SPOKEN SIBE

MORPHOLOGY OF THE INFLECTED PARTS OF SPEECH

VERONIKA **ZIKMUNDOVÁ**

KAROLINUM

Spoken Sibe
Morphology of the Inflected Parts of Speech

Veronika Zikmundová

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Layout and cover design Jan Šerých
Typeset by Karolinum Press
First edition

© Charles University in Prague – Karolinum Press, 2013
© Veronika Zikmundová, 2013

ISBN 978-80-246-2103-6
ISBN 978-80-246-2489-1 (online : pdf)



Charles University in Prague
Karolinum Press 2013

http://www.cupress.cuni.cz

CONTENTS

List of abbreviations 8

0 Introduction 9

1 Characteristics of spoken Sibe 20
1.1 Notes on the phonetics and phonology 20
1.1.1 Problems of the phonological description of Sibe 20
1.1.2 Previous research of the Sibe phonemic system 21
1.1.3 List of sounds in spoken Sibe 24
1.2 Questions of transcription 28
1.3 Remarks on the Sibe vocabulary 29
1.3.1 Personal names 31
1.3.2 Children's expressions 32
1.3.3 Vicarious expressions 32
1.4 Remarks on syntax – negation 32
1.4.1 The negative particle aqů 33
1.4.2 The negative particle vaq 34
1.5 Word classes in spoken Sibe 35
1.5.1 Brief characteristics of the parts of speech 37

2 The Noun 41
2.1 The category of number 41
2.1.1 Generic number 42
2.1.2 Partial number 43
2.1.3 Specific forms of the use of the partial number 45
2.1.4 Expressing plurality through lexical means 46
2.2 The category of case 48
2.2.1 Nominative 50
2.2.2 Genitive 52
2.2.3 Dative-locative 55
2.2.4 Accusative 60
2.2.5 Ablative 64
2.2.6 Lative 67
2.2.7 Instrumental-sociative 69

3 Qualitative nouns 72
3.1 Qualitative nouns formed by derivational suffixes 73
3.1.2 Qualitative nouns in the function of an attribute 78
3.1.3 Qualitative nouns determining verbs 79

3.1.4 Specific grammatical categories of qualitative nouns . . . 83
3.1.5 Other ways of expressing quality, appearance, etc. . . . 85
3.1.6 Vicarious qualitative nouns and other anaphoric expressions . . . 87

4 Pronouns . . . 93
4.1 Personal pronouns . . . 93
4.1.1 Personal pronouns in nominative . . . 94
4.1.2 Personal pronouns in genitive . . . 95
4.1.3 Personal pronouns in dative . . . 95
4.1.4 Personal pronouns in accusative . . . 95
4.1.5 Personal pronouns in ablative . . . 96
4.1.6 Personal pronouns in lative . . . 96
4.1.7 Personal pronouns in instrumental-sociative . . . 96
4.2 Remarks on the personal pronouns . . . 97
4.3 Demonstrative pronouns . . . 102
4.3.1 The demonstrative pronouns ər and tər . . . 102
4.3.2 The pronouns ***mər*** and ***mətər*** . . . ***104***
4.3.3 The pronouns ***ək*** and ***səkəi*** /***skəi*** . . . ***105***
4.4 Interrogative pronouns . . . 107
4.4.1 The pronoun 'ai' . . . 107
4.4.2 The pronoun ya – 'which' as an attribute . . . 108
4.4.3 The pronoun yam (< ya əm – 'which one') . . . 108
4.4.4 The pronoun ***yamkən*** ('which one' – an independent part of speech) . . . 109
4.4.5 The pronoun ***və*** ('who') . . . 109
4.5 Notes on demonstrative and interrogative pronouns . . . 109

5 Numerals . . . 112
5.1 The cardinal numerals . . . 113
5.2 The ordinal numerals . . . 113
5.3 The idiomatic use of numerals . . . 114

6 Spatials . . . 115
6.1 The spatial system in written Manchu . . . 115
6.1.1 The spatial roots in written Manchu . . . 115
6.1.2 The spatial suffixes in written Manchu . . . 116
6.1.3 Meaning and use of the Manchu spatial suffixes . . . 117
6.2 The spatial system in spoken Sibe . . . 119
6.2.1 Spatial roots in spoken Sibe . . . 119
6.2.2 Spatial suffixes in spoken Sibe . . . 119
6.2.3 The use of Sibe spatials . . . 120
6.2.4 The suffix -bi . . . 122
6.2.5 The suffix -ś . . . 122
6.2.6 Temporal use of spatials . . . 124

7 The verb . . . 126
7.1 The verbal system of spoken Sibe . . . 126
7.1.1 The problem of definition of the finite verbs in Sibe . . . 128
7.1.2 The delayed personal pronoun . . . 130
7.1.3 Verbum existentiae . . . 131
7.1.4 Negation of verbal forms . . . 131
7.1.5 Question . . . 133
7.2 Finite verbs . . . 136
7.2.1 The imperfect verb -m(-i-e) (praesens imperfecti) . . . 137
7.2.2 The progressive verb -*mɛ̆ye* . . . 140

7.2.3 The progressive verb -*m-a-ʁ-ᵊi*(*e*) (PROG.II) 141
7.2.4 The perfective verb -*ʁᵊi*(*e*), -*ɣᵊi*(*e*) and its alomorphs 142
7.2.5 The verbal form expressing a forthcoming action – *m-ůʁʲi* 143
7.3 Imperative and optative forms 144
7.3.1 Command for the second-person – imperative 144
7.3.2 Polite imperative -*mə* (benedictive) 147
7.3.3 Voluntative 147
7.3.4 Optative -*kiňi* ***148***
7.4 Verbal nouns 149
7.4.1 The imperfective verbal noun -*r* (nomen imperfecti) 149
7.4.2 Perfective verbal noun -h (nomen perfecti) 155
7.4.3 The progressive verbal noun -*maʁ* ***158***
7.4.4 Verbal nouns II 158
7.5 Converbs 162
7.5.1 The imperfective converb -*m*(*ə*) (converbum imperfecti) 163
7.5.2 The perfective converb -*maq* (converbum perfecti) 170
7.5.3 The perfective converb -*ɟ*(*ie*)/-*ɟ*(*ə*) 174
7.5.4 The conditional converb -*či* (converbum conditionale) 174
7.5.5 Terminative converb -čiňi 177
7.6 Deverbal suffixes 178
7.6.1 The causative suffix -v 178
7.6.2 Beginning of an action: the suffix -*mači*- 181
7.7 Vicarious verbs 182

Acknowledgments 186

Appendix 187

Vocabulary 204

References 227

Summary 230

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACC.	–	Accusative case suffix
ACT.	–	Actualizing particle
BEN.	–	Benedictive
CC.	–	Conditional converb suffix
CI.	–	Imperfective converb
CP.	–	Perfective converb
CT.	–	Terminative converb
DL.	–	Dative-locative
DOUB.	–	Doubling
ECHO	–	Echo doubling
EMP.	–	Emphatic vowel
F.	–	Foregrounding particle
GEN.	–	Genitive
GEN.II	–	Genitive form used to appropriate sb. or sth. to a person or object which itself is appropriated to sb.
IMP.	–	Praesens imperfecti
IMPER.	–	Imperative
INC.	–	Inceptive verbal form
IS.	–	Instrumental-sociative
LAT.	–	Lative case suffix
LIM.	–	Limiting particle
NEG.	–	Particle of negation
NEG.EX.	–	Negative existential
NI.II	–	Imperfective verbal noun II
NI.	–	Imperfective verbal noun
NP.	–	Perfective verbal noun
NP.II	–	Perfective verbal noun II
NPROG.II	–	Progressive verbal noun II
MOD.	–	Suffix with the meaning of modulation and slight emphasis
ONOM.	–	Onomatopoetic expression
PERF.	–	Perfective verb (finite form)
POSS.	–	3rd person enclitic possessive pronoun
PROB.	–	Particle of probability, suggestion etc.
PROG.	–	Progressive verb
S.G.	–	Suffix of a separately standing genitive form
QUEST.	–	Interrogative particle
QUOT.	–	Quotation particle

0 INTRODUCTION

In the present work I attempt to describe one of the subsystems of the grammatical structure of the Sibe language, the morphology of the flexible parts of speech, to the extent and depth as the collected material and my own experience with the language has allowed. In the course of the description I have attempt, when possible, to put the given idiom into the context of literary Manchu and Mongolian, and to perceive it within the context of communication. I also discuss some problems of interpretation, mainly the classification of parts of speech.

Sibe is a Tungusic language closely related to classical Manchu. The Jungarian Sibes, who at present live in the north-west of Xinjiang, are in fact the last speakers of the Manchu language. Although around 20 thousand Sibes still speak their language, Sibe deserves to be labelled as an endangered language for a number of reasons. Several descriptions of the basic grammatical structure of spoken Sibe have been published, and parts of grammar have been studied in detail. Still, there is a persistant need of a thorough description of the language as a whole, which is becoming more urgent with the decreasing level of its knowledge among the Sibe speakers themselves.

The present description is based mainly on authentic language material gathered during my fieldwork among the Sibes in Xinjiang. I have focused on the description of the two most clearly defined parts of vocabulary, previously analyzed in depth in the context of various Altaic languages – the nouns and the verbs.

In addition to this main contribution I also give the brief general characteristics of the morphology of spoken Sibe, and I attempt a tentative classification of the parts of speech and their syntactical characteristics. All of the described features are accompanied by examples drawn from the language material collected in the course of my fieldwork in Xinjiang.

A sample of texts in spoken Sibe with translations is appended. It is intended to supplement the description presented here of the language with characteristics of higher than the morphosyntactical level – the text structure, idiomaticity, some poetical and other special means of expression, humour, etc.

Comparison with Mongolian suggests itself for a few reasons: Above all spoken Sibe and its historical predecessors have repeatedly been subjected to the strong influence of the Mongolic languages, and all levels of the language show remarkable typological correspondences with Mongolian. Since there is not enough space for systematic comparison in this work, I attempt

to point out parallels and analogies, as well as differences, between spoken Sibe and Khalkha Mongolian in the course of the description.[1]

Apart from the structure of the language I attempt to describe its use in communication as well. I comment on the pragmatics of the oral language and on the various conditions and background of its actual usage. This is a result of the observation that while Sibe is the main and fully functional means of communication for the older generation of speakers, competence in the language rapidly decreases with age. It is very likely that in the course of the next few decades spoken Sibe will be on the verge of extinction, and it is therefore important to record it in as much detail as possible in its full form existing at present, together with the communication context which undergoes changes as drastically as the language itself.

The Sibe people and their language

The self-appellation of the Sibe people is pronounced ***Śivə***,[2] the official Chinese term is *Xibo*, in Russian literature the terms ***sibin'ci*** / ***šibin'ci*** are used, while in the English works the name '**Sibe**' has been established, which corresponds to the written form. The Jungarian Sibes are part of the larger Sibe ethnic group, whom the earliest records situate in south-eastern Manchuria (the Changbaishan mountain range). At present the Manchurian Sibes live mostly in the provinces of Girin (Jilin) and Mukden (Shenyang), numbering around 100,000 persons.[3] These Sibes lost the Sibe language at the beginning of the 20th century. In 1764, a segment of the of the Sibe population was commanded by the Emperor Qianlong to settle in the Ili area of Xinjiang, which had been depopulated by the Jungar wars. The descendants of these Sibes now number around 30,000 individuals, and the greater part of them have retained their traditions and use the Sibe language as their mother-tongue.

The language of this ethnic group, which I refer to as spoken or oral Sibe, may be considered one of the Manchu dialects. Since the Manchu language of Manchuria is on the verge of extinction, the Sibe people are the only heirs to the Manchu language and culture.

The spoken Sibe language, despite its unique position as an oral form of Manchu, has been the subject of relatively little research. Most of the fieldwork conducted among the Sibe people has been focused on various aspects of their culture, in particular the Sibe folklore, music, literature and religion. Apart from a few grammatical descriptions, several publications of materials of the spoken language and dictionaries have significantly contributed to the study of spoken Sibe. Complex descriptions and deep analyses of the grammar, however, are still lacking.

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1 I take Khalkha Mongolian as the basis for comparison, because it is the only codified oral form of Mongolian and I do not have sufficient knowledge of any other Mongolian dialect. For further comparative work it will be necessary to work with the Khorchin dialect of Mongolian, which historically was in close contacts with Sibe during certain periods and which forms the main source of Mongolian loanwords in both Manchu and Sibe. The differences between the Mongolian dialects are not crucial for the typological correspondences, but are relevant for the study of vocabulary, idiomatics and communicative behaviour.

2 For the details of transcription see the section No. 1.2 Questions of transcription.

3 According to L. M. Gorelova, in Heilongjiang province there are Sibes who may still have some knowledge of their language (Gorelova 2002, p. 31).

Brief summary of the history of the Sibes[4]

The early history of the Sibe people is subject to speculation. Following their language and cultural closeness to the Manchus, the Sibes were originally regarded as one of the Jurchen tribes (An, Wu, Zhao pp. 21–23). Modern Sibe historians have advanced a theory about the Xianbei afilliation of the Sibe tribe (An, Wu, Zhao, pp. 13–58).[5] This change of view, however, seems to have a certain political background.

The earliest historical records, which can be unambiguously identified with the present-day Sibe ethnic group, date from the 16th century, when the Sibe people were living as a vassal tribe of an eastern Mongolian group, the Khorchins. At that time the Sibes were settled in the Changbaishan mountains (Ma. Golmin šanggiyan alin) in south-eastern Manchuria. Those Sibe historians, who suggest the Xianbei origin of the Sibes, suppose that in the earlier stages of their history the Sibe tribe lived in Western Manchuria, in the region known today as Hölönbuir (An, Wu, Zhao, pp. 57–60).

During the reign of the Emperor Kangxi, the Sibes were persuaded by the Manchus to separate from the Khorchins. In the following period they were resettled from the Changbaishan mountains (allegedly due to their unruly character) and divided among Manchu administration centres – Girin, Mukden and Guihua (present Hohhot). According to the Sibe tradition, they were valued by the Manchu Emperors for their warlike character and courage in battle. The Sibe banners became a part of the New Manchu military formation. In 1764, following a decree of the Emperor Qianlong, a group of the New Manchus, consisting mostly of the Sibe banners, moved to the newly conquered areas of the former Dzungar Khanate. The movement to Xinjiang, which dispersed families and clans, the hard journey through Mongolia and other aspects of the whole event subsequently found a rich reflection in the Sibe popular history, folklore and written narratives. After a year-long journey and several resettlements inside Dzungaria the New Manchus settled along the left bank of the Ili River in an area known as Chabchal (Mo. Čavčaal, Chin. Chabuchaer). The Sibe soldiers were put in charge of the border fortresses along most of the north-western border of Xinjiang, and were also compelled to man the Imperial garrisons in the Uighur cities of the Tarim basin.

During the next two hundred years the Sibe banners played an important role in the suppression of the anti-Manchu (in the last case anti-Chinese) rebellions of the local people. During the 19th century smaller detachments of the Sibe soldiers were moved to other places in the vicinity of Ili, the most distant being that of Tarbagatai (Mo. Tarbagatai, Uig. Čöčäk, Chin. Tacheng).[6] During the 20th century many Sibes settled in Ghulja city.

The Ili valley forms part of the former Jungar Khanate and of the geographical unit called the Jungar basin, therefore the local Sibe enclave has been generally known as the Jungarian Sibes.

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[4] To my knowledge, so far the most detailed study on Sibe history is the book *Sibe uksurai šolokon suduri* by native scholars (An, Wu, Zhao 1985). Among Western scholars, L. M. Gorelova (2002, pp. 32–45) and Lebedeva discuss the subject extensively.

[5] The only possibility to trace the Sibe history to earlier times is to admit their relationship to the Shiwei tribal union. More on this topic see in e.g. Gorelova 2002, Janhunen 1996.

[6] The Sibe enclaves outside Chabchal, namely those of Huocheng (Iče Gazn), Gongliu, Nilka and Tarbagatai, have been under a stronger influence of the neighbouring peoples, mostly the Khazakhs. After the massive exodus of the Khazakhs to Khazakhstan in 1962, the Khazakh cultural heritage was gradually overcome by the ever-present Chinese influence.

The river Ili separates the Chabchal region from the city of Ghulja,[7] which was one of the traditional administrative centres of Jungaria as a whole. The western border of Chabchal is formed by the mountain range of Usun,[8] which forms the border with Khazakhstan. The Ili valley is, thanks to its relatively moist climate, the most fertile part of Xinjiang. Chabchal, irrigated by the Chabchal canal[9] with the water from Ili, has been an important agricultural area.

Until the middle of the 16th century, when the Manchus conquered Jungaria and the Tarim basin and created a new administrative unit with a military government, corresponding to the present-day Xinjiang, the mountain pastures of the Ili region were inhabited by the remnants of the western-Mongolian Oirat tribes (mainly the Choros, Khoshuud, Dörbet, Torghuut and Khoit). During Manchu rule the ethnic composition of the inhabitants in Ili greatly changed. Muslim farmers were moved from the Tarim oases to provide food supply for the Manchu army.[10] Part of the Chakhar Mongols was moved from southern Mongolia to Xinjiang and settled near Lake Sayram on a plateau above the Ili valley. During the 18th and 19th centuries nomadic Kazakh and Kirghiz as well as Uzbek farmers moved gradually to the area. As the result of the Russian conquest of Siberia many Russian, Tatar, Nogai and Central Asian Jews gradually resettled in Ili. The Russian influence in the Ili area culminated during the rule of Sheng Shicai (1933–1944)[11] and the Second East Turkestan Republic (1944–1949).

This multiethnic and multi-cultural milieu existed until the 1950s, when after the entry of the Maoist army, cruel repressions of all non-Han inhabitants began to be enforced. During the Cultural Revolution it was forbidden to teach the Sibe language and the Manchu script, the shamans and Buddhist monks were persecuted and the artifacts and religious and cult implements were destroyed. The Cultural Revolution caused an entire generation of the Sibes grow up without knowledge of the Manchu script and with a limited knowledge of spoken Sibe.

Thus during the past 400 years, the Sibe people changed their abodes, language and cultural environment several times. Sibe culture has absorbed a large number of influences, which can be seen today in their folklore and literature.

Contacts and influences

The oldest roots of Sibe culture are presumed to lie in the ethnically and culturally diverse milieu of the half-settled hunters, fishermen and herders of Middle Manchuria. The Sibe scholars, judging from information in the oldest layer of folklore, place the ancestral homeland[12] of the tribe to the forested mountains of the Hinggan range. In any case the importance of clans, the role of shamans, the cults of wild and domestic animals and veneration

[7] Uighur *Ghulja*, Mongolian *Ili hot* and Chinese *Yi ning shi.*

[8] Ma. *Usun alin*, Uighur *Uzun tagh*, Chin, *Wusun shan.*

[9] The Chabchal canal was dug in the year 1808, 44 years after the arrival of the Sibe people to Ili, by the amban Tukšan. After their arrival the Sibes were settled on the left bank of the Ili, which was fertile and suitable for farming, but was lacking water. Therefore the beginnings in Chabchal were hard for the newcomers. In 1802 the amban Tukšan, followed by his clan members, started to dig the irrigation canal. For four years they wdug, with their own hands, the canal which transformed Chabchal into a uniquely fertile area and which ultimately turned the Sibe enclave into one of the richest places in Xinjiang. The amban Tukšan – known as Tu amban – has become one of the nation's heroes.

[10] This Uighur population became known as the Taranči – an Oirat-Mongolian word for a farmer.

[11] Sheng Shicai exercised pro-Soviet policy until 1942, when he expelled the Soviet advisors.

[12] *ba na* lit. 'place earth', interpreted as the 'ancestral homeland' by native scholars, seems to be an important concept even in the oldest folk songs (Zhonglu, personal communication 2002).

of numerous spirits link the Sibe culture to that of the Manchus and the Daghurs.[13] There are two folksongs,[14] which are perceived by all Jungarian Sibes as the most ancient ones – the songs *Yačina* (the meaning of the title is unclear) and *Domdoqůn učun* ('The Butterfly Song'). The lyrics of these songs recall the lifestyle of forest hunters and fishermen and is not fully comprehensible to modern Sibes. It is also not clear on what occasions they were originally performed. Their melody and rhythm considerably differ from most of the later songs.

Similarly, the lullaby used by all Sibes, as well as some of the shaman songs, seem to come from the most ancient layer of the cultural heritage of the Jungarian Sibes.

Later, in the times of their vassalage to the Khorchins, the Sibes absorbed some features of the Khorchin shamanic cult, which, it appears, developed a previously non-existing stratification and hierarchy under the influence of Buddhism. They also adopted Buddhism in the earliest stage of its spread among the Khorchins, with Classical Mongolian as a liturgical language.[15] The influence of the Khorchin Mongols was in many respects more direct and profound on the Sibes than on the Manchus. One part of Sibe folklore is thought to bear[16] traces of Mongolian influence, as some wedding songs and many shaman songs, melodies for the traditional dance known as *bəylən* (cf. Mo. *bielgee*) etc.

After the Sibes left the Changbaishan mountain and re-settled in the great Manchu garrison cities, they came into intensive contact with the Chinese-influenced Manchu culture. This led to the emergence of a clear-cut and important layer of culture.[17]

After their arrival to Xinjiang, the position of the Sibes as a garrison of the army of occupation significantly hindered the possibility of contact with the local inhabitants, particularly the settled Muslim farmers. In fact the first significant contacts with the Uighurs do not date to earlier than to the beginning of the 20th century. After the arrival of the tribe to Xinjiang, the Sibe culture underwent an interesting development. Some parts of their cultural heritage, which they brought to their new home, were gradually lost, while others were intentionally handed down and developed in new directions.

The relatively modern layer in the traditional Sibe culture has formed after the arrival to Xinjiang, when the separation from the homeland and relatives, the wars with the Uighurs during various rebellions[18] and the Russian occupation of Ili[19] became the main motives in their folklore. A specific literary form, typical for the Jungarian Sibes, is the *julən* (Lit. Ma. *julun*), an extensive epic poem on mostly historical topics.[20] Among the most famous *juləns*

[13] As it follows from studies of Manchurian ethnic history (e.g. Janhunen 1996), great ethnic diversity had existed in the region until the beginning of the Manchu expansion. Investigations of the modern remnants of this plurality show that the languages and cultures of the various tribes and ethnic groups experienced considerable cross-contact, forming a distinct cultural complex of which the Sibes were an integral part.

[14] A valuable study of the Sibe folk music has been published by the British ethnomusicologist Rachel Harris (Harris 2005).

[15] Sibe Buddhism seems to be one of the least studied topics whithin the Sibe culture. The last Sibe Buddhist monk, who left the monastery when he was 14, died in 1999. When I interviewed him in 1994, he recited to me several short texts in Classical Mongolian and wrote a mantra in Mongolian and Sanscrit. It seems that Classical Mongolian played here a role similar to the role of Tibetan in the Mongolian Gelugpa tradition.

[16] I have heard this 'periodization' of the Sibe folklore heritage from several members of the Sibe language community, and I consider it to be part of a tradition which, dealing with the relatively recent past, may have a certain historical value.

[17] The native scholars believe, that before this the Sibe tribe lived beyond the reach of Chinese influence and that all the important Sino-Manchu features in their culture date from the 16th century and later.

[18] Especially the great Muslim rebellion in the 2nd part of 19th century.

[19] An almost ten year period in the 70s of the 19th century.

[20] A similar literary form is found among the Manchurian Daghurs (Bilid, Soijim, Bilig, 1987: *Daɣur ulamjilal-tu uran jokiyal*. Hohhot).

are the *Gurinjihe učun* ('The Song of Resettlement'), *Kašgar-i učun* ('The Song of Kashgar') and *Lasihiyantu-i učun* ('The Song of Lasihiyantu').[21] Many *juləns*, namely the earlier ones, have developed from folk songs, but many, especially those more recent, have been authorial compositions. Famous *juləns* were handed down the families, but generally the composition of *juləns* seems to have been a widespread form of art, and chanting the *juləns* used to be a common entertainment for winter nights.[22]

A special chapter in the Sibe history are the contacts with Russians, which, although hostile in the beginning (Russians were in fact the invaders against which the border had to be defended), by the end of the 19th century turned into an intensive trade relationship and cultural exchange. The main traded goods were pigs,[23] bred by the Sibes and sought by the Russians, and, from the Russian occupation on, opium[24] as well. The city of Ghulja was in fact built by the Russians and some Russian settlers lived in Chabchal itself. The Sibe community in Ghulja is imporant from the point of view of cultural syncretism. Starting from the end of the 19th century, members of rich and influential Sibe families lived in this mainly Russian and Uighur, city; they formed a kind of secondary aristocracy. These Sibes, who valued education and culture as much as material wealth and military skills, maintained contacts above all with the Russians, the Tatars and the Nogais, but also with the Uighur aristocracy.[25] Through these contacts elements of Russian and other cultures began to spread among the Sibe people.

Dialectal position of spoken Sibe

The problem of the position of spoken Sibe among the dialects of Manchu has been discussed only rarely,[26] clearly for the reason of the lack of available comparative material of oral Manchu. Materials of great interest relevant to this topic have been published by Chao Ke and Zhao Aping in the book *Heilongjiang xiandai Manyu yanjiu – Sahaliyan ula ne bisire manju gisun be sibkihe bithe* (*Study of the present-day Manchu language in the Amur region* – Chao Ke, Zhao Aping 2001). This publication presents samples of materials of four Manchu dialects, designated as Alecuha, Bala, Lalin and Sanjiazi (Ilan boo). The linguistic material shows that the Sanjiazi dialect is the closest to literary Manchu, while the other three dialects display divergences which the authors place into the context of the surrounding Tungusic languages and of Jurchen (the most striking being the system of teens in Alečuha numerals, which resembles the Jurchen teens[27] – pp. 70–72). The areal position of the dialects seems to support the idea that the dialects Bala, Alecuha and Lalin, besides being under the influence of other Tungusic languages, also retained some archaic features of the Jurchen language. On the other hand the Sanjiazi dialect is spoken in an area close to the traditional Sibe homeland.

[21] The *juləns* mentioned above have been translated by Prof. Stary into German.
[22] Even at present reports are heard that one or another old man has written a *julən*, and occasionally even young people know how to read and chant them.
[23] Not only the Xinjiang Muslims, but also the nomadic Mongols of the Ili area neither bred nor ate pork.
[24] The growing and subsequent use of opium became a threat for the whole Sibe population and had to be forceably stopped at the beginning of the 20th century.
[25] Descendants of these families are known for their multilingualism, which caused the spread of a reputation of the Sibe people as polyglots.
[26] L. M. Gorelova mentions the opinion of the Sibe scholar An Jun that spoken Sibe is particularly close to the Ilan Boo (Sanjiazi) dialect of Manchu.
[27] For teens in Jurchen and Manchu cf. Janhunen 1993.

I had been told previously by a Sibe scholar who visited Sanjiazi that he was able to communicate in his native language with the Manchu speakers.[28] I had the same experience in 2007, when I was able to converse with a Manchu speaker in Sanjiazi using Sibe. Taking into account the somewhat limited language competence of the speaker caused by the fact that she had not used Manchu in everyday communication for a long time, the difference between the Sanjiazi Manchu and the Jungarian Sibe of the octogenarian speakers was minor and should be partly ascribed to the Chinese influence being heavier in Sanjiazi than in Chabchal.

Since the main body of Manchu upon which the literary language was based had ceased to exist before the start of the field research in China[29] and all materials available at present come from the margins of the Manchu language area, it may be justified to assume that the Sibe language, which is apparently close to literary Manchu, is the descendant of the central or official Manchu dialect.

Another indirect source of information concerning the relationship of Manchu and Sibe may be the account of a Daghur soldier from Manchuria, who came to Ili during the great Muslim rebellion, and described his first meeting with the Sibes saying, that he suddenly heard several people talking in 'our Manchu language' (Donjina 1989, p. 31).

It may be concluded that spoken Sibe, except for the strong influence of Khorchin Mongol manifested mainly on the lexical level, is most likely a descendant of the Manchu coinée.

Previous research of spoken Sibe

Various aspects of the Sibe language and culture have been explored by researchers in China by both ethnic Sibe and Chinese scholars. All of them are to be found in the bibliography of Manchu Studies by G. Stary. Here I would like to mention the 'classical' reference books for Sibe studies – the Sibe Ethnography (Ma. *Sibe uksurai an tacin*) and the Short history of the Sibe nation (Ma. *Sibe uksurai šolokon suduri*).[30] An important study of Sibe shamanism was published by Kicešan (Qicheshan 2011) and a monumental collection of Sibe folklore by Zhonglu is hopefully forthcoming.

Outside China, Russia has the longest tradition in Sibe studies, which started with the phenomenal collection of Sibe folk texts by Fedor Muromskij (Kałużyńsky 1977). This work has been further developed by the Manchurologists Tatiana Pang, Liliya M. Gorelova, Konstantin S. Yahontov and others.

In Japan the tradition of Sibe studies begins with Kengo Yamamoto in the 1960s; similarly, several young Japanese scholars have been conducting research into Sibe last years. A Sibe scholar living in Japan – Kicengge (Chengzhi) – has published several studies of Manchu and Sibe history based on early Qing documents.

In Europe, the Italian Manchurologist Professor Giovanni Stary is the most deserving of praise due to his extensive research and publication activities concerning the Sibe nation. Besides numerous specialized articles, mainly on Sibe literature and history, and several overviews of Sibe studies, Professor Stary translated most of the relevant texts in written

[28] Kicengge, personal communication, 1999.

[29] During several years immediately preceding the Cultural revolution extensive field research was pursued among the non-Han nationalities in Northern China and valuable materials of the minority languages were recorded. Thanks to this effort, records of Manchu spoken by that time in the marginal areas, namely Heilongjiang, have been preserved in China.

[30] The last book has been translated and published by G. Stary.

Sibe published in Xinjiang into European languages. His monumental bibliography of Manchu studies contains all works concerning the Sibe ethnic group, published both in and outside China.

Aspects of Sibe culture have been studied by Alessandra Pozzi[31] (Italy) and Rachel Harris (UK).[32]

As mentioned before, spoken Sibe has been viewed either as a Manchu dialect, or as an oral variation of Manchu proper. Until recently the living Sibe language had been the object of relatively little study and complex descriptions of grammar have yet to be published. The majority of the publications relevant to spoken Sibe are dictionaries and editions of commented and analyzed texts of the oral language.

The oldest source for spoken Sibe is the *Man'čžurskaja chrestomatia* (Manchu Reader) by A. O. Ivanovskij (Ivanovskij 1895), which contains two oral Sibe texts. A collection of spoken language materials, unique in content as well as a linguistic document, are the texts which were recorded in Chabchal by F. Muromskij at the beginning of the 20th century and later published by the Polish scholar S. Kałużyński (1977).

Several oral Sibe texts have been published during the last decades. The most important of these are the record of a folktale 'The Young Man and the Fairy' with parallel literal and free translations and a list of nominal and verbal formants by the Chinese scholar Li Shulan (1986), and two works by the Sibe author Jin Ning, particularly the edition of the 'Legend of blackening the face' in transcription and translation into literary Manchu and English (Jin Ning 1991) and the *Sibe-English Conversations*, which contains an abundant selection of phrases used in daily communication (Jin Ning 1993).

The Sibe-English dictionary by K. Yamamoto including a detailed phonetic analysis has not yet been surpassed. Among several dictionaries published in China the most important and useful is the monolingual dictionary published in Urumchi in 1987 (*Sibe 'manju' gisun-i buleku bithe*, 1987).

The linguistic research of 'real'[33] spoken Sibe in the West began, for all intents and purposes, with the description by Jerry Norman (Norman 1974). His informants were the members of a Sibe family living in Taiwan. The work of Prof. Norman includes a detailed description of the phonology and morphology of the spoken language and, with minor divergences caused mainly by the different age of the informants, precisely fits with my experience with the Sibe speakers. The part concerning morphology is limited to the list and characteristic of the nominal and verbal suffixes.

The collective work of Chinese and Sibe authors Li Shulan, Zhongqian and Wang Qingfeng (Li Shulan 1984), comprises a detailed phonetic, phonological and morphological description with examples and a Sibe-Chinese vocabulary. The description is based on rich material collected by fieldwork. Apparently the material was collected among speakers with high competency in literary Manchu and some of the forms found in the work would not be typical for the speech of less educated speakers.

The Polish linguist S. Kałużyński, who edited the unique materials collected by F. Muromskij, later published a brief morphological description of the language of these

[31] For the first detailed study on Sibe shaman beliefs, see Pozzi 1992.

[32] The recently published book by Rachel Harris presents rare materials of Sibe folk and especially shaman songs and an important study of the Sibe folk culture in general (Harris 2005).

[33] Some authors in speaking about Sibe, refer not to the Sibe vernacular, but to the pronunciation of the written language by the Sibes which only slightly differs from written Manchu.

materials (Kałużyński 1987). According to the interpretation of contemporary Sibe scholars (Kicengge 1994 – personal communication) the records of F. Muromskij seem to reflect the pronunciation of the written language[34] and not of the contemporary spoken language, which could not be so different from the modern vernacular. In his interesting and unconventional Manchu reader the Polish Manchurologist Jerzy Tulisow uses constructions of the living language and every-day communication, which makes the grammatical thinking of Manchu accessible to the reader. The author has also visited the Jungarian Sibe.

The Chinese scholar Wang Xiaohong and the Sibe author Guo Meilan published an analysis of the phonological structure of the oral Sibe language (Wang, Guo, 1985).

Among Manchurological works which apply to Sibe I would mention the Manchu reader with an overview of grammar and explanation of idiomatics by Gerthraude Roth-Li, which contains texts of modern Sibe. The comprehensive Manchu Grammar by L. M. Gorelova presents useful historical and demographic information about the Sibe ethnic group, and uses comparative material of Evenki, Nanai, literary and spoken Sibe in addition to literary Manchu.

I would also like to draw attention to an interesting publication by Zhang Bo, which, though it does not concern spoken Sibe, is a unique and remarkable attempt. This textbook of spoken Manchu, written by a young ethnic Manchu, is not a record of the existing spoken language but an original work meant to 'revive' Manchu by basing its analysis on the written form and inventing new expressions when possible and needed. This publication, though striking by intentionally not taking into account any existing vernacular related to Manchu, is the admirable and courageous effort of a talented young linguist.

Finally, a description and analysis of the grammar – phonetics, phonology, morphology, and syntax – of both spoken and written Sibe has recently been published by the Korean scholar Jang Taeho. The author, in addition to using modern methods of Western linguistics, utilizes as well his linguistic insight as a native speaker of Korean, a language whose grammar is in some ways close to that of Manchu and Sibe. Jang Taeho's work is a result of 10 years of the study of oral Sibe, during which he has gained an active command of the language. Jang Taeho's book is at present the only existing complex description of spoken Sibe written with the use of Western linguistic approaches. Unfortunately for many Western linguists, the main part of the book is written in Chinese. A textbook of spoken Sibe has been recently published in Tokyo (Kubo 2011).

In writing the present work I relied, in addition to the above-mentioned works and the collected language materials, upon older Manchurological literature, mainly the works by I. Zaharov – the Manchu Grammar (Zaharov 1879) and the Manchu-Russian dictionary (Zaharov 1875). In addition to the classical Altaistic literature (Ramstedt 1957, Poppe 1960) I used comparative Tungusologic works, above all the exhaustive and critical monographs by O. P. Sunik dealing with verbs (Sunik 1962) and nouns (Sunik 1982) in the Tungusic languages.

Among descriptive works dealing with particular languages, the description of the Chakhar dialect of Mongol by the Inner Mongolian linguist B. Sechenbaatar (2003) has been very inspirational for my work. I acquired this book while writing my dissertation and the solutions concerning some problems of the application of the European language categories on the Altaic languages have been particularly helpful for the description of Sibe. Certain questions

[34] Like Mongolian, Sibe has a particular method of enonciating written texts which does not exactly reproduce the written form, but preserves the main differences from the oral language.

concerning parts of speech in Chahar (which can be applied to all Mongolian dialects) are dealt with in an especially innovative way. Since the use of grammatical methodology is practically identical in Mongolian and Sibe, I followed Sechenbaatar's classification in some crucial points of the classification of the Sibe parts of speech.

Sources of data, methods of work

The material for this description was collected among Sibe speakers mostly in Chabchal and Urumchi. During my first study period I concentrated on gaining an active knowledge of spoken Sibe and endeavoured to obtain a deeper understanding of Sibe culture and history, an acquisition rendered possible due to the kindness of my teacher Mr. Kicengge, who taught me intensively for one year and allowed me to follow him on his field research in Chabchal. Later I spent more time collecting language material for description. Part of the records used in this work were completed by Mr. Kicengge.

The material was collected during study periods and shorter visits in Xinjiang in the course of approximately 10 years (1992–2002). Several important and high quality recordings (approximately 280 minutes of folktales, readings of the *julən* etc.) were made by Mr. Kicengge in the winter of 1995. The collected material contains approximately 70 hours of tape recordings, and approximately 10 hours of digital data.

Most of the material actually used in the description was collected during a study period in Urumchi during 1999–2000. For gathering of the language data I used two methods – writing notes by hand and recording onto tape. The first method proved to be the more suitable for acquiring full paradigms of morphological descriptions. Sometimes writing notes by hand was the only way to take down accounts or expressions which the speakers were for some reasons not willing to have tape-recorded. I also concentrated on fixed expressions, idioms, jokes and other properties of the informal communication. The second method was used for recording longer accounts, the topics of which were chosen in advance according to the interest of the speakers. Often the speaker chose the topic himself based upon what he considered to be important to relate about the Sibes. Most of the recordings concern about history, military matters, shamans, ghosts and spirits and everyday life in the past.

I discussed the paradigms, variants etc. with the speakers after a preliminary classification. The help and support of my informants enabled me to complete some larger units of material for the grammatical description.

In the course of the following description I attempted to choose examples which are either typical for everyday speech, or which show some exceptional features of the spoken language. Whenever it seemed meaningful, I have added notes to the examples, mostly to frame the immediate communication context or morphosyntactical peculiarities of the given example, but sometimes also to provide cultural or historical context. This variance reflects my wish to transmit the live speech material as fully as possible and to avoid potential misunderstandings.

Notes on the literal translations of examples

Among the many possibilities of morphological glossing I have chosen one of relatively medium specificity. In view of the relatively simple morphological structure of spoken Sibe, I try to gloss the greater part of the morphemes with grammatical meaning and some of the

particles with grammatical meaning. Since most of the derivational suffixes are not dealt with in the present work, I do not mark them in the literal translation. Zero suffixes, in view of their great frequency, are glossed only when it is relevant to the grammar in the given explanation. Glossing of particles is slightly more complicated and for several I rather use a fixed lexical translation, which does not vary according to the context. I do the same in the case of some adverbials. This concerns mainly the following expressions:

o- (translated as 'to become'), an existential verb functionally similar to the Mongolian verb *bol-*, used mostly to express indentity, with a wide range of usage developed from the basic meaning: 'to become', 'to be possible', etc.

gəɪ (translated as 'still'), lexical meaning 'still, also, too; any',[35] also used in negative constructions as 'nothing, never, nowhere', etc.

su/šu (translated as 'ultimately') is an emphatic particle, which usually designates high degree of quality or high intensity of an action; sometimes it is used in proximity to a superlative.

dači (translated as 'originally') is an expression used to determine mainly verbs. It is composed of the noun *da* 'root, base' etc. and the case suffix *-či*, (ablative in lit. Manchu and lative in Sibe). The meaning of the expression varies between 'originally', 'formerly' and 'long ago'.

Another problem was posed by the word *ňi*, which, being originally an enclitic third person possessive pronoun, is also frequently used as a particle for marking the topic, emphasis or foregrounding of the noun which it follows. In some cases it might be appropriate to translate it by a definite article or a demonstrative pronoun (Khalkha Mongolian uses the third-person possessive enclitic pronoun *n'* in an analogical way). In the literal translation I decided to mark these two functions separately and while the pronoun in its original function is glossed as POSS., in the function of a foregrounding particle or a topic marker it is marked as F.

[35] A particle of similar function seems to exist in the entire linguistic sphere of Inner Asia (Mongolian *c'*, Uighur *mu*, Mongghul *da*, Mandarin Chinese *ye*, Tibetan *yang* etc.). In Manchu the word *geli* is apparently a more recently grammaticalized expression).

1 CHARACTERISTICS OF SPOKEN SIBE

This chapter contains more general information, which is important for the understanding of the detailed explanations that follow. It concerns phonetics, phonology, the lexicon and the definition of the parts of speech.

1.1 Notes on the phonetics and phonology

1.1.1 Problems of the phonological description of Sibe

The phonetic and phonological structure of spoken Sibe has been the subject of relatively little research. The greatest obstacle to clarifying the Sibe phonemic system in a way that would encompass the overall present situation is the great variance among groups of speakers and the fluidity in the pronunciation of the spoken language. The problems concern above all the distribution of allophones, which significantly differs in dependence on the age of the speakers, and, to some extent, on their adherence to one or another dialectal group.

The local variants of Tarbagatai, Nilqa, Gongliu and Ice Gašan are marked mostly on the levels of prosody, syntax and vocabulary. They concern mostly the older generation, because among the middle-aged and young speakers the knowledge of the Sibe language is considerably less frequent than in Chabchal.

Concerning the age of the speakers, the situation is more complicated and applies more to phonetics. Despite the fact that the language is currently undergoing changes and despite the variability of the mentioned idiolects, it is possible to define roughly two major varieties of spoken Sibe, which are considered to be correct by the speakers while differing from each other. Their origin is closely connected with the the cessation of the use of the Manchu script. Knowledge of written Manchu prevails among speakers born roughly before 1955.[1] Among younger speakers, who grew up during the time when teaching and using Manchu script was forbidden, the number of those who can use it for recording of their own language is around a hundred people. (Kicengge, personal communication 2012)

The overall impression given by the present situation is that the spread of literacy constrained the natural tendencies in the development of the language, and the later loss

[1] The relatively high level of literacy (compared to the contemporary Manchu speakers) is a result of educational reform that took place among the Jungarian Sibes during the first two decades of the 20th century.

of literacy among the bulk of the people accelerated phonetic changes, which then took place within one single generation. It is therefore possible to speak about the language of the 'older generation', which would include speakers born before 1955, and that of the 'younger generation', which would comprise speakers born approximately between 1955 and 1975[2].

Generally it is possible to say that in the speech of the older generation forms that are phonetically closer to the written language occur together with purely oral forms,[3] while the younger generation employs only the oral forms. An illustration may be given by the expression meaning 'ended, finished': its written form is *wajiha*, with the equivalent oral form *vašq*, in addition to which the forms *vajǐχ, vačχ, vačqa, vačq* (and possibly more) may occur among speakers of the older generation.

It often happens that a word has either fallen out of use or has never been used as 'colloquial' by a certain group of speakers and is known to them only in the written form, while another group of speakers uses its oral variant. One example is provided by the general expression for 'fruits', Lit. Ma. *tubihe*, which was presented to me as a literary word for what is commonly known as *suɹʁo jaq*, lit. 'apple thing', by my Chabchal informants; only recently, however, I heard, in oral expression, the word *tüvɣø* from a 60-year-old speaker whose mother came from Tarbagatai.

1.1.2 Previous research of the Sibe phonemic system

The phonemic system of genuine[4] spoken Sibe has been described several times. Probably the earliest description comes from Yamamoto Kengo as a part of his famous dictionary (Yamamoto 1969), followed by separate chapters in the two basic works on Sibe grammar: the classic of spoken Sibe studies by Jerry Norman (Norman 1974, pp. 163–164) and the description of spoken Sibe by Li Shulan et al. (Li Shulan 1984). Further there is a important article by Guo Meilan and Wang Xiaohong. Various details and aspects of the phonology of spoken Sibe have been discussed by native and Chinese scholars during the last 20 years. The most detailed description of the phonetic and phonological system of both spoken and written language (including a synchronic and diachronic comparative analysis) has been presented by Jang Taeho in his recently published book (Jang 2008, pp. 6–95).

J. Norman describes the Sibe phonemic system as follows:

Consonants:

	labials	**alveolars**	**alveopalatals**	**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

[2] This was the year of birth of the youngest of my informants.

[3] According to Kicengge, the main features which characterize the phonetic shape of spoken Sibe as opposed to written Manchu must have developed quite early, most probably before the beginning of the 20th century (Kicengge, personal communication 1995).

[4] Besides the analyses of the live speech there are several works based on the earlier records of Sibe, which in fact are records of recitation of the literary language, a tradition which survives in Chabchal up till the present day (Kaluzynski 1977, 1987).

semivowels and liquids	v	l/r	y		

Vowels:

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

Diphthongs:

ai	əi		oi	ui
au	əu			
ia		iɛ	io	
ua		üɛ		

The description of the phonemic system by Li Shulan (pp. 5–7) generally resembles that of J. Norman but lists more consonantal sounds among phonemes than the latter.

	bilabial	**labio-dental**	**appical**	**retroflex.**	**dorsal**	**radical**	**epiglottal**
voiceless stops	b		d			g	oı
voiceless aspir. stops	p		t			k	ĸ
voiceless affricates			z	zh	j		
voiceless aspir. affricates			c	ch	q		
voiceless fricatives		f	s	sh	x	h	ɦ
voiced fricatives		v					
nasals	m		n			ng	
laterals			l				
			r				
semivowels	w				y		

The differences concern mostly back and front variants of sibilant affricates and fricatives (Norman: *c* [middle č] – Li Shulan: *ch* [back č] vs. *q* [front č]. These differences seem to be conditioned by the fact that, while J. Norman's informants were an emigrant Sibe family who had left China in the 1940s, Li Shulan is a Chinese linguist, and her informants were most probably bilingual in Mandarin Chinese in which front and back sibilants are separate phonemes.

The detailed study by Guo Meilan and Wang Xiaohong agrees in most parts with that of J. Norman, except for the two varieties of sibilants, accepted by them as phonemically distinct.

Wang Xiaohong and Guo Meilan present the following table of the Sibe consonantal phonemes:

			Labial		**appical**				**lami-nal**	**dorsal**		**radical**	
			bilab.	*labio-dent.*	*inter-dent.*	*front app.*	*mid-dle app.*	*back app.*		*Front*	*mid-dle*	*radi-cal*	*epi-glottal*
stops	voice-less	aspired	p				t					k	q
		unasp.	p’				t’					k’	q’
	voiced					ʦ		ʧ		ʨ			
affri-cates	voice-less	aspired						ʧ’		ʨ’			
		unasp.											
	voiced												
nasals	voiced		m				n					ŋ	
							r						
later.							l						
fricatives	voiceless			f		s		ʂ				x	χ
	voiced			f									

To give an example of the present linguistic situation, in the speech of the oldest speakers[5] there is no phonemic opposition between back and front sibilant affricates and the back and front variants are allophones conditioned by the following vowel, whereas the middle and younger generation perceives the two variants as separate phonemes and considers that there is a phonemic distinction between them.

In general, any investigation into the Sibe phonology is complicated by the fact that part of the speakers recognize written Sibe or written Manchu as the written standard of their speech, while the other part does not. For the first group it is natural to perceive the oral forms of words as realizations of their written forms, while the phonemic structure of the language of the second part relies only on the oral forms.[6]

[5] The way of pronunciation differs not only according to the age of the speakers, but often due to family tradition and other considerations. Pronunciation of the middle š usually occurs in the speech of Sibes born approximately before 1940.

[6] While it is difficult to prove this theory, there are some important indicators to support it. One of them may be the way in which speakers illiterate in Sibe transcribe their language into Chinese characters, or the way the speakers familiar with romanized alphabets of the non-Chinese languages use them for spoken Sibe. In most such transcriptions which I have been able to observe the characteristics of spoken Sibe become very evident.

1.1.3 List of sounds in spoken Sibe

In view of the precarious linguistic situation I do not attempt a phonological description of my own, and instead I list the sounds used in spoken Sibe and comment on their usage.

The vowels of spoken Sibe:

		Front		**Central**		**Back**	
		non-labial	*labial*	*non-labial*	*Labial*	*non-labial*	*Labial*
high	higher	i	ü		u		
	lower	ï					
mid	higher		ø	e			
	lower			ə			o
low	higher	ɛ					ů
	lower					a	

The vowels *a, ɛ , ə, e, o, ø, u, ü, ů, i* and *ï* occur in stressed syllables, and the vowels *o, u, ů, ə, i* and *ï* occur in unstressed syllables.

Palatal vowels

The palatal vowels are not noted in written Manchu. In Sibe they mostly occur in the vicinity of an *i*. The palatal vowels often merge with diphthongs: Lit. Ma. *amargi*, Si. *ɛmirgi*/*ɛⁱmirgi* 'northern'; Lit. Ma. *dobi*, Si. *døf*/*düəf* 'fox'; Lit. Ma. *turi*, Si. *türⁱ*).

Sometimes the palatal vowels occur in words without an *i* as in the cases of an elided *k* before consonants (Lit. Ma. *sakda*, Si. *saⁱt*/*sɛt*/*set* 'old'). In some cases the palatalisation results in a change of the vowel quality (Lit. Ma. *fonji-*, Si. *fienji-* 'to ask').

Diphthongs

The diphthongs which are probably indigenous to spoken Sibe are the closing diphthongs *ai, oi, ůi, ei* and opening diphthongs *ia, io, iu, ie, u a, ao*. In loan-words the diphthong *ui* is common.

The diphthong *ue* (written as *uwe*) of literary Manchu does not exist in spoken Sibe (Lit. Ma. *kuwesi*, Si. *kuźi* 'knife') and a secondary diphthong ao has developed by the elision of *k* before consonants (Lit. Ma. *akdun*, Si. *aoduⁿ* 'firm, secure'; Lit. Ma. *akjan*, Si. *aojuⁿ* 'lightening').

Further, the opening diphthongs in Sibe often correspond to the closing diphthongs of literary Manchu (Lit. Ma. *gayi-*, Si. *gia-* 'to take'; Lit. Ma. *bayi-*, Si. *bia-* 'to ask, to look for'; Lit. Ma. *boihon*, Si. *bioʁůⁿ* 'dust, earth').

In some cases there is a palatal diphthong in spoken Sibe corresponding to a simple vowel in written Manchu (Lit. Ma. *foholon*, Si. *fioʁůlůⁿ*/*føʁůlůⁿ* 'short').

On the whole, it seems that palatal diphthongs and palatal vowels in spoken Sibe are often interchangeable and their use varies individually.

The consonants of spoken Sibe:

		bilab.	labio dental.	alveol.	retroflex.	alveopalat.	palat.	velar.	uvul.
stops	**voiced**	b		d				g	ɢ
	lenis voiceless	b̥		d̥				g̊	ɢ̥
	fortis	p		t				k	q
affricates	**voiced**				ǰ	j			
	lenis voiceless				ǰ	j			
	fortis				č	ź			
fricatives	**voiced**		v	z		ź		ɣ	ʁ
	lenis voiceless		v̥	z̥		ź̥			
	fortis		f	s	š	ś		x	χ
resonants	**laterals**				l	ʎ			
	medials				ɹ	r	y		
	nasals	m		n				ŋ	n

The phonemes /g/, /k/, /x/ and /ŋ/ have velar and uvular allophones, which are distributed according to the place of articulation (uvulars in the vicinity of back vowels and velars in the vicinity of front vowels) the velar fricative [ɣ] and the uvular fricative [ʁ] are allophones of either the phoneme /g/or the phoneme /x/ in an intervocalic position.

The voiced consonants [v], [z], [ź] are allophones of /f/, /b/, /s/ and /š/ occurring both between vowels and in the initial position.

The sounds [j] and [ǰ] may be either the realization of the phonemes /j/ and /ǰ/, or allophones of /ć/ and /č/ in intervocalic positions.

Below I append several comments on the most characteristic features and developments in spoken Sibe.

1) Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony, which is present to some degree in most Uralic-Altaic languages, as well as in others and which is strictly observed in written Manchu, is relatively less consistent in spoken Sibe, especially in the younger generation. Still it is possible to state that vowel harmony is an effective principle of the spoken language.

The articulatory positions are, as in Mongolian, two – back and front. The back vowels are /a/ and /o/, the front row is represented only by /ə/, while /i/ and /u/ are treated as neutral. In fact, /u/ has two allophones – back and front – and it seems that in most words containing /a/ or /o/, especially in those with uvulars, the back allophone [ů] is pronounced. Exception are words with an initial /u/, which is mostly pronounced as [u] in words without uvulars. This, however, requires a detailed phonetic examination to clarify the precise phonetic qualities of the sounds.

The vowel /i/ generally retains its front vowel qualities, although a slightly lower and backer allophone occurs in the vicinity of uvulars.[7] /i/, in its turn, has a strong palatalizing effect on the sounds in its vicinity.

2) Reduction of vowels

One of the most intensive changes that is currently taking place in the spoken language is the strong reduction of vowels in unstressed positions, which in some cases results in their loss.[8]

Approximately three degrees of reduction may be distinguished.

The first (lowest) degree concerns the vowels *o*, *u* and *i* in unstressed positions, which have a shorter pronunciation without qualitative changes (e.g. *foro*^{n} 'peak', *gətku*^{n} 'intelligent', *jaqů*^{n} 'eight', *χoňi*^{n} 'sheep').

The second (middle) degree of reduction affects the vowels *a* and *e* in unstressed positions, where they are pronounced as a short medial [ə] (e.g. *yaχčə*^{n} 'puppy', *amə*ɪ 'after', *samə*^{n} 'shaman').

The third (maximum) degree of reduction occurs in some unstressed positions, mostly in the word ending, in the second syllable of three-syllable words and in the first syllable after the unvoiced sibilant [s] and [š]. All vowels can be reduced in this way. In these positions vowels often lose their syllabicity and are difficult to reconstruct except from Manchu/Sibe orthography or from other grammatical forms. In the younger generation's speech these vowels tend to be dropped altogether (e.g. *čiśkə* Lit. Ma. *cecike* 'sparrow, little bird'; *ś*^{i}*qa*, Lit. Ma. *sika* 'horsehair'; *gəɪɣ*^{ə}*i*, Lit. Ma. *gələhə* 'be afraid-PERF.' *arχ* 'way to do' *arʁəf* 'way to do-ACC.' etc.).

3) Vowel length and stress

The length of vowels is not phonologically distinctive and it is accompanied by stress.

In most cases the first syllable is stressed, and only some words beginning with unvoiced speech sound(s) have stress on the second syllable. In some words there is an additional stress on the last syllable. Apart from this, the last syllable of a prosodic unit is usually stressed, and in slow and distinct speech the last syllable of every emphasized word is stressed. In some cases of strong emphasis prolonged pronunciation of a vowel is accompanied by a glottal constriction or stop (e.g. *yavma*^{ʔ}*aq duth*^{ə}*i* lit. go-CP. lie-PERF. 'goes on and on'.

4) Alternation of occlusives and fricatives

The lenis stops /b/, /g/ and /ɢ/ in the medial and final positions are, with some exceptions, pronounced as fricatives [v], [ɣ] and [ʁ] respectively (e.g. Lit. Ma. *sarganjui*, Si.- *saʁənč* 'daughter, girl'; Lit. Ma. *abala-*, Si. *avələ-* 'to hunt').

The fortis fricatives /s/ /(š)/, /x/ and /χ/ in an medial position (in the case of /s/ and /(š)/ sometimes even at the word beginning, are pronounced as lenis by most of the speakers (e.g.

[7] In Li Shulan's phonemic transcription /i/ sometimes corresponds to /a/ of written Manchu (e.g. Si. *asirem* < Ma. *as**a**rambi*). In my opinion this vowel, much lower and backer than /i/ after an uvular, should be treated as a variant of /e/.

[8] J. Norman (1974, p. 163) makes the following observations on vowel reduction: "When unstressed, the vowels /i/, /u/ and /e/ are drastically reduced, especially in final position: /i/ in this position is realized as a palatalization of the preceding consonant, /u/ as a rounding of the preceding consonant and /e/ as a 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 fortis stops and/or fricatives."

Lit. Ma. *tafa-*, Si. *tavənə-* ‘to ascend’; Lit. Ma. *gisuⁿ*, Si. *gizun* ‘word, language’; Lit. Ma. *se-*, Si. *zə-* ‘to say’ vs. Lit. Ma. *sa-*, Si. *sa-* ‘to know’); Lit. Ma. *siden*, Si. *śidəⁿ* ‘between’; Lit. Ma. *indahūn*, Si. *yindaʁůⁿ* ‘dog’; Lit. Ma. *ehelinggū*, Si. *əɣəliŋ* ‘ugly, wicked’).

5) Assimilation of lenis consonants

The lenis consonants are mostly pronounced as voiced in the medial position, before vowels, resonants and other voiced consonants, and as unvoiced before fortis consonants and in the final position (e.g. Lit. Ma. *abka*, Si. *afqa* ‘sky, heaven’; Lit. Ma. *afahabi*, Si. *avʁᵊi* ‘fight-PERF’; Lit. Ma. *gajiha*, Si. *ɕaškᵊi* ‘bring-PERF’; Lit. Ma. *gajimbi*, Si. *ɕajəm* ‘bring-IMP.’)

6) Dissimilation of affricates

The affricates **č** and **j** before stops are realized as the fricative **š**. This is an increasingly frequent phenomenon due to the current process of reduction and elision of interconsonantal vowels and formation of the cluster *-čk-*. In the speech of the older generation the variants *-čk*/*čq-* and *-šk*/*šq-* occur, while middle-aged and younger speakers mainly pronounce *–šk*/*šq-* (e.g. Lit. Ma. *tacikū*, Si. *tačqů* > *tašqů* ‘school’).

7) Medial allophone of /l/

The lateral /l /has a retroflex medial allophone [ɹ], which occurs at the end of a syllable . More and more laterals currently change into this medial as a result of vowel elision (e.g. Lit. Ma. *gelehe*, Si. *gəɹɣᵊi* ‘fear-PERF’).

8) Nasal /n/

The nasal /n/ in word final position is usually realized as a nasalisation of the preceding vowel.

9) Alternation of the prothetic* ‘n’ *with prothetic* ‘y’ *before an* ‘i’ *in word initial position

In the initial position /i/ has two variants of pronunciation – either with a glottal stop, or without it. In the latter case a prothetic [y] is pronounced in the beginning of the word, which often alternates with a prothetic [n], for example Lit. Ma. *nikan*, Si. *yiqaⁿ* ‘Chinese’; Lit. Ma. *inenggi*, Si. *ňinəŋ* ‘day’; Lit. Ma. *niyehe*, Si. *yiɣə* ‘goose’. This phenomenon is encountered in some words beginning with palatal vowels as well (Lit. Ma. *umiyaha*, Si. *ňimaχ* ‘beetle’; Lit. Ma. *umiyesun*, Si. *ňumzuⁿ* ‘belt’).

***10) Alternation of* ‘l’ *with* ’n’**

I have registered this alternation only in two cases of homophonic words (Lit. Ma. *nei*, Si. *li* ‘sweat’; Lit. Ma. *nei-*, Si. *li-* ‘to open’), though a certain regularity cannot be excluded.

In the modern spoken language many changes of the **sandhi type** are encountered. The following changes are the most common:

The words which end in a stressed syllable (e.g. *aʁa* ‘rain’, *afqa* ‘sky’, *solo* ‘freedom’, *čiškə* ‘sparrow, little bird’, *muku* ‘water’, *učі* ‘door’) usually retain the final vowel, while in words which do not have stress on the final syllable the final vowel is reduced and eventually tends to disappear (Lit. Ma. *gala*, Si. *gaɹ* ‘hand’; Lit. Ma. *uju*, Si. *uj* ‘head’; Lit. Ma. *kara*, Si. *qar* ‘black (horse)’; Lit. Ma. *bəthə*, Si. *bətk* ‘foot’). All of these words, however, have

an emphasized variant of pronunciation, in which the last syllable is stressed and a vowel, usually medial *ə*, is pronounced (*ɕalə, ujə, bətkə*).

The same can be said about the suffixes ending in a vowel. Most of the suffixes behave like an unstressed word-ending; some, however, tend to be stressed. For example the DL. suffix Lit. Ma. ***-de*** is reduced to ***-t*** in spoken Sibe, unless emphasized (*ərin-t* 'time-DL'., *ərin-də* 'time-DL'. emphasized), but the CC suffix *-či* retains its full syllabic form, unless it is reduced before a voiceless consonant (*gən-či* 'go'-CC, *gən-š* da CC ACT.).

All words, which end in a primary or secondary consonant, except resonants, are liable to a voiced/voiceless assimilation – when followed by a pause or a voiceless consonant, they are pronounced as voiceless (sometimes fairly voiced – lenis) – e.g. *ɕaχ* 'crow', *as* 'net', *čeňinj* 'the day before yesterday'; when followed by a vowel or a voiced consonant, most consonants except **k**/**q** become voiced – e.g. *ɕaʁ-ə-f* 'crow-ACC.', *az-ə-f* 'net -ACC.', *čəňinj-ə-i* 'the day before yesterday-GEN.'

Epenthetic vowels are usually inserted before suffixes or particles beginning with consonants.

1.2 Questions of transcription

Among the works presenting the materials of spoken Sibe or analyzing them, J. Norman and Li Shulan use phonemic transcriptions based on the respective phonemic systems which they have described.

Guo Meilan and Wang Xiaohong use a rather narrow IPA based phonetic transcription to record the phonetic shape of the Sibe words.

Among the works of 'western' provenance, the richest material of the spoken language has been published by Jin Ning (Jin Ning 1991, 1993).

In her works Jin Ning employs a phonetic transcription based on the IPA, which she describes as 'a kind of blend one between the broad and the narrow transcriptions' (Jin Ning 1993, p. 9). The set of IPA symbols used in her work seems to serve the purpose of transmitting the acoustic shape of the spoken Sibe language very well.

A comparison of the above-mentioned works demonstrates major differences, which, however, concern those features of spoken Sibe that are currently in process of change, in particular vowel reduction and elision, palatalization of vowels and assimilation/dissimilation of consonants. Undoubtedly some of the differences are also conditioned by the authors' personal phonemic experience (e.g. the perfective verb suffix syllable centre is treated as a single vowel by J. Norman, which corresponds to my own experience, while scholars working in a Chinese-speaking environment tend to hear a diphthong).

Written Manchu	**Norman**	**Li Shulan**	**Wang-Guo**	**Jin Ning**	**my material**
torhombi	tüɛrhume	torhum		tœrʁi̯m	tiørʁum, tüɛrʁum
genehebi	gəněhi	genhei	kɯnɣɯi	gənɣəj	gənɣ^{ə}i

The transcription used by Guo Meilan and Wang Qingfeng reflects the real shape of the language with great accuracy. I have elected, however, to follow the example of Jin Ning and note only the more remarkable distinctions in order to make the texts more accessible. The main feature which distinguishes Jin Ning's method from the phonemic transcriptions is the marking of the voiced fricative allophones of velar and uvular *g*/*h*, which is one of the most outstanding differences between the written and oral languages. In my transcription I add a sign for the retroflex allophone of the phoneme *l*, which occurs at the end of syllables. I have also elected to use top index letters to mark some typical features of the spoken language connected to the reduction of certain sounds, namely the letter $^{u/\mathring{u}}$ to mark labialized pronunciation of syllable-closing consonants caused by elision of a labial vowel (e.g. aq$^{\mathring{u}}$< aqů *negative existential*); similarly I use the sign ^{i} to mark the strongly reduced but partially syllable-forming /i/which often appears after /s/ (e.g. s'^{i}qa<s'iqa *horsehair*), as well as the sign ^{n} for the strongly reduced /n/ in some word endings, which is pronounced as a nasalisation of the preceding vowel (e.g. mori^{n}<morin *horse*). In the latter case, in order to avoid too many forms, I have chosen a more phonemic principle and use the basic form ^{n} for for the other two sandhi variants as well – *n* before dental consonants and *m* before *m,v* and *f*.

As for the time being there is no codified orthography in transcribing spoken Sibe, and as in the former works I have consulted the actual shapes of the particular words differ considerably, I have transcribed the words as I was able to hear them, using the IPA signs.

1.3 Remarks on the Sibe vocabulary

The basic layer of the Sibe vocabulary is clearly of Tungusic origin, and is virtually identical with Manchu. Among the modern living Tungusic languages Nanai (Gold) is closer than others to Sibe. The opinion of some native scholars that the Sibes were originally a Mongolian tribe is not supported by the lexical material.[9]

The expressions of Tungusic origin contain many terms connected with life in forests and at riversides – plants, forest animals, fishes, deities and spirits of forests and water, etc. Part of the agricultural terminology, expressions connected with household, food, some of the kinship terms, numerals and most basic verbs are Tungusic.

A relatively large section of the Sibe lexicon is formed by loanwords from Mongolic languages. Although most of these loanwords are identical with the Mongolic loanwords in literary Manchu,[10] there is still a significant amount of words, which were probably borrowed directly into Sibe from the Khorchin Mongol dialect at the time, when the Sibes were a vassal tribe of the Khorchins. These words do not occur in written Manchu and most of them are

[9] The only trace seems to be provided by the tradition comcerning 'jivš gizun', a different language that is reported to have been used by one of the Sibe banners till the end of the 19th century, and is said to be 'the original Sibe language' by some Sibes. The word 'jivš' is probably related to the denomination of the Barghu-Mongolian tribe of Chipchins, and the scanty information regarding the entire problem suggests a different type of language contact than is reported by Sibe tradition. Most probably a part of the Chipchin tribe was incorporated into the Sibe banners and assimilated by the Sibes.

[10] Apart from the apparent cultural borrowings from the Mongolic to Manchu languages datable to at least two historical periods (the Jurchen state and the early period of the Manchu expansion) there is an enormous amount of related words which seem to be partly the result of borrowing between Mongolic and Tungusic languages. This phenomenon has been noted as occurring in both directions and at varying time periods, and so thus may partially have developed from the hypothetical common basis (cf. Janhunen 1996, p. 252).

expressions connected with religion, cattle-breeding, horse-herding and expressions of everyday life.[11] Very few of the Mongolian loanwords in spoken Sibe seem to originate from the contacts with the Oirat and Chahar Mongols that occurred after their resettlement to Xinjiang.

Compared to literary Manchu more loanwords from Chinese are used in spoken Sibe. The main cause of this is probably the fact that many words of literary Manchu were created artificially and were never used in speech. In modern spoken Sibe, part of agricultural terminology, some of the expressions for household equipment and food and practically the whole vocabulary connected with technical goods have been taken directly from Chinese. As is the case with many other non-Han languages in China, the use of Chinese loanwords dramatically increases among the middle and younger generation and the experience of hearing a sentence composed of Chinese words with Sibe suffixes is by no means an exception. The first expressions to be replaced by Chinese loanwords are usually loanwords from other languages – Mongolian, Kazakh, Uighur and Russian[12].

A remarkable difference between written Manchu vocabulary and the vocabulary of spoken Sibe is the latter's tendency to use analytic expressions instead of the synthetic expressions or specialized terms found in the former. This concerns both verbs and nouns. The Manchu synthetic verbal forms formed by the derivational suffixes with the exception of several petrified forms such as *ɕajə-* 'to bring' (Ma. *ga-ji-* < *ga-* 'to take' + *-ji-* 'to come'), are replaced by verbal phrases (e.g. Ma. *ala-na-* 'to go and tell' × Si. *aɹm gən-* 'telling go' or *gənəm al-* 'going tell'; Ma. *nima-ra-* 'to snow' < *nimanggi* 'snow' + *-ra* deriv. suffix x Si. *ňimaŋ da-* lit. 'snow + to have relationship'= 'to snow'). A somewhat similar difference is seen in nouns, as when synthetic forms of the written language, such as Ma. *abalasi* 'hunter' < *abala-* 'to hunt' + *-si* (agent suffix) are replaced by analytic forms, e.g. Si. *avələr nan* lit. 'hunting person' = 'hunter'. Specialized or abstract terms of the literary language are often abandoned in favour of complex expressions formed by means of everyday use (e.g. Ma. *tubihe* 'fruits' Si. *suɹʁo jaq* lit. 'apple thing' = 'fruits').

Due to contacts with the Russians, which became particularly close during the Russian occupation of the Ghulja area in the 2nd half of the 19th century and lasting till relatively recent times (one entire generation of the Sibe people of Ghulja grew up under the strong influence of the local Russian community), a certain amount of Russian words were borrowed into Sibe. These loanwords are mostly modern technical terms, particularly those connected with the military, but include as well many terms from Russian culture, for example, words for household equipment and food, which were assumed by the Sibes along with the objects they denote. Most of the Russian loanwords are used alternatively with Chinese loanwords and are particularly favoured by older speakers from Ghulja and Tarbagatai. The most frequently cited example is the word for 'tomato' – *famdor* (< Ru. *pomidor*).

[11] This layer of Sibe vocabulary is still unexplored and its extent is unknown. Most of these expressions exist in Sibe as synonyms of indigenous Sibe-Manchu words (e.g. Si. *amre-* <Mo. *amra-* 'to take a rest', as a synonym to the Sibe-Manchu *erge-* 'to take a rest'). According to my informants many of these synonyms occur in the speech of the older generation and are either unknown to the middle and younger generations, or do not form a part of their active vocabulary.

