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A SKETCH OF SIBE MORPHOLOGY

by
JERRY NORMAN
Seattle

I. INTRODUCTION[1]

1.1 The Sibe originally inhabited the region of Bo-du-na (< Mongolian *bödön-e* 'dove') about the confluence of the Nonni and Sunggari rivers. Their early history is obscure. They were among the Tungusic tribes which opposed Nurgaci, and they seem originally to have been vassals of the Qorčin Mongols. After they were incorporated into the Manchu banners, they were resettled in various parts of Manchuria. In the thirtieth year of Chianlong (1765) part of the tribe was transferred from Mukden to the Ili Valley of Sinkiang where they were assigned to military colonies.[2] The Ili Sibe have retained their ancestral language while those who remained in Manchuria became completely sinicized in the course of time.[3]

It appears that the Sibe are now the only speakers of anything that can be called Manchu. Literary Manchu was based on the dialect of the original nucleus of clans supporting Nurgaci in the late sixteenth century. At that time the Sibe clearly had not joined the

[1] An earlier version of this paper was presented to the Inner Asian Colloquium at the University of Washington. I wish here to thank the members of the Colloquium, especially Professors Nicholas Poppe and Ilse Cirtautas, for their useful criticism. The collection of data on which this paper is based was made possible in part by a fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities (no. F-71-264).

[2] Qi Yun-shi, *Xin-jiang yao-lüe* (1807, Reprint, Taipei: Wen-hai, 1965) p. 68.

[3] See Robert H. G. Lee, *The Manchurian Frontier in Ch'ing History* (Cambridge: Harvard Press, 1970), pp. 34–35. Several Chinese cources identify the Sibe as Mongols; the *Hei-long-jiang zhi-gao*, chüan 11, p. 3a, is a good example: "The Sibe are a herding tribe and originally were descendants of the Xian-bei. They were subjects of the Qorčin Mongols. Later they presented them to the Manchus, and they were absorbed into the eight banners. They were then stationed in Chichihar and Bo-du-na. During the Qian-long period they were moved to Hu-lan where they settled in the various outposts of Shao-jia. In language and dress, they are identical to the Dagur."

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Manchu confederation, so their language cannot be considered a direct descendant of Literary Manchu. Nonetheless, it is closely related and may rightfully be called a Manchu dialect. The difference between Sibe and Literary Manchu is roughly analogous to that between a modern Eastern Mongolian dialect and Classical Mongolian.

S. M. Shirokogoroff claimed to have found some Manchu speakers in Aigun in the early twentieth century; these Manchus, according to him, were descendants of colonists from Ningguta. Their vernacular should then have been much closer to Literary Manchu than that of the Sibe. Unfortunately Shirokogoroff's linguistic material is lost, so we have no way to be sure. In more recent times attempts to find speakers of Manchu in Manchuria have been unsuccessful.[4]

1.2 The first person to study Sibe was the Russian linguist Fedor Muromskii who visited Ili twice, once in 1906 and again in 1907/8. On his first trip he devoted himself entirely to the recording of Sibe; on his second trip he worked also on Solon and Dagur. Muromskii recorded a large amount of vocabulary, sentences, stories, and songs. His material still remains unpublished.[5]

In 1954 the Japanese linguist Hattori Shiro and the Manchurologist Yamamoto Kengo began work on Sibe with an informant who is a resident of Tokyo. Together they recorded an impressive quantity of lexical data which have now been published in book form.[6]

1.3 When I was in Taipei from 1965 to 1967 as a Fulbright fellow, I had the very good fortune to make the acquaintance of Professor Kuang Lu of National Taiwan University. Professor Kuang is a native Sibe (and as it happens, a brother-in-law of Hattori and

[4] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social Organization of the Manchus* (Shanghai: Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch, extra volume III, 1924), pp. ii, 1–7. Hattori Shiro searched unsuccesfully for native speakers of Manchu in Kirin in the late thirties; see Hattori Shiro, "Kitsurinshō ni Manshūgo o saguru [Searching for the Manchu Language in Kirin]", *Gengo Kenkyu*, 7/8 (1941): 47–67. A survey undertaken in 1952 in Mainland China likewise failed to discover any native speakers either of Manchu or Sibe in Manchuria; see Cai Mei-biao and Liu Lu, "Dong-bei ge shao-shu minzu de yu-yan yu wen-zi [The Languages and Writing Systems of the Various Minorities of Manchuria]", *Zhonguo Yuwen* 6 (1952): 9–11.

