 224, 227, 233, 246, 253-4, 257-9, 265, 279, 281, 283, 313-**4**, 326, 328, 331, 344-6, 348, 392, 397, 411, 459, 460, 465, 468, 475, 481, 484, 485-9, 494, 502-3, 505, 507, 531, 525
adverbial ~ 503
locative ~**190**, **193**, 283, 348, 411, 459, 460, 502, 505 (*see also* locative)
noun ~ 345, 484, 488 (*see also* noun)
oblique ~ **164**, **168**, 215, 246, 253, 257-9, 481, 486 (*see also* oblique)
participle (participial) ~ **314**, 494, 525
~ form 130, **162-3**, 313, 326, 344-6
~ formant **162**, 224
~ marker 100, 141, 145, **162-5**, 193, 200, 217, 220, 224, 227, 233, 254, 259, 265, 313, 328, 331, 344, 392, 397, 465, 486-8, 507, 531
~ suffix 485
~ system 254
catch (voiceless glottal) **88**, 103 (*see also* laryngeal)
category 113, 127-9, 132, 134, 137-8, 143-4, 162-3, 231-3, 243-4, 253-4, 281, 285-6, 312, 329, 333, 349, 359, 387, 398-9, 391, **396**, **398-9**, 424-5, 428, 481-2, 484, 486-7, 489, 531
analytical ~ 163 (*see also* analytical)
grammatical ~ 127-8, 132, 137-8, 144, 163, 231-3, 243-4, 285-6, 352, 484, 531 (*see also* grammatical)
morphological ~ 103, 132, 134, 163, 231, **252-4**, 398-9, 481-2, 486, 531 (*see also* morphological)
nominal grammatical ~ 113
semantic ~ 244 (*see also* semantic)
syntactic ~ 163, 244, 387, 531 (*see also* syntactic)
synthetic ~ 163 (*see also* synthetic)
~ of case 391
~ of declension **162-3,** 254, 487
~ of gender 143
~ of person **252-4**, 481, 484
~ of possessivity **416** (*see also* possessivity)
~ of possession 128, **254**, **398-9**, 482, 486, 489 (*see also* possession)
~ of number 117, **134, 425** (*see also* number)
~ of subject 424-5

~ of transitivity **396**
~ semantics 128-9
~ status 281, 312, 329, 333, 349, 359, 428
causal **347**, **349**, **358-9**, 366, 505-6, 512-13, 523
~ conjunction **358-9**, 366
~ meaning 505
~ postposition **347**, **349**, 506
~ relationship 505-6, 512-13, 523
~ semantics 349
causative 125, 169, 238, **246-51**, 496, 501
~ form 501
~ suffix 496
causator **248**, 496
circumstantial (semantic roles) 183, 436-7, 455, 502 (*see also* semantic role)
clan **17-22**, 30, 33, 137
~ headman **18-20**, **22**
~ spirits **19**
~ tribal union **17**
clausal topic *See* topic
clause 162, 170, 178, 187, 190, 233, **252-5**, **259-60**, 267, 285, 288, 291, 310, 313-4, 317, 320-1, 344, 352-3, 359-60, 365, 388, 395-6, 404, 410, 447, 455, 457, 459, 464, 467-9, 473-7, 479-81, 483-4, 486-8, 493, 500-2, 507-8, 512-4, 517, 519, 530-1
adverbial ~ 267
attributive ~ 467, 469 (*see also* attributive)
conditional ~ 410
dependent ~ **259,** 314, 320-1, 396, 447, 455, 457, 459, 467-9, 473-6, 481, 525 (*see also* dependent)
explanatory ~ 469
main ~ 233
object ~ 255, 260
principal ~ 162, **252**, **254**, **260,** 285, 288, 291, 310, 313, 321, 360, 388, 395, 469, 473-5, 479-81, 484, 487-8, 500-1, 507, 513, 517, 519 (*see also* principal)
subordinate ~ **253-4**, 288**, 313, 317,** 359-60, 365, 367, 473, 475-7, 479-81, 486-8, 491, 500-1, 507-8, 513, 519 (*see also* subordinate)
temporal ~ 404
cleft-construction **416**
closed 99, **103**, 341
~ syllable 99, **103**, 341 (*see also* syllable)
~ vowel **89** (*see also* vowel)
cluster **88**, 116
geminate ~ 116
co-referential 411, 413, 425
~ constituent 411
~ pronominal form 413
cognitive (content) 285, 479, 482, 492, 509
collective **137-9**, 141, **205**, 233
~ meaning **137-9**, 141, 233
~ morpheme **137**
~ nouns **137**
~ numerals **205**
collectivity **137**
collectives 380
combination
~ of consonants 98
~ of vowels 98
comitative **137-8, 347**, **349**
~ postposition **347**, **349**
comment 403, **405**, 407, 409, **413**, **415**, 532
communicative 244-5, 247, 285, 387-8, **405**, **408-10**, **413**, **415-6**, **418-9**, 425, 427-8, 489
~ content 285, **406** (*see also* content)
~ dynamism **406**
~ function 388
~ information 245
~ purpose 387
~ organization **408**, **410**, **413**
~ rank **245**, **247**, **413**, **415-6**, **418-9**, 425, 427-8, 489
~ structure (of a sentence) 244, **405**, **409**
~ unit 428, 489 (*see also* unit)
comparative **157-9**, **160**, **162**, 194, **359**
~ conjunction **359**
~ construction **157-9**, **162**, 194 (*see also* construction)
~ degree **156-7**, **160**, 404 (*see also* degree)

complement **166**, **170**, **175**, 437, 453
direct ~ **166**, **170**, **175**, 437, 453
indirect ~ 437, 453 (*see also* indirect)
complementary 421, 427, 430, 399, 483
~ component 399, 483
~ word 421, 427, 430
complex 259, 275, 285, 288-9, 291, 310, 320, 344, 349, 352-3, 358, 361-2, 365, 387, 391, 395, 403-5, 436, 455, 457, 459, 466, 471-5, 478-80, 484, 486, 489-90, 500-1, 503, 505, 507, 509-10, 513-4, 516-8, 520-1, 523, 531
~ construction 405, 479, 501 (*see also* construction)
~ predicate 289
~ sentence 233, 252, 254, 259, 275, 285, 288, 291, 310, 320, 344, 349, 352-3, 358, 361-2, 365, 387, 391, 395, 403-4, 436, 455, 457, 459, 466, 471-5, 478-80, 484, 486, 487, 489-90, 500, 503, 505, 507, 509-10, 513-4, 516-8, 520-1, 523, 531 (*see also* sentence)
complexity 387, 479, 531-2
composite 137, **201**, 142, 304, 307, 354-5, 358-9, 374-5, 387, 403, 466-8
~ conjunction 354-5, 358-9
~ copula 375
~ form 304
~ morpheme 307
~ numeral **201**
~ particle 374
~ sentence 387, 403, 466-8 (*see also* sentence)
~ suffixes 137
~ words 142, **201**
compound 259, 403-4, 466, 471-2, 479
~ sentence 259, 403-4, 466, 471-2, 479 (*see also* sentence)
coordinating (conjunction) **356**, 392, 471
coordination 388, **392, 400, 403**, 466-9, 471
coordinative (relationship) **357**, **392**
concatenation **113**, 165
morpheme ~ **113**, 165 (*see also* morpheme)
concessive **280**, 318, **355-6**, **357-60**, 502, 509-10, 515-6, 521-3
~ conjunction **355**, **357-9**, 523
~ form **280**
~ meaning **280**, 317-8, 355-6, 359-60, 502, 509-10, 516, 522
~ relationship 358-60, 515, 521
conditional 280, **355-60**, 371, 504-5, 509, 514, 520, 523
~ clause 356
~ conjunction **355**, **357-8**, **360**
~ meaning 280, 317, 355-6, 358-9, 504, 509
~ relationship 360, 505, 514, 520, 523
~ sentence 371
~ stem 280
confederation **17**
clan-tribal ~ **17**
tribal ~ **17**
conjunctive 313, 467-8, 510
~ connection 466
~ device 313
~ function 510
~ pronoun 467-8
~ sentence 467
conjunctive-analytical (device) 274, 509
connecting 358-9
~ device 359
~ word 358
connective **356**-7, 464, 469, 471, 480
~ conjunction **356**, 464, 471 (*see also* copulative)
~ kind of coordination 469
~ marker 480
~ meaning 356-7
consonant 54-5, 57-8, **59-64, 66**, **68-71**, **82, 86-8**, 92, 97-9,102-3, 112, 116, 218, 261
alveolar ~ 99
back ~ **86**, 97-8
fortis ~ 42
lenis ~ 42
palatalized ~ **87**
unaspirated ~ **87** *(see also* unaspirated)
voiced ~ **87-8**

voiceless ~ **87-8**
[Chinese] **71**
consonantal (inventory) 41, **86-8** (*see also* inventory)
contrasting (phoneme) 90, 98 (*see also* phoneme)
contrastiveness **408**
construction 101, 156, **157-9,** 161**-2**, 194, 233, **245**, 249, 250, 253, 263, 267, 275, 278, 281, 310, 388, **390**, **393**, **398**, **405**-6, **415-16**, **418**, 421, **424**, 427-9, 431, 433-4, 451-2, 455, 459, 461-2, 464, 466-71, 474-8, 477-80, 480, 482-3, 487-94, 498-9, 500-3, 505-6, 509-10, 512-3, 516-9, 520, 522-5, 530-1
analytical ~ 101, 162, 233, 250, 267, 275, 433-4, 451-2, 480, 487, 509-10, 518-9, 522-5, 530-1 (*see also* analytical)
attributive ~ 253, **390**, **393**, 461, 506, 517-8 (*see also* attributive)
comparative ~ **157-9**, **162**, 194
complex ~ 405, 479, 501 (*see also* complex)
conditional ~ 278
converbal ~ 476, 480, 514-6 (*see also* converbal)
dependent ~ 502 (*see also* dependent)
passive ~ **245-7**, 310, 455 (*see also* passive)
participial (participle) ~ **259**, 388, 390, 427-8, 457, 459, 464, 476-8, 480, 499, 513 (*see also* participial)
possessive ~ **398**, 482-3, 491-2 (*see also* possessive)
predicative ~ 254, 263, 418, 427-30, 455, 464, 466-71, 474-7, 479-80, 482-3, 488-92, 494, 498-9, 500-3, 505, 512-3, 516, 520, 523 (*see also* predicative)
subject-creating ~ **415-16**, **418** (see also subject-creating)
subordinate ~ 263, 477-8, 480, 483, 489, 492-4, 498-9, 500-3, 505, 516 (*see also* subordinate)
superlative ~ **159** (*see also* superlative)
syntactic ~ 156, 159, 161, 249, 281, 406, 429, 434, 471, 479, 482, 532 (*see also* syntactic)
syntactic-creating ~ **405** (*see also* syntactic-creating)
temporal ~ 510
verbal ~ 267 (*see also* verbal)
~ of classification **424**, 431
~ of identification **424**
~ of sentence 421
content 285, 336, **406**
communicative ~ 285, **406**
propositional ~ 336
continuous (action) 212
converb 94, 99, 112, 115, 125, 156, 167, 202, 238, 240, 250, **267-73, 276-80**, **282-3**, 289, 291-2, 301, 305, 307, 310-12, 314-16, 318, 326, 329, 331, 333, 341, 345, 353-4, 356-60, 365, 367, 371, 376, 379-81, 392, 401, 404, 410, 440, 450-1, 459, 468, 476, 480, 483, 513-6, 519, 521, 523, 525-8, 530
concessive ~ **280**, 318, 353-4, 358, 360, 365, 515-6, 521
conditional ~ 202, **278-80**, 284, 301, 305, 307, 311, 315, 353-5 357-60, 365, 367, 376, 410, 450-1, 476, 514, 519, 527, 530
imperfect ~ 94, 112, 115, 125, 156, 167, 238, 240, 250, **267-73**, 289, 291-2, 305, 310-12, 314-16, 326, 329, 331, 333, 341, 345, 353-4, 356, 358-9, 365, 371, 376, 379-81, 410, 516, 522-3, 526, 528, 530
perfect ~ **267**, **276-8**, 311, 318, 328, 353, 355, 359, 365, 404, 440, 523, 530
personal ~ 314
simple ~ 314
terminal ~ **282-3**, 345
converbal 100, 281, 283, 277, 288-9, 303, 310, 313-14, 345, 352-4, 356, 358, 365-6, 470, 476, 480, 509, 514-6, 518, 525
~ construction 476, 480, 514-6 (*see also* construction)
~ form 100, 281, 283, 277, 288-9, 303, 310, 313-14, 352-3, 356,

358, 365-6, 452, 465, 470, 509, 518, 525
~ suffix 313
coordinating (conjunction) **356**, 392, 471
coordination 388, **392, 400, 403**, 466-9, 471
coordinative **357**, **392**, 469
~ relationship **357**, **392**
~ syntactic structure 469
copula 112, **368-72**, **375-6**, 402, 413, 417, 419, 420-3, 429, 432, 470, 498, 502
negative ~ 422-3
copulative (=connective) **356**, 471
~ conjunction **356**, 471
correlation **393**, **401-2,** 419, 424, 428-9, 502
correlative **402**, 429
~ form 429
~ pattern **402** (*see also* pattern)
correspondences 4, 5
phonetic ~ 5
sound ~ 4
CV (type) 58