[12] E.g. the word for 'girlfriend', which in the middle generation of Chabchal used to be *padruga* (<Ru. *podruga*), but nowadays has been replaced either by the older Chinese expression *duixiang* – which now sounds archaic to Chinese native speakers – or the more modern Chinese form *nü pengyou*.

1.3.1 Personal names

The religious and social life of the traditional Sibe community was based on the clan system, which remains unchanged until present. Originally 38 clans (Lit. Ma. *hala*, Si. *χa.ɹ*) existed among the Sibes in Manchuria. Representatives of 24 clans came to Xinjiang (Heling, Tong Kiri 1989, pp. 22–24). Most of the clan names are to be traced to the Manchurian ethnic and language milieu (*Gorgia, Ujala, Həyer, Gioro, Nara* and others), some, like the clans of *Tumurči* and *Korči*, seem to be of Mongolian origin, while some are originally Chinese clan names incorporated into the Sibe system. Chinese surnames such as *Wang, Xu, Liu, Zhang* and others are found among the Sibes.

At present, in official communication, the first syllable of the clan name in an approximate (but fixed) transcription by Chinese characters is used. In modern times the clan structure has remained significant mainly for the purpose of marriage: the rule of exogamy is strongly observed.[13]

Despite the fact that during the entire 20th century Chinese personal names were in frequent use, the tradition of the Sibe personal names has survived until present and has even been re-gaining popularity. Many of the young Sibes have a Chinese name, which they use in communication outside the Sibe community, and a Sibe name.

As in literary Manchu, the Sibe personal names are usually derived by several specialized literary suffixes, of which the most frequent are ***-ngga/-ngge***, ***-su***, ***-bu***, ***-tai***, ***-bai***, ***šan/šen*** and ***-tun/-cun*** for men's names, and the suffix ***-ji*** or ***-ju*** for women's names. Generally it seems that Chinese names are given more often to girls than to boys.

In recent times Sibe personal names have been given in accordance with the Sino-Manchu tradition, which primarily emphasizes spiritual qualities and abilities. Examples of such names are *kičəŋə* (*kicengge*)[14], *kičəsu* (*kicesu*), *kičəbu* (*kicebu*), *kičəšən* (*kicešan*) from *kičə-* 'to be diligent or thoughtful'; *mutəbu* (*mutebu*), *mutəsu* (*mutesu*), *mutəšən* (*mutešan*) from *mutə-* 'to be able, to master, to overcome'; *jalůɴa* (*jalungga*) from *jalu-* 'full'; *saračun* (*saracun*) from *sa-* 'to know' etc. Examples of female names are *mərgənji* (*mergenji*) from *mərgən* 'wise, clever; *aodunji* (*akdunji*) from *aodun* 'firm, stable' etc.

In modern times substantives in their original form become more frequently used as personal names. The general tendency in the meanings of the names has also changed (e.g. *ərəčun* 'hope', *qaltari* 'diamond' , *arslan* 'lion', *yiɹʁa* 'flower', *tana* 'pearl').[15]

All Sibe names are pronounced very closely according to their literary form and there are no diminutive or familiar forms of the names. Sometimes the first syllable of the name followed by a title is pronounced (e.g. *tu amban* 'the amban Tu' for the amban whose name was *tukšan*). This is a widespread method of creating an honorific, originating in Chinese culture but known as well to many Inner Asian ethnicities.

[13] For most other requirements of modern social life, such as establishing the order of visiting relatives during New Year celebrations and suchlike, units smaller than clans, which can be probably designated as "broader family", are important. With the partial revival of shamanism, however, the clan structure re-gains some of its importance.

[14] Forms in brackets are transliterated literary Manchu forms.

[15] A case illustrating the attitude to personal names is that of a boy whose first name was Arslan (Lion). After it was realized that the boy was mute his parents were advised to change the name. The new name was Sarasu (Knowledge).

1.3.2 Children's expressions

Spoken Sibe, as in most languages, has a group of special words used for communication with infants. In Sibe the 'children's vocabulary' is comparatively rich and covers all the important topics of basic communication. These words are most often one-syllable words and are usually reduplicated. Examples of such expressions are (*ji*)*jii* 'to urinate' *bobo* 'bread', *ajii* 'to hug', *jüjü* 'clothes, *guoguo* 'shoes', *qaqa* 'hot' and others. The expressions for actions are always followed by the auxiliary verb *ze-* 'to say', e.g. *ajii zə*! 'Hug it!'

1.3.3 Vicarious expressions

Spoken Sibe has vicarious words for all the nominal categories and also for verbs.

The greater part of the vicarious expressions (except personal pronouns) is derived from five roots, which are the apparently phonetic variants of two roots: The proximate reference expressions have the roots ***ə***-/***u***-/***i***- while the distant reference expressions are derived from the roots ***tə***-/***tu***-. Besides these five basic roots there is the stem ***mə***/***mu***- of Mongolian origin, whose basic meanings may be defined as foregrounding (*mər* 'preciously this, exactly this') and identification with a previously known or mentioned object or fact (*mətər nan* 'that same person'). Interrogative vicarious expressions are mostly derived from the roots ***ya***- or ***a***-.

The nominal vicarious words can be divided into several subclasses according the parts of speech they substitute. Thus we can distinguish vicarious nouns (pronouns), adjectives, temporal nouns, spatials, numerals and verbs. Since vicarious expressions have the same morphological characteristics as the parts of speech they represent and a corresponding semantic field, I deal with every subclass within the respective part of speech individually.

A special chapter is dedicated to the substitutes for nouns – the pronouns in view of their greater formal and semantic variety, resulting mainly from the specific semantics of personal pronouns.

The vicarious verbs have the morphological properties of verbs, I analyze them, therefore, in chapter 4 (Verbs).

1.4 Remarks on syntax – negation

In the present work there is not sufficent space to deal with the Sibe syntax in its entirety. Subsequently, I have limited myself to an explanation of the system of negation, which is important to understand morphological as well as for syntactical relations.

As in other Altaic languages, Manchu and Sibe have two basic types of negation. B. Sechenbaatar defines the two types of negation in Chakhar Mongol as negating either 'nominal existence' or 'nominal identity' (Sechenbaatar 2003, p. 184). This definition expresses the essence of the difference between the two types of negation and is applicable to spoken Sibe as well. Still, in many other specific instances, it is difficult to establish precisely the basis upon which one or the other type has been used.

It may be helpful to bear in mind that while in both Chakhar and Sibe (unlike modern Khalkha) the former type of negative particle is in fact a negative existential (Sechenbaatar

2003, p. 184), whereas the latter negative particle in Sibe is semantically connected with the meaning ‘erroneous, incorrect, improper’ etc. Similar use of this ‘identity negating particle’ is attested in Khalkha Mongolian.[16]

1.4.1 The negative particle aqů

The function of this particle roughly corresponds to that of the Mongolian negative particle (*ü*)*güi*, which B. Sechenbaatar designates as a ‘negative existential’ (2003, p. 184). The word *aqů*, as *ügüi* in most Inner Mongolian dialects, functions as the negative equivalent of the existential verb *bi* (Mo. *bii*/*bai*-). Its lexical meaning is therefore ‘non-existence’, ‘non-being’, or ‘absence’. As in most Altaic languages, the semantic field of the existential verbal pair present/absent (*bi-aqů*) also includes, in addition, the expression of possession and non-possession. Both of the negative particles behave grammatically as nouns.[17]

The first type of negation, expressed by the particle *aqů* (Lit. Ma. *akū*), negates either the existence or the presence of the object, fact, matter etc., expressed by a noun (a), or, when following a verbal noun, forms a negative verbal expression (b). When used as a separate clause, it can negate the entire utterance (c).

a) Negation of nominal existence

Ex. 1: *daivə ňi ta-maq* ***ňuŋk aqů*** *zəm*.
Lit. Doctor F. look-CP. **disease absent** say-IMP.
The doctor examined her and said that she **was not ill** (**had no disease**).

Ex. 2: *kəčən-dəri ta-ʁəɴ* ***əm naⁿ gəɪ aqů***.
Lit. Wall-ABL. look-NP.II. **one person still absent**.
He looked around from the top of the wall, but **there was nobody**.

Ex. 3: *əva-dəri* ***aqů-ʁůi*** *(< aqů oʁůi)*.
Lit. Here-ABL. **absent-become-PERF**.
He **is not here any more**.

Ex. 4: ***aqů-dəri*** *śieⁿ*.
Lit. **Absent-ABL**. good.
Better **than nothing**.

Ex. 5: *təsk laft jiʁa mi-n-d* ***aqů***.
Lit. Thus much money 1s-DL. **absent**.
I do not have that much money.

[16] Cf. phrases in the colloquial language of the type *neg l biš* ‘somehow improper, incorrect’ etc.

[17] Besides being frequently used as an attribute, both of the negative particles can take case suffixes, e.g. *aqů dəri sieⁿ* lit. NEG.-ABL. good ‘better than nothing’, or *vaqəf mənjaɴ zəm* lit. not-ACC. true say-IMP. ‘he says about something that is not so that it is so’.

b) Negative verbal forms

Ex. 1: *čəksə bi gənə-m* ***mut-qa-qů***.
Lit. Yesterday 1sg. go-CI. **can-NP.-NEG**.
I could not visit you yesterday.

Ex. 2: *bi* ***sa-r*** *χaň* ***aqů***.
Lit. 1sg. **know-NI**. least **NEG**.
I do not even **know** about it.

Ex. 3: ***taqů-qů*** *nan-maq əm gizər*.
Lit. **Know**-(**NOM.IMP**).-**NEG**. person-S. PROH. speak-(NI.).
Do not speak with people you do **not know**.

c) The word* aqů *as an independent clause.

Used as a clause, the word *aqů* either has the same meaning as explained above (non-existence, absence), or it negates a verbal expression.

Ex. 1: ***aqů***.
Lit. **Absent.**
He is not here.
Note: Usually summarizing the result of search or a reply to a question about presence, possession of somebody or something.

Ex. 2: *ər baitəf śi aɹmbuʁů ba? –* ***aqů***.
Lit. This matter you tell-CI.-give-NP. PROB. – NEG.
It was you who told (him) about it, wasn't it ? – **No** (**it was not me**).

1.4.2 The negative particle vaq

The particle *vaq* (Lit. Ma. *waka*) usually negates a statement in terms of its quality, essence, or identity of what is expressed by the noun. Its function is similar to that of the Mongolian particle *biš*, which is designated as a 'negative copula' by Sechenbaatar. The expression *vaq* is a negative counterpart to the expression *mənjaɴ* 'indeed, true, the same'. The lexical meaning of the word *vaq* is 'wrong, erroneous, not that' etc. It may determine a noun or a verb (*vaq jůʁůⁿ* 'the wrong way', *vaq vaq učulum* 'he sings out of tune'). Owing to its lexical meaning the Sibe expression *vaq* has broader use and more functions than the Mongolian particle *biš*; it is a frequent and stylistically favoured expression.

a) Negation of a quality or identity expressed by a noun

Ex. 1: *miⁿ ər ašta paka zəči davɹ* ***tarʁůⁿ vaq***.
Lit. 1sg.-GEN. this youngster short say-CC. too **fat not**.
I am short but not so **fat**.
Note: From a contemporary song.

Ex. 2: *huis mim-(b) ta-mə* ***huis gəɹ vaq, yiqaⁿ gəɹ vaq****, ai uksurə: zəm bodə-m*.
Lit. Uighur 1sg.-ACC. look-CI. **Uighur still not, Chinese still not**, what nationality say-CI. think-IMP.
The Uighurs, seeing me, wonder: **She is neither Chinese**, **nor Uighur**, what nationality could she be?

b) The particle vaq *as a separate clause*

When used as a separate clause, the particle *vaq* has either the same meaning as above (Ex. 1), or it negates the statement, implying that some part of the statement is wrong.

Ex. 1: *ər śi-n jaq na? –* ***vaq***.
Lit. This 2sg.-GEN. thing QUEST. – **Not**.
Is this yours? – **No** (**it belongs to someone else**).

Ex. 2: ***vaqa****, set, torə-nə-f bia-vů-qů*.
Lit. **Not**, old man, abuse-NI.II.-ACC. ask-CAUS.-(NOM.IMP).-NEG.
Oh no, man, there is no need to abuse them.

1.5 Word classes in spoken Sibe

The discussion about the existence and character of parts of speech in the Altaic languages generally oscillates between two strongly opposing views. According to the first one, adhering to strictly formal criteria, it is not possible to classify words in Altaic languages into word classes; it is possible only to distinguish between inflected and non-inflected words, and then to divide the inflected words into nouns and verbs according to the variations in their inflexion. The opposing standpoint is based upon semantic criteria and finds in the Altaic languages most of the word classes as defined for Indo-European languages. This approach is widespread in Russian linguistics largely employing linguistic material drawn from the Turkic and Tungusic languages found within the territory of the former Soviet Union.

G. J. Ramstedt maintains that within the Altaic languages one cannot speak about parts of speech in the sense in which they are understood in the Indo-European linguistic context. He distinguishes only two main categories – inflected and non-inflected words. Inflected words are further divided into nouns, pronouns, numerals and verbs (Ramstedt 1957, p. 26).

N. A. Baskakov, commenting on Ramstedt's analysis, opposes this view: 'Even if we completely ignore semantic criteria in defining the nominal parts of speech and base our analysis solely on formal marking, we still have to admit that modern, at least Turkic languages have specific formants for particular nominal word classes: Nouns, adjectives, adverbs, numerals and pronouns …' (Ramstedt 1957, p. 31).

Ivan Zaharov uses traditional Manchu grammars for his description of Manchu and tries to find a way to convey their conception of the language by means of Russian grammatical terminology. 'Following the example of the Russian language', he finds eight parts of speech: nouns, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, postpositions, conjunctions, interjections (including onomatopoetic words), and particles. Zaharov then immediately divides the above-mentioned parts of speech into three categories: words which are declined (nouns, numerals

and pronouns), inflected (verbs) and the non-inflected words (Zaharov 1879, pp. 68–9).This division corresponds to that of the traditional Chinese grammars, which served as a model for the Manchu grammars (Zaharov 1879, p. I–V).[18] E. Haenisch lists eight parts of speech in his Manchu Grammar (1986) – substantives, pronouns, adjectives, numerals, postpositions, final particles, adverbs and verbs. This classification (in particular, the absence of interjections and onomatopoeia) seems to reflect an approach grounded in European tradition.

In her extensive Manchu Grammar L. M. Gorelova, before embarking upon an extremely detailed explanation of the functions and use of various lexical categories, states that "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." (Gorelova 2002, p. 123)

All attempts to classify the parts of speech in Manchu using the terminology of Latin and other European grammars demonstrate that it is possible to describe Manchu employing these designations. Similar criteria as in the European languages can be used, without significant objection, for nouns, pronouns, numerals and verbs, whereas concepts such as adjectives, adverbs and all types of non-inflected expressions have always been much more problematic. If the aim of the description is to grasp the external shape of the language and describe it from the synchronous point of view, then it may be well achieved by means of this terminology. The question remains, however, as to what degree these abstract categories, which are reflected in the European classification of parts of speech, correspond to indigenous language thinking of the East-Asian languages.

To my knowledge, to date there is no modern alternative description of the Manchu parts of speech according to different critieria than that of the morphological and syntactical classifications followed by European linguistics.

From the 1960s onward in China, a new school in description of Altaic languages, Mongolian in particular, was formed. The pioneer of this school, Prof. Chinggeltei, himself inspired by the Mongolian linguist Sh. Luvsanvandan, relies upon Western descriptive linguistics, but tries to find solutions for the discrepancies between the instruments of Western linguistics and the inner structure of Altaic linguistic material.

In their description of spoken Sibe, Li Shulan, Zhongqian and Wang Qingfeng seem to be inspired by this linguistic school. Their classification of the parts of speech in spoken Sibe contains twelve word classes: 1) **substantives**, 2) **adjectives**, 3) **numerals**, 4) **pronouns**, 5) **verbs**, 6) **adverbs** 7), **imitatives**, 8) **postpositions**, 9) **conjunctions**, 10) **auxiliary words** (= syntactic particles), 11) **modal words** (= modal particles), 12) **interjection**s. In his morphological description of the Chakhar dialect, B. Sechenbaatar (2003) combines the Chinese and Mongolian linguistic approach with Western methods and introduces new methodologies of classification, previously not considered by Western scholars, into the sphere of Mongolian studies. Among his most important alternative classifications, I would list the definition of **temporal nouns** as a separate subgroup of nouns, the definition of **spatials** as a nominal part of speech, the creation of **imitatives** as a specific category, and the narrower division of non-inflected words of adverbial character, namely the definition of **modals** in addition to adverbs.

[18] The traditional Chinese grammars distinguish ***shi ci*** ('concrete words') a ***xu ci*** ('empty words') – words with grammatical meaning. This classification was to a certain extent applied in the grammars of some agglutinative languages such as Japanese, Korean and Manchu.

In spoken Sibe two classes of inflected words may be easily defined by means of morphological criteria – **nouns** and **verbs**. Among the words which are nouns as defined by the main morphological criterion (taking case suffixes), several groups can be distinguished by specific syntactical properties and semantic fields, and in some cases by distinct morphological formants as well: **pronouns**, **numerals**, **spatials**, and **qualitative nouns**. Apart from these basic word classes various groupings of non-inflected expressions are also present. Their classification is as problematic as in the other Altaic languages. Morphologically these expressions are words of differing origin (verbal or nominal forms as well as non-inflected root words) and the main criteria for their classification has been their syntactical function. These words have been usually described as **adverbs**, **imitatives**, **particles**, **interjections** and **postpositions**.

In the present work I focus on the **basic inflected parts of speech** (**nouns**, **adjectives**, **pronouns**, **numeral**s, **spatials** and **verbs**) and leave aside the non-inflected classes.

1.5.1 Brief characteristics of the parts of speech

Basic inflected parts of speech

1. Nouns are defined through the main morphological criterion of the category of case. This definition therefore also includes verbal nouns. Since, however, verbal nouns have both verbal and nominal characteristics and are traditionally classified as verbs, I adhere to this classification and discuss them in the chapter describing verbs. Nouns are further divided into the following subgroups:

1a. The basic nominal class is formed by **nouns** in the proper sense, which by their semantical properties correspond to the Indo-European category of **substantives**. Besides the category of case, another important category, the category of number, also applies. Nouns distinguish as well the categories of concreteness and of rationality, both of which are manifested on morpho-syntactic level. On the morpho-syntactic level the distinction between countable and uncountable nouns is seen.

1b. **Qualitative nouns** are a subgroup of nouns which have conventionally been labelled as 'adjectives'. The Sibe qualitative nouns are a subgroup of nominal words which like other nouns have the categories of case and number; they are, however, marked by several peculiarities on the semantic and syntactic levels (the meaning of quality, constructions with a particle expressing a certain degree of quality). The qualitative nouns occur particularly often as verb-determinants, a function which is not contradicted for other nouns, but is very rare for them.

1c. **Pronouns** form a subgroup of nouns, which take suffixes of case and number like other nouns. They differ, however, from other nouns by their anaphoric semantics and other grammatical categories. Personal pronouns have the category of person; demonstrative pronouns have the category of actualization and distinguish proximate and distant deixis. The limited number of pronominal roots is connected with their partially grammatical functionality.

1d. **Numerals** are a specific subgroup of nouns, distinguished both semantically and morphologically. In spoken Sibe the system of numerals is simplified due to their limited function and a single specific morphological formant is employed.

1e. **Spatials** in Manchu and Mongolian are essentially nouns which denote a certain point in space existing in a certain relation to the speaker or to another object. Several nouns of this group are used for determination of time as well. Sibe spatials are derived from a limited number of roots by a group of specific derivational suffixes. In addition to the common case suffixes, their inflectional paradigm includes some partially productive specific suffixes. Spatials in Manchu and Sibe occur in three basic functions: as attributes of nouns, as determinants of verbs and as postpositions.

2. **Verbs** are the second separate part of speech defined according to morphological criteria. Verbs are morphologically the most complex part of speech, and in grammatical structure, the most prominent.

The verbal system of Manchu and spoken Sibe corresponds by its main features to the verbal systems of other Altaic languages. In his description of verbs in Chakhar Mongol B. Sechenbaatar (2003, p. 116) summarizes the main properties of verbs in Mongolian.

"The principal morphological categories of verbs are voice, aspect, mood, tense, person, nominalization, and converbialization. As a result, verbs show more morphological inflexions than any other part of speech. Verbal stems have also inherent characteristics, such as transitivity (intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs), which are manifested at the morphosyntactic level. From the point of view of semantic content, morphological behaviour, and functional roles, verbs can be classified into a number of types (full verbs, pronominal verbs, auxiliary verbs and others). Verbs are intimately connected with some distinctions expressed by sentence-final particles (interrogative, negative, copular, modal, and others)."

Using an analogical paradigm to characterize the Sibe verb, we may list tense, person and mood as the main morphological categories. Derivational suffixes expressing meanings close to voice and aspect rather can be interpreted as forming one general category. Transitivity, as in Mongolian, forms an inherent characteristic of verbal stems. The principal groups of verbal stems to be distinguished are full verbs, vicarious verbs and modal/auxiliary verbs. As in Mongolian, particles often form an inseparable part of verbal expressions.

In comparison with Mongolian and the other Altaic languages, Manchu and Sibe contain a notably smaller number of verbal forms, fewer case suffixes are used with verbal nouns, and the variation of suffixal formations is lesser. Spoken Sibe differs from literary Manchu by a tendency to analytic expression of actions, making it closer to Mongolian in this respect.

Manchu and Sibe distinguish four basic types of verbal expressions, which differ one from another by their morphological and syntactical properties:

finite verbs (including optative and imperative forms),
verbal nouns (participles),
verbal nouns II (participles with a nominalizing suffix) and
converbs.

Other parts of speech

In addition to the above-mentioned, morphologically clearly differentiated parts of speech, a number of other kinds of expressions exist in Manchu and Sibe, as well as in Mongolian and

other Altaic languages. These expressions do not precisely fit into the definitions of the parts of speech outlined above, and traditionally they are classified, according to Indo-European criteria, as adverbs and postpositions. Apart from these, at least one group of expressions may be defined as morphologically, semantically and syntactically coherent – the imitatives. The status of the expressions of temporal and spatial determination is problematic when traditional European criteria are applied.

A solution to the question of these parts of speech, some of which are defined solely on syntactical grounds and other on semantical criteria without consideration of their morphology, will require more detailed research and above all, more documentation. In his description of Chakhar Mongol B. Sechenbaatar makes crucially important progress in this direction by defining the expressions for spatial and temporal determination as subgroups of the nominal class, and by creating a classification for the special part of speech formed by the imitatives.

I do not deal with these parts of speech in detail in the present work; they are, therefore, listed here with the general statement that these groups of expressions are defined on different grounds and a different level than the main inflected parts of speech.

1. **Adverbs**. Among varying linguistic traditions, there are substantial differences concerning the question of defining adverbs in the Mongolic and Tungusic languages. Many Russian and European authors (Zaharov, Haenisch, Sunik), using a functional methodology, classify all words which occur in the adverbial function and position, regardless of their origin, as adverbs. Adverbially used qualitative nouns, spatials, temporal nouns and numerals are thus classified as adverbs. Scholars emerging from the Chinese tradition (Sechenbaatar, Li Shulan) take into account the morphological properties of the word and regard only inflexible adverbial expressions as adverbs. The concept of adverbs is thus confined to a small group of words of various origins, which share the traits of non-inflectedness and a pronounced grammatical meaning. While the former definition reproduces the classifications of Indo-European linguistics, the latter solves the problem of description by using the term 'adverb' for a limited group which is marginal among Indo-European adverbs themselves.

After separating out root words and imitatives, a small group of expressions remains both in Mongolian (e.g. *maš* very, *tun* immensely) and Sibe (*əli* still more, *əza* quite, significantly), which at first glance does not seem to fit into any of the categories mentioned above and thus to correspond to the common definition of adverbs.

The content of the term 'adverb' in Mongolic and Tungusic grammars may be subject to further analysis. Among the related expressions in Sibe and Manchu, groups of expressions with common features can be observed, as in the case, for example, of the words defined as 'root words'.

2. **Root words**. As in Mongolian, in Manchu and Sibe two types of adverbial expressions exist, which may be generally termed as 'root adverbs'. The importance of these expressions in the language is proven by their frequency in speech. They are often onomatopoeic to some degree, and the boundary between imitatives and root adverbs is somewhat unclear.

From the morphological point of view root adverbs constitute two groups:

2a) **Root words proper** are monosyllabic root expressions that in all but a few instances function only to bind with the verb immediately following, the meaning of which is then modified in the sense of the result or aspect of the respective verbal action. The root adverbs are often productive roots, from which largely verbs are derived (e.g. Si. *čaq* 'in a broken way' – *čaqaj-* 'to be broken').

Other examples of root adverbs in spoken Sibe are *boɹq* 'vehemently', 'completely', *aɹč* 'stuck in an upright position', *fus* 'through', *χaf* 'ultimately, thoroughly', *fita* 'airtight, impervious', *χůa* 'in a tearing way', *luk* 'firmly, inseparably'.

2b) **Paired** modal expressions are less frequent in Sibe than in Mongolian and often the Sibe expressions are likely to be loanwords from Mongolian. The paired expressions are formed by monosyllabic or disyllabic words, often with a unified ending, which, however, seems to be more a result of reduplication than a common morphological formant, e.g. *qaɹt muɹt* 'quickly, smoothly, superficially' (< Mo. *hal'ɪ möl'ɪ* smoothly, superficially), *śider χodur* 'indivisibly, in close friendship'.

3. **Imitatives**. This category of expressions, which exists in many Asian languages, has often been classified as adverbs by European linguistic analysis, while traditional Asian grammars usually treat them as a separate part of speech. Imitatives are a morphologically, syntactically and semantically coherent group of expressions, which describes the reality by specific means (evoking sensual perceptions). Their morphological peculiarities differ among the individual languages. While, for example, in Mongolian mostly imitative verbal forms are used, in Manchu and Sibe non-inflected, mainly reduplicated or paired imitative expressions are favoured. We can cite the following examples of imitatives in Sibe: *giliŋ giliŋ* 'shiningly, cleanly, totally'; *foq foq* 'consistence of a dried apple or cucumber'; *χůalar χůalar* 'a great waterstream, an extrovert and talkative character'; *čir čir* 'a pointy object, a stitching pain'.

4. **Particles**. Like many other East Asian languages, Manchu and its oral varieties are rich in particles. From the etymological point of view the origin of particles is twofold:

4a) 'Primary' particles which roughly correspond to the term 'clitics' ('bound words which are added to adjective phrases, noun phrases, and adverb phrases, and to entire predications, either verbal or nonverbal' – Bright 1958, p. 45, in: Vacek 2002, p. 152). The meaning of this type of particles is mostly modal: 'Clitics express certain presuppositions on the part of the speaker towards the hearer and the speech act.' (Krishnamurti 1998, p. 226, in: Vacek 2002, p. 153). In Sibe, for example, the interrogative particle *na*, the limiting particle *li*, the particle of probability *ba*, the emphatic long vowel and others belong to this type.

4b) In the Altaistic tradition a broader definition of particles is common. Particles are mainly monosyllabic words with grammatical meaning, originating in another word class or occurring simultaneously in a different word class. In Manchu and Sibe many particles fit this definition, like the particle *da*, which simultaneously has the meaning of 'root, base, essence, chief' etc.

Many words with grammatical meaning are, definitionally speaking, actually located on the boundary between the categories of particle and postposition or adverb, as in the word *gəɹ* 'still, also, any'. Similarly, they may also be situated on the boundary between the categories of particle and grammatical suffix, as in the instance of the suffix or particle *deri* (ablative). The abundance of these ambiguous expressions seems to be a feature typical for the relatively analytic and isolative grammatical thinking of spoken Sibe.

5. **Interjections**. As in many languages, spoken Sibe has several expressions containing no specific lexical or grammatical meaning. These serve mainly to attract the attention of the interlocutor (e.g. *ei!*, *-re!*) or to express emotions (the interjection of nodding *eng*, the sigh *ere*, the interjection of astonishment *uňu* and others).

2 THE NOUN

According to G. J. Ramstedt (1957, p. 26, p. 31) the nouns, adjectives, adverbs, numerals and pronouns of the Altaic languages form a single word class which cannot further be divided by morphological criteria.[1] In his Manchu Grammar, I. Zaharov distinguishes words that can be declined, such as nouns, adjectives, numerals and pronouns (Zaharov 1989, p. 69). In his monograph on the noun in the Manchu-Tungusic languages O. P. Sunik (1982, p. 4) treats the noun as a separate word class, distinct in its 'substantivity' from verbs, as well as from other word classes (adjectives and adverbs), which function as attributes. 'Though nouns can function not only as determinans, but also as determinatum, not only as subject, object or predicate but also as nominal determinata or adverbs, having at the same time their own grammatical meanings and forms, they do not automatically pass to the general and broad class of adjective words or their subgroups (according to their syntactical functional characteristics). They remain substantive words even though having certain attributive functions.'[2]

The authors of the 'Xibo yu kouyu yanjiu' treat nouns, adjectives, numerals and pronouns separately, without placing them into the broader class of 'nouns'.

In the case of both written Manchu and spoken Sibe defining nouns as a part of speech with only slightly distinguished sub-classes seems to be a useful starting point for the purposes of description.

2.1 The category of number

The concept of grammatical number in Manchu and Sibe is very close to that of other Tungusic languages (Sunik 1982, pp. 115–137). The marked and unmarked forms have similar functions in Mongolic and in some Turkic languages as well. Most scholars use the terms 'plural' and 'singular' to describe the opposition between the marked and unmarked

[1] 'Zdes' ne suščestvuet osobyh fleksij, specifičnyh tol'ko dlja imen suščestvitel'nyh ili tol'ko dlja imen prilagatel'nyh, tak kak eti klassy v grammatičeskom otnošenii nerazgraničimy: oni vmeste obrazujut jedinyj klass imen, k kotoromu otnosjatsja takže mestoimenija.'

[2] 'I hoťa suščestvitelnye tože mogut funkcionirovať ne tol'ko v roli opredeljajemyh, no i opredelenij, ne tol'ko v roli podležaščego, dopolnenija, skazuemogo, no i substantivnogo opredelenija ili obstojateľstva, oni, imeja pri etom svoi osobye častnogrammatičeskie značenija i formy, ne perehodjat avtomatičeski (po funkcionaľno-sintaksičeskomu priznaku) v obščij i širokij klass adjektivnyh slov ili v ih podklassy, ostavajas' slovami substantivnymi, hoťa pri etom imejut opredelionnye atributivnye funkcii.'

forms, usually adding commentary concerning the differentiation of their functions as opposed to that of Indo-European languages. B. Sechenbaatar employs the term ‘indefinite number’ for the unmarked form and ‘definite number’ for the marked form (Sechenbaatar 2003, p. 23).

The terms ‘**partial number**’ (suffixed form) and ‘**generic number**’ (without suffix), used by Vacek and Luvsandorj for Mongolian (Vacek, Luvsandordž 1979, p. 12), seem to agree with the usage of the two forms in Sibe. This division, like that of Sechenbaatar, points to the category of ‘general’ as opposed to the ‘particular’.

The unmarked form, called ‘generic’ here, usually designates an entire category of objects, beings etc., referred to by one word, without specifying its number, or every single object or being of that category (e.g. ***nan*** *jim*, lit. ‘**person** will come’ means either ‘one person’ or ‘some people’). A statement about a single object, being etc., is usually marked by the numeral ***əm*** ‘one, some, a’. When speaking about a particular object or being, it is necessarily specified by deictic ,personal, or other pronouns, e.g. *ər nan* ‘this person’, *nan ňi* lit. ‘his/its person, the person’ etc.).

The form with a partial number suffix usually denotes a concrete, exactly defined group of rational beings who can be designated by the same noun. This group is most often specified by deictic words (*tər χaʁəjus* – ‘those boys’) or delimited by other lexical means such as attributes (*čafčaɪ χafsə ňi* ‘the bosses in Chabchal’). When a group is defined by a numeral, irrespective whether concrete or general, the unmarked form is used (*sunja haʁəč* ‘five boys’, *tər laft tačiš* ‘those many schoolchildren’). As Manchu and Sibe, with several exceptions, have no grammatical agreement, the deictic pronouns specifying the group of beings are always in the unmarked form.[3]

This type of opposition between the marked and unmarked forms, in which spoken Sibe resembles spoken Mongolian, is slightly different from literary Manchu, where the marked form is often used to designate an entire category of beings (*Manjusa* ‘the Manchus’, *niyalmasa* ‘people generally’).

In the category of number in Manchu and Sibe we can observe a distinction between what may be called ‘rationality’ and ‘irrationality’ of the object denoted by the nominal word. The marked form is used only for beings that may be labelled as ‘rational’ – i.e. people, deities, ghosts, spirits, and so on, and words used figuratively to refer to rational beings (e.g. *jaq* ‘thing, figuratively person’). Unlike Mongolian, the suffixed form in Sibe is almost never used to designate things or animals.

It is possible to say that, analogically with the Mandarin Chinese plural marker ‘*men*’ and the Mongolian partial number/plural marker ‘*nar*’, the Sibe partial number suffix ‘*-s*’ essentially points to human or other rational beings, and when used it frequently may imply respect or reverence.

2.1.1 Generic number

The generic number is a basic, unmarked form of a nominal word, which mostly denotes a single being, a category of beings or a large, undefined group.

[3] With some words, however, the marked form is used idiomatically in the spoken language (*saʁənč* ‘a daughter, a girl’ is used mainly to denote a single girl, while the marked form *saʁanjus* may mean either a concrete group of girls or girls in general.

Ex. 1: *śivə* ***na**ⁿ* *dači ňonʁůⁿ yeɹ jə-qᵘ̊*.
Lit.: Sibe **person** originally dog meat eat-(NOM.IMP).-NEG.
The Sibe **people** formerly did not eat dog meat.

Ex. 2: *əva* **naⁿ** *da təraŋ* na^n.
Lit.: Here person ACT. like.this person.
The people of this place are just like this.

Ex. 3: ***śivə naⁿ*** *dači gum* ***čᵘ̊aχ***.
Lit.: Sibe person originally all soldier.
In the past, all the Sibe people used to be soldiers.

Category of number with nouns denoting irrational beings and objects

In the case of animals and inanimate objects, the category of number is morphologically not distinguished in spoken Sibe. The unmarked form is used regardless of the categories of the particular versus the general and the single versus the many. These categories are either expressed by lexical means or understood from the context.

Ex. 1: *ɢazn-t gənə-mə, ər gia-t dəyi-r* ***čiškə*** *gəɹ śivə mədaⁿ daʁə-v-m.*
Lit.: Village-DL. go-CI. this street-DL. fly-NI. **bird** also Sibe melody follow-CAUS-. IMP.
When you go to the Village (Chabchal),[4] even the **sparrows**[5] flying in the streets sing with the Sibe accent.

Ex. 2: *dači śomoχoɹ-t χačχačiⁿ* ***ňimʁa**, **məih**, **čiškə** bi*.
Lit.: Originally mill.valley-DL. kind-DOUB. **fish, snake, bird** is.
Earlier there used to be all kinds of **fish, snakes and birds** in the Mill Valley.

Ex. 3: *ɢazn* ***ňonʁům-f*** *gum yiqaⁿ jə-m vaš-kᵊi*.
Lit.: Village **dog-ACC**. all Chinese eat-CI. finish-NP.
The Chinese have eaten all the **dogs** in Chabchal.

Ex. 4: *urumči* ***gia-t*** *səjəⁿ li čaŋ*.
Lit.: Urumchi **street-DL**. cart LIM. full.
In the **streets** of Urumchi there is nothing but a lot of cars.

2.1.2 Partial number

The partial number often denotes a more precisely specified group of rational beings, although, in some cases, it may also refer to an entire category of beings.

[4] The word '*Gazn*' (Gašan in written Manchu) refers mainly to somebody's birthplace or home, but can be also used for any village. The Jungarian Sibe, saying '*Gazn*', usually mean Chabchal which is the birthplace to most of them.

[5] '*čiškə*' means a small bird, but is often used specifically for a sparrow.

In spoken Sibe there are two suffixes of the partial number: ***-s*** (with allomorphs) and ***-t***. The suffix ***-s*** (***-sə, -zə***) is more frequent, and is the only productive suffix of the partial number, which occurs in three sandhi variants. While written Manchu distinguishes three variants of this suffix according to vowel harmony ***-se***/***-sa***/***-so***, in colloquial Sibe, these three variants have merged into one with the neutral vowel '***ə***' which tends to disappear in present-day pronunciation, and is preserved only in emphasized positions or before a morpheme beginning with a consonant, which then needs to be separated by a vowel from the preceding suffix.

In the latter case, when the suffix is attached to a vowel stem, voicing of the medial consonant takes place and the resulting form is ***-zə***.

The partial number suffixes are attached to the nominal stem. The nominal suffix ***-n***, and in rare cases other suffixes like *-r* of *ər*/*tər*, are dropped (***e.g. ər – əs, χavəⁿ – χafs, yiqaⁿ – yiqas***).

Examples of the forms with the suffix ***-s***:

Ex. 1: ***yiqa-s*** *učuⁿ učulu-m bana-qᵘ̊, qaičim li*.
Lit.: **Chinese-PART.N.** song sing-CI. can (NI.)-NEG., shout IMP. LIM.
The Chinese (**PART.**) can not sing, they just scream.
Note: A statement about differing preferences in entertainment.

Ex. 2: ***ju-s da-zə-f*** *χᵘ̊azə-v-m ůʜan da-f śieⁿ giŋul!*
Lit.: **Child- PART.N. base-PART.N.** grow-CAUS.-CP. elders base
ACC. good serve-IMPER.
Bring up your **children** and take good care of your parents-in-law.
Note: Fragment of a fairy-tale. *Jus* is an irregular partial number form of the noun *ji* child.

Ex. 3: *tər gizuⁿ dønji-maq ta ər čavčaɪ* ***mamə-s*** *gum inšk aɪdə-v-ʁᵊi*.
Lit.: This word hear CP. ACT. this Chabchal **grandmother-PART.N.** all laughter lose-CAUS.-NP.
When the **old women** from Chabchal heard this, they all burst out laughing.

Examples of the forms with the suffix ***-sə***:

Ex. 1: *čavčaɪ* ***χaf-sə ňi*** *erk li emi-m baʁənə-m*.
Lit.: Chabchal **chief-PART.N. F.** liquor-LIM. drink-CI. can-IMP.
The bosses in Chabchal know only drinking.
Note: *χavəⁿ* at present refers to any kind of leader; during the time of the Qing dynasty it was used for higher state officials.

Ex. 2: *ju,* ***maf-sə****, bi son-t jaq aram-bu-ʁᵊi*.
Lit.: Come-IMP. **ancestor-PART.N.**, 1.sg. you-DL. thing make.CP.-give-PERF.
Come here, **you two**, I have prepared the food for you.
Note: The word *maf* 'ancestor, forefather, old man' is often used as a familiar term, caring but humorous, addressed to a family member, a relative or a friend.

Ex. 3: *əmdaⁿ gən-ɣəŋ, gum aji* ***jaq-sə****.*
Lit.: Once go-NP.II. all small **thing-PART.N.**
When I went there once, there were only young **children**.
Note: The speaker talks about his own inadequacy, as an adult visiting a disco-bar.

Examples of forms with the suffix ***-ze****:*

Ex. 1: *uɣuri* ***guču-zə-f*** *iza-v-maq əm diovr iv-ɣᵊi.*
Lit.: All **friend-PART.N.-ACC.** gather-CAUS.-CP. one night play-NP.
He gathered all his **friends** and they were partying the whole night.

Ex. 2: *bi* ***śivə-zə-maq*** *davɪ yavů-qᵘ̊.*
Lit.: 1sg. **Sibe-PART.N.-SOC.** exceedingly go-(NI.)-NEG.
I do not have many contacts with **Sibe people**.

2) The suffix ***-te*** occurs only with some forms, mostly with kinship terms.

Ex.: ***gəh-tə ňi*** *afqa-či dəyi-maq yav-ʁᵊi.*
Lit.: **Sister-PART.N. POSS.** heaven-LAT. fly-CP. go-PERF.
Her sisters flew to the sky.

2.1.3 Specific forms of the use of the partial number

Honorific use of the partial number suffix

The partial number suffix is often used in a polite address, which can be, to some extent, compared to the use of honorific plural in Slavonic languages, but also as a polite appellation in the third person (mostly in the presence of the person being referred to).

Ex. 1: ***əčə-s*** *tə!*
Lit.: **Uncle-PART.N.** sit.IMP.
Please take a seat, **uncle**.
Note: In Manchu and Sibe kinship terms (except for 'mother' and 'father') are used for polite address to unrelated people as well as relatives. In the case of unrelated people, usually the term for the speaker's own relative of the corresponding age is used, but the use of a term suggesting a more advanced age is always more polite.

Ex. 2: ***dəɣəmə-s*** *bait-aqᵘ̊ na?*
Lit. **Aunt-PART.N.** matter-no QUEST.
How are you, **Aunt**?

Ex. 3: **əyi-zə** *śieⁿ yila-ʁə na?*
Lit.: Grandfather-**PART.N.** well stay-NP. QUEST.
Are you doing well, **Grandfather**?

Ex. 4: *mi^{n}* ***əňi-s*** *jiɣ^{ə}i*.
Lit.: **My mother-PART.N.** come-PERF.
Mother came.

Specifying a group of people connected to a certain person

This suffix is further used to denote a group of people who are in some way connected to a particular person. Similar patterns are used, for example, in Mongolian, where the suffix ***nar*** is used in a similar manner, or in Chinese – by means of the expression ***ta men***.

Ex. 1: ***yiŋhua-z*** *jiɣ^{ə}i*.
Lit.: **Yinghua-PART.N.** come-PERF.
Yinghua and her friends came.

Ex. 2: ***guočiŋ-zə*** *bo-t ut na^{n} bi*?
Lit.: **Guoqing-PART.N.** house-DL. how many person is?
How many people live at **the Quoqings'**?
Note: Such a formulation suggests that the house does not belong only to Guoqing, but probably to his family. If the partial number suffix had not been used, the question would have probably implied that strangers were staying in a house which belongs only to Guoqing.

Ex. 3: ***hara-zə*** *gurunbo-t ai jaq jə-mie?*
Lit.: **Hara-PART.N.** country-DL. what thing eat-IMP.
Hara, what does one eat in your country?
Note: When talking to a foreigner, an expression of the type XY-*ze gurunbot* 'in XY's country' means 'in your country' and sounds more polite than the common expressions like *son təvat* 'at your place' or *son gurunbot* 'in your country'.

Ex. 4: *tər əm učur bi* ***yiktan-zə-maq*** *məji laft yav-ʁ^{ə}i.*
Lit. That one period I **Yiktan-PART.N.-IS.** little much go-PERF.
At that time I was more often in contact with **Yiktan and his friends**.

2.1.4 Expressing plurality through lexical means

As is clear from the examples above, the suffix of the definite number is not the most frequent means to express plurality. Listed below are several instances of using lexical means to denote the meaning of 'many', these being suppletive forms (mainly the word *guru^{n}* 'folk, people'), numerals and other expressions.

The word **guru^{n}** *(folk, people)*

The word *guru^{n}*, originally meaning 'a people', 'a state' or 'an empire', has become a suppletive form for the partial number/plural of the word *na^{n}* 'man, person', for which there is no regular form in the colloquial language (written Manchu has a regular plural form of the word ***niyalma-niyalmasa***).

Ex. 1: *śivə* ***həh guruⁿ*** *daməŋ cůči-qů, set mamə-s li cůči-m*.
Lit.: Sibe **woman** folk tobacco suck-(NI.)-NEG., old grandmother-PART.N. LIM. suck -IMP.
The Sibe **women** do not smoke, only old women do.

Ex. 2: *so-n təva* ***guruⁿ*** *gum suyeⁿ ba?*
Lit.: 2pl.-GEN. there **folk** all yellow PROB.
In your country all **people** are fair-haired, aren't they?

Ex. 3: *məzəliaŋ* ***ašta guruⁿ*** *gum śivə hərɣəⁿ baʁəna-qů*.
Lit.: Like.us **youngster folk** all Sibe letter can-(NOM.IMP).-NEG.
Young people like us do not know the Sibe script.

Ex. 4: ***set guruⁿ*** *li gəny^{ə}i*.
Lit.: **Old folk-LIM.** go-PERF.
Only **old people** went there.

Numerals

When the definite number is expressed by numerals and other nouns denoting number, the partial number suffix is never used.

Ex. 1: ***nadəⁿ saʁənč*** *əm čiška bətkə-f jə-m vajə-qů*.
Lit.: **Seven girl** one sparrow leg-ACC. eat-CI. finish-(NI.) NEG.
Seven girls together cannot finish one sparrow leg.
Note: A saying which ridicules girls who are shy and squeamish in public.

Ex. 2: *ənəŋ gia-t* ***naⁿ laft.***
Lit.: Today street-DL. **man many**.
Today there are **many people** in the streets/outside.

The word **χačiⁿ** *'kind'*

The word *χačiⁿ* 'kind, type' is often used to express plurality. This expression has, among other functions, a function close to the numerative (*ju χačiⁿ bitkə* lit. 'two kind book' = 'two different books').

When expressing plurality, the word *χačiⁿ* is usually reduplicated, either fully or by means of echo doubling (e.g. *χač χačiⁿ, χala χačiⁿ*), or determined by another word with the meaning of number, most often the word *gərəⁿ* 'all'. [6]

Sometimes, as in Ex. 2, the second member of these reduplicated constructions is dropped.

Ex. 1: ***χačačiⁿ nanə-maq*** *yav-m*.
Lit.: **Kind-ECHO person-IS.** go-IMP.
(He) makes friends **with many people/all sorts of people**.

[6] These constructions are used both adnominally and adverbially in the spoken language.

Ex. 2: ***χačiⁿ jaq*** *gia-m*.
Kind thing take-IMP.
(She) is buying **lots of things**.

Ex. 3: ***χačačiⁿ*** *gizərə-m*.
Lit.: **Kind-ECHO** talk-IMP.
(He) talks **a lot**, different things etc.

Imitative expressions

Both written Manchu and spoken Sibe are rich in imitative expressions, which, similarly to onomatopoeia, describe various qualities, circumstances etc. Some of these can serve as figurative expressions of number or plurality.

Ex. 1: *bazar-t gən-ɣəŋ naⁿ šu da* ***saq saq***.
Lit.: Market-DL. go-NP.II. man completely ACT. ***saq saq*** (an image of dense and intertwined tree branches).
I went to the market and there was a **tangle** of people.

Ex. 2: *dači Ili bira-t* ***ǒimʁa dəvər dəvər***.
Lit.: Formerly Ili river-DL. fish ***dəvər dəvər*** (an image of boiling water)
Earlier there used to be **lots of fish** in the Ili river.

2.2 The category of case

In the opinions of the scholars cited above, the number of cases in the Altaic languages varies between five and eighteen, and the terminology is not uniform (Sunik 1982, p. 146). Among the Tungusic languages, Evenki is reported to have the most complicated system of cases, while the simpliest one is that of literary Manchu (Zaharov 1879, p. 126).

One of the traditional problems of description of cases in the Altaic languages is the relatively vague distinction between a case suffix on one hand and a particle or a postposition on the other. This problem mainly concerns the cases with directional meaning, but also the sociative and instrumental cases.

Following traditional Manchu grammars, I. Zaharov maintains that the Manchu nouns are inflexible and the cases are expressed by particles or postpositions (Zaharov 1879, p. 125).[7] According to Zaharov, there are four case formants in written Manchu (the particles ***-i***, ***-be*** and the postpositions ***-de***, ***-či***). Thus the cases in written Manchu are five in total (Zaharov 1879, p. 126).

In spoken Sibe, four case suffixes are similar to literary Manchu, while three others are different. These differences, especially the use of an instrumental case suffix, make the Sibe case system closer to that of Mongolian.

[7] This conception is probably connected with traditional Manchu orthography, i.e. writing the suffixes separately from the stem which does not change.

1. **The nominative** (**N**.) is, as in written Manchu, an unmarked case. (An unmarked form of a noun may, however, be a zero form of another case).
2. **The genitive** (**GEN**.) is, as in written Manchu, formed by the suffix ***-i***.
3. **The dative-locative** (**DL**.) has, similarly to written Manchu, the suffix ***-d***/***-t***.
4. **The accusative** (**ACC**.) is formed by the suffix ***-f***/***-və*** or ***-bə*** which corresponds to ***-be*** of written Manchu.
5. **The ablative** (**ABL**.) is formed by the suffix ***-dəri***, which is found as a postposition in written Manchu.
6. **The lative** (**LAT**.) is formed by the suffix ***-či***, which has an ablative function in written Manchu.
7. **The instrumental-sociative** (**IS**.) is formed by the suffix ***-maq***, which has no correspondence in written Manchu.

Table of case suffixes in Manchu, Sibe and Mongolian:

	genitive	**dative-locative**	**accusative**	**ablative**	**directive**	**instrumental**	**sociative**
Manchu	*-i*	*-de*	*-be*	*-či*	–	*(-i, -be)*	–
Sibe	*-i*	*-d(ə)/-t*	*-f/və*	*-dəri*	*-či*	*-maq*	*-maq*
Mongolian	*-i/-iin*	*-d/-t*	*-iig*	*-aas*^{4}	*-ruu*	*-aar*^{4}	*-tai*^{3}

Unmarked forms of indirect cases

In spoken Sibe, the usage of zero grammatical forms is particularly frequent. In some cases, the constructions with zero forms correspond to written Manchu, but in many others the spoken language uses unmarked forms where written Manchu requires forms with suffixes. The most remarkable types of constructions with zero forms of indirect cases are the following:

Genitive – attribute

Unlike written Manchu, where proper nouns and attributive pronouns occur almost regularly with the genitive suffix, in spoken Sibe, proper nouns often form an attribute in their unmarked form.

Ex. 1: ***ɕazn saʁənjuzᵊ-maq*** *gizərə-r gizuⁿ baʁə-qᵘ̊*.
Lit. **Village-0GEN**. **girls-IS**. speak-NI. word find(NI.)-NEG.
I have nothing to talk about with **village girls**.

Ex. 2: ***soⁿ təva moriⁿ*** *gum ambu ba?*
Lit. **2pl.-GEN**. **there-0GEN**. **horse** all big PROB.
In **your place all horses** are big, aren't they?

Dative-locative – temporal determination

A clearly defined group of nouns with temporal meaning regularly functions as verb determinants in their unmarked form. B. Sechenbaatar designates a similar group of nouns in Chakhar Mongol 'temporal nouns' and treats them as a coherent subgroup within nouns. The

situation in spoken Sibe resembles that of Mongolian. The group includes a limited number of simple or complex expressions with the meaning of a temporal determinant, including the interrogative noun *aitiŋ* 'when'.However, since these temporal nouns likewise fall into various nominal sub-classes (proper nouns – e.g. *čimar* 'tomorrow', qualitative nouns – e.g. *ərt* 'early', spatials – e.g. *amaɹ* 'after', it seems to be more proper to speak of an idiomatic noun usage. As certain other nouns in a similar function take the dative-locative (e.g. *tər ərin-t* Lit. that time-DL.'at that time'), the unmarked forms may be rendered as zero dative-locative.

Examples:

Ex. 1: ***aitiŋ*** *ji-ɣʲye?* ***čəksə*** *ji-ɣʲi.*
Lit. **When** come-PERF. **yesterday**-0DL. come-PERF.
When did you arrive? I arrived **yesterday**.

Ex. 2: ***amaɹ*** *gəɹ bo-či ňi bədərə-m yav-ʁʲi.*
Lit. **After-0DL**. still house-LAT. POSS. return-CI. go-PERF.
Later she returned to her home.

Accusative of unspecified nouns

When a noun in the accusative is not specified, it usually has a zero form. This usage is also typical of colloquial Mongolian.

Ex.: *əm ju orozə-i čoaχ ta šu* ***gida jav-maq*** *gidaɹ-m ji-ɣʲi.*
Lit. One two Russian-GEN. soldier ACT. ultimately **spear-0ACC. hold-CP**. Thrust CI. come-PERF.
Some Russian soldiers were approaching him, **bearing spears** and threatening to attack him.

2.2.1 Nominative

The Sibe nominative is a case with no grammatical affixes. Its main function in a sentence is to express the subject or the nominal predicate. It is also likely that separate clauses inserted into a sentence and introduced by the verb *zə-* 'to say' (Ex. 4, 5) should be classified as nominative clauses. The most frequent questions that receive a nominative reply are: *ai* 'what?', *və* 'who?', *ai jaq* 'what thing = what?'

Ex. 1: ***dəɣəmə*** *śieⁿ yila-ʁə na?*
Lit.: **Aunt** well stay-NOM. PERF. QUEST.
How are you, **Aunt**?
Note: A honorific address using the 3rd person.

Ex. 2: *ər gəɹ śi-ⁿ* ***jaq*** *o-ʁů na?*
Lit.: This too 2sg.-GEN. **thing** become-NP. QUEST.
This is also **yours**?
Note: Mild scolding of a child for taking someone else's things.

Ex. 3: *ərə-f gəɹ **saf** zə-m ut-kᵃi!*
Lit.: This too **shoe** say-CONV.PRES. wear-PERF.
She wears this as **shoes**!
Note: Displeasure about strangely looking fashionable shoes.

Ex. 4: *śivə naⁿ suyeⁿ nanə-f suyeⁿ **moň** zə-m.*
Lit.: Sibe person yellow person-ACC. yellow **monkey** say-IMP.
Sibe people call a blonde person 'yellow **monkey**'.

Ex. 5: *śivə nan-ᵃi juhtə-rəŋə **dⁱøf**.*
Lit.: Sibe person-GEN. worship-NI.II. **fox**.
The Sibe people worship (mainly) the **fox**.

Adding the particle 'ə i' to nominative

The particle ***əi***, which has probably developed from the interrogative pronoun ***ai*** (what), can be defined as slightly generalizing or derogating the noun to which it is attached. In some cases it can be translated as 'some'.[8]

Ex. 1: *wuniŋ **uj-əi gum** ambu.*
Lit.: Wuning **head-what** all big.
Wuning has **a** big **head**. **Even** Wuning's **head** is big.

Ex. 2: *diørgu-t **jaq-əi** bi na?*
Lit.: Inside **thing-what** is QUEST.
Is there **anything** inside?

Ex. 3: *yiqaⁿ **saʁənj-ei** bi na?*
Lit.: Chinese **girl-what** is QUEST.
Is (**any**) Chinese girl there?

Ex. 4: *ajiguruⁿ baʁənə-r **jaq-əi** vaq.*
Lit.: Children can-NI. **thing-what** not.
This is not **something** children could do.

Ex. 5: *taqůru-r **jiʁ-ai** bi na?*
Lit.: Use-NI. **money-what** is QUEST
Do you have **enough money** (to live on?)

The emphasizing vowels -a/-ə/-o

The emphasizing vowels ***-a***/***-ə***/***-o*** (variants of one vowel which changes according to vowel harmony) seem to fall somewhere between suprasegmental and morphological usage. They often occur in various positions as mere emphasis. Attached to the nominative, however, they

[8] A similar shift in the direction of generalization may be seen in the use of the interrogative expression *shenme-de,* lit. 'what-GEN.', attached to the noun in Mandarin Chinese.

can sometimes function almost as a copula. The shorter the sentence, the more it seems to require this emphasizing vowel (Ex. 1, 2).

Ex. 1: *ər ai* ***nan-ə****?*
Lit.: This what **person-EMP**.
What **kind of person** is this? Who is this? (also used as a rhetoric question)

Ex. 2: *ai bait-****ə****?*
Lit.: What **matter-EMP**.
What is the **matter**?

Ex. 3: *ər ai jaq* ***saʁənj-e****?*
Lit.:This what thing **girl-EMP**.
What kind of a **girl** is this?
Note: This sentence may express either a slight displeasure or a hidden admiration.

Ex. 4: *tər sorq śiňi* ***sorq-o****!*
Lit.: That awl only **awl-EMP**.
Only that awl was **an awl**. (= That was a really good awl).

2.2.2 Genitive

The genitive is an adnominal case in Sibe. Usually a noun to which something is attributed is in the genitive case. Most postpositions are construed with nouns in the genitive . The most frequent questions answered by the genitive are: *ai* 'what, which, of what'; *ai jaqə-i* 'of what thing, what kind of' ; and *və-*(*i*) 'whose'.

Forms of the genitive

In the spoken language, the genitive has a single suffix *-i*. This suffix often has a zero form and sometimes it merely causes the (otherwise unpronounced) vowel at the end of the word to be pronounced.

If a word in the genitive case occurs separately (without its determinatum) the suffix ***-niŋ*****(*****ə*****)** is used, which is formed by joining another genitive suffix ***-ni*** (found in written Manchu and in Sibe possessive pronouns) and a substantivizing formant ***-ŋ*****(*****ə*****)**. This form of double attribution is often used in possessive constructions when something is attributed to a person or object which is then itself attributed to the subject or main agent of the sentence, which cannot be in the first or second person.

a) The suffix *-i*

The full form of the suffix

Ex.: ***nan-ᵊi*** *bo-t gənə-m čaʁa-qů-ʁᵘ̊i.*
Lit.: **Person-GEN**. house-DL. go-IMP. like-(NI.)-NEG.+(become)-NP.-NEG.
I don't like visiting (**people**) any more.

The shortened form (pronouncing the final vowel)

Ex.: *śi **louz-ə fəjərgi-t** ɛli-mə yila!*
Lit.: 2sg.(GEN.) **building below-DL.** wait-CI. stand-IMP.
Wait for me **downstairs**.

The zero form

Ex.: *ər əmbič **jaləп** naⁿ, əmbič abbanš-k guruⁿ bi-ɣᵊye.*
Lit.: This maybe **world** (**0GEN**.) person, maybe how-born folk is-PERF.
Are those people **from this world**, or are they some other beings?

b) The suffixes *-niŋ*/*-yiŋ*/*-ŋə*

Ex. 1: *śi və **boo-ňiŋə**?*
Lit.: You who(0GEN.) **house-S.G**.
Whose child are you? To whose **family** do you belong?

Ex. 2: *əraɴ bodo-mə yila-ʁə-də **əňi-ŋə** buh finɣə ňi cůňin-t døš-kᵊi.*
Lit: Like this think-CI. stand-NP.+DL. **mother-GEN.II** give
NP. hair POSS. mind-DL. enter-PERF.
While she was thinking (about what to do), she remembered the (magic) hair which her **mother** gave her.

Use of the genitive

Nouns in the genitive are mostly used as attributes, or they are followed by various postpositions. In literary Manchu, the suffix ***-i*** is also used for the instrumental case (*roditel'no-tvoritel'nyj padež*; Zaharov 1879, p. 125). Spoken Sibe has an instrumental suffix ***-maq***. People of the older generation, however, sometimes use ***-i***, which is perceived as a more formal style. On the contrary I have never witnessed the use of ***-i*** as an instrumental among bilingual young people with a limited knowledge of the Sibe language.

a) The genitive form as an attribute

Ex. 1: *əmkəⁿ ňi **gurɣ-u-i** duruⁿ, əmkəⁿ ňi **nan-ᵊi** duruⁿ.*
Lit.: One-POSS. **animal-GEN**. form, one-POSS. **person-GEN**. form.
One of them has an **animal** form, the other has a **human** form.

Ex. 2: ***cazn** guruⁿ **nan-ᵊi** bov li fətərə-m.*
Lit.: **Village** (**0GEN**.) folk **person-GEN**. house-ACC. LIM. dig-IMP.
People in Chabchal spend all their time sticking their noses in other peoples' businesses.
Note: One of the frequent negative statements about the relations inside the Sibe community.

Ex. 3: ***nan-ᵊi***[9] *saʁənji-maq amʁə-m vajə-maq…*
Lit.: **Person-GEN**. daughter-SOC. sleep-CI. finish-CP.
Having already slept with an**other's daughter** …

Ex. 4: *ɕazn **sər-ə** muku ňi həⁿ amtiŋə.*
Lit.: Village **spring** water F. very tasty.
The water **from the spring** in Chabchal is very tasty.

Ex. 5: *ər əm jaqə **dər-ᵊi** soqů ňi jiram.*
Lit.: This one thing **face-GEN**. skin POSS. thick.
His skin on **the face** is thick (= he is assertive).

Ex. 6: ***hut-u-i** dəvərɣəⁿ jaqə!*
Lit.: **Ghost-GEN**. whelp thing!
Rascal!

Ex. 7: *saʁənjie, **nan-ᵊi** ərɣən-maq əm ivər-ə.*
Lit.: Daughter, **person-GEN**. life-IS. PROH. play-NI.
Daughter, do not play with **other people's** lives.

Ex. 8: *ər χaʁəč, bi ta-ɣəŋ, **jalə^{n}-0 nan-ᵊi** arvəⁿ bi.*
Lit.: This boy, Isg. see-NP.II. **world-0GEN**. **person-GEN**. appearance is.
It seems to me that this boy comes **from the human world**.

Ex. 9: *śiaŋgaŋ-f amnə-m śaqśaq azəɹ-m **nan-ᵊi** duruⁿ vaq.*
Lit.: Hongkong imitate-CI. coquettish behave-CI. **person GEN**. **shape** not.
She behaves coquettishly (she has seen it) in the Hongkong films, horrible to see.

b) The genitive forms used with postpositions

The genitive is used with postpositions expressing the basic spatial relationships, like *nuŋut* above; *fəjərgit* 'below'; *tiuɹɣut* 'outside'; *diərgit* 'inside'; *daɹvət* 'next to'; *jaqət* 'besides'; *dat* 'next to', 'close to' and some others.

Ex. 1: ***nan-ᵊi ɕal-ə fəjərɣə-t** vəilə-m o-m.*
Lit.: person-GEN. **hand-**(**GEN**.) **below** work-CI. become-IMP.
He can only work **under** others' **hand** (=leadership).

Ex. 2: *nan-ᵊi ərɣəⁿ vajə-maq, χaʁəjuzᵊ ňi nanə-f χůla-mə **bo-i tiuɹɣut** yaqůru-m.*
Lit.: Person-GEN. life finish-CP. son-PART.N. POSS. person-ACC. call-CI. **house-GEN**. **outside** bow-IMP.

[9] As in Mongolian (and in spoken Chinese) one of the frequent figurative meanings of the expression for 'person, man' is 'other people', and the genitive form of the word for 'person' is the most common expression for 'strange, extraneous, alien'. *nan-ᵊi saʁənč* – Lit.: A daughter of other people – shows concern about the girl's parents – probably the sentence would be finished with the phrase 'he did not marry her'.

When somebody dies, his male children go to other peoples' homes and bow **outside their houses**.
Note: The fact that people announcing their parent's death remain outside is emphasized, because by entering the house they may cause misfortune to the family.

Ex. 3: ***χam-ᵊi diørɣ-u-t*** *moqsan tandə-r əm duruⁿ banjə-m.*
Lit.: **Dung-GEN**. **inside** stick beat NI. beat one form live-IMP.
They live like beating **dung** with a stick.
Note: A proverb about disorderly life.

Ex. 4: ***χal-ᵊi diørɣ-u-t*** *sadulə-vu-qᵘ̊.*
Lit.: **Clan-GEN**. inside make kinship-CAUS.-(NI.)-NEG.
It is not allowed to marry **inside the clan**.

Ex. 5: *śieⁿ naⁿ* ***jaq-ᵊi nuŋu-t*** *ji-m, ɢaʁvaʁ naⁿ* ***gizuⁿ-0 nuŋu-t*** *ji-m.*
Lit.: Good person thing-GEN. above come-IMP., bad person **word-0GEN**. **above** come-IMP.
A good man comes **at mealtime**, a bad man comes **when people talk about him**.
Note: A proverb used to make a guest who enters at mealtime feel at ease.[10]

c) The genitive form used as a predicate (suffix '*-niŋ* (*ə*)')

Ex. 1: *ər so-ⁿ* ***tašqů-niŋ na****?*
Lit.: This 2pl.-GEN. **school-GEN.II QUEST**
Does this **belong to your school**?

Ex. 2: *śi* ***yavaniŋə****? bi* ***ɢůlja-niŋə****.*
Lit: 2sg. **where-GEN.II? I Ghulja-G-II**.
Where are you **from**? **I** am **from Ghulja**.

2.2.3 Dative-locative

The dative-locative expresses both static location (answering the question 'where') and dynamic location (answering the question 'where to'). The questions answered by the dative-locative case may be:

yava-t 'where/to where'; *ye-t* 'where/to where'; *ye-či* 'where to'; *ɛvi-t* 'where'; *və-t* 'to whom, by whom, in whom'; *ai-t* 'in what'; *aitiŋ* 'when'; *an* 'why' and others.

The forms of the dative-locative

The suffix of the dative-locative has two allomorphs ***-t*** and ***-də***. The second, less frequent variety is used when the word in DL. occurs at the end of a sentence or of a prosodic unit (Ex. 1), or, sometimes, before a suffix or a particle beginning with a consonant (Ex. 2).

[10] According to Kicengge, the usage of the word *nunŋud* in such phrase sounds incorrect and may possibly be a calque from Mongolian. Personal communication, October 2011.

Ex. 1: *śoro χali^{n} fəjilə, yiʁa^{n} χorʁoň-i* ***χozə-də****…*
Lit.: Jojoba tree below, cattle pen-GEN. **corner-.DL**.
Under the jojoba tree, **in the corner** of the cattle pen …
Note: From a popular song.

Ex. 2: *əm* ***qarun-də ňi*** *əm maŋi^{n} bi.*
Lit.: One **fortress-DL. F**. one *maŋin* is.
In every **fortress** there is one *maŋin*.[11]

The use of the dative-locative

It seems that the dative-locative has a relatively compact semantic field, in the centre of which we find the meaning of location in space. In attempting to describe the usage of this case, the examples may be divided into several groups according to range of meaning and function:[12]

a) 'static location' (occurrence at a place) and that of a 'dynamic location' (mainly arrival at a certain place; direction of motion). As in Mongolian, these semantic designations seem to be perceived as identical in spoken Sibe.
b) adding, assignment, competency, owing, possession
c) the 'dative' meaning – to whom, for whom, referring, applying to someone or something
d) various constructions with the meaning of reason, cause, and so on
e) temporal meaning

An important syntactical function of the dative-locative is that of the agent in passive constructions, including phrases with verbs of perception (f).

a) The meaning of location – occurrence at a certain place or arrival at a certain place

Ex. 1: *mi-^{n}* ***jaq-ə-t*** *bančʼ!*
Lit.: **My place-DL**. live-IMP.
Stay **at my place**.

Ex. 2: *fodə-f* ***duqa-t*** *liekə-m.*
Lit.: Fod-ACC. **gate-DL**. hang-IMP.
The fod is being hung on **the gate**.
Note: From an account about funeral rites. The *fod* is a stripe of red silk with a piece of black cloth which is hung at the gate of the house where somebody has died.

Ex. 3: *šuda* ***fərə-d ňi*** *izanč mamə χůarə^{n} bi.*
Lit.: Completely **bottom-DL. POSS**. Izanj grandmother court is.
At the very end there is the palace of the goddess *Izanj mame*.

[11] *Maŋins* are lower deities of the Sibe shamanistic pantheon. In the traditions of the Jungarian Sibes they are associated with the eighteen fortresses through which the shaman has to pass on his way to the highest deity.
[12] Here I list the meanings which would be perceived as different by a speaker of a European language. The goal of this description is to specify the range of meanings as narrowly as possible. It is my conjecture that the speakers of Sibe do not perceive the above listed meanings as different.

Ex. 4: *loʁů-i **jəyin-də ňi** suyeⁿ χoźiⁿ səktə-m.*
Lit.: Sword-GEN. **edge-DL. POSS.** yellow paper spread-IMP.
They cover the **edges** of the swords with the yellow paper.

Ex. 5: ***if χůarən-t** bənə-rəŋə-f giraⁿ čiči-v-m zə-m.*
Lit.: **Grave court-DL**. take-NI.II-ACC. corpse go out-CAUS.-IMP. say- IMP.
Taking the dead body **to the graveyard** is called 'taking the corpse out'.

Ex. 6: *vajə-mə təva-dəri **na-t** maχtə-m.*
Lit.: Finish-CI. there-ABL. **ground-DL**. throw-IMP.
Finally they throw him from there down **to the earth**.

Ex. 7: *gulgul **bo-t** ji-m.*
Lit.: Often **house-DL**. come-IMP.
He often comes to **see us**.

Ex. 8: *gizuⁿ ňi **saⁿ səskə-t** latə-qů.*
Lit.: Word POSS. **ear chin-DL**. stick-(NI.)-NEG.
His speech is not pleasant to listen to.

Ex. 9: *ər ňuŋk **nanə-t** latə-m.*
Lit.: This disease **person-DL**. stick-IMP.
This disease is infectious.

Ex. 10: *yiqaⁿ saʁənč ər **χaʁəji-t** luk lat-kᵊi.*
Lit.: Chinese girl this **boy-DL**. firmly stick-PERF.
That Chinese girl got really hung up **on that boy**.

