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Entering dead bodies and the miraculous power of the Kings: The landmark of Karma Pakshi's reincarnation in Tibet

Part I

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Summary: The main focus of the contribution is citations left in the literature from the probably already lost text "Hagiography of the Intermediate State" (Rnam thar bar do ma) describing the events between the passing away of Karma Pakshi and his rebirth as Rangjung Dorje. These led to the appearance of the first lineage based on reincarnations in Tibet. As a particular curiosity, the ritual of "Entering Residence" (*grong 'jug*) facilitating the reanimation of a corpse appears in the narration and will be separately discussed in the article. The introduction of the article is aimed at giving examples of masters who were considered to be "tulku" (*sprul sku*) in the times before the event and some rough insight into the evolution of the ideas surrounding the appearance of reincarnated lineages in Tibet can be gleaned through them. It is stressed as well that behind the emergence of such lineages the older views on Tibetan kings could be discerned.

1. Introduction

The present contribution will focus on the description of the first detailed recognition of the "reincarnated master" left in Tibetan literature. It concerns the third Karmapa hierarch Rangjung Dorje (Rang byung rdo rje, 1284–1339) as the "repeated existence" (*yang srid*) of the second Karmapa known mostly under the Mongolian title Karma Pakshi (but having also the identical name Rangjung Dorje as a tantric "secret name").

There once existed an early text composed allegedly as a record of the memories of the young Third Karmapa, containing a detailed description of the mystical travel of the consciousness (*rnam shes*) leading to settlement in the new body. It is not accepted that such a text, called often "Hagiography of the intermediate state" (Rnam thar bar do ma) is still extant. But fortunately parts of this scripture are extensively cited by several Tibetan chronicles. These excerpts will be the main focus of the following lines and some attention will be paid to the fact that curiously the text describes it firstly as an attempt to settle consciousness into the corpse and then into the already established foetus.

This text does not seem to have any particular relevance to the historical details of the lives of both of Karmapas involved in the process of reincarnation, but still it is a document of importance. The rarity of the scripture is related to the early ideas about "miraculously manifested bodies" as an emerging tradition of the recognized series of them. The sole existence of a text containing the detailed description of the events of the "intermediate state" during reincarnation shows that in this case an effort was made to provide a variety of proofs confirming the genuineness of the "repeated existence" of Karmapa. From the Tibetan literature only one other representative of similar genre is known to me. It is a description of the reincarnation of the Fifth Dalai Lama into the Sixth one (Sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 2007) and again in this much later text the need for proofs of the veridicality of the new Dalai Lama becomes apparent.

As a prelude to the main part of the paper, introductory general notes on the ideas connected with "tulku" (*sprul sku*) will be provided, together with notes on personalities who were probably believed to be "miraculously manifested bodies" in slightly different circumstances, before the famous Karmapa lineage which became renowned as the 'first of its kind' in Tibetan literature.

Some general notes on the terminology might be given first. The term "tulku" (*sprul sku*) rendered here as "miraculously manifested body" covers a number of semantic fields which could be fully revealed only by a rather detailed study diving deep into Indian and Tibetan history. The rather frequent classification, but not the only one, of "miraculously manifested bodies" to be met with in Tibetan literature is the triple one:

1. Artisan "miraculously manifested body" (*bzo ba sprul sku*). As an example illustrating this kind of body the "transformation" of Buddha into the body of a lute-player who through better playing subdued the king of gandharvas is given.

2. Arisen "miraculously manifested body" (*skye ba sprul sku*). It is equated with the Śvetaketu, the previous life of Buddha Śākyamuni born in Tuṣita paradise. It is explained that in different realms Buddha is able to appear in an appropriate form, i.e. as Śvetaketu in the realm of gods.

3. Excellent "miraculously manifested body" (*mchog gi sprul sku*) is linked to the Śākyamuni's appearance in the world of humans.

This understanding of the triple bodies of Buddha Śākyamuni follows a rather recent text (Bla brang skal bzang 1997, cf. also Dung dkar 2000, p. 1310, etc.), but other explanations might differ.[1] Anyway, in this case all of the

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1) Yael Bentor cites Guru Tashi, an author from the 19th century, who understood the terms differently, only the *mchog gi sprul sku* retaining the same meaning. She translates his

three bodies are linked to the life of Buddha Śākyamuni as narrated in his Mahāyāna biographies.

If one suddenly passes over other understandings directly to the synonyms used for "miraculously manifested bodies" in the sense of recognized reincarnated masters, one will feel a certain shift that has taken place, albeit from some very general point of view it is a little one. The Tibetan synonyms used for reincarnated master; besides "miraculously manifested body" (*sprul sku*); are: "repeated existence" (*yang srid*), "born miraculous manifestation" (*skye sprul*), "born-existence" (*skye srid*), "miraculously manifested master" (*bla sprul*), "born body" (*sku skye*).

The stress is put on the new birth or repeated birth of some master in these words. Of course, most of the earlier cases of reincarnated masters claimed to be at the same time "Excellent miraculously manifested bodies". Still, the space between these two sets of categories had tremendous significance for real lives in Tibet and thus is worth some closer examination.

2. The sets of ideas surrounding the emergence of reincarnated masters

The following general notes will be written to fill in some of the gaps between the two above-mentioned distinctive notions of "miraculously manifested bodies". The privileged position of recognized "miraculously manifested body" (*sprul sku*) in Tibetan society nowadays is certainly a result of very complex historical events in which an amalgam of variety of ideas participated. This brief general overview tries to identify some of them.

It is well known that a specific Indian Buddhist concept of Buddha-bodies has also much to do with them. This concept started very early on the Indian subcontinent, as it confesses *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, where Dharma-body and Form-body (*dharmakāya, rūpakāya*) are mentioned (cf. Conze 1973, p. 291). It was, however, later specified within the *Cittamātra* school of Indian Buddhism. In the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* and its commentary by Asaṅga there appears a fourfold differentiation of the Buddha bodies: *dharmakāya, svābhāvikakāya, sambhogakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya*. With the

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explanation in the following manner (Bentor 1996, pp. 5–6): "The supreme emanation bodies (*mchog-gi sprul-sku*) are those appearing in the world in the manner of the twelve deeds [of the Buddha]. The born emanation bodies (*skye-ba sprul-sku*) are those appearing as sentient beings in the manner of Āryas, ordinary people, etc. Made emanation bodies (*bzo sprul-sku*) are those appearing in an unanimated manner, such as *stūpas*, boats, bridges." Cf. also the not very explicit explanation of P. Williams (1989, pp. 181–182).

two first of them being somehow regarded as aspects of the same, we have here the appearance of the triple Buddha bodies bound with Mahāyāna ideas about the universe as consisting of myriads of "Buddha-fields" mirroring each other. The "emanation" of the Buddhas had already become an important element of the world-view seen in these texts (for a general overview see Williams 1989, pp. 175–9).

The triple division, with the last of them being "emanation body" or, for reasons explained later, rendered here as "miraculously manifested body" (*nirmāṇakāya*, *sprul sku*), found its way into tantric practices. This was the crucial and perhaps the most important step for the later rise of lineages of reincarnations in Tibet. Within the tantric practices this rather descriptive classification acquired a proscriptive character and appears in the practical instructions on the producing of all three bodies by the adept of tantra. Although in some tantric texts it is not much elaborated, as for example the root-tantra of *Cakrasaṃvara* mentioning a mantra which facilitates the production of triple bodies,[2] in later tradition these tree bodies were linked to the three phases of the "generation stage" of tantras. The generation stage was equated to the production of the triple Buddha bodies. In tantric terminology three Buddha bodies are "taken to the path" (*lam 'khyer*) in the tantras classified as *anuttarayogatantra*s in Tibet.

These ideas were combined with other teachings within the tantric practices on an "intermediate state" (*bar do*), i.e. a state between death and rebirth. It is not altogether clear when these instructions became oriented towards the achievement of awakening through the process of dying. Although Indic in its origins, it soon became the subject of various speculations in Tibet (for a good summary see Cuevas 2003, pp. 39–68).

Another set of ideas participating in the emergence of lineages of "miraculously manifested bodies" in Tibet can be found in the symbolical world associated with bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. It seems that this was an additional influx of ideas which was smouldering around the Mahāyāna view of the universe with a strong emanation element. In the so-called "Lotus sutra" (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*) the chapter devoted to Avalokiteśvara was probably the most copied one as seen from archaeological evidence. It is in the later *Karaṇḍavyūhasūtra* that Avalokiteśvara is depicted as ruler of the universe and bodhisattva par excellence (cf. Walter 2009, pp. 215–225).

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2) The *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* speaks about such divisions into three Buddha bodies following the repeating of the mantra and enabling transformation of the body into the "form one wishes" (Gray 2007, pp. 202–5).

The cult of Avalokiteśvara was gaining strength during the first centuries of the "later spread" of Buddhism in Tibet, although its presence in Tibet was much earlier, deep in the Royal period. The vision of him as reflected in the above-mentioned texts evidently attracted Tibetans as the tool for inter-pretation of their own history. Avalokiteśvara was identified with the hero among the Tibetan kings Songtsen Gampo and eventually from the 12th century onwards Tibetan history started to be viewed through the prism of Avalokiteśvara's patronage over Tibet as it is straightforwardly expressed in the influential scripture Maṇi Kabum (Maṇi bka' 'bum).[3] In the text on the previous lives of Domton ('Brom ston, 1004/5–1064), allegedly written by Indian missionary Atīśa himself (Atīśa 1994), the Kadampa masters are introduced as "emanations" (*sprul*) of Avalokiteśvara, including Atīśa and Domton themselves. It was pointed out in several scholarly studies that the case of Domton probably later served as a pattern followed by the institu-tion of Dalai Lamas.[4]

Avalokiteśvara as a centre of the particular world-view undoubtedly influ-enced the early speculations about "miraculously manifested bodies" in Tibet. Both Karmapas, the first lineage of reincarnated masters, and Dalai Lamas, i.e. those who somehow strived to become ruling institution, are considered to be a "miraculous manifestation" of him.

On the other hand, as seen from some hagiographies of Bonpo masters (see below), many of them were also preoccupied with the ideas of "miraculously manifested bodies". They, of course, did not share such an Avalokiteśvara in-gredient. The ideas surrounding Avalokiteśvara were apparently connected with the ambition to rule in Tibet from the beginnings of the "later diffu-sion" of Buddhism. Lacking this, Bonpos were not among the first who came with lineages of reincarnated masters, although similarly to other Buddhist sects the concept of a "miraculously manifested body" was crucial for them as well. Lineages based on reincarnations appeared relatively late within Bon.

If Avalokiteśvera served as an inspiration for the creation of rulers based on reincarnations, another important element contributing to it should be described as a movement in Tibet, which opened space to indigenous spec-ulations on Indian topics. This was "treasure revelations" in Tibet. Even the

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3) This scripture is a compilation of texts devoted to the cult of Avalokiteśvara and his mantra. It was revealed as "treasure" (*gter*) by 12th century master Dubthob Ngodub (Grub thob dn-gos grub), but only some parts of the text. There are several redactions of it and some schol-ars express the opinion that the final redaction was done in the 15th century (see Martin 1997, p. 16; Kapstein 1992; for an old, but still good reference see Vostrikov 2007, pp. 43–6).

4) Ishihama 1993; van der Kuijp 2005, Walter 2010, p. 263–4, Note 9.

Maṇi Kabum mentioned above appeared within this movement, being revealed as a "treasure". Starting roughly by the end of the 10th century, the treasure revealer (*gter ston*) was often seen as a "miraculous manifestation" of past sages, usually Padmasambhava, the noble ministers or even the king Thisong Deutsen within the "Old tradition". In the tradition of Bon religion these treasure revealers are seen as "miraculous manifestations" of mythical sages of Bon or Denpa Namkha. The difference from India lies in the fact that the "miraculous manifestation" is considered to be the Tibetan master and through this concept his connection with heroes of the "golden age of Tibet" is articulated. Thus originally Indian concepts are used for interpretation inside the Tibetan milieu.

Summing up, the originally Indian ideas of emanation, Buddha bodies, their application within the tantric teachings and cult of Avalokiteśvara were evidence of an Indian legacy in Tibet. Tibetans took such ideas seriously and applied them to the environment close to them. They used them in the interpretation of their own history and the highly competitive circumstances led them even to experiments combining these ideas in their native surroundings. One by-product was the emergence of the treasure revealer's tradition, which in many cases served to open a space for a new evaluation of rigidly held foreign ideas within the actual environment of Tibet.

3. Miraculous power of the kings

Another idea standing in the background of the rise of "miraculously manifested bodies" will be mentioned here. It is different from the idea mentioned in the previous section, since in this case it points not to Indic inspirations but to indigenous ones.

It has been already noted that the early Tibetan king Songtsen Gampo became by the 12th century (and perhaps earlier) regarded as a "miraculous manifestation" of Avalokiteśvara. We can then later see that two important lineages of Karmapas and Dalai Lamas were similarly assumed to be a "miraculous manifestation" of the same bodhisattva. In the case ofe both lineages ruling ambitions were present. One would take it as natural that through the connection with bodhisattva, who was both universal monarch and embodiment of the giant among the kings of Tibetan Empire, their assignment to be ruler was expressed.

When this text will come later on to the reincarnation of Karma Pakshi, the first "recognized new existence" (*ngo 'dzin yang srid*) in his next life leading

to the establishment of a lineage based on reincarnations, it might be important that he is introduced in his hagiographies as a man from a noble family.[5] What is clear is that in his person the religious calling is complemented by his noble origin, which of course was an important fact in the era he lived in.

It is appropriate to concentrate on the possible understanding of the Tibetan expression tulku (*sprul sku*) within the specifically Tibetan context of ruling and erasing for the time being its Indic connotations. The high position of tulku in Tibetan society might imply that in the eyes of non-educated believers, outnumbering greatly the few specialists with insight to the intricacies of Buddha bodies, this concept was somehow understandable and meaningful in a manner way specific to Tibet.

The question arises whether we find some terminological allusions to the term tul (*sprul*) in old Tibetan texts little influenced by Buddhism. And the answer is yes.

When going through the Dunhuang documents, frequently we find the connection of mythical Tibetan kings or nobles with their characteristic written down as *'phrul*. This word is close to the "tul" (*sprul*) used in the word "tulku". Besides similar pronunciation of both of these words, their meaning is also related, since in some later texts these are interchangeable (cf. also the term *rnam 'phrul* as rendering of the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit term *vikurvaṇa*[6] and designating the ability to assume various forms).

A well known example is manuscript PT 1287 (Old Tibetan Chronicle). In the story of mythical king Digum Tsenpo the following sentence appears (cf. OTDO, PT 1287, line 7):[7]

He was unlike people, he was son of *lde*, he possessed great gifts and *'phrul*, such as truly going to heaven.

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5) His hagiographies say that he was born to a family of "emperors" (*btsad po/ btsan po*) of *U* family (or *U ri*) in the area near Derge (Dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba 2003, pp. 881–2; Mkha' spyod dbang po, fol. 4b; Roerih, p. 485, Tshal pa kun dga' rdo rje 1993, p. 87). The orthography used in Red Annals surprisingly has *btsan po'i bu'i rigs su*, i.e. instead of U as a name of a particular family "son" – *bu* appears in the text. But in this context one would expect rather polite expression *sras*. Cf. Manson 2010.

6) Cf. the correct Sanskrit form is *vikurvāṇa*. Tibetan sources consistently follow the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit version and use the form *vikurvaṇa* (see Dmu dge bsam gtan 1996, p.608; for a note on the occurrence of this Sanskrit term in Tibetan sources see also Jenkins 2010, p. 72, n. 2).

7) Tib.: lde sras myI'i myi tshul te/ mngon bar dgung du gshegs pa la stsogs pa 'phrul dang byIn ched po mnga' bas/.

Further in the text the same word characterizes his miraculous weapons. It is said (cf. OTDO, 1287, lines 12–13):[8]

He possessed miraculous (*'phrul*) treasures.

Another example from the same manuscript might be the verses concerning king Dusong Mangpoje, which might be rendered (cf. OTDO, PT1287, line 488–9):[9]

Dusong, oh yes, Mangpoje,
His body, oh yes, possesses *'phrul*.

The term *'phrul* appears frequently as a characteristic of old Tibetan kings and ministers and even from the few examples given here it might be apparent that it is some quality or power related to the heavens.

The rendering of this term poses problems and there is no agreement among scholars about how this term should be understood.[10] Opinions vary and it can be noted that there is, of course, the likelihood that not all the surviving Dunhuang documents understood the expression in the unified manner. To briefly recapitulate some of the discussion, we should start with McDonald, who coined the translation "magic", which was, however, well specified as supernatural power, ability to move between heaven and earth, in some cases connected with physical strength, royal power and ability to subjugate neighbouring countries (McDonald 1971).

R. Stein sought to understand the term through the similar characteristics of Chinese emperors given by the Chinese expression *sheng*. When rendering it, Stein used expressions such as "supernatural power", "magic" and "wisdom". But the last understanding as "wisdom" was the one most often coined by him (Stein 1981).

H. Richardson took seriously the argumentation of both scholars and when translating the term *'phrul*, he frequently used "supernaturally wise" (Richardson 1985, p. 171).

It was then D. Snellgrove who in his brief note argued that the Chinese parallel does not seem to be relevant for the Tibetan meaning, which is evidently connected with the indigenous myth of the divine origin of the kings (Snellgrove 1987, p. 381, n. 2).

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8) Tib.: 'phrul gyi dkor ched po mnga' ba.
9) Tib.: 'dus srong ni mang po rje/ sku la ni 'phrul yang mnga'.
10) For a good recent summary see Shen-yu Lin 2007, p. 110. The term *'phrul* and various opinions of scholars is also dealt with in Walter 2009, p. 155. Another summary is given in Richardson 1985, p. 39, note 2.

It can be concluded that the arguments given already by McDonald seem to be the most convincing and their validity remains. While there indeed could be some inspiration from China, as suggested by Stein, one can agree with Snellgrove that the understanding of the term was linked to the Tibetan myths. There would probably be consensus that it meant some power or ability specific to rulers (kings or nobility) connected with their heavenly and divine origin.

One can perhaps replace the rather vague rendering of it as "magic" used by McDonald. It seems that "miraculous" or "miraculous power" would fit better. We can simply assume that since the divine weapons characterized by *ʼphrul,* in the extract above, are seen among the humans as "miraculous", so by analogy would it be where the power of the king was concerned.

It is thus possible to observe this additional aspect of the rise of lineages based on reincarnation in Tibet.[11] It is an understanding definitely differing from Indic inspirations. It is, however, understandable that ideas of "emanation" of boddhisattva, who was seen as universal ruler, would not clash very much with these older ideas and would easily merge with them. The translation of the important Buddhist concept of *nirmāṇakāya* as *sprul sku* and the creation of a ruling class from the persons labelled by this term might also be viewed as an attempt to partially restore the power of the old Tibetan kings, yet under totally different circumstances. This also explains why the common believers still call their reincarnated masters "deity" (*lha*) in colloquial language and apparently worship them for the power they possess. The power they exhibit is very clearly seen even these days in the dealings of reincarnated masters with the local deities of lay people. The reincarnated masters possess the power to instruct them and to tame them. Thus the rendering of *sprul sku* as "miraculously manifested body" in this text should take into account the background described in this chapter. The "miraculously manifested body" implicates at the same time access to "miraculous power".

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11) Only during finalizing work on this article did I learn that a similar idea had already been expressed by Hugh Richardson in 1964, when writing in connection with *ʼphrul* that it "foreshadows the practice of reincarnated Lamas – *sprul paʼi sku* – so popular in Tibetan Buddhism from the 12th century onwards" (Richardson 1964, p. 12).

4. Some early cases of "miraculously manifested bodies" in Tibet

According to the article by Leonard van der Kuijp, brief notes left on few early cases of "miraculously manifested bodies" appear (van der Kuijp 2005). After dealing with Domton and Atīśa who were considered to be "miraculous manifestations" of Avalokiteśvara and have already been mentioned above, he refers to a sentence left about two Indian masters who were considered to be "miraculously manifested bodies" (*sprul sku*) in the Tibetan text.[12] Not very detailed information, on the identification of Chokyi Gyalpo (Chos kyi rgyal po) as a reincarnation of master Nagtsho (Nag tsho) among Kadampas as early as in the second half of 12th century, follows.[13] Slightly more explicit information is available in the literature about the next case, mentioned also by van der Kuijp.

It concerns once again the Kadampa master Jayulpa Chenpo (Bya yul pa chen po, 1075–1138) known also by the name Zhonu Wo (Gzhon nu 'od). He was considered to be a "miraculously manifested body". In the light of the preceding chapter on the miraculous power of the Tibetan kings, it is worth providing the relevant part of his brief hagiographies in translation (Las chen kun dga' rgyal mtshan 2003, p. 339; Ye shes rgyal mtshan 1990, pp. 283–4):[14]

[Jayulpa] said: "I will perform the consecration ritual from above that small chamber"[15] And as everybody could see there, the consecration barley fell from above on the temple and stūpa. He then became renowned as a 'miraculously manifested body'. He exposed Teaching to many non-humans….

As is seen from the extract, he became renowned as a "miraculously manifested body" for the ability to perform miracles and communication with non-humans is somehow assumed to be part of such skill. This extraordinary master is at one point in his hagiography shown as complaining that most of the Kadampa masters do not know tantric teachings (lit. mantras, Las chen kun dga' rgyal mtshan 2003, p. 338) and from the context it is seen that the

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12) It appears in the brief authobiographical text of Khro phu lo tsā ba byams pa dpal (1173–1225), where Indian masters Mitrayogi and Vikhyatadeva are explicitly mentioned as tulkus (Khro phu lo tsā ba byams pa dpal, fol. 6b, 7b, 12a).

13) I have not yet been able to find texts mentioning this master as a reincarnation.

14) The Tibetan text reads: gzim chung di'i steng nas rab gnas byed pa yin gsung te/ kun gyis mthong sar gtsug lag khang dang mchod rten gyi steng du phyag nas babs pas/ de nas sprul pa'i sku grags/ mi ma yin mang po la chos gsungs pa dang/.

15) Bka' gdams chos 'byung (Las chen kun dga' rgyal mtshan 2003) contains "gzigs chung" instead of "gzim chung" in the Lam rim (Ye shes rgyal mtshan 1990).

"miraculously manifested body", understood also as "the body producing miracles", was intimately bound up with them in his case.

The idea of a "miraculously manifested body" revolves around this master Jayulpa and the monastery Jayul he founded. Among his numerous disciples a certain Gyergom Chenpo (Dgyer sgom chen po/ Dgyer gzhon nu grags pa, 1090–1171) was valued as one of the closest. He describes how Jayulpa identified him in his young age as his own master from a previous life and offered him his hat as a sign of respect (Las chen kun dga' rgyal mtshan 2003, p. 247). Then, another master living after his passing away is somehow considered to be his "miraculously manifested body". The man under focus is Sangye Tonpa (Sangs rgyas ston pa btson grus, 1252?/1263–1326)[16] and the narration about him as a "miraculously manifested body" reveals some of the ideas connected with him, i.e. using the rather experimental play with these concepts at that time (Las chen kun dga' rgyal mtshan 2003, p.382):[17]

He asserted that he was a 'miraculous manifestation' of Jayulpa Chenpo. Yet, once with distracted mind he said that he is a [new] birth of Dao Zhonnu and that there is no contradiction in this. He asserted that while meditating upon the precious buddha he actually produced the real nature of the natural mind devoid of all extremes.

From these lines it is apparent that the "miraculous manifestation" of the previous master is a part of the vision of himself. As based on the vision, the assessment remains very general one and does not differ much in its nature from the statements about one's identity as buddha or bodhisattva that is frequent even in India. The difference seems to lie in the fact that the "miraculous manifestation" is of some previous masters.

There were more later cases of "miraculous manifestations" connected with the monastery of Jayul.[18] It appears as the early centre of speculations about "miraculously manifested bodies" and the text from time to time speaks about specific "Jayul teaching" (*bya chos*) which was taught there. It will be clear,

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16) The first date of his birth is suggested in accordance with the Bka' gdams chos 'byung (water-mouse year of his birth, Las chen kun dga' rgyal mtshan 2003). The next is following the TBRC.

17) The Tibetan text reads: bya yul ba chen po'i sprul pa yin par zhal gyis bzhes/ yang lan gcig thugs yengs pa cig la zla 'od gzhon nu'i skye ba yin byas kyang 'gal ba med gsungs/ rin po che sangs rgyas sgom pa bzhin du gnyug ma sems kyi chos nyid mtha' thams cad dang bral ba mngon sum du byas par zhal gyis bzhes/.

18) The other case concerns the master Tshulthim Gonpo (Tshul khrims mgon po, 1291–1363/5 according to TBRC), but it happened after the reincarnation of Karma Pakshi into Rangjung Dorje. See Las chen kun dga' rgyal mtshan 2003, pp. 387–9.

however, even from the extracts, that these cases somehow differed from those surrounding Kagyupa masters.

Before moving to the closer surroundings of Kagyupa masters, further points should be made concerning the masters of Nyingma and Bon traditions, among whom the ideas of "miraculous manifestation" seem to be a frequent topic at the time. It seems to me that these masters represent a much stronger drive towards tangible outcomes of various abstract ideas than the early Kadampas did and were definitely much more preoccupied with tantric practices. Perhaps the speculations among early Kadampas combined with the slightly difference approach of Nyimgma and Bonpo masters found its result among Kagyupa masters in the form of the established lineage of reincarnated masters.

The allusions to "miraculous manifestations" are to be found among the tradition of "treasure revelations" of these two sects. To mention one example from among the early "treasure revealers", consider "Old sect" Guru Chowang (Guru Chos dbang, 1212–1270) who must be taken into account here in relation to the emergence of "miraculously manifested bodies". One of his works bears the title Maṇi Kabum Chenmo (Gu ru chos dbang 1979a), but it should not be confused with the already mentioned well known Maṇi Kabum. It contains instructions and commentaries on Avalokiteśvara written by him. His life and skill in combining various ideas might serve as an example showing that the circumstances were already ripe for establishing the lineages of "miraculously manifested bodies" in his lifetime. In his autobiography the author calls himself then "miraculously manifested body" of Padmasambhava, then as that of Thisong Deutsen and later also that of Avalokiteśvara. He says that his present embodiment is the seventeenth in the series (Gu ru chos dbang 1979b, fol. 1b-2a).

As an example of Bonpo "treasure revealers", master Ponse Khyung Gotsal (born 1175) could be mentioned. In his autobiography his visionary meeting with Denpa Namkha is described as well as his remembering previous lives and that he was considered to be a "miraculous manifestation" of Denpa Namkha (Dpon gsas khyung rgod rtsal 1972).

Another less known example of preoccupation with "miraculous manifestations" and abilities of remembering past lives among Bonpo "treasure revealers" is the case of the enigmatic and not well known Amdowa master Kyangphag (Skyang 'phags, living probably in the 11th-12th centuries). His surviving autobiography is a long list of his previous lives and when it comes to his actual life described in the first person, it is full of descriptions of his "miraculous transformations" (*sprul*, *'phrul*), mostly into the beasts of prey, and visionary experiences (Skyang 'phags).

These texts, with their stress on visions, dealings with local deities, and fascination with "miraculous transformations", share some features in common with the early biography of the second Karmapa known as Karma Pakshi (Mkha' spyod dbang po, also cf. Manson 2010) albeit in the case of Bonpo masters with a lack of ruling ambition. It seems that by that time the assignment to rule was already connected with Avalokiteśvara as universal monarch and his relation to the Songtsen Gampo.

But before approaching Kagyupa masters with two examples of persons who are mentioned in the hagiographical literature of the 13th century as "miraculously manifested bodies", some remarks on the difference between the above-mentioned cases and those following might be given. The examples presented above, in which some circumstances in which some master is considered to be "tulku" are described, reveal that it was based either on his visions or on some miraculous deed. As such, it was simply matter of belief in the given master, who was also often himself the source of it. In the following examples it will be seen that some new features appear in the accounts. In the first case an unusual ability of a small child is mentioned as a decisive reason for calling him a "miraculously manifested body" and in the second case the prediction about the next place of birth is given, implying that the person is capable of transferring into a new body for his next life. Albeit not expressed in much detail, these are new elements. Such new elements will be much better articulated in the case of the birth of Rangjung Dorje. These elements remain to be crucial in the process of recognition of reincarnations even these days.

The first of the Kagyupa masters is the person known usually as Tulku Yanggonpa (Sprul sku yang dgon pa 1213–1258; cf. Roerich 1996, pp. 688–9; Rnal 'byor pa sangs rgyas dar po 1993, pp. 210–1, 219; Cuevas 2003, p. 46). As has been seen already from his name, he was considered to be a "miraculously manifested body", but sources known to me do not make clear of whom, and one must thus think that perhaps this was not of primary importance in his case and time. It is explained that after his birth he displayed signs of an extraordinary inclination towards dharma. His father was a yogi of the Old sect. Before his father died at the age of 75 years, he proclaimed his small son to be a "miraculously manifested body". At the age of five years this extraordinary child is reported to have recognized certain yogi travelling through the area, a fact that was unknown to the local people. For these extraordinary abilities his countrymen then started to call him "tulku". The brief notes left in the literature (Roerich 1996, 688–9) seem to show that he was simply regarded as the emanation body of some unidentified Buddha. And it is worth noting

that this "tulku" did not create any particular lineage. He was considered to be "tulku" through his extraordinary abilities as a small child. This constitutes a pattern which we will see also in later examples.

The second case of a "miraculously manifested body" concerns the teacher of the above-mentioned master. His name was Gotshangpa Gompo Dorje (Rgod tshang pa mgon po rdo rje, 1189–1258). The sources mentioning his reincarnation are hagiographies of himself and his disciple Urgyenpa (U rgyan pa rin chen dpal), both composed in the 13th century. His own hagiography introduces him as an impressive and humble master with deep interest in meditation experiences in solitary places.

When during his life he approached his reincarnation, he is described as uttering a prophecy concerning his future rebirths (Rnal 'byor pa sangs rgyas dar po 1993, 258; Rgyal thang ba bde chen rdo rje 1993, p. 415). At the request of his disciples, he reveals that he will be born as the son of a tantric practitioner from Ü-Tsang. Yet in the next lives following his human existence, he predicted that he would be born in the Buddha field.

It is then reported that after his passing away, his "tulku" was found in the Nyedo (Snye mdo) monastery. He was born there in 1258 (the same year as Gotshangpa's passing away). The name of his new body is given in the sources either as Nyedo Kunga Zangpo or Kunga Wozer (Snye mdo kun dga' bzang po, Kun dga' 'od zer, 1258–1316).[19] The literature of the 13th century only confirms that he was considered to be a "tulku" of Gotshangpa at that time.[20]

The first example has shown that the "miraculously manifested body" was recognized through the abilities of a small child. In Gotshangpa's story it was a conscious reincarnation into a new body after his passing away. We can only assume in this case that it was facilitated by means of the teachings of "projection of consciousness" (*'pho ba*) and "intermediate state" (*bar do*), which are among the most discussed by Kagyupa masters. It perhaps represents precedents which were necessary for the creation of trustworthy lineages

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19) He was born the son of a yogi; a master of Kagyupa (Bka' rgyud pa) and Nyingmapa (Rnying ma pa) teachings from Nyedo (Snye mdo). His father was called "The Omniscient One from Nyedo" (*snye mdo thams cad mkhyen pa*) because of his excellent memory, but his proper name was Sonam Pel (Bsod nams dpal, 1217–1277).

20) It is said (but probably in later sources) that until the age of six he repeatedly stated that he is Gotshangpa (Ko zhul grags pa 'byung gnas, Rgyal ba blo bzang mkhas grub 1992, 695–6), but this might well be a later addition. There is a lack of detailed information on the process of recognition of him as a tulku of Gotshangpa. It is probable that an official process of recognition did not take place in this case and he won his status of *sprul sku* through the belief of the local people, which was then somehow approved by the accomplished Buddhist master.

based on a series of reincarnations. One of the main reasons why he is not mentioned in the Tibetan sources dealing with beginnings of "tulkus" seems to be the fact that they did not establish any particular lineage only once appearing among humans as "tulku".

This section might serve as a prelude to the dramatic description of the process of reincarnation of Karma Pakshi (1204–1283). It shows the development of some not very elaborate cases of "tulkus" among Kadampa, Nyingma, Bonpo and Kagyupa masters. Yet before coming to the rebirth of Karma Pakshi, a certain individual who provides a link between him and the last two occurrences of "miraculously manifested bodies" mentioned above should be mentioned first.

This important master is known mostly as Urgyenpa Rinchenpel (U rgyan pa rin chen dpal, 1229/30–1309).[21] He met with the above-mentioned Gotshangpa in his 23rd year and received the vows of lay practitioner from him and was very devoted to his teacher. Some sources say that he had a vision of the rebirth of his master Gotshangpa on the way from India to Tibet (Dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba 2003, p. 915). In his hagiography only a meeting with his reborn master is described and does not indicate any trace of his possible role in the recognition of him (Bsod nams 'od zer 1997, pp. 202, 212). Yet it is the very same person, who a few years later recognized the Third Karmapa Rangjung Dorje as the "new existence" of Karma Pakshi. And he is also the person who is in Tibetan sources mentioned as "guiding the rebirth" of Karma Pakshi.

5. Rangjung Dorje's primacy

After the two brief references to "miraculously manifested bodies" appearing as Kagyupa masters in 1213 and 1258, we turn to the year 1283. This is a year when, according to the Tibetan sources, the dramatic travel of Karma Pakshi's consciousness into the next body resulted in his new birth.

When dealing with "tulkus", Tibetans sometimes mention only generally that they first appear in the lineage of Karmapas and from such a perspective it sometimes follows that the whole lineage, starting with the first Karmapa Dusum Khyenpa (Dus gsum mkhyen pa, 1110–1193), was carried by means of "tulku". But when one attempts to take a closer look at the circumstances of choosing Karma Pakshi (1204–1283) as the successor to Dusum Khyenpa,

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21) On some aspects of his life see van der Kuijp 2004.

it becomes apparent that the crucial term "tulku" is not much used. Some notes on *sprul*, i.e. "miraculous manifestation" of Dusum Khyenpa appear, but these are of a general nature, are left in his hagiographies, and definitely do not go beyond the earlier cases mentioned in the previous chapter. When the texts deal with Karma Paskhi's recognition as a successor of Dusum Khyenpa, they say that it was based on the vision of the masters of the particular lineage experienced by his teacher.[22] Sources call him *las can*, i.e. "destined person" or "one with karmic link" in the moment of recognition of him as a successor of Dusum Khyenpa, not "tulku" (cf. Dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba 2003, p. 882 etc.).[23]

When a different perspective is applied in the Tibetan texts to the question "who was the first reincarnation", the frequent answer is that it was the Third Karmapa Rangjung Dorje. Critical Tibetan authors distinguish the very vague statement about Karma Pakshi's status of being a "miraculous manifestation" of Dusum Khenpa from the detailed procedure of recognition of Rangjung Dorje as the "new existence" of Karma Pakshi. The text of the 4th reincarnation of Jamyang Zhepa (1856–1916) from Labrang monastery in Amdo can serve as example. It contains the notable criticism of the boom of "miraculously manifested bodies" in his lifetime. He was only one among many masters criticizing this widespread and rather careless tradition. For reincarnated

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22) Sources say that young Karma Pakshi met with his teacher Pongdagpa (Rje spong brag pa) and his teacher experienced a clear vision of numerous lineage masters including Dusum Khyenpa gathered together. And they showed that he is the "destined person" or "one with karmic connection" (*las can*, see Dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba 2003, p. 882; Mkha' spyod dbang po, fol. 5a). There is also an unusual gap of some ten years between the Dusum Khyenpa's passing away and the birth of Karma Pakshi. It makes it then strange to consider Karma Pakshi as his direct successor. Yet there is indeed a separate tradition represented by the 14th century chronicle "Red Annals" (Deb ther dmar po), which unlike the hagiography of Karma Pakshi and the chronicle "Feast of Scholars" develops the story with the use of the "tulku" concept (Tshal pa kun dga' rdo rje 1993, p. 87). According to this source, Dusum Khyenpa was born in India as a disciple of siddha Mitrajogi and only ten years later was born in the body of Karma Pakshi. But it is not elaborated and in its nature it does not differ from the early visionary accounts to be found in all sects of Tibetan Buddhism including Bonpos. In the hagiography of Karma Pakshi a vision of his is described, in which he recognizes himself as a "partial emanation" (*rnam 'phrul cha gcig*). The incriminating passage in question reads: "It appeared to him that Karmapa, the widely renowned name, is not separate from Dusum Khyenpa and that he is a partial emanation of him" (dus gsum mkhyen pa dang/ ming yongs su grags pa karma pa tha dad med pa'i rnam 'phrul cha gcig yin par snang, Mkha' spyod dbang po, fol. 8b), but still it is based solely on one of his numerous visions .

23) Ch. Manson points out that in the autobiography of Karma Pakshi, the expression *las 'phro* is used, unlike the later sources (Manson 2010, 32), but the sense does not differ much.

masters he uses the term "swiftly arriving miraculously manifested body", but he distinguishes apparently between the genuine ones starting with Rangjung Dorje and the false ones (Skal bzang thub bstan dbang phyug, fol. 122a-b):[24]

No so called "miraculously manifested bodies" were either in India or in Tibet in the past. If they would exist, why were the Indian siddhas and father [Tsongkhapa] with his sons [i.e. disciples] not among them?