D
dative 157-8, **163**, **182-5**, **187-90**, 218, 220, 246-7, 257, 259, 321, 326, 328-9, 346-9, 353-5, 357, 403-4, 455-7, 460, 476, 487-9, 495, 499, 500-6, 510, 523-4, 530, 532
dative-locative 94, 487, 503
decausative (actant derivation) **251** (*see also* derivation)
decimal (positional system) **201**
declension 132, 141, **162-4**, 170, 215, 226, 254, **258-9**, 486-9, 498-9, 500, 504, 507
nominal ~ 500 (*see also* nominal)
noun ~ 141, **162,** 259, 486-9, 500 (*see also* noun)
participle ~ 141, 488
possessive ~ 489
predicative ~ 170, 254, 480, 486, 488-9, 498-9, 504, 507 (*see also* predicative)
~ of clauses **258-9**, 488-9
~ of participial constructions **259**
~ of participles 170, **258-9**, 489, 531
~ of predicative constructions 488
decreasing (derivation) **248**, **251** (*see also* derivation)
definite **164**, **171-2**, **391**, **406-7**, 453
~ article **406**
~ NP **407**
~ object **171-2**
~ reference (=specific) **164**, **172**, **391**, 453 (*see also* reference)
definiteness **164**, **171-2**, **408**
degree 153, **156-7**, **158-60**, **162**, 192
comparative ~ **156-7**, **160**, 404 (see also comparative)
superlative ~ 153, **159-60**, **162**, 276 (*see also* superlative)
~ of comparison **156,** 158-9, 192
deictic **214**, **221**, 334
deictic-substitution (words) **214**
demonstrative 134, 137, **214-9**, **218**, **223**, 401, 406, 414-15, 485
~ meaning **223**
~ pronominal adverb **218**
~ pronoun 134, 137, **214-9**, 401, 406, 414-15, 485
dependent **259**, 267, 277, 282, 314, 318, 320-1, 388, **391**, **393**, **396**, 399, **400**-1, 417, 447, 455, 457, 459, 467-9, 473-6, 481, 483, 493, 502, 525
~ action 267, 282, 318, 476
~ clause **259,** 314, 320-1, 388, 396, 447, 455, 457, 459, 467-9, 473-6, 481, 525 (*see also* clause)
~ component 388-90, **393**, **396**, **400**
~ construction 502 (*see also* construction)
~ element 391
~ noun **391**
~ part 467
~ predicate 395 (*see also* predicate)
~ syntactic status 391
~ verb 277
~ word 391, 399, 401, 417, 483, 493
dependent-marking (type of encoding syntactic relationships) **391**
deri-case (form) 163, **193**
derivation 127, 148, **194-5**, **234**, **238, 244-5**, **247-51**

actant ~ **244-5**, **247**, **250**
decausative ~ ~ **251**
decreasing ~ ~ **248, 251**
increasing ~ ~ **250**
nominal ~ **194-5**
verbal ~ **234**, **238**
derivational 112, 133, **234-5**, **239**, **241**, 255, 332, 342, 380
~ element 255
~ function **249**
~ morpheme 133
~ pattern 332 (*see also* pattern, productive)
~ suffix 112, 133, **234-5**, **239**, 241, 342, 380
derivative **112**, 127-8, 148, **194-6**, **233-4**, 326, **247**, **345**, **352-3**
~ conjunction **352-3**
~ postposition **345**
~ stem **112**, **234** (*see also* stem)
~ structure 326
derivative-causative (verbs) **247**
desirative (form) 101
determinandum **389**, **391**
determinatum **389**, **391**
diacritic (signs) 50, 53, 62
diathese **244**
dichotomy 407
synchronic ~ 407
diachronic ~ 407
dictum 502
digraph 85
diminutive 100, 119, 150
~ meaning 100, 150
~ suffix 119
diminutives **155-6**
diphthong 43-4, 78, **80-4**, **87**, 99, 102-3, 112, 116
front ~ **82**
i-diphthong **87**
penultimate ~102 (*see also* penultimate)
rising ~ **81-3**
direct (=nominative) **171**, 253, 486, 493 (*see also* nominative)
direct 3, **165-6**, **169-75**, 232, 245, 254, 258, 265, **273**, 393, 397, **415**, **419**, 429, 453-5, 457, 459, 476-7, 486, 491, 500, 507-10, 526-8, 530
~ complement **166**, **170**, **175**, 437, 453 (*see also* complement)
~ object 3, **165**, **169-74**, 232, 245, 254, 258, 393, 397, **415**, **419**, 429, 453-5, 457, 459, 476-7, 486, 491, 500, 507-8
~ direct predicative object 508-9
~ speech 265, **273**, 393, 397, 454, 509-10, 526-8, 530
directive (case) 331
discourse 171, **405**, **407-9**, 532
~ characteristics **405**
~ context **407**
~ function 532
~ pragmatics **405**, **409** (*see also* pragmatics)
~ referent **407** (*see also* referent)
~ structuring 171
disjunctive **356**, 471, 469
~ conjunction **356**, 471
~ kind of coordination 469
distant (position) **171**
distinction 89
front-back ~ 89
distinctive (phonetic parameter) 89 (*see also* phonetic)
distribution **61**, **80**, **86**, **97-8**
complementary ~ **61**, **80**, **86**, **97-8**
distributive 181, 192, **200**, **204**
~ meaning 181, 192
~ numerals **200**, **204**
disyllabic **102**, **104**, **112**, **233**, 341
~ structure **112**
~ suffix **102**, 233
~ verbal stem **233**
~ word **104**
double-subject (construction) **413**
dropping **99**
~ of consonants **99**
~ of vowels 43, **99**
durative 100, 236-7, **242**, **244**, 281
~ action 281
~ meaning 100, 236-7, **242**, **244**
duration 281

E

elementary (syntactic unit) 479
emotional (semantics) **188** (*see also* semantics)
emotive 495, 498
~ meaning 498
~ semantics 498
~ verb 495

emphatic (particle) 406
epistemic (modality) *See* modality, modal form
ethnic 19, 23, 34
~ affiliation 19, 23
~ backgrounds 34
~ origin 34
[Tungus-Manchu] ~ origin 34
evaluation **333**, 497-8, 501
qualitative ~ **333** (*see also* qualitative)
quantitative ~ **333** (*see also* quantitative)
semantics of ~ 259, 492, 497-8, 501 (*see also* semantics)
exclamatory (particle) **379**
exclusive **214-5**
exogamy 19
expounding 509-10, 528
~ conjunction 509, 528
~ meaning 510
experiencer **163**, **166**, **178**, **182**, 436 (*see also* semantic role)
explicative (conjunction) **357**

F
federation 17
tribal ~ 17
final 94, 285, 357, **359**, 365
~ conjunction 357, **359**, 365
~ predicate 285
~ syllable 94
finite (form, verbal form) 112, 241, **285-6**, **289-91**, **294**, **310**, 313-14, 324, 403-4, 420, 438, 440, 446, 450, 452, 470, 473, 478, 480, 525
imperfect ~ 112, **285**, **289-91**, **294**, **310**, 403-4, 420, 440, 470
perfect ~ 266, **291**, **294**, **310**, 444
focus **405**, **407-8**, **411**, 532
contrastive ~ **408**
rhematic ~ **411** (*see also* rhematic)
formal 402, 405, 429-30
~ criterion 402
~ device 405
~ structure 429-30 (*see also* structure)
formal-syntactic **405**, **410**
~ organization **410**
~ structure **405**
formant 161
fortis (stops) **65**, **87** (*see also* stops)
fractional (numeral) **200**, **204**
frequentative 100, 236-7, 241, **243**, **281**, 287, 292, 294
~ action 287, 292, 294
~ meaning 100, 236-7, **243**, **281**
~ verb **241**
fricative-uvular (sound) **88**
function 123, 143, 145, **178**, **214**, **221,** 233, 334, 344, 353, 358
anaphoric ~ **214**, **221** (*see also* anaphoric)
attributive ~ 145, **178**, 326 (*see also* attributive)
deictic ~ **214**, **221,** 334 (*see also* deictic)
grammatical ~ 123, 233, 344, 353, 358 (*see also* grammatical)
nominal ~ 143
possessive ~ **178**
~ of substitution **214**
functional 126, **132**, 143, 154, 193, 251, 294, 303, 308, **313-5**, **318-9,** 327, 356, 368, 402, **420**, 499, 509, 511, 518-9, 521, 523-4
~ analogue 143, 327, 368, **420** (*see also* analogue)
~ class **132**, 499, 518
~ component **314-5**, **318-9**, 519, 521, 523-4
~ criterion 402
~ element 356, 509, 511, 530
~ group 126, 154
~ variant 193
~ verb 251, 294, 303, 308, 313, 518, 523, 530

G
garrison **24**, 27, 49
geminate **83-5**, 103, 113-6 (*see also* vowel)
gender 231
genitive 100, 138, 142, 145, 153, 156, 159, 161, **163**, **175-82**, 185, 204-5, 216, 219-20, 226-7, 258, 265, 281, 301, 327-8, 345, 347-51, 363, 390-1, **396**, **400**, 459, 461-2, 475, 481-2, 487-8, 492, 512
Given (information) 532

givenness **408**
governing 145, **171-2**, 223, 389-92, 396, 401-2, 453-4, 457
~ component 389-90, 392, **396**, **400**
~ member 402
~ verb 145, **171-2**, 223, 392, 453-4
~ word 391-2, 396, 401, 457
government 174, 388, **390-3**, **396-7**, 453, 455, 532
strong ~ **396**
verbal ~ 174, 453, 455, 532 (*see also* verbal)
weak ~ **396**
grammatical 3-6, 49, 112, 116-7, 123-4, 126-8, 129, 131-2, 137-8, 144, 154, 163, 168, 231-3, 243-4, 252, 263, 275, 284-6, 296, 307-8, 313, 326-7, 334, 342, 344, 349-53, 357-8, 361, 365, 372, 380-1, 392-3, 396, 400-5, 408, **411**, **413-15**, 421, 423, 425-8, 432, 434, 436, 463, 468, 479-80, 484-5, 488, 518, 525-8, 530-1, 533
~ agreement 485 (*see also* agreement)
~ basis 528
~ category 127-8,132, 137-8, 144, 163, 231-3, 243-4, 285-6, 352, 484, 531 (*see also* category)
~ characteristics 401
~ class 123-4, 126-7, 129, 131-2, 154, 263, 284, 296, 313, 326-7, 334, 349-51, 372, 380, 392, 413, 432, 434, 463, 525, 530
~ device 408
~ expression 392
~ form 232, 272, 307-8, 326, 342, 365, 396, 403, 421, 423, 479-80, 484, 525-7
~ function 123, 233, 344, 353, 358, 425, 530 (*see also* function)
~ meaning 3, 5, 112, 117, 285-6, 344, 351, 357, 361, 380-1, 518, 531
~ means 285, 388-90, 392-3, 396, 400-2, 404, 531, 533
~ model 252
~ paradigm 484
~ pattern 484 (*see also* pattern)
~ relation 5, 6, 49
~ status 275, 468, 531
~ structure 4, 116, 125, 231, 275, 393, 403, 405, 436 (*see also* structure)
~ subject **411**, **413-15**, 425-8 (*see also* subject)
~ system 3, 168 (*see also* system)
grammeme 391
grapheme **50**, **54-5**, **57**, **59**, **63**, **65**, **69**, **70-2**, 77-8, 80, 97
[Manchu] **72**
[Russian] 78
graphic **50-1**, 55, **79**
~ context 55
~ structure **50-1** (*see also* structure)
~ variant **79** (*see also* variant)
group grammatical expression 392

H
head noun **391**
head-marking (type of encoding syntactic relationships) **391**
height **89**, **91-3**, **97** (*see also* tongue height)
relative ~ **91**, **97**
vowel ~ **92**
homogeneous 142, 190, 223, 289, 403, 464-6
~ parts of the sentence 142, 190, 289, 403, 464-6 (*see also* parts of the sentence)
~ unit 223 (*see also* unit)
homonym 115, 223
honorific 33, 229-30, 296, 446
~ form 446
~ meaning 296
~ terms 229-30
~ vocative 33
hortative 303
hyperform **252**, 484
hypotaxis 473, 480, 486, 507, 531
[Altaic] 475, 480, 486, 507
[Manchu] 531

I
i-diphthong **87** (*see also* diphthong)
identifiability **405**
idiomatic 383
imperative 100, 232, 240, 251, **285**,