Ex. 11: *maɴ bait biš ta **uju-t** tuza-mə śiňi taqə-m.*
Lit.: Difficult matter be-CC. ACT. **head-DL. fall-CI** only know IMP.
One learns about troubles only when he **himself** gets into them.

b) The meaning of assignment: belonging, ownership, being a part of something.

Ex. 1: *yaya **baitə-t** gum dor bi.*
Lit.: Any **matter-DL**. all rule is.
Everything (that has to be done) has its rules.
Note: From an account of funeral rites.

Ex. 2: ***əndüri-d ňi** gəɹ əjəⁿ čiš-kᵊi.*
Lit.: Deity-DL. F. also ruler come out-PERF.
Among the deities, there also appeared a ruler.

Ex. 3: *muduri **śivə-t** aqů.*
Lit.: Dragon Sibe-DL. not.
The **Sibe** do not **have** a dragon (in their culture).

Ex. 4: ***śivə-t*** *laft tuta-ʁᵊye.*
Lit.: **Sibe-DL**. much stay-PERF.
There is much (of the traditions) left **among the Sibes**.

Ex. 5: *asqəⁿ ərin-t* ***čoaʁə-t*** *yav-ʁᵊi.*
Lit.: Young time-DL. **army-DL**. go-PERF.
In his youth he was in **the army**.

Ex. 6: ***śivə-t*** *da əza naⁿ bi.*
Lit.: **Sibe-DL**. ACT. quite person is.
There are quite many (gifted) people **among the Sibe**.

Ex. 7: ***saman-də ňi*** *bəy-i vəč-k əndür bi.*
Lit.: **Shaman-DL**. F. body-GEN. worship-NOM.PERF deity is.
Shamans have their own (protecting) deity which they worship.

c) Relation to somebody, an action directed towards somebody

Ex. 1: *čiškə fietə-mə-š gəɪ* ***udun-t*** *tuza.*
Lit.: Sparrow fart-CI.-COND. still **wind-DL**. help.
Even a sparrow's fart can **help the wind**.
Note: A proverb meaning that any effort can give some results.

Ex. 2: *ərə-f bi miⁿ* ***əňi-t*** *gia-m-bu-ɣᵊi.*
Lit.: This I my **mother-DL**. take-CI.-give-PERF.
I bought this **for** my **mother**.

Ex. 3: *antqələ-r* ***nanə-t*** *arχ bi.*
Lit.: Bashful **person-DL**. ruse is.
There are ways to **make** a bashful **guest** eat.

Ex. 4: *taqə-qᵘ̊* ***nanə-t*** *fien-š da, muduri bi zə-m.*
Know-(NI.)-NEG. **person-DL**. ask-CI. ACT. dragon is say-IMP.
If you ask **somebody** who does not understand it, he would say that we have dragons (= that there are dragons in the traditional Sibe mythology).

Ex. 5: *śivə naⁿ* ***diøvə-t*** *χaɪdə-qᵘ̊.*
Lit.: Sibe person **fox-DL**. offend –(NI.)-NEG.
The Sibe people do not harm **foxes**.

d) The meaning of 'reason, goal, sake'

Ex. 1: *ai* ***baitə-t*** *əksə-mie?*
Lit.: **What matter-DL**. hurry-IMP.
What are you doing now? **What** are you busy **with**?

Ex. 2: *bi ňi* ***əraŋ baitə-t*** *fančə-r nan vaq*.
Lit.: I F. **like this matter-DL**. be angry-NI. person not.
I am not the kind of person who gets angry **about such things**.

e) Temporal use

Ex. 1: ***ai ərin-t*** *ačə-m-ů-ʁ^{ů}o*?
Lit.: **What time-DL**. meet-CI.+become-PERF.
At what time shall we meet?

Ex. 2: ***ajig ərin-t*** *gum təvat iv-m gənə-m*.
Lit.: **Small time-DL**. all there play-CI. go-IMP.
In our childhood we all were going there to play.

f) Agent of passive constructions

Ex. 1: *gəɪ* ***yiqan-t*** *χoɹtu-v-ʁ^{ə}i barə*.
Lit.: Still **Chinese-DL**. cheet-CAUS.-PERF. PROB.
It seems that you were cheated again **by the Chinese**.

Ex. 2: ***nanə-t*** *sərə-vů-qů-mə da o-ʁ^{ů}i*.
Lit.: **Person-DL**. notice-CAUS.-(NI.)-NEG.+(become)-CP. ACT. become-PERF.
Just do not let **other people** know.

Ex. 3: *čəksə* ***huizə-t*** *tandə-v-ɣ^{ə}i*.
Lit.: Yesterday **Uighur-DL**. beat-CAUS.-PERF.
Yesterday he was beaten **by the Uighurs**.

Ex. 4: ***śin-t*** *gəɪ təraɴ sərə-v-mɛi na?*
Lit.: **You-DL**. still like that feel-CAUS.PRES.CONT. QUEST.
Do you also **have** that feeling?

Ex. 5: ***aʁa-t*** *uš-k na^{n} śiliŋ-deri gələ-q^{ů}*.
Lit.: **Rain-DL**. get wet-NP. person dew-ABL. be afraid-(NI.)-NEG.
Somebody who got drenched **in rain** would **not be** scared by dew.

Ex. 6: *tər χaʁəč gulɣun ňinəŋ* ***udun-t*** *diy-ɣə,* ***aʁa-t*** *fičav-ʁə…*
Lit.: That boy whole day **wind-DL**. fly, rain-DL. zip-CAUS.-PERF.
The whole day the boy had been **swept up by the wind** and lashed by the rain …

Examples of more frequent constructions of verbs with the dative-locative:

1. **adanə-** *to participate*

Ex.: *tərə-i śidən-t nan-^{ə}i* ***ś^{i}erin-t*** *adanə-m ojů-q^{ů}*.
Lit.: That-GEN. between person-GEN. **wedding-DL**. participate become-(NI.)- NEG.
During that time one is not allowed to take part in other people's **weddings**.

2. **fienji-** *to ask*

Ex.: *gəɣə gugu śieⁿ dⁱenjie, dønš-ka-qů-či* ***min-t*** *fienjie.*
Lit.: Elder sister, Aunt well listen-IMP., hear-(NP.)-NEG.-CC. **me-DL**. ask-IMP.
Sister, aunt, listen carefully; if you have not understood, tell **me**.
Note: From a contemporary song.

2.2.4 Accusative

The accusative in Sibe is mainly an object case. In addition to denoting the object, it is sometimes used with a spatial meaning to answer the question 'which way'. This usage comes from literary Manchu, where the accusative suffix ***-be*** fills part of the 'gap' caused by the lack of an instrumental case suffix. Spoken Sibe prefers using the instrumental or ablative case to convey the meaning 'which way'. However, among the older generation, the accusative is used as well.

The most frequent questions answered by the accusative are: *ai-f*/*ai* 'what'; *ai jaqə-f* 'what'; *və-f* 'whom' and *yava-f*/*ɛvi-f* 'which way'.

Forms of accusative

The accusative suffix has the sandhi variants ***-f***/***-v***/***-və*** (Lit. Ma. ***-be***). ***-f*** is the most frequent form. ***-v***/***-və*** are pronounced mostly before the particle ***-ǎi***.[13] After ***-m*** and ***-n*** sometimes ***-b*** is pronounced.A final ***-n*** is assimilated into ***-m*** before the suffix. In the modern spoken language, however, the suffix ***-b*** is often weakened or dropped, so that the sound of the resulting form is ***-m***. The final ***-b*** is always preserved when the emphatic vowel is added (e.g. *qarəⁿ* 'fortress' – *qarə-m*(*b*)/ *qarə-mb-ə* 'fortress-ACC'.

When in the oral pronunciation a noun finishes in a consonant (usually with the exception of *-n*/*-m*), a prothetic vowel is inserted before the accusative suffix (e.g. *ɕaχ* 'crow' *ɕaʁ-ə-f* 'crow-ACC'.

The accusative often has a zero suffix. As in Mongolian, the use of the suffix depends on the categories of ***definite*** and ***indefinite*** together with ***rational*** and ***irrational***. The accusative suffix is obligatory with concrete rational beings and virtually obligatory with specified irrational beings and objects. It is less frequently used with unspecified rational beings; most unspecified objects or irrational beings occurring as grammatical objects do not use the suffix.

Use of the accusative suffix

1. The meaning of object

Ex. 1: ***aʁə-v ǎi*** *yaqsə-v-ʁᵊi.*
Lit.: **Mouth**-ACC. POSS. close-CAUS.-PERF.
He shut **his mouth**.

[13] The distribution of allomorphs in the examples above also depends on the actual manner of speech of the utterance. For example, in the case of slow and distinct speech a pause occuring after the grammatical object often conditioned the voiceless allomorph ***-f*** to occur even if the following word began with a vowel.

Ex. 2: ***laoha-m-f*** *əmda^{n} yavə-f-χ bi-ɣ^{ə}i.*
Lit.: **Laohan-ACC**. once go-CAUS.-NP. be-PERF.
Once he made a fool of **the laohan**.
Note: *Laohan* – Chin. *laohan* 'old man, taoist deity' – is a reference to an older man, mostly with a touch of respect. *yavəf-*, a causative form of *yaf-* 'to go', is used figuratively as 'to make a fool of sb.'. The verbal form *biɣ^{ə}i* at the end of the sentence refers to a previously known fact.

Ex. 3: ***miʁa^{n}-0*** *gia-m-o-či* ***məɣəjə-mf*** *ta,* ***sarʁa^{n}-0*** *giam-o-či* ***əňi-v ňi*** *ta.*
Lit.: **Piglet-0ACC**. take-CONV.IMP –become-CC. **sow-ACC**. look-IMPER., **wife-0ACC**. take-CONV.IMP –become-CC. **mother-ACC**. **POSS**. look-IMPER.
When buying a piglet, look at the sow; when taking a wife look at her mother. (Proverb)

Ex. 4: ***antq-ə-f*** *učulum,* ***saʁanj-i-f*** *učulum, ai-f saf-š-ta ai-f učulu-m.*
Lit.: **Guest-ACC**. sing-IMP. **girl-ACC**. sing-IMP., what-ACC. see-CC.-ACT.what-ACC. sing-IMP.
They sing about the guest, about the girl, they sing about whatever they happen to see.
Note: From the explanation of the 'Field Song', which is mostly an improvisation within the framework of the fixed structure of the verses.

Ex. 5: ***gizu^{n}-ai-f*** *laft gizərə-m.*
Lit.: **Word-what-ACC**. much talk-IMP.
He talks a lot (he is chatty).

Ex. 6: ***huzu-mb ňi*** *baitəɹ-m vaju-qů əm duru^{n} azəɹ-m.*
Lit.: **Strength-ACC**. his use – COVN.IMP. finish –(NI.)-NEG. one form behave-IMP.
He acts as if his **strength** was inexhaustible.

Ex. 7: *šivə dor o-či, jus dazə ňi* ***am guru-mb ňi*** *bieryə-m.*
Lit.: Sibe custom become-CC. children base-F. **big folk-ACC**. F collect-IMP.
It is a Sibe tradition that children take care of their **parents**.
Note: *bieryə* – 'to collect' means taking the parents to their own house.

Ex. 8: ***jiʁa fonq-ů****-f šorʁů-m.*
Lit.: **Money hole-ACC**. poke-IMP.
He pokes into the **money-hole**.
Note: This saying, implying poking into the hole in the middle of Chinese copper coins, refers to a greedy person.

Ex. 9: *χačі^{n} ba-t gənə-m* ***aɴ-ə-f*** *unča-m.*
Lit.: Kind place-DL. go-CONV.PRES. **mouth-ACC**. sell-IMP.
He talks everywhere about everything he knows.
Note: 'Selling the mouth' is a translation from a colloquial Chinese idiom meaning 'to spill the beans'.

Ex. 10: *śivə naⁿ* ***jiʁa-f*** *oyuɴ ta-qᵘ̊,* ***guanśi-v ňi*** *oyuɴ ta-m.*
Lit.: Sibe person **money-ACC**. important look-(NOM.IMP).-NEG. **relationship-ACC.F.** important look-IMP.
The Sibe people do not consider **money** important; the (family) **relationship** is important for them.

Ex. 11: *tər jaq šuda śiⁿ* ***fašq-ə-f*** *da-ʁᵊi!*
Lit.: That thing absolutely your **rear-ACC**. folow-PERF.
He has been following you closely! He is so fond of being with you!

Ex. 12: ***ɢaɻ-f*** *ɢaš!*
Lit.: **Hand-ACC**. bring-IMPER.
Give me your **hand** (give me your **paw**)!

Ex. 13: *ər maf* ***ud-u-v ňi*** *taqəm,* ***ji-v ňi*** *taqəqᵘ̊.*
Lit.: The forebear **'how many'-ACC. F**. know-IMP., **'child'-ACC. F**., know (NI.)-NEG.
The oaf did know the word 'how many', but he did not know the word 'child'.
Note: From an anecdote about a young Sibe man who did not understand his grandmother's asking about his children, mistaking the word *ji* 'child' for the Chinese word for a hen.

Ex. 14: *tər* ***ju nan-ə-i bait-ə-f*** *bi təňi ta-χᵊi.*
Lit.: That **two person-GEN**. **matter-ACC**. I just know-PERF.
I have just learned what happened to **those two people**.

Ex. 15: ***nan-ə-f*** *yazə-t qafči-qᵘ̊.*
Lit.: ***Person-ACC***. eye-DL. coop in-(NI.)-NEG.
He is puffed up, arrogant, scornful to people.

Ex. 16: ***nan-ə-f*** *jav-m iv-m čaʁa-ɴ.*
Lit.: **Person-ACC**. cath-CP. play-CONV. IMP. likes.
She likes to catch people and play (to joke **with people**, to play tricks).

Ex. 17: *gənkəndi əm naⁿ* ***uči-0*** *fierə-m.*
Lit.: Suddenly one person **door-0ACC**. beat-IMP.
Suddenly somebody is beating **on the door**.

2. Spatial use of the accusative

Ex. 1: ***əva-f*** *yaf!*
Lit.: **Here(this place)-ACC**. go-IMPER.
Go **this way**!

Ex. 2: *tər* ***joʁů-mb*** *yaf!*
Lit.: That **way-ACC**. do-IMPER.
Take that **way**.

Examples of constructions with the accusative

1. The vicarious verb *ainə-* 'to do what'

Ex.: *məzə-i **ňimʁa-f ainə-mie**?*
Lit.: 1pl.incl.-GEN. **fish-ACC. do what-IMP**.
What shall we do with this **fish**?

2. The verb *azəl-* to behave, act, arrange, settle, fix…

Ex.: *ər **bait-ə-f** məz afš azəɪ-mie?*
Lit.: **This matter-ACC**. 1pl.incl. how settle-IMP.
What shall we do **about it**?

3.The verb *zə-* 'to say'

a) ***zə-*** 'to call, say about sth./sb.'

Ex.: *śivə na^{n} **śigua-f** duɴa **zə-m**…*
Lit.: Sibe person **watermelon-ACC**. (=Chin. western pumpkin) *duɴa* **call-IMP**.
The Sibe people call 'eastern pumpkin' what should be the 'western pumpkin'.
Note: An allusion intended as a joke saying that the Sibe do everything the other way round. In Sibe 'watermelon' (Chin. 'western pumpkin') is called by a Chinese word homophonic with 'eastern pumpkin'.

b) ***zə-*** 'to order sb. to do sth.'

Ex.: *afanti **lüz-ə-f** əči yaf **sə-či** tə-či yav-m.*
Lit.: Effendi **donkey-ACC**. here go-IMPER. **say-CC**. there go-IMP.
When Effendi's **donkey is ordered** to go here, he goes the other way.
Note: Effendi is the character of a wag from Middle-Eastern folklore, who became popular in the Muslim parts of China. Effendi's donkey is a personification of stubbornness.

4. The verb *gizər-* 'to talk'

Ex.: *tər 'hairačuqa min-i bo cašan'zə-r gizun-t **yiqam-f gizər-ɣ^{ə}i**.*
Lit.: That pitiable my house village say-NI. word-DL. **Chinese-ACC. talk-PERF**.
By the words 'My pitiable homeland' he **spoke about the Chinese**.

5. The verb *učul-* 'to sing'

Ex.: *ər babəli učun-t **düri-f učuɪ-ɣ^{e}i**, tukumə **ňuňu dəži-r jaq-ə-f učuɪ-ɣ^{e}i**.*
Lit.: This lullaby song-DL. **craddle-ACC. sing-PERF.**, then **baby enter NI. thing-ACC. sing-PERF.**

In that lullaby, they **sing** first **about** the **cradle**, then about the **things the baby is swaddled in**.

6. The verb *danə-* 'to take care about sb., sth., to care about'

Ex.: *tər set mamə-f və hɛmi-mie, nan-ᵊi hamtə-m śitə-r **bait-ə-f** gum danə-m.*
Lit.: That old grandmother-ACC. who bear-IMP., person-GEN. defecate-CI. urinate-NI. **matter-ACC**. all take care-IMP.
Who can bear that old woman, she pokes her nose into everyone's **business**.

7. The verb *ačə-* 'to meet'

Ex.: *čəksə əm **nan-ə-f aš-qᵊi**.*
Lit.: Yesterday one **person-ACC**. meet-PERF.
Yesterday I met one **person**.

2.2.5 Ablative

The ablative in Sibe is a directional case with the meaning 'from something/somebody'. In addition to its fundamental spatial use, it often expresses a temporal relationship. The main questions answered by the ablative are *yava-dəri*/*ɛvi-dəri* 'where from'; *və-dəri* 'from whom'; *aitiŋ-dəri* 'from what time' etc.

Form of the ablative

In the colloquial language, the suffix/particle ***-dəri*** is used as an ablative marker. It is etymologically connected with the verb *dərif-* 'to begin'. In literary Manchu the suffix ***-či*** is used, which in spoken Sibe functions as the lative case. In the speech of elderly people with a knowledge of literary Manchu, the suffix ***-či*** sometimes occurs with the ablative meaning.

Use of the ablative

The basic meanings of the ablative are
a) spatial meaning 'from where', 'from what' etc.
b) temporal meaning 'since when'
c) ablative is also used for comparison
d) In the Sibe settlement of *Ičə ɢazn* (Huocheng) and perhaps in other Sibe enclaves outside Chabchal, the suffix ***-dəri*** is sometimes used as the instrumental.

a) The meaning of direction – from where, from what, from whom

Ex. 1: *təsk **ɢor ba-dəri** ji-ɣᵊi.*
Lit.: Thus **distant place-ABL**. come-PERF.
Why, you came from such **a faraway place**.
Note: This phrase is often used to appease a shy guest, as a reply to an apology etc.

Ex. 2: *mi-^{n} amə* ***jalən-dəri*** *aɹč-q^{ə}i.*
Lit.: 1sg.-GEN. father **world-ABL**. leave-PERF.
My father has deceased (has **left this world**).

Ex. 3: ***neimoɴ-dəri*** *beijiŋ śidə^{n} ňoɴů^{n} dəyi-m zə-r.*
Lit.: **Inner.Mongolia**(**Chin**.)**-ABL**. Peking-between sand fly-IMP. say-NI.
It is said that the sand **from Inner Mongolia** flies down to Peking.

Ex. 4: ***biɹʁa-dəri*** *ɕaɹ čiči-m.*
Lit.: **Throat-ABL**. hand come.out IMP.
A hand is reaching out **from my throat**.
Note: A funny description of an eager expectation of coming food.

Ex. 5: ***san-dəri*** *yaɴk čiš-čiňi gizərə-m.*
Lit.: **Ear-ABL**. wax come.out-CT. talk-IMP.
He talks so much that the ear-wax leaks from the listeners' **ears**.

Ex. 6: *śi-^{n} əňi* ***uva taʁaɹ-dəri*** *čiš-k^{e}i.*
Lit.: 2sg.-GEN, mother flour **sack-ABL**. come out-PERF.
Your mother has just crawled **out of a flour sack**.
Note: From the account of a friend relating her father's joking about her mother who was trying to lighten her dark skin by using white powder.

Ex. 7: *ər saʁanj-^{e}i ujufunku-ňi ɕor* ***mamə-dəri*** *ulav-^{e}m ji-ɣ^{ə}i.*
Lit.: This girl-GEN. scarf-POSS. **far grandmother-ABL**. inherit-CI come-PERF..
This girl has inherited her **grandmother's** scarf.

Ex. 8: *bi* ***əňi amə-dəri*** *jiʁa ɕaš zə-m duɹʁa-q^{ů}i.*
Lit.: 1sg. **Mother Father-ABL**. money bring-IMPER. say-CI. pass-NP.-NEG.
I have never asked for money **from my parents**.

Ex. 9: ***irgən-dəri*** *gəɹ jiʁa gia-m.*
Lit.: **Citizen-ABL**. still money take-IMP.
They were collecting money even **among the common people**.

Ex. 10: *ər učum-b bi oros* ***mamə-dəri*** *taš-q^{ə}i.*
Lit.: This song-ACC. 1sg. **Russian grandmother-ABL**. learn-PERF.
I learned this song **from the old Russian woman**.

b) Temporal meaning: From when

Ex. 1: ***ajig ərin-dəri*** *dønš-kə dønš-kə ɕaɹ o-ɣ^{ů}i.*
Lit.: **Little time-ABL**. hear-PERF.(-IS.) hear-PERF.(-IS.) 'ɕaɹ' become-PERF.
From my childhood I heard that so often that I got fed up with it.
Note: ***ɕaɹ*** is an onomatopoetic word which implies a feeling of being annoyed or fed up with something that has been repeated too long and too often. The reduplicated

verbal form as '*dønške dønške*' is rendered as NP.+INSTR. (***-ha+-i***) – literally translatable as 'by having been doing' in the Manchu writing system and is used for a prolonged action leading to a certain result. In the spoken language, however, the instrumental ***-i*** is usually unrecognizable.

Ex. 2: *moɴ-maq banš-k* ***ərin-dəri*** *moɴ gəf laft.*
Lit.: Mongol-INSTR. live-NP. **time-ABL**. Mongol name many.
From the time when (we) lived with the Mongols we have many Mongol names.

c) Comparative use

Ex. 1: ***yoq-dəri*** *yaqši.*
Lit.: **NEG.(Uig.)-ABL**. good(Uig.).
Better than **nothing**.
Note: A pun based on the parallel structure of this phrase in Sibe and Uighur (Sibe *aqᵘ̊-dəri śieⁿ*, Uighur *yoq-tin yakši*, meaning literally 'Better than non-being/non-having'). Its humor for the Sibe listener consists mainly in the use of the two most commonly known Uighur words in one Sibe sentence.

Ex. 2: *śiⁿ amə* ***miⁿ amə-dəri*** *sə ambu.*
Lit.: Your father **my father-ABL**. age big.
Your father is older **than my father**.

Examples of common constructions with the ablative

1. With the verbs *baχ-* 'to find, to get' and *biɛ* 'to look for'

Ex. 1: ***bait-aqᵘ̊ baitə-dəri*** *bait biɛ-m.*
Lit.: Matter-NEG. **matter-ABL**. matter search-IMP.
He can make a big issue **of nothing**, he finds a problem in anything.
Note: The phrase *baitaqᵘ̊ bait*, lit.: 'a matter without matter', is often used to express the meaning of an 'unimportant thing'.

Ex. 2: *ər bitkə-f bi* ***ɕuɹja-dəri ba-χᵊi***.
Lit.: This book-ACC. 1sg. **Ghulja-ABL**. get-PERF.
I found/got this book **in Ghulja**.

2. With the verb *gəl-* 'to be afraid'

Ex.: *naᵉ* ***gurh ɕasqə-dəri gələ-m*** *banš-kᵊi.*
Lit.: Man wild **animal bird-ABL. fear-COMV.IMP.** live-PERF.
The people were living in fear of **wild animals and birds**.

3. Constructions with the words *unčᵘ* 'different (by quality)' and *cᵘ̊a* 'other, the other, another'

Ex. 1: *iškʲa-r baitə ňi gum* ***nanə-dəri unčᵘ***.
Lit.: Arrange-NI. matter POSS. all **man-ABL. different**.
He does everything in a different way **than** (**normal**) **people**.

Ex. 2: *miⁿ* ***amə-dəri cᵘ̊a naⁿ*** *ər baitə-f sa-qᵘ̊*.
Lit.: 1sg.-GEN. **father-ABL. other person** this matter know-(NI.)-NEG.
No one but my father knows about it.

4. With the postposition *tiuɹgut* (lit., 'outside') – but for, except for

I was informed about this postposition during my studies and encountered it in real speech, but it is mainly a literary phrase corresponding to the Chinese and the Mongolian parallel forms. I have not encountered it in the material which I used for this work.

2.2.6 Lative

The directional case – lative or prolative (Ramstedt 1957, p. 44) refers to a direction from one point to another.

The questions answered by the lative are: *ye-či* 'to where', 'to what'; *yava-či* 'to which place'; *və-či* 'to whom', and others.

Form of the lative

The directional case in Sibe has a single suffix ***-či***. It has a single allomorph with most nouns.[14] It is interesting to note the semantic shift with respect to literary Manchu, which uses this suffix for the ablative.

Use of the lative

The lative case in Sibe, as in Mongolian, most often expresses direction of movement, but does not automatically imply reaching the destination. In this it differs from the directional meaning of the dative-locative, which includes the implication of attainment of the goal of the movement: *bo-t gənɣᵊi* 'he went home' (and presumably arrived); *bo-či yavɣᵊi* 'he set out on his way home'. In Sibe the dative-locative cannot be used to indicate direction (to look at something, to talk to somebody etc).

In literary Manchu, the suffix ***-či*** functions as the ablative and the semantic field of the lative is divided between the dative-locative and the complex postposition *ba-ru*.[15]

[14] A related suffix ***-š*** (***-si*** in written Manchu) is part of the half-petrified directional spatials, e.g. *vie-š* (Lit. Ma. *wa-si*) 'to the west', *di-š* (Lit. Ma. *de-si*) 'to the east', *am-š* (lit. Ma. *ama-si*) 'to the north', *ju-š* (Lit. Ma. *jule-si*) 'to the south'. This suffix is apparently also related to the Mongolian directional suffix **-š**, which is used as well only with spatials (*baruun-š* 'to the west', *züün-š* 'to the east' etc.).

[15] This postposition, composed probably from the word **ba-** 'place' and a directional suffix ***-ru***, known from Mongolian as ***-ruu/-luu***, does not occur in the spoken language. However, a connection with the modal particle *ere/uru* cannot be ruled out.

The lative has, on certain occasions, the meaning of a direction:
a) a concrete direction in space or
b) a focus of sight, speech etc.
c) more abstractly the meaning of a focus, trend, sight (of development, evolution, thinking etc.).

The primary accent is always on the direction at some target, but the reaching of the target, even if it is sometimes clear from context, is secondary.

a) Signifying a concrete direction in space

Ex. 1: *śivə-f nənəm* ***girin-či*** *guri-v-ɣᵊi.*
Lit.: The Sibe-ACC. first **Girin-LAT**. move-CAUS.-PERF.
The Sibes were first moved **to Girin**.

Ex. 2: *tər ərin-t oros* ***ba-či*** *vəʁgieⁿ dulu-v-m.*
Lit.: That time-DL. Russian **place-LAT**. pig pass-CAUS-IMP.
At that time they were selling pigs to Russia.
Note: From a tale about a period at the beginning of the 20th century, when the Sibes were the only nation in Xinjiang to breed pigs and became rich by exporting them to present-day Khazakhstan.

Ex. 3: *nan-ᵊi uju ňi* ***ištə ərgi-či*** *yila-m.*
Lit.: Man-GEN. head F. **right side-LAT**. stay-IMP.
The dead man is laid so that his head points **to the right**.
Note: From a tale about funeral rites.

Ex. 4: ***bo-či*** *yaf!*
Lit.: **House-LAT**. go-IMPER.
Go **home**!

Ex. 5: *tər* ***bo-či*** *yaf!*
Lit.: That **house-LAT**. go-IMPER.
Let us go **to** that **room**.

Ex. 6: *əvat naⁿ aqů, gum* ***alin-či*** *yav-ʁᵊi.*
Lit.: Here man NEG.EX., all **mountain-LAT** go-PERF.
There is nobody here, all went **to the mountains**.

Ex. 7: ***bo-či*** *dianχůa tant.*
Lit.: **House-LAT**. telephone (Chin.) hit-IMPER.
Call your **home**.

b) Signifying focus, way, trend and other figurative meanings

Ex. 1: *ər gizu^{n}* ***ju χačin-či*** *bodə-m o-m.*
Lit.: This word **two kind-LAT** think can-IMP.
This word can be understood in **two ways**.

Ex. 2: *ajigurun-t gia-m zə-r jaqə-f bu-m ojů-q^{ů},* ***əɣə-či tači-m***.
Lit.: Children-DL. take-IMP. say-NI. thing-ACC. give-CI. can (NI.)-NEG, bad-LAT. **wrong-LAT learn-IMP**.
It is not possible to give the children everything they want, because **they will get spoiled**.
Note: The word *əh* is a qualitative noun meaning bad, wicked, wrong etc., but it is often used as a substantive meaning 'wickedness, evil' etc. The phrase *eɣe-či tačim* is an idiom: 'spoiling somebody by wrong education'.

Ex. 3: ***əm χačin-či*** *azələ-q^{ů}-či ojů-q^{ů}.*
Lit.: **One kind-LAT**. arrange-(NI.)-NEG.-CONV-COND. can-(NI.)-NEG.
We have to do something about it (to solve it in **some way**).

Ex. 4: *saʁənji ňi* ***yiqan-či*** *yav-ʁ^{ə}i.*
Lit.: His daughter POSS **Chinese-LAT**. go-PERF.
His daughter became **close with the Chinese**.
Note: Although the word-for-word translation of the sentence would imply that the girl has gone to one particular Chinese, the speaker meant that she went 'to the Chinese side'; became like the Chinese.

2.2.7 Instrumental-sociative

This case, which is used in spoken Sibe, has an instrumental meaning (answering the questions 'by what, through what, by means of what' etc.) but is also used as sociative (commitative) (answering questions 'with what, with whom'). In this, Sibe differs from Mongolian and other Altaic languages, which possess a special sociative case suffix.

Form of the instrumental-sociative

This case, which has only one form, the suffix ***-maq*(*a*)**, has no equivalent in literary Manchu, where its grammatical meaning is divided between accusative and genitive.[16]

Use of the instrumental-sociative

The case is used in two basic meanings, which may be defined as instrumental (1) and sociative (2). The latter meaning was probably originally used only with the grammatical word

[16] In literary Manchu we encounter a particle *aimaqa* meaning 'like' (only in the construction *aimaqa … adali,* lit. 'like … the same', etymologically comprised of *ai* 'what' + *maka*). The lexical meaning of *maka* (expressing doubt, ignorance – *maka ainaha niyalma,* lit. DOUBT what-done person – Who knows what sort of a man he is) does not suggest a relationship to the instrumental suffix.

əmbat ‘at one place’, i.e. ‘together’, which is no longer obligatory in the spoken language. Questions answered by this case are *ai-maq* ‘by what, with what, by means of what’ etc., *və-maq* ‘with whom’ *afš* ‘how’ and others.

a) Meaning of the instrumental

Ex. 1: *manju-i əjəⁿ čᵒaʁə-v ňi* ***favən-maq*** *jav-m.*
Lit.: Manchu-GEN. Emperor soldier-ACC. F. **law-IS**. hold-IMP.
The Imperial soldiers were **subject to** the Manchu Emperor’s **laws**.

Ex. 2: *ajig ərin-t ňimʁa-f* ***ɕaɪ-maq*** *jav-m.*
Lit.: Little time-DL. fish-ACC. **hand-IS**. catch-IMP.
In our childhood we used to catch fish **with** (**our**) **hands**.

Ex. 3: ***gənčeɪ-maq*** *jəm na?*
Lit.: **Spoon-IS**. eat-IMP.QUEST.
Will you eat **with a spoon**?

Ex. 4: *χazəq guruⁿ erki-f* ***čavaɪ-maq*** *ɛm-mie.*
Lit.: Kazakh people liquor-ACC. **tea-glass-IS**. drink-IMP.
The Kazakhs drink liquor **with tea-glasses**.

b) The sociative meaning

Ex. 1: ***moɴ-maq*** *banš-q ərin-dəri moɴ gəf laft.*
Lit.: **Mongol-IS**. live-NP. time-ABL. Mongol name many.
From the time when we lived **together with the Mongols**, there are many Mongolian names (among us).

Ex. 2: *ər baitə-f* ***nan-maq*** *əm gizərə-r.*
Lit.: This matter-ACC. **person-IS**. PROH. speak-NI.
Do not talk about this **with other people**.

Ex. 3: *bo gum oros* ***ajigurun-maq*** *χᵘ̊as-kᵊi.*
Lit.: 1pl.excl. all Russian **children-IS**. grow-PERF.
We all grew up together **with** Russian **children**.

Ex. 4: *bo-t gənə-mə miⁿ* ***əňi-maq*** *paraɴ sənda!*
Lit.: House-DL. go-CI. 1sg.-GEN. **mother-IS**. talk (Uig.) put-IMPER.
You can go to our home and chat **with** my **mother**.

Ex. 5: ***nan-maq*** *yav-m čaʁa-qᵘ̊.*
Lit.: **person-IS**. go-CI. like-(NI.)-NEG.
She is not too sociable.

Ex. 6: ***mo-maq*** *kimiⁿ bi na?*
Lit.: **Wood-IS**. vengeance is QUEST.
Do you have any unsettled accounts **with wood**?
Note: A humorous admonition of an older person to a boy who was cutting wood too fiercely.

Phrases with sociative

Phrases with the verb *adašə-* ‘to resemble’

Ex.: ***əyi-maq-ə ňi*** *adašə-m banš-kᵊi.*
Lit.: **Grandfather-IS. POSS**. resemble-CI. be born-PERF.
He resembles **his grandfahter**.

3 QUALITATIVE NOUNS

Qualitative nouns are those nouns which have been conventionally labelled as ‘adjectives.’ The qualitative nouns of spoken Sibe, as with pronouns and numerals, form a part of the broader class of nouns, and in their inflection they display no differences from the latter. The main reason for dedicating a separate chapter to them is to provide a more plastic description of the living language by showing their functional and formal characteristics stemming from their semantic features. The term ‘qualitative nouns’ reflects the fact that these nouns in their basic forms are used as an abstract term for a quality (e.g. ‘goodness’), for the designation of a property (e.g. ‘good’), as well as the designation of the bearer of the quality (e.g. ‘the good one’). While the basic questions of the definition and classification of nouns and verbs of the Altaic languages have been explored in depth, the question of category as concerns adjectival and adverbial expressions inthese languages remains unresolved.

According to G. J. Ramstedt, the ‘adjectives’ of the Altaic languages do not differ in their morphology from the ‘substantives’ and together with them form a single category of nouns (Ramstedt 1952, pp. 22–23). A similar view for Manchu is expressed by Zaharov (1879, p. 78), in that he regards Manchu ‘adjectives’ as nouns.

Other scholars (e.g. Baskakov in: Ramstedt 1952, p. 226, note 1; Sunik 1982, p. 3; Sechenbaatar 2003, p. 55) point out the semantic difference of the adjectives from the substantives (Sechenbaatar 2003, p. 55), as well as their syntactical peculiarities (Poppe 1951, pp. 32–39). They tend to classify adjectives as a distinct word class or subclass of nouns. In many Altaic languages some specific formants, usually recently evolved in relation to a qualitative signification, can be found.

O. P. Sunik, basing his conclusions on his own study of the morphologically rich Tungusic languages, maintains that Manchu-Tungus ‘adjectives’ and ‘adverbs’ essentially differ both from the ‘substantives’ and from each other. He considers as well that the frequent cases of homophony are no more than an external coincidence or a result of conversion which is a common word-forming mechanism in the Altaic languages.

It would, however, be hard to believe that a speaker of the relatively gramatically uncomplicated Sibe language would consider the expressions *qʰ̊arian saʁənč* ‘a beautiful girl’, *qʰ̊arian učulu-m* ‘he sings beautifully’, and *qʰ̊arian(f) čaʁan* ‘he likes beauty’ to be three different categories. If this would indeed be true, it would certainly be mainly due to the influence of the Chinese grammar schoolbooks which are based on Western linguistic approaches.

Thus the Manchu and Sibe qualitative nouns can, to express it simply, be classified as a particular subgroup of nouns, which agree with other nouns in the category of case as well as number,[1] but are marked by several peculiarities on the semantic and syntactic levels (qualitative signification, constructions with a particle expressing a certain degree of quality.) The qualitative nouns occur particularly often in the function of verb-determinants, a function which is not contradicted for other nouns, but is rare with them, and which in addition to their general nominal morphological characteristics (the category of case and number[2]) have some special properties, namely a set of typical derivational suffixes. Qualitative signification is related to the category of comparison, most notably on the syntactical level, but also by the use of special suffix ***-qan***[4] (which is, however, used with numerals as well).

Types of qualitative nouns

Zaharov (1879, p. 77) classifies the 'adjectives' in literary Manchu as 'root' and 'derived' adjectives. He then divides the latter into primary (derived from words of other word classes) and secondary (derived from other adjectives).

The division into root and derived adjectives reflects the fact that two types of nouns of slightly differing nature have been placed into one sub-class of words. While the 'root qualitative nouns' (in Sibe e.g. *am*(*bu*) 'big, great, much etc.'; *ɕor* 'far, distant'; *ja* 'easy/ easily, cheap'; *fə* 'old') have virtually no properties except for their signification to distinguish them from other nouns, some of the suffixes, by which 'derived qualitative nouns' are formed, are connected to qualitative signification. Another feature that distinguishes the two types of qualitative nouns is that verbs are often formed from the roots of the derived qualitative nouns, whereas root qualitative nouns never function as verbal roots.

3.1 Qualitative nouns formed by derivational suffixes

In his Manchu Grammar Zaharov mentions various suffixes used for forming the attributive forms of nouns, including genitive forms and participles, among the 'adjectival' suffixes.

Besides the formants, which are clearly genitive suffixes (***-i, -ni, -ningge***) he lists:

1) the suffix ***-ngga***[3] (which he claims to be composed of a genitive suffix and a component **-ga**[3] and thereforeassigning it to the genitive forms)
2) suffixes of verbal nouns or participles
3) the suffix ***-ba***[3], which he assumes to be derived from the noun *ba* 'place'
4) the suffix ***-čuka***/***-čuke***
5) the suffix ***-su***.

The suffixes ***-ngga***[3], ***-ba***[3], ***-čuka***/***-čuke*** and ***-su***, are related to a qualitative signification. However, the nouns formed by them, like all the qualitative nouns, bear no formal distinctions from nouns in general and can be used as subject, object, attribute and verbal determinants, as is the case with all other nouns.

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[1] In Sibe the suffix of number may be used with qualitative nouns in fixed forms taken from the literary language as *sakda-sa* 'the old (people)'.

[2] The category of number is attested with the qualitative nouns of literary Manchu (e.g. *saisa* 'the good ones', *sakdasa* 'the old people'). In spoken Sibe, due to the generally limited use of the forms with the number marker, the existence of the category of number within the qualitative nouns cannot really be confirmed or denied.

Furthermore he notes suffixes of degree, among which he lists:
1) ***-kan***[3]
2) ***-lian/-lien***
3) ***-linggu/-linggū***
4) ***-saka***
5) ***-hun/-hūn***, ***-shun/-shūn*** (Zaharov 1879, pp. 77–84).

These suffixes are, through their prevailing signification of degree of quality, closely connected to the concept of qualitative nouns. However, most of them form nouns with no morphological distinction from other nouns, and some, especially the suffix ***-shun/-shūn***, is used to form nouns like *yamjishūn* 'evening' from *yamji* 'night'.

As concerns qualitative nouns, the fact that literary Manchu probably conserved or even resuscitated some non-productive or dying grammatical forms for the purposes of linguistic enrichment is especially significant. This may explain the major shift from the situation described by Zaharov to that of the contemporary spoken Sibe language.

If we exclude the genitive and participle suffixes, there is only one productive derivational suffix ***-N(a)/-ŋ(ə)***, which corresponds to the ***-ngga***[3] of literary Manchu, one productive suffix of degree ***-qan***[3] and a partly productive suffix of degree ***-lian*** (< ***-linggū/-linggu***). Forms with the other suffixes listed above either do not occur at all, or occur as indivisible roots. In both the literary and spoken languages, however, other petrified expressions, formed by other suffixes than those listed by Zaharov (in particular the suffix ***-min***, mentioned by Haenisch 1986, p. 37), are used.

In the contemporary spoken language, we encounter, from the synchronic point of view, several unproductive historic suffixes, most of which had been retained as means of word-formation in literary Manchu. Interestingly, the tradition of using long-lost suffixes to form new words has not been forgotten. Even today the members of the Committee of Language in Urumchi research these historical suffixes to order to explore their use in the formation of neologisms to describe modern phenomena).

Examples of these suffixes are:
1) ***-n***, ***-(y)en***,
2) ***-lan/-lən/-lun/-lun***, ***-run/-rūn,***
3) ***-min,***
4) ***-ɣun/-kun/-ʁūn/-qūn,***
5) ***-škun/-šqūn***.

All these suffixes except ***-n*** are complex, their second component being the nominalizing ***-n***, which falls away when other grammatical formants follow.

In addition there are two productive suffixes in the spoken language:
6) ***-šk*** and
7) ***-ŋ/-N***.

Non-productive suffixes

1) the suffix ***-^{n}***

Most of the adjectival suffixes are compounds, whose second part is formed by the multifunctional suffix ***-^{n}***.

One group of qualitative nouns derived by means of this suffix is formed by attaching it directly to the root. The suffix - ^{n} is dropped when the adjectival suffix of degree ***-qan***[3] is attached (*uya-*^{n} 'liquid' > *uya-qan* 'slightly liquid'). Some of the roots of this group of qualitative nouns are also employed as verbal roots (*ujə-*^{n} 'heavy' > *ujə-lə-* 'show respect'). Other roots occur in other word classes (*də-*^{n} 'high', *də-lə* 'above', *də-r-gi* 'upper, eastern'). As is often the case with Manchu and Mongolian, many of these Manchu adjectival roots occur in Mongolian in various word classes: Si. *uya-*^{n} 'liquid, non-solid', Mo. *uya-ra-* 'mellow'; *uda-n*^{n} 'slow', Mo. *uda-* 'to last' etc.).

Examples:
uya-^{n} 'liquid, non-solid'
də-^{n} 'high'
ujə-^{n} 'heavy'
χůdu-^{n} 'quick, quickly'
uda-^{n} 'slow, slowly'
ərsu-^{n} 'bad, ill-tempered, terrible, terribly' etc.

In observing the expressions for colours, it can be noted that most of the Manchu terms for colours are formed by the complex suffix -(***i***)***yan***, pronounced as -(***i***)***en*** in the spoken language. Some of the colour names are, however, formed by the suffix ***-n***.

	literary Manchu	**spoken Sibe**
white	*ša-yan*	*śiaŋə-*^{n}
black	*sahal-iyan*	*yečі-*^{n}
red	*fulg-iyan*	*fəɹg-ie*^{n}
green	*niowangni-yan*	*ňuŋň-e*^{n}
yellow	*suwa-yan*	*su-ye*^{n}
blue	*lamu-n*	*giŋ-(ň)i*^{n}

2) The suffixes ***-la-n***/***-le-n***/***-lu-n***/***-lu-n***, ***-ru-n***/***-rů-n***
These suffixes are attached to many complex stems of qualitative nouns. The final - ^{n} is dropped when other formants follow.

Examples:
fiaʁ(-)*qa-lə-*^{n} 'low'
fio(-)*ʁů-lů-*^{n} 'short, shortly' (> *fioʁů-lů-qů*^{n} 'slightly short, shorter')
sa(-)*ʁů-rů-*^{n} 'cold, coldly' (> *saʁů-r aqů* 'not cold')

3) the suffix ***-mi-***^{n}
The affixation of this suffix forms a group of several frequently used qualitative nouns which mostly designate properties connected with appearance, space or consistence. In both spoken and literary languages it is an unproductive suffix and has probably not even been

exploited in the word formation apparatus of literary Manchu. The final *-ⁿ* is dropped when other formants follow.

Examples:
ɕoɹ-mi-ⁿ ‘long’ (>*ɕoɹ-mi-sχůn* elongated, oblong)
śu-mi-ⁿ ‘deep’
tø-mi-ⁿ ‘thick’

4) The suffix ***-ɣu-ⁿ*/*-ku-ⁿ*/*-ʁů-ⁿ*/*-qů-ⁿ***

This suffix, which in literary Manchu usually has the form ***-hun*/*-hūn*** and may be composed from the derivational suffix ***-hu*/*-hū*** and a nominal suffix ***-n***), can generally form nominal expressions, but is most frequently used to form qualitative nouns. In literary Manchu it is a partially productive suffix; during the entire period when Manchu was in active usage, it was employed to form new expressions.

Many basic qualitative nouns in the sphere denoting sensory perception (taste, smell, temperature, etc.), and in literary Manchu, a whole parallel spectre of the ‘weak’ colours, is formed by this suffix (*fulgiyan* ‘red’ – *fula-hū-n* ‘pink’, ‘reddish’, *suyan* ‘yellow’ – *so-hū-n* ‘yellowish’ *niowangniyan* ‘green’ *nio-hū-n* ‘light green, greenish’). In the literary language these parallel colours are used in the calendar. Some of these expressions also exist in the spoken language, but it is possible that the entire scale was artificially created.

Most roots of the qualitative nouns formed by this suffix serve also as roots for other expressions. Some of them are also found in Mongolian. Sometimes (for example in the words *tar-ʁů-ⁿ* ‘fat’ *or oɹ-ʁů-ⁿ* ‘dry’) a verbal stem is formed by cutting off the final ***-n*** – *tarʁů-* ‘to grow fat’, or, *oɹʁů-* ‘to dry’).

Examples:
ɕos-qů-ⁿ ‘bitter, spicy’, *ɕoźi-* ‘to be spicy’
χat-qů-ⁿ ‘salted’, *χaten* ‘sharp, burning’
tar-ʁů-ⁿ ‘fat, fleshy’, *tarʁů-* ‘to grow fat’
far-ʁů-ⁿ ‘dark, dusky’
χaɹ-ʁů-ⁿ ‘warm, hot’ (Mo. *hala-*’ to burn, to feel hot, to be hot’)
vei-ɣu-ⁿ ‘living’
oɹ-ʁů-ⁿ ‘dry’, *oɹʁů-* ‘to dry’
nar-ʁů-ⁿ ‘narrow, fine’ (Mo. *nariin* – ‘narrow, fine’)

5) The suffix ***-š-ku-n*/*-š-qů-n***

This suffix, whose written form is ***-ču-hū-n*/*-ču-hu-n***, is, like the preceding one, partially productive in the literary language. This appears to be a composed suffix, whose second part may be identical with the previous suffix ***-ɣu-ⁿ*/*-ku-ⁿ*/*-ʁů-ⁿ*/*-qů-ⁿ***. In the spoken language it occurs in several expressions.

Examples:
ma-š-qů-ⁿ ‘slim, skinny’ (Lit. Ma. *ma-ču-hů-n*)
nien-š-ku-ⁿ ‘to stink’ – e.g. of fish (Lit. Ma. *niyen-ču-hu-n*)

The productive suffixes

1) Suffix ***-šk***

This complex suffix (Lit. Ma. ***-ču-ke***, ***-ču-ka***) is mainly used to create deverbal qualitative nouns, most often to express the meaning 'proper to something'.

Examples:
gir-šk 'shameful' < *gir(i)-* 'to be shy, ashamed'
fərɕo-šq 'amazing, outstanding' <*fərg(ə)-* 'to praise'
gəɹ-šk 'awful, awesome' < *gəl(ə)-* 'to fear, to be afraid'

2) Suffix ***-ŋ*(*ə*)/-*N*(*a/ə*)**

This suffix is one of the most universally used suffixes in both Manchu and Sibe. Its basic function is most likely the formation of adjectival and adverbial expressions. In spoken Sibe many qualitative nouns and adverbs are derived, mostly from nominal stems, by this suffix. While most of thus derived forms occur in both Sibe and Manchu (e.g. Lit. Ma. *baitangga* Si. *baitiŋ* 'needed, necessary, useful' < Ma. *baita* Si. *bait* 'matter, thing, need'), some of them are not attested in written Manchu. Some of the examples, moreover, from my materials, may be idiolectic forms or forms created ad hoc (as in the expression *sərəŋ muku* 'spring water', which I recorded only once: the usual expression in literary Manchu is *šeri muke* and in spoken Sibe *səri muku*).

Examples:
baiti-ŋ 'needed, necessary, useful' < *bait* matter, thing, need
mori-ŋ 'mounted, equestrian' < *morin* 'horse'
yafhə-N 'pedestrian, on foot' (cf. Mo. *yavgan* 'pedestrian, on foot')
yuɹdu-ŋ 'convenient, advantageous' < *yuɹdu*^{n} 'chance'
amti-ŋ 'sweet, tasty' (cf. Mo. *amt* 'taste')

Many of the qualitative nouns of the spoken language are derived by this suffix from a stem whose meaning is traceable neither in Sibe, nor in Manchu. Some expressions, like *ɕaɹvaɴ* 'bad' and *qʰ̊uariaɴ* 'beautiful' are known only from spoken Sibe and do not have written forms.

Examples:
ɕaɹvaɴ 'bad'
ičaɴ 'proper, agreeable'
oyuɴ 'important'
qʰ̊uariaɴ 'beautiful'[3]

Examples of some frequently used qualitative nouns:
śie^{n} 'good, well', *χoš* 'good,well' – *ɕaɹvaɴ* 'bad, badly'
am(*bu*) 'big, great' – *ajik* 'small, little'
ičə 'new, newly' – *fə* 'old' (for inanimate objects)

[3] This expression, known only in the spoken language, is reminiscent of the Monglian root *go-a* beautiful.

set ‘old’ (for animate beings) – *asqəⁿ* ‘young’
ɕor ‘far, distant’ – *χanč* ‘close’
maɴ ‘difficult’ – *ja* ‘easy, easily’
χůduⁿ ‘quick, quickly’ – *udaⁿ* ‘slow, slowly’
dəⁿ ‘high’ – *fiaɴqaləⁿ* ‘low’
ɕoɹmiⁿ ‘long’ – *fioʁůlůⁿ* ‘short, shortly’
ončᵘ ‘wide, widely’ – *narʁůⁿ* ‘narrow, narrowly’
qᵘ̊ariaɴ ‘beautiful(ly)’ – *ərsuⁿ/ursuⁿ* ‘bad, wicked (ly)’
χaɹʁůⁿ ‘hot, warm(ly)’ – *saʁůruⁿ* ‘cold(ly)’
ujəⁿ ‘heavy’ – *vuyuk* ‘light’, *doɴdoɴ* ‘hard’ – *uluk* ‘soft’, *oɹʁůⁿ* ‘dry’ – *ušku*ⁿ ‘wet’
uyaⁿ ‘liquid, not solid’, *yoloq* ‘soft, smooth’ *fiźiⁿ* ‘dense’

colours: *śiaŋəⁿ* ‘white’, *yečiⁿ* ‘black’, *fəɹgieⁿ*’ ‘red’, *suyeⁿ* ‘yellow’, *niungnieⁿ* ‘green’, *gingiⁿ* ‘light blue’, *jam* ‘violet, orange’, *suɣeⁿ* ‘whitish’ *fulaʁůⁿ* ‘reddish, pink’, *soʁůⁿ* ‘yellowish’, *ňoʁůⁿ* ‘greenish’.

The use of qualitative nouns

It may be assumed that the basic role of qualitative nouns in spoken Sibe is to fulfill the function of a noun-attribute (1). Otherwise, they are used as adverbials (2) and nominal predicates (3).

In addition, most of the qualitative nouns may function as a subject, an object or another nominal part of speech (4). The degree of the potential to do so varies among particular qualitative nouns. The meaning of a qualitative noun used as a noun proper then becomes an abstract term for that particular quality (e.g. *χaj* ‘loving, beloved, love’ *saʁůrůⁿ* ‘cold, chill’, *boɹʁůⁿ* ‘clean, cleanliness’).

3.1.2 Qualitative nouns in the function of an attribute

Ex. 1: *əm naⁿ* ***ɕor*** *ba-dəri ji-ɣᵊi, vajə-maq gəɹ* ***ɕor*** *joʁůⁿ yav-m zə-mə if χᵘ̊arən-t bənə-m vajə-maq ta śinaq utu-vu-qᵘ̊.*
Lit: One person **distant** place-ABL. come-PERF., finish-CP. still **distant** way go say-CI. grave yard-DL. escort- CONV.IMP finish-CONV.PERF-ACT. weeds put on-CAUS.-(NI.)+NEG.
When somebody comes from a **distant** place and has still to go a **long** way back, he need not wear the weeds after the burial.

Ex. 2: *baňiχa, təsk* ***ɕor*** *ji-ɣᵊi.*
Thank you, so.much **far** come-PERF.
Thank you for coming such a **long way**.

Ex. 3: *erk dolo-m-bu-mə nənəm* ***da*** *mavə-d ňi dolo-m-bu-m.*
Lit.: Liquor pour-CI.-give- CONV.IMP first **original** forefather-DL. POSS. pour-CI.-give-IMP.
When liquor is offered, they first offer it to the **Great** forefather (of the clan).

Note: The word *da*, which is very frequent in spoken Sibe, contains the primarily substantive meaning of 'base, root, essence, chief' etc. Here it clearly conveys an adjective meaning :'original' (*da maf* is the expression for the mythical ancestor of the clan).[4]

Ex. 4: ***śieⁿ*** *ňinəŋ śənji-mə da śeriⁿ ara-m.*
Lit.: **Good** day choose-CI. ACT wedding make-IMP.
They chose an **auspicious** day and celebrated the marriage.

Ex. 5: *min-t əm* ***giršk*** *bait bi.*
Lit.: 1sg.-DL. one **shameful** matter is.
There is something I **feel ashamed of**.

Ex. 6: *jinčüeⁿ guruⁿ* ***sərə*** *muku ɛm-maq gizuⁿ ňi əyir muku əm duruⁿ čiči-m.*
Lit.: Jinquan(Chin) folk **spring(ADJ.)** water drink-CP. speech POSS. flow-NI. water one form come out-IMP.
The people from Jinquan drink **spring** water and so their speech is fluent like running water.
Note: This sentence mirrors the self-consciousness of the internal language diversity among the Chabchal villages. The idiom of the First and Third Banners, known as the Golden Spring[5] (Ma. *Aisin seri*, Mo. *Altanbulag*, Chin. *Jinquan*) is commonly considered to be the most pure and the most correct of all three.

3.1.3 Qualitative nouns determining verbs

Many of Manchu and Sibe qualitative nouns are used as well as verb-determinants. In literary Manchu, most of the qualitative nouns in this function take the instrumental suffix ***-i***. In spoken Sibe, however, most of the qualitative nouns are used in their unmarked form and the suffix occurs only with some fixed expressions.

Qualitative nouns determining verbs in unmarked form

Ex. 1: *naⁿ* ***ambu*** *cůňi-mə śiňi am bait iškⁱa-m mutə-m.*
Lit.: Man **great** think-CI. only great matter arrange-CI. can-IMP.
Only with **great** (and courageous) thoughts can one do great things.
Note: The expression 'to think greatly' is connected with the idioms *cůňiⁿ ambu* 'great thought' (courage, broadmindedness, generosity) and *cůňiⁿ ajik* 'little mind' (narrow-mindedness, cautiousness).
The expression for 'big, great' – lit. Ma. *amba* – has two variants in the spoken language: The shorter form *am* is mostly used as an attribute, while the longer form *ambu* is used in the function of an adverbial, a nominal predicate or a substantive.

[4] For a more detailed analysis of the word *da*, see Zikmundová 2005.

[5] The Mongolian variant seems to be the earliest attested version. After settling in this region, the Sibes translated the name into Sibe as *Aisin seri/ aiźiⁿ sər*. This name is still broadly used, but is gradually being replaced by the Chinese translation *Jinquan*.

Ex. 2: *ů*ʁa^{n} *da-f* ***śie^{n}*** *giŋul.*
Lit.: Elder root-ACC. **well** respect-IMPER.
Show respect to elders (your parents-in-law).

Ex. 3: *yiɣi^{n} həh śie^{n}* ***χaj*** *χ^{ů}aliazů^{n} banč.*
Lit.: Husband woman well **love** peace live-IMPER.
Live in peace and **love** (with your husband).

Ex. 4: *ər aji maf ičə oru^{n}* ***χoš*** *banš-kə-v ňi gəɪ ta-ɣə…*
Lit.: This little forefather new daughter-in-law **well** be born-NP.-ACC. POSS. still look-PERF …
The little guy was looking at the **beauty** of the new-married woman …

Ex. 5: *ər ašta-f* ***χoš*** *sav-ɣə na?*
Lit.: This youngster **well** see-NP. QUEST.
Did you take **a fancy** in that young man?
Note: The expression *χoš sav-*, lit. 'to look well', means 'to take a fancy to something, to start liking something or somebody'.

Ex. 6: *gəɪ* ***əmɣu^{n}*** *yav-mɛi na?*
Still **lonely** go-PROG. QUEST
Are you still **alone**?

Ex. 7: *čoqo χůla-χ aməɪ gəɪ emfalə^{n} afqa gərə-q^{ů}, tər ərin-t na^{n} usu^{n}* ***amtiŋ*** *amʁə-m.*
Lit.: Hen call-NP. after still a while sky dawn-NI.-NEG., that time-DL. person very **sweet** sleep-IMP.
After the rooster crows, there is still a while before dawn,when everybody enjoys very **sweet** sleep.

Qualitative nouns in adverbial function with the instrumental suffix **-yi/-ye**

Ex. 1: ***χojə-ye*** *ərɣə-m gia-s.*
Lit.: **Well-IS**. rest-CI. take-IMPER.
Have a **good** rest.

Ex. 2: *ɛmil čoqo bi-či ňilmaʁů^{n}-t* ***ja-yi*** *dəźi-m mutə-m.*
Lit.: Male hen be-CC. *ňilmaʁů^{n}*-DL. **easy-IS**. enter-CI. can-IMP.
When (the dead) has a rooster with him, he can **easily** enter the *ňilmaʁů^{n}*[6].
Note: The expression *ɛmil* for 'male' (and its opposite *əmil* for 'female') is used almost exclusively for 'rooster'or 'hen'. The Manchu expressions *amila čoko* and *emile čoko* are one of the well known examples of how the Manchu language uses vowel qualities.

[6] The expression *ňilmaʁů^{n}*, designating the 'Realm of the Dead,' is not widely used. Most speakers use the expression '*yin jale^{n}*', in which *jalə^{n}* means 'world' and *yin* is the Chinese expression for 'shade, female principle' (the opposite of *yang*). The word *ňilmaʁů^{n}* may be etymologically connected with the Manchu name *Ilmun han* (the ruler of the Realm of the Dead), mentioned among others in the Tale of Nišan Saman.

Ex. 3: *lalə-m bəčə-maq gəɹ **ma-yi** χamtə-m.*
Lit.: Starve-CI. die-CP. still **thick-IS**. defecate-IMP.
After having died of hunger he still defecates **thickly**.
Note: A humorous saying about a 'strong man'.

Qualitative nouns as nominal predicates

The use of qualitative nouns as nominal predicates is extremely common in the spoken language. While in literary Manchu such nominal sentences are usually terminated by a particle, in the spoken language the noun is sufficient to form a predicate. The exceptions are the cases when the adjective forms part of a complex predicate with an auxiliary verb *bi-* 'to be', *o-* 'to be, to become' or *zə-* 'say'.

Ex. 1: *śivə naⁿ ribən gizuⁿ tači-mə həⁿ **ja** zə-r.*
Lit.: Sibe person Japan language learn-CI. very **easy** say-NI.
It is said that Japanese is very **easy** for the Sibe people.

Ex. 2: *gučᵘ ɢarʁəⁿ ačə-m ji-ɣə-də erkᵊi va ňi gəɹ ai **χojo**.*
Lit.: Friend branch meet-CI. come-NP.-DL. liquor-GEN. taste POSS. still what **nice**.
Liquor tastes **fine** when friends meet.
Note: From a popular song sung mostly at feasts.

Ex. 3: *ər urumči ňi naⁿ banjə-r ba vaqa, tə gəɹ tutduruⁿ **saʁůrůⁿ**, ɢůlja-t tə afqa əza **χaɹʁůⁿ o-ʁůi**.*
This Urumči F. person live-NI. place not, now still that-form **cold**, Ghulja-DL. now sky quite **warm** become-PERF.
This Urumči is not a place for people to live, now it is still so **cold**, in Ghulja the weather has already become quite **warm**.

Ex. 4: *ai yono, ərai **fərgoško**, śi əmdaⁿ ta-m ta.*
Lit.: What **funny**, how **amazing**, 2sg., once look-CI. look-IMPER.
How **interesting**, how **strange**, have a look.

Ex. 5: *saʁənjⁱe, śi-ⁿ ər uča aⁿ jazm əm duruⁿ **tarʁůⁿ**?*
Lit.: Daughter, 2sg.-GEN. this waist why pumpkin one form **fat**?
Daughter, how come, your waist is **fat** like a pumpkin?

Ex. 6: *yamsqůⁿ naⁿ yav-m vajə-maq-ta afqa **farʁůⁿ o-maq** jus daz ňi if χůarəⁿ-t gənə-maq duŋlo tiɛv-m.*
Lit.: Evening person go-CI. finish-CP. ACT. **sky dark become- CP**. child-PART. base-PART.-POSS. grave yard-DL. go-CI. lantern light-IMP.
In the evening after everybody leaves, when **darkness comes**, his children go to the graveyard and light a lantern.

Ex. 7: *śivə naⁿ guanśi-f **oyůɴ ta-m**.*
Lit.: Sibe person relationship(Chin.)-ACC. **important look-IMP**.
Family relationships **are important** for the Sibe people.

Phrases like *oyůɴ ta-* lit. ‘important(ly) look’, meaning ‘take, consider as important’ are formed by a contraction, a process which is typical for spoken Sibe. According to the grammatical ‘logic’ of an Altaic language the full expression should be *oyůɴ zə-m ta-* lit. ‘important say-CI. look’. Such elision of grammatical markers under the influence of Chinese grammatical thinking takes place in both written Manchu and spoken Sibe, but is far more frequent in the latter.

Qualitative nouns in the function of an object[7]

Most of Manchu and Sibe qualitative nouns may be used as nouns expressing either the abstract designation of a certain quality (a), or the bearer of a particular property (b).

The abstract designation of a quality

Ex. 1: *śivə na*^{n} ***boɹвům-f*** *oyůɴ ta-m.*
Lit.: Sibe person **clean-ACC**. important look-IMP.
Cleanliness is important for the Sibe people.

Ex. 2: *śalaq zə-ɣəŋ da,* ***q*^{ů}*ariaɴə-f*** *čaʁaɴ*[8].
Lit.: Futile say-NP.II. ACT., **beautiful-ACC**. likes.
The expression ‘śalaq’ (futile) means, that he likes **beauty**.

Designation of the bearer of a property

When an adjective refers to the bearer of a quality, it is often marked by the suffix ***-niŋ*** (Lit. Ma. ***-ningge***). This suffix has probably been formed with the genitive suffix ***-ni***, and the substantivizer ***-ŋ***, which, as the suffix ***-h*** in Mongolian, is used with an independent attributive expression. This suffix is far more frequent in the literary language than in the spoken language.

Ex. 1: ***ambu-niŋə-v ňi*** *gia-q*^{ů} *na?*
Lit. Big- G.II-ACC. POSS. take-NI.-NEG. QUEST.
Why don’t you take the big one?

Ex. 2: *yiqam-f giaš ta šuda* ***q*^{ů}*ariaɴ-v ňi*** *gia-s.*
Lit. Chinese-ACC. take-CC. ACT. completely **beautiful-ACC POSS**. take-IMPER.
If you marry a Chinese (girl), take the most **beautiful** one.
Note: This statement shows a very pragmatic way of thinking. A Chinese daughter-in-law is mostly unwelcome by the elders. Due to cultural differences she usually cannot perform the numerous and difficult duties expected of Sibe women. Here a father

[7] The qualitative nouns can also function as the subject or other nominal sentence members.

[8] Spoken Sibe has two ways to express the meaning ‘to like’: the use of the regular form of the verb *ćaʁaɹ-* (Lit. Ma. *cihala-*) ‘to like’ is the main method in the literary language. Otherwise the qualitative noun *ćaʁaɹə* is used: it is been derived from the Manchu nominal stem *ciha* ‘will, liking’ by the use of the adjectivizing suffix ***-ə***, and corresponds closely to the Khalkha Mongolian expression *durtai* < *dur* ‘will, liking’ + SOC.

tells his son that external beauty is the only means by which a Chinese woman can contribute to the family.

3.1.4 Specific grammatical categories of qualitative nouns

Manchu and Sibe do not manifest the category of comparison in a similar form as is found in the Indo-European languages. They do, however, possess several morphological and lexical means by which the degree of quality of the qualitative noun in question is expressed.

Spoken Sibe has two suffixes, which are used for the most part with qualitative nouns:

1. The suffix ***-qaⁿ***[3], which is both morphologically and semantically identical to the Mongolian suffix ***-han***[4], and to which the particle ***-di*** may be added.
2. The suffix/particle ***-li*(*aɴ*)**, possessing basic meanings of both comparison and emphasis.
3. Furthermore, spoken Sibe (as in other Altaic languages) contains the means of intensifying quality through reduplication of the first syllable of the root.

For the purpose of comparison of the degree of quality ascribed to two nouns the ablative case is used (see ablative).

The suffix -qan(di)/-kən(di)/-qon(di)

The suffix ***-qaⁿ***/***-kəⁿ***/***-qoⁿ*** (just as in the use of ***-han***[4] in Mongolian) is employed in the spoken language for a moderate emphasis of quality (*laf(t)-qaⁿ gias* 'take a little more'). In some contexts, however, it serves to soften an expression or to make it more agreeable (the expression ***yono-qoⁿ*** *sərəvm* 'it appears **funny**, **awkward** to me' sounds gentler as compared to the basic form *yono* 'funny, strange'). Most often, however, this suffix expresses a personal engagement or emotion towards the object of the speech and often it is the only function of this suffix. Its meaning is therefore sometimes stylistically close to the Slavic diminutives. The ending ***-di***, according to some informants, comes from the Chinese adverbial particle ***de***, which is alternatively pronounced as [di] and is above all a matter of prosody – it practically does not change the meaning of the suffix, except for adding length and emphasis to it.

Ex. 1: *əraɴ gizərə-mə bi əm χačiⁿ* ***yono-qon-di*** *sərə-v-m.*
Lit.: Thus talk-CI. 1sg. one kind **funny-MOD**. feel-CAUS.-IMP.
When people talk like this, I feel **somehow strange** about it.

Ex. 2: *əm saʁənč fəkši-maq ji-ɣᵊi,* ***aji-kən-di*** *saʁənč.*
Lit.: One girl run-CP. come-PERF, **little-MOD**. girl.
A girl came running, a **little** girl.

Ex. 3: ***ful-qůn-di utᵘ****!*
Lit.: **More-MOD**. put on-IMPER.
Put on **more** clothes.

Ex. 4: *ənəŋ **ərt-kən-di** bədər-kie, fonqoɴ savəf χůlias-kie…*
Lit.: Today **early-MOD**. come back-VOL., holey shoe-ACC. change-VOL. …
Today I will come home **early** and change my torn shoes…
Note: Text of a contemporary song.

Ex. 5: *doufu o-mə da **yolo-qon-di** jaq, ajiguruⁿ yeɪ əm duruⁿ.*
Lit.: Doufu be-CI. ACT. **tender-MOD**. thing, children-0G. flesh one form.
Tofu is such a **tender** thing, like baby skin.

Intensifying quality by reduplication of the first syllable of the root

A maximum degree of quality may be expressed by reduplication of the first syllable of a qualitative noun. As in Mongolian, this method is not commonly used with all qualitative nouns, but is rather conventional. This echo-syllable is most often closed by the consonant 'v', but other consonants occur as well. The meaning of this reduplication may be rendered as 'completely,' 'absolutely,' etc.

Ex. 1: *jaqůnč sə o-maq gəɪ **təf təkši**ⁿ yav-mɛye.*
Lit.: Eighty years become-CP. still **completely straight** go-PROG.
Being already eighty years old he still walks **absolutely straight**.

Ex. 2: *əm yavə-r, joʁůn ňi **fak farʁů**ⁿ, əm jaq əɪdəⁿ aqů.*
Lit.: PROH. go-NI., way F. **completely dark**, one thing light (is) NEG.
Don't leave now, the way is **completely dark**, there is not a single lamp.

Ex. 3: *čira ňi **yev yečin** tia-ʁᵊi.*
Lit.: Face POSS. **completely black** burn-PERF.
His face was sunburnt **totally black**.

Ex. 4: *tər jaq **pak paka** o-mə gəɪ **taf tarʁů**ⁿ…*
Lit.: That thing **completely low** become-CI. still **completely fat**…
He is **very short** and **very fat**.
Note: Using the intensified expressions makes this statement derisive and scornful.