[5] Stanislaw Kałużyński, "Fedor Muromskij i sobrannye im v Kul'džinskom rajone lingvističeskie materialy," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 32 (1969): 85–96.

[6] Yamamoto Kengo, *Manshūgo kōgo kiso goishū – A Classified Dictionary of Spoken Manchu* (Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1969).

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Yamamoto's informant) who not only still speaks Sibe regularly with his family, but who is also highly skilled in the use of Literary Manchu. I continued my study of Manchu with Professor Kuang and in the course of my work with him managed to glean a bit of information on his vernacular. But for various reasons I was unable to underdake any sort of systematic study of Sibe at that time. In the fall of 1966 I discovered that Professor Kuang's elder son, Kuang Ting-yuan, had an excellent command of colloquial Sibe. He agreed to work with me to record and analyze his native language. Kuang Ting-yuan turned out to be a very fine informant. He had left Ili when he was eleven years old, and at that time he spoke no Chinese. He continued to use Sibe daily with his parents up until he entered military service in Taiwan; thereafter he continued to speak Sibe with his parents whenever he visited them. Since he had had little instruction in Literary Manchu, his responses were little affected or contaminated by literary forms. In the fall and winter of 1966/7 I was able to work with Kuang Ting-yuan several times a week for over three months. I managed to assemble a considerable corpus of lexical material and some short texts which he dictated to me. When I returned to Taipei in the summer of 1971, I again contacted the Kuang family. They kindly agreed to record some stories for me on tape. Mrs. Kuang recorded two rather long fairy tales, and Professor Kuang recorded an interesting historical anecdote. Later Kuang Ting-yuan helped me to transcribe these three texts. Altogether I have collected close to two thousand lexical items, about six thousand words of text, and numerous example sentences. It is on this material that the following description is based.

Although I agree, by and large, with the phonetic facts given by Hattori and Yamamoto, I have adopted a rather different phonemic interpretation. Their transcription, it seems to me, is unnecessarily at variance with the actual pronunciation. I posit a few more phonemes[7], but I think the resulting transcription will tax the memory somewhat less while conveying essentially the same information.

[7] Note that *h* is used to represent a uvular fricative (IPA [χ]) and not a glottal.

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2. PHONOLOGY

2.1 Consonants

Table I. Consonantal Inventory

	labials	alveolars	alveo-palatals	velars	uvulars
fortis stops	p	t	c	k	q
lenis stops	b	d	j	g	*G*
nasals	m	n		ŋ	*g*
fricatives	f	s	(š)	x	h[7]
semivowels and liquids	v	l/r	y		

The fortis stops are aspirated before vowels but unaspirated when they occur before other consonants. The lenis stops are voiceless in initial position and before ə#. Between voiced segments (vowels and sonorants) they are voiced. The velar and uvular fricatives are voiced when they occur between voiced segments but are pronounced voiceless before ə#. The fortis uvular stop has a strongly affricated pronunciation; its lenis counterpart, however, does not. All consonants except the alveolar stops and the uvulars are palatalized before high front vowels. The alveopalatals have a very retracted, almost retroflexed, articulation when they appear before non-palatal vowels. Some Sibe speakers distinguish between /s/ and /š/, but my main informant did not. This apparently is a dialectal matter. The position of articulation for /f/ and /v/ is labiodental. Since, however, /v/ is articulated with only a moderate amount of friction and since voicing does not otherwise function as a distinctive element in Sibe, I place /v/ among the semivowels and liquids rather than with the fricatives. Sibe /r/ is an alveolar flap; /l/ is palatalized before high front vowels, but has a rather velarized articulation elsewhere; in the speach of Kuang Ting-yuan it has a retroflex pronunciation before another consonant and before ə#.

Consonant clusters occur only internally in words. Clusters of obstruents tend to be either totally voiced or totally voiceless: both /gd/ and /kt/ are encountered but not */kd/ or */gt/.