We examine many children for them and through various means we give to each of them the title "miraculously manifested body". But apart from [accepting them as such] through faith and vision, [the process] is very problematic. Starting from those whom even their parents have to teach [mantra *Oṃ*] *maṇi* [*padme hūṃ*], up to those who have forgotten *maṇi*, where did such "miraculously manifested bodies" come into existence? Where were the so-called "swiftly arriving miraculously manifested bodies" in the past? There was nothing of the kind.

The first Tibetan "miraculously manifested body" was Rangjung Dorje. At the time in the past when he was born, all were astonished that he was reciting many verses from sūtras from memory. When asked about this, he explained: "The reason is that in the past I have recited many sūtras from India and China." This is thus the earliest appearance of a "miraculously manifested body". Then gradually two divisions of Kar[mapas] and Zha[marpas], the black and red heads, miraculously appeared. Then the sixth Karmapa and others appeared. Within the "Virtuous sect" the earliest "miraculously manifested body" is that of Gendun Gyatsho as a "repeated miraculous manifestation" of Gendun Dub. The miraculous signs of his [re]birth were many and are clear from [his] hagiography.

As shown in the quotations above, there were many people who claimed to be the "miraculously manifested body" of some bodhisattvas or religious heroes of the past. We can thus see that the first lineage of "miraculously manifested bodies" did not appear out of the blue but was part of a certain process. What distinguishes the case of Karma Pakshi's reincarnation is the rather elaborate

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24) For other criticism of the rather careless recognition of "miraculously manifested bodies," see the concluding part of the book "Tibetan tulku" (Bla brang bskal bzang 1997, pp. 158–181). The author as a scholar from the surroundings of Gelugpa gives extracts from the texts of Gelugpa masters as the Fifth Dalai Lama, Cangkya Rolpay Dorje, Thukwan Choekyi Nyima and Tsheten Zhabdung.

The translated Tibetan text reads: sngon rgya bod kun la yang sprul sku zer ba med/ yod na rgya gar grub chen de rnams dang/ rje yab sras la ci'i phyir med/ nga rang tshos byis pa mang po 'di tsho la brtags pa byas/ thabs sna tshogs kyi sgo nas byis pa re la/ sprul sku'i ming re btags pa la/ dad pa dang dag snang byas pa ma gtogs dka' rgyu red/ tha na pha mas ma ṇi tshun chad slob dgos la/ ma mtha' ma ṇi brjed 'gro ba'i sprul sku ga la srid/ sprul sku myur byon zer ba 'di sngon ga la yod/ 'di tsho na yang med/ bod kyi sprul sku'i thog ma kar ma rang byung rdo rje red/ de sngon 'khrungs dus mdo tshig mang bo blo nas bton pa la kun ya mtshan nas/ dris pas/ ngas sngon rgya dkar nag nas mdo mang bo bton pa'i rgyu mtshan gyis red ces bshad sprul sku'i thog ma de nas byung/ de nas rim gyi kar zhwa gnyis kyi nang tshan zhwa dmar nag gnyis la sprul sku byung ba ya mtshan pa yin/ de nas kar ma drug pa sog byung/ dge lugs pa la paṇ chen dge 'dun grub kyi yang sprul du rgyal ba dge 'dun rgya mtsho sprul sku'i thog ma yin skyes rtags ya mtshan pa mang bo yod pa rnam thar na gsal ba de red/.

ways of recognizing his new existence based on his remembering details from a previous life. This was at the same time combined with skilful use of tantric teachings making it possible to develop three bodies of the Buddha (the text later mentions the ritual texts *sku gsum ngo sprod*)[25] and then the transference of consciousness (*'pho ba*) through an "intermediate state" (bar do, referring thus to the "Six yogas of Naropa"). Such more articulated case of Karma Pakshi's reincarnation led Tibetan masters themselves to consider this case as the first recognition of the "miraculously manifested body" of the previous master in Tibet. It is also important that in this case the first lineage based on recognition of "miraculously manifested bodies" was established. This was the lineage which continues up to the present time.

6. The drama of Karma Pakshi's reincarnation

The story of the consciousness of the deceased body of Karma Pakshi travelling into another body of a baby later named Rangjung Dorje has survived in the chronicles "Feast of Scholars", "Red Annals" and a brief version of the story which is narrated in the chronicle "Blue Annals".[26] It was later repeated in the hagiographies of Kagyupa masters.[27] The only accessible text in English from among these sources is the translation of Blue Annals (Roerich 1996), but the accounts are rather abbreviated there. The most detailed is the version in the "Feast of Scholars", but at the same time the Red Annals gives more details on some events. The fact that it is the oldest of these sources somehow privileges it. In some passages these chronicles make use of the hagiography of an already-mentioned siddha Urgyenpa, who is said to have "led" (*'dren*) Karma Pakshi to his new body.

Neither the life of Karma Pakshi, nor that of Rangjung Dorje will be the subject of discussion here. One reason is that some brief summaries of their lives already exist[28] and the second reason is that to deal with these two per-

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25) These texts are ritual manuals on visualisation of the triple Buddha bodies, cf. Rang byung rdo rje 2006b.
26) Dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba 2003; 1980; Tshal pa kun dga' rdo rje 1993; Roerich 1996.
27) The version used in "Golden Girland" from the 18th century repeats almost the same words of "Feast of Scholars" (Si tu chos kyi 'byung gnas 2005, pp. 345–360) and the modern text on Tshurphu monastery (Rin chen dpal bzang 1995, pp. 366–7) provides an abbreviation of the same text.
28) For the life of Karma Pakshi see as a brief reference Douglas, White 1976. For the political aspect of the emergence of Karmapas see Richardson 1958, 1959. For a careful rendering of the most important events from his life based on a variety of Tibetan sources see Manson 2010.

sonalities of Tibetan history is a rather hazardous project. The problem does not lie in the lack of sources, but in their strongly visionary nature.

Before summarizing the core of the story, one should note briefly the confusion concerning the names of Karma Pakshi and Rangjung Dorje. The most common name of the first, used in the early biographies of him, is "Karmapa, the widely renown name" (*ming yongs su grags pa'i karma pa*). In his hagiography, the name "Karma Pakshi" is used only when he appears in the Mongolian court. He is here among other Pakshis, which is a polite Mongolian title. When his effort to propagate Avalokiteśvara's mantra is mentioned, he is called Karma Maṇipa. His "secret name" (*gsang mtshan*) is "Rangjung Dorje" (Rang 'byung rdo rje, "Self-arisen vajra") and it is used in his hagiography solely in the context of tantric practices. Thus it is hard to distinguish it from the name of his successor, who was intentionally named in an identical manner as Rangjung Dorje (see also Kapstein 2000, pp. 98–9).

The story of his reincarnation starts with the meeting of the Urgyenpa in Tshurphu (Bsod nams 'od zer 1997, pp. 199–200; Dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba 2003, 910) not long before his passing away. At that time Karma Pakshi gave Urgyenpa his black hat (in some sources also a volume of a book) and asked him to protect him during his next birth. Urgyenpa is also renowned for "guiding" his rebirth. This probably did not happen by chance, because Urgyenpa's hagiography contains several pages devoted to a description of his abilities to perform funeral rituals (Bsod nams 'od zer 1997, 267–273) and he is also described as reputed for "seeing beings in an intermediate state". And it is thus clear that he was praised for such skills (Bsod nams 'od zer 1997, pp. 199–200):[29]

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29) A bit different reading appears in the "Feast of Scholars" (Dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba 2003, p. 910). In the following Tibetan text the suggested correct reading in round brackets was already provided by the editor of the published text, the square brackets are mine: nyid kyi dbu la bsnams (mnabs) pa'i dar gyi zhwa nag de/ rje grub chen rin po che'i dbu la dkon (skon)/ spyan ras gzigs rgyal ba rgya mtsho'i dbang mdzad pa yin gsungs nas/ ka gtor (to) ra nas kyis bkang ba/ lcags [lcag] gis (kyis) dkrugs nas/ dbu tog tu bzhag nas phyag lcag dang bcas pa phyag tu btad (gtad)/ khyed kyi rgyud pa 'di la zhwa nag gon pa du mchi zhes zhus pas/ gya ba gangs pa'i gyu ba byas/ de'i skye mched la brten nas zhwa nag po can gyi rgyud pa bcad/ 'on kyang nyi ma la stod kyi phyogs nas/ zhwa nag po gyon pa zhig 'ongs pa yin gsungs/ sku gsum ngo sprod mdzad nas thugs hur mdzad nas 'di gsungs/ 'o skol gnyis skye ba du ma'i dpon slob yin/ nga'i mgo 'don yang khyed kyis byed dgos/ khyed kyi gdul bya nyi ma lho rgyud na yod pas/ der nga'i rgyal ba rgya mtsho dang/ snying po yi ge drug pa dang/ sku gsum ngo sprod kyi 'gro don mdzad do/ dge bsnyen rdo rje rgyal po u rgyan pa'i phrin las bsgrub cig (sgrubs shig) ces pa yang yang gsungs/ de'i dus su rje grub chen rin po che'i thugs dgongs la/ nga'i mgo 'don khyed kyis byed dgos gsungs pa 'di/ ci la dgongs pa yin snyam pa byung

The silk black hat worn by [Karmapa] on his own head he himself put on the head of Precious Mahāsiddha [Urgyenpa]. Performing and pronouncing the empowerment of Avalokiteśvara-Gyalwa Gyatsho, he stirred the barley inside the metal bowl with a rod and placed it on the top of his head. He passed it together with the rod into his hands saying: "You came inside this lineage of those wearing a black hat. The melted snow paid homage (?). Relying on his sensual spheres [it would seem that] the lineage of those wearing black hat will be interrupted. But, from the sunny direction of Lato, the one wearing the black hat will come." With an excited mind he said the following while performing the [ritual] of "Introduction into the three [Buddha] bodies": "We two were teachers and disciples during many lives. Yet, [now] you have to protect me. You have your disciple in the sunny southern direction. He will work for the benefit of being with my Gyalwa Gyatsho, six-syllable heart mantra and 'Introduction to the three [Buddha] bodies'. Let virtuous deeds of *upāsaka*, The Lord of *Vajra* Urgyenpa be accomplished!" This he repeatedly said. At that moment Precious *Mahāsiddha* [Urgyenpa] thought in his heart and pronounced: "When you said 'you have to protect me', a feeling arose in me about what you thought. Thief-dogs know how to eat the nice portion provided by the placenta. When the disciples of siddha Urgyenpa who say unpleasant things are not able to eat the placenta as food, they would accompany the dog."

In these lines the text describes the passing of the black hat onto the Urgyenpa. He then carries out the empowerment of Gyalwa Gyatsho, taken here apparently as a form of Avalokiteśvara. Then he is blessed by "personal barley" (*phyag nas*), when Karmapa stirs the barley in the bowl with a rod (the Feast of Scholars specifies it as "Gyalwa Gyatsho's bamboo rod"), places it on the crown of his head and then passes it into Urgyenpa's hands. The placenta and dog's parable given by Urgyenpa reflects the fact that the environment of the two masters was probably full of plots and it might be assumed that the story concerned the large property owned by Karma Pakshi and his ambition to achieve religious and political leadership.

When dealing with events in the "intermediate state" (*bar do*), all of the above mentioned chronicles make use of a textual source called "Hagiography of the Intermediate State" (Rnam thar bar do ma). The chronicle "Feast of Scholars" provides interesting details about the origin of this text. It is explained that a small child, who was only later recognized as Karmapa Rangjung Dorje, remembered many events from an intermediate state. He narrated these events, probably at the age of four years, to master Serkhangpa (Gser khang steng pa kun dga' rgyal mtshan, 1223–1292, from Tshal gung thang), who wrote them down (Dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba 2003, p. 925):

Once the mind of being hungry and thirsty came to the father [of Rangjung Dorje] and he said: "We will go to the village which you can see over there." When they arrived there, his parents had good times in laughter and pleasure. His father was very happy and being drunk with chang he

gsungs/ rgyugs bzang po gnang ba'i sha mar/ khyi rkun gyis zos pa mkhyen nas/ grub thob u rgyan pa'i slob ma kha 'kyags tsho/ sha mar zo za mi nus na khyi la skyol [skyel] gsungs/.

[said] that Precious Karmapa has arrived. Then the rumour spread to every market place and [people] presented him with offerings large as a mountain. Everybody was asking for dharma and blessings. And particularly Serkhangpa, master-bodhisattva of all spiritual friends of La stod, arrived there and, presiding there, asked [Karmapa] detailed questions. Thus the "Hagiography of the Intermediate State" was spoken and he wrote it down in letters and so he bowed to the feet [of Karmapa].

It is not clear whether some copy of the "Hagiography of Intermediate State" is still extant. If so, I am not aware of it.[30] But large sections of this text are used in the chronicle "Feast of the Scholars" which can be also compared with the shorter version of the "Red Annals". Crucial passages concerning events in the "intermediate state" will be translated here (Dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba 2003, pp. 918–928):

The following will be explained partly with the use of "Hagiography of the Intermediate State". At the very moment of his passing away from misery, his bodily arrangement appeared immediately in the Tuṣita and all the abodes of gods. He was offered endless "clouds of offerings", but it was as if he were slightly distracted by it. Eight days passed and then he suddenly, beholding his sons-disciples with great compassion, decided to enter back into his bodily remains, and arrived there. His bodily remains were "purified" (i.e. burnt). He saw the country filled with weeping and it was as if he lost his senses in a state of compassion. He thought: "Now, for the sake of beings, I should perform the 'entering residence' ritual (*grong 'jug*)." He saw that in Tolung Phartshang (Stod lung phar tshang) there is an old man and woman. A corpse of a boy some thirteen years old was laid between them and they were crying. He settled into that corpse. As he started to stare with his eyes, [one of the parents] said: "It is bad omen that a dead one is looking at the living ones". They threw ash on him and pierced his eye with a needle. [Karmapa then thought] that without an eye he would not be able to benefit beings and withdrew [from the body].

   Again, he searched for a [suitable corpse] everywhere, but except for a worm carried by a pigeon outside the house to the north[31] he found none. He learnt that the time for bringing benefit to the beings had not come and he settled into one-pointed concentration on the absolute equality of the sphere of dharma and abode of all Buddhas. At that time 25 beautiful ladies prostrated themselves in front of him and said: "We pray to the lord of compassion not to settle into a state of peace and to take the human body endowed with pure love. We pray him to be parent of tormented beings. We pray him to take the victorious banner of the Teaching of Buddhas!" He thought that these appearances were his own illusion, and he stayed there [trying to] destroy them, but he heard the prayers again and again.

The perhaps surprising usage of ritual allowing transfer of consciousness into the corpse will be dealt with later on. A slightly different version is given by the chronicle Red Annals (see Appendix I in the part II).

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30) In the recently published "Collected works of Rangjung Dorje" there appears a list of works missing there. Among them appears "Teaching of hagiography in the intermediate state" (Bar do'i rnam thar pa bstan pa), which could be the same text (TBRC W30541).

31) The text reads *byang phyi gong na*, but Red Annals contains *byang phyi khang na* which I follow in this translation.

The text continues with lengthy a dialogue following the list of *ḍākinī*s, i.e. the above-mentioned 25 ladies, and other female deities. It is then described how all worldly beings from the intermediate space (*bar snang*) and below the earth join them in an effort to persuade Karmapa to take birth in a human body. This point is of some importance and one might recollect several moments from the hagiography of Karma Pakshi, where it is said that he had many more non-human disciples than human ones (Mkha' spyod dbang po, fol. 11b). In addition to numerous cases of converting and befriending local deities, it is in one place described how a Nāga prince offered him all the people and cattle belonging to Ü-tsang (Mkha' spyod dbang po, fol. 17a). This might point towards his ruling ambitions, in which local deities traditionally play a crucial role in Tibet. Then the text comes to the decisive moment when Avalokiteśvara, of whom Karma Pakshi is believed to be the "manifestation body", appears on the stage:

Then Mahākāruṇika was moved and said in reply: "There is no free and fortunate human body to take and it is difficult to find a genuine master. In the time of degeneration every womb is greatly defiled. Mindfulness towards the past and future declines and it is difficult to act for the sake of sentient beings. To explain it more deeply, I ask you, worldly protectors (*zhing skyong*), to find parents of noble family, to meet the genuine master and to protect Dharma. I ask you to complete all this with the use of empowerment. I fully bestow 'signs' and blessing [on you]."

As he spoke, the worldly protectors invited Samvara with his consort and arranged the "emanation *maṇḍala*" and bestowed an inconceivable deity-empowerment [on him]…

It is appropriate now to turn our attention towards the speech of Avalokiteśvara (Mahākāruṇika). It might appear unimportant at first glance, but the following narration will show that two circumstances appear to be stressed in the following narration. These are "mindfulness towards the past and future", i.e. ability to recollect the past and to see the future, and the "purity of womb", as "tulku" cannot be born from a defiled womb. "Meeting the genuine master" of the text should be taken as an allusion to the master Urgyenpa.

The text then follows with another dialogue, in which the *ḍākinī*s instruct him concerning the destination, which is at the same time the birth place of Milarepa. It is said that he will travel on the "path of rainbow". The last sentence of these instructions is significant:

[Between] the southern brownish red mountain and the northern mountain of white appearance is the desired redundant (*ma dgos*) vessel of the body.

It is part of the poetry in this text to recall the reddish and white mountain, which resembles the blood of the mother and sperm of the father, into which according to Tibetan ideas about birth the consciousness settles and the

process of birth starts. Only in one word lost in the text is it said that it is the "redundant" or "unneeded" (*ma dgos*) vessel of the body. Later we will see that Rangjung Dorje says that he settled into the body in its fourth month of development. This will probably be the means for avoiding impurity of the womb.

They sang a song and in the intermediate space there appeared an extended rainbow and he was carried away on it. With a feeling of great spectacle he arrived there and easily entered a crystal house with roof windows, above which were pure white and brownish-red lights in the four cardinal points and rainbow colours in the intermediate directions. [*Ḍākinī*s] said that a wave of blood of passion appeared and he saw them escaping. There a resounding voice said: "There are nine heavenly holes and each of them has a ladder. When by climbing one of them [one] were not liberated, [it would be] difficult to ripen the deeds and liberate!" Black darkness appeared and he fainted a bit. With the passing of time his attention was coming back again and the heavy black darkness of condensed space was stifling him. From time to time, as if he would be tossed about by a wave of water, from time to time he felt as if he was being crushed by mountains, from time to time it was as if he was being burned by heat and from time to time as if he was oppressed by freezing cold. There was a great deal of suffering and affliction there. When I recollect it now, a wind still arises in my heart. So it is said in "Hagiography of the Intermediate State".

This section is often written in a condensed style. He travelled by means of a rainbow to his new body, which is described as a "crystal house". The roof windows signify the bodily openings, which are nine in all according to the commentaries on "consciousness transfer" practices (*'pho ba*). The reddish and white lights are again allusions to the blood of the mother and the sperm of the father.

Then a difficult section comes, which mentions a voice saying:

There are nine heavenly holes and each of them has a ladder. When by climbing one of them [one] were not liberated, [it would be] difficult to ripen the deeds and liberate!

The sentence is indeed abbreviated and permits differing interpretations. It probably speaks about the nine bodily openings; the "heavenly hole" might be taken as the "roof window" mentioned in texts on "consciousness transference" rituals. The ladder to each of the openings is a means by which consciousness might leave the body through "projection" of wind (*rlung*, or "vital energy", as it is often translated). The suffering in the womb described here, i.e. crushing by mountains etc., is almost literally taken from Abhidharma literature describing the evolution of the foetus.

Returning to the story in the text, it says that after his miraculous birth he was immediately able to speak and perform many miracles. With the only exception described above, namely when the origin of the text "Hagiography of the Intermediate Space" was dealt with following his drunken father's boastful behavior, he tried not to show outsiders his true identity. After some

visions appeared to Urgyenpa, they eventually met each other. Urgyenpa gave him back his black hat and a book (Red Annals speaks about the hat only). According to "Feast of Scholars" it was Urgyenpa who named him Rangjung Dorje, i.e. following the secret name of previous Karmapa. Red Annals ascribes this naming to the later time of his seventh year and as occurring during his ordination by Kunden Sherab (Kun ldan shes rab). For the purposes of the present paper, it is of interest how he again recollects some events from the intermediate state during the meeting with Urgyenpa, when they calculate that between passing away and birth no more than five months passed. This, among other things, proves that reincarnation was supposed to happen immediately after passing away and the frequent gap of several years between passing away and birth was difficult to explain (Dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba 2003, pp. 926–7):

I settled my consciousness into the body which had been developing for four months after its conception (…)

This sentence might prove that the intention of the story is to describe how he settled into an already established foetus. Together with other extraordinary remembering details from his previous life and the time spent in the womb, it provoked praise from the gathering, stressing his purity "unpolluted by the womb" (Dpa' po gtsug lag phreng ba 2003, p. 927):

Except for the Buddha Śākyamuni in India and you in Tibet, there was no other such birth unpolluted by impurity of womb.

The interesting story on the meeting of Urgyenpa with young Rangjung Dorje, which has until now been believed to be the first precedent for other recognitions of "miraculously manifested bodies", would require too much space here. A translation of the story is appended to the article together with a shorter description of reincarnation, birth and recognition as it appears in the Red Annals (see Appendix I, II in Part II).

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32) In the brackets following the Tibetan titles a very rough rendering of the title is given in some cases, provided for those not versed in Tibetan. The aim is not to translate the title, but to give an idea of what the text might be about.

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Epistemic modality in Tibetan: The use of secondary verbs with epistemic verbal endings

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Summary: The aim of the present paper is to describe the use of secondary verbs in epistemic contexts in spoken Tibetan, with a special emphasis on their combinations with epistemic verbal endings (or epistemic auxiliaries). It will discuss possible as well as impossible combinations, and illustrate them with examples.

1. Introduction[1]

1.1. SECONDARY VERBS

In Tibetan,[2] there are verbs that go between the lexical verb and the verbal ending. These are called "secondary verbs".[3] The secondary verb specifies the meaning of the lexical verb. There are about twenty secondary verbs that are frequently used in spoken Tibetan. They include modal, aspectual

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1) This paper is based on the research work I carried out with my Tibetan informants in Tibet and the Tibetan diaspora between the years 2002 and 2005, and the results of which are summarized in my PhD. dissertation "Epistemic modalities in spoken Standard Tibetan" (Vokurková 2008). Refer also to Hu (1989), Wang (1994), *Zangyu lasahua yufa* (2003). It should be underlined that there are differences among the informants concerning the acceptability of some combinations of secondary verbs with epistemic endings (or auxiliaries). During my fieldwork, some combinations were rejected by my informants from Lhasa but accepted by the informants from the diaspora. However, there were also differences in acceptability among the speakers of Lhasa.

2) The term "Tibetan" used in this paper corresponds to the language that is based on the dialect of Lhasa and its neighbourhood, which is a variety of Central Tibetan (*dbus.skad*). It is used in the Tibetan Autonomous Region and in the Tibetan diaspora (India, Nepal, U.S.A., Europe). It is spoken by about one and a half million people, 130 000 of whom live in the diaspora. In Tournadre, Sangda Dorje (2003) it is called "Standard Tibetan". For more detail, refer to Tournadre, Sangda Dorje (2003), Tournadre (2005).

3) The term 'secondary verb' was introduced by Kesang Gyurme (in Tibetan *bya.tshig phal.ba*) and translated by Nicolas Tournadre (see Kesang Gyurme 1992).

and directional verbs. There are two types of secondary verbs.[4] The first type (Sec 1) displays the same syntactic behaviour as lexical verbs and is followed by TAM (tense-aspect-modality) verbal endings.[5] The secondary verbs of the other type (Sec 2) behave like nominalizers and, therefore, can only be followed by auxiliaries that are identical to copulas (Vokurková 2007, p. 117; Heine 1993). From a semantic and syntactic point of view, several of the secondary verbs behave in a particular way, e.g. they are limited to one tense or they change their meaning. The most common secondary verbs in the spoken language are listed below and illustrated using examples:

V + Sec 1 – verbal ending

Sec 1: *thub* 'can', *dgos* 'must, need', *chog* 1 (modal) 'be allowed', *shes* 'know', *srid* 'be possible', *nus* 'dare', *ran* 'be time (to do)', *tshar* 'finish', *bsdad* 'stay', *'gro* 'go', *yong* 'come', *myong* 'experience'.

(1)   a)   *mo.rang – gis   las.ka   di   byed   thub – yod.pa.yod*
            she   – ERG   work   this   do (PRS) be able – PFV+EPI 2+SENS
            "She was probably able to do this work."

      b)   *da.lta   rang   'gro   dgos – kyi.yod.pa.'dra*
            now   you   go (PRS) must – IMPF+EPI 2+SENS
            "Apparently, you have to go now."

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4) The division of secondary verbs in two types was suggested in my D.E.A. dissertation (Vokurková 2002).

5) In Tibetan, TAM verbal endings can be divided in two types: evidential verbal endings (Garrett 2001; Tournadre, Sangda Dorje 2003, on evidentiality see: Chafe, Nichols [eds.] 1986; Aikhenvald 2004; Guentcheva, Landaburu [eds.] 2007) and epistemic verbal endings (refer to 1.2. and Vokurková 2009; on epistemic modality see: Nuyts 2001; Boye 2006).

V + Sec 2 + auxiliary

Sec 2: *'dod* 'want', *chog* 2 (aspectual) 'be ready (to do)', *rtsis* 'intend (to do)', *long* 'have time (to do)' and *grabs*[6] 'be about (to do)' or 'have (just) done'.

(2) a) *khong   – la   'gro   long   yod.bzo.'dug*
        s/he+H – OBL   go (PRS) have time AUX (EPI 1+FACT)
        "It seems she has time to go (there)."

    b) *bkra.shis am.chi   byed   rtsis   yod.pa.'dra*
        Tashi   doctor   do (PRS) intend   AUX (EPI 2+SENS)
        "It seems that Tashi intends to be a doctor."

1.2. EPISTEMIC VERBAL ENDINGS

Diachronically, epistemic verbal endings consist of nominalizers/connectors (empty, *gi, pa, rgyu*) and auxiliaries (*yod, red, 'dug*), and they also contain other morphemes (*a, 'gro, 'dra, sa, bzo*, etc.). Most epistemic endings are formed by the process of 'double suffixation' i.e. they consist of two word-forming elements. The epistemic meaning is only deducible from the whole ending, not from a single word-forming element. Out of many Tibetan epistemic verbal endings, some are frequently used in the spoken language, while others are rare or literary. There are a dozen different types of epistemic endings that are common in spoken Tibetan. These are: *yod.pa.yod, yong.nga.yod, a.yod, yod.kyi.red, yod.'gro, yod.pa.'dra, yod.sa.red, yod-mdog.kha.po-red/'dug* and *yod.bzo.'dug,* which are paradigm-like,[7] and the endings *pa.'dug, pa.yod, yong* and *mi.yong.ngas.*

From a functional point of view, epistemic endings can be primarily classified according to the tense-aspect they refer to (see 1.3.), the degree of probability (weaker EPI 1, stronger EPI 2 and high EPI 3) and the evidential meaning (egophoric, factual, sensory).[8] Look at the following sentence with the epistemic ending *gyi.yod.'gro* conveying weaker probability and having a factual meaning (ex. 3), and the following one containing the epistemic ending

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6) The verbal status of *grabs* is problematic, see 2.15.
7) Refer to 1.3. for their tense-aspect paradigm.
8) Refer to Vokurkova (2009) for more details on epistemic and evidential meanings.

yod.sa.red conveying stronger probability and having a sensory meaning
(ex. 4):

(3) *kho   grogs.po – la   spo.lo   gYar   – gyi.yod.ʿgro*
     he   friend   – OBL   ball   lend   – <u>IMPF+EPI 1+FACT</u>
     "He might lend the ball to his friend." (Factual meaning: The speaker infers from the fact
     that friends, in general, lend things to each other.)

(4) *phun.tshogs – kyis   kha.lag   bzos   – yod.sa.red*
     Phuntshog   – ERG   meal   make (PAS)   – <u>PERF+EPI 2+SENS</u>
     "It seems Phuntshog has cooked." (Sensory meaning: The speaker can smell it.)

1.3. The tense-aspect paradigm

Most types of epistemic verbal endings are paradigmatic, i.e. each type con-
sists of four endings each of which refers to a different tense-aspect. As stated
above, these verbal endings consist of two word-forming elements. The first
element is always identical for those endings that convey the same tense-
aspect (e.g. *gi.yod* for all imperfective endings), the second one is different
(e.g. *pa.ʿdra, sa.red, bzo.ʿdug*). The epistemic paradigm is presented in the ta-
ble below and illustrated by examples of the perfective past (ex. 5a) and the
imperfective (ex. 5b):[9]

1	Perfective past	*pa.yin.pa.ʿdra*[10]
2	Present perfect and the immediate present	*yod.pa.ʿdra*
3	Imperfective past, long-term present and future	*gi.yod.pa.ʿdra*
4	(Deontic) future	*rgyu.yin.pa.ʿdra*

(5) a) *khong   – gis   mo.Ta   btang   – yod.pa.ʿdra*
         s/he+H – ERG   car   VBZ   – PERF+EPI 2+SENS
         "It seems he drove the car."

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9) Some native speakers living in the diaspora accepted other future endings than those men-
    tioned in the following table, diachronically consisting of the nominalizer *gi* and the aux-
    iliary *yin* followed by a second word-forming element, e.g. *gi.yin.ʿgro.* Such endings were
    refused by all informants from Lhasa.

10) The perfective past endings are generally less frequent than the present perfect endings. In
    contexts in which it is possible to use both endings, they usually differ in scope.

b) *khong   mo.Ta   btang   – gi.yod.pa.ʾdra*
    s/he+H   car   VBZ   – IMPF+EPI 2+SENS
    "It seems he drives the car."

2. The use of secondary verbs with epistemic verbal endings

2.0.

There are several restrictions on the use of secondary verbs with epistemic endings. First, as stated above, some secondary verbs behave syntactically as predicative adjectives and thus they can only combine with auxiliaries that are formally identical with copulas. Second, the use of secondary verbs with epistemic endings is conditioned by the tense-aspects of the sentence (logical, epistemological, and pragmatic). Third, from a semantic point of view, each secondary verb combines only with certain lexical verbs. As a result, some of the combinations are only applicable to some verbal classes.

As regards the participant perspective (category of person), the majority of combinations of secondary verbs with epistemic endings (or auxiliaries) appear in sentences with the third person as subject. However, they can sometimes be used with the first person as subject as well. Such combinations are subject to more restrictions than those with the third person. Finally, the context of each utterance is also an important criterion for the use of a certain type of epistemic ending.

Concerning polarity, it should be emphasized that most of the examples in this paper contain an affirmative ending. However, in the majority of cases, it is also possible to use the corresponding negative ending unless the context prevents such a change. The affirmative and negative endings only differ in polarity (the negative endings imply a higher degree than 50% of the speaker's belief in the non-actuality of what his utterance refers to), not in other parameters. Below is an example with the affirmative imperfective epistemic ending *gi.yod.pa.ʾdra* (ex. 6a), and with the negative imperfective epistemic ending *gi.med.pa.ʾdra* (ex. 6b):

(6) a) *khong   par   brgyab   chog   – gi.yod.pa.ʾdra*
        s/he+H   photo   VBZ   be allowed   – IMPF+EPI 2+SENS
        "It seems he is allowed to take pictures."

b) *khong*   *par*   *brgyab*   *chog*   *– gi.med.pa.'dra*
    s/he+H   photo   VBZ   be allowed   – IMPF+EPI 2+SENS+NEG
    "It seems he is not allowed to take pictures."

Furthermore, it is possible to use epistemic adverbs in sentences containing
a secondary verb and an epistemic ending (or auxiliary). Their use is subject
to some restrictions depending, among other things, on the epistemic ending
and the context. These adverbs modify the epistemic meaning of the whole
sentence because they interact with the meaning of the verbal ending. As
a rule, the semantic meaning of the adverb is stronger than that of the verbal
ending. The most frequently used epistemic adverbs implying probability are
gcig.byas.na 'perhaps' (ex. 7a) and *phal.cher* '(most) probably'. Another quite
frequent epistemic adverb, *gtan.gtan* 'certainly', conveys a higher degree of
certainty on the part of the speaker than the two above (ex. 7b). Look at the
examples below:

(7)   a) *kho*   <u>*gcig.byas.na*</u> *lha.sa*   *– r*   *'gro*   *chog*   *– gi.yod.pa.'dra*
          he   <u>perhaps</u>   Lhasa   – OBL   go(PRS)   be allowed– IMPF+EPI 2+SENS
          "It seems he is allowed to go to Lhasa."

      b) *nga*   <u>*gtan.gtan*</u>   *nang*   *– la*   *nyal*   *thub*   *– pa*
          I   <u>certainly</u>   inside – OBL   sleep   can   – FUT+EPI 3+SENS
          "I can certainly sleep at home."

In the following sections, possible combinations of secondary verbs with epis-
temic endings (or auxiliaries) as well as their restrictions will be discussed
and illustrated using examples.

2.1. THE MODAL VERB *THUB* 'BE ABLE', 'CAN'

The secondary verb *thub* can combine with most types of epistemic endings:[11]
the present perfect and the imperfective ones (e.g. *gyi.yod.kyi.red*, see ex. 8).

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11) It can be used with the following epistemic endings and constructions: *gyi.yod.'gro, gyi.
     med.'gro, yod.'gro, med.'gro, gyi.a.yod, a.yod, pa.'dug, pa.yod, gyi.yod.pa.'dra, yod.pa.'dra,
     pa.'dra, gyi.yod-mdog.kha.po-red, yod-mdog.kha.po-red, mdog.kha.po-red, gyi.yod.kyi.red,
     yod.kyi.red, yod.pa.yod, gyi.yod.sa.red, yod.sa.red, yong, mi.yong, mi.yong.ngas.* The preced-
     ing verb is in the present-future stem (see ex. 8).

It does not usually combine with the perfective endings (e.g. *pa.yin.pa.ʼdra*, see ex. 9). Compare the following examples:

(8)   *khong*   *ri*   *– la*   *ʼgro*   *thub*   *– gyi.yod.kyi.red*
      s/he+H   mountain – OBL   go (PRS)   be able – IMPF+EPI 2+FACT
      "Most probably, she will be able to go to the mountains." (The speaker bases his belief on
      the fact that she is young.)

(9)   * *khong*   *ri*   *– la*   *ʼgro*   *thub*   *– pa.yin.pa.ʼdra*
      s/he+H   mountain – OBL   go (PRS)   be able – PFV+EPI 2+SENS
      Intended: "Most probably, she was able to go to the mountains."

2.2. THE MODAL VERB *DGOS* 'MUST', 'HAVE TO, NEED'

The verb *dgos*[12] (pronounced as *dgo* in the spoken language) is compatible with most present perfect (e.g. *yod.pa.ʼdra*, ex. 10) and imperfective epistemic endings.[13] It is not used with *pa.yod, pa.ʼdra* and the perfective endings (e.g. *pa.yin.gyi.red*, ex. 11). Compare the following sentences:

(10) *khong*   *tshogs.ʼdu* *– la*   *ʼgro*   *dgos*   *– yod.pa.ʼdra*
      s/he+H   meeting   – OBL   go (PRS)   have to – PERF+EPI 2+SENS
      "It seems he's got to go to the meeting." (The speaker saw him going to the office.)

(11) * *khong*   *phyag.las* *gnang*   *dgos*   *– pa.yin.gyi.red*
      s/he+H   work+H   do+H   have to – PFV+EPI 2+FACT
      Intended: "Most probably, he had to work."

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12) The verb *dgos* also functions as a lexical verb meaning 'need' or 'want'. For more details, see
    Tournadre, Sangda Dorje (2003, pp. 222–3).
13) It can be used with the following epistemic endings and constructions: *kyi.yod.ʼgro, yod.ʼgro,*
    kyi.a.yod, a.yod, kyi.yod.pa.ʼdra, yod.pa.ʼdra, kyi.yod-mdog.kha.po-red, yod-mdog.kha.po-red,
    kyi.yod.kyi.red, yod.kyi.red, kyi.yod.pa.yod, yod.pa.yod, kyi.yod.sa.red, yod.sa.red, mi.yong.
    ngas. Its use with *pa.ʼdug* is rare. The lexical verb preceding *dgos* is in the present-future
    stem (see ex. 10).

2.3. THE MODAL VERB *'DOD* 'WANT'

The verb *'dod* does not usually combine with epistemic endings[14] (ex. 12b). It is compatible with epistemic auxiliaries[15] (ex. 12a) and it is often used in sentences with long-term, generic or repeated actions. The use of *'dod* in epistemic contexts is illustrated by the example below:

(12)   a)   *khong*   *slob.grwa chen.mo – r*   *slob.sbyong*   *byed*
            s/he+H   university   – OBL   study   do (PRS)
            'dod   *yod.kyi.red*
            want   AUX (EPI 2+FACT)
            "She most probably wants to study at university." (She has been preparing for the entrance exam.)

       b) * *khong*   *rgya.skad*   *sbyangs*   *'dod*   *– kyi.yod.pa.yod*
            s/he+H   Chinese   learn   want   – IMPF+EPI 2+EGO
            Intended: "As far as I remember, she wants to learn Chinese."