A high intensity of colour, with the exception of black (Ex. 3), is usually expressed with the help of the parallel set of 'pale' or 'weak' colours (cf. 3.1.2.3) This way is commonly used with four colours: *suɣəⁿ śiaɴəⁿ* 'very white, snow-white' (implies purity contrary to *biak śiaɴəⁿ* 'pale, colourless'), *soʁůⁿ suyeⁿ* 'bright yellow', *fulaʁůⁿ fəɹgieⁿ* 'scarlet, deep red' (often used for human face), *ňoʁůⁿ ňuŋňeⁿ* 'deep green' (often used for green vegetation).

Ex. 1: *tər saʁənč hən qůariaɴ, **suɣeⁿ śiaɴəⁿ**.*
Lit.: That girl very beautiful, **whitish white**.
The girl is beautiful, she has **snow-white** skin.

Ex. 2: *giri-maq čira ňi* ***fulaʁůⁿ fəɹgieⁿ*** *o-ʁůi.*
Lit.: Shame-CP. face POSS. **reddish red** become-PERF.
He **blushed** from shame.

3.1.5 Other ways of expressing quality, appearance, etc.

Certain lexical means closely connected with the meaning of quality or appearance form an important part of the descriptive system in Manchu and Sibe. Of these, the most frequent are phrases with the noun *duruⁿ* 'appearance, form' and with the verb *banjə-* 'to be born'.

Description by means of comparison using the noun 'duruⁿ' *form, appearance*

Phrases with this word are often close to constructions with postpositions. They are used either for the description of an appearance by means of equation to a particular object, or for the expression of similarity between two or more objects. They are also used figuratively to refer to properties pertaining to the intangible or non-visible, such as qualities and states.

The word *duruⁿ* is used either alone, following the word it determines, or in a phrase *əm duruⁿ* 'one form' (eventually emphasized as *əməli duruⁿ* 'a single form'). When following a verbal noun it has the meaning of a mode of action expressed by the verbal noun (e.g. *siⁿ yavər duruⁿ* lit. '2sg.-GEN. walk-NI. form' – 'the way you walk').

A common idiom is formed by the noun *duruⁿ* (or a phrase including it) with the verb *banjə-* 'to be born, to grow', which may be translated as 'to look like'.

The word '*duruⁿ*' used alone

When the word *duruⁿ* comes after a word which it determines, it should in the main be translated as 'as', 'like,' etc. The determinatum takes genitive case.

Ex. 1: *əmkən ňi* ***nanᵊ-i duruⁿ****, əmkən ňi* ***guryů-i duruⁿ****.*
Lit.: One-POSS **animal-GEN. form**, one-POSS **person-GEN. form**.
One of them has an **animal form**, the other has a **human form**.

The word '*duruⁿ*' with the numeral *əm* 'one'

The postposition *əm duruⁿ* 'one form' or *əmə li duruⁿ* 'only one form, a single form', has the meaning of 'the same', 'similar'. This expression, analogous to the Chinese postponed phrase *yi yang* 'one form' = 'similar', has fully replaced the postposition *adali* 'similar' hailing from literary Manchu.[9] The postposition is used either with the genitive or with the sociative, often, however, with a zero suffix.

[9] While it is unlikely as to whether this literary Manchu expression, which seems to be a Mongolian loan, has ever been used in the spoken language, the postposition *gese*, probably a Tungusic word with a very similar meaning ('like something') is marginally used in spoken Sibe. Concerning the word *adali*, the influence of Chinese phraseology can be seen in the written Manchu expression *emu adali* 'one similar'–'all the same', as well as in the Inner Mongolian dialects in the phrase *negen adil* 'one similar' conveying the same meaning.

Ex. 1: *χaʁəji ňi amə-maqe ňi* ***əmə*** *li duru^{n}, qoɹ-maq gia-ʁ^{ə}i.*
Lit.: Son-POSS. father-IS. POSS. **one LIM**. form, peel-CP. take-PERF.
Their son looks **exactly like** his father, as if they had peeled him [off from themselves].

Ex. 2: *tər na^{n} laft śie^{n}, ai-ʃ gəɹ dane-q^{ů}, šuda* ***lam əm duru^{n}***.
Lit.: That person very good, what-ACC. still care-NI.-NEG., ultimately **monk one form**.
He is a very kind person and does not get upset about anything, just **like a Buddhist monk**.

Ex. 3: *mo-^{n} bo-t dači təraʁ* ***fišk əm duru^{n}*** *jaq bi.*
Lit.: 1pl.-GEN. house-DL. before such **Buddha one form** thing is.
A long time ago we had something **like a Buddha-image** at home.

Ex. 4: *əm aqə-r, śi^{n} baitə-ʃ* ***śi^{n} cůňi^{n} əm duru^{n}*** *išk^{i}a-m bu-m.*
Lit.: PROH.-worry-NI., 2sg.-GEN. matter-ACC. 2sg.-GEN. **thought one form** arrange-CI. give-IMP.
Do not worry, I will arrange it precisely **according to** your **wishes**.

The word '*duru^{n}*' in phrases with verbal nouns

Following verbal nouns the word *duru^{n}* forms a phrase meaning 'the mode, the way' of the action expressed by the verbal noun.

Ex. 1: *śi-^{n} tər* ***yalə-r durum-b ňi*** *bi ta-mə gəɹ-ɣ^{ə}i.*
Lit.: 2sg.-GEN. that **ride-NI. form-ACC. F**. watch-CI. 1sg. fear-PERF.
When I saw the **way** you **rode** I became frightened.

Ex. 2: *ju na^{n} cůňi^{n} ňi əm duru^{n},* ***išk^{i}a-r duru^{n} ňi*** *adašə-q^{ů}.*
Lit.: Two person thought POSS. one form, **arrange-NI. form** resemble-(NI.)-NEG.
Both have the same idea, but they do it **in a** different **way**.

Description by means of the verb* 'banjə-' *'to be born, to grow up'

The verb *banjə-* 'to be born' (for people and animals), 'to grow' (for plants), or 'to live' (for all rational beings) is widely used for description of external form, appearance and quality, but also to describe the essence or reasons or course of actions. The most suitable general translation is 'to look (like)'.[10]

Ex. 1: *go səf həɣə ňi* ***yono banš-k^{ə}i*** *ba?*
Lit.: Go teacher woman POSS. **funny be born-PERF**. PROB.
The wife of Professor Go **looks funny** (= **ugly**), doesn't she?

[10] This idiom is analogous to the Chinese expression *zhang* 'to grow' and the expression *tör-* 'to be born' of the Inner Mongolian dialects, e.g. Chin. *zhang de piaoliang,* lit. '(her) having grown is beautiful', Mo, *saihan törson,* lit. '(she) was born beautiful', both conveying the meaning of '(she) is beautiful'.

Note: The expression *yono* ‘funny, interesting’ is often used as a euphemism for a negative judgement.

Ex. 2: *ai ursu^{n}* ***banš-k^{ə}ye*** *ši?*
Lit.: What **ugly be born-PERF**. 2sg.?
Oh, how **ugly you look**!
Note: Teasing a grimacing child.

3.1.6 Vicarious qualitative nouns and other anaphoric expressions

Various anaphoric expressions form an important part of the qualitative noun system in spoken Sibe. I propose to divide these expressions of various types and origins into three groups:

1) Regular or ‘system-forming’ vicarious qualitative nouns
2) Expressions with the meaning of ‘other, different’
3) Phrases with the expression *χači^{n}* ‘kind, way to do’

The ‘system-forming’ vicarious qualitative nouns

The qualitative pronouns may be divided into two groups – those pointing to the essence or internal qualities of an object or an action, and those referring to its external qualities.

Adjectival pronouns referring to the essence of an object or action

The most frequent vicaria, which refer to the quality or way of doing something, are expressions derived from the regular demonstrative stems ***ə-, tə- mə-*** and the interrogative stem ***a-*** by the suffix ***-ᴀɴ***, which is probably itself a variation of the general adjectival and adverbial suffix ***-ɴ***: *əraɴ* ‘such, like this’ and *təraɴ*’ like that’, *məraɴ*’ just like this’ and *mətəraɴ* ‘just like that’. These pronouns are usually employed to point to the main, essential qualities of an object, matter or action, and are thus more often used to determine verbs or qualitative nouns. The interrogative equivalent of these pronouns is *afś*(*e*) ‘how’.

If these pronouns are used together with the verb *banjə-* ‘to grow, to be born’, then they usually refer to the origin of an object or the reason or cause of a matter or action.

Ex. 1: *oi,* ***təraɴ*** *gizərə-m o-jů-q^{ů}!*
Lit.: Oh, **thus** speak-CI. become-(NI.)-NEG.
Oh, you cannot say **such** things!
Note: Most often a polite reaction to somebody’s apology, or thanks.

Ex. 2: ***əraɴ*** *šønš-k^{ə}i,* ***əraɴ*** *taš-k^{ə}i,* ***əraɴ*** *samə^{n} o-ʙ^{ů}i, əva-t ji-ɣ^{ə}i.*
Lit.: **Thus** choose-PERF., **thus** study-PERF., thus shaman become-PERF., here come-PERF.
He was chosen **like this**, studied **like this**, **in this way** he became a shaman and came here.
Note: From an account about the shaman initiation – the lower deities inform the highest deity about the new shaman adept.

Ex. 3: *bəš-k jalən-t əmkəⁿ tuɴaɹə-m ba-χəɴ gəɹ əm* ***əraɴ*** *jaqə-t tuɴaɹ-yᵊye.*
Lit.: Die-NP. world-DL. one encounter-CI. get-NP.II. still one **such** thing-DL. encounter-PERF.
After my death, when at last I met one (man), it is again **the same** case as before.
Note: From a folktale – a soul of a woman complains that in her human life she had a husband without a penis, and once again she has encountered the same dilemma.

Ex. 4: *mi-ⁿ uf da* ***məraɴə****.*
Lit.: 1sg.-GEN. fate ACT. **just.such**.
My fate is **just like this**.

Ex. 5: ***mətəraɴ da*** *o-ʁᵘ̊i.*
Lit.: **Just.like that ACT**. become-PERF.
It is all right **like this** (this is sufficient).

Ex. 6: *śi-ⁿ yavə-r baitə ňi* ***afś o-ʁᵘ̊ie****?*
Lit.: 1sg.-GEN go-NI. matter-POSS. **how become-PERF**.
What (is new) about your departure?

Ex. 7: *tər nan* ***afše****?*
Lit.: That person **how-is**?
What is he **like**? (**How** do you feel about him?)

Ex. 8: ***afś*** *śieⁿ? vəɹgieⁿ əm duruⁿ śieⁿ na?*
How good? Pig one form good QUEST.
How good is it? Good as a pig?
Note: A humorous reply to somebody's positive judgement about anything. It refers to the fact that the traditional Sibe food used to be pork meat.

Ex. 9: *tər naⁿ ɢaɹvaɴ. –* ***afše****?*
Lit.: That person bad. – **How**?
He is a bad person. **How** [**is that**] **so**?

Ex. 10: *məs yav-m na,* ***afše****?*
Lit.: 1pl.incl. go QUEST, **how**?
So **what if** we go?

Phrases with the verb *banjə-* 'to be born, to look like' are often used when speaking about the causes leading up to a specific event or the essence of something.

Ex. 1: *o, saʁənč,* ***təraɴ banš-k bait****!*
Lit.: Oh, daughter, **thus be born-NI. matter**!
I see, daughter, **this is how it is**!

Ex. 2: ***ab-banš-k*** *bait?*
How-born (**how**+**be born-NI**.) matter?
What's the matter? **What's going on**?

Vicarious expressions referring to the external appearance of an object

The second group includes pronouns formed by a demonstrative or interrogative pronominal root with the suffix ***-li*(*aŋ*)/*-liŋ***, whose main function is the description of a form or appearance by means of comparison. These constructions usually describe objects or characterize actions or matters through comparison. Although the ranges of use of this form and the previous one (the suffix ***-aɴ***) in the spoken language at times overlap, the meaning of forms with suffix ***-liaɴ*** always remains more descriptive and points to the external aspect of the phenomena being described. The demonstrative forms are *əraliaɴ*/*əraliŋ* 'like this' and *təraliaɴ*/*təraliŋ* 'like that'; the interrogative form is *ailiaɴ* 'like what'.

Ex. 1: *tukumaq ta śi-^{n} həɣə-f ɕa-m gənə, zə-maq ta* ***əraliaɴ*** *avəv-ʁ^{ə}i.*
Lit.: After.that-ACT. 2sg.-GEN. wife-ACC. take-CI. go-IMPER. say-CP.-ACT. **like. this** order-PERF.
She ordered him **like this**: 'After that take your wife and go.'

Ex. 2: *tə ňi təraɴ vaq o-ʁ^{ů}ie, dači* ***təraliŋ***.
Lit.: Now F. thus not become-PERF, formerly **like.that**.
Now it is not that way any more, earlier it used to be **like that**.

Ex. 3: *śivə na^{n}* ***ailiaɴ*** *na^{n} zə-či, jalə^{n} jəčən-t bəy-i gizu^{n} viri-maq ji-h əm uksur.*
Lit.: Sibe person **like.what** person say-CC., generation frontier-DL. body-GEN. language retain-CP. come-NP. one nation.
How would I characterize the Sibe people – they are a nation which have preserved their own language in the world.

The expressions **ɕ^{ů}a** ***and*** **unč^{u}** ***meaning 'other, the other, different'***

A special group of reference expressions are the terms for 'different (than), other (than), the other one' – ***ɕ^{ů}a*** a ***unč^{u}***. While ***ɕ^{ů}a*** other refers to the identity of the objects, persons or matters (a), ***unč^{u}*** (*different*) refers to their qualities (b).

The expression **ɕ^{ů}a** *'other, the other'*

The word ***ɕ^{ů}a*** refers to the identity of a noun. It functions as an attribute, a subject, or an object and it cannot determine a verb. It can,in the phrase with the determined noun, convey the meaning of 'other', 'the other', 'another' etc., or function as a relative determination, when a distinction is expressed between the determined noun and a whole ('other(s) than…'). The expression *ɕ^{ů}a*, unlike the expression *unč^{u}*, rarely occurs independently without the determined noun and is not reduplicated.

Ex. 1: *ər baitə-f* ***cᵘ̊a nanᵊ-maq*** *əm gizərə-r.*
Lit.: This matter-ACC. **other person-IS**. PROH. speak-NI.
Do not tell **others** about it.

Ex. 2: *o-вᵘ̊i,* ***cᵘ̊a baitə-v ňi*** *širam gizər-kie.*
Lit.: Become-PERF., **other matter-ACC. POSS**. later speak-VOL.
All right, let us talk **about the rest** later.

Ex. 3: *miⁿ* ***boiguruⁿ-dəri cᵘ̊a naⁿ*** *ər baitə-f sa-qᵘ̊.*
Lit.: My **house.folk-ABL. other person** this matter-ACC. know-(NI.)-NEG.
No one **except my wife** knows about it.

The word unčᵘ *'different, in a different way'*

The expression *unčᵘ* is mainly used in the context of characteristics and properties ascribed to nouns and verbs. In addition to determining nouns and verbs it can stand independently, most often as a predicate. It is often used reduplicated with a distributive meaning 'various', each in its own way' etc.

Ex. 1: *cᵘ̊a uksur ňi* ***unčᵘ unčᵘ*** *gizərə-m.*
Lit.: Other nation F. **different different** speak-IMP.
The other nationalities have **different** words for them.

Ex. 2: *ter haʁəč gizərərəŋ ňi* ***nanᵊ-dəri unčᵘ.***
Lit.: The boy speak-NI II. matter POSS. **person-ABL. different**.
That boy talks in a different way than **other ('normal') people**.

The word χačiⁿ *'kind'*

The word *χačiⁿ* 'kind, type' etc. often creates a reference descriptive expression. It is a partly grammaticalized word which occurs in several functions:

1. Used with numerals, it functions similarly as a numerative.
2. In some cases it serves to emphasize the fact that a quality of something is concerned.
3. When reduplicated, or used in phrases *gərəⁿ χačiⁿ* 'all kinds' or *χala χačiⁿ* (a pair of homonyms), it acquires the meaning of 'various', 'varied'. In these two phrases the first member is often elided.

The numerative function

The word *χačiⁿ* is used to count mostly abstract entities or objects of one category.[11] Its use implies a qualitative difference of the counted objects, e.g. *ju χačiⁿ bitkə* – 'two different books'.

[11] In Mongolian the expressions *züil* 'kind', *yanz* and certain other expressions are used in a similar way.

Ex. 1: *dači ɕuɹja guru^{n} laft-ton ňi duyi^{n}* ***sunja χači^{n} gizu^{n}*** *baʁənə-m.*
Lit.: Originally Ghulja folk many-number POSS. four **five type language** know-IMP.
The people in Ghulja (often) used to know **four or five languages**.

Ex. 2: *ərᵊ diørgut* ***ju χači^{n} bait*** *bi.*
Lit.: This inside two kind **matter is**.
There are two (interesting; important) **matters** here.

Emphasizing the meaning of a quality

Phrases with the word *χači^{n}* in this function are often used as a determinant for verbs or qualitative nouns. The most frequent phrases are *əm χači^{n}*, lit. 'one kind' which carries the signification of 'of some kind, certain, in a certain way' etc., and *unčᵘ χači^{n}*, lit. 'different type', conveying the meaning 'of some other type, in another way' etc.

Ex. 1: *mo-^{n} əvat* ***unčᵘ χači^{n}*** *gizərə-m.*
Lit.: 1pl.excl. here **other kind** speak-IMP.
Here at our place we say it **differently**.

Ex. 2: *təraɴ gizərə-me bi* ***əm χači^{n}*** *ičaqᵘ̊ sərəv-ɣᵊi.*
Lit.: Thus talk-NI. 1sg. **one kind** improper feel-PERF.
When he talked like this, I felt it as **somehow** improper.

Ex. 3: *gul gizərə-qů-mə oɴů-r gəɹ oɴů-qᵘ̊, gizər-mači-mə əm* ***χači^{n}*** *ačəna-m na, ačəna-qᵘ̊ na zəm ɕůňi-mači-m.*
Lit.: Often speak-(NI.) -NEG.-CI. forget- NI. still forget- (NI.)-NEG., speak-INC.-CI. **one kind** agree-IMP. QUEST, agree-NI.-NEG. QUEST say-CONV.IMP think-INC.-IMP.
When I do not speak (Sibe) often, although I do not forget it, but I have **a kind of** feeling, that I do not know whether I am speaking correctly or not.

Ex. 4: *əňi jai əm śiŋči ji-r śidə^{n} da* ***yaya χači^{n} baitə-ʃ*** *əm čiči-və-r.*
Lit.: Mother next one week come-NI. between ACT. **what-what kind matter-ACC**. PROH.-go out-CAUS.-NI.
Don't get into **any** mischief, before I (your mother) come back next week!

Reduplication and idioms with semantically close words

Reduplication of the word *χači^{n}* has a distributive meaning of variety, diversity and plurality. It resembles the equivalent expressions in Mongolian (*yanz yanziin*, lit. 'kind kind-GEN.' - various) and Northern Chinese (*yang yang*, lit. 'kind kind', *ge zhong*, lit. piece type', both meaning 'various'). In some idiomatic expressions (e.g. with the word *ba* 'place' or *bait* 'matter') the reduplicated expression is often reduced to one word (*χači^{n} χači^{n} bait* 'kind kind matter'> *χači^{n}* bait 'kind matter') and the meaning of 'diversity' is understood from the context (Ex. 2–4).

Ex. 1: *əndüri-d ňi ai əndür^{i} bie,* ***χači^{n} χači^{n}*** *əndur^{i} bie.*
Lit.: Deity-DL. F. what deity is, **kind kind** deity is.
What kinds of deities do we have – there are **various** deities.

Ex. 2: *yila^{n} aň-i amaɹ ər saʁənč jalə^{n} jəčə^{n}* ***χačin ba-t*** *dəyi-mie.*
Three year-GEN. after this girl world frontier **kind place-DL**. fly-IMP.
In three years, this girl will fly **all over** the world.

Ex. 3: *suda* ***χači^{n} bait*** *gizərə-m, soɴů-m.*
Lit.: Completely **kind matter** talk-IMP., cry-IMP.
She speaks **nonsense** and cries.

Ex. 4: *gum* ***χači^{n} ba-t*** *yiqa^{n} ji-maq* ***χači^{n} ba-v ňi*** *əjəɹ-maq diškə ňi yed^{i}e.*
Lit.: All kind place-DL. Chinese come-CP. **kind place-ACC. POSS**. occupy-CP. fuel F. where-is.
The Chinese have come and encroached upon **various places** (**in Chabchal**) and where is the grass for fuel (=it has disappeared).
Note: The word *dišk*, Lit. Ma. *deijikū*, is an appellation for a special kind of grass which used to grow mostly at the foot of Usun alin mountain. It was cut down by the Sibes in large quantities and used for fuel.

Ex. 5: *jiʁa bi o-maq* ***χala χači^{n}*** *jaq giɛ-m.*
Lit.: Money is become-CP. **clan kind** thing buy-IMP.
Only she gets money, she wastes it on **useless** things.

4 PRONOUNS

Pronouns in Manchu and Sibe belong to the parts of the lexicon which are particularly close to Mongolian, both from a formal standpoint and by their function. Most of the Manchu pronominal roots can be traced to Mongolian. Similarly, the functional peculiarities of pronouns in the two languages are virtually identical: The inclusive and exclusive forms of the 1st person plural, the absence of the 3rd person pronoun in the modern language and its substitution by a demonstrative pronoun, usually amended by the word 'person' or 'thing', the existence of the 'reminding' pronouns for an object known to both speakers from a previous context, and others.

A peculiarity of spoken Sibe, which developed in close contact with the Khorchin dialect of Mongol, is the pronominal root *mə-*, expressing foregrounding ('precisely this' etc.).

For the purposes of description, the pronouns in spoken Sibe may be divided into three basic groups according to their roots: **personal**, **demonstrative** and **interrogative**.

4.1 Personal pronouns

The personal forms of pronouns are:

1. sg.	*bi* 'I'	1. pl.	*bo*/*məs* 'we'
2. sg.	*śi* 'you'	2. pl.	*so* 'you'
3. sg.	(*ər*) 'he/she/it'	3. pl.	*əs*/*təs* 'they'

The pronouns are inflected regularly, similar to other nouns, with the exception of 1sg *bi*, the case endings of which, with the exception of the nominative, are derived from the root *mi-n-*, and 1pl. excl. *bo*, the case endings of which are derived from the root *mo-n-*.

	1. sg.	**2. sg.**	**(3. sg.)**
genitive:	*mi-^{n}* 'my'	*śi-^{n}* 'your'	(*ər-ə-i*) 'his'
dative:	*mi-n-t* 'to me'	*śi-n-t* 'to you'	(*ər-ə-t*) 'to him'
accusative:	*mi-m*(*bə*) 'me'	*śi-m*(*bə*) 'you'	(*ər-ə-f*) 'him'

ablative:	*mi-n-dəri* ‘from me’	*śi-n-dəri* ‘from you’	(*ə-dəri*/*ər-ə-dəri*) ‘from him’
lative:	*mi-n-či* ‘in my direction’	*śi-n-či* ‘in your directon’	(*ər-či*) ‘in his direction’
instrumental – sociative:	*mi-maq* ‘with me’	*śi-maq* ‘with you’	(*ər-maq*) ‘with him’

	1. pl.	**2. pl.**	**3. pl.**
genitive:	*mo-^{n}* ‘our’(e.)/*məz-ə-i* ‘our (i.)’	*so-^{n}* ‘your’	*əz-ə-i*/*tə-zə-i* ‘their’
dative:	*mo-n-t* ‘to us’ (e.)/*məz-ə-t* ‘to us’ (i.)	*so-n-t* ‘to you’	*əz-ə-t*/*təz-ə-t* ‘to them’
accusative:	*mo-m*(*b*) ‘us ‘(e.)/*məz-ə-f* ‘us’ (i.)	*so-m*(*bə*) ‘you’	*əz-ə-f*/*təz-ə-f* ‘them’
ablative:	*mo-n-dəri* ‘from us’ (e.)/ *məz-ə-dəri* ‘from us’ (i.)	*so-n-dər*i ‘from you’	*ə-zə-dəri*/*tə-zə-dəri*
lative:	*mo-n-či* ‘in our direction’ (e.)/*məz-ə-či* ‘in our direction’ (i.)	*so-n-či* ‘in your direction’	*əz-ə-či*/*təz-ə-či* ‘to them’
instrumental – sociative:	*mo-maq* ‘with us’	*so-maq* ‘with you’	*əz-maq*/*təz-maq* ‘with them’

In the **genitive**, certain speakers, for the most part older people, use the longer forms, which correspond to the pronunciation of the literary language – for example *soňi* ‘your’ instead of *so^{n}*.

In the **accusative**, the final *-f* is often elided in the spoken language – for example *mim*/*mim*(*bə*).

4.1.1 Personal pronouns in nominative

Ex. 1: *bi śi-maq əm baitə-f gizər-š ta **śi** fančə-m ba?*
Lit.: **1sg**. 2sg.-SOC. one matter-ACC. talk-CC. ACT. you be.angry-IMP. PROB.
Would **you** get angry if I tell you something?
Note: A common introduction to a discussion which might be disagreeable for the interlocutor.

4.1.2 Personal pronouns in genitive

Ex. 1: ***mi-ⁿ*** *bait laft*[1].
Lit.: **1sg.-GEN**. matter many.
I am causing trouble.

Ex. 2: ***ərə-i*** *baitə-f bi gum śieⁿ taqə-m.*
Lit.: **This-GEN**. matter-ACC. 1sg. all well know-IMP.
I know **him** well, I know all about him.

Ex. 3: *ər* ***mi-ⁿ*** *jaq na,* ***śi-ⁿ*** *jaq na?*
Lit.: This **1sg.-GEN. thing** QUEST., **2sg.-GEN. thing** QUEST.
Is this **mine** or **yours**?
Note: The word *jaq* (thing) is here in its common auxiliary function – to form an independent pronoun.

4.1.3 Personal pronouns in dative

Ex. 1: *śi* ***mi-n-t*** *χaj o-š, bi* ***śi-n-t*** *χaj o-š, ju naⁿ ojů-qů na?*
Lit.: 2sg. 1**sg.-DL**. loving become-CC. 1sg. **2sg.-DL**. become-CC. two person become-(NI.)-NEG. QUEST.
If you love **me** and I love **you**, is it not enough?
Note: From a contemporary song.

Ex. 2: *huis guruⁿ* ***śi-n-t*** *χaɹdə-maʁa-qů na?*
Lit.: Uighur people **2sg.-DL**. offend-NPROG.-NEG. QUEST.
Do the Uighurs not offend **you**?

Ex. 3: *tər jaq* ***śi-n-t*** *maχtə-v-mie.*
Lit.: That thing **2sg.-DL**. throw-CAUS.-IMP.
He does not measure up **to you** (he is not as good as **you**).
Note: The expression *maχtəf-* (a causative/passive form of *maχtə-* 'to throw' - lit. 'to let oneself be thrown back') is often used when comparing abilities, skills, knowledge, and so on,when the speaker wishes to convey the meaning of 'not as good as…'

4.1.4 Personal pronouns in accusative

Ex. 1: ***təz-ə-f*** *bi biɛ-m čaʁa-qů.*
Lit.: **3pl.-ACC**. 1sg. look.for-CI. like-(NI.)-NEG.
I don't like to ask **them** a favour.

[1] The phrase *bait laft* – 'having many matters' corresponds to its Chinese equivalent (*shir duo*), from which it probably originated. It designates (for the most part, in relation to females) a way of behaviour or a personal characteristic which focusses on too many useless things and futile, trifling details. It is a very common admonition in bringing up children. In this case it was used by a young woman to excuse herself for being slow.

Ex. 2: *tər na^{n}* ***mi-m-f*** *əmda^{n} jaf-š ta sənda-q^{ů}.*
Lit.: That person **1sg.-ACC**. once catch-CC ACT. release-(NI.)-NEG.
When he runs **into me**, he never lets me go (i.e., hekeeps on talking to me).

Ex. 3: *ər χaʁəj-^{ə}i əñi ñi* ***śi-m-b*** *usu^{n} śie^{n} azəɹ-m bi-ɣ^{ə}ye.*
Lit.: This boy-GEN. mother POSS. **2sg.-ACC**. very well handle-CI. be-PERF.
The mother of this boy is being very nice **to you**.

4.1.5 Personal pronouns in ablative

Ex. 1: ***və-dəri*** *banš-k jaq gəɹ sa-q^{ů}.*
Lit.: **Who-ABL**. give.birth-NP. thing still know-(NI.)-NEG.
It is even not clear **whose** bastard this is.
Note: A humorous taunt expressed by my friend's mother, who used to call her little dog her 'daughter'.

Ex. 2: *śi* ***mi-n-dəri*** *laft jaq baʁə-m mutə-mie.*
Lit.: 2sg. **1sg.-ABL**. many thing acquire-CI. can-IMP.
You can learn many things **from me**.

Ex. 3: ***śi-n-dəri*** *χůzu^{n} gia-mɛye…*
Lit.: **2sg.-ABL**. strength take-PRES.CONT.
I am using **your** strength (I am tiring you out).
Note: The expression *χůzu^{n} gia-* "to take strength" comes from the frequent use of the word *χůzu^{n}* (strength), which refers to manual labour. This phrase is generally used as a courteous expression when asking someone for help.

4.1.6 Personal pronouns in lative

Ex. 1: ***śi-n-či*** *q^{ů}ariaɴ ta-mɛye!*
Lit.: **2sg.-LAT**. beautiful look-PRES.CONT.
Look how nicely she is looking **at you**!

Ex. 2: *fanš-k χoron-t fienš-kəŋə,* ***mi-n-či*** *kira-mə gizər-ɣə…*
Lit.: Be.angry-NP. awe-DL. ask-NP.II. **1sg.-LAT**. squint-CI. say-PERF.
I asked her angrily, but she squinted **at me** saying …
Note: From the lyrics of a contemporary song.

4.1.7 Personal pronouns in instrumental-sociative

Ex. 1: ***śi-maq*** *hə^{n} paraɴ sənda-mɛye!*
Lit.: **2sg.-IS**. very talk(Uig.) release-PRES.CONT.
He is talking **to you** eagerly.

Ex. 2: *tər əyi **mi-maq** hə^{n} śie^{n}.*
Lit.: That grandfather **1sg.-IS**. very good.
That old man likes **me** very much.

4.2 Remarks on the personal pronouns

1) The pronouns bo *'we' (excl.) and* məs *'we' (incl.)*

The 1st person plural has both the inclusive and exclusive forms: the exclusive form is *bo* (written form *be*) (a) and the inclusive is *məs* (written *muse*) (b). In view of the fact that whenever the meaning is clear from context the use of personal pronouns is not compulsory, the use of the inclusive pronoun *məs* always adds a shade of closeness or familiarity. In particular, the genitive form *məzəi* is often used as a means to achieve a more agreeable, sometimes humorous tone.

a)

Ex. 1: *śim-b baʁə-m savů-qů-mə afš azəɪ-m-ů-ʁů **bo**?*
Lit.: You-ACC. find-CI. see-(NI.)-NEG.(become)-CI. how solve-CI.-become-PERF. **1pl**.(**excl**.)?
How shall **we** live without seeing you?

Ex. 2: ***mo-^{n}** saʁənč davɪ ɢošk azəɪ-maš-k^{ə}i.*
Lit.: **1pl**.(**excl**.) daughter too awful behave-INC.PERF.
Our daughter became too naughty.

b)

Ex. 1: ***məs** tə jaq jə-kie.*
Lit.: **1pl**.(**incl**.) now thing eat-VOL.
Let **us** eat something.
Note: The personal pronoun is not obligatory here, but it stresses the cordiality of the invitation to a meal.

Ex. 2: *tə yet gənə-mie **məz-ə**?*
Lit.: Now where go-IMP. **1pl**.(**incl**.).
Where shall **we** go now?
Note: As in the previous example the use of the personal pronoun is not obligatory, it only stresses the fact that the hearer is included and thus a more amiable tone is achieved.

Ex. 3: ***məz-ə-i** ər guŋčaŋdaŋə ji-h ərin-də ňi samə^{n} qoms o-ʁ^{ů}i.*
Lit.: **1pl**.(**incl**.)-GEN. this Communist.party come-NP. time-DL.-POSS. shaman few become-PERF.
When **the** Communist party came, the number of shamans decreased.

Note: Using the pronoun *məzəi* in this way is a frequent pattern which implies that an object marked by it is familiar to all participants of the conversation. The familiar tone, however, does not apply so much to the object itself as to the shared knowledge about it.

Ex. 4: ***məz-ə-i*** *ňimʁa-f gəɹ gia-kie.*
Lit.: **1pl**.(**incl**.) fish-ACC. still take-VOL.
Let **us** take the (our) fish too.
Note: From a conversation that occurred among several elderly women at the end of a funeral banquet, wondering whether they should take the leftover food home. The utterance was strongly humorous, because the participants in the conversation were aware of a certain inadequacy of what they were about to do, and the use of the pronoun *mezei* stressed the conspiratorial slant of the sentence.

Ex. 5: *ər bait* ***məz-ə-t*** *daɹj-aqᵘ̊.*
Lit.: This matter **1pl**.(**incl**.)-DL. relation-NEG.
This does not concern **us**.

2) The 3rd person singular pronoun

Whereas in written Manchu the third person pronouns *i* 'he, she' and *ce* 'they' are present, colloquial Sibe has apparently lost these pronouns and in the paradigm they are replaced by the demonstrative pronouns. This resembles the situation in Mongolian, including the fact that the demonstrative pronouns in this function, especially the singular forms *ər* 'this' and *tər* 'that', are rarely used alone. In most cases they are combined with the word *naⁿ* 'person', which makes the expression more polite. In colloquial Sibe another expression, the addition of the word *jaq* 'thing', has became so widespread, that it has nearly lost its somewhat derogatory tone,[2] and is used almost as a regular 3rd person singular pronoun. The constricted forms, *əjaq* <*ər jaq* 'this thing' and *təjaq* < *tər jaq* 'that thing', are used in common speech instead of the personal pronouns 'he' and 'she' for people of the same age or younger. However, when talking about elder people, as well as in any situation that requires a certain degree of politeness, the forms *ər*/*tər naⁿ* 'this/that person' are used.

Ex. 1: ***ər nan-ᵊi*** *sə ňi mi-maq əm duruⁿ.*
Lit.: **This person-GEN**. age POSS. 1sg.-IS. one from.
He is as old as me.

Ex. 2: ***tər naⁿ*** *śieⁿ ba ňi gəɹ bi.*
Lit.: **That person** good place POSS. still is.
He has strong points too.

Ex. 3: ***əjaq*** *gizuⁿ ňi həⁿ laft.*
Lit.: **This thing** word POSS. very much.
She is too talkative.

[2] In Mongolian an analogical expression *ene/ter yum* 'this/that thing', as generally using the word *yum* 'thing' for people, has a pronounced derogatory connotation and is most often used to express slight displeasure.

Ex. 4: ***təjaq*** *hə^{n} yono gizu^{n} gizərə-mə čira ňi injə-q^{ů}.*
Lit.: **That thing** very funny word speak-CI. face POSS. laugh-(NI.)-NEG.
He says very funny things without smiling.

3) The use of the genitive with certain forms of personal pronouns

Certain complex expressions using personal pronouns are formed by using the genitive case. These are most often forms expressing number, e.g. 'the two of us' in the first- and second-person (a) or in periphrastic expressions which are most often used when characterizing a person or when describing the abilities of a person (b).

a) 1. pl.
Ex. 1: ***mo-^{n} ju na^{n}*** *gizər-ɣə gizər-ɣə-də əri^{n} oɴ^{ů}-maq sənda-ʙ^{ə}i.*
Lit.: **1pl.-GEN. two person** speak-NP. speak-NP.-DL. time forget-CC. put-PERF.
We (**the two of us**) were talking and talking and forgot about the time.

Ex. 2: ***mo-^{n} yila^{n} jaq*** *dači gum əmbat iv-m.*
Lit.: **1pl.-GEN. three thing** originally all together play-IMP.
Formerly the **three of us** used to play together all the time.

b) 2. pl.
Ex.: ***so-^{n} ju na^{n}*** *a^{n} inji-maq dut-k^{ə}ye?*
Lit.: **2pl.-GEN. two person** why laugh-CP. lie down-PERF?
Why are **you two** laughing all the time?

c) 1. sg.
Ex. 1: ***mi-^{n} ər na^{n}*** *gizu^{n} tači-m mutə-q^{ů} ba …*
Lit.: **1sg.-GEN. this person** word learn-CI. be able-NI.- NEG. PROB.
I am afraid that **I** am not able to learn foreign languages …
Note: The use of the periphrastic expression implies an external viewpoint, looking "from outside" onto oneself.

Ex. 2: *mi-^{n}* ***ər ašta*** *paqa zə-či davɹ tarʁů^{n} vaq…*
Lit.: **1sg.-GEN. this youngster** short say-CC. too fat not …
I am short but not so fat …
Note: From a contemporary song.

Ex. 3: ***mi-^{n} bey*** *da morin yaɹ-m mutə-ků*
1sg.-GEN. body ACT. horse ride-CI. can-(NI.)-NEG.
I cannot ride horses.

4) The enclitic forms of personal pronouns

Spoken Sibe employs enclitic forms of the possessive pronouns. However, with the exception of the widely used third-person enclitic pronoun *ňi* they are rarely used in the Chabchal subdialect. The higher frequency of their use in the communities outside Chabchal

is probably due to the influence of the neighbouring Turkic and Western Mongolian languages, and, in the case of Tarbagatai, the influence of Evenki as well. As well as the extremely frequent third-person singular and plural pronoun *ňi* and the somewhat less frequent second-person singular form *śiňi*, I have also encountered a second-person plural form *soňi*. I have not to date encountered any enclitic forms of the first-person pronouns.

a) The third-person enclitic pronoun *ňi* is an important means in formation of possessive constructions. Apart from that, however, it functions as a particle, which highlights a noun, or separates the subject part of a sentence form the predicate.
b) The second-person singular pronoun *śiňi* is less frequently used. I have noted a high frequency of its use in a family whose members speak the Tarbagatai subdialect.
c) The use of the second-person plural form *soňi* is relatively rare. I have encountered it several times in the conversations of the family mentioned above.

a) The third-person pronoun *ňi*

1) possessive constructions

Ex. 1: ***χaʁəji-d ňi*** *əm jaq bənšə^{n} aq^{ŭ}.*
Lit.: **Son-DL. POSS**. one thing ability NEG.
His son has absolutely no abilities.
Note: Here the enclitic pronoun is used in its original meaning of a third-person possessive pronoun.

Ex. 2: *təvat əm* ***bəy ňi*** *də^{n},* ***uju ňi*** *χot* ***na^{n}*** *yila-ʁ^{ə}ye.*
Lit.: There one **body POSS**. high, **head POSS. bald** person stand-PERF.
A t**all bald man** is standing there.

Ex. 3: ***śi-^{n} foɹʁů ňi*** *mo-^{n} bo-t bi.*
Lit.: **2sg.-GEN. bag POSS**. 1pl.-GEN. house-DL. is.
Your bag is at our place.
Note: In this case the enclitic pronoun is only a supplement or completion of the possessive phrase with the second-person pronoun.

Ex. 4: ***ji-v ňi həɣə-d ňi*** *bu-ɣə, ər maf morin-dəri uvə-rəŋ da* ***fayiŋə-v ňi*** *ɢam-maq yav-ʁ^{ə}i.*
Lit.: **Child-ACC. POSS. woman-DL. POSS**. give-PERF., this forefather horse-ABL. alight-NP.II ACT. **soul-ACC. POSS**. take-PERF.
He gave **his child to his wife**, and as he was alighting from the horse, (the ghost woman) took away **his soul**.
Note: From a folktale about a young man who conceived a child with a dead woman. Later he stole the child from her and brought it to his wife. The ghost, however, took revenge by stealing his soul.

2) The pronoun '*ňi*' functioning as a particle

The third-person enclitic pronoun '*ňi*' also functions as a particle which stresses a noun or topicalizes a subject. It is used as well in a distributive sense (Ex. 1). This particle

corresponds, both formally and functionally, to the Mongolian particle *n'* and has a similar etymology.

Ex. 1: ***əmkəⁿ ňi*** *gəvə-v ňi baijihua,* ***əmkəⁿ ňi*** *gəvə-v ňi baiyüšiaŋ zə-r.*
Lit.: **One F**. name-ACC. C Baijihua, **one C** name-ACC. C Baiyuxiang say- NI.
One of them was called Baijihua, **the other** was called Baiyuxiang.

Ex. 2: *gəɣə ər* ***bo-d ňi*** *dutə, bi na-t dut-ki.*
Lit.: Elder sister this **house-DL F**. lay-IMPER. 1sg. ground-DL. lay-VOL.
Elder sister, you sleep in **the room**, I will sleep on the ground.

b) The 2nd person singular enclitic possessive pronoun

Ex. 1: ***baitə-f šiňi*** *išk^{j}a-m vaš-kə na?*
Lit.: **Matter-ACC. POSS.2sg**. arrange-CI. finish-PERF. QUEST.
Have you done everything you **needed to do**?

Ex. 2: ***jaqə-f šiňi*** *bierh!*
Lit.: **Thing-ACC. POSS.2sg**. collect-IMPER.
Pack **your belongings**!

6) The expression bey *'body' in the function of a reflexive pronoun*

The pronoun *bəy* (lit. 'body'), part.n. *bəy-zə* is a frequently used pronoun with a reflexive meaning. It can be translated either as 'oneself' or 'personally'; in this meaning it is often followed by an enclitic possessive pronoun (a). When it is repeated, it may mean 'mutually'(b). It is also used as a polite address in the second person singular (*bəy*) or plural (*bəy-zə*) (c).

a) The meaning of 'self, personally'

Ex. 1: *šuda nuŋu-d ňi, isanj^{u} mamə* ***bəy ňi****.*
Lit.: Absolutely up-DL. POSS. Isanj grandmother **body POSS**.
On the top there is the grandmother (= goddess) Isanj **herself**.

Ex. 2: ***bəy šiňi*** *ta, jim mutə-mə-š da ju.*
Lit.: **Body POSS.2sg**. look-IMPER. come be able-CI. (become)-CC.=ACT. come-IMPER.
Decide for **yourself** if you can come, then do so.

Ex. 3: ***bəy*** *gizər-maq* ***bəy ňi*** *injə-maš-k^{ə}i.*
Lit.: **Body** speak-CP. **body POSS**. laugh-INC.-PERF.
He talked about it and then he **himself** started laughing.

Ex. 4: ***bəyə-f bəy ňi*** *jav-m mutə-q^{ů}.*
Lit.: **body-ACC. body POSS**. hold-CI. be able-(NI.)-NEG.
He can not control **himself**.

Ex. 5: ***bəyi-də ňi*** *da mutə-qˀ ba.*
Lit.: **Body-DL. POSS**. ACT. be able-(NI.)-NEG. PROB.
It seems to be **due to his character** that he is not able to do it.

b) The meaning of 'mutually'

Ex. 1: *tər ərin-t samə^{n} taškie^{n} ye fiškə-i taškie^{n}* ***bəy bəyə-f*** *goško li va-m.*
Lit.: That time-DL. shaman religion and Buddha-GEN. religion **body body-ACC**. fiercely LIM. kill-IMP.
In that time the followers of the shamans and the Buddhists were exterminating **each other**.

Ex. 2: *ər ju na^{n}* ***bəy bəy-maq*** *hə^{n} śie^{n}.*
Lit.: The two person **body body-IS**. very good.
These two people like **each other**.

c) Honorific address

Ex.: a*itiŋ ji-ɣˀye? –və? –* ***bəye****.*
When come-PERF. – Who? – **Body**.
When did (you) come? – Who? – **You**.
Note: A common model of conversation, when, for the sake of being polite, the first speaker does not address his collocutor directly, and consequently the latter has to make sure whether it was he who was being asked the question.

4.3 Demonstrative pronouns

In Sibe the following pronouns can be classified as demonstrative: *ər* 'this', *tər* 'that', *mər* 'exactly this' a *mətər* 'exactly that', and the interrogative pronouns *ai* 'what', 'which' a *ya* 'which'. These pronouns occur either independently – as substitutes for nouns – or as attributes of nouns. The latter differ from the adjectival pronouns in that they do not stand in for a quality or property but instead for the identity of their determinatum.

4.3.1 The demonstrative pronouns ər and tər

The basic pair of demonstrative pronouns is *er* 'this' and *tər* 'that'.

As in Mongolian, these pronouns are regularly declined:

Case	**proximate demonstrative pronoun**	**distal demonstrative pronoun**
genitive	*ər-ə-i*	*tər-ə-i*
dative-locative	*ər-ə-t*	*tər-ə-t*
accusative	*ər-ə-f*	*tər-ə-f*

ablative	*ə-dəri*	*tə-dəri*
lative	*ər-či*	*tər-či*
instrumental-sociative	*ər-maq*	*tər-maq*

The pronouns *ər – tər* are used either independently as noun-substitutes (a), or as attributes of other sentence elements (b). In the latter instances they do not take case suffixes.

The demonstrative pronouns ər – tər *as noun-substitutes*

1) the pronouns ***ər*** – ***tər*** in the nominative

Ex. 1: ***ər*** *aie?*
Lit.: **This** what?
What is **this**?

Ex. 2: ***tər ňi*** *o-mə mi-^{n} ambamə.*
Lit.: **This F**. become-CI. 1sg.-GEN. uncle.
This is my uncle.

2) The pronouns *ər – tər* in dative-locative

Ex.: ***ərə-d ňi*** *ju bait bi.*
Lit.: **This-DL. F**. two matter is.
There are two important matters **in this** (= in what has just been said)

3) The pronouns ***ər*** – ***tər*** in genitive

Ex.: ***tərə-i śidə^{n} da*** *əňi ňi iźinə-maq ji-ɣ^{ə}i.*
Lit.: **This-GEN. between ACT**. mother POSS. reach-CP. come-PERF.
In the meantime her mother arrived.

4) The pronouns ***ər*** – ***tər*** in the accusative

Ex.: ***ərə-f*** *gəɪ ai zə-m čiči-v-ɣ^{ə}ye?*
Lit.: **This-ACC. still** what say-CI. come out-CAUS.-PERF.
Why did you take **this** out?
Note: Scolding a child.

5) The pronouns **ər** – **tər** in ablative

Ex. 1: ***ə-dəri*** *češ təraɴ gizərə-q^{ů} ta o-ʁ^{ů}i.*
Lit.: **This-ABL**. further like.this speak-(NI.)-NEG. ACT. become-PERF.
From now on it is not necessary to speak like this (i.e., do not say this).

Ex. 2: *śi-maq χ^{ů}aliazu^{n} banjə-mɛye, **ə-dəri** čeś afš banjə-mie?*
Lit.: 2sg.-IS. peace live-PRES.CONT., **this-ABL**. further how live-IMP.
I live in peace with you, how should I do better **than this**?

6) The pronouns ***ər*** – ***tər*** in lative

Ex.: ***ər-či tər-či** amčə-m zə-ɣəŋ doʁůr-maq ta ulan-či tu-h^{ə}i.*
Lit.: **This-LAT. that-LAT**. hunt-IMP. say-NP.II. roll-CP. ACT. pit-LAT. fall-PERF.
While she was running **here and there** after (the hen), she (stumbled) and rolled into a pit.
Note: From the lyrics of a humorous song.

7) The pronouns ***ər*** – ***tər*** in instrumental-sociative

Ex.: *oi **ər-maq** afš mo sačə-mie?*
Lit.: Oh **this-IS**. how wood cut-IMP.?
How should I cut wood **with this**?

The pronouns ər – tər *in the attributive position*

Ex. 1: ***ər ju na^{n}** ai śie^{n} set-k^{ə}ye!*
Lit.: **This two person** what good age-PERF.
How fine did **this couple** become old!
Note: From an account about a ninety-year-old couple who retained their mental vivacity.

Ex. 2: ***tər ərin-t** junguo-i jəčə^{n} balhašnorə-t bi, təva-i jəčəm-f χaskə-t danə-v-ʁ^{ə}i…*
Lit.: **That time-DL**. China border Balkhash-lake-DL. is, there border-ACC. Kazakh-DL. care-CAUS.-PERF.
At that time the border of China extended around Lake Balkhash, and the border was entrusted to the Khazakhs.

4.3.2 The pronouns *mər* and *mətər*

The pronouns *mər* and *mətər* are composites of the demonstrative pronouns *ər* 'this' and *tər* 'that', and the Mongolian pronominal expression *mön* 'indeed, the same, also'[3]: *mər* ('precisely this, just this' – for objects, persons or events in an immediate spatial or temporal proximity and *mətər* ('exactly that, that same' – for more distant objects, persons or events). Both pronouns are used only in the attributive function.

Ex. 1: ***mər** jaqə, **mər** jaq!*
Lit.: **Just this** thing, **just this** thing!
That is him, that is **exactly** him!

[3] Sechenbaatar classifies the expression *mön* in Chahar as a copular particle which developed from an older pronominal root. The same seems to apply to modern Khalkha, whereas in the Khorchin dialect the word *mön* seems to have retained part of its pronominal characteristics (*mön hün* 'precisely this person' etc.) and the doubled expressions *mön ene* 'exactly this' and *mön ter* 'exactly that' are particularly frequent. It seems that these expressions were adopted by the Sibe during the time of their vassalage to the Khorchins.

Note: From an account about a woman who in the bazaar suddenly noticed a man who had nearly caused the death of her son.

Ex. 2: ***mər*** *jiɹʁa*^{n}, ***mər*** *jiɹʁa*^{n} *mi-m əm diovr amʁə-v-ʁa-q*^{ŭ}*!*
Lit.: **Exactly**/**just this** sound, **Exactly**/**just this** sound 1sg.-ACC. one night sleep-CAUS.-NP.-NEG.
That noise did not let me sleep the whole night!

Ex. 3: ***mətər*** *ba-t ačə-m na?*
Lit.: **Exactly**/**just that** place-DL. meet-IMP. QUEST.
Shall we meet **at the same** place (as last time)?

Ex. 4: ***mətər*** *ŭinəŋ śi-*^{n} *amə ji-ɣ*^{ə}*i.*
Lit.: **Just that** day 2sg.-GEN. father come-PERF.
Your father arrived on **the same** day.
Note: The pronoun *mətər* here refers to a day on which another event occurred that was mentioned in the preceding conversation.

Ex. 5: *gəɹ* ***mətər*** *ba-t šaŋbaɹ-m na?*
Lit.: Still **just**/**exactly**/**right at that** place-DL. work-IMP. QUEST.
Do you still work **at the same** place (as before)?

4.3.3 The pronouns *ək* and *səkəi*/*skəi*

The expressions *ək* and *sk*^{ə}*i* belong to the colloquial language, and should be placed within the context of the demonstrative pronouns. *ək* 'the one', 'that thing' usually represents a subject or an object, while *sk*^{ə}*i*/*səkəi* 'that', 'such' usually refers to an attribute. The etymology of both is unclear. The form *sk*^{ə}*i* occurs in rapid speech and is more frequent than the (most likely original) form *səkəi*, which is used for the most part by older speakers.

The basic function of these pronouns is to refer to objects known both to speaker and interlocutor (it is therefore a similar type of anaphora as the Mongolian pronouns *nögöö* and *önöö*). In speech, however, these pronouns are often used as interjections or as a means of slowing down the flow of speech. In particular, the pronoun *ək* is often used by speakers when they cannot call to mind a certain expression or alternatively wish to feign doing so.

The pronoun *ək* is used mostly for inanimate objects (a), or as an interjection used in connection with persons and events (b). The pronoun *səkəi*/*sk*^{ə}*i* is used as an attribute to any noun (c).

1) The pronoun ek *representing a nominal sentence element*

Ex. 1: ***əkə-v ŭi*** *ɕaš-kə na?*
Lit.: **That one-ACC. POSS**. bring-PERF. QUEST.
Did you bring **that one of it**?
Note: The speaker meant a microphone belonging to a recorder.

Ex. 2: *məzə-i* ***ək*** *ji-ɣᵊi.*
Lit.: 2pl.(incl.)-GEN. **that** come-PERF.
Our **that one** came.
Note: Unlike the Mongolian expression *nögöö*, the Sibe pronouns *ək* and *skᵊi* are usually not intended to conceal the referent of the enonciation from other listeners. Sometimes, however, this can occur involuntarily. In one incident, a humorous situation evolved because the speaker, trying to recall the name of an American, used the pronoun *ək* as a time-gaining device. It seemed, though, as if the pronoun was used instead of the person's name, which would be highly unsuitable. Later on this joke was repeated many times deliberately.

2) The pronoun ek *in the function of an interjection*

Ex. 1: *dučiurə-t* ***skᵊi*** *tər* ***ək****, miao bi vaq na?*
Lit.: Fourth.banner-DL. **that.kind.of** that **that one**, temple is not QUEST.
In the Fourth Banner there is (**that one, you know what**) temple.
Note: Here both pronouns are used mainly for the purpose of slowing down the flow of speech to introduce the important word 'temple'.

Ex. 2: ***ək****… šin-t čimar solo bi na?*
Lit.: **That one**. you-DL. tomorrow free.time is QUEST
(**Hey**) … Are you free tomorrow?
Note: Here the word *ək* is used merely as an interjection to attract the attention of the listener.

3) The pronoun skᵊi

Ex. 1: *ju naⁿ vešhuⁿ fosχůⁿ ta-m yila-ʁə-də* ***skᵊi*** *χaʁəji-f savmaq gia-ʁə.*
Lit.: Two person upwards downwards look-CI. stand-NP.-DL. **that** boy-ACC. see-CI. take-PERF.
Both of them were looking up and down, and suddenly they noticed **the** boy.
Note: Here the pronoun *skᵊi* refers to a person mentioned previously.

Ex. 2: *tuku-maq da* ***skᵊi*** *fa-i fonqo-dəri əmdaⁿ gul-ɣuŋ da ju jaq da inji-m iv-m.*
Lit.: After that ACT. **that** window-GEN. hole-ABL. once peer-NP.II. ACT. two thing ACT. laugh-IMP. play-IMP.
Then she looked in through **the** window opening and saw the two (children) laughing and playing.
Note: Here the pronoun *skᵊi* does nor refer to any concrete fact mentioned in the previous text, but recalls the commonly known form of the old type of windows in ancient dwellings.

Ex. 3: *ər χaʁəč da nanᵊ-i favən-t døš-kəŋ, arʁ-aqᵘ da* ***skᵊi*** *χovəi diørgit qotoɴ zə-m da døš-kᵊi.*
Lit.: This boy ACT. person-GEN. law-DL. enter-PERF, method-NEG. ACT. **that** coffin-GEN. inside qotoɴ(ONOM.) say-CI. ACT enter-PERF.

The boy had no other choice but to follow the (other person's) order, and so he entered **that** coffin with a thud.
Note: Here *skᵊi* does not refer to anything that was known previously. It only expresses the speaker's reluctance before uttering the rather disturbing word, 'coffin'.

4.4 Interrogative pronouns

The pronouns *ai, ya, yam, yamkəⁿ* are the interrogative equivalents of the demonstrative pronouns.

The pronoun *ai* ('what', 'which', 'what kind of') asks, for the most part, either about the identity of a nominal part of thesentence (subject, object, nominal predicate), or about its properties (as an attribute).

The pronoun *ya* ('what, which') rarely occurs in its basic form. It is mainly used as a way of signifiying 'which one, which of them'. It usually occurs in expressions formed by adding the numeral *əm* ('one' – before a noun) – resulting in *yam* 'which' or *ya əmkəⁿ* ('one' – standing for a countable noun) resulting in *yamkəⁿ* 'which one'. While the pronouns *ya* and *yam* are always attributes bound to another noun, *yamkəⁿ* is an independent part of the sentence. Consequently *ya* and *yam* are not subject to declension, while *ai* and *yamkəⁿ* are declined regularly.

The pronoun *və* 'who' is the interrogative equivalent of the personal pronouns and it is declined in the same way as the personal pronouns.

4.4.1 The pronoun 'ai'

1) The pronoun ai in the meaning of 'what' *– as an independent sentence element*

Ex. 1: ***aie?***
Lit.: **What?**
What? What happened?
Note: Usually used as a response when being called by name or addressed by someone.

Ex. 2: *ňinəŋ **ai** jəkə-ŋə?*
Lit.: Day **what** eat-NP.II.
What did you have for lunch?
Note: Questions about meal-time form a part of a usual polite conversation along with questions such as 'What are you doing' and 'Where are you going'.

Ex. 3: *ər **aiɛ**?*
Lit.: This **what**?
What is this?

Ex. 4: *ər na^{n} tont*[4]*,* ***ai*** *zə-š ta* ***ai****.*
Lit.: This person straight, **what** say-CC. ACT. **what**.
He is very straightforward, when he says **something**, he really means it.

Ex. 5: *čaʁa-q^{ů}* ***vaq aiɛ****.*
Lit.: Like-NEG. **not what**.
Of course I do not like it.
Note: The expression *vaq aie*, which may be rendered as 'what, if not so', is a very frequent expression of approval in the spoken language.

2) The pronoun* ai *as an attribute

Ex. 1: ***ai*** *baitə?*
Lit.: **What** matter?
What is the matter?

Ex. 2: *ər gəɹ* ***ai zə-m*** *ji-ɣ^{ə}ye?*
Lit.: This still **what say-CI**. come-PERF.
What is he doing here again?
Note: The phrase *ai zəm* lit. 'saying what' is, as in Mongolian, a common question concerning aim or purpose. Used in a rhetorical question it usually expresses displeasure with somebody's activity and is often used for scolding children.

Ex. 3: ***ai*** *yiʁam-f ačə-rə-ŋə-f sa-q^{ů}.*
Lit.: **What** cow load-NP.II.-ACC. know-(NI.)-NEG.
He did not know **which** bull he should load.

4.4.2 The pronoun ya – 'which' as an attribute

Ex. 1: ***ya ərin-t*** *ačə-m-ů-ʁ^{ů}o?*
Lit.: **Which hour-DL**. meet-CI.-become-PERF.
At what time shall we meet?

4.4.3 The pronoun yam (< ya əm –'which one')

Ex. 1: *śi ərə-f* ***yam*** *nanə-t bu-ɣ^{ə}i?*
Lit.: You this-ACC. **which.one** person-DL. give-PERF.
To whom (**of them**) did you give it?

Ex. 2: ***yam*** *bo-t dəźi-m-ů-ʁ^{ů}o?*
Lit.: **Which.one** house-DL. enter-CI.-become-PERF.
To **which** room should we go?

[4] The expression *tont* – 'straightforward, sincere' conveys an important ethical category concerning sincerity, straightforwardness, and simplicity of behaviour and thinking. These characteristics are viewed as positive and as typical of the Sibe people in contrast to cunningness and artfulness, which are ascribed mainly to the Chinese and Uighurs.

4.4.4 The pronoun *yamkən* ('which one' – an independent part of speech)

Ex. 1: ***yamkəⁿ****? ər əmkəⁿ na, tər əmkəⁿ na?*
Lit.: **Which one**? This one QUEST, that one QUEST.
Which one? This one or that one?

Ex. 2: *dietti šidəⁿ* ***yamkəm-b ňi*** *tiorʁů-v-maq gəɹ daʁə-v-ʁə?*
Lit.: While between **which one-ACC. POSS**. turn round-CAUS.-CP. still follow-CAUS.-PERF.
Note: **Which** (**boy**)'s head did she again turn during the little while?
From the text of a contemporary song.

4.4.5 The pronoun *və* ('who')

Ex. 1: ***və-dəri*** *banš-k jaq gəɹ sa-qᵘ̊.*
Who-ABL. give birth-NI. thing still know-(NI).-NEG.
It is even not clear **whose** bastard this is.
Note: A humorous taunt expressed by my friend's mother, who used to call her little dog her 'daughter'.

4.5 Notes on demonstrative and interrogative pronouns

1) The demonstrative and interrogative pronouns determining verbs and qualitative nouns

The pronouns *ər, tər, ya, ai, mər* and others are often employed as verb-determinants qualitative nouns in terms of their position, which in Indo-European linguistics would be labelled as adverbial. Most frequently they specify degree, but other functions are also encountered.

Ex. 1: *o-ʁᵘ̊ye,* ***ər*** *məji baitə-də…*
Lit.: Become-PERF., **this** little matter-DL. …
Do not be silly (and do not thank me) for **such** little thing …

Ex. 2: *ainə-mie,* ***tər*** *laft jiʁa-v ňi?*
Lit.: Do.what-IMP., **that** much money-ACC. POSS.
What would I do with **so** much money?

Ex. 3: ***tər*** *məji li!?*
Lit.: **That** little LIM.
Only **that** little!?

Ex. 4: *śoro tərə χalin-də ňi śoro yiɹʁa ňi* ***ai*** *lavdo.*
Lit.: Jujube that tree-DL. F. jujube flower POSS. **what** many.
Oh, **how** many flowers are there on that jujube tree.
Note: A verse from the folk song known as *taləi učuⁿ* – 'the field (or grassland) song', a popular song with verses composed in a regular parallel structure. The singer improvises within several simple patterns, one of which is the ending *ai lavdo* 'how much/many'.

Ex. 5: *ənəŋ afqa* ***ai*** *śieⁿ.*
Lit.: Today sky **what** good.
Oh, **what** a nice weather is it today!

Ex. 6: ***mər*** *fəkśi-m li!*
Lit.: **Just this** run-IMP LIM.!
And **at once** he runs!!
Note: From a story about a boy who was chasing a bull that had ran away.

2) The interrogative pronouns in rhetorical questions

The interrogative pronouns often occur in rhetorical questions used in the sense of a negative or disapproving response.

Ex. 1: ***ai-v ňi*** *cajə-mie, ji-ɣəŋ da o-ʁᵘ̊i.*
Lit.: **What-ACC. POSS**. bring-IMP., come-NP. ACT. become-PERF.
What should you bring, it is enough when you come yourself.

Ex. 2: ***ai*** *gizuⁿ ...*
Lit.: **What** word …
What are you saying?
Note: Mainly used to politely decline an apology.

Ex. 3: *o-ʁᵘ̊ye,* ***ai-v ňi*** *gizər-m-ů-ʁᵘ̊o.*
Lit.: Become-PERF., **what-ACC. POSS**. say-CI.-become-PERF.
Let me alone, **what** should I speak about.
Note: In this case the speaker politely refused to be interviewed.

Ex. 4: ***ai ňi*** *set-kᵊye, set-qa-qᵘ̊ye ...*
Lit.: **What F**. get.old-PERF., get.old-NP.-NEG.
What (are you saying about) aging, you have not become old.

3) Interrogative pronouns with the noun jaq *thing*

The interrogative pronouns in their various meanings are often used with the proper noun *jaq* 'thing'. The meaning of the interrogative pronoun does not change, but the entire expression becomes more emphasized.

Ex. 1: ***ai jaqə****?*
Lit.: **What thing**?
What?
Note: This question may be used when the speaker does not understand what the collocutor said.

Ex. 2: *ɕazn-t* ***ai jaq*** *bie? – mori^{n} jaq bie, yiʁa^{n} jaq bie …*
Village-DL. **what thing** is? – Horse thing is, cow thing is …
What is there in Chabchal? – There are horses, cows …
Note: A question asked of a child who had returned from her grandparents' house. She replied with a list of animals.

Ex. 3: ***yam jaqə-v ňi*** *gia-ʁ^{ə}i, am jaqə-f na, aji jaqə-f na?*
Lit.: **Which thing-ACC. F**. take-PERF, big thing-ACC. QUEST. little thing-ACC. QUEST.
Which one did you take, the big one or the small one?

4) A specific use of the interrogative pronoun **və** *'who'*

The interrogative pronoun *və* 'who' is often used in place of a concrete proper name or the specific designation of a person. It occurs when the speaker does not wish to pronounce a name or specific information, or tries to delay its conveyance. Very often this form of expression is used when the speaker has forgotten a name or does not know it, but at times also when hesitating to pronounce a name directly out of politeness. Often a sentence is pronounced first with the interrogative pronoun in order to alert the speaker before imparting the whole of the information. I have noted the use of this expression as well with foreign names, which are difficult to pronounce for Sibe speakers.

Ex. 1: ***məzə-i və*** *… arien əm jašqa^{n} ji-ɣ^{ə}i.*
Lit.: **1pl.(incl.)GEN. who** … Arienne one letter come-PERF.
Arienne wrote me a letter.
Note: Here the speaker is afraid of pronouncing the foreign name incorrectly. The phrase *məzəi və* ('our who') is often used to imply a close relationship of the speaker and listener to the mentioned person.

Ex. 2: *tuku-maq ta* ***ər və*** *dəźi-m ji-ɣ^{ə}i – anməi mamə dəźi-m ji-ɣ^{ə}i.*
Lit.: Do.so-CP. ACT. **this who** enter-CI. come-PERF. – Anmei grandmother enter-CI. come-PERF.
Then Grandmother Anmei came in.
Note: In this case it is possible that the speaker could not recall the name, but in any case he draws the listener's attention to the new participant of the story being related by describing the new situation before pronouncing the name.

5 NUMERALS

The system of numerals in spoken Sibe is relatively simple as compared to both literary Manchu and Mongolian. While literary Manchu has four kinds of suffixes to form numeral classes (Haenisch 1986, pp. 45–46) and the Chahar dialect of Mongolian, according to Sechenbaatar, has three suffixed and two lexically marked classes (Sechenbaatar 2003, p. 70), in spoken Sibe there is, besides the basic – cardinal numerals, a single suffix ***-či***, which forms ordinal numerals.

The manner of using numerals in spoken Sibe calls for a short commentary. In many ways it resembles the situation of most of the non-Chinese ethnicities in China, and in particular the speakers of the Altaic languages. It is probably due to the extreme simplicity, both phonetic and morphological, of the Chinese numeric system that leads most speakers of these languages to use Chinese expressions in everyday speech to form constructions more complex than a single word.[1] Most speakers, therefore, including the younger generation, have a passive knowledge of the single digits up to 9, and at times culturally important numerals such as 15 (the full moon). Generally speaking, people who grew up before the Cultural Revolution, except for the oldest speakers with literary education, use Sibe words for single numerals but Chinese words for more complex constructions (dates, numbers over 10, and counting operations, for example) and in the numbering of almost anything. Speakers who grew up during the Cultural Revolution and later usually know only the first two Sibe numerals *əm* 'one' and *ju* 'two'. Only older, educated and "self-conscious" speakers use Sibe numerals in complex forms such as dates and in arithmetic operations.

Some younger speakers are familiar with some numerals used in proverbs and sayings (e.g. ***nadəⁿ*** *saʁənč əm čiškə bətkəf jəm vajəqᵘ̊*. '**Seven** girls would not finish eating one chicken leg.')

[1] To give an example, the year 1968, in Chinese pronounced as '*yi jiu liu ba*', in spoken Sibe sounds '*əm miƉan uyin talƉ injə jaqůn*', and the date of the Sibe transmigration to Xinjiang, the 18th day of the 4th lunar month, in Chinese '*si yao ba'* is called '*duyiⁿ biya jůan jaqůⁿ*'.

5.1 The cardinal numerals

Table of the literary Manchu and Sibe cardinal numerals:

Lit. Ma.	**Sibe**		**Lit. Ma.**	**Sibe**		**Lit. Ma.**	**Sibe**	
emu	*əm(kəⁿ)*	1	*orin*	*oriⁿ*	20	*minggaⁿ*	*miɴan*	1,000
juwe	*ju*	2	*gūsin*	*ɢoźiⁿ*	30	*tumen*	*tumən*	10,000
ilan	*yilaⁿ*	3	*dehi*	*dih*	40			
duin	*duyiⁿ*	4	*susai*	*suzai*	50			
sunja	*sunja*	5	*ninju*	*inč*	60			
ninggun	*ňiŋuⁿ*	6	*nadanju*	*nadənč*	70			
nadan	*nadəⁿ*	7	*jaqūnju*	*jaqůnč*	80			
jaqūn	*jaqůⁿ*	8	*uyinju*	*uyinč*	90			
uyin	*uyiⁿ*	9	*tanggū*	*taɴ*	100			
juan	*jᵘ̊aⁿ*	10						

The only peculiarity of the colloquial language as compared to the literary language is the use of the form *əmkəⁿ* (< *əm* '*one*' + ***-qan⁴*** – the suffix of degree). This form is used when the numeral stands independently. When a noun follows, the original form *əm* is used.

Manchu and Sibe numerals over 10 are formed regularly by adding the single numerals to the decimal numerals. When the numeral 'one' is attached to a decimal numeral, it has an irregular form *emu: jůaⁿ əmu* 11, *oriⁿ əmu* 21.

In both literary Manchu and spoken Sibe an irregular form for 15, borrowed probably from Khitan, is used: Si. *tofχoⁿ* (Lit. Ma. *tofohon*).