295-9, **301-4**, 317, 361, 376, 387, 438-9, 446-7
~ form **296-7**, **299**, **300-4**, 317, 447
~ marker **301** (*see also* marker)
~ mood 232, 240, 251, **285**, **295-6**, **298-9**, **301-4**, 317, 361, 376, 438, 446 (*see also* mood)
~ sentence 387 (*see also* sentence)
~ speech **296**
~ suffix **300**
imperfect 125, 156, **241**, 318 (*see also* converb, finite verbal form, participle)
inanimate (object) 138, 140, **171**, 336
inclusive 113, **214-5**
increasing **250** (*see also* derivation)
indefinite **171-2**, 214, 220, **223-4**, 286, 360, 401, 406, 408, 465
~ article 406
~ case 171
~ comment/focus 408
~ marker 286
~ meaning 220, 223
~ numeral 360, 465 (*see also* pronominal)
~ object **171-2**
~ pronoun 214, **223-4**, 401, 406
indefiniteness **171-2**
indicative **285-6**, 294, **298**, **305**, **310**, 369, 438, 440, 443, 445
~ form **286**, **298**, **305**, **310**, 369, 443
~ mood (=fact-mood) **285-6**, 294, 438 (*see also* mood)
indirect 3, **182-3**, 220, 254, 273, 393-4, 397, 437, 453-8, 476, 486, 501, 507-9
~ complement 437, 453 (*see also* complement)
~ object 3, **182-3**, 220, 254, 394, 397, 453-8, 476, 486, 501, 507
~ predicative object 508-9
~ speech 273, 393
inflection 162
inflectional (language) 392
information **405**, 407-10, **416**
actual ~ 405
~ structure **405**, 407-10, **416**
Information Flow Principle **407**
informative **408**, 496-7, 501
~ pattern 501 (*see also* pattern)
~ structure **408**, 496-7 (*see also* structure)
initial 90, **95-6**, **99**, 100, **245**
~ rank **245** (*see also* rank)
~ syllable 90, **95-6** (*see also* syllable)
~ vowel **96**, **99**, 100 (*see also* vowel)
instrument **182**, **184-5**, 436, 455 (*see also* semantic role)
instrumental **181**, 505
~ meaning **181**
~ case 505
intensifier 130
interlocutor 215, 227-9, **296**
interrogative 100-1, 134, 200, 214, **219-222**, 300, **302-3**, **322-5**, 369, **374-8**, 387, 401, 439, 448
~ form **302-3**, 369, 439, 448
~ forms of verbs **322**
~ meaning 200
~ particle 100-1, 220, 222, 300, 303, **322-5**, **375-8**
~ pronoun 134, 214, **219-222**, 374, 401
~ sentence 222, 376, 387 (*see also* sentence)
~ syntactic construction 325
~ verbal form **322**, **376**
intervocalic (position) **82**, **99**
intonation 387-8, **405-6**, **408-9**, 467
~ contour **405-6**, 467
~ order **408**
~ pattern **409** (*see also* pattern)
intransitive (verb) 3, 167, **232**, **245**, 477 (*see also* verb)
invariable 3, 401
~ form 401
inventory **86-8**, **77**, **85**, 97
consonantal ~ 41, **86-8** (*see also* consonantal)
vocalic ~ 41, **89**, **91**, 97 (*see also* vocalic)
vowel ~ **77**, **80**, **85** (*see also* vowel)
irregular 166, **214-6,** 182, 240, **255**, 276, **299**
~ form (of imperative) 240, **299**
~ form (of personal pronoun) 182
~ participial form **255**, 276
~ pronominal (case) form 166, **214-6**

~ suffix 276
iterative (meaning) 237, **244**
izafet **390-1**, **393**, **398**
izafet-construction **390**

J
juxtaposition 253, 388, 391, **393**, **400-1**, 465, 471, 484-5, 507

K
Known (information) 531, 405

L
labial (harmony) 90, **95** (*see also* vowel harmony)
laryngeal **86**, **88**, 103
law (of vowel harmony) 162, 165, 182, 225, 261, 263, 463, 487 (*see also* vowel harmony)
laxness 93
lenis (stops) **65**, **87**, 102 (*see also* stops)
level 3, **78**, 82, **92**, 142, 388, 404, 406, 531
lexical ~ 3 (*see also* lexical)
phonological ~ 82 (*see also* phonological)
semantic ~ 142 (*see also* semantic)
syntactic ~ 3, 142 (*see also* syntactic)
~ of complex sentence 388
~ of communicative content 406
~ of grammar 404
~ of language 531
~ of phonemes **78**
~ of sounds **78**
~ of vowel height **92**
lexeme 124, **238**, **244**
verbal ~ 124, **238**, **244** (*see also* verbal)
lexical 3, 41, 112, 116-7, 124, 133, 232, 238, 241, 291, 310, 312-3, 321, 326, 352, 355, 360, 371, 380-1, 387, 405, 436, 452, 469, 517, 530, 531-2
~ characteristics 133
~ entry 252
~ item 405
~ level 3 (*see also* level)
~ material 41
~ meaning 3, 5, 112, 116-7, 232, 238, 241, 310, 312-3, 321, 352, 355, 360, 371, 381, 436, 452, 517, 530, 532
~ means 469
~ semantics 241
~ sphere 3
~ unit 291, 387 (*see also* unit)
~ word 531
lineal **406-7**
~ order **407**
~ structure **406** (*see also* structure)
loan (word) 42, 54, 79, 135 [Chinese] 135
loan-translations 229
locative **190**, **193**, 283, **347-9**, 411, 459, 460, 502-3, 505-6
~ case **190**, **193**, 283, 348, 411, 459, 460, 502, 505 (*see also* case)
~ meaning 503
~ postposition **347-9**, 506
~ relationship 506

M
marker 100, 123, 127, 136, 141-3, 145, 148, **162-5**, **170-5**, **178**, **182**, **190,** 193, 200, 217, 220, 224, 227, 233, 245, 254, 259, 265, 301, **327-9**, 331, 344, 392, 397, 465, 486-8, 402, **410**, **413**, 427-8, 431-2, 453, 458-60, 462, 480, 486-7, 489, 490, 492-3, 507, 531
case ~ 100, 141, 145, **162-5**, 193, 200, 217, 220, 224, 227, 233, 254, 259, 265, 313, 328, 331, 344, 392, 397, 462, 465, 486-8, 507, 531 (*see also* case)
genitive ~ 145, 462
imperative ~ 301 (*see also* imperative)
morphological ~ 41, 43, 127, 132, 148, 200, 233, 245 (*see also* morphological)
noun ~ 123 (*see also* noun)
subject ~ **413**
topic(al) ~ 403, **410-11**, **413-4** (*see also* topic)
verbal ~ 123 (*see also* verbal)
~ for/of ablative **190**, **328**, 458
~ for/of accusative **170-4**, 216,

453, 487, 490
~ for/of dative **182**, **328-9**
~ for/of genitive **175**, **178**, **327**, 459, 492
~ of person 314, 525
masculinity (notion of) 116
mental 494, 501
~ stimulus 501
~ verb 494
modal 295, **309**, 311, 318, 369, 387, 422, 445, 470, 510, 519, 533
~ formant 311
~ meaning **309**, 318, 369, 422, 445, 470, 510, 519, 533
~ particle 369
~ semantics 267
~ words 387
modal-temporal (meaning) **313**
modality 252, **285**, **305**, 312, 369-70, 387, 412, 432, 434, 440, 442, 450, 484, 489, 520, 523
affirmative ~ 370, 440, 442
epistemic ~ **305**, 450
real ~ **305**
unreal ~ **305**
~ of apprehension 312
~ of desire 412, 432, 434, 520, 523
modus 502
monolingual (text) 27
monophthong **80**, **82**, **84**
front ~ **82**
monosyllabic 57, 59,102-**3**, **112**, 216, 233, 341
~ structure **112**
~ suffix 102
~ word 57, 59, **103**, 216,
monosyllable 85
open ~ 85
mood 232-3, 240, 251-2, 285-6, 293-**296**, **298-9**, **301-4**, 317, 361, 374, 376, 412, 438, 445-8, 450, 484, 489, 520, 523
imperative ~ 232, 240, 251, 285, **295-6**, **298-9**, **301-4**, 317, 361, 376, 438, 446 (*see also* imperative)
indicative ~ **285-6**, 294 (*see also* indicative)
oblique ~ 286, **295**, 438, 446 (*see also* oblique)
optative ~ 285, **293-5**, 412, 438, 445, 447, 450, 520, 523 (*see also* optative)
prohibitive ~ 100, 285, 295, **304**, 374, 438, 448 (*see also* prohibitive)
morpheme 103, **112-5**, 137, 165, 238, 410, 468
stem ~ 238
~ concatenation **113**, 165 (*see also* concatenation)
morphemic 103, 166, 326, 488
~ analysis 103
~ boundary **113**, 166
~ structure **112** (*see also* structure)
morphological 5, 6, 41, 43, 112, 123-7, 132-4, 143, 148, 156, 163, 195, 200, 231, 233, 245, 247, 252-3, 285, 352-4, 360, 390-2, 398-9, 403, 405, 431, 475, 481-2, 484, 486-7, 518, 525, 531
~ apparatus 5, 6, 123, 518
~ category 103, 132, 134, 163, 231, **252-4**, 398-9, 481-2, 486, 531 (*see also* category)
~ characteristics 123, 133, 484
~ class 127, 133, 431
~ device 123, 143, 391
~ expression 392
~ feature 133
~ form 41, 126, 253, 360, 403
~ formant 390, 487
~ marker 41, 43, 127, 132, 148, 200, 233, 245, 391, 405 (*see also* marker)
~ means 285, 391-2
~ parallelism 392
~ similarities 124
~ status 156
~ structure 112, 195, 247, 352, 475 (*see also* structure)
~ suffix 127
~ system 125 (*see also* system)
morphophonemics **112**
motivated (adverb) 327
multiplicative (numeral) 200, **205**

N
nasal-uvular (sound) **88**
negation 100, 160, **260**, 319, **373**, **378**

double ~ **261**
negative 157-8, 169, **262-3**, 274, **284**, **304**, **307**, 308, **309**, **312**, 314-5, 317, **322**, **325**, 329-30, 368-9, **372-4**, **377**, 378, 387, 402, 404, 416, 422-3, 429, 443, 451, 490, 519, 521, 523
~ copula **373**, 402, 422-3
~ form 157-8, 169, **262-3**, 274, **284**, **304**, **307**, **309**, **312**, 314-5, 330, 368-9, 402, 404, 416, 443, 451, 490, 519, 521, 523
~ imperative **304**
~ meaning 317
~ particle 260-1, 329, **372-4**, **377**
~ participle (form) **260**, **262-3**, **266**, 378, 429
~ sentence 308, 387
~ verbal form **322**, **325**
neutral (position) 92
New (information) **405**, **408**, 532
nominal 3, 103, 126-30, **131-3**, **152-6**, 158, 160-1, 179, **194-5**, 232, 234, 326-8, 353, 365, 368-9, 373, 380, 392, 413, **416**, 417, **419-23**, **424-9**, **432-3**, **435**, 437-8, 453, 455, 459- 62, 464, 488-9, 492, 497-8, 500, 507, 509, 517, 532
~ adverb 326
~ class **133**
~ declension 488, 500
~ declension 500 (*see also* declension)
~ derivation **194-5** (*see also* derivation)
~ origin of conjunctions 353
~ phrase 425-6
~ position **416** (*see also* position)
~ predicate 368, 373, 388, **401-2**, **413**, **419-22**, **429**, **432**, 437 (*see also* predicate)
~ predication 232, 413, 417, **419**, **422-3**, **426**, **428**, 437 (*see also* predication)
~ predicativity **424** (*see also* predicativity)
~ role 489
~ sentence 422, 437-8 (*see also* sentence)
~ stem 3, 5, **112**, **115-6**, 234 (*see also* stem)
~ unit 179 (*see also* unit)
~ verbal form 507, 509, 517
~ word 103, 126-30, **131-2**, **152-6**, 158, 160-1, 234, 327-8, 365, 368-9, 380, 392, 413, **419-21**, **425-9**, **432-3**, **435**, 453, 455, 459-62, 464, 492, 497-8, 532
~ word-combination 400 (*see also* word-combination)
nominalization **154**, **263-4**, **429-30**, **434-5**, 437, 479, 488, 491, 493, 498
non-predicative ~ **429-30** (*see also* non-predicative)
predicative ~ **429-30**, **435-**7, 479
syntactic ~ 489 (*see also* syntactic)
nominalizer 94, 254, **263**, 391, **399**, **416**, 432-3, 489-90, 499, 502
nominative 157, **163-6**, **171-2**, 186, 215, 219, 226, 245-6, 253-4, 259, 265, 345, 348, 391, 413, 425, 473, 475, 481, 486, 493, 496, 499, 501-2, 506
~ case 157, 215, 226, 345, 501
~ form 425
~ function 348
nominative-accusative 3, **166**
NP (nominal phrase) **171-2**, **247**, **407**
definite ~ **407**
non-derived 127, 133, **194-5**, **233-4**, **326**, **345**, **352**
~ adverb **326**
~ conjunction **352**
~ noun 127, 133, **194-5**
~ postposition **345**
~ verbal stem **233-4**
non-finite (verbal forms) 232, **267**, **278**, **285-6**, **291**, 313, 392, 475-6, 480-1, 483, 507, 513-6, 518
non-predicative 388, **429-30**
~ word-combination 388
~ nominalization **429-30** (*see also* nominalization)
non-qualitative (adverb) 332
non-specific **163**, **172**, 176, 462
~ direct object **172**
~ reference (=generic) **163** (*see also* reference)
non-sonorous (spirant) ~ **87** (*see also* spirant)

noun 123, 141, 154, **162, 254,** 259, **263**, 345, 391, **399**, **412**, 433, 486-9, 500
~ analogue 154, 254, 433 (*see also* analogue)
~ case 252, 345 (*see also* case)
~ declension 141, **162,** 259, 486-9, 500 (*see also* declension)
~ marker 123 (*see also* marker)
~ of action **399**
~ position **263**, **412** (*see also* position)
~ syntagma 391
number (category of) 117, **134**, 425 (*see also* category)
numerative **206**