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2.2 Vowels

Table 2. The Sibe Vowels

	front	central	back
high	i ü		u
mid	ɛ	ə	o
low		a	

The vowels all have lower and backer allophones when they occur in the vicinity of the uvular consonants. I encountered the following diphthongs in the material which I recorded:

ai	əi		oi	ui
au	əu			
ia		iɛ	io	
ua		üɛ		

The second element of /üɛ/ is often rounded: [ÿœ]

2.3 Reduced and Geminate Vowels

When unstressed, the vowels /i/, /u/ and /ə/ are drastically reduced, especially in final position: /i/ in this position is realized as a palatalization of the preceding consonant, /u/ as rounding of the preceding consonant, and /ə/ as neutral or centralized release. When the same vowels are unstressed in other positions, they are reduced but generally retain their syllabicity. Such unstressed vowels become voiceless when they occur between the fortis stops and/or fricatives.

Geminate vowels, which occur only in word final position, are to be interpreted in the following manner: In most cases the second vowel is realized as a prolongation of the preceding member of the pair; in the case of /ii/ and /uu/, however, the second member of the pair is realized as a lower and centralized off-glide: [iĭ] ~ [iĕ].

2.4 Words Ending in /n/

In all positions except word final, /n/ is pronounced an an alveolar nasal consonant. In word final position, its realization varies much as does the second member of a descending diphthong: It represents a goal toward which the tongue moves, but which it rarely (or perhaps never) reaches; the preceding vowel is nasalized. At the end of a word it is possible to have a contrast between -n and -nə; the latter combination always involves apico-alveolar contact and neutral release.

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2.5 Stress and Intonation

The stress of Sibe words is by and large predictable. The general rule is that it falls on the penultimate vowel or diphthong of the word. In a few cases where the penultimate vowel is /i/, /u/ or /ə/, the stress falls on the vowel preceding the penultimate; in these cases a breve will be written over the penultimate vowel to show that it is not to be stressed. I did not undertake a special study of Sibe intonation, so I can give only a few impressionistic remarks. Sibe sentence rhythm sounds rather like that of French. Before a non-terminal pause, the pitch of the sentence rises; this rise in pitch is often accompanied by a lengthening of the final vowel. Even the final reduced vowels receive a full syllabic value in this position. In statements and question containing interrogative words, sentence pitch falls at the end. In yes-no type questions the pitch remains high throughout.

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1 Suffixes and Stress

What follows is no more than a sketch of Sibe morphology. I have limited the description to suffixes. A suffix is defined here as a bound morpheme which may be attached directly to a nominal or verbal stem.

The suffixes affect the stress of the words to which they are attached in two ways: If the suffix is monosyllabic and begins with either a voiced sound or with one of the lenis stops, then the usual stress rule applies: *jáqə* 'thing' – *jaqə́və, jaqə́də, jaqəyíi; árə* 'do, make' – *arəme, arərə*. If the suffix is disyllabic or a monosyllable beginning with a voiceless sound or one of the tense stops, the stress of the resulting word falls on the same syllable as it did in the unsuffixed stem; disyllabic suffixes often have secondary stress on their first syllable. If the suffix itself ends in a geminate vowel, then the usual stress rule applies to the entire resulting word. Examples: *máfə* 'old man' – *máfəse, máfədə̀ri; árə, árəki, árəci, arəcináa; iláa* 'stand' – *iláhi, iláki, iláci, iláhə*.

3.2 Noun Morphology

A noun stem may end in one of the reduced vowels, a diphthong, a geminate vowel or final *-n*. The second member of a geminate

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cluster is always deleted before the addition of a suffix. Final *-n* assimilates to a following consonant in place of articulation. Other final elements remain intact. The suffixes occuring with nominal stems are shown in table three:

Table 3. Nominal Suffixes

Suffix	Meaning	Lit. Manchu Equivalent
-sə, -tə	plural, collective	sa/se/so, te, ri
-i	genitive	i, ni
-də	dative/locative	de
-və, -bə	accusative	be
-dəri	ablative	ci, deri
-ci	directional	*none*
-ii, -yii	instrumental	i
-maqə	comitative	*none*

3.2.1 Unsuffixed Nouns

In Sibe the unsuffixed form of a noun may serve as either the subject of a sentence or as an unspecified object.

tərə orun giɛmə He is going to take a wife
boi düɛrxidə juu nanə bii In the house there are two people.
məsə budaa jəki Let's eat (food).