5.2 The ordinal numerals

The ordinal numbers are derived by attaching the suffix ***-č***, a colloquial form of the literary suffix ***-či***. When the numeral ends in ***-ⁿ*** this final ***-ⁿ*** falls off before the suffix ***-či***/***č***.

ujui	first	*ňiŋučⁱ*	sixth
jai/jačⁱ	second	*nadəčⁱ*	seventh
yilačⁱ	third	*jaqčⁱ*	eighth
duyičⁱ	fourth	*uyičⁱ*	ninth
sunjačⁱ	fifth	*jᵘ̊ačⁱ*	tenth

The forms of the first two numerals are irregular– the numeral *ujui* 'first' is a genitive form of the noun *uj* 'head (beginning)' and the numerals *jačⁱ/jai* 'second' correspond to the irregular literary forms *jači*/*jai*.

5.3 The idiomatic use of numerals

Due to their specific meaning and symbolism, numerals are, in many languages, present in various idioms. The situation in spoken Sibe has changed somewhat as Chinese numerals are frequently used instead of the Sibe numerals. There still exist, however, some idioms using Sibe numerals.

When meanings such as 'both of us' or 'the three of us' are conveyed, the possessive (genitive) forms of personal pronouns are used, e.g. *mo^{n} ju na^{n}*, lit. 'our two people', 'both of us'; *so^{n} yila^{n} na^{n}*, lit. 'the three of us'.

In the linguistic milieu of Northern China the figurative use of the numeral 2, meaning 'a few', is common: *ju ňinəŋ*, lit. 'two days' – 'a couple of days'.

In addition, a term for the most important national festival – 'The Day of Arrival', has retained its original form *duyi^{n} bia j^{ů}anjaqů^{n}*, lit. 'four month eighteen' – 'the eighteenth day of the fourth lunar month'.

In everyday speech, however, Chinese numerals are used to express dates.

A literary form of the numeral 7 (*nadan* instead of the colloquial form *nadə^{n}*) is used to designate the seven-day period after the death of a person, a period important for funeral rituals.

6 SPATIALS

Spatials are a group of nominal expressions through which speakers orient themselves in space. Spatials, as a part of overall systems of spatial orientation among the peoples of Inner Asia, have been subject to several recent studies.[1]

In written Manchu and spoken Sibe, as in Mongolian, this nominal subclass is characterized by a limited number of roots and a special set of suffixes is used specifically for the expression of spatial relationships. Some of the spatials are also used figuratively to express time relationships.

As a result of their linguistic development one group of the originally inflected suffixes tends to behave as derivational suffixes, often forming stems to which common nominal case suffixes are added. These features, together with the defectivity of the paradigm, present a picture of an archaic, now only partially productive system.

Spatials occur in all syntactical positions that may by occupied by nouns, of which the most frequent function are those of attributes of nouns, determinants of verbs and postpositions.

To analyse the Manchu-Sibe spatial system we have to turn first to written Manchu.

6.1 The spatial system in written Manchu

6.1.1 The spatial roots in written Manchu

The main roots, to which this set of suffixes may be attached to form spatial expressions, are:

***am*(*a*)-** north, back
ju- south, front
wa- downwards, east
we- upwards
de- above, west
feji- below, down
do- inside
ca- behind, further
tu- out(side)

[1] See Kapišovská 2003, as well as *Études Mongoles etsibériennes centrasiatiques et tibétaines* 2005–2006.

Some of these roots are found as roots of verbs with the meaning of 'movement in a particular direction'. The derivational verbal suffix is *-si*/*-ci*.
do-si- to enter
tu-ci- to go out
wa-si- to descend
we-si- to ascend

6.1.2 The spatial suffixes in written Manchu

The main suffixes used with spatials are ***-la***[3], (***-ri***), ***-rgi*** a ***-si***. The suffix ***-r-gi*** may be divided into ***r*** + ***gi***, of which ***-r*** is possibly identical with the locative suffix -ri and related to the Mongolian ancient suffix ***-r***, while **-gi** is related to the Mongolian (and generally Altaic) adverbializer **-ki** (**h**/**h**" in Modern Khalkha).

Listed below are the combinations of roots and suffixes used in written Manchu:

root	*-la*[3]	*-ri*	*-r-gi*	*-si*
ama-	*ama-la*		*ama-r-gi*	*ama-si*
ju-		*ju-le-ri*	*ju-le-r-gi*	*ju-le-si*
wa-	*wa-la*		*wa-r-gi,*	*wa-si*
we-				*we-si*
de-	*de-le*	*de-le-ri*	*de-r-gi*	*de-le-si, de-si*
do-	*do-lo*	*do-lo-ri*	*do-r-gi*	*do-si*
tu-	*tu-le*		*tu-le-r-gi*	
oi	*oi-lo*	*oi-lo-ri*	*oi-lo-r-gi*	
ca	*ca-la*		*ca-r-gi*	*ca-si*
feji-	*feji-le*		*feje-r-gi*	

Besides these forms, which are derived regularly from the roots through a set of special suffixes, we can find a number of expressions derived from secondary stems through regular case suffixes. The stems are petrified spatial forms and the suffixes attached to them are the basic case suffixes (***-i,-be, -de, -ci*** in written Manchu texts and ***-deri*** in the Sibe written texts). In most cases the stems behaving in this way are formed by the suffix ***-r-gi***.

Examples of expressions formed in this way, which I have encountered both in classical Manchu and Sibe written texts, are:

Genitive: *ama-la-i* (temp.) of the later (one)
Dative-locative: *ama-r-gi-**de*** 'in the north, on the northern side' etc., *julergi-de* 'in front, on the front/southern side', etc., *tulergi-**de*** 'outside', *dorgi-**de*** 'inside' *dele-**de*** 'above'
Ablative *-ci* (written Manchu): *dergi-**ci*** from above, dorgi-**ci** from inside
Ablative *-deri* (written Sibe): *tulergi-**deri*** from outside
Accusative: *dorgi-**be*** the inside (Acc)

6.1.3 Meaning and use of the Manchu spatial suffixes

The meaning of the spatial suffixes, though somewhat unclear, can be roughly characterized as locational (***-la³***, ***-ri***), directional (***-si***) and attributive (***-r-gi***). In the Manchu sentence structure the spatials function mostly as verb-determinants(***la³***, ***-ri***, ***-si***) or as attributes of nouns (***r-gi***).

The suffix *-la³*

Forms with this suffix are used mainly as verbal determinants. This suffix designates static relative location (for example, outside, inside, at the front side/back side), but may be, according to the context, understood in the lative meaning as a goal of the movement being expressed.

In its existing forms, the suffix -ri is added only to a stem extended by the suffix ***-la³ amala*** (***juleri amala*** – 'one after another'), ***jule***- (petrified as a stem), ***dolo*** 'inside' ***dele*** 'above', ***fejile*** 'under', ***tule*** 'outside'.

Ex. 1: *age deo juwe niyalma **juleri amala** yabu-fi …*
Lit.: Elder brother younger brother two person **in-front at-the-back** walk-CP …
The two brothers were going **one after another**…

Ex. 2: *gaitai **alin-i fejile** emu moo saci-re jilgan be donji-mbi .*
Lit.: Suddenly **mountain-GEN. below** one wood chop-NI. sound-ACC. hear-IMP.
Suddenly she could hear a sound of wood being cut from **beneath the mountain**.

Ex. 3: *yeye aifini **duka-i tule** aliya-me te-hebi*
Lit.: Grandfather long-time **gate-GEN. outside** wait-CI. sit-PERF.
Grandfather has already been sitting **outside the gate** and waiting.

Ex. 4: ***mini dolo** gūni-me waji-ha.*
Lit.: **My inside** think-CI. finish-NP.
I have found it (**inside**).

Ex. 5: ***dele** emu biraki moo sinda-habi.*
Lit.: **Above** one rolling.pin wood put-PERF.
Above there lies a rolling-pin.

The suffix *-ri*

The meaning and use of this suffix is virtually the same as that of the suffix ***-la³***. In the attested forms it occurs only after stems extended by ***la³*** (***juleri*** 'on the front/southern side', ***dolori*** 'inside', ***oilori*** 'on the outer side').

Ex. 1: ***duka-i juleri** emu da amba hailan bi-mbi.*
Lit.: **Gate-GEN**. in front one NUM. big tree be-IMP.
In front of the gate there is a big tree.

Ex. 2: *siyan-i hafan ilan či golmin silenggi aldabu-fi **dolori guni-me**...*
Lit.: Prefecture-GEN. chief three inch long slaver loose-CP. **inside think-CI** …
The Prefecture governor lost a three-inch spittle and **thought to himself** …

Ex. 3: *aika hutu waka o-ci mini **juleri** tuci-me jio!*
Lit.: If ghost not be-CC. my in front **go out-CI. come-IMPER**.
If you are not a ghost, appear here **in front of me**.

The suffix *-r-gi*

The complex suffix ***-r-gi*** is probably formed by the locative ***-r*** and the nominalizing suffix ***-gi***.

The suffix ***-r-gi*** expresses a static location as well, but is used mainly to determine nominal expressions. Sometimes the form with ***-rgi*** is followed by a genitive suffix and thus seems to be used in place of the expression ***-rgi ba*** 'place in a certain location' (Ex. 2), ***amargi*** 'northern', ***julergi*** 'southern', ***dorgi*** 'internal', ***tulergi*** 'external'.

Ex. 1: *mini boo o-ci **amargi siyan-i julergi duka-i** giya-de tehe.*
Lit.: My house to become-CC. **northern prefecture-GEN. southern gate-GEN**. street-DL. sit-PERF.
My home is in the street of **the southern gate of the northern prefecture**.

Ex. 2: ***duka-i julergi**-i amba hailan-de doo-ha.*
Lit.: **Gate-GEN. in front of-GEN**. big tree-DL. land-NP.
He sat on the big tree in **front of the gate**.
Note: Here the use of a genitive suffix (*julergi-i*) suggests that the word ***julergi*** is used instead of ***julergi ba*** – 'the space in front'.

Ex. 3: *abka-i **fejergi** geren hacin ucun-be bahana-mbi.*
Lit.: **Heaven-GEN**. **below** all kind song-ACC. know-IMP.
He can sing all kinds of songs which exist in the world (lit. **below the Heavens**).
Note: Here the genitive suffix should probably be used too, but seems to be have been omitted, as is often the case.

Ex. 4: *bi **julergi** alin-de toro gaji-me gene-ki.*
Lit.: I **southern mountain-DL**. peach bring-CI. go-VOL.
I will go to the **Southern mountains** to bring the peach(es).

The suffix *-si*

This is a lative suffix which exclusively designates the direction of a movement. It is thus always used as a verb-determinant.

Ex. 1: ***desi wasi** tuwa-ci emu hūwaita-ra jaka be baha-r-kū.*
Lit.: **Westwards eastwards** look-COND. one tie-NI. thing-ACC. find-NI.-NEG.
She looked **in all direction**s, but could not find anything to tie (them).

The linguistic apparatus for orientation in space in written Manchu is formed by several expressions which lack the morphological peculiarities of spatials. These expressions are mainly the words for lateral orientation *iči* 'right' and *hashū* 'left', and expressions for location in relative proximity: *dalbade* 'beside, aside, next to', *dade* 'by, near, next to', *jakade* 'close to, next to', etc.

6.2 The spatial system in spoken Sibe

6.2.1 Spatial roots in spoken Sibe

In the spoken Sibe language most of the roots correspond to those of written Manchu with specific phonetic changes:

am-/***ɛm***- back, north
ju- front, south
vie- east
də-/***di***- west
fəji- beneath, under
dø- inside
če- over, further
nuŋ- above

The main differences as compared to written Manchu are as follows:

1) The semantic field of 'above' is fully taken over by the root ***nuŋ*** (written Manchu ***ninggu***), which tends to behave as a spatial (I have encountered the forms ***nuŋś*** and ***nuŋurh*** in the spoken language). The root *də*- then remains only as a desigation for '*west*'.

2) The expressions for east and west are, for reasons that are not sufficiently clear, used inversely: While in written Manchu ***dergi*** means 'eastern' and ***wargi*** means 'western', in spoken Sibe the ***dirh*** is used for 'western' and ***vierh*** for 'eastern'. In Sibe written texts, moreover, the use of the two terms varies according to the cognition of the author.

6.2.2 Spatial suffixes in spoken Sibe

The system of Sibe spatial suffixes presents a slightly different picture than that of written Manchu.

The suffix ***-rh***, apparently the oral form of the complex suffix ***-r-gi***, tends to behave as a regular nominal stem, which designates a point or direction in space, and to which regular case suffixes are added, forming a locational and directional determination. This suffix has an alternative form ***-lh*** which occurs only with the stems ***ju***- > ***juɹh*** (Lit. Ma. ***julergi***) and ***ɛl***- > ***ɛl'h*** (Lit. Ma. ***oilorgi***), which can probably be explained as a result of elision.

The suffixes ***-la***[3] and ***-ri*** do not occur in the spoken language and are replaced in their function by the forms mentioned above ***-rh*** + ***case suffixes***. (E.g. Lit. Ma. ***dukai juleri*** – S. ***duqa***(***i***) ***juɹɣut*** 'in front of the gate'.)

Unlike ***-rh***, the suffix ***-s***', an oral form of ***-si***, retains its productivity in the spatial system as well as its original function as a verb-determinant.

6.2.3 The use of Sibe spatials

Concerning the semantic fields of spatials, in Sibe, as in Manchu, there are two basic and related spheres of use – ***relative positions*** in space and ***cardinal points***.

Expressions for cardinal points

The expressions for cardinal points require several comments. While in written Manchu they essentially form a regular part of the spatials, in spoken Sibe it seems reasonable to view them as aseparate sub-group.

The roots of the Sibe cardinal points are as follows:
ju- south, southern side
ɛmi- north, northern side
vie- west
di- east

The expressions for ***north*** and ***south*** are identical with the expressions for ***back*** and ***front*** respectively, while the expressions for ***east*** and ***west*** are etymologically connected with the directions ***up*** and ***down*** – the western with the root ***di***- 'upwards, above' and the eastern with the root ***vie***- 'downwards, below'. While the roots for north and south are also used for back and front, the roots for east and west have lost their original meanings and are used only for the cardinal points. As mentioned above, the meaning of the expressions for east and west is reversed as against written Manchu.

Expressions for relative positions in space

fəji- fəjə- below, under
nuŋ- above
dø- inside
ɛ- outside
čɛ- behind, further

The suffix *-rh* (*lh*) (*Spatial nouns*)

Expressions formed by this suffix may be designated as ***spatial nouns***. Their nominal character results from the essentially attributive use of the Manchu form ***-r-gi***. Case suffixes are added to the basic form of spatial nouns, creating either attributive expressions (genitive) or adverbial determinations (dative-locative, ablative, lative, accusative).

Spatial nouns in the genitive

Spatial nouns in the genitive are used to determine nouns. In the spoken language the genitive often has a zero suffix.

Ex. 1: *ər mamə da **juɹh** qarən-t aɹvəⁿ bi-ɣᵊi.*
Lit.: This gandmother ACT. s**outhern** fortress-DL. duty be-PERF.
This old woman used to work in the **southern** fortress.

Ex. 2: *təs ňi o-mə **dirh vierh bo** bi-ɣᵊi.*
Lit.: They F. become-CI. **west east house** be-PERF.
They were neighbors (their houses were next to each other).

Ex. 3: ***tais nuŋu-i baitə-f** bi iškⁱa-ʁᵊi*
Lit.: **Stage above-GEN. matter-ACC**. I arrange-PERF.
I took care about the **matters on the stage** (about the performance).

Ex. 4: *ər yilaⁿ saməⁿ ňi da izanč mamə-i **ɕalə fəjərgᵊ-i** am saməⁿ ňi.*
Lit.: The three shaman-NI-ACT. Isanju mama-GEN. **hand-0G. below-GEN**. big shaman POSS.
These three shamans are the three high shamans who **help** Isanju mama.

Ex. 5: ***ərᵊ-i diərgᵊ-i baitə-f** məji aɹm-bu-ki.*
Lit.: **This-GEN. inside-GEN. matter**-ACC. little tell-CI.-give-VOL.
I will explain something **related to this matter**.

Ex. 6: *mangiⁿ zəɣəŋ da, tər **am əndüri fəjərgᵊ-i** əndür ňi.*
Lit.: Mangin say-NP.II ACT. that **big deity below-GEN**. deity POSS.
Mangin is a deity whose rank is **below** [**that of**] **the high deity**.

Spatial nouns with other case suffixes

Spatial nouns with the dative-locative, ablative, lative and accusative are used as verb-determinants.

Spatial nouns in dative-locative

Ex. 1: ***juɹɣu-t ɛmirgi-t** gum bujaⁿ bi.*
Lit.: **Front-DL. back-DL**. all forest is.
There was forest **on all sides**.

Ex. 2: *amś tavə-v-ůqů. **ɛmirgi-d ňi** hut yivaʁəⁿ bi.*
Lit.: Northwards look-CAUS.-NI.-NEG., **Northern-side-DL.-POSS**. devil ghost is.
It is not allowed to turn to the North, in **the North** there are evil beings.

Ex. 3: *šuda śieⁿ fanyi gəɹ mətər **hafsəi fəjərgᵊ-t** vəilə-m.*
Lit.: Absolutely good interpreter(Chin.) still the.same **boss-PL.-GEN. below-DL**. work-IMP.
Even the best interpreter still only works under **the bosses**.

Spatial nouns in the ablative

Ex. 1: ***ɛmirgi-dəri*** *am udu^{n} dam.*
Lit.: **Northern.side-ABL**. big with blow-IMP.
A strong wind started blowing **from the North**.

The spatial nouns in lative

Ex. 1: ***fəjərg^{ə}-či*** *ta!*
Lit.: **Down-L**. look-IMPER.
Look **down**!

Ex. 2: ***diorgi-či*** *tə!*
Lit.: **Inside-L**. sit-IMPER.
(Come and) sit **inside**.

Ex. 3: ***bo ɛmirg-i-d ňi*** *am buja^{n} bi.*
Lit.: **House north-GEN.DL. POSS**. big forest is.
There is a large forest **north of their house**.

Ex. 4: ***mədəri dørg-i-dəri*** *čiči-maq ji-ɣ^{ə}i.*
Lit.: **Sea inside-GEN.ABL**. go out-CONV.PERF. come.PERF.
She came out **of the sea**.

Ex. 5: *əraʌ χ^{ů}as-k na^{n} tər kəmən-t gənə-mə gəɹ* ***fəjərg^{ə}-i nanə-f*** *gida-m.*
Lit.: Thus grow-NP. person that level-DL. go-CI. too **below-GEN. person-ACC**. press-IMP.
Somebody who has grown in this way, when he reaches the same level, would also oppress his **subordinates**.

6.2.4 The suffix -bi

Ex. 1: ***ər-bi-t*** *gəɹ o-m,* ***tər-bi-t*** *gəɹ o-m.*
Lit.: **This-side-DL**. still become-IMP. **that-side-DL**. still become-IMP.
It is possible **either on this side or on that side**.

Ex. 2: ***juɹ-bi-t*** *tə!*
Lit.: **Front-side-DL**. sit-IMPER.
Sit **in front**!

6.2.5 The suffix -ś

The forms derived from the suffix ***-ś*** (an oral form of ***-si***) are adverbial in nature and are used for expressing direction of movement. In the contemporary spoken language this suffix is used only with some of the spatial roots, while others form equivalent expressions by

adding the regular lative suffix ***-či*** to a spatial noun (e.g. ***fəjərgə-či*** 'downwards'). The forms most frequently used with ***-ś*** are: ***am-ś*** 'backwards/to the north', ***ju-ś*** 'forwards/towards the south', ***vie-ś*** 'westwards*'* ***di-ś*** 'eastwards', ***nuŋ-ś*** 'up', ***če-ś*** 'further'.

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Ex. 1: ***am-ś*** *tavə-v-ůqů.*
Lit.: **Northwards** look-CAUS.-(NI).-NEG.
It is forbidden to look to the north.

Ex. 2: ***nuŋ-š*** *ta!*
Lit.: **Upwards** look!
Look **up**!

Ex. 3: *śi-maq χůaliazůn banjə-mɛie, ə-dəri* ***če-ś*** *afš banjə-mie.*
You-IS. peace live-PROG., **this-ABL. further** how live-IMP.
I live in peace with you, how should I live **further** (= **better**?)

Other expressions for spatial relationships

In addition to using the grammatically distinct expressions from the subclass of spatials, the language system of expressing space relationships is complemented by several other nominal expressions, namely the stems ***da.ɹvə-*** 'beside, aside, next to', as well as the stems for lateral orientation ***iśte*** 'right', and ***śo.ɹʁo*** 'left'. The morphological properties of these stems are close to those of spatials.

Furthermore, idiomatic expressions such as ***da-t*** (Lit. Ma. ***dade***, lit. 'in the root') 'next to, beside' and ***jaqə-t*** (Lit. Ma. ***jakade***, lit. in a thing) 'next to' are present. The words ***da*** 'root' and ***jaq*** 'thing' are widely-used auxilliary expressions, acquiring a sense of spatial determination only in the dative-locative .

Ex. 1: ***da.ɹvə-či*** *yila!*
Lit.: **Side-L**. stand-IMPER.
Go **to the side** (and stand there)

Ex. 2: ***da.ɹvə-či*** *ta-mɛye.*
Lit.: **Side-L**. look-PROG.
He looks **aside**.

Ex. 3: ***da.ɹvə-i*** *bo ňi yiqan bi-ɣəi.*
Lit.: **Side-GEN**. house-POSS. Chinese be-PERF.
Their **neighbours** were Chinese.

Ex. 4: ***əňi amə da-t*** *bi na?*
Lit.: **Mother Father root-DL**. is QUEST.
Does she live **with her parents**?

Ex. 5: *duqa jaqə-t fot leikə-m.*
Lit.: **Gate thing-DL**. fodo hang-IMP.
Next to the gate they hang the *fodo*.

Figurative description of location using the word ba *– place*

Another word with many auxilliary functions, and the only one whose basic meaning is connected with space, is the word ***ba*** 'place'. Most often it expresses the meaning 'at someone's place' or 'with someone'.

Ex. 1: *ər bitkə* ***mi-ⁿ bat*** *bi.*
Lit.: This book **my place-DL**. is.
I have this book **at home**.

Ex. 2: ***junglo laoχaⁿ ba-t*** *gənə-m na?*
Lit.: **Zhonglu old man place-DL**. go-IMP. QUEST
Shall we go to visit **Mr. Zhonglu**?

6.2.6 Temporal use of spatials

As in many other languages, spatial expressions are also used figuratively to describe relative positions in time. Contrary to what one might expect, however, we do not find the basic spatial opposition of the roots ***ama-*** 'back, north' and ***jule-*** 'front, south' functioning as a basic opposition in temporal relationships. While the root ***ama-*** 'back, north' has predictably undergone a shift in meaning and its forms ***amala*** and ***amasi*** are used in the sense of 'after, later', and 'from then' respectively, its opposite meaning is expressed by another root, apparently a loan from Mongolic – the root ***onggo-*** 'before, former'.[2] It occurs only in the petrified form ***onggolo*** (Si. ***ᴏɴᴏ.ʟ***), from which other forms are derived by means of regular case suffixes.

In some expressions, however, the root ***ju-*** is used with a temporal meaning, namely in the starting formula in written narratives about the past. The most frequent of these formulas are ***julge-i fon-de*** (Lit. in-front-GEN. time-DL.) and ***julge-i erin-de*** (Lit. in-front-GEN. time-DL.).

Ex. 1: ***amələ-i mudaⁿ****, aɴ lim fienš-kə-də …*
Lit.: **Later-GEN. time** mouth open-CI. ask-NP.-DL.
Next time, when I dared to ask …

Ex. 2: *ər gum* ***amə.ɪ bait*** *…*
Lit.: This all **later-0G. matter**.
This all happened **later**.

Ex. 3: ***ərᵊ-i ᴏɴᴏ.ɪ*** *əmdaⁿ ji-ɣᵊi.*
Lit.: **This-GEN. before** once come-PERF.
I have come once (**before this time**).

[2] Its relationship to the Mongolian root ***öm-*** is supported by several similar cases: Ma. ***angga*** – Mo. ***am*** 'mouth', Ma. ***enggemu*** – Mo. ***emeel*** 'saddle'.

Ex. 4: ***guri-m ji-h oɴolə-i*** *baitə-f taqa-r na*^{n} *qoms.*
Lit.: **Move-CI. come-NP. before-GEN**. matter-ACC. know-NI. person little.
There are few people who know anything about the **time before the migration**.

7 THE VERB

7.1 The verbal system of spoken Sibe

The system of verbal expressions in spoken Sibe functionally resembles the verbal systems of the Mongolic and Turkic languages. Formally it is comparatively simple. Relatively simple verbal forms seem to be a typical feature of the more prevalently oral Altaic languages existing within the sphere of the influence of the Chinese language.[1] Compared to written Manchu, spoken Sibe expresses actions in a simpler and more analytic way.

In comparison with other Altaic languages, including written Manchu, we find a lesser number of forms on every level of the verbal system. In all of the basic varieties of verbal expressions (finite verbs, verbal nouns and converbs) there is a pair of forms representing the basic opposition of tense and aspect – the **present/future** – **imperfectivity** (which can also be described as **indefinite time**) and the **past** – **perfectivity** (**definite time**). In his description of spoken Sibe, Jang Taeho (Jang 2008, p. 132) speaks of the opposition between **past** vs. **non-past**. From a certain point of view it can be even stated that the general present-future tense can even semantically include, in some instances, an action belonging to the past, and that the morphological formants of the past-perfective forms delineate a specific section of time within this general tense.

Apart from this opposition, which covers most communication needs, there is (in the case of finite verbs and verbal nouns) a third, less frequent form which expresses **progressivity** or **durativity**, as well as several secondary forms which have developed recently from analytic expressions.

The Manchu verbs distinguish various types of tense, aspect and modality, and (with the exception of imperatives) do not distinguish person and number. Concerning the types of verbal expressions (Rus. *glagol'noje slovo*), most of the authors agree on the definition of three types of verbs, which may be generally labelled as **finite verbs** (**verba finita**), **verbal nouns** (**nomina**) and **converbs** (**converba**). The finite verb class is often divided into two classes – the command forms and the tense or indicative forms.[2] The Russian authors use

[1] Examples of this phenomena may be provided not only by the "small" and geographically isolated languages, like the Mongolic languages of the Gansu-Qinghai region, but also from Eastern Mongolian dialects such as Khorchin or Baarin, whose speakers, despite their knowledge of Written Mongolian, use a much more simplified way of describing actions in speech.

[2] Although different terminology has been applied by various authors (e.g. Chingalttai 1965, p. 83) – "the command and desire class, the verbal noun class, the tense class and the copulative verb class", the classification remains the same.

a terminology which was developed for the Slavic languages: ***glagol'nye naklonenija*** (verbal moods), ***pričastija*** (participles, verbal adjectives) and ***deepričastija*** (gerunds, or converbs)[3]. Modern works in Chinese distinguish ***shijian xingshi*** (temporal forms), ***qishishi xingshi*** (lit. stimulating forms[4]), ***xingdong xingshi*** (forms of verbal adjectives), ***xingming xingshi*** (forms of verbal nouns) and ***fudong xingshi*** (forms of converbs).

In his Manchu Grammar, which to a certain extent follows traditional Manchu grammars, I. Zaharov (1879, p. 172) speaks of eight types of 'naklonenija', among which he lists the '*pričastie*' and '*deepričastie*'. According to him, the verbs of literary Manchu have three time levels and six tenses, which can be expressed in all '*naklonenija*'.

In his comparative work, O. P. Sunik (1962, pp. 200–214) corrects the Russian terminology and points out the substantial differences in content of terminology between Slavonic and Altaic linguistic analysis. He emphasizes as well the different character of verbs in Manchu-Tungus languages with respect to verbs in Turkic and Mongolic languages. After a detailed analysis and definition of each Russian linguistic term used for the Altaic verbal system, he seems still inclined to employ them and defines four basic verbal forms in Tungusic languages: ***pričastie*** (participle), ***imennye formy glagola*** (nominal verbal forms, among which he lists supine, conditional and several others, none of which, however, occurs in Manchu), ***deepričastie*** (gerund, or converb) and ***naklonenija glagola*** (verbal mood). He distinguishes three verbal moods (indicative, imperative and conditional) and three time levels (past, present and future). In his work he does not mention the verbal noun II with the suffix ***-ng***, typical of Manchu as a separate form.

This profound comparative work, based on rich material of the living Tungusic languages, faces a certain lack of material of the spoken forms of Manchu in dealing with the problematics of Manchu grammar. It is based solely on Zaharov's Manchu Grammar, which, in turn, analyzes only the written form of Manchu.

In her Manchu Grammar Liliya Gorelova follows the threefold division of verbal forms in Manchu (**participles**, **converbs** and **finite verbal forms**). In the last group she includes indicative, oblique moods (optative, imperative and prohibitive) and, as a special part of the finite forms, complex verbal forms with epistemic modality. (Gorelova 2002, pp. 231–233)

In this respect, a great contribution to the study of Sibe verbs has been made by Li Shulan, Li Shulan, Zhongqian and Wang Qingfeng in their monoghraph (1984, pp. 45–62), which describes the grammar of spoken Sibe from a purely synchronic point of view and is therefore highly helpful in defining the communicative functions of the particular forms.

This work distinguishes the following forms:

1) **temporal forms** – eight temporal forms expressing two time levels (the past and the present-future)
2) **stimulating forms** – imperatives for 1st, 2nd and 3rd person
3) **converbs**
4) **verbal adjectives**
5) **a verbal noun**

From my own experience with Sibe I can attest that this classification reflects the situation of the spoken language as it is used in actuality today.

[3] Cf. e.g. Poppe 1937, p. 105.

[4] The Chinese expression *qishishi* means 'encouraging, urging, motivating'; in linguistic terminology, it is used for causative forms.

For the purposes of the present description the following classification of the verbal forms is proposed:

1. Functionally finite forms
- present/future finite verb (presens imperfecti) ***-mie***
- past/perfect finite verb (perfectum) ***-ʁʲi*(*-e*)/*-ɣʲi*(*-ye*)**
- progressive finite verb ***-mɛ-ye*/*-ma-ʁʲi*(*-e*)**
- a verbal form for expressing a action taking place in the future

2. Imperative and optative forms
- first person singular and plural imperative (voluntative) ***-ki*/*-či***,
- second person singular and plural, formed usually by the simple verbal stem and in several cases by special irregular forms.
- third person singular and plural imperative ***-kiňi***

3. Converbs
- present/imperfective[5] converb ***-m*(*-ə*)**
- perfective[6] converb ***-maq***
- perfective converb ***-fi***

4. Verbal nouns[7]
- present-future/imperfective verbal noun ***-r***
- past/perfective verbal noun ***-h***
- progressive verbal noun ***-maχ***

5. Verbal nouns II

Verbal nouns II are formed by adding the suffix ***-ŋ*/*-ɴ*** to all forms of verbal nouns
- present-future verbal noun II ***-rəŋ***
- past verbal noun II ***-ɣəŋ*/*-ʁəɴ***
- progressive verbal noun II ***-ma-ʁəɴ***

7.1.1 The problem of definition of the finite verbs in Sibe

According to G. I. Ramstedt (Ramstedt 1957, p. 81) the term 'verba finita' in the Altaic linguistic sphere 'in broader sense may be used for all verbal forms which mark the finiteness of a sentence'.[8] However, only the **imperative** and **optative** forms are considered by him to be 'finite verbs proper' whereas the remaining verbal forms are in fact verbal nouns.

As for Manchu, I. Zaharov distinguishes between **verbal nouns** (***pričastija***), **transgressives** (***deepričastija***), and two **verbal moods** (***naklonenija***) – the indicative mood and the imperative mood.

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5 Sunik, p. 267: *deepričastie odnovremennoje*.

6 Sunik, p. 280: *deepričastie raznovremennoe*.

7 The term 'verbal adjectives' (*xingdong xingshi* – lit. adjectival verbal forms) is common in Chinese grammatical tradition. It has been used in the description of Altaic languages, in particular for Manchu and Sibe, where these forms (unlike the category above of Verbal Nouns II) function largely as attributes and are rarely declined.

8 *V altaiskih že jazykah eto opredelenie, v širokom smysle slova, možet byť primenemo ko vsem tem glagol'nym formam, kotoryje ukazyvajut na zakončennosť predloženija.*

O. P. Sunik (Sunik 1962, p. 309) speaks of the 'verb in the narrower sense', which corresponds to the concept of the finite verb, or the *naklonenija* (verbal moods), whose main common feature is their ability to function as the predicate (these are the forms of so-called "terminative predication" (*zakončennaja predikacia*) Sunik 1962, p. 309).

All these forms possess the category of mood, most of them possess as well the category of tense and in most of the Tungusic languages the verbs express person and number as well.

Unlike the other Tungusic languages, the Manchu and Sibe verb usually does not express person and number. From one viewpoint (Sunik 1962, p. 309) it may be concluded that in Manchu and Sibe the only finite forms are the imperative and optative forms, and most of the predicates are in fact verbal nouns or converbs. However, both Manchu and Sibe possess morphological means which makes these non-finite expressions specialized predicative forms, which may then be considered as finite (see below).

The authors of *Xiboyu kouyu yanjiu* (Li Shulan 1984, p. 56) divide the forms in question into the "stimulating forms" (imperatives) and "temporal forms", and the indicative mood of the verb.

In the Manchu verbal system, unlike the systems of other Altaic languages, the finite verbs (with the exception of imperatives) do not have specialized forms, but are originally analytic forms (verbal noun or converb + copula *bi* 'is'; Zaharov 1879, p. 173)[9]. An analogical feature seems to be found in other Tungusic languages as well; Avrorin (1955, p. 23), for example, states, that in Nanai there are no finite verbs because all predicative forms are verbal nouns.

The situation is similar in spoken Sibe. Forms which could superficially be labelled as finite according to their function in the sentence as predicates, in most cases can be broken down into a verbal noun or converb, and the suffix ***-ᵊi*(*-ye*)** (with the respective vocalic variants). This suffix consists of the vowel ***-i***, which is considered by native speakers as a remnant of the literary suffix/copula ***-bi*** , and the vowel ***-e***, which is a compulsory part of the imperfect ***-m-i-e*** and durative ***-mɛ-i-e***; its use in the perfective verb ***-ʁ-i*(*-e*)** [3] is facultative. This vowel, which only recently became noted in the native descriptions and records of oral Sibe,[10] certainly has a stylistic and prosodic function but may even be regarded as a component with a certain degree of grammatical function. The entire suffix ***-i*(*-e*)** has a clear grammatical function (a form with this suffix can never be a converb or a verbal noun, while a form without the suffix can be either one of these two or a finite verb with a zero suffix). The position of this suffix corresponds to the position of the component ***-bi*** in literary Manchu. The forms with this suffix may therefore be taken for finite forms, despite the fact that they do not express person and number, because they can neither function as an attribute nor precede another verb. Their sole function is that of a predicate. At the same time they cannot be considered analytic forms, since the component ***-i*(*-e*)** contains no lexical or (other) grammatical meaning.

It may be of interest to note the way native speakers themselves transcribe their language. Attempts have been made to record pronunciation either by using the Manchu alphabet (in song lyrics or incidental documentation of speech in literary texts, the creation of which has been a tradition since the beginning of the 20th century), or by the Latin alphabet in more recent linguistic works and in internet communication. It is worth noting that most of

[9] L. Gorelova maintains, that the component -bi (defined in her work as a predicative copula) is probably of non-verbal nature and should be distinguished from the existential verb bi- (Gorelova 2002, p. 232).

[10] I have encountered, in several collections of Sibe speech gathered by native speakers, instances where the imperfect was noted as *-mi* and the durative as *-mai*, which may mean that native speakers themselves perceive the final vowel as nothing more than a facultative emphasis.

the speakers either ignore the entire suffix (as in the case of the imperfect verb in *Xiboyu kouyu yanjiu* – 1984), or use the short form ***-i*** (imp. ***-mi***, as in *yav-mi* 'goes' instead of the pronounced form in actual usage, *yav-mie*, perf. ***-hai***/***-hei*** instead of ***-ʁi*(*ye*)**[3], dur. ***-mai*** instead of ***-mɛye***, to cite a few examples). This method of transcription seems to follow the tradition of the first attempts to record the spoken language. Certain specific instances, such as that of the form *oʁᵘ̊-i-ye* ('became, enough'), regularly transcribed as *ohoye*, bear evidence against the idea that native speakers themselves are not aware of the long forms they pronounce.

Examples of comparison in the spoken and written forms:

Lit. Manchu	*yabu-*	*-m*	*-bi*
Spoken Sibe	*yav-*	*-m*	*-i-ye*
Meaning	stem of 'to go'	imperfective converb	finite verb suffix

Lit. Manchu	*yabu-*	*-ha*	*-bi*
Spoken Sibe	*yav-*	*-ʁᵊ*	*-i-(e)*
Meaning	stem of 'to go'	sufix nom. perf.	finite verb suffix

Lit. Manchu	*yabu-*	*-ma*	*-ha*	*-bi*
Spoken Sibe	*yav-*	*-ma*	*-ʁᵊ*	*-i-(e)*
Spoken Sibe	*yav-*	*-mɛ*		*-ye*
Meaning	stem of 'go'	sufix conv. imp.	sufix nom. perf.	finite verb suffix

7.1.2 The delayed personal pronoun

A feature typical of many Mongolian dialects – the addition of personal pronouns after a predicate – occurs occasionally in the speech of the Jungarian Sibe. This may be encouraged by their linguistic environment: the surrounding Turkic and Oirat languages. In Sibe their use is always accompanied by a certain degree of a modal or emotional shading, and they seem to retain their full lexical meaning as in, for example, the Khalkha Mongolian phrase *margaaš ireh uu, ta?* 'will (you) come tomorrow, you?' as opposed to the more grammaticalized use of the same procedure in the Oirat dialects.

Ex. 1: ***sa-qᵘ̊ bi***.
Lit.: Know-(NI.)-NEG. 1sg.
I do not know (emphasized).

Ex. 2: ***gən-ɣᵊi bi***.
Lit.: Go-PERF. 1sg.
(But) I went there!

Ex. 3: ***gən śi!***
Lit.: Go-IMPER. 2sg.
Go away! (strictness)

7.1.3 Verbum existentiae

Manchu has two main productive roots of existential verbs:

1. The root *o-* 'to be (something or somebody), to become, to be possible' corresponds by its function and lexical range to the verbal root *bol-* in the Mongolic and Turkic languages. It has a wide range of possible translations both lexically and in its auxiliary and grammatical functions. The central lexical meaning is that of identity or identification (*bi śint uɣumə* ***om***, lit. 1sg. 2sg.-DL. aunt **become-IMP**.' – '**I am** [**in the position of**] an aunt for you'), and the main auxiliary functions represent the expression of possibility (e.g. *təvat gənə-m* ***o-m***, lit. 'there go-CI. **become-IMP**.' – '**it is possible** to go there', '**we can** go there' etc.) and of change (e.g. *χa ʁəji ňi* ***ambu o-ʁů-i***, lit. 'son POSS. **big become-PERF**.' – 'her son **grew up**'). As a grammaticalized component of complex verbal expressions it usually expresses perfectivity or readiness for an action (e.g. *aʁa da-m-****ů-ʁů-i***, lit. 'rain have.connection.with-CI.-**become-PERF**.' – 'it is going to rain').

2. The verb *bi-* 'to exist, to occur, to be situated somewhere, to be present, to be in possession of' covers a range of meanings similar to Mongolian *bai-* and Turkic *bar-*. Its peculiarity is that in oral Sibe its imperfective finite form does not take a tense suffix (*bo naʁəⁿ śiňi* ***əvat bi***, lit. 'house kang 2sg.-GEN. **here is**' – 'your home **is here**'). In literary Manchu there occurs, apart from the defective form *bi*, a regularly formed expression *bimbi*. In the spoken language, however, it is difficult to identify a similar form. If there is any, it would be the form *biye*, whose second component ***-ye*** is functionally comparable to the suffix ***-bi*** of the literary language (see above). The other forms of the verb *bi-* are formed regularly.

In literary Manchu verbal forms which are regarded as finite always include the suffix ***-bi***, which might have a connection to the verbal root *bi-*.

The verb *bi*, like the Mongolian form *baina*, functions as a copula in nominal sentences and its use is facultative except when expressing 'presence' or 'location', in which case it is obligatory (*urumči-t* ***ai bie*** lit. 'Urumchi-DL. **what is**' – '**what is** in Urumči').

7.1.4 Negation of verbal forms

Negation by means of the particle (*a*)*qů*

In most cases the verbal action is negated by attaching the particle (*a*)*qů* to a the verbal noun. In contemporary spoken Sibe the connection between the negative particle and the verb is so close that it seems more appropriate to speak of a suffix. The first syllable of the particle ***a-*** either elides or merges with the final vowel of the verbal form. In the imperfective verbal noun finishing in ***-r*** the suffix ***-r*** usually elides and the negative suffix ***-qů*** is attached directly to the verbal stem (e.g. Ma. *sara-qů* Si. *sa-qů* 'does not know'). In speech the final

vowel ***-ů*** is usually reduced to a labialization of the preceding consonant *q* (> *-q^{ů}*), and the vowel preceding the suffix ***-qů*** is often labialized (e.g. *mute-qů* 'can not' > *mutů-q^{ů}*). Under the influence of the uvular pronunciation of the suffix the last stem syllable of the verbs with front vowels often acquires uvular pronunciation (*gən-ɣə-qů* 'did not go' > *gən-ʁa-q^{ů}*).

1) Negation of finite verbs

The negative counterparts of the finite verbs are formed either by attaching the suffix ***-i*(*ye*)** to the negated verbal noun (thus resulting in a negative finite form), e.g. *gən-ʁa-q^{ů}-i*(*-ye*) 'did not go (PERF)', or simply by the negated verbal noun, which is more common, e.g. *gən-ʁa-q^{ů}* 'did not go (NP.)' The form with the finite verb suffix corresponds to the written Manchu form with the suffix ***-bi*** (*gene-he-kū-bi* 'did not go').

Ex. 1: *čimar gənə-m na?* ***gənə-q^{ů}i***.
Lit.: Tomorrow go-IMP. QUEST. – **go**-(**NI.**)-**NEG**.
Will you go there tomorrow? – I **will not go**.

Ex. 2: *sadə-mɛi na?* ***sadəmaʁ-a-q^{ů}i***.
Lit.: Be.tired-PROG. QUEST. **Be.tired-PROG.-NEG**.
Are you tired? (No), **I am not tired**.

Ex. 3: *ji-ɣə na?* ***ji-ʁa-q^{ů}-i***.
Lit.: Come-PERF. QUEST. – **Come-NP.-NEG**.
Did he come? (**No**), **he did not come**.

2) Negation of verbal nouns

The negative counterparts of verbal nouns are simply the negated forms of the verbal nouns.

Ex. 1: *gənə-r na^{n}* 'the person who will go' – *gənə-q^{ů} na^{n}* 'the person who will not go'

Ex. 2: *ji-h saʁənč* 'the girl who came' – *ji-ɣa-q^{ů} saʁənč* 'the girl who did not come'

3) Negation of converbs

The negative counterpart of a converb was originally an analytic form (the negated verbal noun plus the imperfect converb of the verb *o-* 'to be, to become'.

Ex. 1: ***ji-qů-mə*** *(<* ***ji-qů o-mə****) ainə-mie?*
Lit.: **Come**-(**NI**.)-**NEG.**-(**become**)-CI. do what-IMP.
What will you do **if not coming**? (= Why should you not come?)

Ex. 2: *śim-b* ***sav-ʁa-qů-maq*** *(<* ***sav-ʁa-qů o-maq****) yav-ʁə.*
Lit.: 2sg.-ACC. **see-NP.-NEG.** (**become**)-**CP**. go-PERF.
I **did not see** you there **and so** I left.

Ex. 3: ***jə-qů-či*** *(<* ***jə-qů o-či****) o-jůq*^{ů}*!*
Lit.: **Eat-(NI.)-NEG**. (**become**)-**CC**. become-(NI.)-NEG.
It is impossible **not to eat** (= you have to eat).

4) Negation of verbal nouns II

The negative counterpart of the verbal noun IIs is formed by attaching the negative suffix to the verbal noun before the nominalizing suffix ***-ɴ*^{2}**.

Ex. 1: *əm jaq* ***baʁənə-qůɴ*** *da bi.*
Lit.: One thing **know/can-NI.II.-NEG**. ACT. 1sg.
I am the one who **knows nothing**.

Negation by means of the particle *əm*

Negation of verbal forms by means of the prohibitive particle ***əm*** in Sibe occurs only with imperative forms. Moreover, while in literary Manchu the prohibitive particle *ume* occurs with second- and third- person forms (e.g. *ume yabukini*) the material collected for this analysis yielded only negative forms of the second person imperative. The particle ***əm*** in the negative form of the second person imperative is always followed by an imperfective noun.

Ex.: ***əm yavə-r****, davɪ išta-ʁ*^{ə}*i.*
Lit.: **PROH. go-NI**. too become.late-PERF.
Do not leave, it is already too late.

7.1.5 Question

It is typical of Altaic languages (as well as of Chinese) to formally distinguish two types of questions – "wh- questions" (all questions that use question words) and questions which can be answered by "yes" or "no". This distinction is expressed by using different types of interrogative particles. Sometimes interrogative particles are not used in the first question type marked by the interrogative wh- word.

In literary Manchu there are several interrogative particles, of which *nio* (or, in verbal predicates, sometimes only the particle *-o* attached to the verb) are used for yes/no questions while other particles express various modal differences of wh- questions.

Spoken Sibe uses a single interrogative particle *na* for yes/no questions, while wh-questions are marked only by the interrogative vicaria (the interrogative pronouns *ai* 'what', *və* 'who' in all case forms, the interrogatives *afs* 'how', *ailiaɴ* 'what like', *aitiɴ* 'when', *yavat/ɛvit* 'where', *yam*(*kə*^{n}) 'which', the interrogative verb *ainə-* 'do what' and the like). Interrogative particles come at the end of the sentence and usually no sandhi changes occur,[11] but in verbal predicates the finite verbs drop their marker of finiteness.[12]

[11] In the speech of the younger generation the suffix of the imperfective verb is often dropped before the interrogative particle, e.g. instead *gənəm na***?** Will you go? the form *gən na***?** is pronounced.

[12] When the particle *na* follows the longer form of the finite verb, or is separated by a pause from the previous verb, it usually has a modal meaning which may be rendered as 'requiring confirmation or approval', e.g. (*śie*^{n} *gizermɛye,* ***na****?* 'she speaks well, **doesn't she**?').

Ex. 1: *ənəɴ diøvr ji-m **mutə-m na**?*
Lit.: Today night come-CI. **be able-IMP. QUEST**.
Can you come tonight?

Ex. 2: *ər baitə-f śi **dønji-m duɹ-ɣ-a-qᵘ na**?*
Lit.: This matter you **hear-CI. pass-NP.-NEG. QUEST**.
Have you not heard about it?

Ex. 3: *čimar aitiɴ ji-m **mutə-mie**?*
Lit.: Tomorrow **when** come-CI. **be able-IMP**.
What time can you come tomorrow?

Ex. 4: *ər baitə-f śi **və-dəri** dønji-m **duɹ-ɣʲi**?*
Lit.: **This matter-ACC. 2sg. who-ABL**. hear-CI. **pass-NP**.
Whom did you hear it from?

Common use of the yes/no question

1. Presens imperfecti

The suffix ***-i*(*e*)** is dropped before the particle *na* in the present-future finite forms.

Ex. 1: *ər nanə-f **taqə-m na**?*
Lit.: This person **know-IMP. QUEST**.
Do you **know him**?

2. The progressive verb

In the progressive verb ***-mɛye*** only the last vowel of the suffix is dropped before the interrogative particle.

Ex. 1: *hoŋlin ju naⁿ śieⁿ bo **banjə-mɛi na**?*
Lit.: Honglin two person good house **live-PROG. QUEST**.
Do Honglin and her husband **live happily** in their home?

Ex. 2: *mim-b **taqə-mɛi na**?*
Lit.: 1sg.-ACC. **recognize-PROG. QUEST**.
Do you recognize me?

***3. Nomen perfᵉcti* (-ɣ/-ʁ, -k/-q) *and the longer form of the durative verb*- -m-a-ʁ-i(e)**

Ex. 1: *gizum-b ňi **ulⁱ-h-ə na**?*
Lit.: Word-ACC. POSS. **understand-PERF. QUEST**.
Did you understand him?

Ex. 2: *ər učur əksə-m **yav-m-a-ʁ-ə na**?*
Lit.: This section hurry-CI. **go-PROG. QUEST**.
Are you busy these days?

Figurative use of the interrogative constructions

a) A gentle call or invitation is often expressed by the use of an imperfective verb with the interrogative particle. This question may be either an invitation to a common action, or a mild suggestion to the interlocutor, sometimes intended as an advice.

Ex. 1: *avśe, məs **yav-m na**?*
Lit.: How, 1pl.(incl.) **go-IMP. QUEST**.
So **shall we leave**?
Note: A usual question in any situation before leaving.

Ex. 2: *ərəču^{n}-zə bo-t əmda^{n} **dəźi-m na**?*
Lit.: Erečun-PART. house-DL. once **enter-IMP. QUEST**.
Shall we drop in at Erečun's place? (= Let us go and see Erečun.)

Ex. 3: *śi-^{n} fienji-r baitə-f tə **fienji-m na**?*
Lit.: 2sg.-GEN. ask-NI. matter now **ask-IMP. QUEST**.
Now you should **ask your questions**.

b) In the first person singular this question usually is used as an inquiry as to whether an action is appropriate.

Ex. 1: *bi tə **gizərə-m na**?*
Lit.: 1sg. now **speak-IMP. QUEST**.
Should I speak now?

c) The imperfect verb with the interrogative particle is sometimes (as in Mongolian) used to express a polite suggestion which, however, anticipates refusal.

When the case in point is a question about a service or obligation by the speaker to the interlocutor, the question may imply a significant measure of hesitation or reluctance. In Sibe society an offer which is seriously intended is expressed by the use of an indicative sentence, or – as is more often the case –not even mentioned. An explicit commentary gives more room for a polite refusal.

Ex. 2: *śi-^{n} jiʁa-f śin-t ənəɴ **bu-m na**?*
Lit.: 2sg.-GEN. money-ACC. 2sg.-DL. today **give-IMP. QUEST**.
Should I be giving you your money back today?
Note: Such formulation of a question anticipates a negative response and thus is only a sign of willingness to give the money back at some future time.

Ex. 3: *bi śin-t ňinəɴə bəda-f **vənjəv-m bu-m na**?*
Lit.: 1sg. 2sg.-DL. day rice-ACC. **heat-CI. give-IMP. QUEST**.

Shall I heat up the lunch for you?
Note: As in the previous case this is merely a polite rhetorical question in a context where the serving food is unnecessary.

7.2 Finite verbs

For the sake of greater clarity I deal only with the indicative mood in this chapter. The imperative forms are described in a separate chapter.

In the Altaic languages, the grammatical category of tense is invariably ascribed to the indicative verbal mood. Certain authors mention three temporal levels – past, present and future. According to V. I. Sunik, the present and future tenses form, by their dynamic character, an opposition to the static and perfective nature of the past tense.

A different classification seemingly better suited to the actual linguistic situation in the Altaic tongues, occurs in more recent works: this is the division into two temporal levels. It is employed, among others, by B. Sechenbaatar in his description of the Chahar dialect of Mongol (Sechenbaatar 2003, p. 137), in which he classifies all forms of the indicative mood into two groups- "past" and "non-past"). The same division is employed by Jang Taeho (Jang 2008, p. 132). G. R. Li also classifies the finite verbs of literary Manchu into two groups – "perfective (past)" and "imperfective (non-perfective)" (Li 2000, p. 358). Li Shulan speaks explicitly about two temporal levels in spoken Sibe – the past (*guoqu*) and the present-future (*xiandai- jianglai*).

Generally speaking, in comparison with Khalkha Mongolian, a certain general simplicity and straightforwardness of expression is characteristic of the spoken Sibe language as a whole. This quality also manifests itself in the verbal system. The two tense forms, which represent the basic opposition between the present-future and the past and thus satisfy most communicative needs, are supplemented by a third form that expresses progressivity.

The authors mentioned above all agree on the existence of two indicative verbal forms in Manchu – the imperfective form ***-mbi*** and the perfective form ***-habi³***/***-kabi³***. Among the indicative forms, certain authors also enumerate a varying number of analytic forms, expressing mostly aspects of duration and continuation. (For example, G. R. Li recognises three synthetic forms ***-mbi***, ***-ra³*** *and* ***-ha³*** –, as well as twelve analytic forms.) The authors of *Xiboyu kouyu yanjiu* distinguish five synthetic forms – three forms of the past tense: ***-heng***,[13] ***-he***,[14] and ***-hei***,[15] and two forms of the present tense: ***-m***[16] and ***-mahei***.[17] In addition to these synthetic forms they list four analytic forms.

I have decided to include only the synthetic paradigms that include the marker of finiteness – the suffix ***-i***(***e***) – among the finite forms. This concerns three verbal formants:

1. Imperfect verb ***-m***-(***i-e***) (or general present, praesens imperfecti, abbreviated as IMP.)
2. Imperfect durative verb ***-mɛye***, ***-maʁᵊi***-(***e***) (progressive, abbreviated as PROG.)
3. Perfect verb ***-ʁᵊi***-(***e***), ***-ɣᵊi***-(***e***) (past tense, abbreviated as PERF.)

[13] A verbal noun II, which is often used as a predicate.
[14] A form which may be regarded either as a verbal noun used as a predicate, or as a past finite form with a zero suffix of finiteness.
[15] A short form of the past finite verb.
[16] A short form of the imperfect finite verb.
[17] A short form of the durative verb.

7.2.1 The imperfect verb -m(-i-e) (praesens imperfecti)

This verbal form, like the corresponding form in Mongolian (***-na***/Lit. Mo. ***-mui***), is usually treated as the basic form of a the verb, and verbs in dictionaries are often given in this form. This form of the verb is most frequently designated as the present tense, present-future, aorist, indefinite tense (Sunik 1962, p. 313), or praesens imperfecti (Poppe 1955, p. 261).

Meaning and forms of the imperfect verb

The imperfect verb is the most general tense form, which under various conditions can express both the general and concrete present tenses, the future tense and the past tense. It is sometimes also used analogically with the infinitive as we understand it from an Indo-European linguistic context. Etymologically (this point is also reflected in the linguistic interpretation of native speakers themselves) it derives from the written form ***-m-bi***. The full form ***-m-i-e*** is more often used for the future than the other forms. In his article about the Manchu verb D. Sinor calls this form a "timeless" form, a general denotation of an action (Sinor 1949, p. 147).

Use of the imperfect verb

a) The full form *-m-i-e*

1. The full form of the imperfect expressing concrete present

Ex. 1: *śi yet* ***gənə-mie****?*
Lit.: 2sg. where **go-IMP**.
Where **are you going**?

Ex. 2: *tašqů-t* ***gənə-mie****.*
Lit.: School-DL. go-IMP.
I am going to school.

Ex. 3: *a*^{n} ***əksə-mie****?*
Lit.: Why **hurry-IMP**.
Why **are you in a hurry**?

2. The full form of the imperfect expressing a general present action

Ex. 1: *bi ər nanə-f* ***taqə-mie****.*
Lit.: 1sg. this person-ACC. **recognize-IMP**.
I know this man.

Ex. 2: *śi ai uču*^{n} ***baʁənə-mie****?*
Lit.: 2sg. what song **know**/**can-IMP**.
Which song **can you sing**?

Ex. 3: *so-ⁿ təvat ai **jə-mie**?*
Lit.: 2pl.-GEN. there what **eat-IMP**.
What **do you eat** in your country?

Ex. 4: *śi-ⁿ agə ai **arə-mie**?*
Lit.: 2sg.-GEN. elder brother **what do-IMP**.
What does your elder brother **do**?
Note: This formulation implies a general question (about, for example, a job). For a more concrete inquiry as to the present moment a durative would be used.

Ex. 5: *śi-ⁿ gəvə-f ai **zə-mie**?*
Lit.: 2sg.-GEN. name what **say-IMP**.
What is your name?

Ex. 6: *so-ⁿ bo śidəⁿ yask guidam **yav-mie**?*
Lit.: 2pl.-GEN. house between how much take time-CI. **go-IMP**.
How long does it take to **get** to your home?

Ex. 7: *əraɴ oš da əňi amə toruɴ ňi **ačəna-mie**.*
Lit.: Thus become-CC. ACT. mother father abuse NI.II. POSS. **agree-IMP**.
In this case his parents **are right** to scold him.

Ex. 8: *aⁿ **saʁər-mie**?*
Lit.: Why **catch.cold-IMP**.?
Why does one **catch a cold**?
Note: A humorous expression of discontent.

3. The full form of the imperfect expressing future actions

Ex. 1: *ənəɴ məs ai **jə-mie**?*
Lit.: Today 1pl.incl. what **eat-IMP.**
What shall we **have for dinner** today?

Ex. 2: *taqa da **iʑinə-mie**.*
Lit.: Instantly ACT. **reach-IMP**.
We will **be there** in a short while.

Ex. 3: *aitiŋ boči **məda-mie**?*
Lit.: When house-LAT. **turn back-IMP.**
When are you **going home**?

Ex. 4: *tə aitiŋ ji-m **mutə-mie**?*
Lit.: Now when come-CC. **can-IMP**.
When **will you be** able to come next?

b) The short form *-m*

The short form *-m* is used in all the semantic paradigms listed above as well as for the expression of the past. While the future is more often expressed by the full form, the shortened form is used mainly to describe an action or condition in the past. This form is also often used in the narration of an event, in which case it enlivens the story or serves to accelerate the cadence of the narrative (Ex. 5).

1. The short form of the imperfect expressing the past

Ex. 1: *dači mo-^{n} bo-t gul **ji-m***.
Lit.: Originally 1pl.-GEN. house-DL. often **come-IMP**.
Formerly **he used to visit us** often.

Ex. 2: *dači mo-^{n} ju na^{n} yinəŋ yinəŋ **sav-m***.
Lit.: Originally 1pl.-GEN. two person day day **see-IMP**.
Formerly we **used to see** each other every day.

Ex. 3: *jaq jə-r ərin-t gənkəndi əm na^{n} uči **fierə-m***.
Lit.: Thing eat-NI. time-DL. suddenly one person door **pound-IMP**.
Suddenly somebody is **pounding** on the door.

Ex. 4: *tər na^{n} dači nanə-f **χafsə-m***.
Lit.: That person originally person-ACC. **tell-IMP**.
He used to **report** people.

Ex. 5: *ər baitə-f t**ačiv-m**, tər baitə-f **tačiv-m**, tači-m vajə-mə da tər čaqůr t**avənəv-m***.
Lit.: This matter-ACC. **learn-CAUS.-IMP**., that matter-ACC. **learn-CAUS.-IMP.**, learn-CI. finish-CI. ACT. that *čaqůr* **ascend- CAUS.-IMP**.
They **teach him** various things and when he finishes the study, he **climbs** on the *čaqůr.*
Note: From an account of the initiation of a shaman.

2. The short form of the imperfect expressing the general present

Ex. 1: *mo-^{n} təvat ňimʁa laft **jə-m***.
Lit.: 1pl.-GEN. there fish much **eat-IMP**.
In our place people **eat** mainly fish.

Ex. 2: *mi-^{n} agə **uźi^{n} vəilə-m***.
Lit.: 1sg.-GEN. elder.brother **field work-IMP**.
My elder brother **is a peasant**.
Note: The expression *uźi^{n} vəiləm* ‘to work in the field’ is, in addition to its concrete signification, is used as well to designate the typical way of life of the Chabchal peasants.

Ex. 3: *śivə set guru^{n} təraɴ* ***gizərə-m***.
Lit.: Sibe old folk thus **talk-IMP**.
The old Sibe people **usually say** this.

Ex. 4: *samə^{n} ňi yivaʁə^{n}* ***gida-m***.
Lit.: Shaman F. evil.spirit **press-IMP**.
The shamans **suppress** evil spirits.

3. The short form of the imperfect expressing future

Ex.: *čimar* ***yav-m***.
Lit.: Tomorrow **go-IMP**.
I will leave tomorrow.
Note: The short form of the imperfect is used for the future mainly in responding questions.

Verbum existentiae

The verb *bi*, which mainly signifies the existence or presence of something or someone, has a zero form in the imperfect, formally identical with the root *bi*. The longer form *biye* is used mainly in questions and to create emphasis.

Ex.: *uigur-sə ňi omə da bakši zə-m, birχů^{n}, bakši, ju yila^{n} gizu^{n}* ***biye***.
Lit.: Uighur-PART. POSS. become-CI. ACT. *bakši* say-IMP., *birhů^{n} bakši*, two three word **is**.
The Uighurs use the word bakši … they **have** two or three expressions like *birhů^{n}*, *bakši* and so on.
Note: From an account about shamans. The speaker uses here (as is often the case) the longer form bi-e to make his speech slow and distinct.

7.2.2 The progressive verb *-mɛye*

Meaning and forms of the progressive tense

The main signification conveyed by this suffix is that of ongoingness and durativity. The form expresses an action in progress either at the moment of speech or in parallel to another action.

The most common form is ***-mɛye***, which is a shortened form of the older suffix ***-maʁ^{ə}i*(*e*)**. It is a linguisticdevelopment of recent times (the authors of *Xiboyu kouyu yanjiu* – list only the suffix ***-maʁi*(*e*)** – Li Shulan 1984, p. 56). But when younger speakers transcribe the phonetic shape of their speech, they use the form ***-mai***. The pronunciation of older speakers tends to lean towards the expression ***maye***. The reason for treating the forms ***-mɛye*** and ***-maʁ^{ə}ye*** as separate endings is that in my experience a certain division in their use has already occurred: the older form is now used only to emphasize the ongoing quality of the action or state in question.

This verbal form does not have a direct correspondence in the written language and its meaning is reflected in the two suffixes ***-mbi*** and ***-mahab****i*.

Use of the progressive verb

1) Expressing an action in progress at the moment of speech

Ex. 1: *ai **arə-mɛye**? bitkə **ta-mɛye**.*
Lit.: What **do-PROG**. book **look-PROG**.
What **are you doing**? **I am reading** a book.

Ex. 2: *aⁿ bait-aqᵘ̊ baitə-f **iškⁱa-mɛye**?*
Lit.: Why matter-NEG. matter-ACC. **arrange-PROG**.
Why **are you doing** unnecessary things?

Ex. 3: *śi-ⁿ əňi śim-b **χůla-mɛye**.*
Lit.: 2sg.-GEN. mother 2sg.-ACC. **call-PROG**.
Your mother **is calling** you.

Ex. 4: *uju-d ňi durvo **qaɹtur-mɛye**.*
Lit.: Head-DL. POSS. fly **slide-PROG**.
The **flies are sliding** (around) on his head.
Note: A humorous note about pomaded hair.

2) Expressing durativity in the past

Ex.: *tər əm ňinəʁ yinhua dianhua ji-maq śim-b **bia-mɛye**.*
Lit.: That one day Yinhua telephone come-CP. 2sg.-ACC. **look.for-PROG**.
The other day Yinhua **was asking** about you on the phone.

7.2.3 The progressive verb *-m-a-ʁ-ᵊi*(*e*) (PROG.II)

The form of progressive II

The suffix consists of the composite verbal noun *-m-a-ʁ-* and the suffix of finiteness ***-i*(*e*)** It corresponds to the written form ***-ma-ha-bi*/*-mo-ho-bi***.

Use of the progressive II

The suffix expresses ongoingness and duration with emphasis on the "movement" and continuity of the action. The use of this verb may make reference to the moment of enonciation or to an action occurring in parallel with another action.

Ex. 1: *mi-ⁿ əňi śieⁿ **fienji-m-a-ʁ-ᵊi**.*
Lit.: 1sg.-GEN. mother well **ask-PROG.II**
My mother **is sending her regards** to you.
Note: The use of this form adds a shading of urgency to the conveyed message.

Ex. 2: *əm yavə-r, jaq* ***ara-m-a-ʁ-ᵊi.***
Lit.: PROH.-go-NI., thing **make-PROG.II**
Do not leave, the food **is being prepared**!

Ex. 3: *tər,* ***tavənə-m ji-m-a-ʁ-ᵊi.***
Lit.: That, **ascend-CI. come-PROG.II**
It is him, he **is climbing** the stairs.

Ex. 4: *coškᵘ* ***əksə-m-a-ʁ-ᵊye.***
Lit.: Terribly **hurry-PROG.II**
I am too busy right now.

7.2.4 The perfective verb -*ʁᵊi*(*e*), -*ɣᵊi*(*e*) and its alomorphs

Forms and significance of the perfective verb

The perfective verb is a composite of the perfective verbal noun and the finitive suffix -*ᵊi*(*ye*). It corresponds to the written form -***habi, -kabi, -hebi, -kebi, -hobi -kobi***. The suffix has three allomorphs, all with back and front variants: -*ʁᵊi*(*e*), -*ɣᵊi*(*e*), -*χᵊi*(*e*)/-*hᵊi*(*ye*) and -*qᵊi*(*e*)/- *kᵊi*(*e*).

In the written language the allomorphs -*χᵊi*(*e*)/-*hᵊi*() and -*qᵊi*(*e*)/-*kᵊi*(*e*) exist as well, but their distribution differs from the spoken language. While in written Manchu the distribution of the four allomorphs (fricative-plosive in the velar and uvular variants) is strictly divided, in the spoken language the fricative-plosive distinction has disappeared and instead two variants with the voiced fricatives -*ɣ*/-*ʁ* are used (e.g. Lit. Ma. *dule-ke-bi* 'passed' x Si. *duɹ-ɣ-ᵊi* 'passed'). In concurrence with recent phonetic changes, a secondary allomorph -*kᵊi* has developed. In most cases this development is quite easy to trace, as its various stages are reflected in the language usage of the different generations.[18]

Distribution according to place of articulation is reflected in the fact that verbs with front vowels take the velar variant of the suffix, while the verbs with back vowels take the uvular variant. This rule is sometimes weakened in the allomorph with an explosive consonant. In the case of verbs with the vowel -o- in the stem the suffix is slightly rounded (e.g. *ohobi – oʁʷi* 'became', *daokabi – dooʁʷi* 'landed').

This verbal form expresses an action which has terminated in the past. It often reflects, however, an action with a result lasting up till the present moment. There is probably no contradiction of the two meanings, but it calls for two variations of rendition into English.

The finite suffix -*ᵊi*(*ye*) may be omitted and the form does not differ from the perfective noun. This form usually expresses a single and intensive action.

[18] The most frequent process of the development of the secondary -*ki* may be observed in verbal stems ending in a syllable with -*j-* or -*č-* . Due to the reduction and elision of the final vowel the cluster ***jh>čh*** has developed, which was then subsequently assimilated into -*čk-* and dissimilated into -*šk-* (Ex. ***banji-χa > banč-χa >banč-qa/ banč-kᵊi >banš-kᵊi*** gave birth/was born).

Use of the perfective verb

Ex. 1: *aitiŋ **ji-ɣᵊye**?*
Lit.: When **come-PERF**.
When **did** you **come**?

Ex. 2: *diøf dači əm śivə nanə-f **ɛtəv-ɣᵊi**.*
Lit.: Fox originally one Sibe person-ACC. **save-PERF**.
The fox once **saved** a Sibe man.

Ex. 3: *an išta-m ji-ɣᵊye?*
Lit.: Why be.late-CI. come-PERF.
Why are you coming late?

Ex. 4: *čəksə mo-ⁿ bo-t **yint-kᵊi**.*
Lit.: Yesterday 1pl.-GEN. house-DL. **stay.overnight-PERF**.
Yesterday he **slept** at my place.

Ex. 5: *mi-ⁿ saʁənji-f ənəŋ-dəri śin-t **su-m bu-ɣᵊi**.*
Lit.: 1sg.-GEN. daughter-ACC. today-ABL. 2sg.-DL. **engage-CI. give-PERF**.
Today **I am giving** you my daughter in marriage.

Ex. 6: *saʁənji ňi qᵘ̊arianᴎ **banš-kᵊi**.*
Lit.: Daughter POSS. beautiful **be.born-PERF**.
Their daughter **is** beautiful.

Ex. 7: *aⁿ əvəš-k səjəⁿ əm duruⁿ **tə-ɣᵊye**?*
Lit.: Why break-NP. cart one form **sit-PERF**.
Why **are you sitting** like a broken cart?
Note: Scolding of a child who was sprawled on a sofa in the presence of adults.

The short form of the perfective verb

Ex. 1: *tuku-mə da **yaf-χ**.*
Lit.: Doing.so-CI. ACT **go-PERF**.
And then he **was** (suddenly) **gone**.

7.2.5 The verbal form expressing a forthcoming action – *m-ůʁᵘ̊i.*

The colloquial Sibe suffix, which has recently developed from a complex verbal form *-m + oʁᵘ̊i*, is used to express an action which will inevitably occur sometime in the future. While spoken Sibe, as probably most of the Altaic languages, has no real future verbal tense, the suffix- *m-ůʁᵘ̊i* is one of the options for expressing an action in the future. This form, which can be interpreted as "the situation has developed so that the action will take place" is both etymologically and sematically close to the Khalkha Mongolian composite form *-h bol-*, which is also used to express a certain type of future.