For short-term volition, there is another verb frequently used in the spoken language, *snying.'dod,* which only combines with controllable verbs.[16] The verb *snying.'dod* is, in general, used with imperfective endings but its use with present perfect endings is not excluded either (ex. 13):[17]

(13)   a)   *mo.rang*   *slob.sbyong*   *byed*   *snying.'dod*   *– kyi.yod.kyi.red*
            she   study   do (PRS)   want   – IMPF+EPI 2+FACT
            "She most probably wants to study [now]." (instant volition)

       b)   *mo.rang*   *slob.sbyong*   *byed*   *snying.'dod*   *– yod.kyi.red*
            she   study   go (PRS)   want   – PERF+EPI 2+FACT
            "She most probably wants to study [now]." (instant volition)

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14) Some possible combinations of *'dod* with an epistemic verbal ending are considered as dialectal. See below.

15) The verb *'dod* is preceded by the present-future stem of the lexical verb (see ex. 12a) and it is compatible with the following epistemic auxiliaries: *yod.'gro, med.'gro, a.yod, yod.pa.'dra, yod.kyi.red, yod.pa.yod, yod.sa.red, yod.bzo.'dug* and the construction *yod-mdog.kha.po-red.*

16) Controllable verbs indicate controllable actions, i.e. actions that depend, in principle, on the subject's will or control. For more detail, refer to Tournadre, Sangda Dorje (2003); Vokurková (2008).

17) It is also compatible with the future endings *pa.yod, pa.'dug, mdog.kha.po-'dug, bzo.'dug* and *mi.yong.ngas,* and with the past ending *pa.'dra.*

Both the above sentences have a similar meaning to the preceding example containing *'dod* (ex. 12a). They differ from it in terms of the duration of the agent's desire for studies (long-term vs. short-term). Sentence (13a) is more frequent than ex. (13b).

As stated above, the verb *'dod* combines, in principle, with auxiliaries. However, some combinations with imperfective epistemic endings (e.g. *kyi.yod.kyi. red,* the construction *kyi.yod-mdog.kha.po-red*) are also acceptable for native speakers, though considered to be dialectal:

(14) *! kho   rgya.gar – la   'gro   'dod   – gi.yod   – mdog.kha.po – red*
       he   India   – OBL   go (PRS) want – IMPF   – EPI 1   – AUX(FACT)
       "He probably wants to go to India." (implying for a long time)

2.4. THE MODAL VERB *CHOG* 'BE ALLOWED', 'CAN' AND THE ASPECTUAL VERB *CHOG* 'BE READY'

The verb *chog* may have two meanings: a modal one (*chog1*) implying permission, and an aspectual one (*chog2*) implying preparedness. The aspectual verb is often reduplicated (*chog.chog*) and it is followed by auxiliaries (ex. 16). On the other hand, the modal verb *chog* cannot be reduplicated and it combines with verbal endings (ex. 15):

(15) *rang   'gro   chog / *chog.chog   – ga* (i.e. *pa.'dug*)[18]
       you   go (PRS)   be allowed   – FUT+EPI 3+SENS
       "You will certainly be allowed to go."
       * "It looks like you are ready to go."

(16) *a.ma   'gro   chog/chog.chog   yin   – mdog.kha.po – red*
       mother go (PRS) be ready   AUX – EPI 1   – AUX (FACT)
       "It looks like mother is ready to go."
       * "It looks like mother is allowed to go."

Since the modal verb *chog* implies a state of 'being allowed', it combines with the imperfective endings,[19] not with the perfective ones. They may be used

18) In the spoken language, the epistemic ending *pa.'dug > pa* is pronounced *ga* when preceded by *chog.*

19) This verb is compatible with the following endings: *gi.yod.'gro, gi.a.yod, gi.yod.pa.'dra, gi.yod. kyi.red, gi.yod.pa.yod, gi.yod.sa.red, gi.yod.bzo.'dug* and the construction *gi.yod-mdog.kha. po-red.* Furthermore, *chog* is compatible with the endings *pa.'dug, a.yong, mi.yong.ngas* and

in past, present and future contexts.[20] Compare the sentences (17a) and (17b) of the following example which only differ in the use of *zla.nyin* 'last year' implying the past:

(17) a) *nyi.ma   rgya.gar   – la   'gro   chog   – gi.yod.'gro*
          Nyima   India   – OBL   go (PRS)   be allowed – IMPF+EPI 1+FACT
          "Nyima is probably allowed to go to India."

      b) <u>*zla.nyin*</u> *khong*   *rgya.gar* – la   'gro   *chog*
          last year s/he+H   India   – OBL   go (PRS)   be allowed
          – gi.yod.'gro
          – IMPF+EPI 1+FACT
          "He was probably allowed to go to India last year." (implying this year he is not allowed)

In addition to present perfect (e.g. *yod.kyi.red*, ex. 18a) and perfective past endings (e.g. *pa.yin.gyi.red*, ex. 18b), it is also impossible to use the modal *chog* with *pa.yod, pa.'dra* and *bzo.'dug*. Look at the following example:

(18) a) * *nyi.ma   rgya.gar   – la   'gro   chog   – yod.kyi.red*
          Nyima   India   – OBL   go (PRS)   be allowed – PERF+EPI 2+FACT
          Intended: "Nyima was most probably allowed to go to India."

      b) * *nyi.ma   rgya.gar   – la   'gro   chog   – pa.yin.gyi.red*
          Nyima   India   – OBL   go (PRS)   be allowed – PFV+EPI 2+FACT
          Intended: "Nyima was most probably allowed to go to India."

The aspectual verb *chog* can combine with existential and essential[21] auxiliaries.[22] They differ in the following way: when *chog2* is used with an existential

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yong. The lexical verb may be either the present-future or the past stem: *khong 'gro/phyin chog – gi.yod.'gro* "He is probably allowed to go to India."

20) Sometimes, it expresses the same meaning as the modal verb *thub* 'be able' (cf. Tournadre, Sangda Dorje 2003, p. 245).

21) Essential auxiliaries "denote an essential quality of the person or thing", and existential auxiliaries "express the existence of a phenomenon or a characteristic with the implication of an evaluation by the speaker" (cf. Tournadre, Sangda Dorje 2003, p. 119).

22) This aspectual verb is compatible with the following epistemic auxiliaries: *yod.'gro, a.yod, yod. pa.'dra, yod.kyi.red, yod.pa.yod, yod.sa.red, yod.bzo.'dug,* the construction *yod-mdog.kha.po-red,* the corresponding essential auxiliaries (e.g. *yin.gyi.red*) and *yong*. The lexical verb may be either the present-future or the past stem, e.g.: *nyi.ma <u>'gro / phyin</u> chog.chog yin.pa.'dra* "It seems Nyima is ready to go."

auxiliary (ex. 19a), it implies that 'something is ready', while with an essential auxiliary it implies that 'someone is ready' (ex. 19b) as illustrated below:

(19) a) *dngul*   *sprad*   *chog.chog*   *yod*   *– mdog.kha.po*   *– red*
       money   give   be ready   AUX – EPI 1   – AUX (FACT)
       "It looks like the money is ready to be given." (related to the object of the action, i.e. the money)

    b) *dngul*   *sprad*   *chog.chog*   *yin*   *– mdog.kha.po*   *– red*
       money   give   be ready   AUX – EPI 1   – AUX (FACT)
       "It looks like [you/one] is ready to give money." (related to the action of the verb)

2.5. THE MODAL VERB *SHES* 'KNOW'

The secondary verb *shes* can combine with the vast majority of epistemic endings: imperfective (e.g. *kyi.med.ʾgroʾo*, ex. 20a), perfective (e.g. *yod.kyi. red*, ex. 20b), and present perfect (e.g. *pa.yin.pa.ʾdra*, ex. 20c).[23] Compare the following sentences:

(20) a) *bu.mo*   *ʾdi*   *ri.mo*   *ʾbri*   *shes*   *– kyi.med.ʾgroʾo*
       girl   this   picture   draw (PRS) know   – IMPF+EPI 1+FACT
       "This girl probably knows how to draw (pictures)." (She attends a thangka course.)

    b) *khong*   *– gis*   *dbyin.ji.skad*   *brgyab*   *shes*   *– yod.kyi.red*
       s/he+H   – ERG   English language VBZ   know   – PERF+EPI 2+FACT
       "He has most probably learnt to speak English." (He spent three years in England.)

    c) *khong*   *– gis*   *mo.Ta*   *btang*   *shes*   *– pa.yin.pa.ʾdra*
       s/he+H   – ERG   car   drive   know   – PFV+EPI 2+SENS
       "It seems he learnt to drive a car."

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23) It is possible to combine *shes* with the following imperfective epistemic endings: *kyi.yod.kyi. red, kyi.yod.ʾgro, kyi.a.yod, kyi.yod.pa.ʾdra, kyi.yod.pa.yod, kyi.yod.sa.red, kyi.yod.bzo.ʾdug* and the construction *kyi.yod-mdog.kha.po-red,* with the corresponding present perfect endings (e.g. *yod.kyi.red*) and the corresponding perfective endings (e.g. *pa.yin.gyi.red*), with *a.yong, pa.yod, pa.ʾdug, pa.ʾdra, mdog.kha.po-red, mi.yong.ngas* and *yong.* The preceding lexical verb is in the present-future stem: *khong bod.ja* <u>bzo /* bzos</u> *shes -kyi.a.yod* "I doubt he can make Tibetan tea."

2.6. THE MODAL VERB *SRID* 'BE POSSIBLE', 'CAN'

There is considerable variation among native speakers concerning the acceptability of combinations of the verb *srid* with epistemic endings. Some accept combinations of *srid* with many endings, others only with a few endings, and some refuse all combinations claiming that this secondary verb is semantically incompatible with the epistemic endings. It has also been suggested that *srid* is not compatible with non-controllable verbs.

The following endings and constructions were accepted by some informants: *kyi.yod.ʿgro, kyi.a.yod, a.yong, pa.ʿdug, pa.yod, kyi.yod.pa.ʿdra, kyi.yod-mdog.kha.po-red, mdog.kha.po-red, kyi.yod.kyi.red, kyi.yod.sa.red, kyi.yod.bzo.ʿdug, mi.yong.ngas, yong.* Concerning the present perfect endings, the use of endings with a sensory meaning was rejected, e.g. *yod.pa.ʿdra* (ex. 22b), *pa.ʿdra, yod.bzo.ʿdug,* but other present perfect endings were accepted, e.g. *yod.ʿgro, yod.kyi.red* (ex. 22a). The preceding lexical verb is in the present-future stem. Look at the examples below:

(21) *?! bod   – la   ʿgro   srid   – kyi.yod.pa.ʿdra*²³
      Tibet   – OBL   go (PRS)   be possible   – PRS+EPI 1+SENS
      "It seems to be possible to go to Tibet."

(22) a) *?! mi   de   kyag.rdzun bshad   srid   – yod.kyi.red*
          man   that   lie   say   be possible   – PERF+EPI 2+FACT
          "It seems to be possible that the man lied."

      b) * *kyag.rdzun   bshad   srid   – yod.pa.ʿdra*
          lie   say   be possible   – PERF+EPI 2+SENS
          / yod.bzo.ʿdug   / pa.ʿdra
          / PERF+EPI 2+SENS   / PFV+EPI 2+SENS
          Intended: "It seems to be possible to tell lies."

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24) This example was rejected by some informants.

2.7. THE MODAL VERB *NUS* 'DARE'

The verb *nus* is, in general, compatible with imperfective endings (ex. 23a).[25] Sometimes, it is possible to use it with the corresponding present perfect and perfective endings (ex. 23b, c). These are used for single perfective actions whereas the imperfective endings are used for repeated and generic actions, as shown in the example below:

(23) a) *khong*   *'gro*   *nus*   – *kyi.yod.pa.'dra*   / *kyi.yod.kyi.red*
           s/he+H   go (PRS)   dare   – IMPF+EPI 1+SENS   / IMPF+EPI 2+FACT
           "It seems she dares to go." / "She most probably dares to go."

      b) *khong*   *'gro*   *nus*   – *yod.pa.'dra*
           s/he+H   go (PRS)   dare   – PERF+EPI 2+SENS
           "It seems she dared to go." (The speaker infers this from the fact that yesterday she was saying she would not dare to go but she is not at home now.)

      c) *khong*   *'gro*   *nus*   – *pa.yin.pa.'dra*
           s/he+H   go (PRS)   dare   – PFV+EPI 2+SENS
           "It seems she dared to go." (The speaker saw some hints that she was there.)

2.8. THE ASPECTO-TEMPORAL VERB *RTSIS* 'INTEND (TO DO)', 'RECKON (ON DOING)'

The verb *rtsis* can only combine with auxiliaries,[26] not with epistemic endings. Look at the following example with the auxiliary *yod.pa.yod* in (24a), and with the ending *kyi.yod.pa.yod* in (24b):

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25) It is compatible with the endings *kyi.yod.'gro, kyi.a.yod, kyi.yod.pa.'dra, kyi.yod.kyi.red, kyi. yod.pa.yod, kyi.yod.sa.red, kyi.yod.bzo.'dug* and the construction *kyi.yod-mdog.kha.po-red.* Furthermore, *nus* can combine with the following epistemic endings: *a.yong, pa.yod, pa.'dug, pa.'dra, bzo.'dug, mi.yong.ngas, yong* and the construction *mdog-kha-po-red.* The lexical verb is in the present-future stem (see ex. 23).

26) It is compatible with the following epistemic auxiliaries: *yod.'gro, a.yod, yod.kyi.red, yod. pa.yod, yod.sa.red, yod.pa.'dra* and the construction *yod-mdog.kha.po-red.* The lexical verb is in the present-future stem: *khong mog.mog bzo / * bzos rtsis yod.pa.yod* "As far as I remember, she probably intends to make *momos*."

(24) a) *khong*   *mog.mog*   *bzo*   *rtsis*   *yod.pa.yod*
          s/he+H   momo   make (PRS)   intend   AUX (EPI 2+EGO)
          "As far as I remember, she probably intends to make *momos*." (The speaker thinks that
          she told him this but he cannot remember well.)

      b) * *khong*   *mog.mog*   *bzo*   *rtsis*   *kyi.yod.pa.yod*
          s/he+H   momo   make (PRS)   intend   IMPF+EPI 2+EGO
          Intended: "As far as I remember, she probably intends to make *momos*."

Furthermore, there is a construction consisting of the verb *rtsis* and the verb
byed 'do', i.e. *rtsis byed*, which is compatible with imperfective verbal endings
(ex. 25b). Although in most contexts, it is possible to use either the second-
ary verb *rtsis* alone (ex. 25a) or the construction *rtsis byed,* the latter is more
common. Compare the following sentences:

(25) a) *khong*   *rgya.gar – la*   *'gro*   *rtsis*   *yod.'gro*
          s/he+H   India   – OBL   go (PRS)   intend   AUX (EPI 1+FACT)
          "Maybe, he intends to go to India." (He often talks about India.)

      b) *khong*   *rgya.gar – la*   *'gro*   *rtsis*   *byed*   *– kyi.yod.'gro*
          s/he+H   India   – OBL   go(PRS)   intend   do(PRS) – IMPF+EPI 1+FACT
          "He is perhaps going to go to India." (He buys things that he might need for the trip.)

From a semantic point of view, there is a difference between the use of the
secondary verb *rtsis* and the construction *rtsis byed*. Whereas the former
is used to talk about plans, the latter implies that the preparations have al-
ready started, as one can see from the different contexts in the brackets of
the above sentences.

2.9. The aspecto-temporal verb *ran* 'be time (to do)'

The secondary verb *ran* is compatible with the majority of epistemic endings:[27]
imperfective (e.g. *gyi.yod.'gro,* ex. 26a), present perfect (e.g. *yod.'gro,* ex. 26b)
and perfective (e.g. *pa.yin.'gro*, ex. 26c). Look at the sentences below:

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27) It is used with imperfective endings (*gyi.yod.'gro, gyi.yod.kyi.red, gyi.a.yod, gyi.yod.pa.'dra,
    gyi.yod.pa.yod, gyi.yod.bzo.'dug, gyi.yod.sa.red* and the construction *gyi.yod-mdog.kha.po-
    red*), with the corresponding present perfect endings (e.g. *yod.'gro*) and perfective endings
    (e.g. *pa.yin.'gro*) and also with the endings *pa.'dra, pa.yod* (in its past use) and the construc-
    tion *mdog.kha.po-red.* The lexical verb is in the present-future stem (see ex. 26b).

(26) a) *khang.gla sprad   ran   – gyi.yod.ʻgro*
          rent   give   be time   – IMPF+EPI 1+FACT
          "It is probably high time to pay the rent." (It is about the date of paying the rent, a re-
          peated action)

      b) *nang   – la   ʻgro   ran   – yod.ʻgro*
          home   – OBL   go (PRS)   be time   – PERF+EPI 1+FACT
          "Maybe, it is time to go home now." (a single perfective action)

      c) *gla   len   ran   – pa.yin.ʻgro*
          salary   get   be time   – PFV+EPI 1+FACT
          "It seems to be time to go and get the salary." (The speaker's name is on a list in the
          accounting department.)

Ran does not combine with the future endings: *a.yong, pa.ʻdug, yong* and
mi.yong.ngas. Taking into consideration the meaning of *ran*, one can conclude
that there is a semantic constraint on the use of this secondary verb in future
contexts. This constraint is illustrated by the following example:

(27) * *kha.lag   bzo   ran   – pa.ʻdug*
          meal   make (PRS)   be time   – FUT+EPI 3+SENS
          Intended: "It must be time to cook."

2.10. THE ASPECTO-TEMPORAL VERB *LONG* 'HAVE TIME (TO DO)'

The secondary verb *long* is only compatible with auxiliaries[28] (e.g. *yod.kyi.
red*, ex. 28a), not with epistemic endings (e.g. *gi.yod.kyi.red*, ex. 28b). The
subject of the bivalent verbs used with this secondary verb is obligatorily in
the oblique case, as is shown in the following example:

(28) a) *rang   – la   kha.lag   za   long   yod.kyi.red*
          you   – OBL   meal   eat (PRS)   have time   AUX (EPI 2+FACT)
          "Most likely, you have time to eat." (Someone complains that he has a lot of work and
          no time to eat. The speaker does not believe him.)

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28) It can combine with the epistemic auxiliaries *yod.ʻgro, a.yod, yod.pa.ʻdra, yod.kyi.red, yod.
    bzo.ʻdug, yod.pa.yod, yod.sa.red* and the construction *yod-mdog.kha.po-red*. The lexical verb
    is in the present-future stem (see ex. 28a).

b) * *rang*   *– la*   *kha.lag*   *za*   *long*   *– gi.yod.kyi.red*
    you   – OBL   meal   eat (PRS)   have time   – IMPF+EPI 2+FACT
    Intended: "Most likely, you have time to eat."

2.11. THE ASPECTO-TEMPORAL VERB *TSHAR* 'FINISH', 'END'

As a secondary verb, *tshar* conveys the meanings of the adverbs 'already' and 'completely', and it is thus used to express the terminative aspect (cf. Tournadre, Konchok Jiatso 2001, pp. 96–8). In accordance with its semantic meaning, it generally combines with the present perfect endings[29] (e.g. *yod.pa.ʻdra*, ex. 29a). However, it is sometimes possible to use *tshar* with perfective endings as well (e.g. *pa.yin.gyi.red*, ex. 29b). Compare the following sentences:

(29)   a)   *khong*   *kha.lag*   *bzos*   *tshar*   *– yod.pa.ʻdra*
           s/he+H   meal   make (PAS)   finish   – PERF+EPI 2+SENS
      "It seems she has finished the cooking." (The speaker infers this from the fact that she is washing her hands.)

       b)   *khong*   *– tsho*   *slebs*   *tshar*   *– pa.yin.gyi.red*
           s/he+H   – pl   arrive   finish   – PFV+EPI 2+FACT
      "They must have (already) arrived."

It is rather problematic and rare to use *tshar* with imperfective endings (ex. 30), and impossible with the future endings *a.yong* and *bzo.ʻdug*:

(30)   *! khong*   *chu.tshod*   *dang.po*   *– r*   *nyin.gung*   *– gi*   *kha.lag*
      s/he+H   o'clock   first   – OBL   noon   – GEN   meal
      bzos   *tshar*   *– gyi.yod.pa.ʻdra*
      make (PAS)   finish   – IMPF+EPI 2+SENS
    "It seems she finishes the cooking of lunch at 1 p.m." (The speaker can hear some noise from her kitchen until this time.)

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29) It can be used with the epistemic endings *yod.ʻgro, a.yod, yod.pa.ʻdra, yod.kyi.red, yod.pa.yod, yod.bzo.ʻdug, yod.sa.red* and the construction *yod-mdog.kha.po-red.* Furthermore, *tshar* is also compatible with *pa.yod, pa.ʻdug* and *pa.ʻdra.* It is preceded by the past stem of the lexical verb (see ex. 29a).

2.12. THE ASPECTO-TEMPORAL VERB *BSDAD* 'STAY'

The secondary verb *bsdad* is often used to indicate the concomitant aspect leading to a resulting state and the progressive aspect (emphasizing the continuous character of the process; cf. Tournadre, Konchok Jiatso 2001, pp. 98–101). It can combine with the majority of epistemic endings:[30] imperfective (e.g. *kyi.yod.pa.ʼdra,* ex. 31a), present perfect endings (e.g. *yod.pa.ʼdra,* ex. 31b) and perfective (e.g. *pa.yin.pa.ʼdra,* ex. 31c). Look at the following sentences:

(31)   a)   *khong   nang – la   las.ka   byas   bsdad – kyi.yod.pa.ʼdra*
             s/he+H   home – OBL   work   do (PAS)   stay   – IMPF+EPI 2+SENS
             "It seems she stays at home to work." (i.e. usually, She rarely leaves her home.)

         b)   *khong   nang – la   las.ka   byas   bsdad   – yod.pa.ʼdra*
             s/he+H   home – OBL   work   do (PAS)   stay   – PERF+EPI 2+SENS
             "It seems she is staying at home to work." (i.e. now, today)

         c)   *khong   nang – la   las.ka   byas   bsdad   – pa.yin.pa.ʼdra*
             s/he+H   home – OBL   work   do (PAS)   stay   – PFV+EPI 2+SENS
             "It seems she stayed at home to work." (i.e. in the past)

It is also possible to use the particle of anteriority *nas* (pronounced *byas* in the spoken language) between the lexical verb and *bsdad*, as shown in the example below:

(32)   *khong   las.ka   byas   – nas   bsdad – mdog.kha.po   – mi.ʼdug*
        s/he+H   work   do (PAS) – after   stay   – EPI 1   – AUX (SENS+NEG)
      "He probably is not able to work for a long time."

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30) This verb is compatible with the imperfective epistemic endings *kyi.yod.ʼgro, kyi.yod.pa.ʼdra, kyi.yod.kyi.red, kyi.yod.bzo.ʼdug, kyi.yod.pa.yod, kyi.yod.sa.red* and the construction *kyi.yod-mdog.kha.po-red*, with their corresponding present perfect and perfective endings, and with *pa.ʼdra, a.yong, pa.yod, pa.ʼdug, mdog.kha.po-red, mi.yong.ngas* and *bzo.ʼdug*. It is, in general, preceded by the past stem of the lexical verb (see ex. 31).

2. 13. THE ASPECTUAL AND DIRECTIONAL VERB *'GRO* 'GO'

The secondary verb *'gro* has a variety of grammatical functions. It marks the inchoative and progressive aspects, the direction from the speaker after verbs of movement, cross-reference and other meanings.[31]

As an aspectual verb, *'gro* can only combine with non-controllable verbs and imperfective endings. It functions as an indicator of the inchoative, progressive and iterative aspects. It is compatible with imperfective epistemic endings[32] (e.g. *gi.yod.bzo.'dug*), and it does not combine with present perfect endings (e.g. *yod.sa.red*) and future endings (e.g. *bzo.'dug*) as illustrated below:

(33) *zla.ba*   *bcu.pa*   – *'i*   *nang* – *nas*   *grang.mo* – *r*   *chags*
     month   tenth   – GEN   inside – ABL   cold   – OBL   become

     'gro   – *gi.yod.bzo.'dug*   / * *yod.sa.red*   / * *bzo.'dug*
     go (PRS) – IMPF+EPI 1+SENS   / PERF+EPI 2+SENS   / FUT+EPI 1+SENS

     "It seems it starts to be cold in October." (The speaker is talking about the weather in October. It is not October now.)

The present-future stem, *'gro,* is used, not the past stem, *phyin*, since this secondary verb is not used as an aspectual marker in past contexts (ex. 34a). Instead, the secondary verb *tshar* is used to imply the terminative aspect (ex. 34b). Compare the following two sentences:

(34) a) * *'di*   *skyur*   *phyin*   – *yod.kyi.red*
        this   be sour   go (PAS)   – PERF+EPI 2+FACT
        Intended: "It most probably turned sour."

     b) *'di*   *skyur*   *tshar*   – *yod.kyi.red*
        this   be sour   finish   – PERF+EPI 2+FACT
      "It most probably turned sour."

As a directional verb after the verbs of movement, *'gro* implies the direction from the speaker or another point. In past contexts, the past stem, *phyin,* is used instead of *'gro* (ex, 35b, c). It is compatible with the majority of epistemic endings: imperfective (ex. 35a), present perfect (ex. 35b) and perfective (ex. 35c). Look at the following examples:

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31) For more detail, refer to Tournadre, Konchok Jiatso (2001, pp. 89–96).
32) It is compatible with the following imperfective epistemic endings: *gi.yod.'gro, gi.yod.pa.'dra, gi.yod.kyi.red, gi.a.yod, gi.yod.bzo.'dug, gi.yod.pa.yod, gi.yod.sa.red* and the construction *gi.yod-mdog.kha.po-red.*

(35) a) *rta*   *rgyug*   *'gro*   – *gi.med.'gro'o*
         horse   run   go (PRS)   – IMPF+EPI 1+FACT
         "The horse will probably run away." (e.g. if it is not attached)

    b) *rta*   *rgyug*   *phyin*   – *med.'gro'o*
         horse   run   go (PAS)   – PERF+EPI 1+FACT
         "Maybe, the horse ran away."

    c) *khong*   *rgyug.shar* *slos*   *phyin*   – *pa.yin.pa.'dra*
         s/he+H   run   VBZ   go (PAS)   – PFV+EPI 2+SENS
         "It seems he went [there] running." (The speaker infers from the fact that the person breathed deeply.)

2. 14. THE ASPECTUAL AND DIRECTIONAL VERB *YONG* 'COME'

Just like *'gro,* the secondary verb *yong* has several grammatical functions. It marks the inchoative aspect, the direction towards the speaker after verbs of movement and cross-reference.[33]

As an aspectual verb, *yong* can only combine with non-controllable verbs. It marks the inchoative, progressive and iterative aspects. It is compatible with imperfective epistemic endings[34] (e.g. *gi.a.yod,* ex. 36) but it is, in general, not used with the other endings. Look at the example below:

(36) *grang.mo* – *r*   *chags*   *yong*   – *gi.a.yod*
       cold   – OBL   become   come   – IMPF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG
    "I don't think it is getting cold." (The speaker is talking about the weather in his proximity. In this sentence, it is temporal proximity, i.e. now.)

As a directional verb after the verbs of movement, *yong* implies the direction towards the speaker. It is compatible with the majority of verbal endings: imperfective (ex. 37a), perfective (ex. 37b) and present perfect. The directional function of *yong* is illustrated by the following sentences:

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33) For more detail, refer to Tournadre, Konchok Jiatso (2001, pp. 89–96).
34) It is compatible with the following imperfective epistemic endings: *gi.yod.'gro, gi.yod.pa.'dra, gi.yod.kyi.red, gi.a.yod, gi.yod.bzo.'dug, gi.yod.pa.yod, gi.yod.sa.red* and the construction *gi.yod-mdog.kha.po-red.*

(37) a) *kho.rang*   *rgyug*   *yong*   *– gi.yod.pa.'dra*
          he   run   come   – IMPF+EPI 2+SENS
          "He seems to be running towards us." (The speaker can see him in the distance.)

      b) *kho.rang*   *rgyug*   *yong*   *– pa.'dra*
          he   run   come   – PFV+EPI 2+SENS
          "It seems he came running/ran here." (The speaker infers from the fact that the person got out of breath.)

2. 15. THE ASPECTO-TEMPORAL VERB *'GRO'O* A) 'BE READY/BE ABOUT TO DO', B) 'HAVE (JUST) DONE'

The verbal status of *'gro'o,* which is derived from the word *grabs* used in literary Tibetan*,* is problematic. It is either considered as an adverb, see e.g. *Bod-rgya tshig-mdzod chen-mo* (1985), or as a verb, see e.g. Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003, p. 196).[35] From a syntactic point of view, *'gro'o* occupies the same position as the secondary verbs that are followed by auxiliaries (after the lexical verb and before the auxiliary). It is incompatible with verbal endings. In this paper, *'gro'o* is treated as an aspectual verb.

Followed by an auxiliary, *'gro'o* implies either the meaning of 'be about to do' or 'have (just) done'. When it expresses the nearest future, it is followed by existential auxiliaries (the lexical verb is in the present-future stem, ex. 38a) and when it refers to the recent past, it is used with essential auxiliaries (the lexical verb is in the past stem, ex. 38b).[36] Compare the sentences below:

(38) a) *khong*   *kha.lag*   *za*   *'gro'o*   *yod.pa.'dra*
          s/he+H   food   eat (PRS)   be about to   exist (EPI 2+SENS)
          "It seems she is about to eat." (The speaker can see that she is setting the table.)

      b) *khong*   *kha.lag*   *bzas*   *'gro'o*   *yin.pa.'dra*
          s/he+H   food   eat (PAS)   have just done   be (EPI 2+SENS)
          "It seems she has just eaten." (The speaker can see dirty dishes.)

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35) It is also used in the construction that consists of *'gro'o,* the verb *byed* 'do' and a verbal ending, corresponding to 'nearly (do)'.

36) It is compatible with the epistemic existential auxiliaries *yod.'gro, a.yod, yod.kyi.red, yod.pa.'dra, yod.sa.red, yod.bzo.'dug, yod.pa.yod, yod-mdog.kha.po-red* and the corresponding epistemic essential auxiliaries (e.g. *yin.gyi.red*).

2. 16. THE SECONDARY VERB *MYONG* 'EXPERIENCE'

The verb *myong* implies that the subject of the sentence has already experienced the action. It only combines with present perfect endings[37] (e.g. *yod.kyi. red,* ex. 39a). It cannot be used with imperfective endings (e.g. *gi.yod.kyi.red,* ex. 39b), perfective endings (e.g. *pa.yin.gyi.red,* ex. 39c) or with the endings used in the future (*a.yong, pa.ʿdug, mdog.kha.po-red, mi.yong.ngas, mi.yong, yong, bzo.ʿdug*). Look at the sentences below:

(39) a) *khong*   *bod.ja*   *btungs*   *myong*   – *yod.kyi.red*
          s/he+H   Tibetan tea   drink   experience   – PERF+EPI 2+FACT
          "She must have (once) drunk Tibetan tea."

      b) * *khong*   *bod.ja*   *btungs*   *myong*   – *gi.yod.kyi.red*
          s/he+H   Tibetan tea   drink   experience   – IMPF+EPI 2+FACT
          Intended: "She will surely have an experience of drinking Tibetan tea."

      c) * *khong*   *bod.ja*   *btungs*   *myong*   – *pa.yin.gyi.red*
          s/he+H   Tibetan tea   drink   experience   – PFV+EPI 2+FACT
          Intended: "She must have (once) drunk Tibetan tea."

3. Conclusion

In this paper, I studied the possibility of combining secondary verbs (modal, aspecto-temporal and aspecto-directional) with epistemic verbal endings in spoken Tibetan. The compatibility of these verbs with epistemic endings is influenced by several parameters. The most important parameters are syntactic and semantic properties of the secondary verb, the tense-aspect, the verbal class of the preceding lexical verb, the evidential meaning of the verbal ending and the participant perspective. On account of the interaction of all these parameters, some secondary verbs are compatible with the majority of verbal endings, while others are subject to more constraints. Consequently, one can distinguish two groups of secondary verbs. The third group consists

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37) It is compatible with the following epistemic endings: *yod.ʿgro, med.ʿgro, a.yod, pa.yod, pa.ʿdra, yod.pa.ʿdra, yod.kyi.red, yod.pa.yod, yod.sa.red, yod.bzo.ʿdug, yod-mdog.kha.po-red.* The lexical verb is in the present-future stem, e.g.: *mo.rang bod – la ʿgro / *phyin myong – yod.ʿgro* "She has probably been to Tibet."

of those secondary verbs that are only compatible with epistemic auxiliaries, not with epistemic endings, namely:

1. Secondary verbs compatible with the majority of epistemic endings: *thub* 'can', *dgos* 'must, need', *shes* 'know', *ran* 'be time', *bsdad* 'stay', *'gro* (Dir) 'go', *yong* (Dir) 'come'.
2. Secondary verbs compatible only with some epistemic endings: *chog*1 (Mod) 'may', *nus* 'dare', *srid* 'be possible', *tshar* 'finish', *myong* 'experience', *'gro* (Asp) 'go', *yong* (Asp) 'come'. The most problematic secondary verb is *srid* 'be possible'.
3. Secondary verbs compatible with epistemic auxiliaries: *'dod* 'want', *chog*2 (Asp) 'be ready', *rtsis* 'intend', *long* 'have time', *'gro'o* 'be about', 'have just (done)'. Four of the five verbs are aspecto-temporal, only *'dod* 'want' is modal.

To conclude, the majority of secondary verbs do not combine with the perfective past endings. The aspectual verbs that combine with verbal endings are, in general, compatible with the present perfect epistemic endings. On the other hand, some modal verbs are only compatible with imperfective endings, e.g. *chog*1 and *nus*. This is probably connected with the fact that these verbs have an imperfective meaning.

Abbreviations

ABL   ablative
AUX   auxiliary
EGO   egophoric evidential
EPI   epistemic
ERG   ergative
FACT   factual evidential
FUT   future
GEN   genitive
H   honorific
IMPF   imperfective
NEG   negative
OBL   oblique
PAS   past
PFV   perfective
PERF   perfect
PRS   present
SENS   sensory evidential
VBZ   verbalizer

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Adaptation of loanwords in Mongolian through verb formation

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Summary: The present paper describes one particular aspect of the adaptation of loanwords in Mongolian, i.e. converting them into verbs. Based on examples of loanword-based verbs used in different varieties of present-day Mongolian, with special focus on the colloquial speech of Ulan Bator region, the author reveals the mechanism of converting loanwords into verbs and describes verb forming suffixes involved in this process. The examined verbs are also enhanced by relevant details on their semantic and phonetic adaptation.

Introduction

The loanwords in Mongolic languages have been attracting the attention of linguists since long ago. While the phonetic adaptation of loanwords of various origin has been explored quite thoroughly, the morphological aspects of their adaptation have been described to a much lesser extent. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to describe one aspect of morphological adaptation, namely the loanword-based verbs used in modern Mongolian, and to suggest their classification according to their features.

1. Morphological adaptation of borrowings

Morphological adaptation lies in the integration of a foreign item into the grammatical (morphological) structure of the recipient language. Since verbs and other forms subsequently derived from them are a prominent feature of Mongolian, we may consider converting a loan item into a verb to be an important stage in its integration.

In many languages an auxiliary verb, usually "to do" or "to make", is simply added to the borrowed item in order to make it possible to use it as a verb (Winford 2003, pp. 50, 52). Although this model is not unknown in Mongolian, for example *наймаа хий-* "to trade with" (< Chin. *măi-mai*), *шоппинг*

хий- (*neo.*) "to do shopping", "to go shopping",[1] etc., the method of transform-
ing borrowings into verbs directly by attaching the appropriate verb-forming
suffix is far more frequent.

Based on the examples below, it is clear that borrowed items, the stems of
future verbs, are usually treated as nouns. This is implied also by the type of
suffix used. If compared to the foreign source words of these borrowings, the
changes observed in the stems are the result of the different stages of pho-
nological or morpho-phonological adaptation that they have already under-
gone. As examples one can cite prolongation of the originally stressed vowel
(*тоормос* "brake" < Ru. *тóрмоз*), simplification of the consonant cluster
(*балиашиг* "fan" < Ru. *болéльщик*), vowel assimilation ([ko:ntor] "eye con-
tour" < Ru. *кóнтур; балиашиг* "fan" < Ru. *болéльщик* [bɐˈlʲɛlʲ.ɕɕik]), trun-
cation of the foreign word (*очер /оочер /оочир* "queue" < Ru. *óчередь*), loss
of the final vowel indicating the feminine gender in Russian (*цензур* < Ru.
цензýра "censorship"; *диктатур* < Ru. *диктатýра* "dictatorship"; *техник*
< Ru. *тéхника* "technics"), etc.