O
oblique **164**, **168**, 215, 246, 253, 257-9, 245, 286, **295**, 438, 446, 481, 486
~ case **164**, **168**, 215, 246, 253, 257-9, 481, 486 (*see also* case)
~ mood 286, **295**, 438, 446 (*see also* mood)
~ voice 245
obstruents **88**
Old (information) **405**, 532
off-glide **85**
open **89**, 99, 103
~ syllable 99, 103 (*see also* syllable)
~ vowel **89** (*see also* vowel)
opposition 3, 91, **94**, **98**, **116-7**, 123, **166**, **171-2**, 241, **245**, **262**, **405**, **408**, 436, 455, 499, 527-8, 531-3
back / front ~ **94**
background vs. focus ~ **405**
binary ~ **405**, **408**, 436, 455, 531-2 (*see also* binary)
communicative and/or pragmatic ~ 245
discourse-OID vs. discourse-NEW ~ **405**
e / *a* ~ **94**
known vs. un-known/new **405**
"noun – verb" ~ 123
pragmatic ~ **405** (*see also* pragmatic)
semantic ~ 3, **116-7**, 172 (*see also* semantic)
syntactic ~ **405** (*see also* syntactic)
"theme – rheme" ~ **408**
"topic – comment (focus)" ~ **408**
~ between direct and indirect speech 273, 527-8, 533
~ between imperfect and perfect aspects 241
~ between positive and negative forms **262**
~ between specific vs. non-specific direct objects **171**
~ between velar and uvular phonemes **98**
~ between subject and object **166**
~ of active vs. passive **245**
~ of marked and unmarked NPs **171-2**
optative 285, 293**-5**, 412, 438, 445, 447, 450, 520, 523 (*see also* mood)
ordinal (numeral) **200**, **203**
orthographic 60, **79**
~ means **79**
~ rule 60
out-of-case form **350-1**, 361, 363

P
pair word **381-2**
palatal-velar (harmony) **93-4**, **97**, 487 (*see also* vowel harmony)
palatalization **82**
paradigm 231, 252, 295, 369, 484, 504
grammatical ~ 484
~ of predicative declension 504
~ of suffixes 231, 252
~ of word forms 369
parallelism **392-3**, **403-4**, 471
partial ~ **403**
total ~ **403**
parataxis 469
parenthesis 355
parenthetical (word) 352
participant **163**, **166**, **247**, **250-1**, 296, 436-7, 499
participial 94, 100, 150, **259**, 281, 288-9, 308, 310, 313-**4**, 352, 365-6, 388, 390, 412, 416, 418, 427-8, 452, 457, 459, 463-4, 470, 476-8, 480, 499, 510-1, 513, 518, 523, 525

~ case **314**, 452, 457, 470
~ case form 510, 518, 523, 525
~ construction **259**, 388, 390, 427-8, 457, 459, 464, 476-8, 480, 499, 513 (*see also* construction)
~ form 100, 150, 281, 288-9, 308, 310, 313, 352, 365-6, 412, 452, 470, 511
~ phrase 416, 418
~ predicate 259, 477
~ suffix 94, 313, 463
participle 5, 95-6, 100, 114,138, 151, 157-8, 162, 170, 173, 175, 180, 187, 220, 222-3, 225, 232, 240, 249, **252-3**, **254-7**, **261**, **263**, **266**, 274, 276, 279, 281-2, 289-92, 311, 313-17, 321, 330-1, 351-2, 354-5, 357, 361, 365, 368, 370-1, 373-4, 381, 392, 399, 402-4, 412, 417, 429, 432, 434, 438-40, 443, 449, 451, 476, 483-4, 486, 490, 504-5, 511-2, 519, 520-4
imperfect ~ 95-6, 100, 114,138, 157-8, 225, 240, **254-7**, **263**, **266**, 274, 276, 281, 293-4, 302-4, 307-10, 313-15, 321, 330-1, 351, 354, 357, 365, 368, 371, 373-4, 381, 402-4, 412, 429, 432, 434, 438-9, 443, 449, 451, 476, 484, 490, 504-5, 512, 519, 521, 523-4
perfect ~ 95-6, 100, 114, 220, 222, 225, 232, 240, 249, **254**, **255-7**, **261**, **263**, **266**, 276, 281-2, 289-92, 311-17, 354-5, 357, 361, 365, 371, 402, 412, 429, 432, 438-40, 490, 504-5, 511, 520-24
[Altaic] **252-3**, 483-4, 486
[Manchu] **252-3**, 484, 486
parts of sentence 123, 133, 141, 171, 190, 33, 244-5, 254, 262, 289, 344, 392-**3**, **403**, 464-6, 489, 507
homogeneous ~ 142, 190, 289, 403, 464-6 (*see also* homogeneous)
leading ~ **393**
nominal ~ 254, 489, 507
parallel ~ **403**
position of ~ **393**, **395**, 405 (*see also* position)
principal ~ 507
rhematic ~ **403** (*see also* rhematic)
secondary ~ 141, 259, 280
subordinate ~ 507
parts of speech 123, 126, 129, **132**, 137, 145, 214, **233**, 324, 351-2, 354, 366, 389, 392-3
distinctive ~ 393
monofunctional ~ **233**,
nominal ~ 126, 129, **132**, 214
verbal ~ **233**
passive 125, 183, **244-51**, 310, 406, **415**, 455, 501
~ construction **245-7**, 310, 455 (*see also* construction)
~ form **250-1**, 501
~ transformation **415**
~ verb 183, **247**
~ voice 125, **244-9** (*see also* voice)
past **292**, **294**, 421, 439, 443, 445, 470
~ continuous **292**
~ form 470
~ indefinite **292**, **294**
~ perfect **292**
patient **163**, **166**, **178**, **182**, **244-5**, 436, 453 (*see also* semantic role)
pattern **50**, **72-3**, 90, **96-7, 139, 313, 315,** 332, 335, 343,359-60, 387-8, 402, **409**, 419, 428, 433-5, 473, 484, 498-9, 501, 520
correlative ~ 402 (*see also* correlative)
grammatical ~ 484 (*see also* grammatical)
harmonic ~ 90
informative ~ 501 (*see also* informative)
intonation ~ **409** (*see also* intonation)
productive ~ 332 (*see also* productive)
sentence ~ 428
syllabic ~ **50** (*see also* syllabic)
syntactic ~ 359-60, 387, 435 (*see also* syntactic)
~ complex sentence 473

~ of formation 343
~ of identification 434
~ of sentence 402
~ of simple sentence 419
~ of structural equivalence 499
~ of vowel harmony **96-7**
~ of writing **72-3**
penultimate 102
~ diphthong 102 (*see also* diphthong)
~ vowel 102 (*see also* vowel)
perceptive (verb) 527
perfect **241**, 318 (*see also* converb, finite verbal form, participle)
peripheral (argument) 182
personal 44, 117, 137, 174, 182, **214-6**, **219**, **226-7**, 232, 252, 314,389, 446, 481, 484, 507, 525
~ possession 44 (*see also* possession)
~ pronoun 117, 137, 174, 182, **214-6**, **219**, **226-7**, 232, 389, 446, 481, 484
~ suffix 252, 314, 481, 484, 507, 525
personal-possessive (suffix)130, 253, 389, **398**, 480-2, 486, 489
personal-predicative (suffix) 481
pinyin (system) 54, **71**
phoneme 61, **77-80**, 88, **90**, 98, 116
contrasting ~ **90**, 98
phonemic 102, 114
~ transcription 114
~ unit 102 (*see also* unit)
phonetic 77-8, **80-1**, **89**, **92-4**, 102, 114-5
~ interpretation 78
~ parameter **89**, **92-3** (*see also* distinctive)
~ phenomenon **89**, **94**
~ system 77 (*see also* system)
~ term 78
~ transcription **80-1**, 114-5
~ unit 102 (*see also* unit)
~ value 77
phonological **78**, **80**, 82, 115**, 408**
~ consideration **78**
~ description **80**
~ level 82 (*see also* level)
~ material **408**
~ size **408**
~ transcription 115
phraseological (unit) 380 (*see also* unit)
pleonasm 138
plural 112, 114, **132**, **136-9**, 141, 159, 163, 215-6, 218-9, 221, 225-6, 231-3, 295, 304, 381, 389, 446-7
~ form **138**, 218
~ formation **139**
~ reference 159
~ suffix 112, 114, **132**, **136-7**, 141
plurality 94, 99, 130, 132, **136-9**, 141, 150, 160-1, 163, 232, 250, 380-1
verbal ~ **250**
plurals 132, **134**, **136**, 141, 221, 380
plusperfect 312
polyphonic (letters) **50**
polyfunctional **233**, 455, 502, 505
~ case 455, 502, 505
~ verbal form **233**
polyfunctionality **124-5**, **276**, 352, 530
polypredication 467
polypredicative 416, 428, 436, 455, 464, 466, 471, 473, 479-80, 484, 488, 495, 498-9, 501-2, 505- 11, 513, 518-9, 532
adverbial ~ 510-1
temporal ~ 510
~ construction 416, 428, 436, 455, 464, 466, 470-1, 473, 479-80, 484, 488, 495, 498-9, 501-2, 505-9, 513, 518-9, 532
~ syntax 470
polypredicativity 532
polysemantic (verb, word) **125**, **341**
polysemantics **124**, 352, 530
positive (form) 304, **314-5**, 325, 369, 402, 416
position 42, 44, 82, 99, 400, 402, **410- 13**, **415-6**, **419**-20, 434, 490, 496, 499
intervocalic ~ 82, 99 (*see also* intervocalic)
nominal ~ **416** (*see also* nominal)
noun ~ **412**
predicative ~ 402 (*see also* predicative)
preverbal ~ **411** (*see also* preverbal)

sentence-initial ~ **407**, **410**, **412-3**, **416**, 427 (*see also* sentence-initial)
string-initial ~ **410**
structural ~ 420 (*see also* structural)
subject ~ **415**, 427 (*see also* subject)
syntactic ~ 400 (*see also* syntactic)
tongue ~ **93** (*see also* tongue)
word initial ~ 42, 44
~ of parts of sentence **393**, **395**, 405 (*see also* parts of sentence)
~ of predicate 434
~ of subject **416**, **419**, 425, 431-4, 490, 496, 499
possession 44, 128, 137, **152-3**, **219-20**, 227, 253, **263**, 482, 489
personal ~ 44 (*see also* personal)
possessive **176**, **178**, **219**, **214-6**, 389, **390-1**, **398-400**, **416**, 437, 461-2, 482-3, 486, 489, 490-2, 507
~ construction **398**, 482-3, 491-2 (*see also* construction)
~ declension 489
~ form **219**, 462, 482
~ function **176**, **178**, **391**
~ meaning **219**, **399**, 490
~ pronoun **214-6**
~ relation(ships) **178**, 389, **390**, **398-400**, 461, 482-3, 489, 491
~ semantics **398** (*see also* semantics)
~ structure 492 (*see also* structure)
~ suffix 128, 137, **219-20**, 227, 253, 389, 391, **399**, **416**, 437, 486, 507
~ word-combination 482
possessive-predicative (suffix) **267**
possessivity (category of) **416** (*see also* category)
possessor 176, **182**, 436
potentiality **305**, 451
pragmatic 172, **245**, **247**, **403-5**, **407**, **409**
~ information **245**
~ interpretation **247**
~ opposition **405** (*see also* opposition)
~ organization **409**
~ relation **407**
~ structuring 172, **403-4**
~ topic **409** (*see also* topic)
pragmatics **405**, **409**
discourse ~ **405**, **409** (*see also* discourse)
Prague School tradition **405**
predicate 253-5, 259, 278, 313, 318, 388, **392-5**, **400-3**, **406-7**, **413**-4, **419-22**, **424**, **428-9**, **431-2**, 434, 437, 439, 443, 445, 447-8, 470, 473, 476-9, 480-4, 486, 489, 492, 494, 496-7, 501-2, 510, 518-20, 525
dependent ~ 395
main ~ 431, 496
nominal ~ 368, 373, 388, **401-2**, **413**, **419-22**, **429**, **432**, 437 (*see also* nominal)
principal ~ 254, 392, 395, 403, 470, 478, 484, 492, 494, 497, 502 (*see also* principal)
simple ~ 439
subordinate ~ 253-4, 278, 313, 318, **392**, 470, 473, 477-8, 480, 486, 489, 510, 518-20 (*see also* subordinate)
verbal ~ 438
predication 232, 273, **407**, 413, 417, **419**, **422-3**, **426**, **428**, 437, 507
nominal ~ 232, 413, 417, **419**, **422-3**, **426**, **428**, 437 (*see also* nominal)
subordinate ~ 273, 507 (*see also* subordinate)
verbal ~ 419
predicative 170, 175, 254-5, **368**, **371**, **373**, 387, **399-402**, **416-20**, **427-31**, **435**- 7, 455, 464, 466-71, 473-7, 479-80, 482- 3, 486, 488-92, 494, 496-9, 500-5, 507-9, 512-3, 516, 519-20, 523, 531
~ actant 455, 489-90, 507, 509
~ adverb 502-3
~ adverbial modifier 503
~ argument 490 (*see also* argument)
~ attribute 437, 506
~ base 473, 475, 479, 501
~ characteristics 489