3.2.2 Plurals

Plurals (or more properly collectives) are generally limited to human nouns and pronouns. The usual suffix is *-sə*, but *-tə* also occurs with a few words. Note that final -n is deleted before the plural suffix. Other nominal suffixes may follow the plural suffix.

iqan Chinese *iqasə* Chinese (collectively)
naqcəə uncle *naqcəsə* uncles
cuahə soldier *cuahə̆sə* soldiers, troops
indahasə dogs! (used as an oath toward humans)
duu younger brother *dutə* younger brothers

3.2.3 Genitive

The genitive has all the usual functions associated with this case in other Altaic languages. The suffix for the genitive is *-i*. If the noun stem ends in *-ii*, then the genitive suffix is zero.

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gucəi bodə at a friend's house
ihani uju the ox's head
mini səvəi boo my teacher's house
boi düɛrxidə inside the house
moni təvai nanə those of us there (lit. our there-of people
təsəi avələrəŋə their (way of) hunting

3.2.4 Dative/Locative

The dative/locative suffix is *-də*; this case may serve to indicate an indirect object.

jihavə mində buu Give the money to me.
mində fəskəvə ticivəmə gajəə Bring out the vase for me.

It may show location either in time or space.

tərə bodə bii naa? Is he at home?
tərə ərində at that time

It indicates distination.

duliŋkə ani bii iniŋə diɛrin taciqudə gənəmə Last year I went to school every day.

The dative/locative also marks the agent of a passive verb.

təsə cuahə nanədə vavə̌hi They were killed by the soldier.

3.2.5 Accusative

For words ending in a vowel, the accusative suffix is *-və*; words ending in *-n* take *-bə*, and the final *-n* then appears as /m/. The combination *-mbə* is reduced to *-mə* in rapid speech. The accusative is used with direct objects that have a definite or specific reference.

tərə yɛlivə jəmə He will eat the meat.

Compare: *tərə yɛli jəmə* He eats meat (in general).

yüxə huarəmə (*<mbə*) *tüɛrhumə* circling the cemetery
bii simbə alimahi I am waiting for you.
nanəvə əmə alivərə Don't make a person wait.

3.2.6 Ablative

The ablative suffix is *-dəri*.

ulandəri ni əmə ilhaa ticihi sərə And from the hole a flower appears (so the story goes).
təsəi gisun mondəri majii uncu Their language is a little different from ours.

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3.2.7 Directional

Unlike Literary Manchu, Sibe has a separate directional suffix *-ci*. (In Literary Manchu *ci* is the suffix for the ablative case.)

boci bədərəmə jihi He came back home.

soni baci bədərəmə yavəmə naa? Are you going back to your own place?

ərəvaci gaji Bring it over here.

3.2.8 Instrumental

The suffix for the instrumental is *-ii* after final *-n*, and *-yii* after vowels. In Literary Manchu the genitive and the instrumental are identical in form, but in Sibe they are clearly distinct.

susuyii arǎhə ɛrkə liquor made with kaoliang

jaqəvə gələ fiɛlayii usamə We also pull things with a sled.

3.2.9 Comitative

The comitative morpheme usually appears after the genitive and perhaps should be considered a postposition rather than a suffix. It does occasionally, however, occur right after the noun stem; for this reason I include it here among the case suffixes.

məsəi nanəmaqə avəmə They were at war with our people.

sii mini maqə tondoqundii gisurəə Speak quite frankly with me.