1.1. NOTES ON THE PRONUNCIATION AND ORTHOGRAPHY OF THE BORROWINGS

A large number of borrowings that are commonly used in colloquial Mongo-
lian today are considered to be non-literary and therefore do not have stand-
ardized or codified forms of spelling. Despite that they frequently appear in
texts where a colloquial way of speaking is followed, as in jokes, interviews in
the newspapers and magazines or in personal letters, and they have also be-
come a commonplace attribute of internet communication (e-mails, forums,
blogs, comments, etc.). The lack of standardized spelling of these borrowings
results in spelling varieties, some of which tend to fix the actual pronunciation
of the relevant borrowing in Mongolian, while others reproduce the original
spelling of the source word, as for example *чат* and *чаат* "chat" (> *чатла-*
and *чаатла-* "to chat") or *ёлк* and *ёолк* "the New-Year tree, the New-Year
party" (> *ёлкдо- / ёолкдо-* "to celebrate the New Year's Eve").

On the other hand there is a group of loanwords accepted by the stand-
ard language and these can be used in formal discourse, as well as in formal
written texts, for instance, *автобус* "bus", *экспорт* "export", *импортло-* "to

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1) < "to do the shopping" (Eng.). This collocation is also used in modern Russian as *заниматься шоппингом*.

import" and many others. As to these borrowings, a rule has been established according to which their spelling should follow the spelling of their source words in Russian (although some minor adaptations were done, for example, *хими* (Mo.) vs. *химия* (Ru.) "chemistry"). However, due to the phonetic changes they usually undergo in the course of adaptation through time, larger or minor differences between pronunciation and spelling are observed in some cases of both literary and non-literary loanwords: *автобус* [awtʌvu:s], [atwu:s] "bus"; **сигнала-* [signa:l(d)ă-]; [sⁱagna:ldă-]; [čagna:l(d)ă-] "to toot", etc.

The verbs derived from borrowings behave like native verbs, that is they take forms, and suffixes are attached to them, according to the rules of vowel harmony. While the adaptation of the loanword-based verbs to vowel harmony in the course of speech proceeds naturally, attaching the appropriate suffix in the written text might sometimes cause difficulties, resulting in what seems to be spelling varieties. However, as J. Lubsandorji points out, this should be considered a spelling mistake.[2] For example, *цензурдэ-* and *цензурда-* "to censor" or *конкурсда-* and *конкурсдэ-* "to have an entrance exam".

2. Classification of the loanword-based verbs

For the purposes of this paper, the loanword-based verbs are classified into two categories (indicated by letter) according to the character of the stem and several groups (indicated by number) according to the verb-forming suffix. All the verbs described here were recorded from different varieties[3] of modern Mongolian, if not otherwise stated, as part of research concentrated primarily on Ulan Bator or "city" Mongolian.[4]

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2) Details on the rules of attaching suffixes to the borrowings according to vowel harmony are given in Буянтогтох 2004, pp. 29–30.

3) Language variety is a sociolinguistic term for the communicative form of a language. It includes dialects, interdialects, professional jargon, slang, register, style or other sociolinguistic variation and the standard language itself (Čermák 2007, p. 43; Nekvapil: Language variety).

4) **Notes:** Most examples are given in Mongolian Cyrillic which indicates that these words are commonly used in written texts. The words recorded or noted down from spoken discourse were additionally checked for the existence of a written form and if the verb proved to be rarely used in written form, this has been indicated by an asterisk (*) in front of it. Verbs with no written form found are given in their phonetic form in square brackets. Examples quoted from other sources are given in their original form. The phonetic representation of all the verbs discussed in this paper is presented separately in the List of pronunciation in the appendix at the end of this paper. Transcriptions of Mongolian words follow the basic

The verbs examined here are derived from the words that have been bor-rowed into Mongolian in the course of the 20th century up to the present day. The recent borrowings (since approximatelly 1995) are indicated as neologisms by the abbreviation *neo*. It was not my intention to trace back the etymol-ogy of these borrowings to the language of their origin, but to determine the source language from which they were received by Mongolian. Some of the latest borrowings are marked as international, since words similar in form and meaning are found in many languages today, i.e. internationally, and it is not always possible to indicate one particular source language from which they have been introduced into Mongolian.

A. VERBS WITH NOMINAL STEM

I. VERB FORMING SUFFIX -*ла⁴*– *({-lA-})*

The modern Mongolian suffix -*ла⁴*– (presented sometimes as -*л*-)[5] takes part in the conversion of nouns and adjectives into verbs. Although Poppe refers to the verbs formed with this suffix as "verbs of usage" (Poppe 1937, p.135), in fact the range of meanings associated by -*ла⁴*– is broader and covers "to use or to create the thing assigned by the stem" or an action, i.e. "to act as the object or in the manner assigned by the stem".[6] This productive suffix is widespread in Mongolian verbs, for example, *дуула*- "to sing" < *дуу* "sound, voice, song"; *эмээллэ*- "to saddle" < *эмээл* "saddle"; *хурдла*- "to hurry up" < *хурдан* "quick", etc. It appears to be one of the most frequent suffixes occuring in verbs derived from borrowings which were assimilated long ago as well as occurring in new ones and regardless of what their source language is. Thus, there are *наймаала*- "to traffic, to haggle" < *наймаа* "small range exchange bussiness" < Chin. *măi-mai*; *ваарла*- "to tile" < *ваар* "tile" < Chin. *wă*; *цүглэ*-*(arch.)* "to establish" < Tib. *tshugs* "to establish";[7] *галигла*- "to transcribe" <

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principles of transcription given by Lubsandorji (Lubsandorji 2004, pp. 91–112, Lubsandorji 2005, pp. 85–105) with some minor changes, such as ж – ǯ; з – з; ч – č; ц – c; x – x (also for [-xt-] in which Russian -кт- turns) and w for voiceless v (as in Svantesson 2005, pp. 31–32). The few Russian transcriptions are given in IPA transcription.

5) MM-1 2004, p. 121; MM-2 1997, p. 190; Лувсанвандан 1968, p. 143.

6) The suffix is found also in the verbs derived from numerals, adverbs and interjections. (Болд 1986, pp. 122–123).

7) Сүхбаатар 1997, p. 210; AD 2002, Vol. IV, p. 280.

галиг "transcription" (formerly, the set of symbols in traditional Mongolian script for writing words of foreign origin) < Skt. *kalekha,*[8] and others.

If the stem ends with -ŋ (-н /г/) or -m (-м) the suffix takes the form *-на⁴-*, as for instance in case of Mongolian *эмнэ-* "to heal, to cure" < *эм* "medicine" or *самна-* "to comb" < *сам* "comb". Roerich (Рерих 2007, pp. 138, 140) has observed both variations of this verbal suffix in verbs derived from borrowings from Tibetan such as *norlax/norlox* "to make a mistake", *gomnax* "to meditate",[9] but the latter is not found in verbs based on contemporary borrowings.

Even though most of the stems in this group denote subjects or items, there are a few that are names of professions or are otherwise related to persons, such as *балиашиг* "fan", *продюссер* "producer", *редактор* "editor" and *спонсор* "sponsor". The verbs created from these stems are based on the native pattern observed, for example, in *багила-* "to teach" < *багш* "teacher" or *эмчлэ-* "to heal, to cure" < *эмч* "doctor". It is worth noting that these stems are observed with no other verb-forming suffix as can be seen further below.

In terms of semantics, the verbs basically preserve the meaning designed by the suffix and only in a few cases is the semantic extension observed in the direction moving from borrowing (stem) to verb. For instance, *метр* "metre" > *метрлэ-* "to measure (the length)" and *[xil]* "kilogram" > *[xillĕ-]* "to weigh".

актла- "to write off as rejected or unusable" < акт "act, official document"[10] (< Ru. акт)[11] + -ла-
Ex.:   ***Акталснаас*** *нь өгчих.*
        Give (her) from (those) written off[12]

архивла- "to archive" < архив "archive" (< Ru. архив) + -ла-
Ex.:   *Гадаадын улс орнуудад албан байгууллагууд нь компьютерыг зөвхөн бичгийн ажлаа хөнгөвчлөхөд ашиглаж, бичиг баримтаа бол цаасан дээр* ***архивлаж*** *хадгалсан хэвээр байгаа.* [1]
        In foreign countries authorities use computers only to facilitate the administrative work, but the documents are still archived (*lit.* archived and stored) in printed version.

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8) Сүхбаатар 1997, p. 59; Төмөртогоо 2007, p. 42.

9) Roerich examines the Tibetan borrowings in Mongolian before the break-up of the Buddhist tradition in the late 1930s and the greater part of them has disappeared from the active vocabulary since then. Yet *цамна-* "to dance the tsam ceremony" (< Tib. *ʼcham(pa)*) could be an example with the suffix *(-на⁴–)* still surviving in present day vocabulary.

10) The noun *акт* is also often used with the meaning of "sick note" (*актанд бай-* "to get a sick note").

11) If not explicitly specified, the meaning of the source word is the same as that of the loanword.

12) Unknown informant at the office of Oriflame in Ulan Bator, July 2005.

балиашигла- "to be a fan, to support" < балиашиг "fan" (<Ru. болельщик) + -ла-

Ex.:   *Хурд хүчтэй сэтгэлгээ сайтай асасекирюү тэр дундаас "Мөнгөн цамхаг" -ийг*
        *"**балиашигладаг**" сураг байдаг болохоор олон хүний атаархлыг төрүүлээд байгаа*
        бололтой. [2]
        It is reported that Asasekiryu, who is quick, strong and well-thinking, more than any of
        them supports "Mungun tsamkhag", that probably stirs up envy in many people.

банкетла- "to banquet" < банкет "banquet" (< Ru. банкет) + -ла-

Ex.:   *Товчхоноор хэлэхэд нийслэлчүүд, тэр дотроо эмэгтэйчүүд маань бүтэн өдрийг*
        *"**банкеталж**" өнгөрүүлэв.* [3]
        Briefly speaking, the people of the capital including women spent the whole day celebrat-
        ing (*lit.* having a banquet).

бойкотло- "to boycott" (*neo.*, *pol.*) < бойкот "boycott" (< Ru. бойкот) + -ло-

метрлэ- "to measure in metres" < метр "metre" (< Ru. метр) + -лэ-

Ex.1.: *Ерөөсөө тэр хэмжээг нь **метрлээд** үзэхэд өнөөдрийн хүмүүстэй харьцуулаад үзэхэд*
        боломжгүй байдаг. [2]
        Basically these measures are absolutely incomparable with those of the present day people.
        (*lit.* Basically, if you try to take these measures in metres, they are impossible to compare
        with the [measures of the] present day people.)

Ex.2.: *За, метрлээд өгчих…*[13]
        OK, take a measure of its length…

монтажла- "to edit (film, video)" < монтаж "dubbing, editing (the film, video)" (< Ru.
    монтаж) + -ла-

Ex.:   *Видео бичлэг хийж тэрнийгээ хэрхэн **монтажлах** талаар асуух юм байна.* [4]
        I have [some] questions about how to make the video and its dubbing.

очерло-; оочерло-; оочирло- "to stand in a queue" < очер; оочер; оочир "queue" (<Ru.
    очередь) + -ло-

Ex.1.: *Урд хөрш рүү гарч буй тээврийн машины 70–80 хувь нь хаягдал төмөр аччихсан*
        ***очерлож** байв.* [5]
        70–80 per cent of the trucks queueing to pass (the frontier) to (our) Southern neighbour
        are loaded with iron waste.

Ex.2.: *Талханд **оочерлох** үе ч байдаг байлаа.* [6]
        There were times when [we] used to queue for bread, too."

паркетла- "to make parquet" (*neo.*) < паркет "parquet" (< Ru. паркет) + -ла- (Oogii 2004)

принтерлэ- "to print" *(neo.)* < принтер "printer" (< Ru. принтер; Eng. printer) + -лэ-

Ex.:   *Зураг **принтерлэхгүй**[14]*
        We do not print the pictures.

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13) Unknown informant at tailor's in Ulan Bator, August 2002.
14) Inscription in the Internet Café in Ulan Bator, July 2005.

продюсерло-[15] "to produce (in film-making and performing arts)" (*neo.*) < продюсер "producer" (Ru. продюсер; Eng. producer) + -ло-

Ex.: *Тэгээд бүр драмын театрын жужигчин Наранбаатар нь найруулж, жүжүгчин "хар" Урнаа нь тоглочихсон, Урнаагийнх нь нөхөр Цогоо* **продюсерлоод** *амжсан байна.* [7]
And so Naranbaatar, an actor at the Drama Theatre, has managed to direct [it], actor Urnaa "the black" to play and Urna's husband Tsogoo to produce [it].

редакторла- "to edit" < редактор "editor" (< Ru. редактор) + -ла-

Ex.: ***Редакторлах** арга зүй*[16]
Methods of Editing

*сигнала-[17] (**[signa:l(d)ă-]** / **[sⁱagna:ldă-]** / **[čagna:l(d)ă-]**) "to toot" < сигнал "toot" (< Ru. сигнал(ить)) + [-l(d)a-]

спонсорло- "to sponsor" (*neo.*) < спонсор "sponsor" (< Int.) + -ло-

Ex.: *Танай тоглолтыг нилээн том байгууллагууд **спонсорлож** байгаа гэж сонслоо?* [8]
I have heard that some quite big organizations are sponsoring your concert.

тестлэ- "to test, to make tests" (*neo.*) < тест "test" (< Int.) + -лэ-

Ex.: *Түүнийг тодорхой хугацаанд **тестлэх** шаардлагатай болсон.* [9]
It has become necessary to test it over a certain period of time.

тоормосло- "to brake" < тоормос "brake" (< Ru. тормоз) + -ло-

Ex.: *Автобус гэнэт **тоормослоход** зорчигчид давхралдан унах болно.* [10]
When the bus brakes abruptly, the passengers fall over each other.

*хиллэ- ([xille-]) "to weigh" < кило ([xil]) "kilogram" (< Ru. кило *coll.*) + -лэ-

чатла-; чаатла- "to chat" (*neo.*) < чат; чаат "chat" (< Ru. чат) + -ла-

Ex.: – *Чөлөөт цагаараа юу хийдэг вэ?*
  – *Найзуудтайгаа утсаар ярьж,* **чатлаад***, кино үзээд сагс тоглох зэргээр өнгөрөөдөг.* [11]
– What do you do in [your] leisure time?
– I spend time talking to my friends by phone, chatting, watching movies, playing basketball and so on."

хармаала-[18] "to put into the pocket" < хармаан "pocket" (< Ru. карман) + -ла-

Ex.: *Ингээд төрийн өмчийг хулгайлан **хармаалах** гэсэн Сономпил найзынхаа төлөвлөгөөг хэрэгжүүлж эхэлж.* [11]
And so Sonompil, intending to steal state property and put it into his own pocket, started to implement his friend's plan.

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15) Found also as *продюссерло*-.
16) University of Humanitarian Studies in Ulan Bator, July 2005.
17) Young driver Nyamaa from Arkhanghai aimag (2004) and some other unknown informants. This verb might be also derived directly from the Russian verb *сигналить* "to toot" and in this case it would have been correct to characterize it as a verb derived from the Russian verb described in the category B.1.
18) Falling into disuse as it is more and more often displaced by *халаасла*- based on a native stem.

шантаажла- "to blackmail" < шантааж "blackmail" (< Ru. шантаж) + -ла-

Ex.: -*Тэр байгууллагаас гээд нэг хүн* **шантаажлаад** *байна. Хэрэв хэлсэн мөнгийг нь өгөхгүй бол бизнесийн нэр хүндэд чинь халдана, сонин хэвлэлд хандана, бүр жагсаал зохион байгуулна гээд байх юм.* [12]

Somebody is blackmailing and he (she) says he is from that organization. He says if [I] will not give the money he is asking for, my business reputation will be touched, he will contact the press and even organize a demonstration.

2. VERB FORMING SUFFIX *-да⁴– ({-dA-}*

Another very frequent suffix **-да⁴–**[19] occurs in transitive denominal verbs and its meaning is very close to that of the suffix **-ла⁴–,** i.e. "to use the thing assigned by the stem" (Болд 1986, p. 111; Poppe 1951, p. 46), but in some particular cases it could be interpreted rather as "to make the thing assigned by the stem". It is observed in many Mongolian verbs, for example in *дууда-* "to call" < *дуу* "sound, voice, song"; *жолоодо-* "to drive" < *жолоо* "steering wheel" as well as in many verbs derived from historical, yet still actively used, borrowings, such as *архида-* "to drink (spirits)" < *архи* "alcoholic beverage" < Arab. *araqi* "alcoholic beverage"; *тарнида-* "to exorcise" < *тарни* "magic formula" < Skt. *dhāraṇī* "maintaining (the magic power);[20] *бууда-* "to fire, to shoot" < *буу* "gun" < Chin. *pào*, etc.

Semantic changes among the verbs in this group seem to develop rather occasionally and, if there are any, they have usually occurred already on the stem: *шоу* "bash"< *шоу* "show, performance" < Int. *show*, i.e. attractive performance, performance where the effect is important (comp. Ru. *шоу*). A quite specific example of the semantic extension can be observed in *шоуда-* "to make a night of it", where the newly developed meanings of the verb are even distinguished in content by the age category they are related to. Another case of the semantic shift is *машинда-* "to mince, to machine", as in addition to its basic meaning a metaphorical meaning has been developed "to eat very fast (like the machine)", which is used commonly in colloquial Mongolian.

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19) In some works (for example, Лувсанвандан 1968, p. 144) it is presented as *-д-* and considered to be the same suffix as *-д-* that is found in deadjectival verbs, having the meaning of "exceeding the quality assigned by the stem". The suffix *-д-* with the latter meaning occurs only with the native stems and therefore is not discussed here. In classical written Mongolian it takes the form *-da- (-de-)* and Poppe includes it within the category of "verbs of usage" too (Поппе 1937, p. 135).

20) Сүхбаатар 1997, p. 181.

автобусда- "to go by bus" < автобус "bus" (< Ru. автобус) + -да-

Ex.: *Санахад л нэг бол ээжийн машин унаад, **таксидаад** эсвэл төв хавиар л **автобусдаад** байсан байх юм.* [13]

I remember that I have been going (here and there) either by my mother's car, either by taxi or by bus, if it has been somewhere around the (city) centre.

бетондо- "to concrete" < бетон "concrete" (< Ru. бетон) + -до-

вакуумда- *(neo.)* "to de-aerate" < вакуум "vacuum" + (< Ru. вакуум *n.*, вакуумный *adj.*; Eng. vacuum *n., adj.*) -да-

Ex.: *Шингэн саван шампунь **вакуумдан** савлах зориулалттай.* [14]

Designed for vacuum packing of liquid soap and shampoo.

*винодо- ([vino:dǒ-]) "to have (some) wine" < вино "wine" (< Ru. вино) + [-do-]

Ex.: ***Винодох уу?*** (Oyunchimeg, Uyanga 2005)

Shall we have some wine?

диктатурда- "to dictate, to tyrannise" < диктатур "dictatorship" (< Ru. диктатура) + -да-

Ex.: *Тэнд тогло, энд тоглож болохгүй гээд барьж хорьж дээрээс нь **диктатурдаад** байх шаардлага байхгүй.* [15]

I don't need to forbid or even dictate to [anybody] where to play or not to play.

замаскда- "filling up with putty" < замаск "putty, filler" (< Ru. замазка) + -да-

ёлкдо- / ёолкдо- "to celebrate the New Year's Eve" < ёлк/ёолк "New Year party" (< Ru. ёлка "New Year tree, New Year party") + -до-

Ex.1.: *Манайхан шиг нэг өдөр **ёлкдож** …* [16]

… celebrating New Year's Eve as our people do …

Ex.2.: *Таньдаг гишүүд маань нээрээ хэр **ёолкдож** байна даа.* [17]

And how do you, friends and members of [this] blog, celebrate New Year's Eve?

канондо- *(neo.)* "to copy" < канон "copying machine" (< Canon[21]) + -до-

[ko:ntordǒ-] "to apply highlight colouring, to highlight (the eyes)" < [ko:ntor] "contour line" (< Ru. контур "contour, contour line") + [-do-]

Ex.: *Би бас **[ko:ntordǒx]** дуртай.* (Otgon-Erdene 2009)

I like to highlight my eyes, too.

конкурсдэ- "to take an entrance exam" *(neo.)* < конкурс "entrance examination" + -дэ-

Ex.: *Уянга анагаахад **конкурсдэнэ**.* (Oyunchimeg, April 2005)

Uyanga will take the entrance exam for medicine.

лакда- "to paint with varnish", "to lacquer" < лак "varnish" (< Ru. лак) + -да-

ламинаторда- "to laminate" *(neo.)* < ламинатор "laminating machine" (< Int. laminator; Ru. ламинатор) + -да-

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21) The proper name of the first copying machines introduced into Mongolia in the mid-1990s.

лоббидо- "to lob at" *(neo., pol.)* < лобби "lobby" (< Int. lobby; Ru. лобби) + -до-

машинда- 1. "to mince, to machine" < машин "machine" (< Ru. машина) + -да-
                2. *coll.* "to eat something very fast";
                3. "to make something by machine"

Ex. 1.: *Нэг килограмм махыг 100 төгрөгөөр* **машиндаж** *байна* [18]
      One kilogramme of meat is minced for 100 tugrics.

Ex. 2.:«*Гитлер маш хурдан иддэг, ёстой л «***машиндаж***» өгнө, түүний хувьд хоол ердөө л амьдралын зайлшгүй хэрэгцээ» гэж олзлогдсон офицер ярьжээ.* [19]
    "Hitler used to eat very fast, he literally polished the meal off, food was just a necessity for him," the captured officer said.

Ex. 3.: *Ч.Цэцэгмаа багаасаа л оёдол хийх дуртай байж. … наадам дөхөхөд айлуудаар явж хүүхдийн даашинз, банзал, цамц* **машиндаж** *өгдөг.* [20]
    Ch. Tsetsegmaa liked sewing from childhood. … as naadam approached she used to go from one family to another and make the children's clothes, skirts, shirts and blouses on the sewing machine.

[ma:kdă-] "to go and eat in MacDonald's (MD's)" < abbreviation of "Макдональдс" (MacDonald's) + [-da-]
Ex.:   *[ma:kdiᵉ]* (Oyunchimeg, April 2005)
    Let's go to MacDonald's.

микродо- "to go by microbus" < микр "microbus" (< Ru. микробус, микроавтобус) + -до-
Ex.:   *Хамаг цаг заваа гаргаж түгжирч, гүйж, харайж,* **таксидаж**, **автобусдаж**, **микродож**, *алхаж ирсэн болон ирье гэж бодоод цаг ажил нь амжаагүй бүх хүмүүсдээ баярлалаа.* [21]
    Thanks to everyone who found some free time and came through the traffic jam, who ran, flew, went by taxi, bus, microbus or walked and (also) to everyone who thought about coming but couldn't because of being busy or because of work.

мейлдэ- "to send by e-mail" < (и-)мейл "e-mail" (< Int.) + -дэ-
Ex.:   *Гэхдээ очих тухай мэдэгдэлээ mongol_geree@yahoo.com хаяг луу* **мейлдэх** *нь дээр шүү.*
    But it is certainly better to mail the information that you are going to come to [the address of] *mongol_geree@yahoo.com.*

пивдэ- (**[pi:wdĕ-]**)²² "to have (some) beer"< пиво ([pi:w])²³ "beer" (< Ru. пиво) + -дэ-

плитада- "to lay a slab" < плита "slab" (< Ru. плита) + -да-
Ex.:   … **плитадсан** *талбай…* [22]
    … the area covered with slabs …

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22) Unknown informant, September 2004.
23) The noun *пиво* "beer" is pronounced in two different ways, as *[pia:w]* and as *[pi:w]*, and the verb *[pia:wdă-]* also occurs.

рекламда- (*neo.*) "to advertise" < реклам "advertising, sign" (< Ru. реклама) + -да-

Ex.: *Өөрийн барааг **рекламдахдаа** бусдын барааг доош нь хийж, муулж болохгүй гэдэг.* [23]
It is said that when advertising one's own goods one must not defame and utter calumnies against other people's goods.

сексдэ- (*neo.*) "to make love" (*lit.* "to make sex") < секс "sex" (< Int.) + -дэ-

Ex.: *Найз залуу байхгүй бол хэнтэйгээ **сексдэх** юм. Тийм биз дээ.* [24]
If I don't have a boy-friend who should I make love with, right?

сканнерда- (*neo.*) "to scan" < сканнер "scanner" (< Ru. скайнер, скеннер; Eng. scanner) + -да-

*****скочдо-** ([ˀsko:čdŏ-]) "to stick up" < [ˀsko:č] "Scotch tape" (< Ru. скотч – generalized designation of a tape24) + -до-

таксида- "to take a taxi, to go by taxi" < такси "taxi" (< Ru. такси) + -да-

Ex.: *Сүүлийн үед **таксидах** мөнгөгүй болоод байнга л автобус хөлөглөх боллоо.* [25]
Recently I haven't had the money for taxis [lit. going by taxi] and so I always use the bus now.

факсда- (*neo.*) "to send a fax" < факс "fax" (< Int. fax; Ru. факс) + -да-

Ex.: *Юмаа **факсдаж** болно.* (Enkhtuya, June 2004)
You can fax it.

цензурдэ-25 "to censor" < цензур "censorship" (< Ru. цензура) + -дэ-

шоуда- *(neo., slang)* "to make a night of it"26 < шоу "bash"27 (< Int.) + -да-

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24) The word Scotch (*Скотч*) is a trademark of the American 3M company. Its literal meaning is "Scottish" or "coming from Scotland" and it has become associated with Scotch tape because of Americans of Scottish origin who have been working in 3M. The sticky tape was introduced under the name Скотч into Russia and later into Mongolia, too. Reportedly, the transparent scotch appeared in Mongolian country-side at the beginning of the 1990s (Otgon-Erdene 2010).

25) Өнөөдөр, March 7th, 2005.

26) Related to the younger generation *шоуда-* means a party in a bar or more often in a disco including drinking and dancing; relating to to the middle-aged generation it means a party or bash with friends, but without dance and disco. The first meaning is well expressed by an anonymous answer to the question: „*Залуусаа хэр шоуддаг вэ?*" (How often do you party, guys?) that was: *yamar utgaaraa show ium? baar hesj bujigleh l biz de boduul..* (Party? In what sense? You probably mean pubbing and dancing (pubbing and clubbing?)…) (Given in the original version on a forum on http://forum.asuultserver.com/).

27) *Шоу* has primarily been borrowed with the meaning of "show" as in *шоу тоглолт* (show + performance). The meaning discussed above developed later.

3. VERB FORMING SUFFIX *-m- ({-t-})*

The verb-forming suffix *-m-*[28] attached to nouns gives the newly derived intransitive verbs the meaning of "taking on the quality that is assigned by the stem" (Болд 1986, p. 114) or "becoming of what is assigned by the stem" (Poppe 1937, p. 136) as for example in Mongolian *гэмт-* "to get damaged, to get hurt" < *гэм* "harm, damage". It is rather an exception in modern borrowings.

угаарта- "to suffer from (*lit.* to be affected by) carbon monoxide" < yraap "carbon monoxid, CO" (< Ru. *coll.* yrap "carbon monoxide; poisoning by CO") + -та-
Ex.: *Галыг Аврах, гал унтраах X ангийн алба хаагчид унтраахаар очиход 30–35 насны эрэгтэй хүн **угаартаж** нас барсан байжээ.* [26]
When the 10th Rescue and Fire-fighting Squad arrived to extinguish the fire, the 30–35-year-old man was found dead from carbon monoxide.

4. VERB FORMING SUFFIX *-ж- ({-ži-*})

Some modern borrowings, usually those related to technical items or terms, are converted into verbs by attaching the suffix *-ж-* with the general meaning of "to become what is assigned by the stem" (Poppe 1951, p. 46, Крылов 2004, p. 78). This pattern is found also in some Mongolian neologisms made up of native elements, such as *улстөрж-* "to politicize" < *улс төр* "politics". It is also remarkable that verbs with this suffix are often used in causative form with the suffix *-уул-/-үүл-*, sometimes even more often than verbs in their primary form, as is the case with *улстөржүүл-* "to make politicized".

автоматжи- "to automatize", "to automate" < автомат "automatic machine" (< Ru. автомат) + -ж-
Ex.: *Реклам байршуулах үйл ажиллагаа **автоматжиж** маш хялбар болсон.* [27]
The act of placing the advertisement has become very easy after it has been automated.

автоматжуул- "to make automatized", "to make automated"
Ex.: *Программын тусламжтайгаар төрөл бүрийн бизнес ажиллагааг **автоматжуулах** боломжтой.* [28]
It is possible to make various business activities automated with the help of the software.

вакцинжуула- "to vaccinate" < вакцин "vaccine" (< Ru. вакцина) + -ж- + -уул-
Ex.: *Адуун сүргийг **вакцинжуулах** ажилд 264 сая төгрөг зарцуулна.* [29]
264 milion tugriks will be spent on vaccinating horse herds.

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28) Also described as *-ma²*– by Poppe (1951, p. 46) and Krylov (Крылов 2004, p. 78).

витаминжи- "to vitaminize" < витамин "vitamin" (< Ru. витамин) + -ж-

Ex.: *Ингэснээр таны хуйх **витаминжиж**, үс тань хугарч, хуурайшиж унах нь багасна.* [30]

Thus (*lit.* by doing this) your scalp will be enriched by vitamins (*lit.* vitaminized) and your hair will stop splitting, dehydrating and falling out.

витаминжуула- "to make vitaminized"

Ex.: *Манай компани нь анх 2005 онд байгуулагдаж **витаминжуулсан** ус үйлдвэрлэж эхэлсэн юм.* [31]

Our company was established in 2005 and started to produce vitaminized water.

индексжүүлэ- "to make indexes", "to index (also in IT)" < индекс "index" (< Int., Ru. индекс) + -ж- + -үүл-

Ex.: *Малын **индексжүүлсэн** даатгалыг үндэсний хэмжээнд хэрэгжүүлэх нь зөв үү?* [32]

Is it right to implement the index-based livestock insurance nationally?

йоджуула- "to iodize" < йод "iod" (< Ru. йод) + -ж- + -уул-

Ex.: ***йоджуулсан** давс*

iodised salt

компьютержи- (*neo.*) "to computerize" < компьютер "computer, PC" (< Int. computer, Ru. компьютер) + -ж-

Ex.: *Гаалийн шалгалт **компьютержиж** чирэгдэл багассан ч төмөр замд вагон, чингэлэг хүрэлцдэггүйгээс оргил ачааллын үед зорчигчид, ачаа бараа нэг, хоёр хоног саатдагийг хүмүүс гаалиас боллоо гэж буруу ойлгодог гэж тэд ярьж байсан.* [33]

They said that although delays have decreased after custom control became computerized, if passengers, luggage and goods are delayed for one or two days because of the lack of trains or containers in the rush hour people misuderstand it as a failure of customs.

компьютержүүл- (*neo.*) "to provide with computers", "to make computerized"

Ex.: *Сургалтын процессийг **компьютержүүлэх** үндэс.* [34]

The rudiments of computerizing the educational process.

мафижи- "to mafia-tize" < мафи "mafia" (< Ru. мафия) + -ж-

Ex.: *Шинэ орос нь **мафижсан** гэмт бүлэглэл дээр тулгуурласан төрийн тогтолцоотой.* [35]

The state system of the new Russia is mafiatized and based on criminal groups.

минералжи- "to mineralize" < минерал "mineral" (< Ru. минерал) + -ж-

Ex.: *Чух нуурын 5 г/л **минералжсан** ус мал, зэрлэг ан амьтны хэрэгцээнд тохирно.* [36]

5 hl. mineralized water from Lake Chukh is suitable for use by livestock and wild animals.

техникжи- "to become furnished or equipped with technical facilities, to technicize" < техник "technics" (< Ru. техника) + -ж-

Ex.: *… хэт **техникжсэн** нийгэм…*

… over-engineered society…

техникжүүл- "to technicize"

Ex.:   *Түүнчлэн бичил уурхайн үйл ажиллагааг **техникжүүлж**, түүнийг мөнгөн уснаас*
       холдуулахыг энэ төслийнхөн зорьж байгаа юм байна. [37]
       Thus, the people realizing this project intend to technicize the operation of the micro-
       mines and to extract the mercury.

технологжи- "to become equipped with technology" < технологи "technology" (Ru.
   технология) + -ж-

5. VERB FORMING SUFFIX *-чил-* (*{-*čilə-}*)

The verb-forming suffix *-чил-* denotes "to make something become as as-
signed by the stem" and can be attached similarly to nouns and to adjectives.
According to MM-2 (MM-2 1997, p. 192) this suffix is a compound of the
noun- forming *-ч-* and the verb-forming suffix *-ла-*. For example, *шинэчил-*
"to renew, to restore" < *шинэ* "new", *үрчил-* "to adopt" (*lit.* to behave as if it
was one's own child)[29] < *үр-* "off-spring, child", etc. In some verbal forms of
modern Mongolian *-и-* dissappears and the relevant vowel is added after the
suffix according to the vowel harmony. Some verbs with the suffix *-чил-* ex-
ist along with verbs derived from the same foreign stems by attaching a dif-
ferent suffix with the same or similar meaning, such as *кодчил-* and *кодло-*
"to encode", etc.

автоматчла- "to automate" < автомат "automatic machine" (< Ru. автомат) + -чил-
Ex.:   ***автоматчилсан** системүүд*
       automated systems

аттестатчла- "to attest" < аттестат "the certificate of attestation" (< Ru. аттестат) + -чил-
Ex.:   *Эрдэм шинжилгээний ажилтныг **аттестатчлах** журам*
       Rules of attestation of the research workers [38]

программчла- "to programme" < програм "(computer) programme" (< Ru. про-
   грамма) + -чил-
Ex.:   *Хичээлийн товч агуулга: … Интернэт сүлжээнд **программчлах** аргуудтай танилцах*
       …   [39]
       The summary of the subject: … To become acquainted with the methods of program-
       ming in the Internet"

театрчла- "to dramatize, adapt for the stage" < театр "theatre" (< Ru. театр) + -чил-
Ex.:   ***театрчилсан** үзмэр*
       the dramatized show

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29) Adapted according to Poppe 1937, p. 138.

B. VERBS DERIVED FROM FOREIGN VERBAL STEMS

Apart from the prevailing number of verbs derived from borrowings treated as nominal stems, several, but considerably fewer, cases of conversion of the foreign verbal stem into a verb are found in Mongolian. This is due to the "hierarchy of borrowability" according to which nouns and adjectives lend themselves most easily to borrowing, while, for example, verbs are more difficult to adopt, especially if the languages in contact are typologically different. As Winford (2003, p. 51) shows several hierarchies of borrowability have been proposed since as early as the 19th century, but he considers the following one, cited from Muysken[30], to be the most comprehensive:

nouns > adjectives > verbs > preposition > co-ordinating conjunctions > quantifiers > determines > free pronouns > clitic pronouns > subordinating conjunctions

The examples presented here show that there is therefore one or a combination of two of the verb-forming suffixes discussed above (usually *-ла⁴–* or *-л- + -да⁴–*) attached to the stem of the Russian verb which adopt in according to the Mongolian pattern. More examples from the period of the intense influence of Russian on Mongolian in the last century are given by Luvsandorji,[31] such as for instance *болтаала-* "to dangle" < *болтаться* "to dangle, to hang about" (Luvsandorji 2005, p. 102). Some examples of transformation of the Tibetan verbal forms into Mongolian verbs are shown in J. Luvsandorji's paper on Tibetan loanwords in Mongolian (Lubsandorji 2002, p. 111).

Yet it is not clear whether two borrowings from English, (found in modern Mongolian and shown under 2), should be treated as verbal stems of the respective Mongolian verbs, or rather as nominal ones. The reason is that the first loan originally appeared in Mongolian as a command on computers and mobile phones, icon or button "save" and the second one as the text of an official stamp ("cancelled") and therefore they might by as well be treated as nouns by Mongolians.

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30) Cf. Muysken, P., 1981, Creole tense/mood/aspect systems: an unmarked case? In: Pieter Muysken (ed.) *Generative Studies on Creole Languages,* pp. 181–99. Dordrecht: Foris.

31) Lubsandorji 2005, p. 102; Lubsandorji 2002, p. 112.

1. VERBS DERIVED FROM RUSSIAN VERBS

балиала- "to pull for, to cheer" < балиа- (< Ru. *боле-ть* "to pull for, to cheer") + -ла-

Ex.: *2002 онд зурагтаар сурвалжлага харж байсан. Тэрэнд "Энэ ДАШТаар ямар улсыг* **балиалж** *байна, ямар улс түрүүлэх вэ?" гээд асуухад бүгд л Бразил гэж хариулж байсан.* [40]

     In 2002 I watched reportage on TV, where to the question "Who do you root for in the World Championship, which country will win?" everybody said: "Brazil".

занималда- "to be engaged, occupied with something" < занима- (< Ru. занима-ться) + -л- + -да-

Ex. 1: *…улс төрөөр занималддаг юм уу…*(Bayasaa, November 2007)

     … [I am thinking about] getting involved in politics…

Ex. 2: *Балхаа ах бас шүлэгчээр "занималдах уу".* [41]

     "Balkhaa, you are also engaged in writing poems, aren't you?" (*lit.* … engaged in being a poet …)

2. VERBS DERIVED FROM ENGLISH VERBS (THE CATEGORY UNDER QUESTION)

*****сээвлэ- ([**se:ⁱwĕl-**]; [**se:wĕl-**]) "to save" < [se:ⁱw]; [se:w] (*нео.*) "(to) save" (< Eng. to save) + -лэ-

Ex.: *Яг хаана сээвэлсэн бэ?*

     Where precisely did you save it?[32]

[**ka:nseldčix**-][33] "to cancel" < Eng. cancel(led) "text of the stamp (in the passport)" + [(-d-)] + [-čix-]

Ex.: … [ka:nseldčixne] *шүү*.