~ construction 254, 263, 418, 427-30, 455, 464, 466-71, 474-7, 479-80, 482-3, 488-92, 494, 498-9, 500-3, 505, 512-3, 516, 520, 523 (*see also* construction)
~ declension (of participles) 170, 254, 480, 486, 488-9, 498-9, 504, 507, 531
~ direct complement 170
~ form 473
~ function 489, 507
~ head **417**, 507, 519
~ nominalization **429-30**, **435-**7, 479 (*see also* nominalization)
~ object 175, 254-5, **418-9**, 455, 486, 489, 490, 500, 507-9
~ particle **368**, **371**, **373**
~ part 467-9, 473, 479
~ position 402 (*see also* position)
~ relationships **399-402**, 419, 428-9, 482-3
~ structure 387, 437, 489, 501 (*see also* structure)
~ subject 254-5, **416-17**, 420, 428, 436, 486, 489, 496-7, 499, 501, 507, 509 (*see also* subject)
~ substantive 430-1
~ suffix 437
~ word-combination 482 (*see also* word-combination)
~ word form 387 (*see also* word form)
~ unit 467, 469, 470 (*see also* unit)
predicative-possessive (suffix) 253, 481, 486
predicativity 128, **369-70**, **373**, 422, **424**, 475, 480, 483, 489
nominal ~ **424** (*see also* nominal)
subordinate ~ 480, 483, 489
predictability **408**
prepalatalized (vowel) 92
presupposition **405**, **407**
preverbal (position) **411** (*see also* position)
principal 162, **163**, **166**, **176**, 233, **252**, **254**, **260**, 267-8, 276, 282, 288, 291, 310, 313, 321, 360-1, 388-9, 476, 392-3, 395, 422, 425, 427-8, 433, 437, 464, 468-70, 473-5, 478-81, 484, 487-8, 492, 494, 497, 500-5, 507, 511, 513-4, 517, 519
~ actant 437 (*see also* actant)
~ action **267-8**, **276**, **282**, **313**, 361, 476, 503-5, 511, 513
~ clause 162, **252**, **254**, **260,** 285, 288, 291, 310, 313, 321, 360, 388, 395, 469, 473-5, 479-81, 487-8, 500-1, 507, 513, 517, 519 (*see also* clause)
~ component 388-9, 393
~ constituent 425
~ form **313**
~ parts of complex sentence 392, 513-4
~ parts of sentence 388, 507
~ predicate 254, 392, 395, 403, 470, 478, 484, 492, 494, 497, 502 (*see also* predicate)
~ predicative construction 500, 507
~ predicative member 233
~ syntactic case **163**, **166**, **176**
~ syntactic role **166**
productive 127, **194**, **234-5**, 332
~ derivational pattern 332 (*see also* derivational, pattern)
~ suffix 127, **194**, **234-5**
prohibitive 100, 285, 295, **304**-5, 374, 438, 448
~ form 305
~ mood 100, 285, 295, **304**, 374, 438, 448 (*see also* mood)
prolative 331, 487-8
pronominal 113, 137, **214**, **218**, **220**-1, **223**, **326**-8, **328-9**, **334**, 352-3, 355, 358, 360, 366, 465, 467
~ adjective **214**
~ adverb **214**, **218**, **220**, **223**, **326**, **328-9**, **334**, 352-3, 355, 358, 366, 467
~ element 137
~ function **227**
~ numeral (=indefinite) **214**, **218**, 360, 465 (*see also* indefinite)
~ origin of conjunction **353**
~ substitute 228
~ verb **214**
~ word **214**, **218,** 221, 223, 327-8
proposition **407**, **409**, 479-80, 489,

493, 502-3, 505
subordinate ~ 486 (*see also* subordinate)
prosodic 404-5
~ characteristics 404
~ factor 405
pseudo-attributive (predicative construction) 517
punctuation (mark) **72-3**

Q
qualitative **332-3**, 382, **390**, **400**
~ adverb **332**, 400
~ characteristics 382, **390**
~ evaluation **333** (*see also* evaluation)
quantitative **328**, **333**, **389**, **400**
~ adverb **328**, **400**
~ characteristics **389**
~ evaluation **333** (*see also* evaluation)

R
rank **245**, **247**, **413**, **415-6**, **418-9**, 425, 427-8, 489
communicative ~ **245**, **247**, 419, 428 (*see also* communicative)
initial (=basic) ~ **245**
rank-ordering (device) **416-17**, 425, 428
real (action) **305**
recipient **182-3**, 436 (*see also* semantic role)
reciprocal **252**
reduplication 139, 141, 223, **380-1**, **383**
reduplicative (combination) **381**
reference 159, **163-4**, **172**, 295, **391**, 453
definite (specific) ~ **164**, **172**, **391**, 453
generic (=non-specific) ~ **163**
referent 215, 221, **407-8**, 425, 532
discourse ~ **407** (*see also* discourse)
referential 247, **407-8**
~ entity **407**
~ predictability **408**
~ properties 247
referentiality **408**, **416**
reflection **388-9**
reflexive 214, **225-6**, 237, **243**, **247**
~ meaning 214, 237, **243**, **247**
~ pronoun **225-6**, 414
reflexive-possessive **225-7**
~ meaning **227**
~ pronoun **225-6**
regressive (assimilation) **216** (*see also* assimilation)
relative 221, **224-5**, 267, **313**, 390, **408**, **415**, 467, 473-4, 478
~ adverb 473
~ characteristics 390
~ function 221
~ meaning **224-5**
~ pronoun 467, 473-4, 478
~ tense 267, **313** (*see also* tense)
~ topicality **408**, **415** (*see also* topicality)
relative-possessive (characteristics) 390
rematic (unfocussed) object 172
restrictive **347**, **351**, 371, 406
~ meaning **351**, 371
~ particle 406
~ postposition **347**, **351**
resultative (conjunction) **357-8**
rheme **405-6**, **408**, 435, 532
rhematic **403**, **411**, **413**, **417**
~ focus **411** (*see also* focus)
~ part **413**, **417**
~ parts of sentence **403** (*see also* parts of sentence)
rhetorical (question) 526
rhyshmic-intonational (device) 471
root 172, 233
rule **392-3** *See* stress
~ of word-order **392-3**

S
scalar **408**, 531
~ category 531
~ dimension **408**
scale **408**
code-quantity ~ **408**
script 30, 31, 42, 44, **49**, **50-1**, **72-3**, **77**-8
"circled and dotted" ~ **50**
cursive ~ 72
ideographic ~ **49**
semicursive ~ 72
square ~ **51**
syllabic ~ 31, **49-51**
vocalic ~ 44

[Aramaic] **49**
[Chinese] **49**, **51**
[Jurchen] ~ **50**
[Manchu] 30, 42, **49**, **72-3**, **77**
[Mongolian] **49-51**
[Qitan] **49**
[Russian] 78
[Sibe] 42
[Sogdian] **49**
[Syriac] **49**
[Uigur] **49**
self-deprecatory (term) **227-9**
semantic 3, **116-7**, 123-4, 126, **132-3**, 141-2, **145-6**, 154, 157, 163-4, 172, 176, 178, 206, 214, 220, 231, 233, 244-5, 247, 279, **332**-3, 356, 390, 392, 398, 404, **411**, 417, 425, 431, 469, 476-7, 479-80, 489-90, 499, 518, 528
~ basis 528
~ category 244 (*see also* category)
~ characteristics 123, 133, 404
~ class **132**, 431, 499, 518
~ classification of predicates 417
~ context 141, 164, 231
~ criterion 133
~ dependence 469
~ element 245
~ function 176
~ group 126, 154, 206, 214, 220, 333
~ level 142 (*see also* level)
~ hierarchy 469
~ opposition 3, **116-7**, 172 (*see also* opposition)
~ position 157 (*see also* position)
~ relation(ships) 163, 233, 356, 390, 392
~ similarities 124, 279
~ structure 142, **411**, 425, 476-7, 479-80 (*see also* structure)
~ subgroup **145-6**, **332**
~ transformation **247**
semantic role **163**, **166**, **169**, **178**, **182-5**, **239-40, 244-8**, 300, 405, 436-7, 453, 455, 500-2
circumstantial ~ 436-7, 455, 502 (*see also* circumstantial)
~ of addressee **182-3**, 228, **244**, 300, 405, 436, 455
~ of agent **163**, **166**, **169**, **178**, **183, 239-40, 244-8**, 436, 453, 455 (*see also* agent)
~ of benefactive **182**, 436, 455 (*see also* benefactive)
~ of experiencer 166, **178**, **182**, 436 (*see also* experiencer)
~ of instrument **182**, **184-5**, 436, 455 (*see also* instrument)
~ patient **163**, **166**, **178**, **182**, **244-5**, 436, 453 (*see also* patient)
~ of recipient **182-3**, 436, 455
~ stimulus **163**, **166**, 436, 453, 500-1 (*see also* stimulus)
semantics 119, 24-5, **126-33**, **145**, **147-8**, 163, **168-9**, 172, 180, **188**, 223, 234, 241, 244-5, 252, 259, 274, 326, **398**, 432, 436, 449, 459, 468, 476, 478, 482, 484, 489-90, 492, 494-5, 497-8, 501, 503, 519
abstract ~ 124-5
attributive ~ **398**, 482, 484 (*see also* attributive)
emotional ~ **188** (*see also* motional)
emotive ~ 498
mental ~ **168**
object ~ 127
possessive ~ **398** (*see also* possessive)
qualitative ~ 180
syntactic ~ 478, 489
spatial-temporal ~ 326
~ of apprehension 274 (*see also* apprehension)
~ of evaluation 259, 492, 497-8, 501 (*see also* evaluation)
~ of manipulation of information 494-5
~ of modality 449
~ of motion **169**, 449
~ of possession 482
~ of quality 119, **126-32**, **145**, **148**, 180, 432, 459
semivowel 55, **57**
sentence 233, 252, 254, 259, 275, 285, 288, 291, 310, 320, 344, 349, 352-3, 358, 361-2, 365, 387-8, 391, 395, **403-5**, 409, **411**, 419, 428-30, 435-8, 440, 442, 455, 457, 459, 466-8, 470-

5, 478-81, 484, 486-90, 500-1, 503, 505, 507, 509-10, 513-4, 516-8, 520-1, 523, 531
affirmative ~ 387 (*see also* affirmative)
complex ~ 233, 252, 254, 259, 275, 285, 288, 291, 310, 320, 344, 349, 352-3, 358, 361-2, 365, 387, 391, 395, 403-4, 436, 440, 455, 457, 459, 466, 471-5, 478-80, 484, 486, 489-90, 500, 503, 505, 507, 509-10, 513- 4, 516-8, 520-1, 523, 531
composite ~ 387, 403, 466-8 (*see also* composite)
compound ~ 259, 403-4, 466, 471-2, 479 (*see also* compound)
expanded ~ 388
imperative ~ 387 (*see also* imperative)
interrogative ~ 387 (*see also* interrogative)
negative ~ 443
nominal ~ 422, 437-8 (*see also* nominal)
simple ~ 387-8, 403, 419, 428-30, 435, 437, 457, 468, 479-81, 484, 487, 503
verbal ~ 435-8 (*see also* verbal)
~ stress 405, 409 (*see also* stress)
~ comment **411**
~ particle 440, 442, 470
~ structure **404-5**, 487-8 (*see also* structure)
sentence-initial (position) **407**, **410**, **412-3**, **416**, 427 (*see also* position)
separative 94, **194**, 331, 487-8
shaman 19, 20, 39
shamanism 19, 20, 37, 39
shwa [ə] **78**, **94**
singular 159, 161, 163, 215, 218-9, 231-2, 226, 233, 295, 304, 389, 446-7
singulars **132**
sonorants **87**
sound 27, 50, 54, 71-2, **77-80**, **86**-8, 90-1, **94**, **97-8**, 102
voiced ~ 102
voiceless ~ 102
~ system 49, **77**, **94** (*see also* system)
~ value **78-80**, **94**, **97-8** (*see also* value)
[Chinese] 71-2
[Manchu] **77**
[Mongolian] **79**
specificity **416**
spirant **86-7**
back ~ **87**
dorsal ~ **87**
voiced back ~ **86**
voiced non-sonorous simple ~ **87**
voiceless dorsal ~ **86**
voiceless non-sonorous simple ~ **87**
stem 3, 5, 44, 89, 90, 93-6, 100-1, **112-9**, 127, 136, 141-2, 145, 152, 162-3, 166, 175, 194, 196, 215, 231, **233-6**, **239**, **241**, **246**, **249**, **253**, 255, **261**, 264, 267, **280**, 282, **286**, **296-7**, **304**, 313, 342, 346, 360, 369, 379, 392, 435, 460, 486-7
derivative ~ **112, 234** (*see also* derivative)
irregular ~ **113**
nominal ~ 3, 5, **112**, **115-6**, 234 (*see also* nominal)
noun ~ **113-4**, 136, 162-3, 166, 175, 236, 487
pronominal ~ **113**
simplex ~ **112**
unsuffixed ~ 102 (*see also* unsuffixed)
verb ~ **113**, **115**
verbal ~ 3, 5, 44, 100, **112**, **116-7**, 152, 194, 196, **233-5**, **239**, **241**, **246**, **249**, **253**, **261**, **280**, **286**, **296-7**, **304**, 342, 346, 360, 369, 379, 435 (*see also* verbal)
word ~ 89, 90, 93-6
stimulus **163**, **166**, 436, 453, 500-1 (*see also* semantic role)
stop **73-4**
full ~ **73-4**
stops **65**, **87**, 102
alveolar ~ **87** (*see also* alveolar)
fortis ~ **65**, **87** (*see also* fortis)
lenis ~ **65**, **87**, 102 (*see also* lenis)
tense ~ 102