3.2.10 Irregular Pronominal Case Forms

The pronouns of Sibe are *bii* 'I', *sii* 'thou', *tərə* 'he/she', *məsə* 'we inclusive', *boo* 'we exclusive', *soo* 'you (plural)' and *təsə* 'they'. The first and second persons have some irregular case forms which are shown in Table four:

Table 4. Irregular Pronominal Case Forms

unsuffixed	genitive	dative	accusative	ablative
bii	mini	mində	mimbə	mindəri
sii	sini	sində	simbə	sindəri
boo	moni	mondə	mombə	mondəri
soo	soni	sondə	sombə	sondəri

3.2.11 The Adjectival Suffix -kundii/-qundii

This suffix is limited to adjectives; the first variant (*-kundii*) is attached to front vocalic stems and the second (*-qundii*) to back

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vocalic stems (see paragraph 3.3.6 below); final *-n* is deleted before this suffix. The meaning of the suffix is 'rather, quite'.

halhuqundii rather hot, quite hot
tumikundii rather deep, quite deep

3.3 Verbal Morphology

Verbal stems always end in a single vowel, diphthong or geminate vowel cluster. The second member of a geminate cluster is deleted before the addition of a suffix. Table five shows the suffixes occurring with verbal stems.

Table 5. Verbal Suffixes

Suffix	Meaning	Lit. Manchu Equivalent
-və	causative/passive	-bu
-ø (zero)	imperative	-ø
-mə, -mi	imperfect finite form	-mbi
-hi, -qi	perfect finite form	-ha/he/ho, -ka/ke/ko
-rə	imperfect participle	-ra/re/ro
-xə, -hə -kə	perfect participle	-ha/he/ho, -ka/ke/ko
-mə	imperfect converb	-me
-maqə, -fi	perfect converb	-fi
-ci	conditional converb	-ci
-civəə	concessive converb	-cibe
-ki	voluntative	-ki
-cinaa	hortative	-cina
-kini	optative	-kini
-qu	negative	-rakū
-mahi	progressive	*-none*
-ŋə	nominalizer	-ngge

3.3.1 Causative/Passive

In Sibe, as in Literary Manchu, the causative and passive have the same form. The Sibe suffix is *-və*; it may be followed by the other verbal suffixes.

əmə nanə dahəvə̌hi He took one man along.
mini galə ʃəixə mukudə haləvə̌hi My hand was scalded by boiling water.

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3.3.2 Imperative

The stem of the verb normally functions as the imperative.

gənə Go.

sii ərə bitxəvə hulaa Read this book.

A few verbs have irregular imperatives.

osə (stem *o-*) be, become

giɛsə (stem *giɛ-*) take

jəvə (stem *jə-*) eat

juu (stem *ji-*) come

3.3.3 Imperfect Finite Form

The imperfect suffix has two forms: *-mi* and *-mə*.

sii tərəvadə gənəməə, ai arami? What are you going there for?

bii sivəə gisun gisurəmə bahənəmə I know how to speak Sibe.

The exact difference between the forms in *-mə* and *-mi* was not clear to me. When asked about this, Kuang Ting-yuan responded that the *-mi* form was more 'emphatic'. Perhaps the difference is stylistic in some sense. I noticed that the elder Mr. Kuang and Mrs. Kuang used the *-mi* form more frequently than did Kuang Ting-yuan when narrating stories. The form in *-mi* may even be an imitation of the Literary Manchu *-mbi* which has the same function.

3.3.4 Perfect Finite Form

The perfect finite form has the suffix *-hi*, and for a very small number of verbs *-qi*.

ərə aməvə ni umə̌hi They buried this father of theirs.

uŋqanəmə yavə̌hi He escaped.

dafqərə ohi. She became pregnant.

šulxəvə jəqi. She ate the apple.

3.3.5 Imperfect Participle

The ending for the imperfect participle is *-rə*. The existential verb *bii* has the irregular form *bisirə*. This participle occurs chiefly as an attribute to nouns.

budaa jərə nanə a man who is eating

tərə orosə gurundə bisirə irində at the time he was in Russia

aməə bucərə ərində when his father was dying

With the preverbal particle *əmə*, it functions as a negative imperative.

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sii əmə gisurərə Don't speak.
mini baitəvə əmə sartəvərə Don't delay what I have to do.

The imperfect participle occurs with the sentence particle *əndii* meaning 'not yet'.

təsə gənərə əndii They haven't gone yet.
boo budaa jərə əndii. We (excl.) have not eaten yet.