     … I will cancel [the visa] + (emphatic particle *шүү* to emphasize the intention)

3. Conclusion

As it can be seen from the examples classified and described above, only six from more than twenty verb-forming suffixes[34] are active in converting the borrowings into the verb. In summary, we can arrive at the following scheme:

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32) Staff in Internet Café in Ulan Bator, July 2005.

33) This "nonce" borrowing, apparently a part of professional jargon, was recorded at the Foreigners' Registration Office in Ulan Bator in 2002. A term "nonce borrowing" is used by D. Winford (Winford 2003: 40) for not widely used borrowings.

34) Due to the different approach of the linguists to the classsification of verb-forming suffixes, the number given in the relevant publications differs.

noun ———————— -ла⁴–; -да⁴–; -т-; -ж-; -чил-

borrowing ⟨   ⟩ naturalised verb

verbal stem —— -ла⁴–; -лда⁴–
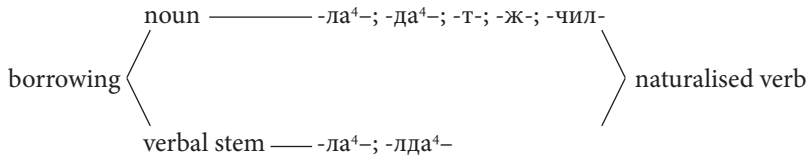
The verbs derived from borrowings presented in this paper are representative, but their number is by no means final or fixed. In the course of time some other examples may still be found, while some others may disappear or be substituted by a native verb. This system of converting loanwords into nativ-ised verbs is equally used by Mongolians living elsewhere outside Mongolia, thus creating specific local features in the Mongolian language. For exam-ple, Mongolians in the Czech Republic sometimes refer to the procedure of claiming asylum as *азилда- "to claim asylum" < *азил "asylum" < Cz. *azyl*. Based on that it is evident that the Mongolian language proves its distinctive ability to adapt foreign elements in such a way that they fully conform to its morphological and phonetic structure, and also to the way the native Mon-golian speakers think and express themselves.

Appendix

LIST OF FORMS OF PRONUNCIATION

автобусда-	[awtʌvu:sdă-]; [atwu:sdă-]³⁵
автоматжи-	[awtʌma:tǯi-]
автоматжуула-	[awtʌma:tǯu:lă-]
автоматчла-	[awtʌma:tčil-]
актла-	[a:xtăl-]
архивла-	[a·r̉x'i:văl-]
аттестатчла-	[a·ďista:tčăl-]
балиала-	[ba·ľia:l-]
балиашигла-	[ba·ľia:šigăl-]
банкетла-	[ba·ŋǩ'a:tăl-]; [ba·ŋx'a:tăl-]³⁶
бетондо-	[bita:ndă-]; [bito:ndŏ-]
бойкотло-	[bo·eko:tŏl-]
вакуумда-	[vaku:mdă-]
вакцинжуула-	[vakʼci:nǯu:lă-]; [bakʼci:nǯu:lă-]

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35) Pronunciation of older people and people from the countryside with limited contact with foreign languages.

36) Dtto.

винодо- [vino:dŏ-]
витаминжи- [vitʌmi:nǯĭ-]; [bitʌmi:nǯĭ-]
диктатурда- [dʼixtatu:rdă-]; [dʼaˑxtatu:rdă-]
замаскда- [ʒama:sagdă-]; [zama:sagdă-]³⁷
занималда- [ʒaˑnʼma:ldă-]; [zaˑnʼma:ldă-]³⁸
ёлкдо-; ёолкдо- [yo:logdŏ-]; [yo:loxtŏ-]
индексжүүлэ- [inde:ksǯü:lĕ-]
йоджуула- [yo:dʒu:lă-]
канондо- [kono:ndŏ-]
– [ka:nseldčix-]
компьютержи- [koˑmʼpʼü:terǯi-]
компьютержүүл- [koˑmʼpʼü:terǯü:le-]
– [ko:ntordŏ-]
конкурсда- [koŋkü:rstĕ-]
лакда- [la:kad-]
ламинаторда- [laˑmʼna:tardă-]
лоббидо- [loˑbbi:dŏ-]
мафижи- [ma:fʒi-]
машинда- [maˑši:ndă-]; [maˑšaˑ·ndă-]³⁹
– [ma:kdă-]
мейлдэ- [maˑɛldă-]
метрлэ- [mʼɛ:tĕrəl-]; [mi:tăral-]; [mia:trăl-]⁴⁰
микродо- [mi:kərdŏ-]
минералжи- [mʼaˑnʼra:lʒi-]
монтажла- [manta:ǯăl-]
очерло-; оочерло-; оочирло- [oˑe:čᵉrŏl-]; [oˑe:čⁱrŏl-]
паркетла- [paˑrke:tăl-]
пивдэ- [pi:wdĕ-]; [pia:wdă-]
плитада- [bⁱa·lta:dă-]
принтерлэ- [pᵉri:nterlĕ-]; [pⁱri:nterlĕ-]
программчла- [paragra:mčăl-]
продюсерло- [pordü:sĕrol-]
редакторла- [erda:xtarăl-]; [reda:xtarăl-]⁴¹
рекламда- [erekla:mdă-]; [rekla:mdă-]⁴²
*сээвлэ- [se:ⁱwĕl-]; [se:wĕl-]
сексдэ- [se:ksdĕ-]
сигнала- [signa:l(d)ă-]; [sⁱagna:ldă-]; [čagna:l(d)ă-]
сканнерда- [ⁱskaenerdă –]; [ⁱske:nerdĕ-]
скочдо- [ⁱsko:čdŏ-]; [ᵊsko:čdŏ-]; [ᵊsko:čĕrdŏ-]

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37) Pronunciation of people able to pronounce [z] under the influence of foreign languages, especially of Russian.
38) Dtto.
39) Pronunciation of older people and people from the countryside with limited contact with foreign languages.
40) Dtto.
41) Pronunciation of people able to pronounce [r] under the influence of foreign languages.
42) Dtto.

спонсорло-	[ⁱspo:ŋsŏrol-]
таксида-	[ta·ksi:dă –]
театрчла-	[tia:tarča·l-]; [ča:tarča·l-]⁴³
тестлэ-	[te:stĕl-]
техникжи-	[te:xnigǯi-]; [te:xnegǯi-]⁴⁴
техникжүүл-	[te:xnigǯü:lĕ-]
технологж(и)–	[texnolo:gǯi-]; [tixnolo:gǯi-]
тоормосло-	[to:rmoslŏ-]; [to:romsoglŏ-]⁴⁵
–	[xillĕ-]; [xellĕ-]
угаарта-	[uga:rtă-]
факсда-	[fa:ksdă-]; [pʰa:kasdă-]
хармаала-	[xarma:lă-]
цензурдэ-	[cenʒü:rdĕ-]
чатла-; чаатла-	[ča:tăl-]
шантаажла-	[šanta:ǯil-]; [šanta:ǯăl-]
шоуда-	[šoudă-]; [šo:wudă-]

EXPLANATORY NOTES:

a·	vowel affected by palatalisation
ă	reduced vowel
a:	long vowel
rʼ	consonant affected by palatalisation
pʰ	aspirated consonant

ABBREVIATIONS

AD	Academic Dictionary [Большой академический монгольско-русский словарь. (The Great Academic Mongolian-Russian Dictionary). Москва 2001–2002.]
Arab.	Arabic
arch.	archaism
Chin.	Chinese
coll.	colloquial
comp.	compare
Cz.	Czech
Eng.	English
IN	interview
lit.	literally
MM-1	Modern Mongolian [Орчин цагийн монгол хэл (Modern Mongolian). Ed. Y. Ариунболд. Улаанбаатар 2004.]

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43) Pronunciation of the old people and of the people with limited contact with foreign languages.
44) Dtto.
45) Dtto.

MM-2   Modern Mongolian [Орчин цагийн монгол хэл (Modern Mongolian). Улаанба-
        атар 1997.]
Mo.   Mongolian
n.   noun
neo.   neologism
pol.   political
Ru.   Russian
Skt.   Sanskrit
vs.   versus
Tib.   Tibetan

INFORMANTS

Bayasaa   – male, around 50 years old, lawyer from Ulan Bator
Enkhtuya   – elderly woman, enterpreneur, probably from Ulan Bator
Luvsandorji, J.   – Associate Professor at the Seminar of Mongolian Studies, Charles Uni-
                     versity in Prague
Nyamaa   – around 25-year-old male from Arkhangai aimag
Oogii   – Oyunchimeg's sister-in-law, 35 years old, also from Ulan Bator
Otgon-erdene, E.   – female, around 27 years old, from Khovsgol aimag
Oyunchimeg, D.   – Mongolian woman, 42 years old, from Ulan Bator
Uyanga, E.   – Oyunchimeg's daughter, around 20 years old, university student in Ulan
                     Bator

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Barguzin Evenki: a Tungusic dialect in Buryatia*

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Summary: The paper gives a report on some linguistic fieldwork carried out in 2009 among the Barguzin Evenkis. It also lists some phonetic criteria that characterize the Mongolic elements of Barguzin Evenki (BE), on the basis of which it is possible to classify the loanwords into different layers.

0. Introduction

The Barguzin Evenki (BE) people, a small Tungusic group, live on the territory of Buryatia. In spite of the fact that they have lived among Buryats for quite a long period, they have been able to preserve their language and culture. All of them are trilingual: they speak Evenki, Buryat and Russian.

In August, 2009 the author had the opportunity to carry out fieldwork among the Barguzin Evenki people of the Kurumkan Region of Buryatia in Russia. This paper presents a short overview of the Barguzin Evenki people and their language, focusing on its lexical and phonetic features. It points out those aspects which distinguish it from the other dialects of Evenki.

0. Geographical position

Today the Barguzin Evenki people are a settled group inhabiting the northern part of the Barguzin Valley near Lake Baikal. They live in the village of Suvo in the Barguzin Region and in the villages of Alla and Ulyunkhan in the Kurumkan Region of the Buryat Republic. They number approximately 370 persons.

The area lies in the Barguzin Valley, and stretches between the Ikat and the Barguzin mountain ridges. The village of Alla, where I carried out my fieldwork, lies 40 km north of Kurumkan, the centre of the Kurumkan Region,

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while from Kurumkan to Ulan-Ude, the capital of Buryatia, the distance is 412 km. This area is encircled by high mountains and abounds in rivers and forests.

In addition to the Barguzin Evenkis living on the territory of Buryatia, the Evenki people live in the North-Baikal and Baunt regions. All these territories are situated in the northern part of Buryatia. The total number in Buryatia is approximately 800 (Bulatova 2002, p. 268; Burykin & Parfenova 2003, p. 642), but their exact habitations are unknown.

Linguistically, there are two dialectal groups in Buryatia. The Baunt and the North-Baikal dialects belong to the southern sibilant group, but the Baunt dialect represents the hissing type (*s-*, *VsV*), whereas the North-Baikal dialect exhibits features of the hushing type (*š-*, *VšV*). In turn, the Barguzin dialect belongs to the eastern sibilant-spirant (*s-*, *VhV*) group.

The Barguzin Evenkis sharply distinguish themselves from the Baunt and North-Baikalian Evenkis. While the Baunt Evenkis are called *oričēn* 'reindeer-breeders', the North-Baikalian Evenkis are called *nyēu oričēn* 'the northern reindeer-breeders'. In the literature, the North-Baikalian Evenkis are known as *lamučen* 'fishermen' from the Evenki word *lamu* 'sea'.

Although the Barguzin Evenkis identify themselves as *ewenki*, they have been given various names, such as *xamnigan* or *murčen*. The Buryats generally call them *xamnigan*, which is not identical with the Mongolian Kham-nigans.[1] The other name, *murčen*, stems from their lifestyle (horse-breeders). The Barguzin Evenkis were once nomadic or horse breeders like the Mongolian people, whose lifestyle they had adopted. The terminology of livestock-breeding abounds in Mongolic loanwords (e.g. the names of domestic animals or their body parts), which are otherwise absent from Evenki dialects.

Today, the Barguzin Evenkis and the Buryats in this territory are no longer nomadic and live in villages. As the Barguzin Evenkis told me, their houses, food, clothes and customs are the same as those of the Buryats; only their languages differ. Similar findings were noted in the Barguzin historical chronicle of 1887: "The Barguzin Evenkis and the Buryats live in houses in winter, and in yurtas in summer; they keep animals and are engaged in agriculture…" (Vostrikov & Poppe 2007, p. 76).

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1) The Mongolian Khamnigan people live scattered across the Trans-Baikalian region in the Aga National District of Chita Province (Damdinov 1968, p. 1974); in the north-eastern part of Mongolia in the Khentei Province (Kőhalmi 1959, p. 163); and in the north-eastern part of China, in the Khulun Buir Province (Janhunen 1990, pp. 11–12). Since their language has preserved many archaic features, the Khamnigan Mongol language is considered to be one of the archaic Mongolic languages (Janhunen 2003, pp. 83–101).

Interestingly, the Barguzin Evenkis refer to the Buryats as *dagu* and do not use the term *buryād* at all. This is most probably due to the fact that the territory where the Barguzin Evenkis now live once formed part of Dauria, which lay on the territory of Transbaikalia and extended as far as the western coast of the River Amur (Kőhalmi 1982, p. 252). The people who lived on the territory of Dauria until the 17th century were called *daur* by the Russian pioneers, without any further distinction. According to archive materials, the Buryats moved here in 1740 from the western part of Baikal. These Buryats belonged among the western Ekhirit and Bulagat tribes. Some of them were members of the *galzūd* clan, which formed part of the eastern Khori-Buryat tribe, but in the 15th century they moved away and joined the Ekhirit tribe (Poppe 1933, p. 38; Vostrikov & Poppe 2007, p. 71).

Until 1740, when the Buryats moved there, the land of Barguzin belonged to the Evenkis. This fact is well demonstrated by the many geographical names in this region, e.g. the names of the rivers: Ulyun, Ulyunkhan, Kurumkan, Kucherkan, Argada, Ina, Turka or the names of the villages: Chitkan, Uro, Suvo etc. (For details on the Evenki origin of the geographical names in the territory of Buryatia, see Cydendambaev 1981, pp. 75–77; Dambuev; Manžueva & Rinčinova 2007).

1. Language status and use

Sociolinguistic researches carried out in Buryatia indicated that 70% of the Evenki people can speak the Evenki language (Burykin & Parfenova 2003, p. 642). Unfortunately, these statistical data are not in accord with the situation I experienced during my fieldwork. I found the number of active speakers to be much lower.

In Buryatia, the standard Evenki language is taught as a compulsory subject in eight elementary schools and as an optional subject in eight grammar schools. It is also taught at the Sunday school of the Evenki cultural centre *Arun* in Ulan-Ude. Since 1991, the standard Evenki language has been taught at the Department of the Northern Aboriginal languages (in Russian *Kafedra korennyh narodov Severa*) of Buryat State University, where it is possible to earn a qualification as a teacher of Evenki language and literature. Here only one hour per week of Evenki language teaching is provided. Every week, there are 20– and 30-minute broadcasts on the Buryat radio and television, respectively.

The same situation applies to the Barguzin Evenkis. All Barguzin Evenki children study Literary Evenki in secondary school, which means 5 hours per

week. However, the fact is that this relatively high number of lessons per week does not help them to learn the Evenki language very well, because Literary Evenki and Barguzin Evenki differ from each other in a considerable number of phonetic and lexical features. It follows that other family members cannot help the children in their studies. Of course, the families themselves are to blame as well, because most of the parents speak with their children in Buryat.

There are many reasons for Buryat assimilation. The first is the overwhelming number of Buryats. Officially, there are 1,066 inhabitants of the village of Alla, who are composed of three groups: 75 Russians (7%), 114 Evenkis (11%) and 877 Buryats (82%). Both the Evenkis and the Russians speak Buryat perfectly. The number of Evenki speakers with native competence is only 17, all aged above 50.

The next reason for Buryat assimilation is mixed marriages with Buryats. The Barguzin Evenkis have seven different clans. The genealogy and the name of the clan play important roles in a person's life, because their societies are exogamous: marriage within one clan is not allowed. All Barguzin Evenkis know their genealogical tree very well, usually up to nine generations. Exogamy explains the high number of mixed marriages with Buryats. It is noteworthy that children born in such mixed families cannot speak the Evenki language.

In spite of this difficult situation, the young generation and children have a strong national self-awareness.

2. The Barguzin Evenki clans

Information about the Barguzin Evenki clans, based on archive materials from the 18th and 19th centuries, was published by Poppe (1933), Dolgih (1960) and Shubin (Šubin 1973, pp. 8–21). Poppe (1933, p. 39) divided the clans into four tribes:

a) the *mungal* tribe, including the *galdyōgir*, *čoŋgōgir* and *asivagat* clans;
b) the *balikāgir* tribe, including the *balikāgir* clan;
c) the *limāgir* tribe, including the *limāgir* and *tepkōgir* clans;
d) the *čil'čāgir* tribe, including the *yokōl* and *čolkōgir* clans.

My informants stated that the Barguzin Evenkis are members of seven clans: *balikāgir*, *limāgir*, *tepkōgir*, *kindigir*, *gald'ōgir*, *čoŋgōgir* and *asivagat*. The *čil'čāgir* tribe is currently unknown among the Barguzin Evenkis, but the *yokōl* and *čolkōgir* clans are represented among the North-Baikalian Evenkis. Poppe did not give any information about the *kindigir* clan. According

to Dolgih, the *kindigir* clan belongs to the "reindeer" Evenki group, together with the *čilčāgir* clan (Dolgih 1960, p. 308; Šubin 1973, pp. 11; 15). Vasilevich wrote that this clan was present from the 17th to the early 20th century on the vast territory ranging from the upper part of the River Angara to the western part of the Amur (Vasilevič 1969, p. 270).

The Mongolic influence is clearly observable even in the designation of the clans of the *mungal* tribe. The *galdyōgir*, *čoŋgōgir* and *asivagat* clans are of Buryat origin and were added to the Barguzin Evenki clans during the 18th century (Dolgih 1960, p. 308). It is considered that the designation *galdyōgir* originates from the Khori-Buryat *galzūd*[2] clan, *čoŋgōgir* from the Selenga-Buryat *congōl*[3] clan and *asivagat* from the Selenga-Buryat *ašibagad*[4] clan (Poppe 1933, p. 39; Šubin 1973, p. 16). Shirokogoroff considered that only the *galdyōgir* clan belonged to the *mungal* tribe, and the *asivagat* clan was an old tribe of Tungusic origin (Shirokogoroff 1933, p. 133).

3. Religion

The position of religion among the Barguzin Evenkis deserves mention. Three religious systems are present: Shamanism, Orthodox Christianity and Buddhism.

Traditionally, the religious beliefs of the Evenkis were based on Shamanism. The rich Barguzin Evenki folklore is preserved in the form of historical tales, legends, myths and folk tales, based on animistic concepts (see Voskoboinikov 1958; Zayceva, Intigrinova & Protopova 1999; Afanasʾeva 1999). Today, most of the Barguzin Evenkis are Buddhists, a similar situation to the Buryats. They regularly take part in both Buddhist and Shamanist ceremonies. In communist and socialist times, religion was prohibited, and all temples were closed and destroyed. Since 1991, many new *dacan*s (temples) have been built in different parts of Buryatia and a new flourishing of the religious life is observable. Recently, a large Buddhist monastery was built in Kurumkan.

A small proportion of Barguzin Evenkis were converted to Christianity. An important feature of Russian influence appeared in the form of conversion to Christianity, which started at the end of the 17th century. Their Christianity,

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2) For details on the etymology of the Khori Buryat clan-name *galzūd*, see Cydendambaev 2001, pp. 146–147.
3) For details on the Selenga Buryat clan name *congōl*, see Cydendambaev 2001, pp. 175–176.
4) For details on the Selenga Buryat clan name *ašibagad*, see Cydendambaev 2001, pp. 181–184.

however, was essentially formal, most of the Barguzin Evenkis remaining shamanists (Vostrikov & Poppe 2007, p. 76). In the village of Alla, I had the opportunity to learn from Avgustina Baranova that she and her family had been christianized. As she told me, the Barguzin Evenkis "wear a cross round their necks because of one slice of bread". She showed me her copper cross, which "kept her safe throughout her life." There was an Orthodox church in the village of Ulyun until 1930.

4. Linguistic features of Barguzin Evenki

Barguzin Evenki belongs to the eastern dialect group of the Evenki language. On the other hand Evenki belongs to the northern Tungusic branch, together with the Lamut and the Negidal languages. The Tungusic languages, together with Turkic and Mongolic, form the Altaic language family.

4.1. RESEARCH ON BARGUZIN EVENKI DIALECT

The first researcher into the Barguzin Evenki dialect was Nicholas Poppe. In 1927, he published a short grammatical description and five tales. His material was collected in 1925–1926 in Leningrad, from a native Barguzin Evenki student, Panteleimon Nikolaevich Baranov (Poppe 1927), the uncle of my informant Avgustina Lavrenťevna Baranova. She had not heard about the Evenki material collected by Nicholas Poppe, the reason probably being that from 1945 until the 1990s Nicholas Poppe was on the index of prohibited writers in the Soviet Union.[5] Panteleimon Baranov presumably kept his connection with Poppe secret.

Nine years later, on the basis of the material from Poppe, Gorcevskaya (1936) compiled a grammar, including phonetic, morphological and syntactical descriptions. Although her work is more detailed, one of its shortcomings is that it was based on one speaker only. In 1953, the collection of Rinchino was published by Kotwicz. As for the earlier materials, this was again based on one informant (Kotwicz 1953).

Some material on Barguzin Evenki appeared in the famous Evenki-Russian Dictionary of Vasilevich (Vasilevič 1958). Recently some dialectal data have been included in the small Evenki-Russian thematic dictionary of Afanasʹeva (2004).

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5) For details, see Alpatov 1996, pp. 3–4.

4.2. LINGUISTIC PECULIARITIES OF BARGUZIN EVENKI

4.2.1. PHONETIC FEATURES:

Barguzin Evenki belongs to the eastern group or the sibilant-spirant group of the Evenki language, which demonstrates the following features:

A. The most important criterion is that the Common-Tungusic initial consonant *s- is preserved, e.g.

> Literary Evenki[6] *sele* 'iron' ~ BE *sele*
> Literary Evenki *syen* 'ear' ~ BE *syen*
> Literary Evenki *sī* 'bile, gall' ~ BE *sī*
> Literary Evenki *silki-* 'to wash' ~ BE *silki-*

B. The next important criterion is whether the Common-Tungusic intervocalic consonant *VsV is regularly pharyngealized, e.g.

> Literary Evenki *bosokto* 'kidneys' ~ BE *bohokto*
> Literary Evenki *ēsa* 'eye' ~ BE *ēha*
> Literary Evenki *mōsa* 'forest' ~ BE *mōha*
> Literary Evenki *osīkta* 'nail' ~ BE *ohikta*

C. The strong labialization of vowels in all positions, e.g.
In the first syllable:

> Literary Evenki *ŋēle-* 'to fear, to be afraid' ~ BE *ŋōlo-*
> Literary Evenki *sēkse* 'blood' ~ BE *sōkse*
> Mo. **ēdemeg < egede-mAG*: LM *egedemeg* 'curdled milk' < *eged(e)–* ~ *ede-* 'to turn sour, sour, curdle, set, coagulate'; cf. Dagur *ēde-*; Buryat *ēdemeg*; Kh. *ēdem* → BE *ōdemug* 'cottage cheese'

In the last syllable:

> Literary Evenki *dïlkēn* 'fly' ~ BE *dïlkōn*
> Literary Evenki *givčēn* 'wild goat' ~ BE *givčōn*
> Literary Evenki *ičēn* 'elbow' ~ BE *ičōn*
> Literary Evenki *lepurē* 'wing' ~ BE *lepurō*
> Mo. **mende*: cf. LM *mendü*; Buryat *mende*; Kh. *mend* → BE *mendō* 'hello!'

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6) The Literary Evenki data are quoted from the dictionaries of Vasilevich (Vasilevič 1958; 2005).

In different positions:

Literary Evenki *heyep* 'blunt (*knife*)' ~ BE *hoyop*
Literary Evenki *evīle* 'spring' ~ BE *ovīlo*

D. Palatalization of the original Tungusic consonant sequence *-nŋ-*, e.g.

Literary Evenki *inŋakta* 'skin' ~ BE *iŋ́akta* 'feather'
Literary Evenki *inŋekte* 'bird cherry (*Padus*)' ~ BE *iŋ́ekte*
Literary Evenki *tunŋa* 'five' ~ BE *tuŋ́a*
Literary Evenki *henŋen* 'knee' ~ BE *heŋ́e*

E. Change in the original sequence *-ks-* > *-kš-*, e.g.

Literary Evenki *imūkse* 'fat' ~ BE *imūkše*
Literary Evenki *ēksa* 'rock face, slope of ravine' ~ BE *ēkša*
Literary Evenki *ekse-* 'to carry' ~ BE *ekše-*
Literary Evenki *tuksakī* 'hare' ~ BE *tukšakī*

4.2.2. SEMANTIC CHANGES

Literary Evenki *etïrkēn* 'old man' ~ BE *etïrkū* 'bear (tabu)'
Literary Evenki *iŋā* 'sand-bank, sand-bar' ~ BE 'stone'
Literary Evenki *inŋakta* 'skin of animal' ~ BE *iŋ́akta* 'feather'
Literary Evenki *keŋtïrē* 'back, spine' ~ BE *kentïrō* 'chest'
Literary Evenki *kiltïrē* 'dry' ~ BE *kiltïrē* 'bread'
Literary Evenki *lepurē* 'feather' ~ BE *lepurō* 'wing'

4.2.4. HYBRID WORDS

There are two Barguzin Evenki compound words, one element of which is Mongolic, while the other is Evenki:

Barguzin Evenki *gonimsūliǰe* = wolf, lit. 'with a long tail':

< Evenki *gonim* 'long'
+ ← Mo. *sūl* 'tail': cf. LM *segül*; Buryat *hŭl*
+ < Tungusic +*i*: Possessive suffix, 3rd person singular
+< Tungusic: +*di*: Instrumental case

Barguzin Evenki *čarǰer* 'two-year-old colt':

← Mo. *čar* 'ox': cf. LM *čar* ~ *šar*; Buryat *sar*
+ < Tungusic +*dyarī*: Evenki denominal noun suffix which forms nouns that designate the
    age of animals (Vasilevič 1958, p. 756)

2.4.5. MONGOLIC ELEMENTS[7]

There are more than 300 traceable Mongolic loanwords in Barguzin Evenki. The results of research show that most of the Mongolic elements in Evenki belong to the oldest layer. In spite of the fact that the Barguzin Evenkis have lived among Buryats for centuries, most of the Mongolic elements in their language exhibit ancient 'daguroid'[8] peculiarities, not Buryat.

From a linguistic point of view, the main phonetic criteria of the Mongolic elements in Barguzin Evenki are as follows:

A. Preservation of the Middle Mongolic initial *h*-, e.g.

BE *helyē* 'kite' ← MMo. *hele'e*; cf. LM *eliy-e*; Buryat *elyē*; Kh. *elē(n)*
BE *hirugē-* 'to bless' ← MMo. *hirü'e-*; cf. LM *irüge-*; Dagur *šurē-*; Buryat *yürȫ-*; Kh. *yerȫ-*
BE *hukur* 'cow' ← MMo. *hüker*; cf. LM *üker*; Dagur *hukure*; Khamnigan Mongol *ükür*; Buryat, Kh. *üxer* (← Turkic)

B. Intervocalic **VgV* is preserved, while it results in a long vowel in Modern Mongolic, e.g.

BE *emegen* 'saddle' ← Mo.: cf. LM *emegel*; cf. Dagur, Buryat, Kh. *emēl*
BE *imagan* 'goat' ← Mo.: LM *imayan*; cf. Dagur *imān*; Buryat, Kh. *yamā(n)*
BE *bogoli* 'cord, rope; string' ← Mo. **boyoli < boyo-li*[9]: LM *boyo-* 'to tie, to tie up, to bind, to bandage'; cf. Buryat, Kh. *bō-*

C. Guttural -*g*- in the intervocalic position, which has not evolved into a long vowel in Modern Mongolic, is unvoiced in Barguzin Evenki, which demonstrates two different origins of the sequence *VgV* in Mongolic, e.g.

BE *dorokon* 'hedgehog' ← Mo.: LM *doroyon* 'badger'; cf. Buryat, Kh. *dorgon*
BE *unukān* 'foal in his first year' ← Mo.: LM *unayan*; cf. Buryat, Kh. *unaga(n)*
BE *idokon* 'shamaness' ← Mo.: LM *iduyan ~ uduyan*; cf. Dagur *yadagan*; Buryat *udagan*; Kh. *udgan*

D. Preservation of the Mongolic sequence **si*, which appears as *šV*- in Modern Mongolic, e.g.

BE *sile* 'soup' ← Mo.: LM *silü*; cf. Dagur *šil*; Buryat *šülen*; Kh. *šöl*
BE *sipkede-* 'to lock' ← Mo. **sibkede-*: cf. LM *sibkede-*; Buryat *šebxede-*
BE *teksi* 'straight, flat' ← Mo. **tegsi*: LM *tegsi*; cf. Dagur *tegši ~ terši*; Buryat *tegše*; Kh. *tegš*

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7) I have dealt with the Mongolic loanwords in Barguzin Evenki in detail in a separate paper (Khabtagaeva 2010).
8) This term was introduced by Doerfer (1985, pp. 161–169) for loanwords which display features that resemble or are identical to modern Dagur.
9) -*li* is a Mongolian deverbal noun suffix (Poppe 1964, §162).

E. Change of the sequence **si* to *či* in some Evenki dialects, which is evidence that **si* had already become *š*, which points to the later layer, e.g.

> BE *činaka* 'ladle, dipper' ← Mo. **šinaya*: LM *sinaya(n)*; cf. Khamnigan Mongol *šinax*; Buryat, Kh. *šanaga*;
> BE *činehun* 'Larch' ← Mo. **šinesün*: LM *sinesün*; cf. Buryat *šenehen*; Kh. *šines(en)*
> BE *čiwuke* 'awl, spike' ← Mo. **šibüge*: LM *sibüge*; cf. Dagur *šeugu*; Buryat *šübge*; Kh. *šövög*

F. Preservation of the initial *č-* and *ǰ-*, which points to the Old Mongolic layer, while in Modern Mongolic it is changed, e.g.

> BE *čar* 'ox' ← Mo. **čar*: LM *čar ~ šar*; cf. Buryat *sar*; Kh. *šar*
> BE *čučugui* 'sour cream' ← Mo. **čöčögei < *čöčö+GAi*: LM *čöčögei*; cf. Buryat *süsegi*; Kh. *cöcgī*
> BE *ǰē* 'nephew or niece' ← Mo. **ǰē*: LM *jige*; cf. Dagur *džē*; Buryat *zē*; Kh. *dzē*
> BE *ǰon* 'folk, people' ← Mo. **ǰon*: LM *jon*; cf. Buryat *zon*; Kh. *dzon*
> BE *ǰurūr* 'matches' ← Mo. **ǰurūl < ǰiru-GUl*: LM *jiruyul < ǰiru-* 'to rub against, to scratch, to strike a match'; cf. Buryat *zurūl*; Kh. *dzurūl*

G. Preservation of the initial *k-* and intervocalic *VkV*, while in Modern Mongolic it is spirantised, e.g.

> BE *karbiŋ* 'the fat on the abdomen of an animal' ← Mo. **karbiŋ*: LM *qarbing*; cf. Buryat *ar'ban*; Kh. *xarwin*
> BE *kuŋere* 'polecat' ← Mo. **küneri < kürene*: LM *küren-e* 'skunk, polecat; weasel'; cf. Buryat *xüneri*; Kh. *xürne* ← Turkic
> BE *ikerē* 'twins' ← Mo. **ikire*: LM *ikire ~ ikere*; cf. Buryat *exir*; Khamnigan Mongol *ikiri*; Kh. *ixer* ← Turkic
> BE *tokum* 'bedding' ← Mo. **toqom < toqo-m*: LM *toqom* 'saddle fender made of felt or leather which is attached to the saddle' < *toqo-* 'to put on or over; to reinforce something by putting something over; to put one thing over another'; cf. Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat, Kh. *toxom*

Conclusion

In this paper I have introduced Barguzin Evenki as a people and as a language. The linguistic features discussed above have revealed the special position of Barguzin Evenki among the Evenki dialects, and the significant Mongolic influence demonstrable not only in their culture and lifestyle, but also in their language. In spite of the fact that they live among Buryats, and in their everyday life they are rapidly proceeding towards assimilation, this dialect of the Evenki language is still a living one, though not with many speakers. I hope that this material will prove helpful not only for Tungusology, but also for Altaic Studies.

Abbreviations

BE Barguzin Evenki
Kh. Khalkha
LM Literary Mongolian
MMo. Middle Mongolic
Mo. Mongolian

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The function of descriptive verbs in colloquial Sibe
1. The basic pair of verbs of motion *ji*- 'to come' vs. *gen*- 'to visit'

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Summary: The paper focuses on two basic verbs of motion in the Sibe language, which form an element of the so-called descriptive verbs – a group with an important function within the grammatical structure of many non-Indo-European languages. I try to outline, using examples from the spoken language, their main grammatical functions and semantic fields. This paper presents a collection of systematically arranged material. A description of other motion verbs in more languages should follow in order to present material for comparison and deeper research.

0. Introduction

The study of many non-Indo-European languages has been facing the problem of the early introduction of Indo-European grammatical categories. Though in the beginning this may have been helpful for initial appropriation of the language structure, it often complicated a deeper understanding both of the structure itself and also of the indigenous language thinking behind it.

The Altaic languages, whose basic grammatical structure can easily be rendered in Indo-European grammatical terms, mostly have still been lacking alternative instruments with which to reveal their internal grammatical systems.[1]

It seems that in this situation the descriptive approach to the languages is especially important, since only by collecting language material and a thorough description using the available means may reveal the essential grammatical peculiarities of Altaic languages and their differences from Indo-European languages.

In all the Altaic languages, as well as in some other East Asian languages, we can see a group of verbs denoting the most common and basic actions,

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1) Although for some languages, like Mongolian, alternative methods and terminology have been proposed and implemented by native linguists (Luvsanvandan, Chinggeltei – Chingaltai 1963; Sechenbaatar 2003), there is still a persisting need to develop a general system of description based on the common Altaic grammatical structure and the grammatical thinking behind it.

which have a somehow special position among other verbs. Sometimes they are called 'descriptive' verbs and despite their very 'concrete' semantic references, their main characteristic function is a greater degree of abstraction. Besides being used in their original lexical meaning, these verbs have a number of auxiliary and grammatical functions.[2]

Verbs connected with motion are invariably an important part of this group. The basic concepts referred to by verbs of motion are generally the same in many Sino-Tibetan and Altaic languages, including Korean and Japanese.

Semantic aspects of motion verbs in various languages have been studied by many scholars, like Leonard Talmy (1975, 1985, 2000), Beth Levin and Malka Rappaport Hovav (1992), Dan Slobin (1996), and others.[3] Most of the works use material of different languages for crosslinguistic comparison of the sematic features of motion verbs.

Scholars, who focus on the Altaic languages, mostly take L. Talmy's conceptual framework and the terminology introduced by him (Motion event, Figure, Ground, Path) as a starting point, as the probably most recent papers by Tsuneko Nakazawa (2007, 2009).

An equally important source for studying motion verbs are the descriptive and practical grammars of the individual languages (Zaharov 1879, Poppe 1937, Sunik 1962, Sechenbaatar 2003, Luvsandorj – Vacek 2004, Li – Zhong – Wang 1984, and others.)

Generally, it is possible to observe that, compared with most European languages, in the Altaic languages verbs are an important part of spatial expressions. In Mongolian and Manchu (as possibly in other languages), there are several basic motion verbs on which the main 'skeleton' of the verbal orientation system is built. Those verbs express the meanings 'to go to a certain point (to go there)', 'to come to the location of the speaker (to come here)', 'to set off and travel', 'to ascend' and 'to descend', 'to go out' and 'to enter'. This basic structure is complemented by another system of verbs of motion with more specific semantic ranges, e.g. 'to pass', 'to return home', 'to return to the starting point', 'to arrive', 'to follow', etc. All motion verbs can be combined with each other as well as with other verbs in various types of verbal phrases.

Verbal phrases are an important space, in which the essential difference from the European languages in "seeing" and rendering actions is revealed.

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2) The question of various combinations of verbs and their functions in Mongolian were also discussed in the M.A. thesis of Š. Párová (1981).

3) See the bibliography by Slobin and Matsumoto http://www.lit.kobe-u.ac.jp/~yomatsum/motionbiblio1.pdf.