stress **99**, **100-2**, 405, 409
secondary ~ **102**
sentence ~ 405, 409
~ rule **99**, **100**
string (of suffixes) **113**
string-initial position **410** (*see also* position)
structure 4, 6, **51**, **102-3**, 112, 116, 125, 142, 159, 182, 195, 231, 244, 247, 275, 314, 330-1, 352, 387, 389, 391-3, 397, **403**, **404-6**, **408-9**, **411**, 425, 429-30, 436-7, 468, 471, 476-8, 479-80, 489, 492-3, 496-8, 501, 506, 519, 525, 527
formal ~ 429-30 (*see also* formal)
grammatical ~ 4, 116, 125, 231, 275, 393, 403, 405, 436 (*see also* grammatical)
graphic ~ **51** (*see also* graphic)
informative ~ **408**, 496-7 (*see also* informative)
lineal ~ **406** (*see also* lineal)
morphological ~ 112, 195, 247, 352, 475 (*see also* morphological)
possessive ~ 492
predicative ~ 387, 437, 489, 501 (*see also* predicative)
semantic ~ 142, **411**, 425, 476-7, 479-80 (*see also* semantic)
sentence ~ **404-5**, 425, 527
"subject – predicate" ~ 425
syllabic ~ **102-3** (*see also* syllabic)
syntactic ~ 244, 387, 392, 403, 425, 468, 471, 476-8, 506 (*see also* syntactic)
synthetic ~ 6 (*see also* synthetic)
topic-comment ~ **403**, **409**
topic-focus ~ **409**
~ of dependent word 391
~ of sentence 493
~ of verbal forms 314, 525
~ of word-combination 389
~ of word form 468
structural 3, 368-9, 420, 429
~ component 3, 368-9
~ element 429
~ position 420
stylistic (means) 404
subdialect 30
subject 254-5, **415-17**, **420**, **424-9**, 436, 480-1, 486, 489, 496-7, 499, 501, 507, 509
actual ~ **420**
category of ~ **424-5**
grammatical ~ **411**, **413-15**, **425-8**
predicative ~ 254-5, **416-17**, 420, 428, 436, 486, 489, 496-7, 499, 501, 507, 509 (*see also* predicative)
subordinate ~ 480-1 (*see also* subordinate)
thematic ~ **425**, **427**
~ position **415**, 427 (*see also* position)
subject-creating (construction) **415-16**, **418**, 425 (*see also* construction)
subordinate 162-3, 173, 176, **253-4**, 259, 263, 268, 276, 278, 282, 288, **313**, 317, 344, 359-61, 365, 367, 388, **391-2**, **396**-7, 399, **400**, 428, 457, 462-4, 467, 471, 473, 475-81, 483, 486-9, 491-4, 498-9, 500-5, 507-8, 510-1, 513-4, 516, 518-20
~ action 268, 276, 278, 503-5, 507-9, 511
~ clause 162, 173, **253-4**, 288**, 313, 317,** 359-60, 365, 367, 397, 399, 467, 473, 475- 7, 479-81, 486-8, 491, 493-4, 500-1, 507-8, 513, 518-9 (*see also* clause)
~ component **392**, **400**, 428, 457, 463-4, 476
~ construction 263, 477-8, 480, 483, 489, 492-4, 498-9, 500-3, 505, 516 (*see also* construction)
~ element 396
~ form 313
~ noun 176, 282, 361, **391**, 462
~ part of complex sentence **392**, 486, 513-4
~ part of predicative construction 471
~ predicate 253-4, 278, 313, 318, **392**, 470, 477-8, 480, 486, 488, 510, 518- 20 (*see also* predicate)
~ predication 273, 507 (*see also* predication)
~ predicative construction 505,

507-9
~ predicativity 480, 83, 89
~ proposition 486 (*see also* proposition)
~ relationships 259, 388, 518
~ subject 480-1 (*see also* subject)
~ word 344, **391**, **396**
~ word-combination 163
subordinating **356-7**,
~ conjunction **356-7**
subordinating relationships 388, **391-3**, **396**, **398**, **400-2**
adverbial ~ 388
attributive ~ 388
objective ~ 388
subordination 132, 163, 388, **391-2**, **401-2**, 466-9, 475, 513
collateral ~ **401**
means of ~ 388
syntactic ~ 132 , **391** (*see also* syntactic)
substantive-possessive **153**, **155**, **263**
~ meaning **153**
~ suffix **153**, **155**, **263**
substantivization **154**, **263**, 493
substantivizer 219, 225, 227, **266**, **419**, 428, 433, 435
substitute 206, 218, 227-9, 231, 422
substitution 214
suffixation 5
suprasegmental (unit) 6 (*see also* unit)
superlative **153**, **159-60**, 162, 276
~ construction **159** (*see also* construction)
~ degree of quality **153**, **159-62**, 276 (*see also* degree)
~ quality **161**
suppositional (modal semantics) 370
syllabary **50-1**
syllabic 31, **50-1**, **102-3**
~ character 102
~ pattern **50** (*see also* pattern)
~ structure **102-3** (*see also* structure)
~ writing system **51**
syllabication **103**
syllable 27, 42-3, 50-1, 53-4, 57, 60, 62, 64-5, 69, **71-2**, 83, **85**, **88**, 90, **95-7**, 99, **103**, **107-8**, **110**, **117-9**, 225, 341
closed ~ 99, **103**, 341 (*see also* closed)
initial ~ 90, **95-6** (*see also* initial)
open ~ 99, **103** (*see also* open)
~ boundary **88**
[Chinese] **71-2**, **85**
symmetrical 356-7
~ elements 356
~ relationships 357, 392
syncretic (form) **126-7**, **130**
synharmonism (=vowel harmony) 44, **89**, **94-5**, **97**
total ~ **95**
synonym 101, 139, 380
synonymous 141, 382
~ meaning 382
~ words 141
syntactic 3, 6, 126-7, 129, 132-3, 142-3, 145, 156-7, 159, 161-3, 166, 171, 176, 183, 190, 229, 231, 233, **244-5**, 247-9, 252-3, 254, 264, 266-7, 275, 281, 283, 289, 303, 313, 326, **344-5**, 348, **351-5**, 354, **356-61**, **365-9**, 387-8, **391**-3, 397, 400-**6**, **409**, 418-9, 425, 429, 434, 437, 447, 450, 457, 466-71, 473-4, 476-9, 482, 484, 487, 488-9, 502, 505-6, 509, 510-2, 516, 518, 522, 525, 530-2
~ binomial 470
~ bond 253, 467-8, 484, 502, 506
~ calque 159, 229, 473 (*see also* calque)
~ category 163, 244, 387, 531 (*see also* category)
~ characteristics 404, 468
~ component 457, 467, 476
~ constituent 405
~ construction 156, 159, 161, 249, 281, 406, 429, 434, 471, 479, 482, 532 (see *also* construction)
~ context 143, 171, 231, 264, 267, 303, 313, 351-2, 357-61, 365, 369, 418, 425, 437, 450, 468, 471, 505, 525
~ dependence 473
~ device 392
~ division of a sentence 393
~ element 244, 266, 354, 357, 419
~ feature 133

~ function 127, 129, 166, 176, 183, 190, 233, 248, 252, 326, 348, 352, 356, 464, 484
~ group 393, 397
~ group of predicate 429
~ group of subject 429
~ level 3, 142 (*see also* level)
~ meaning 190, 345, 357-8, 360, 365, 366, 470, 473, 475, 509, 511, 516, 531
~ means 358, 404
~ nominalization 489 (*see also* nominalization)
~ object 388
~ opposition **405** (*see also* opposition)
~ paragraphs 469-71
~ pattern 359-60, 387, 435 (*see also* pattern)
~ period 469-71
~ position 157, 247, 400 (*see also* position)
~ relation(ships) 162, 345, 352, 357-8, 388-91, 393, 402, 435, 469-70, 530-1
~ role 126, 145, 162, **244-5**, 487, 509
~ rule 387
~ semantics 478, 489
~ structure 244, 387, 392, 403, 425, 468, 471, 476-8, 489, 506 (*see also* structure)
~ subordination 132, **391** (*see also* subordination)
~ topic **409** (*see also* topic)
~ unit 344, 352, 355, 358, 392, 419, 466, 470, 479 (*see also* unit)
~ word 6**,** 190, 254, 275, 283, 289, **344-5**, **349**, **351**, **353-5**, **359-60**, **365-8**, 447, 470, 474, 488, 510-2, 516, 518, 522, 530
~ word-combination 357, 401 (*see also* word-combination
syntactic creating (construction) 405
syntactic-topic (construction) **413-4**
syntagma **391**
noun ~ **391**
predicative-argument ~ **391**
verbal-noun ~ **391**
synthetic 5, 6, 100, 138, 162-3, 240-1, 250, 295, 303, **310**, 380, 488, 518, 532-3
~ category 163 (*see also* category)
~ form 6, 100, 240-1, 250, 295, 303, **310** 380, 488, 533
~ language 5
~ means 138, 518
~ structure 6 (*see also* structure)
~ verbal form 532
synthetism 6
system 3, 49, **77**, **83**, **85-6**, **94**, 125, 137, 168, 393, 507
consonantal ~ **86**
declension ~ 507
grammatical ~ 3, 168 (*see also* grammatical)
morphological ~ 125 (*see also* morphological)
phonetic ~ **77** (*see also* phonetic)
sound ~49, **77**, **94** (*see also* sound)
tribal ~ 137 (*see also* tribal)
vocalic ~ **83**, **85**

T
taboo 19
temporal 267, 309, 311, 313, 320-1, **347**, **349**, **357-8**, **361-2**, 421, 436 447, 502-6, 510, 512, 519, 523, 533
~ clause 361
~ conjunction **357**
~ construction 510
~ form 421, 436
~ meaning 309, **358**, **361**, 447, 503-5, 510, 519, 533
~ postposition **347**, **349**, 506
~ relationship 320-1, **357**, **361-2**, 455, 504, 512, 523
~ semantics 349, 502
tense 252, 256, 269, 286-7, **290**, **295-6**, **313**, 387, 440, 484, 489
absolute ~ **313,** 346, 348, 361
relative (=retrospective) ~ 267, **313** (*see also* relative)
tenseness **93**
theme **405-7**, **413**, 426, 436, 532
thematic **405**, **408-9**, **413-4**, 425, 427
~ continuity **408**
~ subject **409**, **413-4**, 425, 427
~ transformation **405**
tongue **89**, **91-3**, **97**

~ height **89**, **91-3**, **97** (*see also* height)
~ position **93** (*see also* position)
~ root **91-3**
topic 171-2, 275, 404, **405-15**, 425-6, 530, 532
clausal ~ 171
first clausal ~ **408**
pragmatic ~ **409** (*see also* pragmatic)
secondary ~ 171-2, **405**, **408**,
syntactic ~ **409** (*see also* syntactic)
~ impotance **408**
~ marker 403, **410-11**, **413-4** (*see also* marker)
topic-forming (marker) **417**
topic-marking (device) **416**, **425**
topicality **245**, **247**, **408**, **427-8**
relative ~ **408**, **415** (*see also* relative)
toponym 19
transitive (verb) 3, 166-7, 169, 173, **232**, **245**, 477 (*see also* verb)
transitivity **396**
direct ~ **396**
indirect ~ **396**
tribe 19, 23, 30-2, 34-5, 36, 132
[Manchu] 132
[Mongol] 35
[Sibe] 31
tribal 17-9, 32, 137
~ federation 17-8
~ headmen 19
~ system 137 (*see also* system)
~ unification 32
trisyllabic (word) **105**
typological (affinity) 4, 368, 468

U
unaspirated (consonant) **87** (*see also* consonant)
unfocussed (object) 172
unit 124-5, 179, 275, 380, 387, 392, 409, 413, 419, 425, 428, 470, 479, 489
communicative ~ 428, 489 (*see also* communicative)
homogeneous ~ 223 (*see also* homogeneous)
language ~ 124-5, 275, 387, 413, 425
lexical ~ 291, 387 (*see also* lexical)
linguistic ~ 409
nominal ~ 179 (*see also* nominal)
phraseological ~ 380 (*see also* phraseological)
predicative ~ 467, 469-70
syntactic ~ 344, 352, 355, 358, 392, 419, 470, 479 (*see also* syntactic)
~ of communication 387
~ of syntax 387
Unknown (information) **405**, 532
unreal **305**, **317**, **371**, 520
~ action **305**
~ condition **317**
~ (conditional) sentence **371**
unsuffixed (stem) 102 (*see also* stem)
utterance 123, 182, 231, 240, 302, 336, 368, 370, 372, 387, 392, **405-7**, **413**, 429, 436, 478-9, 518, 526
[Manchu] 123, 182, 392
uvular(s) 52-4, **61-2**, **86-8**, **97-8**
uvulapalatal **87**