The participle is also used as a substantive.

sii gənərəvə naqə Give up going.
mini tarədə in my view

3.3.6 Perfect Participle

The perfect participle has two forms: *-xə* occurs with front vocalic stems, that is stems which have only the vowels *i*, *u* and *ə*; *-hə* occurs with verbal stems that contain any of the back vowels *u*, *o*, *a* or *ɛ* (an umlauted variant of *a*). This alternation of suffixes appears to be the last vestige of vowel harmony in Sibe.

mini bucəxə amələ after I die
ʃaləhə budaa leavened bread
ɛkiʃəxə yɛli smoked meat

This participle is occasionally used as a finite form. It was described as expressing first-hand knowledge of the event referred to; compare:

tərə yavəhe sərə He left (I saw him leave).
tərə yavəhi sərə He left (I heard he left).

The perfect participle may be used as a substantive.

tərə jixəvə bii sahi I knew that he came.

3.3.7 Imperfect Converb

The imperfect converb is formed with the suffix *-mə*; it has several uses: It may show the manner in which another action is performed.

tüɛrhumə yavəə Go circling it.
alimə ilaa Stand waiting *or* Stand there and wait.
ʃasəmə bucəhi He died by hanging

It expresses purpose with verbs of motion.

bii jəmə jihi. I have come to eat
alində tavənəmə gənəhi He went to climb a mountain

Auxiliary verbs govern the imperfect participle.

gisurəmə bahənəme knows how to speak
gisurəmə omə may speak, is allowed to speak
gisurəmə anəmə goes on talking

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In some cases the imperfect converb indicates that one action continues while another is performed.

asitaa amәvә ni dahәmә qarundә gәnәmә qarumbә giɛrәmә The young man, following his father, went to the outposts and made an inspection.

3.3.8 Perfect Converb

The perfect converb has the ending *-maqә*. The corresponding Literary Manchu form is *-fi*; this literary form has also been borrowed into Sibe and is frequently encountered. The perfect converb indicates that one action is completed before another is undertaken.

tәrә jaqә jәmaqә jihi Having eaten, he came.

gaimaqә vadәndә tuvŭhi Having taken it, he put it in his pocket.

bii әrәvadә jifi әmgәri ilan ani omahi I have been here for three years.

3.3.9 Conditional Converb

The ending for the conditional converb is *-ci*. This form is often followed by the particle *taa* 'then, consequently'.

fәtaa ni caqajәci taa tәrәvadә ulan qucirә If the rope breaks, dig a hole there.

bii taciqudә gәnәci taa if I go to school

3.3.10 Concessive Converb

The concessive converb is formed with the suffix *-civәә*.

tutu ocivәә although it is thus – however

sii gәnәcivәә although you go

3.3.11 Voluntative

The suffix for the voluntative is *-ki*. Referring to the first person, it expresses a strong intention or an imperative.

bii sini fәskәvәә sindә buki I will give you your vase.

mәsә yavәki naa? Shall we go?

Joined to forms of the verb *sә-* 'to say', the voluntative expresses a simple desire.

әrә guŋjuvә ni әmdan savәki sәmә I would like to see this princess once.

The voluntative is also used as a polite second person imperative.

sii tәki. Please sit down.

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3.3.11 Hortative

The hortative ends in *-cinaa*. It is used to express an exhortation or wish concerning the second person.

sii gənəcinaa You should go. Why don't you go?

3.3.12 Optative

The optative suffix is *-kini*. Its function is to express a desire or wish concerning the third person.

yavuqu okini səci taa if you don't want her to go

arəkini let him do it

3.3.13 Negative

The suffix *-qu* 'not' in Sibe is attached directly to the verbal stem.

bii saqu I don't know.

tərə jiqu naa? Isn't he coming?

The negation of the existential verb *bii* 'there is, are' is *aqu*.

ərəvadə vəlgiɛn aqu There are not pigs here.

mondə jihaa aqu We have no money (lit. to us there is no money).

aqu may follow the perfect participle.

arəhə aqu (or *arəh'aqu*) I didn't do it.