Verbs of motion either form the characteristic description of the course of an action (which in European languages is often represented by a single verb), or stand in a modal or auxiliary function. Typical are combinations with other motion verbs, forming fixed expressions with a clearly defined meaning.

The basic motion verbs in Eastern-Asian languages are an important instrument within the system of spatial orientation, and often assume deictic functions, which in some other, e.g. European languages are mostly exercised by pronouns. This is especially noticeable in narratives, when the precise understanding of the described situations and actions often depends on the correct knowledge of the meaning of the particular motion verbs.

In the following text I used collected material of spoken Sibe[4] to suggest ways of achieving a basic orientation in the semantic fields of the examined verbs. I try to outline the main formal differences first, and then attempt to divide the sample of examples into tentative groups following the rendering of their meanings into English. Next I try to list the main types of verbal phrases in which each of the examined verbs occurs with the greatest frequency, first based on the available formal criteria (order of verbs in the phrase) and then, also with the help of English translation, from the point of view of their semantics. Bearing in mind the subjectivity of such criteria, and the limited amount of the material examined, I present this classification only as a tentative way of grasping the scale of meanings expressed by the phrases. This form of description faces problems which accompany the description of verbal phrases in the Altaic languages in general – vague borders of and merging of types, as well as the inevitably subjective character of the classification. Therefore I avoid introducing any fixed and regular structure and instead try to group the available examples of phrases into groups with respect to the estimated degree of grammaticalization of the components. Most types of verbal phrases are further developed into dependent clauses, which fall outside the scope of the present text.

Since the usage of verbs with the lexical meanings 'to come here' and 'to go there' is firmly attached to the focus of the speaker, it is interesting to see how these verbs are used in narratives.

The meaning of these two verbs is defined in the relation to the speaker. Neither of them has a direct lexical equivalent in English, but the verb 'to

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4) The language data were collected during fieldwork in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Province, both in the Chapchal Sibe Autonomous Region and in Urumchi, in 1995, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2008 and 2010. The years of birth of the informants ranged from 1925 to 1968.

come here' is partly similar to the English verb 'to come', and the verb 'to go there' is closest to the English verb 'to visit'.

In theory, these two verbs form a pair of opposites, one having the basic meaning of reaching a point which is different from the speaker's current location, and the other denoting arrival at the speaker's location. The symetricity of this concept can be seen in phrases constituted by both of the verbs – e.g. *gənəmaq jiɣᵊi* [I] have gone there and come back = I have (already) visited the place. In the live speech, however, the usage, idioms and figurative meanings often break the symmetry.

1. The verb *gən-* 'to go there'

The verb *gən-* is used either with an indicated object, or without it. Since it is a transitive verb in the sense that it always denotes motion with a concrete goal, in the latter case the object is always to be understood from the context. The verb 'to go there' is most often used in its direct meaning of movement in space, either as a main verb, or a modal verb with an additional meaning of direction, movement with a certain goal etc. There are, however, a few cases of usage in less direct and more figurative meaning, especially in phrases with other motion verbs.

1.1. THE VERB *gən-* WITH EXPRESSED OBJECT

The verb *gən-* expresses movement towards a certain location and eventually reaching it. Often the verb refers also to the stay at the location, in which case it is best translated as 'to visit'. When the visited object is hollow, like a building, cave, valley etc. the verb *gən-* usually implies entering it, unless marked by the auxiliary noun *ba* 'place'. Regular visit of an institution (school, working place, etc.) is usually also expressed by the verb *gən-*. The meaning of approaching something or somebody, arriving at its vicinity, is usually marked by the auxilliary noun *ba* 'place', which can also denote a place associated to somebody or belonging to him. An important part of the semantic field of the verb is 'visiting somebody', usually referring to the whole event of the visit, in which case it is linked either with the noun *bo-* 'house' or *ba-* 'place'. In all the mentioned cases the noun denoting the visited place or person stands in the genitive case, most often with a zero suffix.

1.1.1. MOTION TOWARDS A CERTAIN PLACE AND REACHING IT

Ex. 1:   *śi **ɢaznt gənəči** śint yinəŋdəri ičə əvəⁿ aram bum.*
Lit. **You Village-DL. go.there-CONV.COND**. you-DL. every.day new bread make-CONV.
IMP. give-IMP.
If you visit the village [**i.e. Chabchal**], (the people) will make fresh bread for you eve-
ry day.

Ex. 2:   ***alint gənəmə** ňumzunt ju yilaⁿ əvəⁿ haitəm.*
Lit. Mountain-DL. go.there-CONV.IMP. belt-DL. two three bread bind-IMP.
When they go to the mountains, they bind two three breads in their belt.

Ex. 3:   *duqa tičimə yafkie, diøvr **yet gənəmie**…*
Lit. Gate go.out-CONV.IMP. go-VOL., night where go.there-IMP.
Let us go out from the gate, but **where should we go** at night.

Ex. 4:   *dulinki aňit bi **orozət gənyʾi.***
Lit. Past year I **Russian-DL. go.there-PERF**.
Last year I **went to Russia** / I was in Russia.

1.1.2. ENTERING A HOLLOW OBJECT

Ex. 1:   *ter **miaot gənəmaq da** əmgəri yaqůrum hiŋkələm.*
Lit. That **sanctuary-DL. go.there.CONV.PERF. ACT**. once kowtow- CONV.IMP.
bow-IMP.
They **went to the sanctuary** and prayed there.

Ex. 2:   ***tašqůt gənəqůči** nanʾi fɨγə ňi liqů.*
Lit. **School-DL. go.there-(NOM.IMP.)-NEG.** (become)CONV.COND. person-GEN.
brain F. open-(NOM.IMP.)-NEG.
If one does not **go to school**, he will not broaden his scope of knowledge.

1.1.3. THE VERB *gən-* WITH THE NOUNS *ba* 'PLACE' AND *bo* 'HOUSE'

Ex. 1:   *jaq jər ərint **bira yoʁůruⁿ bat gənəm.***
Lit. Thing eat-NOM.IMP. time-DL. **river creek place-DL. go.there-IMP.**
When they are going to eat, they go **to the bank of a river or a creek…**

Ex. 2:   *dači bəšk nanʾi bat **gənəqᵘ.***
Lit. Originally die-NOM.PERF. person-GEN. place-DL**. go.there- (NOM.IMP.)-NEG.**
Earlier I **would never go** to the places of the dead people (=cemeteries).

Ex. 3:   *ər čaqůr tavənərəŋə, **ənduri bat gənəm.***
Lit. This *čaqůr* climb-NOM.IMP.II, **deity place-DL. go.there-IMP**.
The climbing on the *čaqůr* [symbolizes] **visiting the world of the deities**.

Ex. 4: *nanˀi ərgən vajimaq χaʁəjus ňi,* **giraŋyeʌ bot gənəm.**
 Lit. Person-GEN. life finish-CONV.PERF. son-PN.=POSS. relatives house-DL. **go. there-IMP**.
 When somebody dies, his sons **pay visits to (all) the families of their relatives**.

Ex. 5: *əňi ňi tukumə ɢormamə* **bod ňi gənəmaq biyˀi**.
 Lit. Mother-POSS. thus Grandmother **house-DL.POSS. go.there-CONV.PERF. be-PERF**.
 Their mother then went to **visit Grandmother**.

Ex. 6: *bod ňi əmdaⁿ gənyəŋ oo yivəŋ yivəŋ naⁿ!*
 Lit. house-DL.POSS. **once go.there-NOM.PERF.II EXCL**. *yivəŋ yivəŋ*, person.
 When I came to their house, oh there were so many people!

In narration, the verb *gən-* in a phrase with the word *əmdaⁿ* 'once' is used as an important stylistical means for creating thrill or expectation on the side of the listener.

1.2. THE VERB *gən-* WITHOUT EXPRESSED OBJECT

The verb *gən-*, when used without a specified object, always refers to a location, which was mentioned before, unless it could be understood without mentioning. As in the previous cases, the verb may refer to the whole event of a visit including its purpose, or underline some parts of it, in particular the moment of leaving with a certain purpose or the moment of reaching the destination.

12.1. THE VERB *gən-* IN THE MEANING OF LEAVING WITH A CERTAIN PURPOSE

Ex. 1: *dietti* **gənəmaq da** *baijihuar ňi dišk ɢajəm jih, baiyuxiaŋ ňi muku ɢajəm jih.*
 Lit. Instantly **go.there-COMV.PERF.ACT**. Baijihuar-F. fuel bring-CONV.IMP. come-PERF., Baiyuxiang=F. water bring-CONV.IMP. come-PERF.
 (Both of them) **went** quickly **(to do their work),** and in a while Baijihuar brought water and Baiyuxiang brought fuel.

Ex. 2: *ərəf gaʌ ai zəm čičivyˀie, ɢammaq sənda!* **gən gən***, χŭduⁿ!*
 Lit. This still what say-CONV.IMP. take-out-PERF., take.there-CONV.PERF. put-IMPER. **go.there-IMPER. go.there-IMPER.,** quickly!
 Why again did you take this out? Put it back [where it belongs], **go, go,** quickly!

Ex. 3: *tumaq da ər mamə jaqəi utumaq da tivmo sujamaq da ər mamə əmdaⁿ* **gənyˀi.**
 Lit. Then ACT. this grandmother thing put.on-CONV.PERF.ACT. stick bear.on this grandmother once **go.there-PERF**.
 Then this old woman dressed up and, bearing on her stick, **went there (to see what was happening)**.

Ex. 4: *əňi ju nan tumaq da **gənh.***
> Lit. Mother two person then ACT. **go.there-PERF.**
> And so the two, mother and son, **went there (as they had been told to do)**.

1.2.2. THE VERB *gən-* REFERRING TO THE MOMENT OF ARRIVAL

Ex. 1: *əmdaⁿ **gənye** da tər mamə …duqa juɾyut alimə yilayˀi.*
> Lit. Once **go.there-NOM.PERF.** ACT. that grandmother… gate in.front wait-CONV. IMP. stand-PERF.
> As they **arrived (to her place),** the old woman … was standing in front of the gate waiting for them.

Ex. 2: *ər jaq diovr duliⁿ yimaq da əmdaⁿ **gənyəŋ** da ju nan ňi… injim ivm.*
> Lit. This thing night middle get.up-CONV.PERF. ACT. once **go.there-NOM.PERF.II** ACT. two personF. laugh-CONV.IMP. play-IMP.
> She got up at midnight and **went (there to see what was happening)**, and (saw that) the two were playing and laughing.

1.2.3. THE VERB *gən-* REFERRING TO THE WHOLE EVENT OF A VISIT

Ex. 1. *miⁿ go halət laft nanˀi bo mindəri ambu, aň aramə bi gum **gənəm.***
> Lit. My Guo surname-DL. many person-GEN. house I-ABL. big, year make-CONV.IMP. I all **go.there**.
> In my Guo clan there are many families higher than me, on the New Year I **visit them** all.

Ex. 2: ***gənəmə** təs jaq uluvm.*
> Lit. **Go.there**-CONV.IMP. they thing eat-CAUS.-IMP.
> When (I) **visit them**, they always prepare a dinner.

1.3. THE VERB *gən-* IN PHRASES

The phrases with the verb *gən-* can be divided into two types from the formal point of view. In the first type the verb *gən-* comes on the first position in a form of a converb. The phrases of this type may be further roughly divided into three groups according to the type of the following verb. When the verb *gən-* is followed by a verb or a chain of verbs with full lexical meaning, its function is more or less auxiliary. When it is followed by an auxiliary verb, it retains its full lexical meaning. A special group is formed by phrases with other motion verbs, when usually a sequence of actions is described in which the members of the phrase are equally important. In European languages this meaning is often expressed by a single verb, representing the whole chain of actions.

Phrases which are concluded by the verb *gən-*, which are far more frequent than the previous type, can be also divided into three types according to the function of the verb *gən-* in them. In the first type of phrase the first verb specifies the way of motion. In the second type the first verb of the phrase denotes the purpose of 'going to a certain place'. The third type is formed by phrases with other motion verbs.

1.3.1. PHRASES WITH THE VERB *gən-* ON THE FIRST POSITION

1.3.1.1. PHRASES WITH THE VERB *gən-* PRECEDING ONE OR MORE VERBS WITH FULL MEANING

This type of phrases is in fact a linear description of a chain of actions typical for all the Altaic languages. In translation, however, the verb *gən-* may often be omitted, which may lead to its perception as a partly auxiliary verb referring to motion with the purpose of an action described by the following verb. However, it remains an open question, to what degree this interpretation imposes on the Altaic languages an alien way of language thinking. As is usually the case with verbal phrases in the Altaic languages, the degree of grammaticalization of the verb which lost a part of its full lexical meaning is often difficult to define and attempts of classification always face the problem of vague and fluid borders between the classes.

Ex. 1: *śi jovɣ^əie, davɹ sadk^əie, **təvat gənəm əryə.***
         Lit. You suffered-PERF. too get.tired-PERF. **there go.there take.rest-IMPER.**
         You must be exhausted**, take a rest over there/go there and take a rest**.

Ex. 2: *tof səm da amirgi birai əkčint **bujaⁿ diorgit gənəmaq da tuh^əi.***
         Lit. exactly ACT. northern river-GEN. bank-DL. forest inside go.there-CONV. PERF. ACT. fall-PERF.
         He **was taken** (by the wind) right to the forest on the northern bank of the river and **there fell down**.

Ex. 3: *jaləⁿ nan^əi baitəf **təvat gənəm gizərəm.***
         Lit. World person-GEN. matter-ACC. **there go.there-CONV.PERF. speak-IMP.**
         She **goes there to report** about the people of the world.[5]

Ex. 4: ***gənəm tam ta.***
         Lit. **Go.there-CONV.IMP. look-CONV.IMP. look-IMPER.**
         Go there and check it.

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5) From an account about the Fire Goddess, who on the New Year's eve goes to heaven to report about the people's behaviour.

Ex. 5:   *duluvuqǔŋda…aji saməⁿ seve ňi **gənəm biam***.
Lit. Pass-CAUS.-NOM.IMP.II-NEG. ACT. …little shaman teacher POSS. **go.there-CONV. IMP. ask-IMP.**
When [the deities] do not let him pass, the shaman apprentice's teacher [**turns to the deities and**] **pleads** [for his disciple].

Ex. 6:   *tam banamaq ičham banaqǔš da səvət **gənəm fienjim.***
Lit. See-CONV.IMP. know-CONV.PERF. arrange-CONV.IMP. know-NOM.IMP.-NEG(become)/CONV.COND. ACT. teacher/DL. go.there-CONV.IMP. ask-IMP.
If they are able to make the diagnosis but do not know how to heal it, they [**go to**] **ask their teacher**.

1.3.1.2. PHRASES WITH THE VERB *gən-* AND AN AUXILIARY VERB

This type of phrases, which formally displays no distinction from the previous one, represents a different type of verbal phrases common in the Altaic languages, in which a verb with full meaning (on the first position) is specified by an auxiliary or modal verb.

In Sibe two auxiliary verbs are most frequently used after *gən-*: the verb *ta-* to see, whose meaning as an auxiliary verb is 'to try', and the verb *dul-* 'to pass', in the meaning of 'having the experience'.

Ex. 1:   *Gǔɹjat **gənəm duʌʁaqǔ** set guruⁿ čavča.ɹt yas bie.*
Lit. Ghulja-DL. **go.there-CONV.IMP. pass-NOM.PERF.-NEG**. old folk Chabchal-DL. how many be-IMP.
How many of the old people in Chabchal **have never visited** Ghulja!

Ex. 2:   *məs əmdaⁿ **gənəm takie.***
Lit. We-INCL. once **go.there-CONV.IMP. look-VOL.**
Let us **try to go there**.

This construction can be understood either literally, as two verbs of full meaning 'go there and see', but if the verb *ta-* is used in its auxiliary function, the phrase may mean 'to try to get there', 'to go there and try to do something' or just 'to make the experience of visiting the place'.

Ex. 3:   *śi mom bot **gənəmə yila**.*
Lit. You our house-DL. **go.there-CONV.IMP. stand-IMPER.**
Go on walking to our home.

In this particular case this phrase was used by my friend, whom I was going to visit. She herself was not at home but was telling me to go there and wait there for her. In case she were at home she was to use the verb *ji-* 'to come' instead of the verb *gən-*.

1.3.1.3. PHRASES WITH OTHER MOTION VERBS

The most common example of this type of phrase is the combination of opposites 'to go' and 'to come', referring to the whole action of visiting a place and coming back.

Ex. 1: *χǔdǔⁿ **gənəmaq ju!***
　　　　Lit. Quick **go.there-CONV.PERF. come-IMPER.**
　　　　Be quick! Come back soon!

This phrase may be used to prompt somebody to be quick, if he insists on going, to persuade a reluctant person to go, etc.

1.3. 2 PHRASES WITH THE VERB *gən-* ON THE FINAL POSITION

1.3.2.1 PHRASES WITH THE FIRST VERB EXPRESSING THE PURPOSE OF MOTION

This type of phrase expressing purpose (-CONV.IMP.+*gən-*) is characteristic of spoken Sibe, as well as of some Inner Mongolian dialects, while Khalkha Mongolian prefers more complex verbal phrases.

Ex. 1: *əzəi qarəmb da **dürim gənkie.***
　　　　Lit. Their fortress-ACC. ACT**. rob-CONV.IMP. go.there-VOL.**
　　　　Let us **go and rob** their fortress.

Ex. 2: *gəl əm asqan orun muku **ɢajəm gənγʲi**.*
　　　　Lit. Still one young daughter-in-law water bring-**CONV.IMP. go.there-PERF**.
　　　　Also a young married woman **arrived** there in **order to fetch** water.

Ex. 3: *əm bar aňi tükiam biyʲi. tumə da **χůliazim gənyə**.*
　　　　Lit. One whole year guard-CONV.IMP. be-PERF. thus ACT**. change- CONV.IMP. go.there-PERF.**
　　　　They were guarding [the fortress] for a whole year. Then others **went there to take their turn**.

Ex. 4: *χaskəi jəčəmb **baičəm gənəm**.*
　　　　Lit. Kazakh-GEN. border-ACC. **control-CONV.IMP. go.there-IMP.**
　　　　They used to **go to control** the border with the Kazakh territory.

1.3.2.2. PHRASES WITH THE FIRST VERB SPECIFYING THE WAY OF MOTION

Since the verb *gən-* itself refers to motion in general but not to its particular way, it is often specified by verbs with more concrete meaning. In translation of this type into European languages the verb *gən-* is often omitted and its meaning is expressed by a local determination.

Ex. 1: *bi təzəi bo śidə*ⁿ ***yavmaq gənɣ*ᵊi**.
        Lit. I their house until **walk-CONV.PERF. go-PERF**.
        I **walked until** their house.

In this phrase the verb *yaf-* refers to the process of walking without a given direction, only adding the meaning of going on foot.

Ex. 2: *śivə biš da jaq arar boči* ***fəkšim gənəm***.
        Lit. Sibe be-CONV.COND. ACT. thing make-NOM-IMP. **run-CONV.IMP. go.there-IMP**.
        If she were a Sibe, she would have (immediately) **run** to the kitchen.

Ex. 3: *śivə guru*ⁿ *ñi* ***mori*ⁿ *yaləm gənɣ*ᵊi**.
        Lit. Sibe folk F. horse ride-CONV.IMP. go.there-PERF.
        The Sibes **went there on horseback**.

Ex. 4: *əri*ⁿ *aqŭʁᵘi*, ***dadi.ɹmaq gən!***
        Lit. Time NEG(become)-PERF., take.a.taxi(Chin)-CONV.PERF. go.there-IMPER.
        You have no time, **take a taxi** (to get there)!

1.3.2.3. PHRASES WITH OTHER MOTION VERBS SPECIFYING THE MEANING EXPRESSED BY THE VERB *gən-*

This type of phrases, otherwise similar to the previous one, which narrowly specifies the mode or way of motion, differs from it by the directional meaning that forms part of the semantics of motion verbs. In spoken Sibe this pattern is far more productive than in the abovementioned case of phrases with *gən-* on the first position. Most often the general motion verb *gən-* is specified by a more concrete one. The verbs *məda-* 'to return', *bədərə-* 'to return home', *gam-* 'to take away(with oneself)' and *bən-* 'to deliver/to accompany', as well as other verbs of close meaning, may be considered part of the broader class of motion verbs, in which they form a finer network supplementing the main and general motion verbs.

Ex. 1: ***mədam gənəmə*** *falh əvə*ⁿ *baʁəm jəqᵘ, laodu jəm gias.*
        Lit. **Return-CONV.IMP. go.there-CONV.IMP**. heave-NOM.PERF. bread get-CONV.IMP. eat-(NOM.IMP).-NEG., much eat-CONV.IMP. take-IMPER.
        When you are back home, you will not be able to get the Sibe bread, so eat more.

Ex. 2: ***bədərəm gənəm*** *śi*ⁿ *baitəf χojəye išqa.*
        Lit. **Return.home-CONV.IMP. go.there-CONV.IMP**. you-GEN. matter-ACC. well arrange-IMPER.
        Go back home and observe well your duties.

Ex. 3: *ər χaʁəjivə mint ɢajə, bi ɢam gənəm maji baitəlkie.*
Lit. This boy-ACC. I-DL. bring-IMPER. I **take.there-CONV.IMP. go.there-CONV.IMP.**
little use-VOL.
Give the boy to me, I will **take him with me** and use him (for housework etc.)

Ex. 4: *if huarənt bənəm gənəmaq ulan fətəm.*
Lit. Grave yard-DL. **deliver-CONV.IMP. go.there-CONV.PERF**. hole dig-IMP.
(They) **take** (the deceased) to the graveyard and dig a hole.

2. The verb *ji-* 'to come here'

The meaning of both the Sibe verb *ji-* comprises movement towards the spot where the speaker founds himself in the moment of speech and, eventually, reaching it. In both languages it functions as an opposite to the verb *gən-*. However, the verb *ji-* 'to come here' has much broader range of usage than the verb *gən-* 'to go there', it is often used in shifted and metaphorical meanings and especially in narration it often occurs on a position, on which one would expect the verb *gən-* 'to go there' if the 'ideal' semantic distribution were strictly observed.

2.1. PHASES OF MOTION EXPRESSED BY THE VERB *ji-*:

2.1.1. THE VERB *ji-* REFERRING TO LEAVING THE ORIGINAL LOCATION

This usage is comparatively rare and is usually expressed by a phrase with the verb *čič-* to come out, in which the verb *ji-* serves rather as a spatial modifier.

Ex. 1: *əmgəri bodəri čičimaq jiyᵊi zər.*
Lit. Already house-ABL. **go.out-CONV.PERF. come-NOM.PERF**.
He says he has already **left his home** (and is on his way here).

2.1.2. THE VERB *ji-* REFERRING TO THE PROCESS OF MOTION

Ex. 1: *tər, fəksam fietem jimaʁᵊi.*
Lit. That, cough-CONV.IMP. fart-CONV.IMP. **come-PRES.PROG**.
There he **is coming**, (I can hear him coughing).

2.1. 3 THE VERB *ji-* REFERRING TO THE MOMENT OF ARRIVAL

Ex. 1: *jimaq ɢǔidaʁə na? aqᵘ, təňi jiyˬi.*
    Lit. Come-CONV.PERF. take.time-NOM.PERF.QUEST.-NEG., **recently come-PERF.**
    Have you been here long? No, I have **just arrived.**

2.1.4. THE VERB *ji-* REFERRING TO THE WHOLE EVENT OF ARRIVAL AND STAY, EVENTUALLY PURPOSE OF COMING

Ex. 1: *śin **jih** oyuŋ ɢǔňiⁿ aie?*
    Lit. Your **come-NOM.PERF**. main idea what?
    What is the main reason for you **to come here**?

Ex. 2: *śi čimar **jir** nan ňi ai nanə, ai ňunk bie, afś tamie, tərəv ňi biyu səndamaq bum.*
    Lit. You tomorrow **come-NOM.IMP**. person-**F**. what illness is, how look, that-ACC.-F. symbol put-CONV.PERF. give-IMP.
    (The deities) tell you in symbols, what kind of person **will come (to you)** tomorrow, what disease he has and how you should heal it.[6]

2.2. THE SIBE VERB *ji-* WITH OBJECT

As follows from the semantic range of the verb, in most cases of usage in the live speech the precise destination of movement is specified by the location of the speaker in the moment of speech, therefore in most cases it is used without indirect object. If the object is expressed, it is most often the pronoun *əvat* 'here'. The object is mostly expressed when the speaker wants to specify the actual scope of what he means by his current location (e.g. 'come to China' vs. 'come to my home'). With the development of communication, in particular telephone and mobile phones, however, previously non-existent situations evolved, when the actual location of the speaker is not necessarily known to the recipient, and patterns breaking the traditional logic of speech are now frequent. The verb *ji-* with object is also frequently used in fixed expressions like 'to come home', even if the speaker is not at his home at the moment of speech. This 'incorrect' or irregular use is connected to the process of forming idioms and fixed expressions, in which the word 'home' etc. is automatically associated with the verb *ji-* regardless the actual situation. The original

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6) From an interview with a shamaness. The verb *ji-* here refers to seeing a shaman and seeking help from him.

logic of the binary concept 'to come here – to go there' is also often violat-
ed in more complex speech situations, like in narration or reported speech.

2.2.1. THE VERB *ji-* WITH OBJECT FOREGROUNDING THE LOCATION

Ex. 1:   *ər jaq an **əvat jih** biɣˀie?*
         Lit. This thing why **here come-NOM.PERF**. be-PERF.
         Why does he **come here**?

2.2.2. THE VERB *ji-* WITH OBJECT SPECIFYING THE RANGE OF THE LOCATION

Ex. 1:   *dulinki aň bi **junguot jimaq urumčit jim** mutqaqů.*
         Lit. Last year I **China-DL. come-CONV.PERF. Urumchi-DL. Come-CONV.IMP.** can-
         NOM.PERF.-NEG.
         Last year I **came to China** but I could not **come to Urumchi**.

2.2.3. THE VERB *ji-* WITH OBJECT IN TELEPHONIC CONVERSATIONS

Ex. 1:   *avit bie?-təňi **bot jiɣˀi**.*
         Lit. Where be-IMP.?-Recently **house-DL. come-PERF**.
         Where are you? -I have just **arrived home**..

Ex. 2:   ***avit jiɣˀie?***
         Lit. **Where come-PERF**.
         Where have you arrived?

A question asked on phone when talking to somebody who has come from
a more distant place to a location closer to the speaker, e.g. coming from a dif-
ferent country do another city in the same country, etc.

2.2.4. THE VERB *ji-* WITH OBJECT IN IDIOMS

Ex. 1:   *bi yavmůɞˀᵃo, **mom bot** naⁿ **jiɣˀi**.*
         Lit. I go-CONV.IMP (become)-PERF. **our house-DL. person come-PERF**.
         I have to go now, **we have a visitor at home**.

The phrase *bot ji-* 'to come to one's house' is here used in the meaning of
'visiting my home' regardless the current location of the speaker. This type
of phrase is frequently used along with the logically 'correct' form *bot gən-*.

2.2.5. THE VERB *ji-* WITH OBJECT IN NARRATION

Ex. 1: *er mamə… siŋčiliu śiňi* **bod ňi jiməči** *sunjač ňinəŋ omə yaz aŋ tatəvm.*
Lit. This grandmother … Saturday only **house-DL.-POSS.come-CONV.IMP. (become)-CONV.COND**. fifth day become-CONV.IMP. eye mouth jerk-IMP.
The old woman used to **come home** only on Saturdays, but now on the fifth day (after leaving home) her eye and mouth started jerking (as a sign tat something happened in her home).

A typical example of narration, when the speaker is "outside" the situation and the motion verbs are not used in relation to him. In this case the verb *ji-* was probably preferred to the verb *gən-* because of the combination with the word *bot* 'home'.

2.3. THE VERB *ji-* WITHOUT OBJECT

In the binary concept of the meanings 'to go there' and 'to come here' the verb *ji-* usually does not require an object, the goal of motion being the actual location of the speaker. Following the context the verb *ji-* may denote either the precise location of the speaker, as in Ex.1, or his broader surroundings – a house, a city, a country etc. In narration, when the speaker has to choose his position in the situation he describes, the verb *ji-* without object usually points to the location of the main character or currently acting person, or to the main scene of the current action. Ex. 4 is a special case of ritual usage of the verb, in which the meaning of returning into the presence of the concerned people is stressed.

2.3.1. THE VERB *ji-* WITHOUT OBJECT IN DIRECT SPEECH

Ex. 1: **ju,** *əvat tə!*
Lit. **Come,** here sit-IMPER.
Come, sit here (next to me).

Ex. 2: *əmdaⁿ ta, naⁿ* **jiyə na?**
Lit. Once look-IMPER. person **come-PERF.=QUEST.**
Have a look whether anybody **came here**.

Ex. 3: *ju aň aməɹ* **jimaq** *min śieriⁿ jəvə!*
Lit. Two year after **come-CONV.PERF**. my wedding eat-IMPER.
Come [back from your country] after two years and take part in my wedding.

Ex. 4:   *bo naʁəⁿ śiňi əvat bie…****jiyə na? jiyə!***
         Lit. House kang=POSS. here is. **come-NOM.PERF.-QUEST. come-NOM.PERF.**
         Your home is here**… have you come back? He has come back!**

This example is a ritual pattern used in shamanic practices to summon a soul that has left his body. After reciting special formulas in order to lure the soul back the shaman asks in a loud voice 'have you come back?' and the spectators shout out a positive answer, which should ensure the success of the ritual.

2.3.2. THE VERB *ji-* WITHOUT OBJECT IN NARRATION

In describing situations and actions the verb *ji-* usually denotes arrival to the main scene of action or approaching the currently acting person. Often, however, it has additional modal meanings.

Ex. 1:   *ski həh qůčirəm giazə, učif so,* **jih jiyədə***, čorʁodəri latəmaq da ʁam yavʁə.*
         Lit. That woman dig-CONV.IMP. take-IMPER., door-ACC. unlock-IMPER. **come-NOM.**
         PERF. come-NOM.PERF.-DL., neck-ABL. stick-CONV.PERF. ACT. take.away-CONV.
         IMP. go-PERF.
         The woman dug (the key) out, opened the door and **as soon as she came in**, she grabbed the boy's neck and took him away.

Ex. 2:   *amirgidəri ju duŋlo dəyir gəs da* **jiyᵊi.**
         Lit. North-ABL. Two lantern fly-NOM.IMP. like ACT. **come-PERF**.
         Two lanterns were **coming (to him)** form the north, as if they were flying.[7]

Ex. 3:   *əmdaⁿ* **jiyəŋ***, əm jiri sarʁaⁿ naⁿ.*
         Lit. Once **come-NOM.PERF.II**, one pair wife person.
         As they **came closer**, (he saw) that they were two girls (carrying lanterns).

Ex. 4:   *bətkədəriŋ ňi əm ʁaɹt əm nanəf javmaq* **jiyə li nanef** *ꜰierəmaškəŋ.*
         Lit. Leg-ABL. POSS. one hand-DL. one person-ACC. catch-CONV.PERF. come-NOM.
         PERF. -LIM. person-ACC. hit-INC.-NOM.PERF.II.
         He caught one man in each hand and started hitting anyone who was approaching him.

Ex. 5:   *tut jai ňinəŋ yinəŋdəri amžie jaŋⁿ ňi* **jiyᵊi.**
         Lit. Thus second day day-ABL. after commander F**. come-PERF**.
         And the next day afternoon the **commander came (from his visit home to the main scene of the story)**.

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  7) From a tale about a boy who lost his way in a forest and in the night he suddenly saw two lights **approaching him**.

2.4. THE VERB *ji-* IN PHRASES

2.4.1. PHRASES WITH THE VERB *ji-* IN THE FIRST POSITION

This type of phrases is comparatively less frequent. Most of those found in my material fall into the following three groups.

2.4.1.1. PHRASES WITH THE VERB *ji-* PRECEDING ONE OR MORE VERBS WITH FULL MEANING

This type of phrases describes a linear sequence of actions, in which verb *ji-* often functions as a spatial modifier, giving the following verb with full lexical meaning an additional meaning of direction, and in translation into English then falls out. In other cases, as Ex. 3.and 4, the verb *ji-* is equally important in translation as the following verb.

Ex. 1:   *ər śikə ňi tof səm da baijihua uju **nuŋud ňi jimaq tuhʾi**.*
         Lit. This urine F. exactly say-CONV.IMP. ACT. baijihua head on POSS. come- CONV. PERF. fall-PERF.
         The urine **dropped** precisely **on the top** of Baijihua's head.

Ex. 2:   *nanəi ňonʁůⁿ śin duqat **jim dudəmə** ɢaɹʋaŋ.*
         Lit. Person-GEN. dog you-GEN. gate-DL. **come-CONV.IMP. lie-CONV.IMP**. bad.
         When a strange dog **lies** at your gate, it is a bad omen.

Ex. 3:   *yaz aɴə ňi fulaʁůⁿ fəlgieⁿ, səŋkər səŋkər, **jimə da tom.***
         Lit. Eye mouth POSS. pink red, *səŋkər səŋkər*, **come-CONV.IMP. ACT. abuse-IMP**.
         Her eyes and mouth were red, she had dishevelled hair and **as soon as she arrived, she started to abuse (them).**

Ex. 4:   *bi **jimaq ɢůidaʁəie**.*
         Lit. I **come-CONV.PERF. take time-PERF**.
         I have **been here for a long time**.

The idiom *jimaq ɢůida-* 'having come take time' and *jimaq o-* 'having time become' is regularly used to express the meaning of the time which has passed since one's arrival. An analogical idiom is used in Mongolian.

2.4.1.2. PHRASES WITH THE VERB *ji-* AND AN AUXILIARY VERB

In this type the verb *ji-* retains its full lexical meaning, which is further modified by a verb with more or less grammaticalized meaning.

Ex. 1: *bi čafčaɹ tovət fienškədə, iči **jim yilamaqa.***
  Lit. I Chabchal hut-DL. ask-NOM.PERF.-DL. to.here **come-CONV.IMP. stand-CONV. PERF.**
  I asked in the Chabchal hut (and was told) that he was **on his way here**.

Ex. 2: *śi **jimə yila!***
  You **come-CONV.IMP. stand-IMPER.**
  Keep walking here![8]

Ex. 3: *čimar **jim mutəm na?***
  Lit. tomorrow **come-CONV.IMP. can-IMP. QUEST**.
  Can you come tomorrow?

2.4.1.3. PHRASES WITH OTHER MOTION VERBS

The verb *ji-* followed by the verb *yaf-* 'to leave' to express a fixed meaning of a visit.

Ex. 1: *təs **jimə yavər** gələ ʁûidaʁəie.*
  Lit. They **come-CONV.IMP. go-NOM.IMP**. still take.time-PERF.
  It has been a long time since they **were here** (came here and left).

2.4.2. THE VERB *ji-* IN FINAL POSITION

2.4.2.1. PHRASES WITH THE VERB *ji-* PRECEDED BY A VERB EXPRESSING PURPOSE

This type of phrases is frequent in Sibe while rare in Khalkha Mongolian, where purpose is usually expressed by more complex verbal expressions.

Ex. 1: *ai jaqai hut maʌûzəi **banjəm jimaq…***
  Lit. What thing-GEN. ghost mangas **live-CONV.IMP. come-CONV.PERF.…**
  Why should any ghosts or monsters **come to live (here with us?)**

Ex. 2: *śi ňunk **tavm jiməš** gəl unčᵘ.*
  Lit. You illness see-CAUS-CONV.IMP. come-CONV.IMP.(become)– CONV.COND. still different.
  It is also different a case when you **come to be healed** (by me).

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8) From a phone call, in which the speaker tells the person he is supposed to meet to go on walking in his direction. The verb *yila-* here functions as an auxiliary verb expressing continuing action.

Ex. 3: *juanjaqůn yüdui huis* **avm jih** *biɣᵊi*.
      Lit. Eighteen regiment Uyghur **fight-CONV.IMP. come-NOM.PERF**. be-PERF.
      Eighteen regiments of Uyghurs **came to fight us**.

2.4.2.2. PHRASES WITH OTHER MOTION VERBS SPECIFYING THE MEANING EXPRESSED BY THE VERB *ji-*

This type of phrases is particularly frequent and productive. In this type of phrases the verb *ji-* usually preserves its lexical meaning of 'arriving at the location of the speaker', which is further specified by the preceding verb. Due to the specific function of motion verbs in the spatial system these phrases usually give a precise description of the motion, which in translation into English sometimes has to be rendered by more complex description, while in other cases translating the verb *ji-* appears as superfluous.

Ex. 1: *nənəm əvəmbə nuŋš χaškaɹmə da gaɹ ovm, ovər śidəⁿ əvəⁿ* **uvmaq jim**.
      Lit. First bread-ACC. upwards cast-CONV.IMP. ACT. hand wash-IMP.,wash-NOM.IMP.
      between bread **descend-CONV.PERF. come-IMP.**
      First they cast the bread upwards (against the water flow) and wash their hands, and while they wash, the bread **comes (back) down (to them)**.