V
valency 168, 173, **267**, 436-7, 470, 477, 513
agent ~ 470, 477, 513
obligatory ~ 436
optional ~ 437
subject ~ 470, 477, 513
valency-decreasing (derivation) **251** (*see also* derivation)
valency-increasing (derivation) **247** (*see also* derivation)
value **78-80**, **94**, **97-8**
sound ~ **78-80**, **94**, **97-8** (*see also* value)
variant **79**
graphic ~ **79**
~ of back consonants **98**
~ of phoneme **79**
velar(s) 52-5, 57, **61-3**, 71, 86, **97-8**
verb 3, 125, 168, 173, 273, 310-2, **413**, 477, 494-5, 507, 527-8
emotive ~ 495 (*see also* emotive)
intransitive ~ 3, 167, **232**, **245**, 477 (*see also* intransitive)
main ~ 310-2
mental ~ 494, 507, 527
transitive ~ 3, 166-7, 169, 173, **232**, **245** (*see also* transitive)

two-placed ~ 168, 173
~ of locution 273
~ of perception 494
~ of speech 528
~ phrase **413**
~ stem 125
verb-deriving (morphology) **247**
verb-final (language) **408**
verb-predicate 402
verbal 3, 5, 44, 94, 100-1, 103, **112**, **116-7**, 123, 125, 152, 194, 196, **231-5**, **238-9**, **241**, **244-6**, **249**, **252-3**, **254**, **261**, **267**, **280**, **286 289**, **291**, **296-7**, **299**, **304-5**, **314**, **322-4**, **325-6**, 329, 342, 346, 360, 369, 375, 379, 401, 410, 412, **416**, 425, 435-8, 446, 448-9, 455, 484, 489, 505, 519, 525, 530
~ actant 507
~ adverb **326**
~ analytical construction 530
~ characteristics 489
~ construction 267 (*see also* construction)
~ expression 412
~ government 174, 532 (*see also* government)
~ form 101, 103, 123, 125, **231-2**, **238**, **244-6**, **252**, **254**, **267**, **289**, **291**, **297**, **299**, **304-5**, **314**, **322-4**, 326, 329, 369, 375, 401-2, 410, 425, 436-7, 448-9, 484, 519, 525, 532
~ lexeme 124, **238**, **244** (*see also* lexeme)
~ marker 123 (*see also* marker)
~ noun 174, 196-7, 255, **416**, 455
~ origin of conjunction **353**
~ sentence 402, 435-8, 435-8 (*see also* sentence)
~ stem 3, 5, 44, 100, **112**, **116-7**, 152, 194, 196, **233-5**, **239**, **241**, **246**, **249**, **253**, **261**, **280**, **286**, **296-7**, **304**, 342, 346, 360, 369, 379, 435, 446 (*see also* stem)
~ suffix 94
~ word 280, 325
verbal predicate 438, 440, 443-7, 449-50
complex ~ 449-50
simple ~ 438, 440, 443-7
vocabulary 3, 42, 44
basic ~ 3
vocalic (inventory) 41, **89**, **91** (*see also* inventory)
vocative 30
voice 125, **244-9**, 406
active ~ **244-7**, 406 (*see also* active)
passive ~ 125, **244-9**, 406 (*see also* passive)
vowel 43, 54-5, 60, 62-3, 65-6, 69, 72, **77-80**, **83-5**, **88-97**, **99**, 102, 112-9, 218, 341
attraction of ~ **95**
back ~ **77**, **79**, **89**, **91-4**, **97**, 341
closed ~ **89** (*see also* closed)
front ~ **77**, **79**, **89**, **91-4**, 97, 341
geminate ~ **83-5**, 103, 113-6 (*see also* geminate)
guttural ~ **77-8**
"hard" ~ **89-3**, **95-8**
high ~ **93**
high back ~ **91**
high central ~ **91**
high front ~ **80**, **87- 88**, **91**
high round ~ **80**
initial ~ **96**, **99**, 100 (*see also* initial)
"lax" ~ **93**
low ~ **92-3**
low back ~ **97**
mid-central ~ **78**, **94**, **97**
mid-front ~ **78**, **94**
neutral ~ **89-94**, 341
open ~ **89** (*see also* open)
palatal ~ **77-8**
penultimate ~ 102 (*see also* penultimate)
rounded ~ **94**
-RTR ~ **92**
+RTR ~ **92**
simple ~ 43, 114
"soft" ~ **89-3**, **95-8**, 118-9
"tense" ~ **93**
unstressed ~ 43
~ inventory **77**, **80**, **85** (*see also* inventory)
[Manchu] **77-9**, **95**
[Mongol] **79**
[Sibe] **78**
vowel harmony 44, **89-98**, **117**, 162, 165, 225, 261, 263, 463, 487,

490, 532 (*see also* synharmonism)
labial ~ 90, 95 (*see also* labial harmony)
palatal-velar ~ **93-4**, **97**, 487 (*see also* palatal-velar harmony)
step ~ **95**
[Evenki] **90**, **92-3**
[Orochon] **92-3**
[Proto-Tingusic] **91**
[Solon] **92**
[Tungusic] **91**, **93**

W
word-combination 169, 179, 204, 344, 349, 357, 361, 365, 380, 383, **387-91**, 396, 398, **400**-1, 437, 460, 482
attributive ~ **388-91**, 460 (*see also* attributive)
nominal ~ **400** (*see also* nominal)
non-predicative ~ 437
possessive ~ 482 (see also possessive)
predicative ~ 482 (see also predicative)
stable ~ 179
syntactic ~ 357, 401 (*see also* syntactic)
word form 387, **410**, **413**, 437, 468, 470 487, 509, 527-8, 530, 532
predicative ~ 387 (*see also* predicative)
[Altaic] 487
word formation 5, 112, 129, 132, 194, 233-5, 326, 531
full ~ 129
partial ~ 129
~ device 5
word-order 3, 6, 344, **392-3**, **395**, **403**, **406**, **408**, **410**
rule of ~ **392-3** (*see also* rule)
~ of SOV type **410**

Z
zero-agent **245**
zero expression 163, 253-4, 304, 317, 413, 486
zero-form 163-4
zero marker 175, 232

INDEX OF SUFFIXES, ANALYTICAL GRAMMATICAL FORMS AND SYNTACTIC WORDS

A

acame (POST "in accordance with;" it requires the form of the dative *de* from a preceding noun) 346

adali ("like," "same;" syntactic word: POST / CNJ; as a postposition it requires the genitive form *i* from a preceding word) 345, 359

aika (CNJ "if," "whether") 354, 358, 514

~ *bici* (COND.CNJ "if" + COND.CONV of the verb *bi-*) 359

~ *bihede* (COND.CNJ "if" + DAT. PART-*he* of the verb *bi-*) 359

~ *oci* (COND.CNJ "if" + COND.CONV of the verb *o-*) 354, 359

~ *ohode* ("every time," "always," frequently" NL:8; COND.CNJ "if" + DAT.PERF.PART-*ho* of the verb *o-*) 359

~ *seci* (COND.CNJ "if" + COND.CONV of the verb *se-*) 359

~ *sehede* (COND.CNJ "if," + DAT.PERF.PART-*he* of the verb *se-*) 359

aikabade (COND.CNJ "if," "in the case that") 353, 358, 514

aisilame (POST "in accordance with;" it requires the dative marker *de* from a preceding noun) 346

akū (NEG.COP: there is not, there are not, does not exist, is not here / there) 160, 260, 372-5, 377-8, 402, 502

akūci (CNJ "otherwise") 357, 471

amala (1. "behind;" 2. "after," "later" NL:14; syntactic word: POST "behind" / CNJ "after; as a postposition it requires the ablative marker *ci* from a preceding word") 346, 348, 361

terei ~ (CNJ "after that") 355

amargi (1. "back," "behind;" 2. "north" NL:14; POST "behind") 348

amasi (1. "backward, " "to the back;" 2. "after," "henceforth" NL:15; POST "to the back," "toward the back;" it requires the ablative marker *ci* from a preceding word) 346, 348

anggala (syntactic word: POST "in place of," "instead of," "rather than" / CNJ "instead of") 158, 359, 362

sere ~ (CNJ "instead of," "not only (but also)") 354, 357 (see also *sere*)

tere ~ (CNJ "in addition to") 355, 357

B

ba (SBSTR) 94, 266, 435

bade (CNJ "if," "in the case that," "when," "since") 190, 353-4, 357-8, 506, 532

bai (CNJ "but") 357

baru (POST "to," "towards;" it requires the genitive form *i* from a preceding word) 345, 347

-ba/-be (derivative suffix used to form nouns of quality) 152

be (ACC) 163, 166-75, 259-60, 487, 500

be (PTL used to form sentences) 369-70, 432, 470, 502

bi (COP) 73, 112, 182, 232, 368-9, 432, 445, 470, 502, 533

bi- (existential verb: to be, to exist, to have) 232, 353-4, 357-9, 365, 530

bici (COND.CONV of the verb *bi-*; used as an analogue of the CNJ "if") 314, 353, 358-9, 365-6, 525, 530

bicibe (CONC.CONV of the verb *bi-*; used as an analogue of the CNJs "although," "though") 314, 353, 355, 358, 360, 365, 525, 530
udu ~ (CONC.CNJ "although," "though" + CONC.CONV of the verb *bi-*) 355, 360 (see also *udu*)
bicina (IMP of the verb *bi-*: "let it be," "let it be in this way!," "isn't it true?") 301
bifi (PERF.CONV of the verb *bi-*) 365, 530
bihede (DAT.PERF.PART-*he* of the verb *bi-*; used as an analogue of the CNJs "if," "when") 353, 357, 359, 365, 525, 530
bimbime (used as an analogue of CONC.CNJ "however") 357, 471
bime (IMPF.CONV of the verb *bi-*; used as an analogue of CONN.CNJ "and") 353, 365, 471
bisirede (DAT.IMPF.PART-*re* of the verb *bi-*; used as an analogue of CNJ "when") 353, 357, 365, 525, 539
-bu (PASS/CAUS) 195, 197, 246-50

C
-ca/-ce/-co (associative suffix used to increase the number of participants of a situation) 243, 250-1
-cen (DIM) 155
ci (ABL) 157, 190-3, 204, 487
-ci (derivative suffix use to form nouns) 198
-ci (suffix used to form ordinal numerals) 203
-ci (COND.CONV) 123, 232, 278, 376, 514-5
-cibe (CONC.CONV) 123, 232, 280, 515-6
-cina(IMP / INT) 232, 301-2, 324, 376, 447
-cun (derivative suffix used to form nouns) 197

D
-da/-do (derivative suffix used to form nouns) 199
-da/-de/-do (derivative suffix used to form verbs) 236-7
dabala ("only," "merely;" POST "besides" NL:50; PTL used to form sentence) 369, 371, 432, 470, 502
dade ("originally," "at first," "in the beginning" NL:51; syntactic word: POST "in addition to" / CNJ "besides (that)," "when") 353, 356-7, 532
tere / terei ~ (CNJ "in addition to") 357
dahame (syntactic word: POST "according to, "in accordance with" / CNJ "because," "since;" it requires the accusative marker *be* from a preceding noun or a participle) 345-6, 354, 364-5
damu (CNJ "but") 352
dari (POST / PTL "each," "every") 223, 328, 379
de (DAT) 94, 182-9, 487
dele (POST "on top;" it requires the genitive marker *i* from a preceding noun) 346-7
deleri (POST "on top;" requires the genitive marker *i* from a preceding noun) 346-7
dere ("probably, " "likely" NL:58; PTL used to form sentence) 369-71, 440, 442, 470, 498, 502
dergi (POST "above," "over;" it requires the genitive marker *i* from a preceding noun) 346-7
dergide (POST "on;" it requires the genitive marker *i* from a preceding noun) 347
deri (ABL / SEP / PRLT) 94, 193-4, 487

dorgi (POST "inside;" it requires the genitive marker *i* from a preceding word) 348
dorgide (POST "inside;" it requires the genitive marker *i* from a preceding noun) 346-7
-du (derivative suffix used to form nouns) 199
duibuleci (CNJ "for example") 357

E
eibici (CNJ "or") 357, 471
eici (CNJ "or") 357, 471
eici … eici … (CNJ "either … or … ") 357
eicibe ("no matter," "be it as it may," "in any case" NL:71; CNJ "although," "though") 358
ele … ele … (CNJ "the more … the more …") 359
emgi (POST "with," "together with;" it requires the genitive marker *i* from a preceding noun) 202, 345-6, 349-50
ereni (CNJ "therefore") 359
eretele (POST "up till now," "up to this point" NL:77)
erinde (CNJ "at the time when," "when") 190, 353, 357, 506, 532

F
fejergi (POST "under, " "underneath:" it requires the genitive marker *i* from a preceding word 346-7
fejile (POST "under, " "underneath:" it requires the genitive marker *i* from a preceding word 346-7
-fi (PERF.CONV) 123, 232, 276-8
fonde (CNJ "when") 353, 357, 506, 532
-fun (derivative suffix used to form nouns) 197
funde (POST "in place of," "instead of," "for;" it requires the genitive marker *i* from a preceding word) 345-6

G
-ga/-ge (morpheme which is a final component of nominal stems) 114-5
-gan/-gen (DIM) 155
-gan/-gen/-gon (derivative suffix used to form nouns) 196
-giya (derivative suffix used to form verbs) 238
geli ("also," "still," "again;" CNJ "and") 356, 471
gese (syntactic word: POST "like" / CNJ "like;" as a postposition it requires the genitive marker *i* from a preceding noun) 345, 359
gojime (CNJ "although," "though") 358

H
-ha/-he/-ho (PERF.PART) 95, 100, 123, 240, 255, 263, 317, 490, 533
-ha/-he (morpheme which is a final component of nominal stems) 114
-habi/-hebi/-hobi (PAST.FINT) 123, 232, 290-1, 444, 470, 533
-hai/-hei/-hoi (CONV) 95, 100, 232, 281, 315
-hakū/-hekū (NEG.PART) 261
-hakūbi/-hekūbi (NEG.PAST.FINT) 291
-hakūn/-hekūn (INT.NEG.PART) 101, 325
-han/-hen/-hon (derivative suffix used to form nouns) 196
hanci (POST "near," "closed to," "by;" it requires the genitive marker *i* from a preceding word form) 346-7