The authors of *Xiboyu kouyu yanjiu* treat this verbal expression as a composite verbal tense with the meaning of a future action or state (Li Shulan 1984, p. 46).

Ex. 1: *bo čimar* ***gənə-m-ůʁ^{ů}i.***
Lit.: 1pl.(excl.) tomorrow **go-CI**.(**become**)-**PERF**.
We **will surely go there** tomorrow. (We **have decided to go there** tomorrow.)

Ex. 2: *yinχůa śieri^{n}* ***ara-qů-ʁů*** *ba.*
Lit.: Yinhua wedding **make**-(**NI**.)-**NEG**. **become-PERF**. PROB.
Yinhua **is not going to marry** (at all), is she?

7.3 Imperative and optative forms

Various scholars classify the imperative forms according to different criteria. G. I. Ramstedt maintains that they are the only true finite forms in the Altaic languages (Ramstedt 1957, p. 81), while N. A. Baskakov, in his commentary on Ramstedt's work, regards them as verbal nouns (as he does all other verbal forms) (Ramstedt 1957, see footnote 82). *Xiboyu kouyu yanjiu* (1984, p. 56) classifies them as a special category of verbal forms equivalent to verbal nouns, converbs and finite verbs. The main criteria for such classification is the absence of the grammatical category of tense. Most authors, however, describe them as a subgroup of finite verbs in view of their predicative function. O. P. Sunik defines them as various forms linked together by their common syntactic function and a certain unity of modal meaning: the expression of volition (Sunik 1962, p. 335). These differences mentioned above mainly concern formal classification; generally speaking, these scholars agree on the definition of the imperative forms and their position in the overall verbal system of the Altaic languages. For the sake of greater clarity I have opted to adhere to the classification proposed by Li Shulan, which is to treat the imperative forms as a separate category of verbal expression.

The system of these[19] verbal forms shares common features in all branches of the Altaic languages. The main types of the imperative forms are:
1) ***plain imperative***,[20] the form of which is usually identical with the verbal stem,[21]
2) one or more ***suffixed forms of the imperative***, which serve to express different modalities of the imperative,
3) ***voluntative*** (commanddirected at the first person),
4) ***permissive, optative, desiderative*** (command directed at the third person).

7.3.1 Command for the second-person – imperative

Literary Manchu has several suffixed forms (***-ki, -rao*** and others) in addition to the simple stem imperative. These forms express varying degrees of politeness. The high frequency of

[19] L. Gorelova (2002, pp. 295–304) employs the term "oblique moods" as opposed to the indicative mood. She divides them into imperative, optative and prohibitive forms.
[20] The term "plain imperative" was introduced by B. Sechenbaatar (2003, p. 141) to refer to the imperative form of Chakhar Mongolian, which is identical with the verbal stem.
[21] O. P. Sunik maintains that the simple imperative forms in Tungusic languages are secondary.

these forms in the written language probably results from contacts with the Chinese cultural environment. Spoken Sibe, on the contrary, uses the **simple stem imperative** form rather than the suffixed forms. Two suffixed forms, however, are currently used: the **benedictive -*mə*** and the **voluntative suffix -*ki***.

Forms of the plain imperative

The plain imperative in the spoken language is in most cases identical with the verbal stem. But, as in literary Manchu, there are severals verbs, which instead of the plain imperative use forms with irregular suffixes. The imperatives of these verbs in written and spoken language are as follows:

	to be	**to become**	**to take**	**to eat**	**to come**	**to ask**
Lit. Manchu stem	*bi-*	*o-*	*gayi-*	*jə-*	*ji-*	*bayi-*
Lit. Manchu imperative	*bisu*	*oso*	*gaisu*	*jəfu*	*jio*	*baisu*
Spoken Sibe stem	*bi-*	*o-*	*gia-*	*jə-*	*ji-*	*biɛ-*
Spoken Sibe imperative	*bis*	*os*	*gias*	*jəf*	*ju*	*biɛs*

O. P. Sunik relates these residual forms to the regular imperative forms in Nanai (Sunik 1962, p. 336). Interestingly, these irregular forms belong to the most frequent verbs employed in the language. In the actual spoken Sibe the forms *bis* 'be!' and *os* 'become!' are rare and are not even known to most speakers, while the rest of the forms are part of everyday vocabulary.

The basic use of the plain imperative

This imperative form is used for a common or strict command, but when the command is used "for the sake" of the person who is being commanded (e.g. 'sit down', 'eat' etc.) it may have the implication usually conveyed by the polite form.

Ex. 1: *gizu^{n}* ***gia-s****!*
Lit: Word **take-IMPER**.
Be obedient!

Ex. 2: ***gən****, tər bo-t* ***sənda****!*
Lit.: **Go-IMPER**. that house-DL. **put-IMPER**.
Go and put it into that room!

Ex. 3: *min-t məji* ***bu****!*
Lit.: 1sg.-DL. little **give-IMPER**!
Give me a little!

Ex. 4: *tər nanə-f* ***biɛ-s****!*
Lit.: That person-ACC. **ask-IMPER**.
Ask that man.

Ex. 5: *ɢaɪ-f* ***ɢač****!*
Lit.: Hand-ACC. **bring-IMPER**.
Give me your hand!

Some of the plain imperative forms are particularly frequent in polite conversation:

Ex. 6: *dərə-či* ***tə****!*
Lit.: Table-LAT. **sit-IMPER**.
Sit at the table (= **come** and eat)

Ex. 7: ***doš, tə****!*
Lit.: **Enter-IMPER. sit-IMPER**.
Come in and sit down.

Ex. 8: ***jəv-ə****!*
Lit.: **Eat-IMPER**.
Help yourself, eat.

Ex. 9: ***yaf****!*
Lit.: **Go-IMPER**.
Come along!

Specific use of the plain imperative

The plain imperative is idiomatically used in some constructions with the third person. The resulting meaning is twofold: a slightly disapproving commentary on a specific deed committed by someone and a suggestion to alter it (a), as well as a description of a quick succession of actions (b).

a) Suggestion to change behaviour

Ex. 1: *ər saʁənju-s məji* ***danə****!*
Lit.: This girl-PART. little **care-IMPER**.
Let those girls **take care** of him a little (Why don't the girls care about him?)

Ex. 2: *tuku-š ta gəɣə ňi gəɪ məji jiʁa* ***bu****!*
Lit.: Thus doing-CC. ACT. elder.sister POSS. still little money **give-IMPER**.
In that case his sister **should give** him some money!

b) Description of a quick succession of actions

Ex. 1: *skʲi həh* ***qǔčirə-m gia-z-ə, učі-f so****… čorʁo-dəri latə-maq da ɢa-m yav-ʁə.*
Lit.: That woman **digg-CI. take-IMPER.**, **door-ACC. open-IMPER**., … neck-ABL. stick-CONV.PERF ACT. take-CI. go-PERF.
That woman **dug out** (**the key**), **opened the door**, … grasped his neck and took him away.

Intensification of meaning by use of the particle -di

In the conveyance of narrated events, a special form is used to express an intensity of insistence – a reduplicated plain imperative with a particle ***-di*** added to the first member of the reduplicated expression. The verb to which the particle is attached stands in its longer form with a prothetic vowel.

Ex. 1: *mi-^{n} amə mim-b sav-mə da **ju-ə di ju** zə-mači-m.*
Lit.: 1sg.-GEN. father 1sg.-ACC. see-CI. ACT. 1sg.-ACC. **come-IMPER-EMPH-come-IMPER**. say-INC.-IMP.
Whenever my father sees me, he always **insists that I should visit** him.

7.3.2 Polite imperative *-mə* (benedictive)

This form, which does not have a corresponding equivalent in the written language, expresses a polite request, recommendation or advice.

Ex. 1: *jʊʁʊ̊^{n} **ta-mə**!*
Lit.: Way **look-BEN**.
Watch out on the way!

Ex. 2: *məzə-ƒ **qarmə-mə**!*
Lit.: 1pl.-ACC. **protect-BEN**.
Protect us!

7.3.3 Voluntative

Forms of the voluntative

The voluntative suffix has a basic form ***-ki*(*e*)**, and an alternative pronunciation ***-či*(*e*)**. The distribution of the two allomorphs seems to occur on an individual basis.

Use of the voluntative

The voluntative is a verbal form typical for the Altaic languages and has an significant role in daily communication. In the singular it is expressive of the speaker's will or intention, whereas in the plural it is understood as an invitation to a common action.

1. Singular

Ex. 1: *əm uču^{n} **učuɹ-kie**.*
Lit.: One song **sing-VOL**.
Let me sing a song.

Ex. 2: *śi tə, bi* ***iškʲa-kie***.
Lit.: You sit-IMPER, 1sg. **arrange-VOL**.
You sit, **I will clean** it up.

Ex. 3: *śi-maq əm bait* ***gizər-kie***.
Lit.: 2sg.-IS. one matter **talk-VOL**.
I would like to tell you something.

Ex. 4: *bi śim-b* ***ɛli-kie***.
Lit.: 1sg. 2sg.-ACC. **wait-VOL**.
I will wait for you.

2. Plural

When used for plural the voluntative form may have two meanings:

a) a similar meaning as in the singular: the expression of the speaker's will or intention

Ex. 1: *bo* ***yaf-ki***.
Lit.: 1pl (excl.) **go-VOL**.
We **will go**.

b) as an invitation to a common action

Ex. 1: *məs* ***yaf-ki***.
Lit.: 1pl. (incl.) **go-VOL**.
Let us go!

Ex. 2: *śiram* ***aš-ki***.
Lit.: In future **meet-VOL**.
See you later.

Some speakers use the phonetic variant ***-či***:

Ex. 3: *jaq* ***səktə-m bu-čie***.
Lit.: Thing spread-CI.-**give-VOL**.
I will make the bed for you.

7.3.4 Optative *-kiňi*

The suffix ***-kiňi*** expresses a command directed at the third person, or respectively a wish concerning the third[d] person.

Ex. 1: *śi tə, saʁənč* ***of-kiňi***.
Lit.: 2sg. sit-IMPER. girl **wash-OPT**.
You keep sitting, let the girl (my daughter) **wash it**.

Ex. 2: *əm śivə saʁənč* ***baχ-kiňi z-əm cůňi-mɛye***.
Lit.: One Sibe girl **find-OPT. say-CI. think-PROG**.
We hope that he finds a Sibe girl for himself.

7.4 Verbal nouns

Verbal nouns, which are characteristic of all Altaic languages, are referred to either as participles (Zaharov 1879, p. 183; Sechenbaatar 2003, p. 123), or as **verbal nouns** (Poppe 1955, p. 269). In the terminology of the Chinese grammarians they are known as **verbal adjectives** (Li 1984, p. 56). The general property of these forms are their nominal characteristics, namely, that they take case suffixes and function as adnominal attributes, while maintaining most of their verbal characteristics of tense, aspect and voice.

In Manchu and Sibe, verbal nouns proper are mainly used as attributes, adverbials and, in certain cases, as predicates of dependent clauses. In part, the nominal functions are governed by the verbal form described here as ***verbal nouns II***.

Spoken Sibe has three verbal nouns: The **present-future verbal noun** ***-r***, **the past-perfective verbal noun** ***-h***/***-χ*** and the **durative verbal noun** ***-maʁ***.

From the point of view of frequency the pair ***-r*** and ***-h***/***-χ*** is the more significant. The present-future form ***-r*** has also conveys the meaning of general, indefinite time, and may designate a permanent feature (*jə-r jaq*, lit. ‘eat-NI. thing’ – ‘food’), while the perfective form ***-h***/***-χ*** usually has the concrete meaning of a past or perfective (completed) action.

7.4.1 The imperfective verbal noun *-r* (nomen imperfecti)

Forms of the imperfective noun

The nomen imperfecti usually has the form ***-r***, to which the emphatic vowel ***-ə*** is added only rarely. In the written language the imperfective noun, as well as the imperfective verb, are negated by adding the particle ***(a)qů*** to the verbal noun ***-r***. In the spoken language, however, the nominal suffix *-r-* usually is elided (e.g. Lit. Ma. *gisure-re-kū* – Si. *gizərə-q^{ů}* ‘will not speak’/’does not speak’ etc., Lit. Ma. *yabu-ra-kū* – Si. *yavu-q^{ů}* ‘will not go’, ‘does not go’ etc.).

In literary Manchu several “irregular” monosyllabic stems (the same stems that form irregular imperatives) are obligatorily extended by a deverbal suffix before attaching the nominal suffix ***-r***. The resulting forms are: *jetere* < *je-* ‘to eat’, *jidere* < *ji-* ‘to come’, *ojoro* < *o-* ‘to become’, *bisire* < *bi-* ‘to be’, *gaijara* < *gai-* ‘to take’. In the spoken language this rule is usually observed by speakers with good knowledge of their language, while particularly younger and illiterate speakers often use forms without extension (e.g. *jər jaq* ‘things to eat’). In the case of the existential verbs *bi-* and *o-* the use the imperfective noun is simply avoided.

Basic use of the imperfective noun

The form with the suffix ***-r*** is used as attribute (1), or independently with certain case suffixes (2), or as a part of more complex formulations, for the most part the prohibitive and constructions with postpositions (3).

1) Nomen imperfecti as an attribute

Form the viewpoint of translation the construction with the imperfective noun as an attribute can be interpreted as either active, as in phrases where the verbal noun determines the agent (a); or passive, as in phrases where it determines the object (b). Furthermore, it may express other determinations (of time, space, or purpose) (c).

a) Nomen imperfecti as determiner of the agent

Ex. 1: *ər baitə-f* ***taqə-r na^{n}*** *tə aqů-ʁ^{ů}i.*
Lit.: This matter-ACC. **know-NI.** person now NEG.-become-PERF.
There is **nobody** left now who **could know** this.

Ex. 2: *čimar* ***gənə-r na^{n}*** *laft ba.*
Lit.: Tomorrow **go-NI. person** many PROB.
Many people **will** probably go **there** tomorrow.

Ex. 3: *mi-^{n} agə* ***bo banjə-r na^{n}*** *vaq ba.*
Lit.: 1sg.-GEN. older brother house **live-NI. person** not PROB.
My brother is not the kind of **person who should have a family**.

b) Nomen imperfecti determining the object

Ex. 1: ***išk^{i}a-r baitə*** *ňi gum aɹč^{i}.*
Lit.: **Arrange-NI. matter POSS**.all on.the.edge.
He does everything by halves, he does not finish **what he does**.

Ex. 2: *ɢazn-t* ***taqə-r na^{n}*** *bi na?*
Lit.: Village-DL. **know-NI. person** is QUEST.
Do you **know anybody** in Chabchal?

Ex. 3: *mi^{n}* ***taqə-r na^{n}*** *gum jiʁa aq^{ů}.*
Lit.: **1sg.-GEN. know-NI. person** all money NEG.
All the **people I know** are without money.

c) Nomen imperfecti expressing purpose and destination

Ex. 1: *yamsqů^{n}* ***jaq jə-r ərin-də ňi*** *šiňi bo-či məda-m.*
Lit.: Evening **thing eat-NI. time-DL. F**. only house-LAT. turn back-IMP.
We used to come home only **at dinner-time**.

Ex. 2: ***ňuŋk ta-r ərdəmə ňi*** *šie^{n} vaq ůrů.*
Lit.: **Ilness see-NI. knowledge** POSS. good not PROB.
The **level of health care** was not good.

Ex. 3: *lam bəš-k nanᵊ-i bo-t ji-m* ***lom ara-r dor*** *aqů-ʁᵘ̊i.*
Lit.: Lama die-NP. person-GEN. house-DL. come-CI. ***lom*** **make-NI. custom** NEG.-(become)-PERF.
The custom in which a lama comes to the house where someone has died and **performs the *lom*** has vanished.

2) Constructions with postpositions

The imperfect noun construes most often with the postpositions *ongoɹ* 'before, ago', *aməɹ* 'after', *śidəⁿ* 'between' and *diorgit* 'inside, in the course of'.

Ex. 1: ***yavə-r śⁱdəⁿ*** *ər ju yilaⁿ učuⁿ aɹ-m bu-ki.*
Lit.: **Go-NI. between** this two three song tell-CI. give-VOL.
Before you leave, I will teach you some of these songs.

Ex. 2: ***gizərə-r diorgidə*** *χaʁəč da ər əmbičⁱ jaləⁿ naⁿ, əmbičⁱ abbanš-k guruⁿ bi-ɣᵊye ...*
Lit.: **Talk-NI. inside** boy ACT. this maybe world person maybe how.born folk be-PERF.
While they were talking, the boy [was thinking]: Are these people from this world or what beings could they be?

Ex. 3: ***yavə-r onoɹ*** *bo-d ňi əmda døš-či o-m ba?*
Lit.: **Go-NI**. before house-DL. POSS. once enter-CC. become-IMP. PROB.
What about going to see him once **before you leave**?

3) Nomen imperfecti with case suffix (DL.)

Constructions of the imperfect verb with the dative-locative suffix convey, very similarly to the situation in Mongolian, the grammatical meaning of two parallel ongoing actions, or of one action occurring simultaneously with another action (a); or it conveys the sense of a characteristic of the given action, qualifiying it for the most part as easy or difficult (b). Apart from this, the imperfective noun in the dative-locative may acquire a more nominal character and thus convey the meaning of "in the given action", e.g. *yavə-r-d ňi*, lit. 'in his walking', which then may mean either 'when he was going' or 'by his walking'.

If the subject of the action is marked, it mostly stands in the genitive case. When the subject is not expressed, it is often marked by the enclitic pronoun *ňi*. The impersonal subject remains unexpressed.

a) Paralell actions

Ex. 1: *śi-ⁿ* ***yavə-r-t*** *bi śim-b bən-ki.*
Lit.: 2sg.-GEN. **go-NI.-DL**. 1sg. 2sg.-ACC. escort.
I will see you off **when you are leaving**.

Ex. 2: ***yavə-r-də ňi*** *bi faɹ-χ əvəⁿ ara-m bu-ʁᵊi.*
Lit.: **Go-NI.-DL. POSS**. I heaved bread make-CI. give-PERF.
When he was leaving, I made a Sibe bread form him.

Ex. 3: *čaqůr* ***tavənə-r-t*** *amś tavə-vů-q^{ů}.*
Lit.: čaqůr **ascend-NI.-DL**. northwards see-CAUS.-(NI.)-NEG.
When climbing the *čaqůr* he is not allowed to look to the north.

b) Expression of purpose or goal

Ex. 1: *śivə gizu^{n}* ***tači-r-t maɴ*** *na?*
Lit.: Sibe language **study-NI.-DL. difficult** QUEST.
Is the Sibe language **difficult to study**?

Ex. 2: *ər śok* ***ara-r-t*** *hən ja.*
Lit.: This vegetables **make-NI.-DL** very **easy**.
This dish is **easy to cook**.

Ex. 3: *gira^{n}* ***čiči-və-r-də ňi*** *gəɹ bait laft.*
Lit.: Corpse **come.out-CAUS.-NI.-DL. F**. still matter many.
There are many rules to be observed **during the burial**.

The imperfective noun as an attribute of certain words with general meaning

The nomen imperfecti is often used with nouns of more 'abstract' meaning: *ba* 'place', *bait* 'matter', *duru^{n}*, *arvə^{n}* 'form, appearance', and can in this way form a great number of terms.

a) Constructions with the noun *ba* place

Idioms with the word *ba* express (apart from the basic meaning of 'place') the meaning of space in the more abstract sense; for example, an opportunity for an action, among other meanings. In literary Manchu the word *ba* has also the purely grammatical function of substantivization of a verbal form (Zaharov 1879, p. 76), while in spoken Sibe it retains part of its lexical meaning. Its stylistic function corresponds to that of the Chinese expression *dian* 'point, place'.

Ex. 1: *bo yaf-ki, ənəŋ gəɹ* ***gənə-r ba*** *bi.*
Lit.: 1pl.(excl.) go-VOL., today still **go-NI. place** is.
We have to leave now, we still have to **visit somebody** today.
Note: In this case the word *ba* is used in its lexical meaning.

Ex. 2: *si-^{n} du-t* ***soɴq^{ů} aɹdəvə-r ba*** *gəɹ bi-ɣ^{ə}ye.*
Lit.: 2sg.-GEN. younger.brother-DL. **cry drop-NI. place** still be-PERF.
You see, your younger brother has **moments when he cries**.
Note: Here and in the following examples the use of the word *ba* generally signifies an opportunity or space for an action.

Ex. 3: *ai ursu^{n} banš-k^{ə}ye, šuda* ***ta-r ba aq^{ů}***.
Lit.: What ugly be born-PERF, completely **look-NI. place NEG**.
How ugly she looks, it is not **possible to look at her**.

Note: Expressions like *ta-r ba aqů* 'no place for looking', *ta-r duruⁿ aqů* 'no form to look at' as well as *ta-m oju-qů* 'impossible to look' are used as negative statements about the appearance of something or someone.

Ex. 4: *qůariam-b ňi* ***gizərə-r ba aqů***.
Lit.: Beautiful-ACC. POSS. **speak-NI. place NEG**.
Her beauty is **hard to describe**.

b) Constructions with the noun *bait* 'matter'

Idioms with the noun *bait* can be generally rendered in two ways: a more 'static' rendition, which is related to the conception of the general tense, when the nominal character of the whole expression is more pronounced and can be translated as 'about' (Ex. 1); and a more 'dynamic' rendition which applies to the future, expressing the idea of 'appropriate, desirable' (Ex. 2).

Ex. 1: *jai əm duaɪ-də ňi* ***yavə-r baitə-f*** *gizər-ʁᵊi.*
Lit.: Next one strophe-DL. POSS, **go-NI. matter-ACC**. speak-PERF.
The next strophe is **about the journey**.

Ex. 2: *ər həɣə-f* ***χafsə-r bait*** *bi-ɣᵊi.*
Lit.: This woman-ACC. **tell-NI. matter** be-PERF.
One **should have reported** that woman.

c) Constructions with the nouns *duruⁿ, arvəⁿ*: 'form, appearance'

The imperfective verbal noun with the expressions *duruⁿ, arvəⁿ* is used to express the external aspect of an action. It should be rendered as 'it seems/appears that'.

Ex. 1: *śi-ⁿ tər* ***yalə-r durum-b ňi*** *ta-mə bi gəɪ-ɣᵊi.*
Lit.: Your **ride-NI. form POSS**. see I fear-PERF.
When I saw the **way you rode** I was scared.

Ex. 2: *təraɴ o-mə tər fayiŋə-v ňi* ***čiči-və-r duruⁿ*** *bie.*
Lit.: Thus become-CI. soul-ACC. POSS. **come out-CAUS.-NI**. form is.
It seems that in this way they **help the soul to get out** (from the body).

Use of the imperfective noun in other grammatical functions

1) Negation of the imperfective noun and the imperfective verb

The negated form of the imperfective noun serves to create the negative counterpart of the imperfective noun itself (a) and of the imperfective verb (b). As described above, the abbreviated form is largely used in the spoken language, although the full form at times does occur in the speech of the older generation.

a) Negation of the forms of the imperfective noun

Ex. 1: *ər jaq danə-q^{ů}, ačənə-m na* ***ačəna-q^{ů}*** *gizu^{n} gizər-maq dut-k^{ə}i.*
Lit.: This thing care-NI.-NEG. agree-CI. QUEST. **agree-(NI.)-NEG**. word talk-CP. lay-PERF.
She keeps talking and does not care whether she speaks correctly or **not**.

Ex. 2: *na^{n}* ***išk^{i}a-m mutu-q^{ů}*** *baitə-f əmda^{n} išk^{i}a-kie zə-m cůňi-m.*
Lit.: **Person arrange can-(NI.)-NEG**. matter once arrange-VOL. say-CI. think-IMP.
I would like to one time do **something that nobody else could do**.

Ex. 3: *dači ɕazn-t mi-^{n} ɕorəyi-f* ***taqə-q^{ů} na^{n}*** *aq^{ů}.*
Lit.: Originally village-DL. 1sg.-GEN. far-grandfather **know-(NI.)-NEG. person** NEG.
Formerly there was nobody in Chabchal **who would not know** my grandfather from Mother's side.

b) Negation of the imperfective verb

Ex. 1: *tiørʁů-m χorʁů-m ta-š gələ ji-də-r arvəm-b* ***savə-r-qů***.
Lit.: Turn-CI. turn-CI. look-CC. still come-NI. form **see-NI.-NEG**.
I was looking and looking around but **I could not see** her coming.
Note: From the lyrics of a song written in the 1970s. The author was born into an educated family and his songs often employ literary forms which are still sung unchanged, even by speakers ignorant of the literary language, right up to the present day.

Ex. 2: *moχt faqar gəɹ arə-m* ***bana-q^{ů}.***
Lit.: Short trousers still make-CI. **know-(NI.)-NEG**.
He **does not** even **know** how to make trunks (= he is manually inept)

2) Negation with an inserted particle

A special form of negative expressions is created by inserting the particles *gəɹ* 'still, too' or *χaň*(*i*) 'little, at least' between the verbal noun and the negative suffix with the resulting meaning 'not even'. The verbal noun retains its full form. This type of constructions most often expresses a modal meaning of displeasure or disagreement.[22]

Ex. 1: *ər saʁanju-s* ***danə-r gəɹ aq^{ů}***.
Lit.: This girl-PART. **care-NI. still NEG**.
These girls do not **even**/**at all care** about him.

Ex. 2: *mim-b savmə* ***śie^{n} fienji-r gəɹ aq^{ů}***.
Lit.: 1sg.-ACC. see-CI. **good ask-NI. still NEG**.
When she sees me **she does not even say hello**.

[22] This construction is formally and semantically analogical to the Mongolian construction *verbal noun+č+gui medeh č gu'i* 'I do not even know'.

Ex. 3: *ər na^{n} dor yozə-f taqə-q^{ů}, na^{n} ji-š da vəra-f **tiki-r gəɹ aq^{ů}**.*
Lit.: This person custom rule-ACC. know-(NI.)-NEG., person come-CC. ACT. buttocks-ACC. **lift-NI. still NEG**.
He has no education, when somebody comes in, he **does not even lift** his buttocks.

Ex. 4: *yav-m vaš-k^{ə}i, bi **sa-r χaň aq^{ů}**.*
Lit.: Go-CI. finish-PERF, 1sg. **know-NI. little NEG**.
He has left and **I even do not know about it**.

3) Constructions with the particle *indi*

The particle *indi* (Lit. Ma. *unde*) refers to an action which has been expected but has not yet occurred. The general meaning should be translated as 'not yet'.

Ex. 1: *ər uču-mb bi **dønji-r indi**.*
Lit.: This song I hear-NI. **not yet**.
I have not heard this song yet.

Ex. 2: *bi təzə bo-t **gənə-r indi**.*
Lit.: 1sg. they house go-NI. **not yet**.
I have **not yet visited** them.

Ex. 3: *ər bitkə-**v arə-m vajə-r indi**.*
Lit.: This book-ACC. **write-CI. finish-NI. not yet**.
This book is **not yet finished**.

7.4.2 Perfective verbal noun -h (nomen perfecti)

Forms of the perfective verbal noun

The basic form of the suffix is ***-χ*/*-h***, distributed according to the place of articulation. Some verbs have a variant ***-q*** /***-k*** (in the modern language the velar/uvular distinction is gradually being lost). As in the case of the imperfective verb, the distribution of the allomorphs ***-k*/*-h*** differs from that of literary Manchu.

Use of the perfective verbal noun

The perfective noun is used in the same way as the imperfective noun. However, forms which are similar to the perfective noun may occur also in a predicate position, especially when a sequence of actions is being described. Therefore the use of the perfective noun may be described as (1) an attribute, (2) occurring in constructions with postpositions, (3) occurring in constructions with case suffixes, and (4) as a predicate.

1. Nomen perfecti as an attribute

In the similar fashion to the imperfective noun, is the nomen perfecti is used in both active and passive constructions as well as in other determinations.

a) Nomen perfecti as an attribute of the agent

Ex. 1: *χanč **yafh guruⁿ** bəyə-v ňi ov-m.*
Lit.: Close **go-NP. folk** body-ACC. POSS. wash-IMP.
His **close friends** wash his body.

b) Nomen perfecti as attribute of the object

Ex. 1: *sur **døš-k naⁿ** ňi əm bait aqů da soɴů-m.*
Lit.: Sur **enter-NI. person F**. one matter NEG cry-IMP.
A person who was possessed by the soul of a dead person cries without reason.

Ex. 2: ***suɹʙo yila-χ ɢarʁəⁿ** dor arə-m.*
Lit.: **Apple stand-NP.** branch custom make-IMP.
A **branch with apples** bows.
Note: A proverb.

c) Nomen perfecti in determination of circumstances

Ex.: ***haɴś døš-k ňinəŋ** uduⁿ da-mə dih ňinəŋ uduⁿ da-m zə-r.*
Lit.: *hanś* enter-NP. day wind blow-CI. fourty day wind blow-IMP. say-NI.
When a wind blows on the **first day of the *hanś*** (a period in the Chinese agricultural calendar) it is said that it will blow for forty days.

2. Nomen perfecti with postpositions

The perfective noun is often combined with the postpositions *amaɹ* ‘after’ and *oɴoɹ* ‘before’, *śidən* ‘between’, as well as with some other postpositions.

Ex. 1: *ər naⁿ **ji-ɣ amaɹ** śiňi ər baitə-f sa-ʁᵊi.*
Lit.: This **person come-NP. after** only this mater-PERF.
I have learned about the whole thing only **after he came**.

Ex. 2: *əm gizuⁿ **gizər-h śidəⁿ** da aqů -ʁᵘ̊i.*
Lit.: One word **say-NP. between** ACT. NEG-become-PERF.
She disappeared **before I could say** a word.

3. Nomen perfecti used as an independent noun with case suffixes

Ex. 1: *əva-t* ***ɕaš-kə-də*** *orʁů-i joʁů^{n} yav-ʁ^{ə}i.*
Lit.: Here bring-NP.-DL. grass-GEN. way go-PERF.
When they were being brought here, they went through the grasslands.

Ex. 2: *ajigə nu^{n}-bə daʁə-m* ***yav-ʁə-də*** *sav^{ə}-i fata^{n} ňi man-ʁ^{ə}ye.*
Lit.: Little younger sister follow-CI. **go-NP.-DL**. shoe-GEN. sole-POSS. wear. through-PERF.
As I was following my little sister (=beloved) the soles of my shoes got worn through.
Note: From the lyrics of a folk song.

4. Nomen perfecti as a predicate

Ex.: *oɹʁů-i nanə-f* ***ar-ʁə****, arə-m vaji-maq da χošqů^{n} utku-v ňi* ***utu-v-ʁə****, maʁaɹ-v ňi uju-d ňi* ***utuvʁə***.
Lit. Rushes-GEN. person-ACC. **make-NP**. make-CI. ACT. son-in-law POSS. clothes-ACC. Cap-ACC. POSS. **put.on-CAUS.-NP**. head-DL. POSS. **put.on-CAUS.-NP**.
She **made** a human figure of rushes, **put** the clothes of her son-in-law on it, and put his cap on its head.

Negation of the perfective noun

As in the case of the imperfective noun, the negated form of the perfective noun serves to negate either (1) the perfective noun itself, or (2) the perfective verb.

The negation is achieved by attaching the negative particle (***a***)***qů*** to the verbal noun. In rapid speech the strongly uvular pronunciation of the negative particle causes, in cases of front vowel stems, an assimilation of the preceding suffix of the verbal noun. The result is a shift of pronunciation of the suffix to the back position, which, however, does not reach the degree of the usual pronunciation of uvulars and back vowels (e.g. *gən-ɣ^{ə}i* 'went' – *gən-ʁa-qů* 'did not go').

1. Negation of a verbal noun

Ex.: *śi-^{n} ji-m* ***jaft-qa-qů*** *baitə-f min-t aɹ-m bu-ɣ^{ə}i.*
Lit.: 2sg.-GEN. come-CI. **manage-NP.-NEG**. matter-ACC. 1sg.DL. say-CI. give-PERF.
They informed me that you **could not come**.

2. Negation of the perfective verb

In the negation of the perfective verb the negated form is sometimes followed by the marker of 'finiteness' ***-i***(***-e***). Such forms correspond to the literary forms ***-he-kū-bi***/***-ha-kū-bi*** (*yabu-ha-qū-bi* 'did not go').

Ex.: *bi śim-b* ***sav-ʁa-qᵘ̊-ye****!*
Lit.: 1sg. 2sg.-ACC. **see-NP.-NEG**.
I really did not notice you.

7.4.3 The progressive verbal noun *-maʁ*

The complex suffix of the progressive noun ***-maʁ(ə)*** corresponds to the written form ***-maha***. The frequency of use of this nominal form is considerably lesser than that of the previous two nominal forms. As with both of these forms, it may function as an attribute or as a specification of circumstances.

1. The progressive verbal noun as an attribute

Ex.: *təvat* ***yav-maχ naⁿ*** *ňi mi-ⁿ gučᵘ.*
Lit.: There **go-NPROG. person** POSS 1sg.-GEN. friend.
The man who is walking there is my friend.

2. The progressive verbal noun in specification of circumstances

Ex.: *kəskə* ***maɹtə-maʁ*** *əm duruⁿ čira ov-m.*
Lit.: Cat **lick-NPROG**. one form face wash-IMP.
He washes his face as carelessly as a cat **licks** itself.

7.4.4 Verbal nouns II

A feature typical of both Manchu and Sibe are the independent verbal nouns formed by the addition of the nominalizing suffix ***-ŋ(ə)*** ***-ɴ(ə)*** (in literary Manchu this suffix has a single form ***-ngge***) to verbal nouns, as well as the imperfective noun ***-r-ə***, the perfective noun ***-ʁ-ə***/ ***ɣ-ə*** a and the progressive verbal noun ***-maʁ-ə***. The epenthetic vowel ***-ə-*** is compulsory.

The independent verbal nouns usually refer to the agent, the patient (not in the grammatical sense of object) or the abstract denomination of an action. They may be also occur in a predicate position. This function is characteristic of the perfective verbal noun II, a fact which leads the authors of *Xiboyu kouyu yanjiu* to include this form among finite verbs (Li Shulan 1984, p. 46). Given the pronounced nominal character of these forms, their use slightly differs from the use of nominal predicates in Mongolian. This concept is supported by the correlation of the category of Manchu verbal nouns II with the Chinese verbal form with the genitive/adjectival particle *de*, which is generally used to translate the Manchu forms with ***-ngge***.

The function of the category of Manchu and Sibe verbal nouns II is similar to Mongolian verbal nouns with the possessive (nominalizing) particle *n'*, which are actually used to translate Manchu verbal nouns II: *yavsan n'* 'his having left' or 'the one who has left'; *ireh n'* 'his arrival' or 'the one who will come' and so forth.

The imperfective verbal noun II -rə-ŋ(ə)

1. The imperfective verbal noun II as a nominal predicate

Ex. 1: *śivə naⁿ yiqaⁿ həh gia-m* ***ojů-qů-ɴ*** *təraɴ.*
Lit.: Sibe person Chinese woman take-CI. **can-NI.II.-NEG**. like.that.
That is **why it is impossible** for the Sibes to marry Chinese girls.

2. The imperfective verbal noun II expressing an immediately preceding action

The imperfective verbal noun II is often used in the descriptions of parallel actions, of which one conditions the other, adhering closely to the meaning of 'as soon as'. In this function the Sibe verbal noun II is regularly followed by the actualizing particle *da*, which implies a closer succession of the actions.

Ex. 1: *mim-b* ***savə-rə-ŋ da*** *bait fienji-mači-m.*
Lit.: 1sg.-ACC. **see-NI.II ACT**. matter ask-INC.-IMP.
As soon as he sees me, he starts to inquire about all possible things.

Ex. 2: *učі* ***jiɹʁanə-rə-ŋ da*** *gətə-m vaš-kᵊi.*
Lit.: Door make.**sound-NI.II ACT**. wake-CI. finish-PERF.
As soon as the door **creaked**, I woke up.

3. Imperfective verbal noun II in the function of a nominal sentence constituent

The imperfective verbal noun II most often functions as a subject or an object. It often takes the accusative suffix, which is never affixed to a plain verbal noun. On the other hand it does not take the dative-locative suffix, which is the only case suffix used with plain verbal nouns.

Ex. 1: *tər ərin-t* ***ivi-rə-ɴ-ə*** *həⁿ šufu.*
Lit.: That time **play-NI.II** very pleasant(Chin).
In those times **playing** was so pleasant.

Ex. 2: *təraɴ ərin-də naⁿ bəčə-maq təraɴ lom* ***ara-rə-ɴ-v*** *ňi sav-ʁᵊye.*
Lit.: Thus time-DL. person die-CP. *lom* **do-NI.II-ACC. F**. see-PERF.
At that time I saw **how** a lama **performed** the *lom* ritual after somebody's death.

The imperfective verbal noun II is typically used in a construction with another verbal form derived from the same stem. This construction defines a part of the members of a group, all of whom are referred to by the lexical meaning of the verb. (A similar linguistic device is familiar from Mongolian – e.g. *yavah n' yavna, suuh n' suuna* 'those who want to leave may leave, those who want to sit may sit'.)

Ex. 3: *tuku-mə da saməm-b ňi* ***va-rə-ŋəv ňi va-m, dielə-rə-ŋəv ňi dielə-m***.
Lit.: Thus.do-CI. ACT. shaman-ACC. POSS. **kill-NI.II. ACC. POSS. kill-IMP., drive-NI.II. ACC. POSS. drive-IMP.**
So they **killed part** of the shamans and **chased the other part** to other places.

The perfective verbal noun II

In the spoken language the perfective verbal noun II is used mainly (1) in the function of a predicate, (2) in a function similar to that of a converb, and (3) in all nominal functions of the verbal nouns II (agent, object and denomination of an action).

In the spoken language the negative form of the suffix (Lit. Ma. ***-haqūngge***/***-hekūngge***) usually carries an uvular pronunciation ***-ʁa-qů-ɴ(ə)***, caused by the uvular articulatory position of the negative suffix.

1. The perfective verbal noun II as a predicate

The perfective verbal noun II is frequently used as a predicate, but – as appears from the collected material – only with the first and second persons. This seems to refer to the grammatical category of evidentiality – the use of the perfective verbal noun II either expresses first-hand experience or emphasizes the speaker's personal interest.

Ex. 1: *yet* ***gən-ɣə-ŋ-ə****?*
Lit.: Where **go-NP.II**.
Where **have you been**?

Ex. 2: *bi təzə-f* ***sav-ʁəɴ****, bi* ***jiɹʁan-ʁaqůɴ***.
Lit.: 1sg. 3pl.-ACC. **see-NP.II**., 1sg. **make.sound-NP.II.NEG**.
I did see them, but I **did not address** them.

Ex. 3: *jaq* ***jə-kə-ŋ na****?* ***jə-kə-ŋ-ə***.
Lit.: Thing **eat-NP.II. QUEST. eat-NP.II**.
Did you eat? Yes, I did.

2. The perfective verbal noun II in a converbial function

The perfective verbal noun II occurs as a dependent member of a verbal construction more frequently than its imperfective counterpart. It may occur:

a) Directly preceding another verb.
b) Followed by the actualizing particle *da*. Such constructions express various time relationships and are interchangeable with converbs.
c) The perfective verbal noun II preceded by the word *əmda*^{n} 'once' (< *əm məda*^{n} 'one time') has a function similar to the perfective converb, expressing a more loosely defined temporal sequence than in the previous cases. The resulting meaning is either an action preceding another action, or a single action entering into a durative action. The word

əmda^{n} adds a modal tint of intensity to the single action and is a frequent means of enlivening narrative.

a) Plain construction of the verbal noun II with another verb

Ex. 1: *əňi ňi* ***susχaɹ-ʁəŋ fienji-r śidə^{n}da*** *fa-dəri ňi χůɹɣʁa-m ta-m bi-ɣ^{ə}i.*
Lit.: Mother POSS. **whip-NP.II ask-NI. between ACT**. window-ABL. POSS. steel-CI. look-CI. be-PERF.
While her mother was **whipping and asking**, he was watching secretly from outside the window.
Note: From an account about healing a person possessed by a soul of the dead.

Ex. 2: *ərči tərči* ***amčə-m zə-ɣəŋ doʁůr-maq ta*** *ulan-či tu-h^{ə}i.*
Lit.: Here there **hunt-CI. say-NP.II roll-CP. ACT** hole-LAT. fall-PERF.
She was running here and there **to catch it**, **until she stumbled** and fell into a pit.

b) Construction with the perfective verbal noun II followed by the particle *da*

Ex.: *bədərə-m* ***jiɣəŋ da daʁə-v-maq****, fayiŋ ňi gəɹ daʁə-maq ji-h bi-ɣ^{ə}i.*
Lit.: Return-CI. **come-NP.II ACT follow-CAUS-CP**. soul POSS. still follow-CP. come-NP. bi-PERF.
When he was coming back (from the graveyard) **he brought it** (unconsciously) with him – the soul (of the buried person) followed him back home.

c) Constructions with the word *əmda*^{n} once:

ca) An action preceding another action

Ex. 1: ***əmda^{n} gən-ɣəŋ****, yivəŋ yivəŋ na^{n}.*
Lit.: **Once go-NP.II** *yivaŋ yivaŋ* (ONOM.) person.
As I went there, there were lots of people.

Ex. 2: ***əmda^{n} fier-ɣəŋ****, dəyi-maq yav-ʁ^{ə}i…*
Lit.: **Once hit-NP.II** fly-CP. go-PERF
As she hit it, it flew.

cb) An action occurring simultaneously with another action or state

Ex. 3: ***əmda^{n} dəźi-m ji-ɣəŋ*** *bo-t jalu na^{n} bi.*
Lit.: **Once enter-CP. come-NP.II** house-DL. full person is.
When I went in, the room was full of people.

Ex. 4: ***əmda^{n} ji-ɣəŋ****, əm jiri sarʁa^{n} na^{n}.*
Lit.: **Once come-NP.II**, one pair female person.
As they came nearer, he could see that they were two women.

3. The perfective verbal noun II in the functions of subject or object

The perfective verbal noun II can denote the agent, the object or an abstract denomination of the action. The form of the verb *zə-* 'say, call' has a specific idiomatic function – the form *zəɣəŋ* (*ə*) is used as a way of explaining the meaning of another word or of a statement. In literary Manchu the imperfective verbal noun II *serengge* is used in this function. In Mongolian the corresponding expressions are derived from the root *ge-* (*gedeg n', gesen üg*, and other derived forms.)

Ex. 1: *śivə diərʁůt huis, huihui-maq śieri^{n}* ***ar-ʁəɴ*** *ňi bi.*
Lit.: Sibe inside Uighur, Hui-IS wedding **make-NP.II F**. is.
Among the Sibe people there are **those who have married** Uighurs and Huis.

Ex. 2: *fa* ***mavəɹ-ʁəŋ ňi*** *əm bait o-ʁ^{ů}i.*
Lit.: Window **wipe-NP.II F**. one matter become-PERF.
Washing a window became an issue. (= He makes a problem of washing a window).

Ex. 3: *hut* ***zə-ɣəŋ da****, əhśie^{n} jaq.*
Lit.: Ghost **say-NP.II ACT**. bad.good thing.
The word 'hut' **means** an evil being.

The progressive verbal noun II **-maʁəɴ(ə)**

The progressive verbal noun II usually occurs in a predicate position.

Ex.: *yava-dəri* ***ji-maʁəɴ-ə****?*
Lit.: Where-ABL. **come-NPROG.II**.
Where **are** you **coming** from (right now)?

7.5 Converbs

The verbal forms usually designated as **converbs**[23] in most English-language analyses are usually referred to as ***deepričastija*** (gerunds) in the Russian literature and ***fu dong ci*** – ***adverbial verbs*** by Chinese linguists. The Mongolian grammatical term ***nöhcöl üil üg*** is close to the Chinese one. The main syntactical function of converbs is to join two and more verbs or verbal phrases in a sentence. Different types of converbs express different types of relationships between the respective verbal actions.

B. Sechenbaatar divides Chachar Mongolian converbs into two main groups – the **coordinative** and the **subordinative** converbs. The coordinative converbs "can take auxilliary verbs and be used repeatedly" while the subordinative converbs do not (Sechenbaatar 2003, p. 127–128). Sechenbaatar lists three coordinative converbs, ten subordinative converbs and one which may be classified as both in Chahar Mongol.

[23] "The converbs express actions characterizing other actions. They express manner or circumstances in which the action of the finite verb is performed." (Poppe 1987, p. 276)

In Manchu and Sibe, there are three converbs of the coordinative type and two converbs of the subordinative type. The coordinative converbs are also employed in defining the temporal relationship between two or more actions, while the subordinative converbs express other non-temporal relationships: condition and termination.

Coordinative converbs

Spoken Sibe uses two main coordinative converbs: the **imperfective converb** ***-mə***, which, by means of its function, corresponds to the Mongolian imperfective converb ***-ž/-č***; and the perfective converb ***-maq***, which corresponds to the Mongolian perfective converb ***-aad⁴***. A third converb, the perfective ***-fi*** of literary Manchu, is used as a variant.

The difference between the two main coordinative converbs ***-mə*** and ***-maq*** seems to adhere in the relative greater or lesser proximity of the junction between the described verbal actions, often involving as well a relative temporal determination. The perfective converbs, in particular the converb ***-fi***, usually express the concrete temporal meaning of an action which precedes another action.

The main function of the coordinative converbs is the formation of verbal phrases; these are the most important means to describe verbal actions and their various aspects. Both of the coordinative converbs join with various verbs in their original lexical meaning, as well as with modal and auxiliary verbs to create different kinds of verbal phrases.

Subordinative converbs

The subordinative converbs in spoken Sibe are the conditional converb ***-či***, which corresponds to Mongolian ***-bal⁴*** and the terminative converb ***-čiňi***, which has a partial resemblance to the Mongolian converb ***-tal⁴***.

The semantical characterisitics of the subordinative converbs is more specific than that of the coordinative converbs.

7.5.1 The imperfective converb *-m(ə)* (converbum imperfecti)

The imperfective converb (designated as ***deepričastie odnovremennoe*** byRussian scholars) has a single form in both the literary and spoken languages: the form ***-mə***.

Given the frequency of occurrence of this converb, it may be concluded that formerly it played a more significant role in the language than its perfective counterpart. This fact is particularly evident in the literary language, where the perfective converb ***-fi*** is used only when the temporal succession or causal relationship of the actions is emphasized, whereas the greater abundance of all the differing verbal phrases is mainly formed by the imperfective converb ***-me***.

In the contemporary spoken language the situation has changed somewhat, in large part because the use of the perfective converb ***-maq*** adds more vivacity to the spoken word, whereas the converb ***-m*** has a rather neutral tone.[24] Still it must be stated that the scale of the modal tints which may be expressed by the imperfective converb is so broad that a full enumeration is not attempted in the present work, let alone a complete analysis. I have

[24] A similar tendency may be observed in the Mongolian use of the imperfective converb ***-ž/-č*** and the perfective converb ***-aad⁴***.

simply endeavoured to give a sense of the main ranges of use and meanings which the suffix ***-m(ə)*** may create, adding as well some specific observations which occurred in the collected material.

Usage of the imperfective converb

The imperfective converb is used to **form verbal phrases** (linking two or more verbal forms immediately one after another). Often they are further developed into **dependent clauses**, in which the converb then functions as a predicate.

The imperfective converb in verbal phrases

From the point of view of semantics the most frequent verbal phrases with the imperfective converb are: (1) constructions with reduplicated converb, (2) constructions with verbs with full meanings, and (3) constructions with modal verbs.

1) Reduplication

Reduplication of the imperfective converb usually expresses a repeated action which takes place during a certain period of time.

Ex. 1: *min-či* ***ta-m ta-m*** *inji-mə…*
Lit.: 1sg.-LAT. **look-CI. look-CI**. laugh-CI…
Peering at me **from time to time** and laughing…

2) Constructions with verbs with full lexical meaning

The significance of such constructions varies among that of the simple **connection of two or more actions**, **a resultative consequence**, **an action and its goal**, and others as well. The boundaries between these subtle shades of meaning are often quite difficult to define.

Ex. 1: *tər,* ***fəksa-m fietə-m jimɛye****.*
That, **cough-CI. fart-CI. come-PROG**.
There he **comes**, (I can hear him) **coughing**.

Ex. 2: *bi təzə-maq davɪ* ***gənə-m ji-q^{ů}****.*
Lit.: 1sg. 3pl.-IS. too **go-CI. come-(NI.)-NEG**.
I do not have frequent **contacts** with them.

Ex. 3: *śim-b* ***bia-m ji-ɣ^{ə}i****.*
Lit.: 2sg.-ACC. **seek-CI. come-PERF**.
I am **coming to see** you.

Ex. 4: ***ainə-m ji-ɣ^{ə}ye****, tači-m ji-ɣə na?*
Lit.: **Do.what-CI. come-PERF, study-CI. come PERF. QUEST**.
What did you come for, did you come for study?

3) Constructions with modal and auxiliary verbs

Most of the modal and auxiliary verbs require a construction with the converb ***-m*(*ə*)**, in particular:

- verbs expressing option, possibility or ability: *ba*(*ʁə*)*nə-* 'to be able, to know', *mutə-* 'to be able to', *o-* 'to be possible'
- the verb *čaʁa-* 'to like'
- verbs of initiation and termination of actions: *vajə-* 'to finish', *dəriv-* 'to start'
- verbs of giving and taking: *gia-* 'to take', *bu-* 'to give'
- verbs of movement and staying: *gənə-* 'to go there', *ji-* 'to come', *yila-* 'to stand'
- the verb *ta-* 'to look'
- the verbs expressing an achievement of a goal *javdə-* 'to hurry up [so as] to manage' and *baʁə* 'to succeed in, to get the opportunity to'
- the auxiliary verbs *o-* 'to be possible', *zə-* 'to say' and *bi-* 'to be'

All modal and auxiliary verbs – with the exception of *javdə-* 'to hurry up [so as] to manage' and *baʁə* 'to succeed in, to have the opportunity to', which appears on the first position in the phrase – follow the main verb.

Each of these groups of verbs (and possibly every single verb) has its own semantic range and its own function which is connected with its lexical meaning. The relative bounded or unboundedness of the connection with the main verb also depends on the original lexical meaning of the grammaticalized verb.[25]

a) **verbs expressing option, possibility, ability**: ***ba(ʁə)nə-*** 'to can, to know. to be able to', ***mutə-*** 'to be able to', ***o-*** 'to be possible'

Ex. 1: *məs gələ-maq* ***banjə-m o-m na****?*
Lit.: 1pl. fear-CP. **live-CI. can-IMP. QUEST**.
How can we live in fear?

Ex. 2: *čimar bi* ***gənə-m mutə-q^{ů}***.
Lit.: Tomorrow 1sg. **go-CI. can-NI.-NEG**.
I cannot go there tomorrow.

Ex. 3: *uču^{n}* ***učulu-m baʁənə-m, bəylə-m baʁənə-m***.
Lit.: Song **sing-CI. know-IMP, dance-CI. know-IMP**.
He can sing and dance.

b) **The verb *čaʁa-*** to like

Ex.: *bi əvat* ***ji-m čaʁən***.
Lit.: 1sg. here **come-CI. like**.
I like to come here.

[25] An analogical system of using the converbs with modal verbs to form phrases with a broad scale of meanings also exists in Mongolian and in the Turkic languages. What is conspicuous is the almost perfect agreement in the semantic fields of individual auxiliaries.

c) **Verbs of initiation and termination of actions**: ***vajə-*** ‘to finish’, ***dərif-*** ‘to start’

Ex. 1: *jašqa^{n}* ***ara-m vaš-k^{ə}i***.
Lit.: Letter write-CI. finish-PERF.
He **finished writing** the letter.

Ex. 2: *əmgəri* ***učulu-m dəriv-ɣ^{ə}i***.
Lit.: Already **sing-CI. start-PERF**.
They have already **started to sing**.

d) **Verbs of giving and taking**: ***gia-*** ‘to take’, ***bu-*** ‘to give’

The verb *gia-* ‘to take’ expresses direction of the action towards the object or patient, whereas the verb *bu-* ‘to give’ expresses direction towards the subject or the agent of the action. The given concrete context determines whether the original meaning of giving or taking remains a part of the actual verbal signification.

Ex. 1: *ər bitkə gəvə-f bi* ***əjə-m gia-ki***.
Lit.: This book name-ACC. 1sg. **remember-CI. take-VOL**.
I will **note down** the name of the book.

Ex. 2: *jai əmda^{n} ji-mə śin-t faɪ-χ əvə^{n}* ***ara-m bu-ki***.
Lit.: Next time come-CI. 2sg.-DL heave-NP. **bread make-CI. give-VOL**.
Next time when you come I will **make** Sibe bread **for you**.

e) **Verbs of movement and staying**: ***gən-*** ‘to go there’, ***ji-*** ‘to come’, ***yila-*** ‘to stand’

The verbs of movement, especially the verbs *ji-* ‘to come’ and *gən-* ‘to leave’, ‘to go there’ are often used in a partly grammaticalized meaning, which is mostly connected with their spatial semantics.

The verb *yila-* in connection with the imperfective converb expresses duration of an action.

Ex. 1: *bi təňi* ***bodə-m ji-ɣ^{ə}i***.
Lit.: 1sg. recenlty think-CI. **come-PERF**.
I have just **got** it.

Ex. 2: *śivə gizu^{n} mo-ɴ gizu^{n}-maq* ***adašə-m gənə-m***.
Lit.: Sibe language Mongolian language-IS **resemble-CI. go-IMP**.
The Sibe language **is close** to Mongolian.

Ex. 3: ***ali-mə yila***!
Lit.: **Wait-CI. stand-IMPER**.
Wait a minute!

f) **The verb *ta-*** to look

This verb expresses a short, single action, often implying the signification of an particular experience.

Ex. 1: *əmda^{n}* ***ta-m ta***.
Lit.: Once look-CI. **look-IMP**.
Just have a look.

Ex. 2: *Mi-^{n} əñi-maq əmda^{n}* ***gizərə-m ta***.
Lit.: 1sg.-GEN. mother-IS **once talk-CI. look-IMPER**.
Try to talk to my mother.

g) 'Reversed' verbal phrases

While the most frequent types of verbal phrases are those with the modal or auxiliary verb following the main verbs, spoken Sibe has several verbs used as modal verbs, which are regularly used in the form of converbs preceding the main verbs. The most frequent of these are two verbs: *baʁə-* 'to hit (the mark), to reach' and *javdə-* 'to manage in time'. When these verbs come on the first position in a verbal phrase, they are modal verbs with the respective meanings of 'to have the opportunity, to succeed in' (*baʁə-*) and 'to do something quickly in order to manage it' (*javdə-*).

Ex. 1: *śim-b* ***baʁə-m savə-qů-mə*** *afś azəɪ-m-ů-ʁ^{ů}o?*
Lit.: 2sg.-ACC. **reach-CI. see-NI.-NEG**. (become)-CI. how solve-CI. (become)-PERF.
What shall we do if we **cannot see** you?

Ex. 2: ***javdə-m ta-mɛye****!*
Lit.: **Manage-CI. look-PROG**.
She is trying to read it quickly (in my absence).

h) **The auxiliary verbs *zə-*** 'to say' and ***bi-*** 'to be'

The verb *zə-* with an imperfective converb usually expresses the meaning 'to plan, to be about to do'.

Ex. 1: ***ainə-m zə-mɛye****?*
Lit.: **Do. what-CI. say-PROG**.
What are you going to do?

Ex. 2: *śim-b ta-m* ***ji-m zə-či*** *solo aq^{ů}.*
Lit.: 2sg.-ACC. **see-CI. come-CI**. say-CC. free time NEG.
I have always **been thinking about coming** to see you but I have no time.

The perfective form of the verb *bi-* is used as an auxiliary verb. It expresses an action to which the speaker was a witness, or an action about which he reminds the hearer. It corresponds to the Mongolian particle of verbal origin *bilee*.

Ex.: *śi yiŋ gizuⁿ* ***baʁənə-m bi-ɣᵊi***.
Lit.: 2sg. English word **know-CI. be-PERF**.
But you know English!

The imperfective converb as a predicate of dependent clauses

Dependent clauses with the imperfective converb most often specify time, circumstances or cause. Such constructions differ from the type described above by use of the longer form ***-mə***, which prosodically separates the converb from the following part of sentence.

Ex. 1: ***ɛrk dolo-m-bu-mə*** *nənəm da mavə-d ňi dolo-m-bu-m.*
Lit.: Liquor **pour-CI.-give-CI**. formerly original forefather-DL. F. pour-CI.-give-IMP.
When the liquor **is offered** to the ancestors, it is first of all offered to the clan ancestor.

Ex. 2: ***ɛli-m gia-m vajə-mə*** *śiňi səf bia-m.*
Lit.: **Receive-CI. take-CI. finish-CI**. only teacher look.for-IMP.
Only **after he agrees** to become a shaman, they look for a teacher for him.

Ex. 3: *naⁿ* ***gizərə-mə*** *daɹjⁱ-aqᵘ̊.*
Lit.: Person **speak-CI**. relation NEG.
He does not care **when people talk** about him.

Ex. 4: *məji* ***bait bi-mə*** *śim-b bia-m ji-ɣᵊi.*
Lit.: Little **matter be-CI**. 2sg.-ACC. look.for-CI. come-PERF.
I come to you **because I need your help**.

Ex. 5: *daɹvət naⁿ* ***yila-mə*** *gizərə-m mut-qa-qᵘ̊i.*
Lit.: Nearby person **stand-CI**. talk-CI. can-NP.-NEG.
I could not talk to him **because there were** people around.

Ex. 6: *nanᵊ-i ňonʁᵘ̊ⁿ mi-ⁿ duqa-t* ***ji-m dudu-mə*** *ɕaɹvaɴ.*
Lit.: Person-GEN. dog 1sg.-GEN. gate-DL. **come-CI. lay-CI**. bad.
When a neighbour's dog **comes and lies** down at my gate, it is a bad omen.

Ex. 7: ***śi ji-mə*** *əli śieⁿ.*
Lit.: You come-CI. still good.
If you come, [it is all] the better.

Other syntactical specifics of the imperfective converb

1) Phrases with the actualizing particle *da*

In the spoken language the imperfective converb is often followed by the actualizing particle *da*. This particle is at times used only to emphasize the converb; at times it makes the temporal designation more precise, or indeed limits it. Often it does not influence the meaning, and functions only as an interjection, which prosodically separates two parts of a sentence.

Ex. 1: *učі* ***døźi-mə da*** *śieⁿ va baʁə-v-ʁᵊi.*
Lit.: Door **enter-CI. ACT**. good smell hit-CAUS-PERF.
As soon as I entered the door I smelled a nice smell.

Ex. 2: ***gənə-mə da*** *baχᵊi.*
Lit.: **Go-CI. ACT**. hit-PERF.
I found it **as soon as I got there**.

Ex. 3: ***døźi-mə da*** *čiš-kᵊi.*
Lit.: **Enter-CI. ACT**. come out-PERF.
He **just dropped** in (did not stay long inside).

2) The imperfective converb at the end of a sentence

The imperfective converb sporadically occurs at the end of a sentence. Usually this occurs in the case of a rhetorical ellipse, or when the speaker, wishing to topicalize or place emphasis on the verb, inverts the order of the clauses. In all such cases the longer form ***-mə*** is used.

Ex. 1: *əm ňinəŋ fəkš-kə, śim-b* ***bia-mə****.*
Lit.: One day run-PERF, 2sg.-ACC. **seek-CI**.
I was running around the whole day **looking for** you.

Temporal determinations originating from imperfective converbal forms

Certain petrified forms of the imperfective converb express temporal determination adverbially. The degree of grammaticalization of these expressions varies. The most frequent are the fixed expressions *śiramə* ‘later, in future’ (1) and *nənəm* ‘first, before’ (2). The expression *vajimə* ‘in a while’ (3) seems to retain more verbal characteristics than the previous two, which by their character resemble Indo-European adverbs.

1) The expression śira-m(ə) ‘*later*’

The word *śira-m*(*ə*) ‘later, in the future’ is the imperfect converb of the verb *śira-* ‘to continue, to succeed’, which is an important cultural term in and of itself (*jalᵊⁿ śira-* ‘to continue the clan’). This expression in the modern language occurs both with verbs and nouns; native speakers are often not aware of its verbal origin.

Ex. 1: ***śira-m*** *aš-ki.*
Lit.: **Later** meet-VOL.
See you **later**.

Ex. 2: *tər ňi gum* ***śira-m*** *bait.*
Lit.: This F. all **later** matter.
These are all future matters.

2) The expression *nənəm(ə)* 'before'

The word *nənəm* 'first, before' is a converb derived from the verbal stem *nənə* - from which a petrified derivative is employed in written Manchu – the perfective noun *nənə-hə* – 'former, preceding'. The stem itself is probably related to the verb *nənə-/ŋənə-* 'to go' (cf. Ma. *gene-*) of the Evenki and other Tungusic languages.

Ex. 1: *so tə, bi* ***nənə-m*** *yav-m-ů-ʁůo.*
Lit.: 2pl. sit-IMPER., 1sg. **first** go-CI.-become-PERF.
I am leaving (with your permission).
Note: A polite formula used in the Chinese cultural environment when somebody is leaving a group of people: it notifies the others not to be disturbed by his departure.

Ex. 2: *śi* ***nənə-m*** *døś.*
Lit.: 2sg. **first** enter-IMPER.
Go **ahead**. (You first.)

3) The expression *vajəme* 'in a while'

The expression *vajəmə*, lit. 'finishing' is used as an idiom in the sense of "after a while". It is mostly used in a context which corresponds to the original meaning (i.e., when the present action is finished), but in the linguistic cognizance of younger speakers it seems to be perceived as an adverb designating the near future.

Ex. 1: ***vajə-mə*** *məs yavm na?*
Lit.: **Finishing** 1pl.(incl) go-IMP QUEST.
Shall we leave **slowly**?

Ex. 2: ***vajə-mə*** *bait aqů ba?*
Lit.: **Finishing** matter NEG. PROB.
Are you free **after**?

7.5.2 The perfective converb *-maq* (converbum perfecti)

The suffix ***-maq*** is a peculiarity of spoken Sibe which does not have a equivalent in the written language.

Use of the perfective converb

The perfective converb expresses **an action which precedes another action** (1).

Generally speaking, the connection between the two actions is more loosely defined than in the case of the imperfective converb. In the spoken language, however, it is often used as a variant of the imperfective converb without affecting the sense of the temporal relationship of the actions. It adds a more plastic and colloquial character to the flow of speech and therefore it occurs in many cases in which the imperfective converb ***-mə*** would be used in the written language, expressing **the simultaneity of two or more actions**[26] (2).

The construction with the converb ***-maq*** is obligatory. Its use is favoured in many phrases with **modal or auxiliary verbs** (3).

Due to its more loosely defined relation to the following verb, it is more often used as a **predicate of a dependent clause**. In this function it is particularly favoured in narration or story-telling, where long chains of converbs may often occur (4).

1) Converbum perfecti in expressing successive actions

Ex. 1: *baijihua o-mə da **bəčə-maq čənl-h**, gira^{n} dəri čənl-h na^{n} bi-ɣ^{ə}i.*
Lit.: Baijihua become-CI. ACT. **die-CP. originate(Chin)-NP**., corpse-ABL originate(Chin)-NP. person be-PERF.
Baijihua was a person **who arose from a corpse**.

2) Converbum perfecti in expressing paralell actions

Ex. 1: *ňur bəri cač, caft, **caftə-maq tuɣə-f**, zə-r.*
Lit.: Arrow bow bring-IMPER, **shoot-IMPER, shoot-CP. fall-CAUS.-IMPER**., say-NP.
They say: Bring the bow and arrows and **shoot him down** (lit. shooting let fall).

Ex. 2: *ɛli-ʁə ɛli-ʁə **v^{i}elə-maq yav-ʁ^{ə}i**.*
Lit.: Wait-NP. wait-NP. **throw-CP. go-PERF**.
I was waiting and waiting and then I **left**.
Note: The phrase *vieləmaq yav-* 'throwing leave' is used to express the abandonment of something or someone.

3) Phrases with modal verbs

The frequency of use of the perfective converb in the spoken language is markedly higher than in the written language. It is used either alternatively with (a) the imperfective converb, or (b) obligatorily in phrases with certain modal verbs.

[26] The same tendency can be observed in the usage of the Khalkha Mongolian converbs *-ž.-č* and *-aad*., when in the colloquial language the perfective converb *-aad* is often used in a phrase where the imperfective converb *-ž.-č* would be used in a more literary style.

a) Alternation with the imperfective converb

In the spoken language some modal and auxiliary verbs may occur with both converbs without a differentiation in the temporal relationship. In this case the use of the perfective converb ***-maq*** is distinguished by its greater expressivity and vivacity.

Ex. 1: *əmfalə^{n} śidə^{n} da ju əri^{n}* ***gizər-maq g^{i}ɛ-m***.
Lit.: One while between ACT. two hour **speak-CP. take-IMP**.
In a short while he **speaks** for two hours.
Note: A humorous critique of a talkative person.

Ex. 2: *tər samə^{n} ňi dači da* ***ulav-maq ji-ɣ^{ə}i***.
That shaman F. originally ACT. **hand.down-CP. come-PERF**.
The shamanic practices **have been handed down** from the olden times.

b) Fixed expressions with modal verbs

The modal verbs *sənda-* 'to put' and *dut-* 'to lay' are always used with the perfective converb. The use of these verbs as modals is strongly expressive and is limited to the spoken language.

Phrases with the verb sənda- *'to put'*

The modal verb *sənda-* conveys the sense of a quick, intensive and single action.

Ex. 1: *kaošə-v ňi* ***maitoɹ-maq sənda-ʁ^{ə}i***.
Lit.: Examination(Chin)-ACC. POSS. **flail-CP. put-PERF**.
He did the examination test by **guessing**.
Note: The expression *maitoɹ-* (to flail) is a humorous metaphor of guessing the correct answers in examination tests by chance.

Ex. 2: *mətəraɴ da* ***zə-maq sənda***.
Lit.: Just like this ACT. **say-CP. put-IMPER**.
Just say it in this way.

Constructions with the verb *dut-* 'to lay'

The modal verb *dut-* adds the sense of intensity, insistence and long duration to the main verb.

Ex. 1: *fiɣə ňi* ***tiərʁů-maq dudə-m***.
Lit.: Brains POSS. **turn-CP. lay-IMP**.
Her brains are **working all the time**. (She does not leave anything in peace.)

Ex. 2: *əm jaq daɹj^{i} aq^{ů}* ***yav-maq dudə-m***.
Lit.: One thing relation NEG. **go-CP. lay-IMP**.
He does not care about anything and just **keeps walking**.
Note: This expression describes energetic end determined gait of a certain individual.

Ex. 3: *aⁿ śi-ⁿ gəɣə **soʁů-maq dut-kᵊye**?*
Lit.: Why 2sg.-GEN. sister **cry-CP. lay-PERF**.
Why is your sister **crying all the time**?

4) The perfective converb as a predicate of a dependent clause

Ex. 1: *jaq **arə-maq** śim-b ɛli-mɛye.*
Lit.: Thing **make-CP**. 2sg.-ACC. wait-PROG.
We are waiting for you **with the dinner**.

Ex. 2: *miⁿ bo-t **ji-maq** mi-ⁿ gizum-b gia-s.*
Lit.: 1sg.-GEN. house-DL **come-CP**. 1sg.-GEN. word take-IMPER.
Once you have come to my house you have to listen to me.

Ex. 3: *χaʁəji-f da šašqəɪ-mə **gətəv-maq** bo-či ňi ɕajə-m ji-ɣə.*
Lit.: Boy-ACC. ACT. slap-CI. **wake-CAUS.-CP**. house-LAT. POSS. bring-CI.-come-PERF.
She **woke** the boy with a slap and brought him home.

Other syntactic peculiarities of the perfective converb

1) The perfective converb at the end of a sentence

The converb ***-maq*** occurs at the end of a sentence more frequently than the imperfective converb. It is used to express cause or circumstance, just like the Mongolian converb ***-aad***[4], used in similar types of incomplete sentences.

Ex. 1: *juzə-v ňi danə-m vaq aie, bəy ňi banjə-m **banə-qů-maq**.*
Lit.: Children-ACC. POSS. care-IMP. not what, body give birth-CI. **know-(NI.)-CP**.
Of course she cares about their children, **since she was not able to** give birth.

2) The perfective converb in constructions with the particle *da*

The perfective converb is often separated by the particle *da* from the following parts of a sentence. This particle, when used with the perfective converb, always marks an end of a clause and is never used as a part of a verbal phrase.

Ex.: *bait iškʲa-m **vajə-maq ta** tiorʁů-maq ji-qᵘ na?*
Lit.: Matter arrange-CI. **finish-CP. ACT**. turn-CP. come-NI.-NEG. QUEST
Why don't you come back **after you finish** your work?