Ex. 2: *χaʁəj da fosqůⁿ* **uvm jiɣᵊi**.
      Lit. Boy ACT. downwards **descend-NOM.IMP. come-PERF.**
      The boy **climbed down (the tree).**

Ex. 3: *təňi* **ižinəm jiɣᵊie**.
      Lit. recently **arrive-CONV.IMP. come-PERF.**
      [I] **have just arrived.**

Ex. 4: *ər mamə solo biamaq da fars zəmaq* **ižinmaq jiɣᵊi**.
      Lit. This grandmother vacance ask. CONV.PERF. ACT. fars say-CONV.PERF. **arrive-CONV.PERF come-PERF**.
      The old woman asked for a leave and in a moment **arrived home**.

Ex. 5: *wufənjuŋ da əňi ňi* **ižinmaq jiɣᵊi**.
      Lit. Five minute(Chin.)-PART. mother POSS. **arrive-CONV.PERF. come-PERF.**
      Her mother **arrived** in five minutes.

Ex. 6: *vajimə* **bədərəm jih.**
      Lit. Finish-CONV.IMP**. return.home-CONV.IMP. come-PERF.**
      After that he **returned home.**

Ex. 7: *fars səm* **tičim jue…**
      Lit. *Fars* say-CONV.IMP**. go.out-CONV.IMP. come-IMPER.**
      She came in a flash out (of her grave).

Ex. 8:   *am saʁənji ňi **tičim jimaq…***
          Lit. Big daughter POSS. **go.out-CONV.IMP. come-CONV.PERF**.
          The oldest daughter **came out…**

Ex. 9:   *ba dian oʁᵘi, bi suⁿ **ɢajəmaq jikie.***
          Lit. Eight(Chin) o'clock(Chin) become-PERF., I milk **bring-CONV.PERF. come-VOL.**
          It is already eight o'clock, **I will go to fetch** milk.

Ex. 10: *ju naⁿ śim **amčəm jiɣᵊi.***
          Lit. Two person you-ACC**. chase-CONV.IMP. come-PERF.**
          Two people **are chasing** you.

Ex. 11: *huize ňi **latəm jim** mutqaqů.*
          Lit. Uyghur F. **stick-CONV.IMP. come-CONV.IMP.** can-NOM.IMP.-NEG.
          The Uyghurs were not able to **come closer**.

Ex. 12: *əmdaⁿ śivə čoaχ **jimaq dulum jim** mutaqů.*
          Lit. Once Sibe soldier **come-CONV.PERF. pass-CONV.IMP. come-CONV.IMP**. can-NOM.IMP.-NEG.
          Once the Sibe soldiers came, (the Uyghurs) could not **cross the river and come**.

2.4.2.3. PHRASES WITH THE VERB *ji-* PRECEDED BY A VERB WITH FULL MEANING

This type of phrases, as in the corresponding type of phrases with the verb *gən-*, demonstrates the typical way of description of actions in Altaic languages, when verbs with full meaning are lined one after another noting the phases of the action. Motion verbs form regular part of these complex expressions.

Ex. 1:   *χalin yedie zəm da tof ər χalimb **biamaq jiɣᵊi**.*
          Lit. Tree where.is say-CONV.IMP. ACT. precisely this tree **look.for-CONV.PERF. come-PERF.**
          Saying where is the tree" they **came right to** this (very) tree. (They were looking right for this tree and found it).

Ex. 2:   *χaʁəjit avəvm yafčie…bot ňi **yindəmaq jiki**, zəm.*
          Lit. Boy-DL. order-CONV.IMP. go-VOL… house-DL. POSS. **spend.night-CONV.PERF. come-VOL.,** say-IMP.
          He thought: I will entrust (all things here) to the boy and…. **spend one night** at home (and come back).

2.4.2.4. PHRASES WITH THE VERB *ji-* PRECEDED BY A VERB SPECIFYING THE WAY OF MOTION

Ex. 1:   *səjəⁿ **yalmaq jiɣə na?***
          Lit**. cart ride-CONV.PERF. come-PERF**. QUEST.
          Have you come on bicycle?

Ex. 2:   *jaqǔⁿ biya tofχoⁿ yamji **səjəⁿ toʁǔmaq ju***.
          Lit. Eight month fifteen night cart hitch-CONV.PERF. come-IMPER.
          On the fifteenth day of the eight month **come here/ come here with a cart**.

2.5. THE SIBE VERB *ji-* IN SHIFTED, FIGURATIVE AND METAPHORICAL MEANINGS

2.5.1. USAGE IN THE SENSE OF MAINTAINING CONTACT, COMMUNICATION, ETC.

Ex. 1:   *bi təzəmaq davɹ **gənəm jiqǔ***.
          Lit. I they-IS. too **go.there-CONV.IMP. come-NOM.IMP.-NEG.**
          I do **not have too** much **contacts** with them.

2.5.2. USAGE CONNECTED WITH PASSING OF TIME AND CHANGES

Expressing the flow of time and events is the most common figurative mean-ing of the verb *ji-* in Sibe. It may express either continuation in time (ex.1,2), gradual development of events or even rather abrupt changes (Ex.10,11). Many of these expressions have equivalents in Mongolian and, in particular, in Chinese. This way of figurative usage is connected to the lexical meaning of 'motion towards the speaker', which forms part of the semantic field of the verb *ji-*.

Ex. 1:   *tər saməⁿ ňi dačidəri **ulavmaq jiyᵊi***.
          Lit. this shaman F. originally hand. down-CONV.PERF. **come-PERF.**
          The shaman (tradition) was **handed down** from antiquity.

Ex. 2:   ***təmə jimə** taqǔ na?*
          Lit. **Sit-CONV.IMP. come-CONV.IMP.** see-NOM.IMP.-NEG. QUEST.
          You will see **later.** You can think it over.

The expression *təmə jimə* 'sitting coming' refers to a not immediate, but close future.

Ex. 3:   ***aməɹ jimə** gurumbo jiefalyᵊi.*
          Lit. **After come-CONV.IMP**. state liberate-NOM.PERF. (Chin.)
          And **later** (our) state was liberated…

Ex. 4: ***aməɹ jimə da*** *laodo ňi islamət döški.*
    Lit. **After come-NOM.IMP. ACT**. many POSS. Islam DL. enter-PERF.
    Later most of them became Muslims.

Ex. 5: *fiɣə ňi* ***badərəm jimə da***, *oi, məs gələmaq banjəm om na? zəm.*
    Lit. Brain-POSS. **develope-CONV.IMP. come-CONV.IMP**. ACT. oh we(incl.) fear-CONV.
    PERF. live-CONV.IMP. can-IMP.-QUEST say-IMP.
    As their brains **gradually developed**, [they thought] how can we live in fear?

Ex. 6: *manjui čiŋ guruⁿ* ***jimə***…
    Lit. Manchu Qing state/people **come-CONV.IMP**…
    In the time s of the Manchu Qing empire…

Ex. 7: *tumə da samaⁿ ňi* ***jiɣə.***
    Lit. Thus ACT. shaman POSS. **come-NOM.PERF**.
    Then the shamans **appeared.**

Ex. 8: ***sedəm jimə da*** *ňunk laft.*
    Lit. **Grow.old-CONV.IMP. come-CONV.IMP.ACT**. illness many.
    When one **gets old**, one is often sick.

Ex. 9: *terʾi śidəⁿ* ***bolori om jih.***
    Lit. That between **autumn become-CONV.IMP. come-NOM.PERF.**
    And in the meantime **the autumn came**.

Ex. 10: *jəŋ yamsqůn bəda jər śidəⁿ da, dirh badəri da yev yečkəⁿ* ***tuksuɹmaq jih***.
    Lit. Right evening meal eat-NOM.IMP. between ACT. west place-ABL. ACT. black **gloom-
    CONV.PERF. come-PERF.**
    In the evening, just when they were eating dinner, the sky **became overcast** with dark-
    black clouds, which came from the west.

Ex. 11: *χaʁəj ňi əňiŋə yazəv ňi yiləm, aməyiŋ yazəv ňi yiləm, eraɴ of da yaz ňi* ***gulɣuⁿ*** ***omaq jiɣʾi.***
    Lit. Son POSS. mother-POSS. eye-ACC. POSS. lick-IMP. father-POSS. eye-POSS. lick-IMP.
    thus become-CONV.COND. ACT. eye POSS. **whole become-CONV.PERF. come-PERF.**

The boy was licking his mother's eyes, licking his father's eyes and thus their eyes **got healed**.

2.5.3. USAGE CONNECTED WITH EXPRESSING EMERGENCE, ORIGIN OR REASON

Another frequent figurative usage of the verb *ji-* is related to the meaning of leaving a distant point in order to approach the speaker, which forms part of the original semantic field. Utterances of this type include phrases expressing origin or reason of things and phenomena (Ex.1,2). The figurative meaning of the examples 3 and 4 is connected to the original meaning of the whole phrase *čičimaq ji-* 'to come out', expressing the meaning of 'emergence'.

Ex. 1: *amʁəm tutkə **jih jaq** ůrů.*
      Lit. Sleep-CONV.IMP. lie-NOM.PERF. **come-NOM.PERF. thing** PART.
      It was probably **because** he had been sleeping and woke up suddenly…

Ex. 2: *əɹči sər gisəⁿ ňi əɹčin zər gizun dəri **jiyʾi**…*
      Lit. Elči say-NOM.IMP. word F. elčin say-NOM.IMP. word-ABL. **come-PERF**.
      The word *elči* **comes** from the word *elčin.*

Ex. 3: *ər bait bətkə fatəⁿ dəri **čičimaq jiyʾi**.*
      Lit. This matter foot sole-ABL. **go.out-CONV.PERF. come-PERF.**
      This matter **came out** from below the foot-soles (=it happened suddenly).

Ex. 4: *śi **čičimaq jimə da** śi aimaq tamie, nənəm aɹm bum.*
      Lit. You **go.out-CONV.**PERF. come-CONV.IMP. ACT.you what-INSTR. first tell-CONV.
      IMP.-give-IMP.
      When you are **recognized (as a shaman),** they tell you first, in which way you would
      heal people.

In this case the expression *čičimaq ji-* 'to come out' stands for the meaning 'to be confirmed as a shaman by a teacher'.

2.5.4. FIGURATIVE USAGE IN THE MEANING OF APPROACHING, ARRIVAL

This way of figurative usage is based on the meaning of arrival to the location of the speaker, and often coming to immediate contact with him, which forms part of the original semantic field of the verb. All the figurative expressions cited below refer to some kind of contact or approaching something or somebody.

Ex. 1: *bo ňi omə da bie bie **tuŋalm jih baitəv ňi** nanəf tam dazəm bumə da vajəm.*
      Lit. We ACT. become-CONV.IMP. F. body body encounter- **CONV.IMP. come-NOM.**
      PERF. matter-ACC. F. person-ACC. look-COMV.IMP. heal-CONV.IMP. give-CONV.
      IMP.-ACT. finish-IMP.
      The only thing we do is to follow **what we encounter** and heal people.[9]

Ex. 2: *ər bait fiyət jiqů yilaʁʾie.*
      Lit. This matter **brain-DL. come(NOM.IMP.)-NEG. stand-PERF.**
      I **cannot remember** that.

Ex. 3: *tər jaq **vəilət jiqů**.*
      Lit. That thing **work-DL. come(NOM.IMP.)NEG.**
      He is bad **at work**

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9)From an interview with a shamaness, who explained that she did not know the theories about
    shamanism and merely did what the deities ordered her to do.

Ex. 4:   *ər gizuⁿ **anət jiqᵘ**.*
          Lit. This word **mouth-DL. come-NOM.IMP.-NEG.**
          This word is not easy to pronounce.

Ex. 5:   *jai aňi ňi da ər qarəmb tükiar alvən ňi **ər sətət jih** biyᵊi.*
          Lit. Next year F.ACT. this fortress-ACC. guard-NOM.IMP. duty F.POSS. this **old.man-DL. come-NOM.PERF. be-PERF**.
          Next year **it was the old man's turn** to guard the fortress.

Ex. 6:   *biya jaqə ňi **jiyə na**?*
          Lit. Month thing POSS. **come-NOM.PERF. QUEST.**
          Have you **got** menstruation?

3. Use of the motion verbs in narrative

Compared to the narrative habits in e.g. European languages, the live narration in Sibe, as in other Altaic languages, generally seems to use relatively less deictic expressions, thus requiring more imagination from the listener. This is particularly remarkable with pronouns.[10] On the other hand, while pronouns are not found where a European listener would expect them, some other expressions more often function as deictic, like the verbs of motion. Especially the pair of verbs 'to go there – to come here' has an important role in the description of situations and events. Below I draw upon a few examples from the Sibe oral narratives and try to clarify the actual functions of the motion verbs.

Example 1

*gənə, viyəd ňi **uzam ɢajəm juə**, ərgəlji əmənəv ňi əm ɢaɹmaq ačəvə, tuŋzəv ňi gəɹ **am gənəm** səndamaq da **uzamə yavmaškəŋ**.*
Lit. **Go.there-IMPER**. horn-DL. POSS**. pull-CONV.IMP. bring-CONV.IMP. come-IMPER**, small saddle-ACC. POSS. one hand-IS. join-IMPER. bucket-ACC. POSS. still **take.away-CONV.IMP. go.there-CONV.IMP**. put-CONV.PERF. **pull-CONV.IMP. go-INC.-NOM.PERF.II**
He went there, took the bull by his horns and **pulled him here**, put a small saddle on him with his one hand, he also **took** the bucket **there and set off, pulling** (the bull).

The described event comes from a story about a boy who was so strong that he stroke a bull dead. The present sequence of actions describes, how the boy,

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10) Cf. also expressions from everyday communication – Si. *bughe=na,* lit . give-NOM.PERF.=QUEST.; Mo. *ögsön=üü,* lit. give-NOM.PERF.=QUEST, both meaning "did [you, he, she…] give [it] [to him, her, you…]" and the like.

following an order to bring water with the help of a bull, after finding the right animal caught it, saddled and went to the water source.

The actual meanings of the verbs *gən-* and *ji-* are comprehensible only within the context of the tale, with the knowledge of the general situation on the Chabchal countryside and of the concrete situation in the tale.

Therefore the translation, which would make the situation comprehensible to a western listener, should be as follows:

He **approached the bull**, took him by his horns and **pulled him out of the herd**, put the small saddle on him with his one hand and also put on him the bucket **which he was taking with him,** and **set off** (towards the swamp), pulling the bull by his horns.

In this sequence of the story the speaker chose his position as being near the house, from which the boy started his way. The boy first leaves the house to get to the cattle herd, then turns to the speaker bringing the bull, then again turns forth from the speaker and leaves to the swamp.

Example 2

> *norət gənɣə. gənəmaq da jəŋ maji muku veidər śiden da, gəɹ əm asqaⁿ oruⁿ ňi muku ɢajəm gənyʾi.*
>
> Lit. **Swamp-DL. go.there-PERF. go.there-CONV.PERF. ACT**. right little water scoop between ACT. still one young daughter-in-law F. water **bring-CONV.IMP. go.there-PERF. (He) went to the swamp**. **As he was there** and was scooping the water, a young woman also **arrived there to fetch water (from there).**

This sequence, which follows the previous one, describes events which happened at the water source. Here the narrator chooses not to follow the boy to the water source and stays behind, therefore he uses the verb *gən-* in both cases – that of the boy and that of the girl. The verb *gən-* , through its deictic meaning, makes the definition of the place more precise.

Example 3

> *oi fəkškə fəkškə da məzəi boi χanč jimə da nanʾi ɢaznd jimə da dožimə da dožim mutaqů ɤᵘo.*
>
> Lit. Oh run-NOM.PERF. run-NOM.PERF. ACT. our(incl.)-GEN. **house-GEN. close come-CONV.IMP ACT.** person-GEN. **village-DL. come-COMV.IMP. ACT.** enter-CONV.IMP. can-(NOM.IMP.) NEG. become-PERF.
>
> So (he) was galloping, until he **came** close to our (his) home, and as he **came** to a human village and entered it, she was not able to enter.

This sequence comes from a story about a young man, who was seduced by a soul of a dead woman and conceived a child. This part describes, how he, having taken the child from her by a ruse, escaped to his home and brought

the child to his wife. The dead soul was chasing him but had to remain out-
side the area inhabited by living people.

Here the speaker chooses the verb *ji-*, although using the verb *gən-* would
be equally possible. The motivation for using the verb *ji-* seems to be its idi-
omatic tie to the word 'home' and the related emotional load of closeness, the
concept of 'home' and the additional modal tint of the 'ours', 'human' and 'fa-
miliar' as opposed to 'alien', 'inhuman' and 'frightful'

Example 4

> *daohui **boči ňi gənyə**. ər hut **gənyədə** nai fərəd alim yilaʁəie… **daʁəm jimaq da duqa
> jaqət jiyə.***
> Lit. Back(Chin.) **house-LAT. POSS go.there-NOM.PERF**. this demon **go.there-NOM.
> PERF-DL.** earth-GEN. bottom-DL. wait-CONV.IMP. stand-PERF., **follow-CONV.
> IMP. come-CONV.PERF. ACT. gate besides come-NOM.PERF.**
> He went **back to his home**. That (female) demon was waiting for him under the earth.
> **She followed him to the gate (of the village).**

This passage follows the previous one, explaining that while the man returned
home, the dead soul followed him up to the village gate and there was wait-
ing under the earth (in order to steel his soul).

This passage demonstrates the shift of focus, common in the Sibe narra-
tion, which is expressed with the help of the motion verbs. In the first part
both of the characters are observed 'from behind' as leaving for the village
and the man's home from the previous scene in the wilderness. In the second
part, by using the verb *ji-* the narrator shifts his focus to the village, which
then becomes the main scene of the story.

Conclusion

A system of verbs of motion with precisely defined spatial meanings, which
forms an effective part of the whole spatial orientation system, is typical
for many Eastern-Asian languages. Motion verbs, due to their spatial se-
mantics, are often used in verbal phrases as auxiliary and modal verbs, as
well as in figurative meanings connected with various parts of their seman-
tic fields.

In the present text I tried to outline the basic semantic ranges and ways of
usage of a pair of basic motion verbs in spoken Sibe – the verb denoting move-
ment towards (and, eventually, reaching) a certain location different from
the current position of the speaker, and the verb denoting motion towards
(ev. reaching) the current location of the speaker. These verbs form a binary

concept whose inherent symmetricity is clear from examples, in which the two verbs are used together to form pair expressions. However, following the semantic peculiarities of the two concepts (e.g. the meaning 'to come here' is defined positively, the goal of motion being identical with the speaker's location, while the meaning 'to go there' is defined only in a negative way and the goal of motion needs to be further specified, etc.) the concrete usage in the living language often breaks the symetry.

Examining the usage of the two verbs in verbal phrases, we face the general problem of description and classification of verbal phrases in the Altaic languages. It is, for example, problematic to classify a verb as auxiliary only on the grounds, that it is not translated into English literally (e.g. *sevevňi gǝnǝm biam,* lit. his teacher (ACC.) visiting asks – he turns to his teacher for help). However, basing ourselves on the way of translation, it is possible to outline some basic types of relationship between the components of the verbal phrases.

Both verbs play in important role in deixis and both can function as partly vicarious verbs standing often for various meanings, e.g. those connected with the concept of a visit.

The concept '**to go there'** is more concrete, its usage mostly connected to the direct meaning of motion towards a certain location, including leaving the original location (which may be the location of the speaker as well as a different place), movement towards a place, arrival at a place and activities connected to the purpose of the visit, e.g. seeing something, meeting people, asking for help, eating, and many others. In a concrete case of usage either all these meanings, or only one or part of them may be present.

The auxiliary function of the verb 'to go there' usually has a direct relationship to its spatial meaning (expressing direction) which, in case of translation into English, is often reflected by rendering its meaning by a deictic pronoun, usually the pronoun 'there'. The verb 'to go there' has in both languages a relatively narrow range of figurative usage.

The verb **'to come here'** covers the semantic field of motion towards the current location of the speaker from a more distant location. The location associated to the speaker may be defined narrowly (coming from the distance of several meters to the immediate vicinity of the speaker) or more broadly (coming to the speaker's house, city, country, etc.). Although the semantic field of the verb covers the meanings of 'leaving the original location, motion towards the speaker, arrival, contact with the speaker and connected activities', the accent is most often on the arrival to the speaker. The verb *ji-* refers to leaving the starting point only when joining in a phrase with the verb *čič-* 'to come out'.

The verb 'to come here' has a relatively broader range of usage and greater frequency, than the verb 'to go there', and its figurative usage is richer, deriving figurative meanings from various aspects of the original semantics.

The main formal difference in usage between the verbs 'to come here' and 'to go there' stems from their semantics. While in the case of the verb 'to go there' the goal of motion is not known and has to be specified, the goal of motion of the verb 'to come here' is identical with the current location of the speaker and in most cases needs no further specification. Therefore the verb 'to go there' is mostly used with an indirect object, unless it is understood from the context, while the verb 'to come here' is mainly used without an indirect object. However, in modern times, telecommunication often renders the current location of the speaker unknown to the listener, which results into expressing the object.

Another difference between the two opposites is connected to the emotional load of the two meanings, the concept of 'going there' being associated with the 'outside, distant, alien, unfamiliar', sometimes 'frightful', while the concept of coming here is strongly bound to the ideas of the 'own, familiar, close' and other positive emotions. This is apparently one of the reasons, why the verb 'to come here' has a broader usage and often takes over part of the semantic field of its counterpart, the verb 'to go there'.

Some of the specific features of the motion verbs, in particular their deictic functions and their modality and emotional loads, can be observed on their usage in narration. Several examples from narratives show, how the narrator uses the motion verbs to shift his focus in the flow of narration, to precisely describe the movement of the acting characters in space and to introduce his personal attitude to the actions and characters.

The main aim of the present text was to contribute, by presenting a sample of material and it's rendering into English, to the description of one important feature of the Altaic grammar.

This first part will be followed by descriptions of more motion verbs in more Tungusic and Mongolic languages, which should serve as a basis for further and deeper studies of the grammatical structure of the Altaic languages, which, in their turn, may bring new approaches in Indo-European and other linguistics (cf. e.g. Ylikoski 2003).

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Particles in Mongghul
1. Final, interrogative and negative particles

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Summary: This paper deals with some of the particles in Hawan Mongghul, which belongs to Huzhu Mongghul of the Tu or Monguor language in China. It endeavours to describe part of the system of particles, which, besides forming an important part of the Mongghul vocabulary, play a crucial role in the grammatical structure of the language, especially in communication. In Mongghul numerous particles of various origins are used. Apart from the "original" Mongolic particles, which have their etymological correspondences in Mongolian proper, particles of Chinese and Tibetan origin are frequent.

0. Introduction

The Mongghul language is one of the Mongolic languages spoken in the Gansu and Qinghai provinces in China. Scholars agree that it has developed from the language of a group of Mongols that left and thus was isolated from other Mongols in the 13th century. Consequently, it preserves characteristics of 13th-and-14th-century common Mongolian that Mongolian has lost. It is known that the current languages spoken by the Tu people or Monguors have been greatly influenced by the Qinghai Dialect, the local Chinese dialect spoken in the areas inhabited by Monguors, and by Amdo Tibetan, with which they maintained an intense interaction over centuries.

The people, who are classified as Monguor, form five large groups (Ha, Stuart 2006, pp. 45–70), among which in fact only three contain speakers of Mongolic languages.

A. The largest is known as **Mongghul**, whose speakers are concentrated in Huzhu Mongghul Autonomous County互助土族自治县, Ledu乐都, Datong 大通, Ping'an平安 and Mengyuan门源 counties in Qinghai and Tianzhu Tibetan Autonomous County天祝藏族自治县 in Gansu甘肃. Mongghul is then further divided into sub-varieties such as *Naringhol*,[1] *Halchighol*,[2] *Datong*[3] *and Karlong*.[4]

B. The second Monguor dialect is known as **Mangghuer**. It is spoken mostly by the Tu people in Minhe County民和县, Qinghai Province. (For more information see Slater, Keith 2003a, 2003b.)

C. The third is **Tongren Monguor** 同仁土族. Monguors in Tongren county of Huangnan Prefecture黄南州 speak two different languages. The first one, labeled by the locals as "Wutun language", is spoken in Upper Wutun village 吾屯上庄, Lower Wutun village吾屯下庄 and Jiachama village加查麻村. It is a mixture of Tibetan and Chinese. The second language spoken in Bao'an lower village保安下庄, Nianduhu village年都乎村, Guomari village郭麻日村and Gasari village尕撒日村 is a Mongolic language. Many however consider it a branch of the Bao'an language保安语.

　　These three dialects are mutually hardly intelligible.

0.1. MONGGHUL LANGUAGE AND QINGHAI CHINESE DIALECT

In the present-day Mongghul language the influence of the Qinghai Chinese dialect is the most prominent. Although the two languages are classified as belonging to different language families (Huzhu Mongghul to the Mongolic branch of the Altaic language family and Qinghai Chinese to the Sinitic branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family), during centuries of intensive contacts the typological difference between the two languages has become minor. Qinghai Chinese has been subject to heavy influence by both Amdo

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1) Naringhol Mongghul is spoken mostly in today's Dongshan township东山乡 of Huzhu County 互助县. It is fairly well studied. According to Burgel R.M.Faehndrich, Smedt and Mostaert's Mongghul dictionary is, for instance, based on Naringhol Mongghul.
2) Halchighol Mongghul is spoken mostly in today's Danma Town 丹麻镇and Halazhigou Township哈拉直沟乡 of Huzhu County. I speak Halchighol Mongghul.
3) Datong Mongghul is supposedly spoken mostly in Datong County大通县 of Qinghai Province. This variety of Mongghul is either moribund or extinct as of 2007 according to Faehndrich, 2007.
4) Karlong is also known as the Fulaan Nara dialect. See Faehndrich, 2007, p. 11.

Tibetan and several Altaic languages, as a result of which its present grammatical structure displays major differences from most other Chinese dialects, namely from Standard Mandarin. Huzhu Mongghul, in its turn, has adopted many forms of expression and idioms from Qinghai Chinese and Amdo Tibetan. In this exchange particles, as inflexible and independent components which can be easily incorporated into the sentence structure of a different language, play an important role.

Most present-day speakers of the Mongghul language are bilingual in Qinghai Chinese and can either switch between the two languages or speak a mixture of both, which naturally leads to even greater analogies in their grammatical structure and idiomatics.

0.2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON THE MONGGHUL PARTICLES

0.2.1. A. DE SMEDT, C.I.C.M. AND A. MOSTAERT, C.I.C.M.

In *Le Dialecte Monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansou occidental 2ᵉ partie Grammaire*, Smedt and Mostaert have touched upon the Mongghul particles, according to Burgel R.M. Faehndrich most probably those of the Naringhol Mongghul, by listing all the particles they have encountered and giving examples of each. However, they did not attempt a clear classification of the particles. Below I will briefly point out those of the particles listed by them that are no longer used in today's Mongghul, or at least in my native Halqighol Mongghul.

1. The particle *-dzaam*[5] used in the following example is not known any more in present-day Mongghul.

Te   kun   iregunidzaam. (Smedt, Mostaert 1945, p. 115)
That   person   come-FUT-??
That person will probably come.

2. The composed particle *-dzaambaa* in the example is not used today either.

Qi   mudesa   mudedzaambaa (Smedt, Mostaert 1945, p. 115)
2s   know-COND   know-??
If you know it, well then, you can know it.

_____

5) -dzaam is transcribed as such by Smedt and Mostaert in their work. It is not very familiar to me.

A similar meaning would be expressed today normally as

Qi mudesa	*mudeja*	*bai*
2s know-COND	know-PERF	PRT

3. The particle *bang* as mentioned in their work is used only by the Minhe Mangghuers today and a rough equivalent in Mongghul is *bai*. They are, however, not interchangeable between the two Monguor dialects.

4. Smedt and Mostaert (1945, p. 114) also mentioned the particle *ni*, e.g. *urondu gharguni, nohui rdieguni* (you die or else the dogs will eat you). I am unaware of such a particle either, but a similar meaning might be expressed today as *urondu ghargu<u>niuu</u>, nohui irdie**dii**<u>gunii</u>*,[6] where *(n)iuu* is an interrogative particle and *gunii* a future tense marker. Therefore classifying *ni* as a particle seems doubtful to me. However, the possibility that the language has since changed cannot be ruled out.

5. Smedt and Mostaert mentioned a particle *nu*, e.g., *qi udieni haanu szu awuji ire! (Bring me some water after closing the door!)* In present-day Mongghul there is a perfective converb *-aanu*, and it may be possible that the authors took it for a particle.

6. The particle *ong* (cf. Smedt, Mostaert 1945, p. 104) as in 1) *qi teni soogha ong* (tell him to sit) or 2) *taraani huraa ong* (let's harvest the crops!) is also not known as an imperative in modern Mongghul. There is, however, the particle *o*, e.g., 1) *qi teni soogha(dii) o?* 2) *taraani huraaya o,* which turns the above imperative into a polite request.

7. Smedt and Mostaert mentioned another particle *-sara*, and pointed out that it was combined often with a preceding *-gu* as in *-gusara*, but it is not known in Mongghul today.

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6) Please note that *rdiegunii* and *rdiediigunii* are slightly different. *Rdiegunii* roughly means "going to eat", the emphasis is on the action "eating", whereas *rdiediigunii* is roughly "going to finish eating", and the emphasis is on "finishing" the action.

0.2.2. BURGEL R.M. FAEHNDRICH'S DISSERTATION

The most recent work dealing with Mongghul grammar comes from Burgel R.M. Faehndrich. The author deals with the Karlong variety of Mongghul, known to the locals also as Fulaan Nara Mongghul, and employs a simple way of dividing the particles encountered in the language.

In her dissertation, Burgel R.M. Faehndrich divides Mongghul particles into five groups, i.e. negative particles, interrogative particles, discourse particles, adverbial particles and final particles. In the present work I use her classification as a basis for my description, although some of the particles, classified by Burgel R.M. Faehndrich as final particles, function in different contexts as discourse particles. The current work focuses on all the above-mentioned groups except discourse particles and adverbial particles, which have to be dealt with separately due to the large number of particles involved, and their complicated usage and subtle meanings. The paper also endeavours to present all the Mongghul particles of the other three groups the author has so far encountered and to investigate the more detailed nuances of those particles. Since the classification of particles involves numerous problems, the author tries to specify concrete ways of using them and to illustrate them by using examples from everyday speech. The author also takes into account the presumable origin of the particles and analogies in neighbouring languages and brings in examples of corresponding particles in Chinese, Tibetan or Mongolian.

To further illustrate the differences and forms of classification of Mongghul particles employed by Burgel R.M. Faehndrich, and introduce the starting point of the current work, I cite from her dissertation (Faehndrich 2007, p. 225) the following:

Negative particles are used for the formation of negative and prohibitive sentences, while interrogative particles are used in question formation. Discourse particles help maintain the flow of the conversation, often illustrating the flow of time in the events discussed. Final particles add emphasis, or involve the addressee in some way: by making the sentence an imperative or a suggestion, or by eliciting a response.

1. Final particles

Final particles, as defined by Burgel R.M. Faehndrich (2007, p. 211), are "non-changeable words which appear at the end of the sentence or clause and add meaning such as imperative, suggestion, or emphasis to the sentence, or are

used to elicit a response from the listener". As follows from this definition, particles in this group do not have a strictly defined function and their actual meaning varies according to context, tone etc. Below I try to provide examples of all the different functions of the particles, and, when relevant, also of parallels in the neighbouring languages.

Burgel R.M. Faehndrich has found six final particles in Karlong based on her collected material. These are the particles *sa*, *ba*, *ha*, *bai* and *lai*. Among them the particle *ha* demands special attention. Since the particle cannot appear at the end of a sentence and is used as a conjunction between two sentences, I will discuss it in greater detail in a future paper on discourse particles. Based on my personal experience I have added six more particles, which accord with B.Faehndrich's definition, and list the particles *sa*, *ba*, *o*, *lai*, *dai*, *daa*, *zhao*, *ya/aa*, *juu*, *naa*, *bai*, and *chuang* as final.

1.1. PARTICLE *sa*

The final particle *sa* can form questions, express a polite imperative/request or serious imperative. Depending upon the tone in which it is expressed, it may elicit agreement, suggest someone do something or urge someone to do something.

All the above-mentioned functions of the particle *sa* are present both in Mongghul and in the Qinghai Chinese dialect. Whether the particle is derived from the Qinghai Chinese dialect or has been incorporated into the local Chinese from Mongghul is hard to judge and requires further investigation. Based, however, on the fact that such a particle does not exist in present-day Mongolian, I would suggest that the particle *sa* is of Chinese origin.

1.1.1. INTERROGATIVE FUNCTION

When the person asking uses the interrogative particle *sa*, he expects a positive answer or agreement from the listener. When a negative answer is given, a "why question" tends to follow.

a.	*Budasgi*	*yiila*	*xiginii,*		*qi*	*da*	*xiginii*		*sa?*
	we	all	go- SUBJ.FUT		2s	PRT	go- SUBJ.FUT		PRT

We are all going, you are going as well, right?

A positive answer might be:

> *Xiginii.*
> go-SUBJ.FUT
> I am going.

Or a negative answer might be:

> *Yii   xin!*
> NEG.PRT   go-NARR
> I am not going.

Equivalent in the local Chinese:

b. *Naomen   yigua   qilia,   ni   a   qili   sa?*[7]
   we   all   go-FUT-PRT   2s   also   go-FUT   PRT
   We are all going, you are going as well, aren't you/right?

Positive answer:

> *Qilia.*
> go-FUT-PRT

c. *Ni   han   mao   chi   sa?*
   你   还   (没有)   吃   啥
   2s   still   NEG.PRT.PERF   eat   PRT
   You haven't eaten yet, right?

1.1.2. IMPERATIVE FUNCTION

When the particle *sa* is used in an imperative, the meaning differs depending on the tone in which the particle is uttered. When delivered in a mild and repetitive voice, it transforms the sentence into a polite imperative and implies a meaning of urging someone to do something. In this case, the sentence is often reduplicated. Maria calls this function of the particle *sa* a polite imperative, e.g.:

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7) Since the Qinghai Chinese dialect is not the main topic of the present work, I use Chinese pinyin to transcribe it. Although it is not possible to render some important phonetic features of the Qinghai Chinese by this transcription, it is sufficient for the purpose of illustration of the grammatical structure and usage of particles in the dialect.

a.   *Rde   sa!*
      eat   PRT
      Have more!

Local Chinese:

b.   *Chi   sa!*
      eat   PRT
      Have more!

or

c.   *Rde sa, rde sa!* – Have more, have more!

1.1.3. THE PARTICLE *SA* USED TO MAKE POLITE REQUEST, E.G.:

d.   *Do   qi   bii   xii   sa!*
      Now   2s   PROHIB   go   PRT
      Come on, don't leave, okay?

or

      Ni   bao[8]   qi   liao   sa!
      你   嫑   去   了   啥
      2s   PROHIB   go   PERF   PRT
      Come on, don't leave, okay?

1.1.4. When someone is impatient with another person or when another
person does something incorrect, the particle *sa* is used in a rather serious
imperative voice to tell him to stop. This is distinguishable from the above-
mentioned meaning of *sa* only in terms of the tone in which the particle is
pronounced, e.g.:

      Qi   xiulenaa   yaan warinii   sa,   rde   sa!
      2s   chopsticks-INSTR-SELF.POSS   what do-SUBJ.NARR   PRT   eat   PRT
      What are you doing with your chopsticks? Eat!

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8) Bao in the local Qinghai dialect is the equivalent of the Mandarin Chinese word别. *Bao* is also
   used in the so-called Qingpuhua or Qinghai Standard Chinese.

1.1.5. The particle *sa* used to suggest someone do something, e.g.,

Tesgi	*nige*	*hambaraldida*	*sa!*
2pl.	one	have.a.rest-COLL-PRT	PRT

You all, please have a rest!/ Why don't you all have a rest.

1.1.6. Fixed expression used when the speaker cannot remember something in the course of speech, in English approximately "what is it? Let me see…", e.g.,

Te	*kunni*	*narani*	*si,*
That	person-GEN	name-3s.POSS	COP

bu	*ujeya,*	*yaanna*	*sa…*
1s	see-VOL	what-OBJ.NARR	PRT

That person's name is, let me see, what was it?…

Note: To render the meaning "Let me see…", there is an alternative expression *Bu ujeya, yaana dai…* When using this expression, the speaker tends to prolong the vowel *ai*. See below where the particle *dai* is discussed.

1.2. PARTICLE *ba*

Ba 吧 is another final particle common both in Mongghul and the Qinghai Chinese dialect. This particle is used in Mandarin and Qinghai Chinese dialect in the same way. Mongghul, like many other non-Chinese languages in China, e.g. Amdo Tibetan, has most probably borrowed this particle from Chinese. The most important functions of this particle are indicating entreaty, suggestion, doubt or uncertainty. The usages of the particle *ba* are similar in both Mongghul and the local Chinese dialect, Qinghai Dialect.

1.2.1. The particle *ba* is often used at the end of a sentence indicating entreaty, suggestion, and soliciting consultatively.

Teni	*budaghula*	*awula*	*yiu*	*ba?*
that-ACC	we.two	buy-VERBLZR	go	PRT

We two / Let us two go buy that, okay / what do you say?