-hiya/-hiye (derivative suffix used to form verbs) 238
-hon/-hun/-hūn (derivative suffix used to form nominal words) 148-50
hono ("still," "yet;" CONN.CNJ "and") 356
~ *bade* (CONN.CNJ "and") 356

I
i/ni (GEN) 142, 153, 156, 175-82, 205, 345-7, 391, 399, 400, 459, 461-2, 482
inu (1. "also," "too;" 2. "even" (adverb); 3. "so," "yes;" 4. "correct" NL:149; PTL used to form sentence) 369-70, 470, 498, 502
isirakū ("not as good as," "it's better to … " NL:150; as a syntactic word it requires the dative marker *de* from a preceding word form) 157, 368
isitala (POST "up to," "until;" it requires the dative marker *de* from a preceding word form) 283, 345-7

J
-ja/-je/-jo (1. derivative suffix used to form verbs; 2. ASP.DUR; 3. PEFL/PASS) 237, 242-3, 251
jai (1. "next," "following," "second;" 2. "again," "still;" 3. "later;" 4. "and" NL:153; CONN.CNJ "and") 471
jaka (POST "together with;" syntactic word used after IMPF.CONV: "just," "as soon as," "about to") 345, 367, 516
jakade (syntactic word: POST "to the presence of," "up to," "by," "in front of" / CNJ "when," "since," "because;" as a postposition it requires the genitive marker *i* from a preceding noun; as a conjunction it follows imperfect participles) 190, 345-8, 353, 358, 363-4, 506, 512, 531-2
jalin (syntactic word: POST "because of," "on account of" / CNJ "in order to;" as a postposition it requires the genitive marker *i* from a preceding noun; as a syntactic word of conjunction type it follows participles) 345, 358, 363, 506
erei ~ (CNJ "because of this") 358
jalinde (syntactic word: POST "for the sake of" / CNJ "because") 190, 506

K
-ka/-ke (morpheme which is a final component of nominal stems) 114
-ka/-ke/-ko (PERF.PART) 123, 151, 256, 261, 490
kai (PTL used to form sentence) 73, 291, 369, 374-5, 432, 434, 440, 442, 445, 498, 502
-kai/-kei/-koi (CONV) 281
-kan/-ken/-kon (DIM) 100, 150
kemuni ("still," "yet;" CONN.CNJ "and") 471
-ki (derivative suffix used to form nominal words) 200
-ki (OPT) 100, 293-4, 299-300, 445-7
-kina (IMP) 301, 447
-kini (IMP) 123, 232, 300-1, 447
-kiya/-kiye (derivative suffix used to form verbs) 238
-ku/-kū (derivative suffix used to form nouns) 196

L
-la/-le/-lo (morpheme which is a final component of nominal stems) 114
-la/-le/-lo (derivative suffix used to form verbs) 235
-la/-le (REL suffix used with participles) 225
-li (morpheme which is a final component of nominal stems) 114
-li (derivative suffix used to form verbs) 236

-*linggu*/-*linggū* (suffix used to form augmentatives) 156
-*liyan*/-*liyen* (DIM) 156
-*lji* (suffix used to form nouns) 198

M
manggi (syntactic word: POST "toward," "with" / CNJ "after;" as a postposition it requires the genitive marker after a preceding noun; as a conjunction it follows perfect participles or imperative forms) 345, 351, 361, 511, 531
-*mbi* (IMPF.FINT) 112, 232, 286-8, 441-3
-*mbihe* (PAST.FINT) 123, 232, 292, 445, 470, 533
-*mbihebi* (PAST.FINT) 292, 445, 470, 533
-*mbime* (CONV) 272-3
-*mbu* (PASS/CAUS) 246, 249
-*me* (IMPF.CONV) 43, 94, 112, 123, 125, 267-73, 315-6, 514
-*mi* (derivative suffix used to form verbs) 236
-*mji* (derivative suffix used to form nouns) 198
-*msi* (derivative suffix used to form nouns) 198
-*mna* (INT) 324-5, 376
-*mpi* (PERF.CONV) 276

N
-*n* (derivative suffix used to form nouns) 194-5
na (INT.PTL) 275-6
-*na*/-*ne*/-*no* (derivative suffix used to form verbs) 236
-*na*/-*ne*/-*no* (suffix which adds to verbs the meaning "to go to do smth.") 239-40
nakū ("as soon as;" syntactic word "after" used after imperative) 367
-*ndu* (REC) 251-2
-*ngga*/-*ngge*/-*nggo* (POSS / derivative suffix used to form nouns of quality) 152-3, 202, 462
-*nggala*/-*nggele*/-*nggolo* (CONV) 283-4
-*ngge* (NR) 94-5, 153, 203, 219-20, 226, 232, 263-5, 390, 399, 402, 412, 416-7, 418, 432, 466, 489, 490, 495, 499, 502
-*nggi* (suffix which adds to verbs the meaning "to send smb. to do smth.") 250
-*ngka*/-*ngke*/-*ngko* (PERF.PART) 255-6, 470, 490
-*ngkabi*/-*ngkebi*/-*ngkobi* (PAST.FINT) 290, 444, 470
ni (*n*) (INT.PTL) 73, 101, 322-4, 375, 377-8
ningge/-*ningge* (SBSTR) 94, 153-4, 160, 219, 226, 433
ninggude (POST "on top of;" it requires the genitive marker *i* from a preceding noun) 345, 347
nio (INT.PTL) 101, 324
-*niye* (derivative suffix used to form verbs) 238
-*nji* (suffix which adds to verbs the meaning "to come to do smth.") 240
-*nju* (suffix used to form nouns) 198
nofi/-*nofi* ("person;" used to form collective numerals) 205
nu (INT.PTL) 222
-*nu* (associative suffix used to increase the number of participants of a situation) 250

O
o (INT.PTL) 100, 323-4, 375-6
oci (COND.CONV from the verb *o*-; used as an analogue of the COND.CNJ "if;" TOP) 314, 353, 358-9, 365, 403, 410-1, 525, 530

tuttu ~ (CNJ "if like that," "if thus," "in that case) 358
uttu ~ (CNJ "if like this," "if so") 358
ocibe (CONC.CONV from the verb *o-*; used as an analogue of the CONC.CNJ "although," "though") 314, 353, 358, 360, 365, 525, 530
udu ~ (CONC.CNJ "although" + CONC.CONV from the verb *o-*) 360 (see also *udu*)
ofi (PERF.CONV from the verb *o-*; used as an analogue of the CNJ "because") 314, 353, 358, 365-6, 525, 530
tuttu ~ (CNJ "therefore," "so") 355, 359, 366
uttu ~ (CNJ "therefore," "so") 355, 359, 366
ohode (DAT.PERF.PART-*ho* from the verb *o-*; used as an analogue of the CNJ "if," "when") 314, 353, 357, 359-60, 565, 525, 530
tuttu ~ (CNJ "if like that") 355
uttu ~ (CNJ "if like this) 355
ojorode (DAT.IMPF.PART-*ro* from the verb *o-*; used as an analogue of the CNJ "when") 314, 353, 357, 365, 525, 530
ombi (IMPF.FINT from the verb *o-*; COP) 420, 502
onggolo (CONV from the verb *o-*; syntactic word: POST "in front of" / CNJ "before") 283-4
tere ~ (CNJ "before that, "beforehand") 355
otolo (CONV from the verb *o-*; POST "up to" / CNJ "until," "till;" as a postposition it requires the dative marker *de* from a preceding noun) 283-4, 345-6
tuttu ~ (CNJ "even thus" NL:287)

P
-pi (PERF.CONV) 123, 276

R
-ra/-re/-ro (derivative suffix used to form verbs) 235
-ra/-re/-ro (morpheme which is a final component of nominal stems) 114
-ra/-re/-ro (IMPF.PART) 95, 100, 240, 255, 263, 302, 304, 316, 479
-rahū (suffix with the meaning of apprehension) 100, 274, 307-8
-rakū (NEG.PART) 260-1, 316
-rakūn (INT.NEG.PART) 101, 325
-rao/-reo (INT.IMPF.PART used as IMP) 302-3, 439
-ri (morpheme which is a final component of nominal stems) 114
-ri (PL) 134, 136
-ri (suffix used to form nominal word with the meaning of high degree of quality and plurality) 150
-ri (suffix used to form multiplicative numerals) 205
-rsu (suffix used to form multiplicative numerals) 205
-ru (morpheme which is a final component of nominal stems) 114

S
-sa/-se/-so (PL) 134-7
saka (used with nominal words to form the meaning "like," "somewhat," "rather;" syntactic word "as soon as, "just" used after perfect participles) 156, 367, 516
sasa (POST "with;" it requires the genitive marker *i* from a preceding noun) 345-6, 349-50
seci (COND.CONV from the verb *se-*; used as an analogue of the CNJ "if;" TOP) 314, 353, 358-9, 365, 410, 525, 530

secibe (CONC.CONV from the verb *se-*; used as an analogue of the CNJ "although," "though") 314, 353, 358, 360, 365, 525, 530
udu ~ (CONC.CNJ "although" + CONC.CONV from the verb *se-*) 360 (see also *udu*)
secina (IMP from the verb *se-*: "let me say") 301-2
sehede (DAT.PERF.PART-*he*; used as an analogue of the CNJs "if," "when") 354, 357, 359, 365, 524-5, 530
sehengge (PERF.PART-*he* in *–ngge*-form; used as a marker of TOP) 427, 432-3
seme (IMPF.CONV from the verb *se-*; used as an analogue of the CNJs "that," "in order," "so that," "although," "though;" TOP) 314, 331-2, 353, 358, 365, 410, 509-10, 522, 528, 530
tuttu ~ (CNJ "although it is so," "however") 358
udu ~ (CONC.CNJ "although, " "though" + IMPF.CONV from the verb *se-*) 356, 360 (see also *udu*)
uttu ~ (CNJ "although it is thus," "nevertheless") 358
sere (IMPF.PART from the verb *se-*; used as a marker of TOP) 402, 412, 434
~ *anggala* (CNJ "instead of," "not only (but also)") 354, 357 (see also *anggala*)
serede (DAT.IMPF.PART of the verb *se-*; used as an analogue of the CNJs "if," "when") 354, 357, 365, 524-5, 530
serengge (IMPF.PART-*re* in *–ngge*-form; used as a marker of TOP) 427, 432-3
-shun/-shūn (derivative suffix used to form nominal words) 148
-si (PL) 134
-si (derivative suffix used to form adverbs) 330
sidende (POST "in between;" it requires the genitive marker *i* from a preceding noun)190, 346-7
songkoi (POST "according to," "in accordance with" / CNJ "in accordance with;" used as a postposition it requires the genitive marker *i* from a preceding noun; used as a conjunction it follows participles) 346, 363
-su (derivative suffix used to form nominal words with semantics of quality) 152
-sun (derivative suffix used to form nouns) 197

Š
-ša/-še/-šo (1. derivative suffix used to form verbs; 2. aspectual suffix used with verbal stems to express durative or frequentative actions) 242-3

T
-ta/-te (PL) 134
-ta/-te/-to (suffix used to form distributive numerals) 204
-ta/-to (derivative suffix used to form nominal words with semantics of quality) 199
-ta/-te/-to (derivative suffix used to form verbs) 237
-ta/-te (aspectual suffix used with verbal stems to express iterative or continuous actions) 243-4
-tai/-tei/-toi (CONV) 283
-tala/-tele/-tolo (CONV) 282
tebici (CNJ "namely") 357
teile (POST "only;" it requires the genitive marker *i* from a preceding noun) 346, 351 ~ *akū* (CNJ "not only") 355, 357
tetendere (CNJ "if," "in the case that," "since;" it is used after COND.CONV) 367
tome ("every," "each;" POST) 223, 379
-tu (derivative suffix used to form nouns) 199
-tu (derivative suffix used to form verbs) 236

tule (POST "outside;" it requires the genitive marker *i* from a preceding noun) 345, 347
tulergi (POST "outside;" it requires the genitive marker *i* from a preceding noun) 347
tulergide (POST "outside;" it requires the genitive marker *i* from a preceding noun) 345, 347
tulgiyen (POST "besides," "otherwise;" it requires the ablative marker *-ci* from a preceding noun) 192-3, 346
-tun (derivative suffix used to form nouns) 199
turgunde (CNJ "because," "since") 190, 353, 358, 506, 532

U
udu (CONC.CNJ "although," "though") 355-6, 360, 516
~ *bicibe* (CONC.CNJ "although" + CONC.CONV of the verb *bi-*) 360 (see also *bicibe*)
~ *ocibe* (CONC.CNJ "although" + CONC.CONV of the verb *o-*) 360 (see also *ocibe*)
~ *secibe* (CONC.CNJ "although" + CONC.CONV of the verb *se-*) 360 (see also *secibe*)
~ *seme* (CONC.CNJ "although" + IMPF.CONV of the verb *se-*) 356, 360 (see also *seme*)
umai (NEG.PTL) 372, 374
ume (NEG.PTL) 100, 304, 372, 374
unde (NEG.PTL) 261, 372, 374
uthai ("then," "thereupon," "at once," "immediately NL:300; CNJ "and") 357, 433

W
wajiha (PERF.PART-*he* from the verb *wa-*: "that's it," "that's all," "that it will be all right;" used to form sentences) 372
waka (NEG.PART) 372-3, 502