Idioms formed with the perfective converb

In the spoken language the perfective converb often forms a part of an idiomatic phrase expressing a more complicated set of ideas. Many of these expressions are typical in the spoken language and have no written equivalents.

Ex.: ***yila-maq ta*** *əm gizu^{n} gizərə-m.*
Lit.: **Stand-CP. ACT**. one word say.
He is speaking **discontinuously**.

7.5.3 The perfective converb *-f(ie)/-f(ə)*

The perfective converb ***-f(ie)***/***-f(ə)*** is typical of written Manchu (the form ***-fi***). In the spoken language its use is limited to the older generation of speakers who are literate in Manchu. It often occurs in song lyrics. Its meaning generally overlaps that of the perfective converb ***-maq***, but it is used more frequently in the sense of temporal succession (Ex. 1).

Ex. 1: *jaq* ***jə-fə*** *aič^{i}!*
Lit.: Thing **eat-CP**. move-IMPER.
Have something to **eat before** you leave.

Ex. 2: *tůχta^{n} śi mim-bə tuʁaɹ-χ ərin-də damji^{n}* ***migər-fie*** *daʁə-m ta-χ bi-ɣə.*
Lit.: First.time 2sg. 1sg.-ACC. meet-NP. time-DL, scale.beam **shoulder-CP**. folow-CI. look-NP. be-PERF.
When I saw you for the first time, I turned after you and kept watching **with my scale beam on my shoulders**.

7.5.4 The conditional converb *-či* (converbum conditionale)

Forms of the conditional converb

The conditional converb ***-či*** has two variants – the basic form ***-či*** and the form ***-š*** before stops. This variant occurs frequently due to two widely used particles with an initial stop – the particles *da* and *gəɹ*, which often follow the conditional converb.

The negative form of the conditional converb, like the negative forms of other converbs, is formed by the negated form of the imperfective noun followed by the conditional converb of the auxiliary verb *o-* 'to become'. In literary Manchu these forms exist as analytic expressions, while in the spoken language they are pronounced as one word and seem to be perceived as synthetic (e.g. Lit. Ma. *generkū oči* > *Si. gənəq^{ů}či* 'if he does not go').

Ex. 1: *amə* ***taqə-q^{ů}-či*** *və taqə-mie.*
Lit.: Father **know-(NI.)-NEG.(become)-CP**. who know-IMP.
Who should know it **if not you**, Father?

Ex. 2: *čiškə* ***fietə-mə-š gəɹ*** *udun-t tuza.*
Lit.: Sparrow **fart-CI.-become-CC. still** wind-DL. help.
Even a sparrow's fart can help the wind.
Note: A proverb.

Usage of the conditional converb

The conditional converb ***-či*** always functions as a predicate of a dependent clause which expresses the condition for the main clause. Apart from this conditional meaning it is often used to simply express a sequence of actions (Ex. 1).

On the syntactical level a specific construction is used to express a condition in the past: the main verb is in the form of the perfective noun, followed by the conditional converb of the existential 'to be' (Ex. 5).

1) The conditional in the present and future

Ex. 1: *ər əm daivə-f* ***ɕaš-či*** *χoj o-jůqů, tər əm daivə-f* ***ɕaš-či*** *χoj o-jůqů.*
Lit.: This one doctor-ACC. bring-CC. good become-(NI.)-NEG, that one doctor-ACC. **bring-CC**. good become-NI-NEG.
They were **calling** all possible doctors but she did not get better.

Ex. 2: *ərə-f gəɹ* ***jə-m vajə-qů-či*** *banjə-qů ta o-ʁůi.*
This-ACC. still **eat-CI. finish-(NI.)-NEG.-become-CC**. live-(NI.)-NEG. ACT. become-PERF.
If you cannot finish up even this, there is no need for you to live.
Note: Humorous encouraging of a bashful guest to eat.

Ex. 3: *ərt* ***yi-qů-či*** *jaq ba-ʁəm jə-qů.*
Lit.: Early **get.up-(NI.)-NEG.-become-CC**. thing hit-CI. eat-(NI.)-NEG.
If you do not get up early, you will not have time to eat breakfast.

Ex. 4: *naⁿ ňi dači mo-maq* ***avələ-či****, tə ňi ňur bəri bi o-ʁůi.*
Lit.: Person F. originally wood-IS **hunt-CC**. now F. arow bow is become-PERF.
People **were first hunting** with wooden sticks and now they acquired the bow and arrow.

Ex. 5: *śi jih* ***bi-či*** *laft śieⁿ biɣəi.*
Lit.: You **come-NP. be-CC**. very good be-PERF.
It would have been nice **if you came**.

Other syntactical peculiarities of the conditional converb

The conditional converb seldom occurs at the end of a sentence. It may express a regret about something one did or did not do (a).

The conditional converb is often followed by the particles *da* (b) and *gəɹ* 'still' (c).

a) The conditional converb at the end of a sentence

Ex. 1: *əmdaⁿ* ***gən-h bi-čie****, zə-m cůňi-m.*
Lit.: Once **go-PERF. be-CC**. say-CI. think-IMP.
Had I gone there just once …

b) Constructions of the conditional converb and the particle *da*

This particle is often used without a change of meaning in the verbal expression. It may slightly emphasize the verb, or place it into light contradictory opposition to the other part of the sentence. It has often only a prosodic function – native speakers appear to prefer finishing a verbal form by using the syllable *da* as opposed to concluding with the syllable ***-či***.

Ex. 1: *bait **bi-š ta** dianhua tant.*
Matter **be-CC. ACT**. telephone hit-IMPER.
If you need anything, call me.

Ex. 2: *jə-m **mutə-qů-š ta** jə-q^{ů} da o-ʁ^{ů}i.*
Lit.: Eat-CI. **can-(NI.)-NEG. become-CC. ACT**. eat-NI.-NEG. ACT. become-PERF.
If you can not eat it, you are not obliged to.

c) Constructions of the conditional converb and the particle *gəɹ* ‘still, also’

Like the Monglian particle *č*, the particle *gəɹ* has the meaning of either addition or diminishment, depending on the positive or negative context of the utterance. In a positive sentence it should translated as ‘too, also’, while in the negative sense as ‘nor, neither, not even’. The construction of the conditional converb with this particle has the resulting signification of ‘even if’ or ‘even if not’.

Ex. 1: *urai amtiŋ, sa^{n} **mitə-mə-š gəɹ** sa-q^{ů}.*
Lit.: How much tasty, **ear cut-CI.-become-CC**. still know-NEG.
It is so tasty that I would not feel it **if someone cut off my ear** (while eating).
Note: Humorously praising a dish.

Ex. 2: *šim-b **unča-maq sənda-š gəɹ** ši sa-q^{ů}.*
Lit.: 2sg.-ACC. **sell-CP. put-CC. still** you know-(NI.)-NEG.
If she had sold you, you would not even notice it.
Note: A humorous characteristic of a clever young girl who is good at dealing with people.

Idiomatic expressions with the conditional converb

The by far most frequent idiom with the conditional converb, used in both the spoken and written languages, is a construction of the negative converb ***-či*** and the verbal form *ojůq^{ů}* ‘it is not possible’. The construction as a whole expresses an inevitable need.

Ex. 1: *jə-f, **jəqů-či o-ju-q^{ů}**.*
Lit.: Eat-IMPER. **eat-(NI.)-NEG.-become-CC. become-(NI.)-NEG**.
Eat, **you have to eat**.

Ex. 2: *ənəŋ **gənə-qᵘ̊-či o-jů-qů-ʁᵘ̊i**.*
Lit.: Today **go- (NI.)-NEG.-become-CC. become-(NI.)-NEG.-(become)-PERF**.
Today we **have to go** there **in any case**.

7.5.5 Terminative converb -čiňi

Literary Manchu possesses a group of combined suffixes which distinguish fine modal shades of meaning (***-čiňi, -čina, -čibe, -biňi*** , as well as others). Only one of these suffixes, the suffix ***-či-ňi***, which is composed of the conditional converb and the particle *ňi*, is currently in use in the modern spoken language.

The basic meaning of the terminative converb -čiňi

While in the grammars of the written language the meaning of this suffix is rendered as vaguely as is the case with many other verbal suffixes, in the spoken language it has developed a relatively clear and concrete use – the terminative meaning which ought to be translated as 'until' and corresponds to the Mongolian terminative converb ***-tal***[4].

Ex. 1: *mim-f **giri-f-čiňi** gizər-mɛye.*
Lit.: 1sg.-ACC. **shame-CAUS.-CT**. speak-PROG.
You are **making me blush** (by your words).

Ex. 2: *naⁿ **gələ-f-čiňi** azəɹ-m.*
Lit.: Person **fear-CAUS.-CT**. behave-IMP.
He is running riot **so that one would be scared**.

Idiomatic use of the terminative converb

The terminative converb in a construction with the three auxiliaries (*o-* 'to be, to become', *zə-* 'to say' and *bi-* 'to be') and the vicarious adverb *tut* 'thus, this much' conveys the meaning of contradiction, which may best be translated as 'though, although, but'. These constructions correspond to Mongolian phrases with the verbal root + ***-vč***.

Ex. 1: *təzə-i samaⁿ ňi alla alla zə-m, **tut bi-čiňi** baitə ňi samaⁿ bait.*
Lit.: Their shaman-POSS. alla alla say-IMP. **thus be-CT**. matter-POSS shaman matter.
Their shamans are turning to Allah in their invocations, **but** their rituals are shaman rituals.

Ex. 2: ***tut o-čᵘ̊ňi** islamə ňi goškᵘ̊.*
Lit.: Thus **become-CT**. Islam F. terrible.
But Islam is strong.

7.6 Deverbal suffixes

The number and function of deverbal suffixes in written Manchu and spoken Sibe differs significantly. While in the grammars of written Manchu we find a number of derivational suffixes which express various aspects of an action, in spoken Sibe these suffixes are mostly unproductive and occur as petrified parts of fixed forms.

In written Manchu, according to Zaharov, there is one passive-causative suffix ***-bu-*** as well as eleven suffixes of aspect, of which three (***-nggi-, -na-*** and ***-ji-***) are in fact grammaticalized verbs *unggi-* 'to send', *gene-* 'to go' and *ji-* 'to come'. In comparison with the Mongolian suffixes of aspect (Sechenbaatar 2003, pp. 116, 145), which are phonetically heterogenous, etymologically unclear and, but for a few exceptions, a productive part of the verbal system, almost all the Manchu deverbative suffixes have the shape CV. Zaharov, in compliance with the traditional Manchu grammars, relates them to various grammaticalized words: the suffix ***-ča³-*** to the verb *ača-* 'to meet', the suffix *-nu-* to the adverb *yooni* 'all', the suffix *-ndu-* to the noun *ishunde* 'mutually'.

Although this etymologization is verified only in the case of the three suffixes of movement (*-nggi-, -na-, -ji-*), whereas concerning suffixes expressing other aspects it may be only of secondary importance, it is clear that the deverbal suffixes in literary Manchu should be grouped among grammatical means that were artificially developed and maintained. Zaharov himself comments on the suffixes, noting that they are only one of many options to express aspects of verbal actions, and that among those literate in written Manchu a tendency towards the use of analytic expressions prevails (Zaharov 1879, pp. 164, 168).

In the spoken language these derivational suffixes of aspect (unlike the causative marker *-bu-*) are fixed in particular verbal forms and are not recognized by native speakers with the exception of those educated in Manchu grammar:

tan-də 'to beat': *tan-* 'to hit' + *-de* – suffix of repeated action

ɕa-jə- 'to bring', lit. *ga-ji-*: *gayi-* 'to take'+ *ji-* 'to come'.

In modern colloquial Sibe there are two fully productive deverbal suffixes:

1. **the causative-passive suffix *-v***
2. **the suffix expressing the commencement of an action (inceptive) *-mači-***

7.6.1 The causative suffix -v

Form and meaning of the causative suffix

This derivational suffix, originally a grammaticalized verb *bu-* 'to give' (in literary Manchu the form of the suffix is *-bu-*), is one of the most frequent word-forming means in spoken Sibe.

Its range of meanings, viewed through the prism of Indo-European grammatical categories, encompasses two basic meanings, the ***causative*** and the ***passive***. This classification is, however, not entirely suitable for the Altaic languages.[27] Manchu and Sibe do not seem to make a distinction between the two categories.

[27] The Mongolian suffix ***-gd-***, which is often classified as the passive voice, is in fact a suffix with a highly specific use (mainly with verbs connected to sensual and intellectual perception, e.g. *bod-* 'to think' *bodo-gd-* 'to come to mind').
On the other hand, in Mongolian the so-called causative suffixes are used in certain contexts which from the point of view of Indo-European grammar, would most likely be classified as passive, e.g. (*zod-uul-* lit. 'beat-CAUS'. –

The category of causativity in the Altaic languages is an essential way of expressing the relation between the agent, the action and the object or patient of the action. Manchu and Mongolian in particular prefer the causative constructions to other constructions. The causative relationship is marked even when it can be clearly understood from the context, as seen in the following example:

Ex.: *aɴəv ňi* ***yaqsə-v-ʙᵊi***.
Lit.: Mouth-ACC. POSS. **shut-CAUS.-PERF**.
He **shut** his mouth.

In several cases the causative suffix ***-v-*** has lost its causative meaning and formed a secondary stem with a new meaning (e.g. *sa-v-* 'to see, to be seen' < *sa-* 'to know').

The object of causative constructions is either in the dative-locative or in the accusative. Often it is possible to use both:

Ex. 1: *ujᵘ ara-maq ta* ***yenjir-v ňi utkᵘ utu-v-m***.
Lit.: Head make-CP. ACT. **doll-ACC. C**. dress **put.on-CAUS.-IMP**.
After we had made the head of the doll we **put clothes on her**.

Ex. 2: *aɹh bos čaɴ čaɴ iza-v-maq ta* ***yenjir-d ňi*** *utkᵘ ara-m* ***utu-v-m***.
Lit.: Coloured cloth lots gather-CP. ACT. **doll-DL**. C. dress make-CI. **put.on-CAUS.-IMP**.
We were collecting lots of coloured rags/cloths, making dresses and **putting them on the dolls**.
Note: These two variants occurred in the speech of one speaker in immediate succession.

Although any attempt to classify the so-called semantic range of the various causative constructions risks the introduction of Indo-European grammatical categories into a linguistic context where they are simply not present, the following can nonetheless be concluded from the collected material: in the formulations which are closer to the category of the **causative** (1) the object is more frequently in the accusative, whereas in those closer to the passive the agent (i.e., the grammatical object) tends to be in the dative-locative (2).

1) Causative type constructions

Ex. 1: *giraⁿ* ***čiči-v-m*** *vajə-maq əmbat jaq jə-m.*
Lit.: Skeleton **go.out-CAUS.-CI**. finish-CP. together thing eat-IMP.
After the burial ('taking out the bones') they eat together.

Ex. 2: *naɴᵊ-i gůňim-b* ***daʁə-v-m*** *mutə-m.*
Lit.: Person-GEN. mind **follow-CAUS.-CI**. can-IMP.
He can **attract** other people. (He can **make** people **like** him.)

'to get beaten' and so on). Therefore it may be very correct to state that the Altaic languages distinguish only one *causative-passive* voice.

Ex. 3: *ər učum-b mi-^{n} amə* ***banjə-v-ʁ^{ə}i****.*
Lit.: This song 1sg.-GEN. father **be born-CAUS.-PERF**.
My father **composed** this song.

Ex. 4: *ɕaš, bi śin-t* ***uluf-kie****.*
Lit.: Bring, 1sg. 2sg.-DL. **eat-CAUS.-VOL**.
Come here, **I will feed yo**u.

2) Passive type constructions

Ex. 1: *χara* ***śin-t maχtə-v-mie****.*
Lit.: Hara 2sg.-DL. **throw-CAUS.-IMP**.
Hara **is not as good as you**.
Note: The causative form *maχtə-v-* 'to let oneself being thrown' is used idiomatically in the meaning 'to be worse than' in knowledge, abilities, and the like.

Ex. 2: *śi fəkśi-mə bi jaf-š da śi* ***ətə-v-ɣ^{ə}i****.*
Lit.: 2sg. run-CI. 1sg. catch-CC. ACT. **2sg. win-CAUS.-PERF**.
When you run and I catch you, you **have lost**.

Ex. 3: *saʁůrun-t* ***baʁə-v-ʁ^{ə}i*** *ba!*
Lit.: Cold-DL. **strike-CAUS.-PERF**. PROB.
You most probably **have caught** a cold.

Ex. 4: *sər zə-r tərə udun-də ňi śidə^{n} učі ňi* ***li-v-ɣ^{ə}ye****.*
Lit.: Ser say-NI. that wind-DL. C. between door C. **open-CAUS.-PERF**.
In gust of wind the inside door **opened**.
Note: From the lyrics of a folksong.

Ex. 5: *tər jaq huizə-t* ***tandə-v-maq*** *qor ba-χ^{ə}i.*
Lit.: That thing Uighur-DL. **beat-CAUS.-CP**. harm get-PERF.
He **was beaten** by the Uighurs and injured.

Negation of the causatives

The negative forms of the causatives are particularly important in communication. Apart from the meaning of prohibition (1) they often designate the **unnecessary quality** of a given action (2).

1) The meaning of prohibition

Ex. 1: *əvat daməŋ* ***ɕůči-v-ůq^{ů}****.*
Lit.: Here tobacco **smoke-CAUS.-(NI.)-NEG**.
It is not **allowed to smoke** here.

Ex. 2: *χalə-i diərʁůt* ***sadulə-v-ůqů***.
Lit.: Clan-GEN. inside **make.relatives-CAUS.-(NI.)-NEG**.
It is **not allowed to marry** inside a clan.

Ex. 3: *čaqůr tavənə-r-t amš* ***tavə-v-ůqů***.
Lit.: Čaqůr ascend-NI.-DL backwards **look-CAUS. (NI.)-NEG**.
When ascending the *čaqůr* he **must not look** back.

2) Meaning of unnecesity

Ex. 1: *gizərərə-ŋə-f* ***bia-v-ůqů***.
Lit.: Speak-NI.II.-ACC. **look for- CAUS.-NI.-NEG**.
It is **not necessary** to talk about it

Ex. 2: *əm nan ňunkuŋ biš da, ... if χůarən-t bənə-m vajə-maq da śinaq* ***utu-v-ůqů***.
Lit.: One person sick be-CC.-ACT. … tomb yard-DL. escort-CI. finish-CP. ACT. mourning **put.on-CAUS.-(NI.)-NEG**.
When somebody is sick, he is **not obliged to wear** mourning after the end of the burial.

These two suffixes are attached to a verbal stem, which is often extended by the older petrified deverbative suffixes.

7.6.2 Beginning of an action: the suffix *-mači-*

This verbal form expresses the beginning of an action and is considered to have developed from the imperfective converb ***-m*(*ə*)** and the verb *a*(*i*)*či-* 'to move' by native speakers. In the perfective forms the final vowel of the inceptive suffix is dropped and it results in a dissimilation of the cluster thus formed: ***čh*/*čχ*>*šk*/*šq*** (e.g. *gənə-maš-kᵊi* 'started going').

This suffix is used for **marking a beginning of an action** (1) and for **expressing parallel actions** (2).

1) Suffix *-mači-* designating the beginning of action

A verb with the suffix ***-mači-*** conveys this meaning when it is a finite predicate of a sentence.

Ex. 1: ***bi fančə-mači-mie****!*
Lit.: 1sg. **angry-INC.-IMP**.
I **will get angry**!

Ex. 2: *amə-v ňi əmdaⁿ sav-mə da* ***bait čiči-mači-m***.
Lit.: Father-ACC. POSS. once see-CI. ACT. **matter come out-INC.-IMP**.
Whenever she sees her father, **something happens** to her.

Ex. 3: *śivə dongbəi-dəri ji-maq əvat **banjə-maš-kᵊi**.*
Lit.: Sibe northeast-ABL. come-CP. here **live-INC.-PERF**.
The Sibe people came from Manchuria and **began** living here.

Ex. 4: *tər həh əm ňinəŋ saʁənč banjə-maq jai ňinəŋ bo-t jaq **ara-maš-kᵊi**.*
Lit.: That woman one day daughter give birth-CP. next day house-DL. thing **make-INC.-PERF**.
That woman gave birth to her daughter and the next day she already **started cooking** for her family.

2) The suffix *-mači-* in the meaning of parallel actions

When the suffix ***-mači-*** forms part of a converbal predicate of a dependent clause, it expresses the first of two simultaneous actions.

Ex. 1: *yiqaⁿ guruⁿ śim-b **bia-mači-mə** goškᵘ azəɹ-mači-m.*
Lit.: Chinese folk 2sg.-ACC. **plea-INC.-CI**. terribly behave-INC.-IMP.
When the Chinese are **asking you** a favour, they would do anything.

Ex. 2: *so-ⁿ təvat jaq **jə-mači-mə** liaoča baitələ-m ba?*
Lit.: 2pl.-GEN. there thing **eat- INC.-CC**. drag use-IMP. PROB.
In your place, **when you eat**, you use a pitchfork, don't you?

Ex. 3: *gizuⁿ **tači-mači-mə** laft gizərə-mə śiňi o-m.*
Lit.: Word **learn-INC.-CC**. much speak-COMV.IMP. only become-IMP.
When one studies a language, it is possible only when one speaks a lot.

Ex. 4: *bi jaq **ara-mači-mə** dameɴ laft cůči-m.*
Lit.: 1sg. thing **write-INC.-CI**. tobacco much smoke-IMP.
When I write something, I smoke a lot.

7.7 Vicarious verbs

In Manchu and Sibe, as in many other Altaic languages, vicarious verbal expressions are present. In comparison with the Mongolian system of three verbs with full paradigms (interrogative *yaa-*, proximal *inge-* and distal *teg-*) the Manchu system is defective. It can, however, be assumed, that a full system existed in the earlier stages of the language and was partially lost.

Literary Manchu has only the interrogative verb *aina-* 'to do what'. Spoken Sibe has, besides its oral form *ain-*/*ɛn-* 'to do what', the demonstrative vicarious verb *ək-* 'to do that', which is used for both proximate and distal deixis. An important aspect of the semantic range of these verbs is the implicit referral to an action known both to the speaker and interlocutor from a previous context ('to do what both of the communication partners already know about').

I have in one instance recorded the use of the vicarious verb *tək*, which might have originally been the distal-deictic equivalent of the verb *ək-*, as is suggested by the regular occurrance of the pair of vicarious roots *ə-*/*tə-* for distaland proximate reference. The phonetic correspondence to the Mongolian distal vicarious verb *teg-* is worth noting. In view of the long lasting contacts and the multitude of mutual borrowings, the Mongolian origin of this vicarious verb cannot be excluded.

One more vicarious verbal stem should be probably listed from the purely synchronic point of view. Literary Manchu has no direct correspondence to the Mongolian pair of demonstrative vicarious verbal stems *teg-* and *inge-*; an analogical meaning is however conveyed by the complex expressions *uttu o-* lit. like.this become, 'to be in this way' and *tuttu o-* lit. like.that become, 'to be in that/such way.' In colloquial Sibe, however, the expression *tuttu o-* has developed into what should be regarded instead as a verbal stem *tuku-* 'to do so', which is, however, used only with converbal suffixes.

At the same time, in the speech of the elder generation, there occur the forms *tutof* or *tutᵊfie*, which are the genuine equivalents of the literary form *tuttu ofi* , lit. like.this. become-CC.

Some of the vicarious verbs, in addition to their use on the basic lexical level, are also used to create phrases with other verbs, which usually renders their meaning more abstract.

Vicarious verbs in their basic meaning

In the spoken language two vicarious verbs are frequent – the interrogative – *ɛn-*/*ɛin-* 'to do what' (a) and the demonstrative *ək-* 'to do this/that' (b).

a) The vicarious verb *ɛn-*/*ɛin-* 'to do what'

Ex. 1: *tər saʁənč təvat* ***ɛnə-maq*** *dut-kᵊye?*
Lit.: That girl there **do.what-CP**. lay.down-PERF.
What is the girl **doing** there all the time?

Ex. 2: ***ɛnə-m*** *ji-ɣᵊye?*
Lit.: Do.**what-CI**. come-PERF.
Why (to do what) did you come?

Ex. 3: ***ɛn-ʁᵊye****?*
Lit.: **Do.what-PERF**.
What happened?
Note: An idiom analogical to the Mongolian expression *yaasan* (*be*)? 'What happened?'

Ex. 4: *əňi ňi* ***ɛn-ʁᵊi*** *zə-m fək ši-m čiš-kᵊi.*
Lit.: Mother-POSS. **do.what-PERF**. say-CI. run- CI. do out-PERF.
Her mother ran out to see **what happened**.

b) The demonstrative vicarious verb *ək-* ‘to do this/that’

This verb stands either for an action which can be understood from the actual context (Ex. 1), or an action known to both partners in communication from the previous context (Ex. 2). In everyday speech it is often used as an interjection with the function of slowing down the flow of speech or anticipating the utterance of a fact that for some reason should actually not be pronounced in the normal course of speech (Ex. 4). In colloguial Mongolian both meanings are usually expressed by the interrogative vicarious verb *yaa-* or the idiom *yuu yaa-*.

Ex. 1: *gaš, bi **əkə-m** bu-ki.*
Lit.: Bring-IMPER. 1sg. **do.that-CI**. give-VOL.
Let me **fix** it for you.
Note: A frequent phrase introducing detailed manual assistance.

Ex. 2: *ajiguru^{n} gələ-mə, mətəraɴ **əkə-m** vaq na?*
Lit.: Children fear-CI. just thus **do.this-IMP**. not QUEST
When children are scared, people **usually do the same**, you know?

Ex. 3: *čəksə **əkə-m** ta-ʁə na?*
Lit.: Yesterday **do.that-CI**. look-PERF. QUEST
Did you try **it** yesterday?

Ex. 4: *ut **əkə-maq da**, əňi ňi aɹ-m bu-m vajə-maq da bəy ňi χaišgəɹ nan^{ə}-i aɹvə^{n} bači ňi vəilə-mə yav-ʁ^{ə}i.*
Lit.: Thus **do.that-CP. ACT**. mother POSS. tell-CI. give-CI. finish-CP. ACT. body POSS. still person-GEN. service place-LAT. POSS. work-CI. go-PERF.
After **having done like this** – her mother, after having explained everything, went back to the place of her service.

c) The vicarious verb *tuku-* ‘to do so’

The three forms encountered in the collected material are *tuku-mə* ‘do.so-CI.’, *tuku-maq* ‘do.so-CP.’ and *tuku-či* ‘do.so-CC.’ The former two are used to express the meaning ‘after that’ analogically to the Mongolian verbal form *tegeed*, lit. ‘do.so-CP.’, while the third has the meaning of ‘in that case’ as in the Mongolian form *tegvel*, lit. ‘do.so-CC.’

Ex. 1: ***tuku-mə** da baijihua ňi bəy ňi gam-ʁ^{ə}i.*
Lit.: **do.so-CI**. ACT. Baijihua F. body POSS. take.away-PERF.
And so Baijihua took him away herself.

Ex. 2: ***tuku-maq** da sk^{e}i baijihua tom.*
Lit.: **Do.so-CP**. ACT. that Baijihua abuse-IMP.
Then Baijihua started abusing her.

Ex. 3: ***tu-maqa****?*
Lit.: **Do.so-CP**.
And? So what?

Ex. 4: ***tuku-č*** *śi əmzaq gənə-můʁů na?*
Lit.: **Do.so-CC**. 2sg. alone go.there-CI.(become)-PERF. QUEST.
So it means that you are going there alone?

Vicarious verbs in a phrase with a verb with full meaning

Ex. 1: *tuku-mə təvat* ***banjə-maq ɛni-m****, gizu*^{n} ***tači-maq ɛni-m****…*
Lit.: Do.so-CI. there live-CP. **do what-IMP, language study-CP. do what-IMP**.
Then he was **living there, studying the language and so on**.

Ex. 2: ***yav-ʁə ɛn-ʁə da*** *əm bira-t iźin-ɣ*^{ə}*i.*
Lit.: **Walk-NP. do what-NP. ACT**. one river reach-PERF.
He **went on and on** and he came to a river.

Ex. 3: *buddizm ye samanjiao goškuli* ***av-m təkə-m****…*
Lit.: Buddhism(Rus.) and shamanism(Chin.) terribly **fight-IMP. do that-IMP**.
Buddhism and shamanism were **fighting** [**each other**] hard.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank Prof. Jaroslav Vacek, my teacher and PhD. supervisor, who introduced me into the study and description of the Altaic languages and without whose guidance my thesis would never have been accomplished. I owe thanks to Mr. Kicengge, my teacher of spoken Sibe, Mr. Guoqing and his family, and all my Sibe advisors and friends without whose kindness and help the present work would have been impossible. I should like to thank all my colleagues who helped me by their precious advice and, in particular, Ms. Rachel Mikos for proofreading and corrections of my English. I am deeply grateful to my parents and uncle Dušan for their unceasing support of my work.

APPENDIX

An example of a text in spoken Sibe with English translation

The following two texts were recorded by Mr. Kicengge in the winter of 1993. Both of the texts are examples of real speech and therefore repetitions, ellipses and other characteristics of spoken language are frequent. Both texts belong to a genre which may be termed "oral history". The events described are situated in concrete locations and definite historical periods. The first text is of further interest in its description of certain shamanic practices. The second text is an account of a historical event that took place during the great Muslim rebellion in the 19th century – a period considered as heroic among the Sibes.

Recorded 13. 1. 1993 in Chabchal.

baijihua baiyüśiaŋəi juvə

ər əm əyi mamət da əm χaʁəč biɣᵊi. χaʁəjᵊi gəvuv ňie kičətu zəm. ər χaʁəč tačirt, tačir diorgit əm ňinəŋ ər χaʁəč tašqə ainʁə, ɕaitai əm ňinəŋ afqai suvdun yečin udun dam, aʁa dam, əraɴ turgun fəjiɹ da ər χaʁəjif am udun dəyivmaq ta ɕam yavʁə. diyɣə, diyɣə, diyɣə, ut omə da tof səm da ɛmirgi birai əkčint bujan diorgit gənəmaq ta tuhᵊi. ər χaʁəč tuh aməɹ, əm jalənt uči duqa čičim mutqaqů. tašqůdəri giamaq boi naʁən śiňi banšk nan. ər χaʁəč bujan diorgit tuɣumaq ta tof zəm da məzəi vəɹgien dundar soo ər ňi da bujan diorgit, gəɹ əm gurh ɕasχəi qaičar jiɹʁan da lahčəqů. əraɴ turgunt da ər χaʁəč da, -ai, ər ərint da fanjəŋ da yuh yindaʁůⁿ kəvəɹt

Free translation into English

The story of Baijihua and Baiyuxiang

An old man and an old woman had an only son. The boy's name was Kičetu. This boy went to school and studied – the boy was studying and suddenly one day strange weather came – a black wind[1] and rain, and the boy was taken by the strong wind and blown away. He was flying and flying and at the end he fell down right in the middle of a forest on the northern bank of the river. This boy had lived his whole life between his home *kang* and school, he had no chance to go even a stone's throw away. Now suddenly he fell down in the middle of the forest, right to the place near our pig-trough. He could hear only the unceasing sounds of wild animals and birds.

[1] The expression "black wind" is used to mean a storm with rain or snow.

døźimůʁůiə,
zəm da ɕůňim. əraɴ turguⁿ fəjil afše, ər χaʁəč bujan diorguf hirgim yavərdə əmgəri šun tuhə,
šun tuɣəmə da gəɹ ɕůňim bodəm,
-χaišgəɹ ərgəⁿ χairin.
tut of bujan diorgit yavərdə əm am χaliⁿ baʁəm savm.
-ər χalint tafšəm døš ta, yuh yindaʁůndəri guəm barə.
zəm da. ər χaʁəč da ər χalint tafšəm təmaq ta diovr dulindəri amirgidəri ju duŋlo dəyir gəs ta jiɣᵊi. ər χaʁəč,
-ər ai jaq biɣəye
zər.
-ərvadə nanᵊi dəvərgəⁿ aqů ai dəŋjəⁿ əɹdəⁿ biɣəye.
taʁəŋ da ər dəŋjəⁿ əɹdəⁿ
-χaliⁿ yedie
zəmaq da tof ər χalimf biamaq jiɣᵊi. əmdaⁿ jiɣəŋ, əm jiri sarɕan nan, əmkən ňi gəvəv ňi baijihua, əmkən ňi gəvəv ňi baiyüśiaŋ zər.
ər ju nan omə da, ɕůňiχaqů ta alin bira diovr saršər činkuaŋ bi. tutof ta ər jaq da χalin bat jim sarɕašəm, čai muku emim, əraŋ ərimb ňi duluvm. baijihua omə da bəčəmaq čəŋlh, giran dəri čəŋlh nan biɣᵊi. baiyüśiaŋ omə da jalən nan. əraliaɴ əjunnun aʁůndo jafhᵊi. tutof, əmkən ňi bira dəri muku ɕajəm yavʁə. əmkən ňi dišk hədərkie zəm da məiməňi guŋzuo anpailh amaɹ məiməňi juʁůnči yavʁəi. dietti gənəmaq ta baijihuar ňi dišk ɕajəm jih, baiyüśiaŋ ňi muku ɕajəm jih. čait da muku. čoʁot da muku fəyivm, əraɴ da čai gəɹ fəih amaɹ da χaliⁿ fəjild gənəf ta ju nan da čai muku emim təh ərint da gizərər diorgidə χaʁəč da
-ər əmbič jalən nan, əmbič abbanšk guruⁿ biɣəye,
əmdaⁿ gələmaq əm savdəⁿ śik aɹdəvʁᵊi. ər śikə ňi tof səm da baijihua uju nuŋud ňi jimaq tuhᵊi.
tukumə da baijihua gizərəm: –ai yono, ərai fərgoško, śi əmdaⁿ tam ta, tuksə aʁa dam na,
min uju nuŋut əmdaⁿ aʁa daʁəye,
zəmə da baiyüśiaŋ ňi,
-ai gəɣə, urai foliŋə, tuksə aqů, ut duruⁿ uśiχai čaɴ gəɹ aʁa dam na?
zəm. oi śi taqᵘ na, min ujuf əmdaⁿ biləm tam ta.
min uju nuŋut əm savdəⁿ aʁa savdkəye,

In such conditions the boy said to himself: “Oh no, now I will surely get into the belly of a wolf or another wild animal.”
What should he do in such a situation? While wandering about in the forest, the sun set.
After sunset he was thinking: “After all life is precious.” As he was wandering through the wood, he saw a big tree. “If I climb on this tree, I could escape the wolves,” he thought.
The boy climbed on the tree and was sitting there. In the middle of the night two lanterns came from the north as if flying. The boy thought: What could this be, there is not a living soul around here, what lanterns could be here? As he was watching, the lanterns said: “Where is the tree?” and came looking exactly for this tree. As they came, they were a pair of women. One was called Baijihua and the other Baiyuxiang. These two were wandering surprisingly at night through mountains and rivers. And so these two came to the forest to drink tea, this is the way they were passing their time.
Baijihua was dead, a being which rose up from a corpse. Baiyuxiang was from this world. Thus they made friends as sisters. And so one went to the riverside to bring water and the other went to collect fuel. So they arranged their work and each went her way. In a moment Baijihua brought the fuel and Baiyuxiang brought the water, water for tea. They boiled the water in the tea pot, after the tea boiled they went under the tree and were drinking tea together. As they were sitting and talking, the boy thought: “Are these people from the human world, or some other beings?” And as he became frightened, he dropped a drop of urine and the drop fell exactly on Baijihua’s head. Then Baijihua says: “How funny, how strange, look, is it raining? A raindrop fell on my head!”
Baiyuxiang said: “Oh sister, why do you talk so much, no clouds, so full of stars, how can it rain?”
“Just touch my head, a raindrop dropped on the top of my head,” she says. As she touched it, it was wet indeed, how strange. Both were looking up and down and suddenly noticed the boy.

zəm da, əmdaⁿ biləm taʁəŋ da jəŋkən uśikuⁿ,
urai ɕaňiŋ baitə. ju nan vešhun fosχůn tam
yilaʁədə skəi χaʁəjif savmaq giaʁə. baijihua da
-śi ai nan, śi hut na, maɴus na, χůdudⁿ uvm ju
śi, uvm jiqůš ta śin ərgən ər yemji vajəm, aiqa
uvm jiqůš ta.
ərəi śidəⁿ da baijihua da ərsuⁿ, uvm jiqůš ta
ojůqů,
-ər χaʁəjie, oi vaq, uvuqůči vaqa, əmbič abbanšk
gurun taqaqů,
əraɴ turgunt da ɕůňində ňi kənɣunjəm.
tukumə da ər ju saʁənč, ər ju həɣəi qaičir əhər
turgun da fəjilda, χaʁəč da fosqůⁿ uvm jiɣᵊi. ər
ju saʁənč,
-ər χaʁəč uvmaq jiɣə
zəm da ju nan əm nan əm oʁədəri qavčimaq
giaʁᵊi, giamaq ta əmgəri da dəyivmaq da udun
jiɹʁan li donjim. śan zər jiɹʁaⁿ, ər χaʁəč da əmə
li jaqəf taqůqů. tukumə da śinčəŋei juɹh duqai
louzə nuŋui bohton bat da gənəmə da tof səm
yilaʁᵊi. yilamə da baijihua bo ňi omə da tərəi
amirgit bi. baiyüśiaŋ omə da χotun diorgut,
tukumə da ju nan omə da juɹh duqat yilamə da
bəy bəydəri diurnumaškᵊi,
-gəɣə bi ɕamki,
oi ər əmkən ňi
-bi ɕamki,
ər antqəf bi ɕaməm śi ɕaməm ju nan da
diurimaškᵊi. diurivɣədə baijihua ňi omə χaiškəɹ
ər jaqəi bəšk jaqə dəri čənlh jaq vaq na, ər
baiyüśiaŋ anəvmaq ta
- oi čimar yamsqůⁿ bi ɕaməm
zəmaq da anəvmaq da yavʁᵊi. tukumə da
baijihua ňi bəy ňi ɕamʁᵊi. ər ɕaməm gənər ərint
da tof səm da čoqo χůlar ərinⁿ oʁůi. təvat ər χaʁəč
əm gulɣun ňinəŋ udunt diyɣə, aʁat fičavʁə,
anʁə da, gulɣuⁿ ňinəŋ amʁəm mutkaqů, diovr
gəɹ čoqo χůlah, tukumə da əmdaⁿ gənɣəŋ əm
fonqət dəźimaq əm, oi əm nanə li dudur li oruⁿ,
fonqəi diorgit. tukuməda

Baijihua: “What kind of man are you? Are you an evil spirit[2] or a *mangus*,[3] quickly come down, if you do not come down, your life will end this night, if you do not come immediately!”
While Baijihua was calling the boy down angrily, the boy was thinking: “No, no, it is not that I don’t want to come down, but I do not know what beings they are.”
At the end, as the two girls, two women kept on shouting, the boy climbed down. The two girls (were happy) that the boy came down, each one took him by one armpit and flew, he could hear only the sound of wind. A whistling sound.
The boy did not know anything. Then they reached the bumpy place near the southern gate of Xincheng.[4]
As they stopped, Baijihua’s house was to the north from that place and Baiyuxiang (lived) inside the town, and so the two stopped in front of the southern gate and started to fight over the boy.
“Oh sister, I will take him,” the other said,
“I will take him,” so they were struggling, who would take this guest home. And so they were fighting – Baijihua was after all a revived corpse and so Baiyuxiang gave up and said, “all right, I will take him tomorrow,” and left.
So Baijihua took him home herself. When she was taking him away, it was just the time of the rooster’s crow.
The boy had been flying in the wind and was lashed by the rain, he did not sleep for the whole day and now the rooster crowed, and so they entered a pit, but there was only a place for one person inside the pit. Then (she said) “You sleep in the house and I will sleep here on the ground.” The boy (said) “Oh no, Aunt, you sleep in the house, I will sleep on the ground.” “How can a guest sleep on the ground? You sleep inside.”

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[2] The word *hut* (Ma. *hutu*) usually means a soul of a dead person which causes evil to living people.

[3] *Mangus* (mo. *mangas*) is an evil being known mainly from Mongolian (and other Mongol-related, as Mongghul) folklore. This figure is known for the most part from Mongolian fairy-tales and legends, so one can probably speak of a Mongolian influence in this case. The *mangus* is most often depicted as an old woman who eats human flesh.

[4] Xingcheng is one of the villages in the Chabchal territory.

-ər bot da, śi ər bot dudə, bi ər nad ňi dutkie, zəm da, ər χaʁəč
-naqə, gəɣə ər bod ňi dudə, bi nat dudki zəm da. oi ojuqů, jir antq aibi nat dudər gian biɣəye, śi əmdan bod ňi dudə
zəm da ər χaʁəč da nanᵊi favənt doškəi, arʁaqů da skəi χovə diorgit qotoŋ zəm da doškᵊi. dəźimaq dudərəŋ da amʁəmaškᵊi. əməli jaq taqəqů. gulɣun ňinəŋ sadəm čukəm diyɣə, diovr dulin śidəⁿ amχaqů, əraŋ turgundə səkəi həɣə χaʁəji amh turgun fəjildə śergəi śidənbə ňi əmdan biləm taʁᵊi. əmdan biɹɣəŋ, ər χaʁəji məməi orun bie, məmə aqů biɣᵊi. tukumə da təmə da soɴůmaškᵊi.
-hei, bi veiɣun jalən də yiɣiⁿ zəm giaʁəɴə, gəɹ əm vaq jaqəf tuɴaɹʁəye, uv səɣəŋə, ai nəkəlien, bəšk jalənt əmkən tuɴaɹm baχəŋ gəɹ əm əraɴ jaqət tuɴaɹʁᵊi. miⁿ uf hondəvʁəɴ da məraŋə, zəm soɴům. soɴům vašqəye, arʁaqůʁů̈i. ər baiyüśiaŋ ňi əm əňi biɣᵊi. ərəi əňi da juɹh qarənt aɹvən biɣəi. tof səm da śinqiliu yamsqůⁿ oh biɣᵊi. diovr ər mamə tičim taʁəɴ da tiuɹgut soɴor li jiɹʁan.
-ai, ər ai zəm soɴůmɛie,
taʁəɴ da baijihuai soɴor jiɹʁan taχə. əzə ňi omə da əyun nun, əzə bod ňi gənəm jimə da taqəm. tukumə da
-baijihua ňi an soɴůmaχ biɣəye, bot dəźim takie, zəm.
-ai saʁənjie, so əyun nun ju nan bučunh bait bi na, ainχ bait biɣəye, an śin gəɣə soɴůmaq dudkəye, bi śitəm čiśkəŋ gəɹ soɴůmaq dudkᵊi, qorsum nazəm soɴůmaq dudkəye,
zəm. ai baitəi čiśkəye, zəm.
-ai bait tičimie, yeye bait čiśqaqůye,
zəmaq ta saʁənji ňi aɹʁaqů̈i. oi tər mamə tuttut da ələi soɴůr jiɹɢan ələi uzat donjim. tumaq ta ər mamə jaqəi utumaq da tivmo sujamaq da ər

The boy had no choice and followed her command, tumbled into the coffin and immediately fell asleep, and did not know anything. He had been flying the whole day and was tired after having not slept till the deep night. At this time, as the boy was sleeping, the woman tried to touch his crotch, and as she touched it, there was a place for a penis but there was no penis. She sat down and started crying: "Oh, in my human life the one whom I had taken as husband was also a mistake. A fate, how lowly it is, when I found another one after my death, I have encountered the same thing. It must be my fate," she cried. But there was no help and she stopped crying.
Baiyuxiang had a mother. Her mother was on duty at the Southern fortress.[5] It was Saturday evening. At night the old woman[6] went out and suddenly she heard somebody crying. "Why is she crying," she thought and then she recognized the crying voice of Baijihua. She knew her, because they were friends and (Baijihua) used to visit their house. "Why is Baijihua crying?" she thought, "I should go home and see". – "Oh daughter, did you two sisters quarrel? What happened, why is your sister crying? When I went out to piss, she was still crying heartbrokenly, what happened?" Her daughter did not tell: "What should happen, nothing happened at all."
But the crying sound was still more pitiable. Her mother dressed up, took her stick and went there. "It seems that the two had quarreled."
As she got there, the woman was sitting beside (the grave) and crying. "Why are you crying? Why are you crying, my girl?" "Oh, damn it, when I had a husband in my human life, it was like this, and today when I found another one

[5] *qarən* (Ma. *karūn*) – watchpost – is a term from the times of the Manchu Dynasty. A chain of border fortresses was built along the whole western and northern border of the Manchu empire. In Xinjiang their importance was greater than elsewhere, because on one hand, they prevented Russian expansion into the Manchu territory, and on the other, they controlled the frequent unrest among the Muslim inhabitants of Xinjiang, The qarens in the Ili area were manned by the Sibe soldiers and played an important role in the lifeand culture of the Sibe community until 1911.
[6] The expression mame grandmother, old woman is a polite address to a woman of 40 years and older.

mamə ai əmdan gənɣᵊi.
-kənəŋ da ər ju jaq bučunur arvən bi. əmdaⁿ gənɣəŋ da skəi həh da daɹvət da təf soɴům.
-ei, an soɴům? an soɴůmɛie, saʁənjie? – aia naqa čiźie, vəiɣun jalənt əm yiɣin zəm giaʁəŋə əraɴ bait tuɴaɹɣəye, ənəŋə gəɹ əmkən baʁəm ɕaškəŋ, gəɹ əraɴ bait. miⁿ uf da məraɴə,
zəmaq soɴům təɣᵊi.
-osaʁənč, təraɴ banšk bait.
tukumaq da skəi χaʁəjif:
-ye,
zəm, ujudəri šašqaɹm.
yaf, mon boči yaf, səɣᵊi. mamə da χaʁəjif da šašqaɹmə gətəvmaq boči ňi ɕajəm jiɣə. ɕajəm jimaq ta saʁənjif:
-ye, saʁənje, ye, muku fəyif, χůdůduⁿ, zəm da muku fəyivm, anim. emim vajimaq mamə skəi guizədəri skəi vans oχtəf da čičivm ɕajəm, əm yilan faχ ɕajəm jimaq ta ər χaʁəjit da
-emmie,
zəm,
-emmaq da dudəm amʁə. tukumə da jai ňinəŋ, ər mamə da šaɴbaɹm yavmůʁů. saʁənjid ňi avəvʁᵊi.
-saʁənjie, nanəi ərɣənmaq əm ivirə. ər χaʁəč bi taʁəɴə ər jalən nanᵊi arvən bi. so əyun nun ju nan šidər χodur yavm. čiŋkuaŋ əraŋ banšk bait oʁůie. əňi jai əm šiŋči jir šidəⁿ da yaya χačin baitəf əm čičivər. ər χaʁəjivə əm uči duqa čičivər, zəmə, əňi učivə tiɹɣudəri yozuɹmaq uči anqəf tər uči bioʁůn bat ummaq yavʁᵊi.
-aiqa baijihua jiš da əm aɹmburə,
zəm da,
-tər nanəi ərɣənmaq əm ivirə. tutof ta čira avəvmaq da mamə da yavʁə, ju nan da əyun nun, aʁůn do əm durun da injim ivm, uttu ainʁə da sunja ňinəŋ yafh oh biɣᵊi. sunja ňinəŋ omə da səkəi baijihuadə čik səm ɕůňint doškᵊi.
-ər mamə χaʁəjif ɕamʁə ainəmah biɣəye, əsk guidam əm məjig aqů,
-zəm da
-bi əmdan gənəm taki.
baijihuai yavər ərin omə da, diovr li yavm, ňinəŋ sun yavm mutəqů, ərəi giraŋ ňi təraŋ banšk bait ůrů. tukumaq da ər jaq diovr duliⁿ yimaq ta əmdaⁿ gənɣəŋ da ju nan ňi tof səm, baijihua ər χaʁəjimaq ju nan bəy bəymaq vəh giam ivm, naʁənt injim ivm təɣəye. tukumaq ta skəi fai fonqůdəri əmdan gulɣuŋ da ju jaq ta injim ivm. tukumaq ta skəi baijihua tom,

and brought him, it is the same, my fate is just like this," she said and cried.
"Oh I see, my girl!" Then she slapped the boy and said: "Get up, let us go to our place." She woke him up by slappping and brought home. When she brought him, she said: "Get up, daughter. Quickly boil water, quickly!" They boiled the water and when (the boy) drank it, the old woman took out pills of medicine from a coffer and gave three pills to the boy. "Take it and then go to sleep".
The next day the old woman had to leave for work. She ordered her daughter: "Daughter, do not play with people's life. As I see, this boy is from our human world. You two sisters are close friends. But now the matter turned up like this. I will come home next week. Before that, do not do any mischief. Do not let the boy out of the door."
Mother locked the door from outside and burried the key into the soil in front of the door. "If Baijihua comes, do not tell her about it. Do not play with the boy's life".
Thus the old woman, strictly commanding, gave a strict order to her daughter and left. The two were laughing and playing like siblings, and this way five days had passed. When it was five days, a thought suddenly occurred to Baijihua. "What is the old woman doing with the boy? For such a long time there is no news from her, I have to go and see."
The time when Baijihua could travel was only in the night, she could not walk in the daylight. It was because of her body. So she got up at midnight and went to see them. The two, Baijihua and the boy, were just playing at 'claws', they were sitting on the kang and playing and laughing. She peeped in through the window and saw how the two were playing and laughing, and she started abusing them: "Are you not ashamed, you have brought this boy here and live with him having good time, you are enjoying the life. Open the door!" Thus she was shouting angrily. Baiyuxiang said: "I do not have the key, our mother took it with her." "Oh you have to open, just open it. If you do not open, I will kick the door out!" At that time the boy saw her and started trembling in fear. He huddled up in the corner of the *kang* and kept trembling like this.

-oi girim banaqᵘ̊ jaqə, śi gəɹ ər aštaf ɕajəmjifə, bəyi səbjən səlačuqa banjən duluvm, injim ivm. śi jaq səm banjəm. so, učif so!
əmdaⁿ ərsun qačim. oi, tukumaq ta baiyüśiaŋ ňi gizərəm,
-oi uči anqə ňi mint aqᵘ̊, məzəi əňi ňi ɕaməm yavʁᵊi,
zəm da. tukumə
-śi soqůči ojůqů,
zəm da
-so, uči so! uči soqůš ta uči χᵘ̊a fuskulum, zəm da, ər tərᵊi śidən da tər χaʁəč da skəi həh əmdaⁿ jimə da dart dart surɣunum, gələm. ər maf da naʁəⁿ χozət kokormaq ta dart durt surɣunum, oi təraŋ. tərəi śidən da qaičim, ursun, tukumaq ta baiyüśiaŋ ňi gəɹ gələmaq ta,
-oi oi tər uči anqə ňi uči χozət bi, bioʁůnt umɣᵊi. skəi həh qůčirəm giasə, učif so, jih jiɣədə, čorʁodəri latəmaq da ɕam yavʁə. tukumaq ta skəi mamə omə da əm χačin feiančaobi ərdəm biɣəliaŋə, yaz aɴə ňi tatəvm, ər mamə juɹh qarənt əm śiŋči əm śiŋčiliu əm śiŋčidəri śiňi bod ňi jimərči sunjač ňinəŋ omə da ňiŋun śiňi omə da yaz aɴ tatəvm. əmdaⁿ śiumɣuⁿ hədəmə ər χaʁəjif əmgəri da ɕam yavʁə zər. tə ju ňinəŋ gənəqůš ta ərgən jalən ňi vajimůʁů. tukumaq ta ər mamə solo biamaq da fars səmaq iźinmaq jiɣᵊi. jimaq saʁənjif tom,
-bi ai zəɣə, śint affə gənh biɣə. nanᵊi ərgənmaq ivm na śi? ər abbanšk jaqə, zəmə da tom. tumə da saʁənji ňi gəɹ,
-oi nanᵊi gizun gum taqaqů ujandaqᵘ̊ azəɹm, tumaq aɹmaq buɣəŋ. ɕam yavʁəye,
zər. səkəi mamə jih jiɣə saʁənjif vajirdə tivmo sujamaq ta yavʁə. gənəmaq da dieləmaq ɕajəmaq jiɣəi. əmdan jiɣəŋ, ər χaʁəč da, tə ju ňinən da ərgən vajəmůʁů, ərgən da śiqai gəskə fənškᵊi. tutof tər saʁənjif
-χůdůn muku fəyif!
muku fəyivm anim, muku fəyivmaq ta gəɹ əm χačiⁿ oχtəf čičivmaq χaʁəjit əmdaⁿ emivmaq ta da duruⁿ oʁᵘ̊i. tukumə da da duruⁿ omə da mamə da gizərɣᵊi:
-śi gələ əvat guidam banjəm ojuqůo, ər ju bo guanśi ňi omə da čalabun ňi čaləvm yilaɣəye, śi taqəm yilaʁəye. bo zəɣəŋə jalən nan, tər zəɣəŋə bəčəmaq čənlh jaq. tutof əraŋ turgun da śidər χodur aqů banjəm. tutof da śi əvat yinəŋ guidam banš da śin amə əňit gəɹ ačəm mutəqů, bəyzəi ərgəⁿ jalⁿ gum vajəvm. tutof da ənəŋdəri min

The woman kept shouting and raving, and Baiyuxiang was seized by fear and said: "The key is in the corner of the door, she burried it in the ground."
The woman dug it out, opened the door, broke in, grabbed the boy at his neck and took him away.
The old woman seems to have some sixth sense, her eyes and mouth started jerking. This old woman used to go home for Saturday and Sunday. This was the fifth day and on the sixth day her eyes and mouth started jerking. She counted with her fingers and saw that the boy had already been taken away, there were two days left and his life would finish.
So the granny took a leave and in a flash reached her home. She abused her daughter: "What did I tell you, I gave you orders, how can you play with people's lives? You!" The girl said: "Oh she did not listen to me, she was acting like crazy so I told her and she took him away." The granny finished with her daughter, took her stick and went off. She went there and drove the boy back When the boy came, (it was clear that) in two days his life would finish, there was as much life as a horsehair left in him. So she said to her daughter: "Quickly boil the water!" While she was boiling water, (the granny) took out yet another medicine, gave it to the boy and when he took it, he became as he had been before. The old woman said: "You cannot stay here long. Our two families have special relatioship, they are not the same, you know it – we are people from this world, but that one is a revived corpse. So there are problems in between. If you stay here too long, you could not see your parents any more, you would even break their own lives short. So from today I am engaging my daughter to you, you go and tell your mother and father. On the fifteenth of the eighth month hitch a cart and come to take your wife," thus she ordered him.
The boy thanked her, bowed in front of her, she gave him some silver and saw him off.
The boy came home. His parents were blinded from crying. When he came, they were crying and sobbing, they were hugging each other and crying. The boy was licking his mother's eyes, licking his father's eyes until they recovered. Only then his parents started asking him,

saʁənjif ɕint tə sum buɣᵊi. ɕin əñi amət gənəm al, jaqůn biya tofχon yamji səjən toʁůmaq ju, zəm da. tukumə da ɕin həɣəf ɕam gənə,
zəm da əraliaɴ avəvʁᵊi. tukumə da ər χaʁəje
-ambu baňiχa
zəmə da yaqůrum hiŋkəlf ta, tut fančan moŋun buf ta aičivʁᵊi. χaʁəji ňi bod ňi əmdaⁿ iźinəm jiɣəŋ da əñi amə ňi soʁko faʁə, yaz ňi gum doʁovʁᵊi. tut χaʁəč ňi jif ta soɴům fam, yilan aɴəɹ bəy bəyəf tivələm tivələm soɴům. χaʁəj ňi əñiŋə yazəv ňi yiləm, aməyiŋ yazəv ňi yiləm, əraɴ of ta yaz ňi gulɣun omaq jiɣᵊi. tut omaq ta ɕiňi əñi amə ňi bait turgun fienjim,
-afš banšk baitə, yeči yafh
zəm fienjim.
-ər yilan duyin biya yəči yafh
zəm da, ər ňi da baitai turgumf gum gian giaňie aɹʁəŋ, bəy ňi təvat gənəmaq afš həh buɣᵊi, afš təraɴ baitət tuɴaɹʁᵊi, bəyiŋə əm jalən baitəf bodombuʁᵊi, təraɴ zəm da, əñi ňi oi zəm usun bailəm, təri ɕidən da amə ňi jil banjəm.
-urai, ai jaqəi hut maɴůzəi banjəm jimaq urai ləvlə vaqa,
zəm tom χaʁəjif. tukumə da əñi ňi yiɣimb ňi fienjim,
-vaqa, set, toroɴəf baivůqů, jiɣəŋ da oʁůi. hut na, maɴus biɣə na, ɕin χaʁəji əm jalən baitəf bodombuɣᵊi. ərəv ňi an tomie. toroɴəf biavůqů. məs da jaqůn biya tofχoⁿ yemjif əški. tudtu, məs orunbə ňi ɕajəmjiki,
zəm da tər set ňi gəɹ ojuqů. yavʁə gənɣədə jaqůn biya tofχoⁿ iźinɣə. tər əñi ju nan təŋəm tof, əñi ju nan tumaq ta gənh, əmdan gənɣə da skəi mamə saʁənjif ənduri gəs dazəmaq ta, jaqəi utumaq ta duqai pai juɹbit əmdaⁿ alimə yilaʁəye. o, əmdan gənɣəŋ,
-oi śi bot dəźirəŋəf biavůqů, ɕin həhəf təf.
tuvmaq ta aiči aiči. tər baijihua tər jil ujandaqů baitədə,
zəm da, tər mamə ňi gəɹ tər həɣət sərəvuqů zəm da aič zəm da. jaq jamun məji maɹɣůⁿ tuvmaq da aičivʁᵊi. tut bot ɕajəm jimaq ta o, jai ňinəŋ da śierin aramůʁů, zəm da uɣuri guču aɣůndof śoɹm. śien ňinəŋ tamə da śierin aram, ju yilan ňinəŋ śieriⁿ araʁᵊi. tut banškə gənɣə ainʁə da əm añi aməɹ da həɣə ňi əm χaʁəč banškᵊi. mašqůⁿ χaʁəjie, banjəmə da əñiv ňi gəɹ gurivm ɕaškᵊi. əñiv ňi da gurivm da, jaq jamun da ju śiŋči śidən da əñiŋ ňi gurivm ɕajərəŋ da guizəli, am guizəli. ər guizət gəm am yoz tavʁᵊi. ai biɣəŋəf saqů.

what happened, where he was. He told them everything step by step, how he got there, how he got engaged, what he saw there, how they arranged his life for him.
His mother was pleased, but his father flew into rage: "What, are you going to bring ghosts and *manguses* home? What nonsense!" he was scolding his son. His mother said to her husband: "Oh no, man, there is no need to abuse him, it is enough that he is back. And wheather she is a ghost or a *mangus*, she arranged the whole life of your son, why should you abuse him?
Let us remember the fifteenth day of the eighth month, on that day we bring our daughter-in-law." The old man still did not agree.
The time passed and the fifteenth day of the eighth month came, the mother and the son agreed among themselves and went there. When they arrived, the old woman had dressed up her daughter, so that she was looking like a fairy, and was awaiting them in front of the gate. When they arrived, she said: "Do not enter, take your wife and go quickly, otherwise Baijihua will get furious". The old woman did not want Baijihua to know, so she told them to leave quickly. She gave them some presents and saw them off. So they brought her home, invited all the friends and relatives, chose an auspisious day and prepared the wedding. The celebration lasted for two three days. Then they lived on and after a year the wife gave birth to a boy, a thin boy. When the boy was born, they brought her mother too. When they were moving her property, they were bringing it for two weeks, many big coffers. All the coffers had big locks and nobody knew what was in them. They were bringing them one aftter another, until there was no space to put them. The old woman was holding the keys.
After the wedding, one night, the old woman told her daughter: "Daughter, now you have come to a new family. You have to serve your parents-in-law and live in peace and love with your husband. Do not ever think about the old wild things, never mention Baijihua. Never play with human lives. This is the most important." She was talking to her all night, but she was still not sure about her daughter, so she pulled off three pieces of her hair, packed them in a piece of paper and gave them to the girl:

səndaʁə səndaʁə bod ňi gəɹ baχtəqů. ər da ər mamə gum anqəv ňi jafhəi. tutof ta əs śierin aram vajəmaq da əňi ňi saʁənjid ňi əm yemj avəvʁᵊi:
-saʁənjie, śi əmgəri nanᵊi duqat doškᵊi. uɴandaf śieⁿ giŋul. yiɣin həh śien χač χůaliasůⁿ banč. śin tər bigaⁿ bodorəŋəf biavəqů. jai əmdaⁿ baijihuaf jonorəɴəf biavəqů. śi nanᵊi ərgənmaq əm ivərə, śiňi ər baitə,
zər. tutof, əm diovr gizun tačivm vajəvmaq gəɹ saʁənjiv ňi eiduqů, uju finɣəv ňi yilaⁿ da finh tatəm giafə, χoźint χoźim buɣᵊi.
-maɴət tuɴaɹχ ərində ňi tičivm diźie,
tut ər yilan da finɣəf χoźim giaf saʁanjid ňi azərəvʁᵊi. tutof da banškə gənɣə əm mašqůⁿ χaʁəč banšqa əm ať oʁo. tumə da əm diovr da ər həɣə ňi gəɹ gizərmaq giaʁə. yiɣinmaqə ňi:
-he! χaʁə nan da liaŋxin bail aqů.
-Ui! bi ai liaŋxin aqů bait bi. śimaq χůaliazůⁿ banjəmɛie, ədəri češ afš banjəmie, ai liaŋxin aqů bait bie,
zəm da, ər hutu ňi tər baitəf oɴůmaq səndaʁə, zər. ər həɣəvə.
-tə baijihua əmgəri χaʁəč banškᵊi. śim da liaŋxin aqů bait əvat bi vaq na? śi əmdaⁿ tam ojuqů, śi əmdan ɕůňint dəźivm ojuqů na?
zər.
-o, mənjaɴ na?
-mənjaɴ vaq aie, gəɣəňie,
zəm da. tutfi skəi maf da, jai ňinəŋ afq jaqarəɴəf əksəm. tukumə da afq jaqarʁə morin da ɕayaqů fəkśir morint da śieⁿ əmən toʁům giaʁəi. toʁům giamaq ta ɕůa morimb ňi mələm zər yuɹdunt da, mələm vajərt da ɕůa morimf boči aidada tər čiŋkuaŋ ňi bəy ňi modiləm taqəmůrů, śiŋčəŋəi julh duqai bat da gənəmə da skəi dozorʁůi ivᵊi bat da ɕůlmaʁᵊn avələr əm durun əm dozorh əm dozorh baičəm tam, məraɴ tar diorgit da ou, bohtun bahtən əm am if da. fonqůt da məsk ambu nan dəźim čiškə, glčiŋ glčiŋ oʁůi. ou, tutof da juan bai oksůn badəri yilamaq ta morin nuŋudəri qaičim. baijihua, baijihua zəm. tukumə da skᵊi həh yinəŋ sun omə ursun vaq na, diovr omə da əvəri. ňinəŋ sun fars zəm tičim juə, uju aɴə ňi səŋkərɣə, su da skəi sas həh əm duruⁿ, skəi samən əlči samdəmačimə həh guruⁿ yivagən suvdun javm əm duruⁿ, mətər əm duruⁿ, yaz aɴə ňi fulaʁůⁿ fəɹgien, səŋkər səŋkər jimə da tom.

"If anything happens, take them out and burn them."
So she gave her three pieces of hair. So they lived, in a year the wife gave birth to the thin boy, and one night the wife started again,
she said to her husband: "Oh, men have no conscience." "What? What have I done to you? I live in peace with you, how else should I live?"
"You have forgotten about that. That woman. Baijihua has already given birth to a son. This is your unfaithfulness. Can't you think about it? Can't you go and see her?" "Oh, really?" "Of course, my elder sister."
The next morning at daybreak the husband saddled the best horse and, saying that he was going to water the other horses, he set forth. When he finished watering the horses, he drove them home. He himself seemed to have suspected something, so he rode to the southern gate of Xincheng, where there was a needlegrass plain with graves. He was searching through the bunches of needlegrass, as if hunting for rabbits. Suddenly he stumbled upon a big tomb. A human figure slipped in and out, it seemed to be shining. He stopped ten steps from there and shouted from the horse:
"Baijihua, Baijihua!" The woman – she looked dreadful in the daylight, while at night she looked normal. When she appeared in the daylight, her hair tangled up, like those crazy women, or like when during shaman rituals the women are posessed by ghosts, her eyes red, with dishevelled hair – she ran out and started abusing him: "Men have no conscience, you shoud be ashamed, you married Baiyuxiang and live with her in joy, so selfish!"
He was getting ready on the horse, waiting what she would do. She entered the pit and came out with the child. She threw the child at him: "Look!" The child fell right on the saddle. He caught him and galloped home. "The buttocks of your mother!" cries the woman, "Give me back my child, where are you taking him? How shameless, he stole my child!"
He gallopped to his home. She followed him, but she could not enter the village in the daylight. So she returned home, but she was watching for his soul from under the earth. He arrived home and

-ei, χaʁə naⁿ gəɹ liaŋxin aqů, girim banəqů
ərgəⁿ. śi gəɹ baiyüśiaŋəf ɕamf səbjən səlak
banjəm, śi! śi da əraɴ liaɴxin aqů jaq, śi da
gətqaqů jaq,
zəm tom. toʁə da
-ər hut ainəm biɣəye,
zəm morin nuŋut bəɹɣəm yilaqůʁů na, ər jaq afš
azələm biɣəye, zəm. tof tof da ər jaq śars səm
dəźim gənɣə. dəźimaq jiv ňi tivəɹf čiškəi. jiv
ňi maχtkəi, śi əmdaⁿ tam ta, zəm. jiv ňi əmdaⁿ
taʁəŋ, tof zəm morin əmən nuŋut da jimaq tuhᵊi.
tukumaq ta giamaq mədar fəkškᵊi.
-əňivəŋ faškəv ňie,
ər həɣə ňi ,
-ɕajədi ɕaš min jif ɕajədi ɕaš, śi yet ɕaməm,
śi yet ɕaməm, urai girim banəqů jaqə, min jif
ɕammə yavm.
oi fəkškə fəkškə da məzəi boi χanč jimə da nanᵊi
ɕaznt jimə da dəźimə da dəźim mutəqůʁů, yinəŋ
suⁿ yedəri dəźim mutəmie. daohui boči ňi gənɣə.
ər hut gənɣə da nai fərət alim yilaʁəye, əjaqə
fayiŋ ňi. daʁəm jimaq ta duqa jaqət jiɣə. jimə da
həɣəv ňi qačim:
-oi mamə ňi,
zəm da,
-aie?
-ma ma man,
zəm da.
-oi aie,
zəm da
-maqů na? zəm da. həɣəi ji ňi, śi mənjaɴ ərə,
zəm əmdaⁿ taʁəŋ mənjaɴ kuantour χaʁəč biɣᵊi.
həɣəd ňi buɣə, ər maf, morindəri uvərəŋ da
fayiŋəv ňi ɕammaq yavʁə. nai fərdəri. tuɣərəŋ da
farnʁᵊi. farnəmaq da ər abbanšq bait oh zəm da
həɣə ňi fatəm qaičim surum, əňi amə ňi qaišqə
surɣə, fatkə ainʁə da ər maf araraɴ məji ərgəⁿ
doškᵊi. tutta bot ɕaməm dəźivʁə, ər əm daivəf
ɕašči χoj ojůqů, tər əm daivəf ɕaščie χoj ojůq,
χoj ojor jaqəi vaq. taʁədə, sunja ňinəŋ oʁᵘ̊i. ər
hut da yaz aɴəd bioʁůⁿ toχtomašqə, əm ňinəŋ
dəri əm ňinəŋ ər ňuŋk ujiⁿ om, daivəf ɕajəmə
gum taqərqů. ər ňuŋkəf taqərqů.
-o, yemj yemji ňi da bəčəmůʁůye, jalən dəri
aɹjəmoʁůye. tər əmdan tər baitaqů baitəf gizərh,
ər baitəf gizərəqůči om biɣᵊi. ər jovolomf tam ta.
ər bait urai ɕošqo.

called his wife: “Granny!”[7] “What?” “Here you
are!” “What is it?” “The woman’s child!”
Indeed, she looked and saw a bald boy. He
passed him to his wife, but as he was alighting
from the horse, Baijihua stole his soul and he
lost consciousness. “What happened?” cried
his wife, pinching him, his parents also started
shouting and pinching, and he cleared up a little.
They took him into the house and were calling
one doctor after another, but they could not help.
It did not seem that he could recover. After five
days dust started to lay on his eyes and mouth,
the ilness was getting more and more serious.
They were calling doctors, but no one new what
to do, no one knew the disease. “Oh, he will die
soon, I should not have told him that day, now
look at the disaster.” So his wife was thinking,
and suddenly she remembered the hair her
mother gave her. “I have to bring my mother, if
not, I cannot solve it.” She burned the hair – at
that time people were using torches – and her
mother came in five minutes. As she arrived, she
started scolding her: “What did I tell you? Do
not play with human lives. Luckily I came today,
he would have died tomorrow. Why are you
touching peoples’ lives, just take care of your
parents-in-law and behave yourself, you have
caused them such a pain, you gawk!”
“Oh enough abusing, can you bring him
to life?” The old woman said: “I rather have
use magic.”[8]
She brought rushes, made a human figure of
them and, as if making a scarecrow, she put on
it the clothes of her son-in-law, and on the head
she put his cap. Then she took a spear which was
in the house. She caught a hunting dog they had
there and leashed him. Then the old woman took
a spade and climbed the (…) on the norhtern side
of the house, where she dug a pit. She cut the
head of the dog and buried (it) in the pit. Then
she burned the figure of rushes and buried it too.
Then she gave Baijihua the soul of the dog in
exchange for the soul of her son-in-law.