Various modalities of the negative form are obtained by using the appropriate form of the verb *o-*.

arəqu oki Let's not do it.

arəqu oci > *arəquci* if you don't do it

3.3.14 Progressive

Sibe possesses a progressive form (lacking in Literary Manchu) in *-mahi*. In origin, this is a contraction of *-mə ilahi*, the imperfect converb plus the perfect of *ilaa-* 'to stand'.

bii tərə xəxəi maqə gisurəmahi I was speaking to that woman.

sii ai baitə arəmahi? What are you doing?

3.3.15 The Suffix -ŋə

The suffix *-ŋə* is added to the participles; in most cases the resulting form is used as a substantive.

handuu tiɛrərəŋə laudə qomsə Those who plant rice are very few.

təsəi avələrəŋə mondəri uncu Their way of hunting is different from ours.

Quotations, hearsay and reports of various types are often introduced with these forms.

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daa səkində gənəxə nanə, düɛnjihəŋə, arqan sunjaa taŋə sərə I have heard that originally there were only five hundred men who went.
bii ərəvadə jimaqə tuŋaləhəŋə laudə manjə gisun gisurəmə bahənuqu When I came here, I discovered that many people do not know how to speak Manchu.

Preceded by *əmdan*, the perfect participle plus *-ŋə* means 'as soon as'.

əmdan tahəŋə as soon as he looked

The perfect participle plus *-ŋə* functions as a sort of perfect finite form; this usage is especially common in sentences containing a place or time expression.

bii bəijiŋdə juu ani təxəŋə ? I lived in Peking for two years.

GLOSSARY

ai	what	diɛrin	(postposition) every
alimə	to wait	duliŋkə ani	last year
alin	mountain	düɛnjimə	to hear
amәə	father	düɛrxidə	inside
amələ	after	əmdan	once
arəmə	to make	əmə	one; sign of the negative imperative
arqan	scarcely		
asitaa	young man		
avələmə	to hunt	əmgəri	already
avəmə	to make war	ərəvadə	here
bahənəmə	to be able	ərin	time, cf. *irin*
baitə	affair, matter	ɛrkə ~ ɛrki	liquor
bədərəmə	to return	fəixə	boiling
bii	there is, there are	fəskə	vase
bitxəə	book	fətaa	rope
boo	house, room	fiɛlaa	sled
bucəmə	to die	gələ	also
budaa	food, cooked cereal	gənəmə	to go
		giɛrəmə	to inspect
budaa jəmə	to eat	gisun	spoken language
bumə	to give	gisurəmə	to speak
caqajəmə	to break, to snap	gucə	friend
daa səkində	originally	guŋjuu	princess
dahəmə	to follow	gurun	people, country

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gajəmə ~ gajimə	to bring
galə	hand
haləmə	to scald
halhun	hot
handuu	rice plant
hulamə	to read
ihan	cow
ilamə	to stand
ilan	three
ilhaa	flower
iniŋə	day
irin	time
jaqə	thing
jəmə	to eat
jihaa	money
jimə	to come
juu	two
laudə	many; very
majii	a little bit
mukuu	water
naa	interrogative sentence particle
nanə	person, man
naqəmə	to give up, to leave off
omə	to become
orosə	Russian
orun	young woman, daughter-in-law
orun giɛmə	to marry (of men)
qarun	outpost
qomsə	few
qucirəmə	to dig
samə	to know
sartəvəmə	to delay (trans.)
savəmə	to see
səmə	to say
səvə	teacher
sivəə	Sibe
sunjaa	five
susuu	kaoliang
šulxəə	apple
taciqu	school
taŋə	hundred
tavənəmə	to ascend
təmə	to sit, to reside
tərəvadə	there
təvaa	there
ticimə	to exit, to appear
ticivəmə	to take out
tiɛrəmə	to plant
tondoo	straight, frank
tuŋaləmə	to encounter
tutu	in that way, like that
tuvumə	to put into
tüɛrhumə	to circle
tümin	deep
uju	head
ulan	hole, pit
uməmə	to bury
uncu	different
uŋqanəmə	to flee
usamə	to pull
vadən	pocket
vamə	to kill
vəlgiɛn	pig
xəxə	woman
yavəmə	to go, to depart
yɛli	meat
yüxə huarən	cemetery

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