[7] It is common between a husband and a wife to call each other “old man” and “granny”, even if they are young.

[8] The expression *arʁəv yavəf-* lit. to use the method (cf. Mo. *argala-*) is a term designating rituals by which disasters and illnesses caused by evil beings are cured.

əraŋ bodəm ainəm, diovr dulin bodomə yilaʁədə əŋiŋə buh finɣə ŋi ɕůŋint doškᵊi.
-o, χaiš da min əŋif diaoləm ɕajə. aqůči ər baitəf jojiləm mutəqů.
bələn dəŋjən tůa bičie tər ərint skᵊi tiŋtiel
bi vaq na, fars zəm dəŋjən da tiavə, tiavərəŋ
da wufən juŋ da əŋi ŋi iźinmaq jiɣəi. jimə
da tom:
-bi ai zəɣə, a, nanᵊi ərgənmaq əm ivərə, tə yiɣin
əmgəri da čimar, kuli bi ər yemj jiɣᵊi, čimar da
bəčəm. śi nanᵊi ərgəmf ainəmie, uɴandaf śien
giŋuləm, ər baitəf χojəye iškia, śi əraŋ jovolon
tierʁᵊi, urai bandiaos jaqə?
zəm tom.
-toχ jalin ainəmůʁůo, zər.
-ər baitə ŋi banjənər bait na?
skəi mamə da,
-ai, χaš da arʁəf yavəvůqůči ojůqů,
zəm da. skəi mamə da skəi olʁůf ɕaškə, olʁůf
ɕajəm skəi ɕaʁəf gələvər skəi olʁůi nanəf
aram vaq na, olʁůi nanəf arʁə, aram vajəmaq
da χošqůŋi utkuf utuvʁə. maʁaɪv ŋi ujud ŋi
utuvʁə. tukumə da bod ŋi bih jadəf tičivm ɕašqə.
bod ŋi bih tər əm tiaχ yindaʁůnf χaitəm giaʁə,
tumaq ta ər mamə ta giamaq da čuf gəɪ giaʁə,
yet gənəmie, emirh (unintelligible) tavənəm
gənɣə, gənəmə da əm ulan fətkə. tukumaq ta
ulan fətəmaq ta ulan həzənt yindaʁůn ujuf
čaq čaqalʁə. ulan umɣə. tumə da oɪʁůi nanəf
diškə. dijim ummaq ta, uməm vajəmaq ta afś
azəɪʁəye, yindaʁůn fayiɴəf tər həɣət, baijiχůat
bumaq, χočqoɴə fayiɴəv ŋi χůliazəmaq gaškᵊi.
ər mamə. tukumə da, məzəi ajigurun gələmə da
najən əyit χore χore zəm, əraŋ bait biʁə. təraɴ
bait tof zəm ər mamə aram yavʁᵊi. fayiɴəv
ŋi χůliazəmaq ɕaškᵊi. tuməda tər mamə da,
χočqoɴə utkuv ŋi, qanjiaɪv ŋi javmaq ta:
-χore χore, bo naʁən śiŋi əvat bie, həh jus śiŋi
əvat bie, śamə ŋi əvat bie,
zəm da χore, χore zəm da skəi ajigurun gələmə,
mətəraɴ əkəm vaq na? mətəraɴ χoriɪʁədə, bod ŋi
gənəm. bod ŋi afś azəɪʁəye, amə əŋi ŋi həɣə ŋi
χočqůn dat təfie,
-χore χore, həh jus śiŋi əvat bie,
zəm χoriləm təɣᵊi, mamə ŋi gəɪ χoriləm təɣᵊi.

After that she did the same as if people make "*χore, χore*" to the Grandfather Lord of the Earth, when the little children get scared.[9] In that way she exchanged the soul and brought it back, then she took her son-in-law's shirt, and, chanting "*χore, χore*" like when the children get scared, walked into the house. What did they do in the house? His parents and wife were sitting around him and chanting "*χore ore*, your home and *kang* is here, your wife and children are here, your mother and father are here." They all were sitting and chanting and the old woman was chanting too, it took about half an hour. She was slowly walking backwards. When she lead the soul inside and reached her son-in-law's bed, she stroked the drum and asked "Have you come, Chunxi?" and she was vigorously drumming. Thus she saved the soul of her son-in-law by exchanging it for the dog's soul and bringing it back. The next day the old woman took some medicine out of her coffer and gave three pills to her son-in-law. When he swallowed them, he started quickly recovering, after one week he was like before. When he recovered, the old woman summoned the whole family and told her daughter: "We only narrowly saved his life, this is not fun, you must not mention these things any more. Be bringing up your children and serve your parents-in-law." After she told her all she had to say clearly, she returned to her work. After she left, they had two little sons. They were like twins. They were attending school and when the teacher was explaining one thing, they understood two, they were extremely clever. When he was teaching three things, they learned five.
They quickly finished primary secondary school and went to Peking for special examinations. In that times Peking was called *Gemun hecen*[10] (the Capital). They went there and sat the examinations for medicine. They both became outstanding doctors, one in Western medicine, the other in Chinese medicine. Later the old

[9] The causes when the soul (or a part of it) leaves the body are most frequent among children. Every Sibe person knows about this topic and so the speaker used this example to describe what the old woman was doing. Summoning the soul is a frequent shaman rituals and the summoning exclamation "*χore: χore*:" (cf. Mo. *hurai hurai*) is used during them.

[10] *Gemun hecen* is the Manchu name of Peking.

ɕajəmjih jiɣədə, təri śidən da bangəjoŋ da oʁᵘ̊i.
χorilʁə χorilʁə, əɹɣə yavm vaq na, sozorumə
χorilʁə χorilʁə χoriləm ɕajəmjiɣə da χošqůn dat
yinʁan fierəm vaq na,
-jiɣəi na, čunśi, jiɣə na,
zəm da, pas pas fierəm, χošqůmb ňi afš
azəɹʁəye, tof zəm da ər yindaʁůn fayaɴův ňi tər
həɣət bumaq ta χošqůn fayaɴův ňi dəźivmaq
ɕajəmaq jiɣᵊi. tut χošqůmb ňi jəjoɹɣᵊi. tutof ta
jai ňinəŋ da ər mamə da skəi guizədəri oχtuf
čičivmaq ta χošqůndə ňi yilan vans oχt emivʁə,
tumə da yemivh aməɹ da əm ńinəŋdəri əm ňinəŋ
əm śiŋčit da da bəy ňi oʁůi. tukumə da da bəy ňi
utdurun χoj oʁᵘ̊i, tukumə da χoj ovm vajəmaq ta
gum χůlam ɕajəfə gizərəm, saʁənjimaq:
-tə əmgəri ər baitə ararəŋ ərgən dəźivʁə, ər
baitabə ivin yovn ojůqů, jai əmdaⁿ jonoroɴ da
biavůqů, jus dazəf χůazəvm, uɴandaf χojəye
giŋuləm,
zəm da, ut əkəmaq ta, əňi ňi gian gian aɹmbum
vajəmaq ta bəy ňi χaišgəɹ nanᵊi aɹvən bači ňi
veiləmə yavʁᵊi. yavʁaməɹ da ju χaʁəč oʁůye.
ər ju χaʁəč da šuanboɹ. tašqůt gənəm. tašqůt da
səf əmkən aɹmbumə ju savm giam. usun gətkuⁿ.
yilaⁿ aɹmbumə sunja savm giam. əraliŋ.
tukumə da taqə da čujuŋdəri biyelɣə, biyelmə
da bəijiŋt juaŋyen kaoluvm gənəmůɣů. ju χaʁəč.
kaolum gənəmaq da əmdan tər ərint gəmuⁿ kəčəⁿ
zəm, əmdan kaolʁəŋ da ər daivəi ərdəmət kaolh
biɣᵊi. ju nan gum ɕayaqů. diyimin giaʁᵊi.
tukumə da əmkən ňi da śiyi javm, əmkən ňi omə
da juŋyi javm.
aməɹ jimə da guizəi anqəv ňi saʁənjid ňi virifə
yavʁᵊi, ər guizət ai bie? vaśhim gum oχt biɣᵊi.
juŋyi tər χačačin ohto. tut ofə oχtov ňi χaʁəj ňi
gum daif oʁo, gəm ambu daif oʁo, yos anqəv
ňi ju χaʁəjid ňi buɣᵊi tukumə da məzəi gufč
jalən jəčənt ər ju nan da gəf biźir daif oʁo. tərəi
śidən da nanᵊi əyi mamə ňi gum təsk aň oʁůi,
bəčəm tuɣum vašqə, tutof bəyzə ňi bədərəm jih
aməɹ daivəi məji bod ňi anpaiɹχ aməɹ da əzə
ňi uɴandav ňi giɴuləm, həh jus giam, əm jalənt
bayin śieⁿ əraŋ tuɣunum banškᵊi.
vačkəi!

woman gave her daughter the keys of her coffers, and what was inside? Only medicine, many kinds of Chinese medicine. Both of the boys were doctors and so the keys got to their hands and the sons became doctors famous in our whole world. Many years passed and the old parents all passed away, the boys started working in a hospital, married, had children, cared about their parents and so they lived well and rich for their whole lives.
Finished!

bə jaŋənᵊi juvə

ər sunjač ňurt əm bə jaŋəⁿ zəh jaŋən jaŋən dah biɣə. tukumaq ta ər nunbə ňi uju ňurt buɣᵊi. bə jaŋən gəvuv ňi taqəqůʁůye. bə jaŋəⁿ, bə jaŋəⁿ, zəm. bə jaŋəⁿ ər nundə ňi əm χaʁəč biɣə. daʁəm jih ərint da ər χaʁəč jaqů sə oh biɣᵊi, məzəi ərvadə. tər ərint da juailan zə oh biɣᵊi. tukumə da ər bə jaŋən ňi nunmaqə ňi gizərəm:
– ər χaʁəjivə mint ɕajə, bi ɕam gənəm maji baitəɹkie, zəm. daʁəfkie, zəm. tukumaq ta amə əňi ňi:
– oʁůye, χaʁəč ajigə, təňi juailan zə, jaq mutəqᵘ̊o,
zəm da.
– baitaqů, ɕam gənəm məji tačifkie.
tut of ɕajəmjih biɣᵊi χandərda. sunjač ňurt ɕam gənərəŋ da maji maɹʁůn baitai iškiavm. əm ňinəŋ da jaŋən taitai ňi da:
– śi yiʁandə əm ašχan ačəm gənəmaq ta muku əm ašχan ɕajəmaq juə,
zəmaq da,
– sunjač ňurui noroi həzəndə ňi sər bi vaq na, tədəri ɕajəm juə.
tut tər mavə ňi ərdə yimaq da, jəŋkən jəiŋkən taitai gizərh soŋkoi da ai yiʁaⁿ ačərəŋəf saqᵘ̊. əmdaⁿ taʁəŋ da, χuarən diøɹmbad ňi əm ambu muʁazn yiʁan dutk biɣᵊi. kuk fiaŋ muʁazn yiʁaⁿ.
– o ər da mənjaɴ davəli,
gənə, viɣəd ňi uzam ɕajəm juə, ərgəɹji əməŋəv ňi əm ɕaɹmaq ačəvə, tuŋzəv ňi gəɹ ɕam gənəm səndamaq ta uzamə yavmaškəŋ. ər yiʁan da šu da ňunʁun əliaŋ daʁəm yavmɛye. yask huzun biɣəŋəf saqů. norət gənɣə. gənəmaq ta jəŋ maji muku vəidər śidən da, gəɹ əm asχan orun ňi muku ɕajəm gənɣᵊi, noro dəri. ər da ičə χoɹfh ərin ňi biɣə na, ər mavə ňi da, aji mavə ňi, ičə orun χoš banškəv ňi gəɹ taʁə. tukumaq da skəi ɕaɹ ňi sula omaq səndaʁᵊi. yiʁan viɣəf jafχ ɕaɹ ňi. skəi yiʁan muɹt tatəmaq ta fəkśimaškᵊi χandərda, ər mavə ňi əmdan tam, ər yiʁan tuliajəm tuliajəm fəkśimaq dutkᵊi. mər amčəm. amškə amškə, yiŋbi χanč jimə śiňi amčəm jafhᵊi. skəi muku tuŋzᵊi gum tuɣəmaq χůaʁə, ər yiʁamf javmaq ta:
– oi. urai doraqů ərgəⁿ, oi, ər muku tuŋzəi gum χůaɹm, əmdan tandkie,
zəm. tikimaq əmdan škuaɹʁəŋ, ər ifčiv ňi, yilan śirgə ifčiv ňi čaq škuaɹʁᵊi. əmdan da bəčəmaq

The story of the Be janggin

Here in the Sixth Banner there was a certain janggin called Be *janggin*. His younger sister was given[11] to the First Banner. I do not know his name, people just call him Be *janggin*. That sister of Be *janggin* had a son. When she came to our place (following her husband), the boy was eight years old, at that time he was thirteen years old. So this Be *janggin* says to his sister:
"Give me that boy, I will take him with me and use him a little."
His parents said:
"Better do not, the boy is still small, only thirteen, he does not know how to work."
"No problem, I will take him with me and teach him a little."
So he brought him here. After he brought him to the Fifth Banner, he was using him to make him do light work. One day the *janggin's* wife said:
"Go, load a moss on a bull and bring it full of water. There is a spring on the side of the swamp near the Fifth Banner, bring it from there."
The boy followed the order of the lady and arrived there, but he did not know which bull he should load. When he looked around, a big bull was lying in the middle of the enclosure, a bull of blue colour.
"That should be him."
So he approached him, grasped his horns and pulled him out, with one hand he put the saddle and the yoke on the bull, took the tub and went. The bull was following him like a dog, he did not know how strong the bull was. When he arrived, a young woman came also to the swamp for water. She seemed to have been just married and the little guy was looking at her beauty. In the meantime he loosened his hand with which he was holding the bull. The bull tore away and started running. When the boy looked at him, he was running and flinging. He threw himself after the bull, he was chasing him and caught him near the front wall. The tub fell down and broke into pieces. When he caught the bull: "What a shameless animal, he even broke the water tub, I have to beat him!"

[11] married

səndah biɣᵊi. yiʁamf vam vajəmaq ta bot jim mutəqůʁůo. janən dəri gələmə, zər.
– ai, uɲqanaqůči ojůqů,
zəm da, mətərbit da yafhəŋ fəkśimašk biɣᵊi, boči ňi, uju ňurči. oi, janən ňi qarč qarč, ər χaʁəč aqů. taitaidəri fienščie, jiʁaqů, zəm.
– afš banšk bait oʁůo,
zər. yinəŋəi mieryə na, ailiaŋ ərin oh biɣə. mərbit da boi gurunt
– gənəm tam ta,
zəm. əmdan gənəm taʁəŋ, yiŋbi dat yiʁambə ňi vaf səndaʁᵊi. o, ər yiʁan an bəšk ərə, zəm, češ əmdan taʁəŋ, skəi muku tuŋzəv ňi cараŋ cараŋ, tut bod ňi jimə da aɹʁəŋ da:
– o, ər jaq bait čiškə,
zəm da. janən da morin yaɹʁəŋ da mər amčəm biɣəi. tukumə də čavčaɹ tovət giraŋyeɹ ňi biɣə na, giraŋyeɹ jaqət dəźimə,
– təraliŋə χaʁəč uɲqanʁəye, əvat jiɣə na?
zəm da.
– aqů, oi, mər təvalən əm χaʁəč kus kus zəm dulumə yavʁəŋ,
zəm da,
– ər mavəi yavərəŋ da šu naf fuskulur əm durun. əza cor bat dənjim biɣəye, ər mavəi yavər eiskəv ňi. boi gurun əmdan taʁəŋ da əm ajigurun dulum yavmɛye, hərčun aqů.
tut uju ňurt gənh. janən ňi da əmdan gənɣəŋ da, janəmf savərəŋ da uɲqanah biɣᵊi. tukumə da mər nunmaqə ňi gizərəm:
– χaʁəč jiɣə na,
zəm da.
– o, aqů, aqů.
– ɛi, jiɣᵊi. bi čavčaɹ tovət fienškədə, iči jim yilamaqa, śi sam. śi gələmaʁəŋ. gugu ňi, śi əm gələr. bi ər χaʁəjif ainah zəm tandəqů. tər yiʁan ňi gəɹ bəš da, bəšk davəli. χoš χoš gizərəm, ər χaʁəjif χoɹtom, ararəŋ da morin ɛmirgit yaɹf cajəmjih χandərda. cajəmaq da boi gurunt avəvm:
– ainaχ zəm yeye bači taqůrči ojůqů. ərəi huzumf sačie, ərət huzun laft biɣə ərə,
zəm da. set da əm aň dulɣə, jai aňi ňi da ər qarəmf tükiar aɹvən ňi ər setət jih biɣəi. yüdu ňi. ər da yüdulmə tükiam biɣᵊi, orozəi jəčəmbə. ər da dolontə ba qarən na, tohu qarən zəm dənškᵊi. tər julgit biɣᵊi. tukumaq da əmgəri yüdu ňi jiɣə. tər ərint da əmdan tükiamə da əlkiki taŋ iźim nan tükiam biɣᵊi. tukumaq da ər χaʁəjif camʁə. cammaq ta ai aravmůʁů, məji morin jaqəiv ňi

He hit him with his fist and broke the bull's three ribs. The bull was dead in that moment. As the boy killed the bull, he could not return home, because he was afraid of the *janggin*.
He thought: I have to run off, and he started running to his home in the First Banner. The *janggin* was waiting and waiting and when he could not see the boy, he asked his wife. She told him that the boy had not come back.
"What could be the matter?",
he thought. Noon passed, or what time it was, then he told his wife:
"Go and look for him."
They went and saw that somebody had killed the bull near the front wall at the gate. Why did he die, they wondered, and when they looked to the other side, they noticed a tub broken into pieces. So they returned home and said:
"The boy did mischief."
The *janggin* mounted a horse and went to chase him. He had some relatives in the hamlet near the Chabchal cannal. He stopped there and asked:
"A boy has run off from my place, did he pass by?"
"No, no – oh really, a while ago a little boy was marching by, he was trampling as if kicking the earth. His pace was heard from afar. My wife just thought that a little boy was going somewhere, she did not pay attention to him."
So he went to the First Banner. When he arrived there, the boy, as he saw him, started running. He asked his sister:
"Did the boy come here?"
"No, no."
"Oh yes, he did. I was asking in the Chabchal hamlet and they told me that he was walking in this direction, so you must know. You are scared. Don't be scared, sister, I will not beat him in any case. If the bull is dead, it is dead, I do not care."
He was talking nicely, persuading the boy, and he barely got him to return with him behind his saddle. When he brought him back he ordered the people in the house: "You must not make him do ordinary small tasks, he has great strength."
A year had passed and the next year the old man was sent to watch the post. At these times they were guarding the Russian border in turns. I have heard that this was the fortress in Dolonte

danəvm na. tukumə da bolori jaqůn biya tofχont, jaŋən ňi da
– ər χaʁəjit avəvm yavčie, bot gənəmaqa, bod ňi yindəmaq jiki. śi śien tükiamə yila, əm amʁərə. qarəmbə nanət dürivərə.
alim giaf ta, ər maf tükiaʁə. diøvr da, ər bə jaŋən ɕaznči yavʁə zəm dønjimaq ta. oros da dønškə. čaŋdi məjigšəmə yilam.
– əzəi qarəmb da dürim gənkie,
zəm da. diøvr da taŋ dulur čoaχ ɕajəm jimaq da dürim døškᵊi χandərda. ər mavə ňi məji yazm maŋ biɣə na, o, šu ujaqů dürnumačimə śiňi gətk biɣᵊi. əmdan gətkəŋ, uňiu, əm ju orozəi čoaχ ta šu gida javmaq gidalm jiɣᵊi χandərda. mavə ňi boɹɋ uviaɹm yimaq da, ju gida javmaq ta,
əmdan əhəŋ, skəi ju čoaʁə ňi amš sozurur da taɕaɹjəmaq tuhə na, oi, ər maf šu fanšk χoront da səkəi nanᵊi bətkə dəriŋ ňi əm ɕaɹt əm nanəf javmaq da əmgəri da jiɣə li nanəf fieryəmaškəŋ.
oi, tanʁə, fieryə, oi, taŋ iźim nandəri coźiⁿ ut nan vaʁᵊi. oros čoaʁə ňi gələmə da burulum yavʁə. bəyiŋ gəɹ bəšk biɣəye. amʁəm tutkə jih jaq ůrů. tut jai ňinəŋ yinəŋdəri amźie jaŋən ňi jih χandərda. əmdaⁿ taʁəŋ jalu bəšk nan,
– ainʁə,
– diøvr təraliaŋ jiɣəye,
zəm.
– o-o-o, qarəm dürivʁaqůŋ da śieⁿ,
ər mavəf da ələi ujiləm tamašk biɣə. ut azəɹm, əm bar añi tükiam biɣᵊi. tumə da χůliazim gənyə, nanə. əs gəɹ bədəryə. ərəi śidən da huis fašqůrh biɣə. juanjaqůn yüdui huis vieš turulum avm jih biɣə. tumaq ta torʁůtəi badəri moŋə čoaʁəv ňi fidəm ɕaškᵊi. ɕajəm jimaq ta gəɹ yilan duyin bia tükiavm, huizə ňi latəm jim mutəqůʁůo. ər manjus ňi məji cůňin əh, oi ər bai banjər gurun ňi ai jaqət baitiŋə, lančipazao nanəf ɕaɹvaŋ tam. ojůqůmə kunduzəi cosqůn uva bum. tukumə da səkəi moŋəz ňi fančər da χariya zəmə virimə yafh biɣᵊi. ər afš azəɹmůʁů, moŋ čoaχ əkərəŋ da əmgəri huis čoaχ ta jimůʁů, tuttu əmgəri śivə aimandəri čoaχ giaʁᵊi χandərda. jaqůn qůza dəri.
ər bə jaŋəmf χůlam ɕammaq ta,
– śi afš azəɹmůʁů, ərəvə,
zəm da. tumə da bə jaŋən ňi avəfh biɣᵊi:
– oʁůi, mində əm taŋ suzai morin čoaχ, əm taŋ suzai yafhəŋ čoaχ, yilan taŋ čoaχ bumaq ta oʁᵘ̈i. tükiarə,

or maybe the fortress in Tohu. Over there in the south. So it was his turn. At that time the garrison had to consist of almost a hundred men so he took the boy with him. When he took him, what could he make him do – he just made him take care of the horses. In the autumn, on the fifteenth day of the eighth month, the *janggin* says:
"I will leave this boy in charge here and I will spend the night at home. Keep watching it thoroughly, do not fall asleep! Do not let the fortress be robbed."
The boy agreed and was guarding the post. At night, when it became known that the *janggin* Be had left, the Russians also learned about it. They were collecting new information all the time. They said:
"Let us go and rob the fortress!"
At night more than a hundred soldiers fell upon the fortress. The boy was sound asleep, he woke up only when everything was turned upside down. As he woke up, oh, two Russian soldiers are were just approaching him to stab him with spears. The boy woke up immediately, grasped the two spears, and as he did so, the two soldiers backed off and tumbled. The boy in rage grasped one of the soldier's legs in both hands and started thumping all who were coming. As he was beating around, he killed more than thirty men of the hundred. The Russian soldiers left in fear. There were some Sibe people among the dead, probably because he was still sleepy. Next day the *janggin* came and saw lots of dead people:
"What happened?"
"It happened at night," they said.
"Well, it is good that you did not let the rob the fortress."
From that time he was observing the boy with even greater respect. So they were on guard for the whole year. Then others came and they returned home. At that time the Uighurs rose up. The eighteenth Uighur division turned west and came here. So they ordered the Torghut Mongol soldiers to come here. They came and were guarding for three or four months, so the Uighurs could not get close. But the Manchus are a little mean, they thought: "Why should we keep the people here for nothing?" And they were humiliating them, giving them bitter flour

zəm. tukumaq da
– oʁůi,
zəm əkərə da ər bə jaŋən da məji čoaʁəi ərdəmt ɕayaqů arvən bi, tukumə ər χaʁəjit gəɹ tačivm. tərəi gəvəvňi da sajiŋa zəm. sajiŋa tər ərint juanduyin zə oʁůye. juanduyin zəi nanət da tačivɣə, gənɣə, usun śien oʁůye. tukumə da ju naⁿ əmgəri čoaχ giam čičimůʁů. ər χaʁəč omə da yafhəŋ yavm čaʁaŋ. tumə da əm taŋ suzai yafhəŋ čoaʁəf da ər χaʁəjit buɣᵊi. tukumə da χaʁəjit fienjim:
– śi ai javmie,
zəm da.
– o, naχčə, məs dulinki ań skəi qarəmf tükiaʁədə ju nanᵊi giramf əm ɕaɹt əmkən javmaq tandəmaškəŋ usun śien ɕaɹt ačənam. mint təraliŋ aʁůraf əmkən aram bu,
zəm. o-o-o, skəi uskun sələf huŋkurmaq da nanᵊi əm durun jaq arardə, ɕaɹ aqů, əm bətkə aqů, əraliaŋ əm bətk nanəliaŋ da aram buh biɣᵊi. ujui gum bi, nan əm durun. ər jaqəf əmdan ginlᵊɣəŋ da nadənjə sunja gin čiškᵊi. tər ərin gində.
tukumə da ər χaʁəjif da
– yafkie,
tukumaq da skəi gənəmaq yiŋyiɹɣəŋ da ɕůɹjai virgi χašə birai nuŋut, ərəi dirh həzənt gənəmaq da yiŋyilɣᵊi. vierh həzəndə ňi huis bi. əmdan śivə čoaχ jiɣᵊi zəɣəŋ da dulum jim mutəqů, tükiaʁə gənɣə da ju yilan bia oʁůi. tərəi śidən bəlir om jih. ərəf afš azəɹmuʁůo? ərəi śidən manjus ňi da gəɹ
– oi, əs ňi əm jaq araqů bai banjər gurun, əzəd ňi gəɹ ai gətkun jaq bumůʁůo,
zəm da skəi liaŋšə jaq əkəm omə da tər kunduzəi va šüliaχ maizəi uvaf bum bum səndam. əzəňi jəm zəmə χaq χaq ɕosqůn, aŋət azəm mutəqů.
urai jadən. čoaχ
– bədərkie, gəɹ ojůqů, bədərəqů ba,
kəvəɹ duʁa yüyüm, əraliaŋ ɕošq omaq, tukumaq da əmgəri həfsəmašqə, afš azəlmůʁů, zəm.
tukumaq da jaŋən ňi da gizərəm:
– ai, naq, uf azələr uvədə, ərgəmf səlm huizəmaq əm faidan ač,
zəm.
– a, eitəm baʁeš da məzəi uf, eitəm baʁaqůš da araʁaqů.
tukumə χašə biraf afš dulumůʁůo, tə həfsəm.- oi, orʁůmaq fas χaitəm,
– tukumaq duɹkie.
– a, ja, omůʁůo.

and so on. So the Mongols got angry and left. What to do now? Since the Mongolian army left, the Uighurs would come soon. So they mobilized soldiers among the Sibes, from the Eight Banners. They called the *janggin* Be and asked him: "How will you manage it?"
The *janggin* ordered: Just give me hundred and fifty mounted soldiers and hundred and fifty foot-soldiers.
This *janggin* Be seems to have been excellent in the military arts, and he was also teaching the boy. The boy's name was Sajingga. Sajingga was fourteen at that time. So he was teaching a fourteen-years-old boy and the boy was making quick progress. Now the two are were preparing to set forth with the army. The boy liked walking most of all, so the hundred-and-fifty foot soldiers were entrusted to him. Then he asked him: What kind of weapon will you use?
"Uncle, last year, when I was guarding the post, I was fighting with one human body in each hand, it was just right. Make me a weapon like that."
They cast a thing of melted iron, which looked like a man without hands and one leg, it looked like a one-legged man, it even had a head like a man. When they weighed it, it weighed seventy five pounds. He said to the boy: "Let's go!"
So they went and camped west of Ghulja, above the river Kashgar, on its eastern bank. On the western bank the Uighurs were camping. Since the Sibe soldiers had come, they could not cross the river. In this way they were guarding there for two three months. The autumn came. What to do now? At this time the Manchus thought: "These are useless mouths that are doing nothing – why should we give them good food?" And they started giving them wheat flour mixed with bitter flour. When they tried to eat it, it was so bitter, that they could not even put it into their mouths. The soldiers were debating about what to do. Some of them wanted to return, since they were starving, the others thought that they could not leave. In the end Be *janggin* said: "Once our fate is like this, we have to clash with the Uighurs for life or death. If we defeat them, it is

əm ňinəŋ əmgəri da fas χaitəm bəɹɣəm. tumə da yinəŋdəri ər yilan taŋ čoaʁə, ju janjündə arχ bi oʁů na, təvat da əm laoye miao biɣᵊi. dači omə guan laoyev ňi gul vəčəm biɣᵊi. ɕaznt gəɹ bim yafh jaqə. uju ňurui bat gəɹ bi, yilač ňurt gəɹ bi. dučurt gəɹ tər əm laoye miao zəm bi. tər miaot gənəmaq ta əmgəri yaqůrum hiŋkəɹm, bəyi ɕůňimb ňi aləmaškᵊi. jiŋkən na, χoɹ na, tər baitəf saqů oʁůye, zər. vajəmə bədərəm jih, jəng yamsqůn bəda jər śidən da, dirh badəri da yev yečkən tuksuɹmaq jih. taʁə da ambu udun, aʁa surʁan jiɣə gəsk,

– omoh,

zəm da mətər udun huzunt da duɹh zərə. χašə bira dulumaq ta yavm. əmdan χašə bira virh həzənt gənɣəŋ da əm ju duŋlo da juɹɣut yavmaq dutkᵊi. ər ju duŋlof da daʁəf da yavmaq dudəm. yaskə li nan tumən afχa, sačqə, əm diøvr əkəmaq ta skəi huis sujam mutəqůʁůo mərbit da burulumaškᵊi. mər amčəm. yuɹdus davan gum duluvɣᵊi zərə. laft ɕor iźinh biɣᵊi. tukumaq jai ňinəŋ manjus əmdaⁿ məjik śiksəm, uňiu, śivə čoaχ əmkən gələ aqů. əmdan nəɣəmaškəŋ, suda laft ɕor amčəm yafh χandərda. tər huizəf šu nanjaŋči duluf bədərəvm ɕaškᵊi χandərda. tukumə da tər ərint əjəndə ňi baoɹʁə, ər baitəf. əmdan baoɹʁəŋ da

– o, śivə čoaχ sə am guŋ yiləfh,

zəm da gum čaliŋ bumə, jaŋli bum. əraliaŋ buh biɣᵊi χandərda. tukumaq ta ambandə ňi javəvmaq da əm miŋan sunja taŋ yan, əm biat baʁər čaliŋ. ər ňi əm miŋan sunja taŋ ňi yask jiʁa. ər sajiŋadə ňi miŋan yan, əzəi guŋə ňi da əraliaŋ bia tom əraŋ baʁəvmie. tukumə da janjünt ər əjən həsəv ňi vaźivʁə, tukumə da janjün javə, ərəd ňi tər gəsk ainəmie, zəm da. təri śidən da gəɹ bə jaŋən ňi amban oh biɣə. amban omə da veiškə. sajiŋav ňi da jaŋən ofh biɣᵊi, orundə ňi.

jaŋən zəɣəŋ aie, məzəi əm ɕazn oš da əm toksoi əjən, əmbiš da sunjaŋ. tərəv ňi gəɹ əjən badəri həs vaźim śønjim biɣəye. umai da jəjiedi əjən badəri jih biɣᵊi. tut, ər sajiŋadə ňi əm biya sunja taŋ yan. ər da skəi manjui məzəi śivə nanəf ɕaɹvaŋ tam, tut azəɹm. ər da əm juvə, əm suduri.

our fortune, if not, there is no other way."

So they started thinking, how to get over the Kashgar river.

"Let us make rafts of grass and cross."

"All right, that will do."

And for the whole day they were preparing and binding the rafts. In the afternoon the three hundred soldiers and two officers got an idea. Nearby was a temple of Laoye.[12] At that time people were regularly worshipping Guan Laoye, in Chabchal as well. In the First Banner there was one, the Third Banner too. In the Fourth Banner there also was one temple of Laoye. So they went to the temple and were bowing and prostrating, praying for their plan. Today it is not known whether this is true or not. Then they returned and in the evening, just when they were eating dinner, very black clouds came from the east and overcast the sky. A storm with rain and ice drift came.

"We succeeded,"

they said and crossed the river with the help of the wind.

After they crossed the Kashgar river, they proceeded further.

As they were on the western bank of the Kashgar river, two lanterns were going in front, and all were following the two lanterns. All of them were fighting and slashing, it continued the whole night and in the end the Uighurs lost their foothold and started withdrawing. They pursued them, crossing the whole Yuldus Daban, they got very far. The next day the Manchus were gathering information and, alas, there was not a single Sibe soldier. When they started to search for them, they were already far away. They were pursuing the Uighurs all the way to Nanjiang and brought them back. Then they made an announcement to the Emperor and the Emperor said:

"The Sibe soldiers gained great merit"

and he ordered to give all of them a salary and rewards. In this way he rewarded them. The amban got one thousand and five hundred yuans

[12] Laoye (= Chin. Grandfather) – Guan Laoye, Guan Gong, a taoist deity which was especially popular among the Manchus and was worshipped mainly as a protector and helper in military matters. In the Mongolian areas, following the Manchu system, this deity was identified with Gesar Khan.

as a monthly salary. One thousand and five hundred, that is a lot of money. Sajingga was appointed thousand yuan every month for his merit. The Emperor's orders were passed on to the General,[13] but he replied: "Why should I give him so much?" At that time the Be *janggin* was promoted to the rank of an *amban*. Sajingga became *janggin* in his place.
What does it mean, a *janggin*? In Chabchal it is the commander of one village, something like a bailiff. He used to be appointed by the Emperor's order, or sometimes commanded there from the Emperor's court. So Sajingga got five hundred yuans per month. This was because the Manchus did not like our Sibe people. This is one tale, one history.

[13] The General of the Ili area was the most important Manchu military official in the Jungarian region.

VOCABULARY

ač(ə)-/aš-	to meet
ačəf-/ačəv(ə)-	to load
ačən(ə)-	to match, to be correct
adan(ə)-	to participate
adaš(ə)-	to resemble
afanti	Effendi (a character from Uyghur folklore)
afqa	sky
afś, afš	how
agə	elder brother
aʁa	rain
aʁůⁿ	elder brother
aʁůra	weapon
ai	what
ič(i)-	to move
ailiaŋ, ailiaɴ	what kind of
aimaⁿ	tribe, ethnic group
ain(ə)-, an(i)-, aiqa	if
aiźiⁿ sər	Golden Spring (toponyme)
aitiɴ	when
aji, ajik/ajig(ə)	small
ajiguruⁿ	children
al(ə)-/aɹ-	to tell
ali-, ɛli-	to wait
aliⁿ	mountain
am, ambu	big
ambamə	uncle (father's brother)
ambaⁿ	amban (Manchu official)
amč(ə)-/amš-	to chase, to reach
amə	father
aməɹ	after
amirh, ɛmirh	north, side, back side
amnə-	to imitate
amrə-	to rest

amš	to the back, to the north
amtiŋ	sweet, tasty
amχ-/ amʁ(ə)-	to sleep
aɴ	mouth
aⁿ	why
aň	year
an(ə)-	to push
anᵊq	key
antq	what
antqəl(ə)-	to be too polite
aɴəɹ	family member, person
aoduⁿ	firm, stable, secure
aojuⁿ	lightening
aq(ə)-	to worry
aqᵘ̊	no, not, absent
ar(ə)-	to do, to make, to write
araraɴ, ararəɴ	hardly
arχ	way to do
arslaⁿ	lion
arvəⁿ	form, apearance
aɹč	stuck in an upright position
aɹdəv(ə)-/aɹdəf-	to do something involuntarily
aɹh	spotted, coloured
aɹjə-	to split off, to part
aɹvəⁿ	work, duty
as	net
asχaⁿ, asqəⁿ	young
asir(e)-/azər(ə)-	to preserve
ašχaⁿ	moss
ašta	young man
av(ə)-/af-	to fight
avəf-/avəv(ə)-	to order
avəɹ-avəl(ə)-	to hunt
azə-	to put in one's mouth
azəl(ə)-/azəɹ-	to arrange, to behave, to settle
ɛli-	to wait
ɛmiɹ	male animal (mostly about a rooster)
ɛn(i)- ɛn(ə)-	to do what (vicarious verb)
ɛtə-	to save
ba	place
babəli	lullaby
baχ/baʁ(ə)-	to hit (the mark), to reach
baχtə-	to fit into
baʁən(ə)-, banə-	to ba able, to succeed in, to find

bai	in vain
bail	merit
bailə-	to rejoice
baiš-/baič(ə)-	to check
bait	matter, thing
baitaqů	no matter, no problem
baitəɹ-/baitəl(ə)-	to use
baitiŋ-	necessary, useful
baivůqů	unnecessary, no need
bakši	master (Mong.)
banč-, banj(ə)-	to live
bandiaos	gawk
bangəjoŋ	half an hour (Chin.)
baňiχa	thank you
banjəⁿ, banjiⁿ	life
baoɹ-/baol(ə)-	to report
bayiⁿ	rich
bazar	market (Uig.)
beš-/bəč(ə)-	to die
bəda	food
bədər(ə)-	to return
bəijiŋ	Peking
bələⁿ	ready
bən(ə)-	to deliver, to escort
bənšəⁿ	ability (Chin.)
bəɹh-/bəɹɣ(ə)-	to prepare
bəri	bow
bətk	foot, leg
bəy	body, self
bi 1.	I (1st sg. pronoun)
bi 2.	is (existential copula)
bi-	to be
bia-, biɛ-	to lok for, to ask
bia, biya	month, moon
biak śiaɴəⁿ	pale, colourless
bierh-/bierɣ(ə)-	to collect, to keep
bigaⁿ	wild
bioʁůⁿ	dust, sand
biɹ-/bil(ə)-	to stroke
bira	river
bitkə	book, document
biyeɹ-/biyel(ə)-	to graduate
bo	house, home
bo/məs	we (1. pl. pronoun)
bobo	bread (children´s expression)
bohtoⁿ, bohtuⁿ bahtəⁿ	bumpy

boɹq	abruptly, vehemently, completely
boɹʁůⁿ	clean, cleanliness
bot-/bod(ə)-	to think
bølir, bolori	autumn
bu-	to give
bučun(u)-	to argue
bujaⁿ	forest
burul(u)-	to retire
čaʁaɹ-/čaʁalə-	to like
čaɣaŋ	liking
čai	tea
čalabuⁿ	difference
čaləf-/čaləv(ə)-	to differ
čaliŋ	salary
čaŋdi	often
čaɴ	full
čaq	in a broken way, into parts
čaqaɹ-/čaqal(ə)-	to cut to pieces
čaqaš-/čaqajə-	to be broken
čaqůr	shaman ladder, black birch
čavaɹ	bowl
čavčaɹ	Chabchal
čɛ	behind, further
čeňinj	the day before yesterday
češ, češ́	over, further
čəksə	yesterday
čik	suddenly
čimar	tomorrow
čiŋkuaŋ	situation
čir čir	a pointy object, a stitching pain
čira 1.	strict, firm
čira 2.	face
čiśkə, čiškə	sparrow, little bird
čiš-/čič(i), tič(i)-	to come forth
čoaχ, čůaχ	soldier
čoʁo	teapot
čoqo	hen
čorʁo	neck
ču	spade
čujuŋ	middle school (Chin.)
čuk(ə)-	to be exhausted
da 1.	root, base
da 2.	particle
da maf	mythical ancestor of the clan

da-	do have connection to
dači	originally
daχ-/daʁə-	to follow
daif	doctor
daɹji	connection
daɹvə	beside, aside, next to
daɹvət	besides
daməɴ	tobacco
damjiⁿ	scale beam
dan(ə)-	to take care
daohui	backwards (Chin.)
dart	trembling (onom.)
dat	next to, close to and some others
davaⁿ	mountain pass (Mong.)
davəli	particle
dazə-/das-	to repair, to rouge
dəɣəmə	aunt (mother's sister)
dəⁿ	high
dəŋjəⁿ	lamp
dər	cushion; table
dərgi	upper; eastern
dərif-	to begin
dəvər	boiling (onom.)
dəvərgəⁿ	whelp
dəy(i)-	to fly
dianχůa	telephone (Chin.)
dⁱaoɹ-/dⁱaol(ə)-	to send by order
dⁱeɹ-/dⁱel(ə)-	to chase
dⁱetti	immediately
dih	fourty
dⁱøf	fox
dⁱorgidə, diorgut	inside
dⁱøɹmba	middle
dⁱovr, dⁱøvr	night
dirh	east
diš	to the east
diš-/dij(i)-	to burn
dišk	fuel
diur(i)-, dür(i)-	to fight over something
diyimiŋ	top (at an examination, Chin.)
domdoqůⁿ	buttterfly
donš-/donj(i)-, dønš-/ønj(i), doɴdoɴ	hard
dienj(i)-	to hear, to listen
doo-	to land
dor	custom, law

doraqᵘ̊	ill-bred
doʁůr-	to roll
døš-/døź(i)-, doš-/dož(i)-	to enter
dozorh	needlegras
dᵘaɹ	strophe (Chin.)
dučur (duič ňur)	the Fourth village in Chabchal
duliⁿ	middle
dulinki, dulinkᵊi	past
dunda-	to eat (of pigs)
duŋlo	lantern
duɴa	watermellon
duqa	gate
duɹ-/dul(u)-	to pass
duʁa	intestines
düri	craddle
duruⁿ	form, shape
durvo	fly
dut-/dud(ə)-, dud(u)-	to lie, to rest
duyiⁿ	four
eisk	pace, sound
eit(ə)-	to save
emi-	to drink
eŋ	the interjection of nodding
ere	the interjection of the sigh
erk, ɛrk	liquor, alcohol
əčə	uncle
ədəri	from now
əɣəliŋ	ugly, wicked
əh	bad, evil
əh(ə)-, ək(ə)	to do what (vicarous verb)
əhśieⁿ	evil power, demon
əjəⁿ	lord
ək	that one (pronoun)
əkčiⁿ	riverbank
əksə-	to hurry
əli	still more
əlkiki	allmost
əɹči	one type of a ritual specialist
əɹdəⁿ	light
əɹɣə	slowly
əm, əmkəⁿ	one
əmbat	at one place, i.e. together
əmbič	or
əmdaⁿ	once

əməŋ	saddle
əmfalə^{n}	moment, short time
əmgəri	already, once
əmzaq	alone
ənduri, əndür, əndüri	deity
ənəŋ	today
əňi	mother
ər	this, he/she/it (3. sg pronoun)
əraliaN, əraliŋ, əraN	thus, in this way
ərbit	here
ərɣə-	to take a rest
ərdə	morning
ərdəm	knowledge
ərəču^{n}	hope
ərgə^{n} səlm	for life and death
ərɣə^{n}, ərgə^{n}	life
ərgəʟji	small saddle
əri^{n}	time, hour
ərsu^{n}	ugly
ərt	early
əs	they (3. pl. pronoun)
əš-/əj(ə)-	to remember
ət(ə)-	to win
əvat, ərvadə	here
əvə^{n}	bread
əvəri	normal
əvəš-/əvəj(ə)-	to break down
əyi	grandfather, old man
əyu^{n}	elder sister
əyunnu^{n}	sisters
əza	relatively many/much

fa	window
fa-	to shout
faida^{n}	eyebrows
faχ	ball, pill
faʟ-	to leaven (Chin.)
famdor	tomato
fanč(ə)-	to be angry
fanča^{n}	small coin (Chin.)
fanjəŋ	in fact (Chin.)
faqar	trousers
farn(ə)-	to faint
farʁů^{n}	dark, dusky
fars	quick movement (onom.)
fas	raft

fašk, fašq	buttocks
fašqůr(ů)-	to uprise
fat(ə)-	to pinch
favəⁿ	law
fayaɴů, fayiŋ	soul
feiančaobi	magic power (Chin.)
fə	old
fəjərgit	below
fəjil, fəjiɹ	under
fəkś(i)-	to run
fər	bottom
fəɹgieⁿ	red
fərgošk o	extraordinary
fət(ə)-	to dig
fətər-	to dig, to stoke
fəy-	to boil
fiaɴqaləⁿ	low
fiaŋ	youngest child
fiča-	to blow
fidə-	to move by order
fienš-/fienj(i)-	to ask
fier(ə)-	to beat
fiet(ə)-	to fart
fih	brains
finh	hair
fioʁůlůⁿ	short
fišk	Buddha
fita	airtight
fiźiⁿ	dense
fot	an implement used during burial rituals
foliŋə	talkative
fonq	hole
foq foq	consistence of a dried apple or cucumber
foroⁿ	peak
foɹχ	bag
fosχůⁿ	downwards
fulaʁůⁿ fəɹgieⁿ	scarlet, deep red (often used for human face)
fulaʁůⁿ	reddish
fulo	more, excessive
fus	through
fuskulu-	to kick
gəf	name
gəɣə	elder sister
gəɹ	still
gəɹ-, gəl(ə)-	to be afraid

gəɹšk	awful, awesome
gəmuⁿ	capital
gən(ə)-	to go there
gənčeɹ	spoon
gənkəndi	suddenly
gəs, gəsk, gəskə	as big as
gət-	to wake up
gətkuⁿ	clever
gətqaqů	bad, useless
gia	street (Chin.)
gia-	to take
giaⁿ	matter, need
gida	spear
gidaɹ-	to stab with a spear
giliŋ giliŋ	shiningly, cleanly, totally
giⁿ	scale
ginl(ə)-	to weigh
giŋ(ň)in	light blue
giŋuɹ-	to care, to show respect
gir(i)-	to be shy
giraⁿ	bone
giraŋ	skeleton
giraŋyeɹ	relatives
giriⁿ	Kirin (toponyme)
giršk	shameful
gizər(ə)-	to speak
gizuⁿ	word
glčiŋ glčiŋ	shiny
guanśi	relationship
gučᵘ	friend
guə-	to avoid
gufč	all, whole
gugu	aunt (father's sister)
guida-	to last
guis	coffer
gul-	to peer
gul, gulgul	often
gum, gəm	all
guŋ	merit (Chin.)
guŋčaŋdaŋ	the Communist Party (Chin.)
guŋzuo	work (Chin.)
guoguo	shoes (children's expression)
gurh	wild animal
guri-	to move
guruⁿ	state, people
gurunbo	state

ɢaft(ə)-	to shoot with bow and arrows
ɢaitai	suddenly
ɢam-	to take
ɢaňiŋ	strange
ɢaɹ	hand
ɢaraŋ ɢaraŋ	ragged
ɢarʁəⁿ	branch
ɢaɹvaɴ	bad
ɢasχ	wild bird
ɢaš-/ɢaj(ə)-	to bring
ɢayaqů	outstanding
ɢazn	village, homeplace
ɢor	far, distatnt
ɢoɹmisχůⁿ	elongated, oblong
ɢosqůⁿ	bitter
ɢošq	terrible
ɢoźiⁿ	thirty
ɢůa	another, different, other
ɢůč(i)-	to smoke, to draw in
ɢůɹja	the city of Ghulja
ɢůɹmaʁəⁿ	rabbit
ɢůňi-	to think, to miss
ɢůňiⁿ	thought, mind
ɢůňiχaqů	unexpectedly
hamt(ə)-	to defecate
haɴś	part of the winter period in the Chinese agricultural calendar
hɛm(i)-	to bear, to stand
həfs(ə)-	to consult
həh	woman
hərču^{n}	awareness
hərgəⁿ	script, letter
həs	order
hət-/həd(ə)-	to fold
həzəⁿ	edge, rim
hiŋkəɹ-	to kowtow
hirgi-	to wander
huis	Uighur
huŋkur-	to melt
hut	soul (of a dead person)
huzuⁿ	strength
χač, χajə	loving, close, love
χačiⁿ	type, kind
χafs(ə)-	to report

χaʁəč	boy, son
χairiⁿ	regretful
χaiš	rather (Chin.)
χait(ə)-	to bind
χaliⁿ	tree
χaɹʁůⁿ	warm, hot
χaɹt-/χaɹdə-	to touch, to importune
χam	excrements
χamtə-	to defecate
χaň(i)	little, at least
χanč	close
χaq	bitter
χasq	scissors
χašə bira	the Kashgar river
χateⁿ	sharp, burning
χatqůⁿ	salted
χazəq	Kazakh
χočqůn, χošqůn	son-in-law
χof	coffin
χoj	nice
χojəye	properly
χoɹ	lie, fake
χoɹt(ə)-	to cheat
χoňiⁿ	sheep
χoril(ə)-	to invite by prayer
χoroⁿ	grandeur
χorʁůⁿ	enclosure
χos	corner
χoš	well, nicely
χotuⁿ	town, city
χoźiⁿ	paper
χůa	in a tearing way
χůalar χůalar	a great waterstream, an extrovert and talkative character
χůaliazuⁿ	peace
χůaɹ-	to cut into halves
χůarəⁿ	courtyard
χůazə-/χůas-	to grow up
χůdůⁿ	quickly
χůla-	to call
χůlias-/χůliaz(ə)-	to change
χůɹʁa	to steal
χůzuⁿ	strength
ičaɴ	proper, agreeable
ičaqů	unpleasant, improper

ičə	new
iči	to here
if	grave
ifči	ribb
inč	sixty
indi	not yet (particle)
inji-	to laugh
inšk	laugh
irgəⁿ	citizen, people
iśte	right
iš-/iź(i)-	to suffice
iškʲa-	to arrange
išta-, śʲta-	to be late
iv(i)-	to play
iza-	to gather
izanč	Isanju (name of a deity)
iźin(ə)-	to reach
ja	easy, cheap
jadəⁿ	very, extremely
jaf-/javə-	to hold, to catch
jaft-/javd(ə)-	to hurry up [so as] to manage
jai	second, next
jaləⁿ	joint, world
jaliⁿ	sake
jalu	full
jam	violet, orange
janjüⁿ	general (Chin.)
jaŋəⁿ	military official (Chin.)
jaŋli	reward (Chin.)
jaq, jaq jamuⁿ	thing
jaqər(ə)-	to dawn
jaqůči	eighth
jaqůⁿ	eight
jaqůnč	eighty
jašqaⁿ	letter
jat	spear
jazm	pumpkin
jə-	to eat
jəčəⁿ	border
jəjiedi	directly (Chin.)
jəjoɹ-	to solve (Chin.)
jəŋ	just
jəŋkəⁿ, jiŋkəⁿ	real(ly)
jəyiⁿ	edge
ji	child

ji-	to come
ji jii	to urinate (children's expression)
jil	anger
jiɹʁa^{n}	sound
jinčüe^{n}	the Golden Spring (toponyme)
jiʁa	money
jiram	thick
jiri	pair
jon(o)-	to mention
jovolo^{n}	suffering
ju	two
jua^{n}	ten
juht(ə)-	to venerate
juʁů^{n}	way, path
jüjü	clothes
julə^{n}	an epic poem
juɹh, juɹbi	southern side, front side
junguo	China (Chin.)
juŋyi	Chinese medicine (Chin.)
juś	forwards/towards the south
jus	children
juš	to the south
juvə	story
kaolu-	to examine (Chin.)
kara	black (horse)
kəčə^{n}	wall
kəmə^{n}	level
kənəŋ	maybe (Chin.)
kənɣunjə-	to suspect
kəskə	cat
kəvəɹ	stomach
kimi^{n}	revenge
kira-	to look aside
kokor-	to huddle
kuantour	bold (Chin.)
kuk	blue, gray (of animals)
kuli	fortunately
kus	heavy pace (onom.)
kuźi	knife
laft	many, much
lahčə-	to separate, to
laɹ-/lal(ə)-	to be hungry
lam	Buddhist monk (Mong.)
lančipazao	messy (Chin.)

laoχaⁿ	old man (Chin.)
lat(ə)-	to stick
leik(ə)-, liek(ə)-	to hang
li	PART.
li	sweat
li-	to open
lianŋšə	crops (Chin.)
lianŋxin	conscience, kindness (Chin.)
liaoča	pitchfork (Chin.)
loχ	sword
lom	Buddhist ritual
lous	tower, building
luk	firmly, inseparably
lüs	donkey
maf	ancestor, old man
maχt(ə)-	to throw
maʁaɹ	cap
mais	wheat
maitoɹ-	to beat with a stick
maɹʁůn	a little
maɹt(ə)-	to rub
mamə	grandmother, old woman
man(ə)-	wear through
manč/manj(u)	Manchu
maŋ	difficult
maŋiⁿ	lower deity
maɴ	difficult
maɴus	monster
mašqůⁿ	slim, skinny (lit. Ma. mačuhůn)
mašqůⁿ	thin
mavəɹ-	to wipe
məda-	to turn, to return
mədəri	sea
məʏəjəⁿ	swine
məih	snake
məiməňi	every, each
məji, maji	little
məjig	message
məjigšə-	to collect information
məmə	sexual organ
mənjaɴ	indeed, yes, true, the same
mər	exactly this
məɹ-/məl(ə)-	to water (animals)
məraɴ	exactly thus
mərbit	exactly here

mərgəⁿ	clever, wise
məs	we (1pl. pronoun, incl.)
məsk	thus much
mətər	exactly that one
mətəraɴ	exactly that way
mətərbit	exactly there
miao	temple, shrine
mier(ə)-	to bend
miʁaⁿ	piglet
miŋaⁿ	thousand
mit(ə)-	to cut
mo	wood
modil(ə)-	to know by intuition (Chin.)
moχt	short
moⁿ	our (excl.)
moň	monkey
moŋ	Mongolian
moŋuⁿ	silver
moqsaⁿ	a wooden stick
moriⁿ	horse
muduri	dragon
muʁazn	bull
muku	water
muɹt	by sidling
mutə-	to be able to, to master, to overcome
na 1.	earth
na 2.	interrogative particle
nadəⁿ	seven
nadənč	seventy
naχčə	uncle (mother's brother)
naʁəⁿ	kang
najəⁿ	the Earth god
nan ňi	lit. his/its person, the person
naⁿ	person, man
nanjaŋ	Southern Xinjiang (Chin.)
naq, naqa, naqə	stop it, let it be
narʁůⁿ	narrow, fine
nazə-	to sob
nəɣə-	to require
nəkəlieⁿ	subtle, lowly
nənəm	first, before
nienškuⁿ	a sharp smell (i.e. of fish)
ňilmaʁůⁿ	the Realm of the dead
ňimaχ	beetle
ňimʁa	fish

ňiŋuⁿ	six
ňuŋňeⁿ	green
niungnieⁿ	green
ňoʁůⁿ	greenish
ňoʁůⁿ ňuŋňeⁿ	deep green
ňonʁůⁿ	dog
ňoɴůⁿ	sand
nor	swamp
ňumzuⁿ	belt
nuⁿ	younger sister
ňunʁuⁿ	dog
ňuňu	baby
ňuŋk	illness
nuŋš	upwards
nuŋut	above, on
ňur	banner, village
o-	to become, to be possible
of-/ov(ə)-	to wash
oh	armpit
oksůⁿ	pace
oɹh	rushes
oɹʁůⁿ	dry
oɹχ-/oɹʁ(ů)-	to dry
om	lake
ončᵘ	wide, widely
ongoɹ	before, ago
oɴ(ů)-	to forget
oriⁿ	twenty
oros	Russian
oruⁿ	daughter-in-law
orχ	grass
oyuɴ	important
oχt	medicine
paqa	of a short stature
paraɴ	talk (Uig.)
pas	sound of beating
qač(i)-, qaiš-/qaič(i)-	to shout
qafčі-	to squeeze
qanjiaɹ	jacket
qaqa	hot (children's expression)
qar	black (horse)
qarəⁿ	watchpost
qarmə-	to protect

qoms	little, few
qor	injury
qors(o)-	to weep
qotoŋ	a sound of a falling object
qᵘ̊ariaɴ	beautiful
qůčir(ə)-	to dig
qůza	banner
sa-	to know
sač(ə)-	to cut
saf	shoes
saft-/savdə-	to drop
saʙənč	girl, daughter
saʙər(ə)-	to catch cold
saʙůrůⁿ	cold, coldly
saⁱt/sɛt/set	old
saməⁿ	shaman
saⁿ	ear
saq	a description of intertwinned branches etc.
sarɢaⁿ	wife
sarɢaš(ə)-, sarš(ə)-	to walk around
sas	fool
sat-/sad(ə)-	to be tired
sav-	to see
savdəⁿ	drop
sə, zə	age, year of age
sə-, zə-	to say
səbjəⁿ	joy, pleasure
səf	teacher
səjəⁿ	cart
səkt(ə)-	spread
səlačuqa, səlak	pleasant, joyful
sənda-	to put
səŋkər	dishevelled
sər(ə)-	to pay attention
sər(i)	water source
səsk	chin
set	old man, old (for animate beings)
set(ə)-	to grow old
skᵊi /səkəi	that one
so-	to put off
so	you (pl.)
solo	free, free time
soɴ(ů)-	to cry
soŋkoi	according to
soo	trough

soqů	skin, leather
soʁůⁿ suyeⁿ	bright yellow
soʁůⁿ	yellowish
sozor(u)-	to back
su/šu	ultimately (PART.)
suduri	history
suʏəⁿ śiaɴəⁿ	very white, snowwhite
suʏeⁿ	whitish
suja-	to procede
sula	free, loose
suɹʁo	apple
suⁿ	milk
sunja	five
sunjači	fifth
sunjaŋ	bailiff (Chin.)
sur	soul of a dead person
sur(u)-	to shout
surʏun(u)-	to tremble
surʁaⁿ	frozen rain
susai, suzai	fifty
susχa	whip
susχaɹ-	to whip
suvduⁿ	air, wind
suyen	yellow
śalaq	futile
samdə-	to shamanize
śamə	your father
śaⁿ	whistling sound
śaq śaq	futile (onom.)
śars	a quick movement
śerh	crotch
śeriⁿ, śieriⁿ	wedding
śi	you (2. sg)
śiaŋəⁿ	white, steam
śidəⁿ	between
śidər χodur	in agreement
śieⁿ	good, well
śik	urine
śiks(ə)-	to check
śiliŋ	dew, slobber
śinaq	mourning
śiŋčəŋ	name of a village
śiŋči	Sunday, week
śiŋčiliu	Saturday
śʲqa	horsehair

śiram(ə)	later, in future (1) and
śirgə	thread
śit(ə)-	to urinate
śiumʏun	finger
śivə	Sibe
śiyi	Western medicine
śomoχoɹt	Mill Valley (toponyme)
śønś-/śønj(i)-	to chose
śoɹ-	to invite
śoro	jujube
sorq	awl
śorʁ(ů)-	to rub
śoɹʁo	left
śumiⁿ	deep
šaɴbaɹ-	to work (Chin.)
šašqaɹ-	to slap
škuaɹ-	to hit with one´s fist
šuanboɹ	twins (Chin.)
šülia-	to mix
šuⁿ	sun
ta-	to see, to look
taɢaɹjə-	to stumble
taχ-/taq-/taq(ə)-	to know, to recognize
taʁaɹ	sack
tais	platform (Chin.)
taitai	lady (Chin.)
tana	pearl
tant-/tand(ə)-	to beat
taŋ	hundred
taqůr(u)-	to order
tarχ-/tarʁ(ů)-	to grow fat
tarʁůⁿ	fat, fleshy
taš-/tač(i)-	to learn
taškieⁿ	religion
tašqů	school
tat(ə)-	to pull
tavənə-, tafšə-	to climb, to ascend
tə	now
tə-	to sit
tək(ə)-	to do that (vicarious verb)
təkšiⁿ	plain, equal
təňi	recently
tər	that
təraliaŋ, təraliŋ, təraɴ	in such way

təsk	that much, that big
təvat	there
tiaf-, tiav(ə)-	to light
tiaχ	burnt, spotted
tier(ə-)	to plant
tiki-	to lift
tiŋtiel	torch
tiørχ-/tiørʁ(ů)-	to circle
tiuɹgut	outside
tivəl(ə)/tivəɹ-	to embrace
tivmo	stick
to-	to abuse
tof 1.	hut
tof 2.	precisely
tofχoⁿ	fifteen
toχto-	to remember
toʁ(ů)-	to saddle
tohu	name of a watchpost
tokso	village
tømiⁿ	thick
toro	peach
torʁůt	Torghut (ethnonyme)
tůa	fire
tuʏun(u)-	to live
tuh-/tuʏ(ə)-	to fall
tükia-	to guard
tuks	cloud
tuksuɹ-	to ger overcast
tukum- tumə	thus
tuliaš-/tuliaj(ə)-	kick up
tuməⁿ	ten thousand
tuŋz	bucket
tuɴaɹ-	to encounter
turguⁿ	reason
türⁱ	winter
tuta-	to stay
tuza	help, advantage
tuza-	to drop
tůχtaⁿ	initial
učа	waist
uči	door
učuɹ-/učul(u)-	to sing
učuⁿ	song
udaⁿ	slow, slowly
uduⁿ	wind

uf	fate
uf-/uv(ə)-	to descend
uɣumə	aunt
uɣuri	all
ujandaqů	excessively
ujən	heavy
ujilə-, ujələ-	to respect
uju	head
ujui	first
uksur	ethnicity
ulaf-/ulav(e)-	to hand down
ulan	pit
uluf-/uluv(e)-	to feed
uluk	soft
um(e)-, um(u)-	to burry
umai	at all
unča-	to sell
unč^{u}	different
uŋqan-	to escape
ůɴa^{n}	ancestor
uɴanda	elder
urai, ərai	how
ursu^{n}	bad, ugly
uśikun, ušhun	wet
uśiχa, ušχa	star
usku^{n}	raw
usu^{n}	much
ušku^{n}	wet
ut 1.	how much, how many
ut 2.	thus
ut(u)-	to put on
utk^{u}	clothes
uva	flour
uviaɪ-	to turn, to translate
uya^{n}	liquid
uyi^{n}	nine
uyinč	ninety
uza-	to pull, to carry
uzat	sad
uźi^{n}	heavy
va	smell, taste
va-	to kill
vaš-/vaj(ə)-	to finish
vans	ball, pill
vaq, vaqa	not

vaś-/vaź(i)-	to descend
və	who
vəč(ə)-	to offer, to sacrifice
vəid(ə)-	to measure, to scoop
veiɣuⁿ	living
veilə-	to work
vəɹgieⁿ	pig
vəra	buttocks
vešhuⁿ	upwards
vierh	east
vieš	eastwards
vih	tooth
vir(i)-	to leave
vuyuk	light
ya	what, which
yaf-/yav(e)-	to go
yafhəŋ	on foot
yaχčəⁿ	puppy
yam	which
yam(kəⁿ)	which one
yamsqůⁿ	evening
yaɴk	smear
yaqs(ə)-	to close to lock
yaqůr(u)-	to bow, to kowtow
yaɹ-/yal(e)-	to ride
yas	leye
yask, yaskə	how much
yaya	every
yazm	sleep
yečiⁿ	black
yemj, yamji	night
yenjir	doll
yet	where
yeye	every
yi-/ye-	to get up, to stand up
yiɣə	goose
yiɣiⁿ	husband
yiʁaⁿ	cow, cattle
yila-	to stand
yilaⁿ	three
yilə-	to lick
yiɹʁa	flower
yind(ə)-	to stay overnight
yindaʁůⁿ	dog
yinəŋ, ňinəŋ	day

yinəŋdəri	everyday
yinʁaⁿ	drum
yiŋbi	front wall (Chin.)
yiŋyiɹ-	to camp (Chin.)
yiqaⁿ	Chinese
yivagəⁿ/yivaʁəⁿ	evil spirit, demon
yivəŋ	swarming (onom.)
yoloq	soft, smooth
yono	funny
yos 1.	lock
yos 2.	custom
yovn	fun
yozuɹ-	to lock
yüdu	sequence, order (Chin.)
yüdul-	to take turns
yuh	wolf
yuɹduⁿ	opportunity
yuɹdus	name of a mountain pass
yüyü-	to starve

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SUMMARY

The Sibe language, nowadays spoken by more than ten thousands of Sibe poeple in the Xinjiang Uighur autonomous province in China, deserves special attention of linguists for several reasons. For Manchurologists it is its position as an oral variety of Manchu that makes it particularly important. Spoken Sibe seems to be relatively close to the literary language and thus its knowledge facilitates the understanding of literary Manchu.

The present work was intended to give a description of the grammar of spoken Sibe as it functions in everyday communication. Therefore I did not take literary Manchu as a basis for this description, although remarks on similarities differences between the two idioms appear throughout the text.

The grammar of spoken Sibe is largely similar to that of oral forms of Mongolian and the difference between spoken Sibe and literary Manchu is comparable to the difference between classical Mongolian and the modern Mongolian dialects. In the description of the Sibe grammar I point out some typical analogies with Khalkha Mongolian, which may bring the described grammatical features closer to readers familiar with Mongolian. For the same reason I mostly used the grammatical terminology that was introduced by Poppe for Mongolian but proved to be fully suitable for spoken Sibe as well.

The present description focuses on the part of Sibe lexicon which is inflected according to two main patterns – the nominal and verbal inflection. These two basic parts of speech are firmly established for most Altaic languages, which makes it possible to go into greater detail in the description. Other parts of speech, both uninflected and those displaying certain morphological regularities, are left for further investigation.

The described grammatical features are illustrated by examples gathered during fieldwork, which demonstrate practical function of the grammar. Appended are two longer texts recorded by Mr. Kicengge in 1996 in Chabchal, which are intended as samples of genuine usage of the language in its cultural context.

sibe gisun oci enenggi sinjiyang de banjire emu tumen funcere sibe uksurai baitalara gisun inu. sibe anggai gisun de udu oyonggo holbobun bi. mini bodorode, manju gisun sibkire urse de oci, sibe gisun serengge manjui anggai gisun i emu gisun mudan duwali seci geli ombi. uttu ofi, sibe gisun be bahanaci, manju bithei gisun be tacire ulhirede umesi tusa ombi.

mini ere leolen be araha oyonggo gvnin oci, inenggidari baitalara sibe anggai gisun i gisun kooli be narhvn ejeme tucibuhe. ere turgunde manju bithei gisun be ten obuhakv, sibe anggai

gisun be ten obume arahabi. damu araha dorgide, ememu bade sibe anggai gisun jai manju gisun siden i acanara acanarakv babe duibulebume ejehebi.

sibe anggai gisun i gisun kooli oci monggo anggai gisun i gisun kooli de hanci bihebi. geli sibe gisun jai manju bithei gisun i siden i calabun oci, monggo anggai gisun jai monggo bithei gisun siden i calabun de amba muru acanambi. ere turgunde, monggo gisun be bahanara gucusa de ulhirede ildungga obuki seme leolen i dorgide sibe anggai gisun i gisun kooli be araha bade, monggo anggai gisun i gisun kooli de acanara babe ejehebi. uttu ofi geli sibe gisun i gisun kooli be leolerede, nicolas poppe i monggo gisun i gisun kooli be ejere jalin banjibuha cohotoi baitalara gisun be juwen gaime baitalahabi.

ere mudan i leolen de, gibsun jai aššasun sere juwe oyonggo gisun meyen i gisun kooli be ejeme arahabi. ere juwe hacin gisun meyen i kvbulin be altai gisun i sibkisi sa emgeri umesi šumin i sibkime duleke turgunde, sibe gisun dorgide geli ere jergi hacin meyen be narhvn leoleme mutembi. gvwa hacin gisun meyen be ere mudan i leolen de ejeme gisurehekv, sirame i sibkire nashvn de werihebi.

sibe anggai gisun i gisun kooli be banjin dorgide yargiyan i absi baitalara be tuwabure jalin, sibe niyalma i irgen siden de baitalara gisun jai jube be gisun tuwakvn obume baitalame ejehebi. leolen i šošohon de kicengge agu i 1996 aniya de cabcal de genefi irgen siden deri isabume singgebume gaiha juwe jube be acabume ejehebi. ere juwe jube i dolo, sibe uksurai banjire durun, suduri, tacihiyan jai da gisun mudan i šumin gvnin be umesi getuken i iletulehe seme bodofi, leolen i šošohon de gingguleme ejehebi, geren tacihasi jai sibkisi sai hvlarade tusa ojoro be erembi.