1.2.2. Another function of this particle is indicating doubt or uncertainty.

a.   *Bu kilesanni*   *te*   *kun*   *yanglajii*   *ba?*
        1s say-NOMLZR-ACC   that   person understand-VERBLZR-PERF PRT
        That person understood what I said, don't you think?

b.   *Tingera*   *uragina/uram*   *ba,*   *yusannaa*   *wari*   *dii.*
        sky   rain-FUT/rain-FUT   PRT   umbrella-SELF.POSS   take   PRT
        It might rain, take your umbrella.

In Amdo Tibetan:

1.2.3. *Ba* indicating doubt or uncertainty

c.   *slob khang* *nang na*   *dge rgan*   *med*   *pa?*
        classroom inside-LOC   teacher   NEG.COP   PRT
        Teacher is not in the classroom, right / is he?

1.3 PARTICLE *o*

Final particle *o*, most probably another particle borrowed from the local Chinese, is also very common in both Mongghul and the Qinghai Chinese dialect, while it is not as frequent in Mandarin. *O* as an interrogative particle appears at the end of a sentence expressing entreaty, eliciting agreement from the listener, e.g.:

a.   *Budasgi*   *yiila*   *naatila*   *xiiginii,*
        1pl.   all   play-VERBLZR   go-SUBJ.FUT

        qi   *da*   *naatila*   *yiu*   *o?*
        2s   PRT   play-VERBLZR   go   PRT
        We are all going to play, come with us, okay?

b.   *Bu yiidaaxja,* *yiuji*   *daa*   *adana,*
        1s tire-go-PERF go-IMPERF albe   not.able-OBJ.NARR

        qi   *nige*   *awula*   *xii*   *o?*
        2s   one   buy-VERBLZR   go   PRT
        I am so tired. I can't walk any more, you go get (buy) it please, okay?

Local Chinese:

c.	*Buxing*	*liao,*	*ni*	*zai*	*bao*	*qi*	*liao*	*o?*
	not.okay	COND	2s	then	PROHIB	go	PERF	PRT
	不行	了	你	再	嫑	去	了	哦

Or else, you don't go, okay?

When the particle is used at the beginning of a sentence, it is an exclamation indicating the speaker being surprised,[9] reaching an agreement,[10] something new popping into the speaker's mind in the course of speaking and so on. Since I deal only with final particles here, I will leave this usage of *o* for upcoming papers.

1.4. PARTICLE *lai*

The particle *lai* has two functions. As a final particle, it forms a question, roughly corresponding to *ne* 呢 in Mandarin, and the question "what/how about you?/And you?" or "what if…?" in English. When it appears inside a sentence as a discourse particle, it is joined most frequently to *do* (now), or the conditional marker *-kisa,* and forms fixed expressions such as *do lai*, roughly corresponding to *одоо бол* in Mongolian, and *-kisa lai.*

 Lai is derived from the local Qinghai Chinese dialect.

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 9) *O,   ni   amangha   nige   ire   shda   wa?*
    PRT   2s   why   one   come   able   PRT
    Literally: Oh, how come you are able to come?
    Meaning: Oh, what brings you here?
10) *O,   bu   mudewa.*
    PRT   1s   know-PERF
    Oh, I have got/understood it now.

1.4.1. *Lai* as a final particle

a.   *Budaghula*   *yiuginii,*   *qi*   *lai?*
     we.two   go-SUBJ.FUT   2s   PRT
     We two are going, what about you?

     Simqiangla,   *simqianglaya,*
     be.careful-VERBLZR   be.careful-VERBLZR

     pughaxighawa   *sa?*   *Do*   *lai,*   *do*   *amahgii?*
     break-go-CAUSE-PERF   PRT   now   PRT   now   what.to.do
     I told you to be careful, to be careful. Now you have broken it, right? What now,
     what should we do?

1.4.2. *Lai* can also be used in the middle of a sentence, and preceded by a noun, where it roughly means "as for", or *бол* in Mongolian. It is also often used together with the suffix *-kisa*[11] in the pattern *-kisa lai*, and approximately means "as far as … is concerned". In Qinghai Chinese Dialect, *lai* functions in the same way. This aspect of the particle will be closely examined in future papers.

1.5. PARTICLE *dai*

The final particle *dai* forms questions, in which it implies that the speaker has heard about the matter before somewhere but cannot recall it precisely at the time of speaking. It is also used in the local Chinese dialect in the same sense. In this case it roughly corresponds to the particle *билээ* in Mongolian. *Dai* can also express a polite suggestion or an imperative or a command when someone is annoyed at a disturbance caused by a second person. The particle *dai* is often used with the diminutive *nige* or "one" and forms the fixed expression *nige VERB dai*.

1.5.1. *Dai* as an interrogative particle
Mongghul:

     Tani   *niraniini*   *yaan*   *daudana*   *dai?*
     3s-GEN   name-3s.POSS-ACC   what   call-OBJ.NARR   PRT
     What was he called? / What was his name?

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11) *-kisa* = -QUOTE-COND

Local Chinese:

> *Jia*   *fu*   *liao*   *gao*   *sa*   *dai…*
> 3s   speak   PERF   PRT   what   PRT
> What did he say… (the speaker is trying to recollect memories)

Mongolian proper:

> *таны*   *нэр*   *хэн*   *билээ?* (Lubsangdorji, Vacek 2004, p. 271)
> 2s.GEN   name   who   PRT
> What was your name?

1.5.2. *Dai* used to express a polite suggestion

> *Pai*   *tura*   *kusa*   *saojin*   *ghajar*   *gua,*
> Kang[12]   inside   already   sit-NOMLZR   place   NEG.COP
>
> *do*   *pai*   *qiriira*   *nige*   *kuala*   *dai!*
> now   Kang   edge-LOC   one   sit.one.one.leg-VERBLZR PRT
> There is already no sitting place on the *kang*, please try to sit on the edge of the *kang*.

1.5.3. *Dai* used as an imperative with diminutive *nige*

> *Duwaji*   *rewa,*   *duwaji*   *xiiwa,*
> across-IMPERF   come-PERF   across-IMPERF go-PERF
>
> *bii*   *saodala*   *sa,*   *qi tiriini*   *nige*   *so*   *dai!*
> PROHIB   bother-VERBLZR   PRT   2s there-3s.POSS one   sit   PRT
> Walking hither, walking thither, don't disturb me, please, you sit down over there!

1.6. PARTICLE *daa*

The final particle *daa* is so far the only Mongghul final particle not used in Qinghai Chinese Dialect, and is the equivalent of the particle *∂aa⁴* in Mongolian. In Mongghul, it forms polite requests, in which case it is interchangeable with the particle *dai*, and also expresses emphasis.

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12) Kang: sleeping platform in northern China.

1.6.1. *Daa* forming a polite request

Qi	*ninkiji*	*nige*	*bii*	*gi*	*daa!*
2s	like.this-IMPERF	one	PROHIB	do	PRT

Please don't act like this!

1.6.2. *Daa* used as an emphatic particle

Te	*kun*	*xini*	*pujogngi*	*juriwa*	*daa,*	*qi*	*sge*	*uu*	*gui?*
that	perosn	new	paper-one	write-PERF	PRT	2s	see	PRT	NEG.COP

That person has written a new paper, have you seen it?

1.7. PARTICLE *zhao*

The final particle *zhao* is used both in Mongghul and Qinghai Chinese dialect in the same sense. When it appears at the end of a question, it emphasizes the matter asked about. The particle can also express pity and a sense of "showing off" when used by children.

1.7.1. *Zhao* used in a question emphasises the matter asked about. Sometimes it can be translated into English as "really", e.g.

a. | *Tesgi* | *amanii?* |
   |---------|-----------|
   | 2pl. | what-SUBJ.NARR |

   What are you (pl.) doing?

b. | *Tesgi* | *amanii* | *zhao?* |
   |---------|----------|---------|
   | 2pl | what-SUBJ.NARR | PRT |

   What really are you (pl.) doing?

1.7.2. The particle *zhao*, in a common statement, may also express pity, e.g.

Aama	*kudi*	*gua*	*zhao!*
mother	home	NEG.COP	PRT

My mother is not at home unfortunately.

1.7.3. Sometimes when a child uses this particle in a sentence, it may also imply a meaning of "showing off", e.g.

> *Qimu*   *gui*   *sa,*   *nda*   *yii*   *zhao!*
> 2s-DAT   SUBJ.NEG.COP   PRT   1s.DAT   COP   PRT
> You don't have it, right? (You see,) I have it.

1.8. PARTICLES *ya*, *aa*

The final particles *ya* and *aa*, also derived from the local Chinese dialect, either emphasize the sentence or express a caution, an urge or a reminding. The particles *ya*, *aa* are also used, mostly by children, to make entreaties, for example, when asking for money from their parents.

1.8.1. Emphatic particles

a.   *Qimu*   *yiina,*   *nda*   *gui*   *ya/aa!*
     2s-ACC   COP-OBJ.NARR   1s.DAT   NEG.COP   PRT
     You have it, but I don't.

Here in this case, with *aa* or *ya* at the end, it implies the meaning "you have it, but I don't, what should we do?"

b.   *Bu*   *da*   *xiiginii*   *aa!*
     1s   PRT   go-SUBJ.NARR   PRT
     I am going as well.

In this case, with the particle *aa*, it implies a meaning of "Did you hear? I am going as well."

c.   *Tenkiji*   *kilekiji*   *boji*   *iresa,*
     like.that   say-VERBLZR-IMPERF   down-IMPERF   come-COND

     dii   *nimbaa*   *ya*   *dii.*
     then   right   PRT   PRT
     If you consider it like that, then it is really right.

1.8.2. *Aa* or *ya* indicating an urge, caution, reminding

d. *Do*   *yiuu*   *aa!*
now   go   PRT
Come on, let's go now!

e. *Rde*   *ya!*
eat   PRT
You should eat! / eat!

f. *Pujignaa*   *uje*   *ya!*
character-SELF.POSS   look   PRT
Study! / Read your books.

With the particle *ya* in the sentence, it really means "Did you hear me? Come study."

1.8.3. The particle *aa* is used by kids to make an entreaty, ask for approval, especially when begging for something from e.g. their parents.

g. *Aama,*   *nda*   *ser*   *nigiidi* *ughua* *sa,*   *aa,*   *aa…*
Mom   1s.DAT money a.little give   PRT   PRT   PRT
Mother, please give me a little money, please, please, please…

1.9. PARTICLE *juu*

Mongghul modal particle *juu*, partly similar to the Mongolian particle *uγγ*, expresses a polite imperative, praise, an emphasis, a caution or even a threat. It appears always at the end of the sentence, and usually follows after verbs, where it forms a polite imperative, or a complete sentence showing emphasis.

1.9.1. *Juu* used politely to ask somebody to do something.

a. *Qaa*   *uqiji*   *shidima*   *rde*   *juu!*
tea   drink-IMPERF break   eat   PRT
Please have some tea and bread!

b. *Suidala* *juu!*
be.at.ease PRT
Please be at ease! / Take care! (Often said by the guest to the host when leaving)

1.9.2. Particle *juu* used to give someone a caution.

c. | *Qi* | *pujignaa* | *yii* | *ujesa* | *bu* | *aabadi* |
    |------|-----------|-------|---------|------|----------|
    | 2s | book-SELF.POSS | NEG.PRT | look-COND | 1s | father-DAT |

kile	*ughuginii*	*juu!*
tell	give-SUBJ.FUT	PRT

If you don't study, I will tell Father, you know!

1.10. PARTICLE *naa*

Naa as a final particle is used both in Mongghul and the Qinghai Chinese dialect. It can emphasize the meaning in a sentence and is often used together with particles like *bai*, *sa* and others. However, mostly it is used as a conjunction in a sentence. It is a loanword from Chinese.

1.10.1. *Naa* as an emphatic particle

a. | *Ndaaja,* | *do* | *yiuya* | *bai* | *naa.* |
    |-----------|------|---------|-------|--------|
    | be.late-OBJ.PERF | now | go-VOL | PRT | PRT |

It's late. Let's go, come on!

b. | *Qi nige* | *kun* | *kudi* | *duandii* | *soji* | *amahgii,* |
    |-----------|-------|--------|-----------|--------|-----------|
    | 2s one | person | home | stay | sit-IMPERF | what.to.do |

hamdilaa	*yiu*	*sa*	*naa!*
together-COLL	go	PRT	PRT

What are you going to do staying home alone, come on, let's go together!

1.10.2. *Naa* as a discourse particle.[13]

c. *Tigiinge* *yiisa,* *aadee,* *naa* *qi* *muden* *uu*
like.this-one COP-COND grandpa PRT 2s know-NARR PRT

tani *narani* *amengha* *Bao'er*
2s.p[14]-GEN name-ACC why Bao'er

kiji *xijaaja?*
QUOTE-IMPERF name-OBJ.PERF
If it's like that (in that case), Grandpa, then do you know why you were named Bao'er?

1.11. PARTICLE *bai*

The emphasising particle *bai* is extremely frequent in storytelling and every-day speech. It emphasizes the fact that the event recounted has really occurred and is a fact. When *bai* is used with *juu*, or used together with the conditional marker *sa* and the perfective marker *ja* in a sentence, it expresses one's indifference to the matter; indicating a passively consensual mood. The particle *bai* also expresses suggestion in the sense of "should" in English. When the particle *bai* is added to an imperative sentence, it turns the imperative tone into a mild requesting tone.

1.11.1. Emphasising particle

a. *Jiu*[15] *tigiinga* *bai!*
PRT like.this-one-PRT PRT
(It's) just something like this!

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13) *Naa* *seer* *quguanna* *bai,* *tesigoudi,*
Because money little-OBJ.NARR PRT that.time-LOC

zixi *xii* *adagina* *bai.*
always visit not.able-QUOTE-OBJ.NARR PRT
Because (we had) little money at that time, we couldn't visit all the time.

14) 2s.p = second person singular polite form.

15) Jiu = discourse particle borrowed from Chinese, 就.

1.11.2. Used together with conditional marker *sa* and perfective marker *ja*.

b. *Resa   reja   bai,   kan   guanlana.*
    Come-COND   come-OBJ.PERF   PRT   who   care-VERBLZR-OBJ.NARR
    If s/he wants to come, then comes, who cares? / If s/he came, well then, she came, who cares?

c. *Yiuginii   kisa,   yiu   bai!*
    go-SUBJ.FUT   QUOTE-COND   go   PRT
    If you want to go, then go, (it doesn't matter).

1.11.3. *Bai* can also express the meaning "should"

d. *Budasge   yiuya   bai!*
    1.pl   go-VOL   PRT
    Come on, we should go / let's go!

e. *Budasge   yiuya!*
    1p   go-VOL
    We are leaving.

1.11.4. *Bai* may otherwise turn an imperative sentence or a childishly persuading request into a mild and polite request, e.g.:

f. *Qi naranaa   nige   kile   bai,   aadee.*
    2s name-SELF.POSS   one   say   PRT   grandpa
    Grandpa, could you please tell me your name?

When *Qi naranaa nige kile!* is said in an abrupt and imperative voice, it means "tell me your name!" But when the last syllable of *kile* is pronounced long and said mildly to a child with sort of a coaxing voice, it means ("hey, cute child, can you tell me your name?)

1.11.5. *Bai* in storytelling

g. *Muni   nara   si¹⁶*   Ha Shenglinna   bai,   Mongghul   nara   si,
    1s-GEN   name   COP   Ha Shenglin-OBJ.NARR   PRT   Mongghul   name   COP

   bu ujeya,   yaanna   sa,   uh…,   Bao'er   wa   bai.
   1s see-VOL   what-OBJ.NARR   PRT   PRT   Bao'er   COP   PRT

   Neni   dii¹⁷   yanglan   gua   bai,
   this-ACC   PRT   use-VERBLZR-NARR   OBJ.NEG.COP/PRT   PRT

   mulaasa   yanglaji   gua   bai.
   young-ABL   use-VERBLZR-IMPERF   OBJ.NEG.COP/PRT   PRT

   Yizhi   qidar   narani   yanglaja   bai.
   always   Chinese   name-ACC   use-VERBLZR-OBJ.PERF   PRT

   Bu   dii   yaanda   yii   jilaana   bai,
   1s   PRT   what-even(PRT)   NEG.COP   remember-OBJ.NARR   PRT

   nda   liangsuira   teeri   duwa   ireja   bai.
   1s.ACC   two.years.old-LOC   hold.in.arms   over   come-OBJ.PERF PRT
   My name is Ha Shenglin. (My) Mongghul name is, let me see, what is it? uh…, oh, it's
   Bao'er, which, however, we haven't used, actually, from a young age. We have always
   used the Chinese name. I can't remember anything. When I was two years old, I was
   taken over here.

1.12. PARTICLE *chuang*

Chuang is always used together with the preceding conditional marker *-sa*,
i.e. *-sa chuang*, and appears at the end of a sentence. It indicates a meaning
of "maybe, possibly, probably". It has a similar particle in Tibetan *-na thang*.

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16) Si = 是 (shì).
17) Discourse particle, will be dealt with separately in a forthcoming paper.

1.12.1. *-sa chuang* in Mongghul

a. *Yusannaa*   *wari*   *dii,*   *tingera*   *urasa*   *chuang!*
    Umbrella-SELF.POSS   take   PRT,   sky   rain-COND   PRT
    Take the umbrella, maybe it will rain.

1.12.2. The modal particle *na thang* (cf. Wang Qingshan 1995, p. 94) in col-loquial Amdo Tibetan is an exact equivalent of *-sa chuang* in Mongghul. It is used after both verbs and adjectives. For instance,

b. *a khu*   *de ring*   *yong na*   *thang.*[18]
    uncle   today   come-COND   PRT
    (My) uncle might come today.

c. *khur gis*   *bshad go no*   *bden na*   *thang.*
    3s-INSTR   say-NOMLZR   true-COND   PRT
    What he says might be true.

2. Interrogative particles

B.R.M. Faendrich includes within this group several particles with a clear and precisely defined function of creating an interrogative sentence. The difference between some final particles with interrogative function and these particles lies mainly in the clearly defined semantics of the latter. This aspect may be related to their etymology – while most of the "final particles" are probably of Chinese origin and retain the multifunctionality and indefiniteness typical of Chinese grammatical formants, these particles are clearly of Mongolian origin.

2.1. MONGGHUL INTERROGATIVE PARTICLES AND THEIR EQUIVALENTS IN MONGOLIAN PROPER: *uu, nuu, niuu, iuu*

In Mongghul, yes/no questions are formed using the interrogative particle *uu* and three other forms of its derivations, *nuu, -iuu* and *-niuu*. These are

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18) The Tibetan is transcribed according to the colloquial pronunciation, so it is to be pointed out that some of the transcribed words might have a different meaning in literary Tibetan.

formally and semantically equivalent to the particle *yy/γγ* in Mongolian (Vacek 2002, p. 174). The basic form of the particle is *uu*, from which other forms were formed such as *nuu*, *-iuu* and *-niuu*. *Nuu* is used after words ending in *-a*. Yes/no interrogative particle *-iuu* is formed with the ending *-ii* and particle *uu*, e.g. *nimbii + uu = nimbiuu*,[19] *puxii + uu = puxiuu*[20] or *yii + uu = yiuu*?.[21] The particle *-niuu* is formed with suffix *-nii* and *uu*, and is not written as a separate word in my material. All the above-mentioned interrogative particles are used at the end of a sentence, e.g.,

a.   *Tesgi*   *tirii*   *kuari*   *uu?*
      2pl   there   arrive   PRT
      Did you (pl.) arrive there?

b.   *Qi niguudur*   *yaan da*   *rdeji*   *gui,*
      2s the.whole.day   what PRT   eat-IMPERF   SUBJ.NEG.COP/PRT

      kiila   *luasinna*   *nuu?*
      stomach   hungry-NARR-OBJ.NARR   PRT
      You haven't eaten anything the whole day, are you hungry?

c.   *Budasge*   *ghajara*   *xiginii,*   *qi*   *xiginiuu?*[22]
      1pl.   field-LOC   go-SUBJ.FUT   2s   go-SUBJ.FUT-PRT
      We are going to the field (to work), are you going?

d.   *Oyo,*   *bu sernaa*   *mushdaadiiwa,*
      EXCEL   1s money-SELF.POSS   leave.behind/forget-PRT-PERF

      qimu   *yiuu?*   *Nda*   *nige*   *asighuaji*   *ughua.*
      2s-ACC   COP-PRT   1s.DAT   one   lend-IMPERF   give
      Oh, I forgot to take my money, do you have some? Can you lend me some?

A specific usage of the interrogative particle *-iuu* is that of a politeness question, e.g. when a guest is about to leave, s/he says, *Do yiuya!* or "Now I'd better go," and the host, if not trying to persuade him to stay longer, might ask, *O, qi yiuginiuu?* or "oh, you are leaving?" instead of directly saying goodbye

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19) *Nimbiuu*? = "right? / true?"
20) Puxiuu? = "not?"
21) *Yiuu*? = "is/are there?" or "do you have?"
22) Qi xiiginii uu? shortens into *qi xiiginiuu?* In this case, some others might also give this particle *uu* another variant, e.g. *qi xiiginii yuu?*

or *O, naa xii!* or "okay, then go!", which would sound impolite. Hosts often "pretend" to ask the guest to stay longer, when they are actually saying goodbye to their guests.

3. Negative particles

Most of the negative particles in Mongghul are of Mongolian origin. Their semantics do not greatly differ from those of the negative particles in Mongolian proper. Negative particles turn affirmative sentences into negative sentences. As in Mongolian, Mongghul particles could be divided into two groups, postpositional negative particles that appear after the word they negate and prepositional negative particles that stand before the word they negate (Tserenpil, Kullmann 2008, p. 328).

3.1 PREPOSITIONAL NEGATIVE PARTICLES

There are three prepositional negative particles in Mongghul, *yii* or in some areas of Mongghul areas *lii*, and the prohibitive particle *bii*.

3.1.1. Prohibitive particle *bii* is used before a verb, and its equivalent in Mongolian is *битгий*.

a. *Bii*   *pughaldida!*   *Saininge*   *naatilda!*
    PROHIB   fight-COLL-PRT   good-one   play-COLL-PRT
    Don't fight! Play together in harmony.

3.1.2. Negative particle *yii* or *lii* in some Mongghul dialects is used in Mongghul in this structure: *yii/lii (verb)-m/n* and *yii/lii (verb)-na*. The difference between these two negative sentences lies only in the suffixes taken by the verb after the negative particles. When the verb negated by the particle takes the suffix *-na*, it is often used in reported or narrative speech and indicates the present tense, whereas the suffixes *-n* or *-m* often indicate a future tense. The particle expresses reluctance, unwillingness to do something. It can be used for all three persons.

Examples with *yii/lii …na*:

a. *Te　kun　　　aanjisa　　　iresanna,*
　　that　person　　　where-ABL　　　come-NOMLZR-OBJ.NARR

　　qi　muden　　uu?
　　2s　know-NARR　PRT
　　Do you know where that person is from?

b. *Bu　yii/lii　　　mudena.*
　　1s　NEG.PRT　　　know-OBJ.NARR
　　I don't know.

The affirmative answer would be:

c. *Bu　　　muden.*
　　1s　　　know-NARR
　　I know.

d. *Luusa　yii/lii　　　yiuna.*
　　mule　NEG.PRT　　　move-OBJ.NARR
　　The mule doesn't move.

e. *Luusa　yiuna.*
　　mule　move-OBJ.NARR
　　The mule is moving/the mule moves.

Examples with *yii… -n*:

f. *Qi　yiuginiuu?*
　　2s　move-SUBJ.FUT-PRTquest
　　Are you going?

g. *Bu　yii/lii　　　　　yiun.*
　　1s　NEG.PRT　　　　　go/move-NARR
　　I am not going.

The affirmative answer would be:

　　Bu　yiuginii.
　　1s　go-SUBJ.FUT
　　I am going/ I will go.

Luusa yii/lii   yiuna.
Mule   NEG.PRT   go-OBJ.NARR
The mule doesn't move.

Pugha ma   yiun.
beat   PRT   go-OBJ.FUT
If you beat it, it will move.

3.2. POSTPOSITIONAL NEGATIVE PARTICLES

There are two kinds of postpositional negative particles in Mongghul: *gui/gua*, *puxii/puxee* or *pujii/pujee*.

3.2.1. Postpositional negative particles *gui* and *gua* express subjective and objective perspectives respectively and are used after verbs and adjectives. The equivalents of *gui* and *gua* in current Mongolian are *-ɣŭ* or *ɣɣŭ*, which according to Lubsangdorji and Vacek (2004, p. 13) "express an absolute negation, non-existence, non-realization of something etc."

1. Non-existence, negation of possession, *-du/di gua*.

a.   *Kudi   kun   gua.*
     home-ØLOC   people   NEG.PRT
     No one is at home.

b.   *Gerdu   jilaa   gua,   chaaxja   ba.*
     room-LOC   light   NEG.PRT   sleep-PERF   PRT
     The lights are off, maybe they have already gone to bed.

c.   *Gandu   yiina   nuu   gua?*
     3s-DAT   COP-OBJ.NARR   PRT   OBJ.NEG.PRT
     Does he have it or not?

     Gua,   gandu   gua.
     OBJ.NEG.PRT 3s-DAT   OBJ.NEG.PRT
     No, he doesn't have it.

The affirmative answer would be:

Yiina,	*gandu*	*yiina.*
COP-OBJ.NARR	3s-DAT	COP-OBJ.NARR

Yes, he has.

d. | *Qimu* | *yiuu* | *gui?* |
|---|---|---|
| 2s-DAT | COP | SUBJ.NEG.COP |

Do you have it or not?

Nda	*gui.*
1s.DAT	SUBJ.NEG.COP/PRT

I don't have it.

The affirmative answer would be:

Yii,	*nda*	*yii.*
SUBJ.COP	1s.DAT	SUBJ.COP

Yes, I have.

2. Negation of a verb. Negative particles *gui* and *gua* are combined with con-verbs *-ji* and *-n* to indicate negation in past and present tenses respectively in Mongghul.

2.1. *Gui* and *gua* indicating that the action did not happen, or non-realization of an action, *-ji gui/gua*.

a. | *Gan* | *reja* | *nuu?* |
|---|---|---|
| 3s | come-OBJ.PERF | PRT |

He came?/ Did he come?

Gua,	*reji*	*gua.*
OBJ.NEG.PRT	come-IMPERF	OBJ.NEG.PRT

No, he didn't come.

The affirmative answer would be:

Reja.
come-OBJ.PERF
He came.

b.   *Qi*   *rde*   *uu?*
     2s   eat   PRT
     Did you eat?

     Gui,   *darong*   *rdeji*   *gui.*
     SUBJ.NEG.COP   still   eat-IMPERF   SUBJ.NEG.COP
     No, I still haven't eaten.

The affirmative answer would be:

     Rdewa.
     Eat-PERF
     I ate.

2.2. *Gui* and *gua* indicating that an action is not happening, does not happen, no longer true or relevant, *-n gui/gua*.

Ndani   *bulai*   *do*   *xuetangdi*   *xin*   *gua.*
1pl.-GEN   boy   now   school-LOC   go-NARR   OBJ.NEG.PRT
Our boy doesn't go to school any more.

2.2.1. *-n gui/gua* as a present tense in Mongghul can even suggest a future tense just as present continuous tense in English can suggest a future tense.

Mulang   *qi*   *xinnii*   *sa?*
tomorrow   2s   go-NARR-FUT   PRT
You are going tomorrow, aren't you?

Gui,   *mulang*   *bu*   *xin*   *gui.*
NEG.PRT   tomorrow   1s   go-NARR   NEG.PRT
No, tomorrow I am not going.

The negative particle *gui*, in contrast to the particle *gua*, expresses a subjective perspective. In all other instances its grammatical function in a sentence is the same as *gua*.

3. After adjectives:

a.   *Gan   hualasan*   *qijogni*   *sihanna*   *nuu?*
     3s   draw-VERBLZR-NOMLZR   flower-3s.POSS   nice-OBJ.NARR   PRT
     (Do you think) the flower picture he drew was nice?

     Bu   yii   duraalana,   ujesa   yiixi   saini   gua.
     1s   NEG.PRT   like-OBJ.NARR   look-COND   too   nice   OBJ.NEG.COP/PRT
     I don't like it. It doesn't look too good to me.

3.2.2. *Puxii/pujii* and *puxee/pujee*

There are two more postpositional particles in Mongghul, which are *puxii* (or *pujii* in some areas) and *puxee* or *pujee*. While *gui* and *gua* are often used after verbs or function as verbs in the case of negating possession, *puxii* and *puxee* are used after nouns, pronouns and other nominal parts of speech. *Puxii* and *puxee* again mark subjective and objective perspectives respectively. The equivalent of *puxii* and *puxee* is *биш* or *биш ээ* in current Mongolian.

1. Subjective perspective, *puxii/pujii*

a.   *Qi*   *smambaange*   *yiuu?*
     2s   doctor-one   SUBJ.COP/PRT
     Are you a doctor?

     Puxii,   *bu puxii.*
     SUBJ.NEG.COP   1s SUBJ.NEG.COP/PRT

     Ndani   *xjundu*   *smambaanga.*
     1s-GEN   daughter-DAT   doctor-one-OBJ
     No, I am not. My younger sister is a doctor.

or positive:

     Angla/Nimbii,   *bu*   *nimbii.*
     right/right   1s   right
     Yes/I am.

b.   *Qiguudur   qi   nda   dianhua   pugha uu?*
      yesterday   2s   1s.DAT   telephone   call   PRT
      You called me yesterday?

      Bu   puxii/pujii,   bu pughaji   gui.
      1s   NEG.COP/PRT   1s call-IMPERF SUBJ.NEG.PRT
      It was not me. I didn't call you.

2. Objective perspective, *puxee/ pujee*

a.   *Te   ganni   aabana   nuu?*
      that   3s-GEN   father-3s.POSS   PRT
      Is that person his father?

      Puxee,   te   ganni   aabani   puxee.
      NEG.PRT   that   3s-GEN   father-3s.POSS   NEG.PRT

      Te   ganni   aagana   .
      that   3s-GEN   uncle-OBJ.NARR
      No, that person is not his father. That is his uncle.

The affirmative answer would be:

      Nimbaa,   te   ganni   aabana.
      right,   that   3s-GEN   father-OBJ.NARR
      Right/yes, that's his father.

b.   *Te   kun   sihainge   puxee.*
      that   person   nice-one   OBJ.NEG.COP/PRT
      That person is not a nice guy.

Please note the difference between *puxee* and *gua* in these sentences:

a.   *Te   kun   yiixi   sihain   gua.*
      that   person too.much handsome/beautiful   OBJ.NEG.COP/PRT
      That person is not too handsome/beautiful.

b.   *Te   kun   yiixi   sihainge   puxee.*
      that   person too.much nice-one   OBJ.NEG.PRT
      That person is not too nice.

The reason the particle *puxee* is used in sentence *b* is because the preceding suffix *-nge* neighbours the adjective *sihain*. Other nominalizers in Mongghul are, for example, *-san*, *-jin*.

Conclusion

This paper is a continuation of studies on the Mongghul language. In the present work I have dealt with particles in my native Hawan dialect of Mongghul, which is a part of the larger Mongghul language area that covers Huzhu and Tianzhu counties. The Hawan Mongghul have been isolated from the main body of speakers for several decades.

The Mongghul people living in Huzhu and Tianzhu counties have long been in close contact with their neighbours, the Chinese and the Tibetans. Intensive cultural exchange and language contact have been taking place among all three groups. Most of the Mongghul people are bilingual in Mongghul and Chinese.

Particles used in modern Mongghul bear witness to the intensity of language influences. Particles as inflexible and independent components of language can easily be incorporated into the sentence structure of a different language and are often loaned from one language to another. As the present study shows, the Mongghul language has not only borrowed a number of particles in the course of its isolation from Mongolian proper, but has also lost some of them during recent decades. Thus the study of particles also presents an example of the dynamics of language evolution in the Gansu-Qinghai region.

The number of particles used in Mongghul is considerable and the topic is little studied. Burgel R.M. Faendrich in her dissertation introduced a classification of Mongghul particles into five groups. In the present work I follow her classification and deal with the three less problematic groups (final, interrogative and negative) particles, leaving adverbial and discourse particles, for a subsequent paper.

This first paper presents and analyses final, interrogative and negative particles used in present-day Mongghul in terms of their usage and origin. The material shows that the borrowing of final particles by Mongghul, taken from the local Qinghai Chinese dialect, especially Hawan Mongghul which has been cut off from the rest of its people and surrounded by the Chinese, has been frequent and a significant number of particles, 9 out of 12 final particles, are currently being used in both languages. Since most of the final particles used in the current Hawan Mongghul did not appear in Smedt and Mostaert's work written in the 1940s, I assume that they were borrowed later. Compared

to particles used in Karlong Mongghul listed by Burgel R.M. Faehndrich, Hawan Mongghul obviously adopted more, which suggests a more intensive influence by the local Chinese on Hawan Mongghul than on the Karlong variety.

In contrast to the final particles, most of which are of Chinese origin, virtually all the negative and interrogative particles are of Mongolian origin. Particles of the two origins show a striking difference in semantics – particles of Chinese origin are semantically vague and multifunctional, while the particles of Mongolian origin have clear-cut semantic fields. Particles of Tibetan origin, which are mentioned in Smedt and Mostaert's work, have disappeared from Hawan Mongghul due to the small number of Tibetan speakers in Hawan.

The usage and origin of the discourse particles in Hawan Mongghul, which present a more complex problem, will be discussed in a subsequent paper.

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Appendix

GLOSS ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS[23]

ACC	Accusative case
COLL	Collective (indicates two or more actors acting together)
COND	Conditional
COP	Copula
DAT	Dative case
FUT	Future tense
GEN	Genitive
IMPERF	Imperfective aspect
LOC	Locative
NARR	Narrative
NEG	Negative
NOMLZR	Nominalizer (turns a verb into a noun)
OBJ	Objective perspective (indicates that the speaker distances himself from the event)
REFL.POSS	Reflexive Possessive (indicates possession by the subject; equivalent to 'one's own')
PERF	Perfective
PL	Plural number
POSS	Possessive (indicates possession by a third person)
PROHIB	Prohibitive (negative used with imperatives: 'do not')
PRT	Final Particle (these particles have broad interactional or affective meanings)
QUEST	Question
VBLZR	Verbalizer
VOL	Voluntative (first person imperative)
1p	First Person Plural
1s	First Person Single
2p	Second Person Plural
2s	Second Person Single
3p	Third Person Plural
3s	Third Person Single
–	Morpheme boundary (used to indicate suffixes added to a root)
ØLOC	Zero locative

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23) I employ Keith Slater's system.

The sedentarization process in Tibetan nomadic areas of Qinghai, China

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Summary: The increasing number of various resettlement and settlement sites, constructed on Tibetan grasslands of China is a fact. Nevertheless, the backgrounds of governmental programs that include relocation of nomads from grassland areas into new urban spots and the implementation proceedings of these programs are often unclear. As a basis for further research on the re-settlement issue on the Tibetan Plateau, this article summarizes official policy outlines of the three recent major governmental programs that include resettlement or settlement of Tibetan nomads in Qinghai Province: *Turning pastureland into grassland, Ecological resettlement* and *Nomadic settlement* programs. It offers the reader an overview of official planning and the implementation approach concerning the resettlement issue. This information, when compared to the real situation on site, should help us to understand the current development on Tibetan grasslands.

Picture 1. Re-settlement in rTse-kog County, 2009.

Introduction

Sedentarization in Tibet, caused by the implementation of Chinese governmental rural and development policies, has already been mentioned by various authors. See for example Caroline Humprey and David Sneath (1999), Michael Zukosky (2007) or Andreas Gruschke (2005, 2006). There is also a recent study about this topic by Human Rights Watch (2007). Concerning policy descriptions themselves, there is, for example, Marc Foggin (2008) or John Flower (2009), who mention the resettlement issue in Eastern Tibet against the background of the *Opening of the West* development strategy and its environmental programs. Emily Yeh (2005, 2010) describes various aspects of the *Turning pastureland into grassland* policy program and, for example, Du Fachun (2006) offers a brief overview of the development of resettlement policies and ecological migration in China. The recent settlement program in the TAR has been introduced by Melvyn Goldstein (2010). Several articles mention only the situation at individual resettlement sites, for example Feng Yongfeng (2008) or Li Taige (2009). Goldstein (1996) and other authors, for example Joe Fox (2002), Daniel Miller (1999), Richard Harris (2002, 2010) or June Teufel Dreyer (2006) concentrate on environmental issues and examine reasons for grassland degradation, which is indicated by the Chinese government as a major reason for the implementation of resettlement and settlement measures. They disprove the theory of Central Government which claims the pastoralists and their herds to be primarily responsible for grassland overgrazing and suggest that also various grassland reforms implemented by the government since the 1950s have had a sizeable impact on the ecosystem and have speeded up its deterioration. Nevertheless, most articles deal with the governmental policy only marginally and do not describe the entire program. When resettlement is mentioned, distinctions are rarely drawn between the various programs that deal with this issue. Moreover, during interviews with affected nomads different procedural manners are mentioned, but without explaining the background. Knowing the outlines of the official policy and implementation procedures makes it easier to understand the whole context of the resettlement issue. For this reason I found it necessary to look more closely at the topic, not only on site in the new resettlement and settlement sites, but also in consulting the primary Chinese literature, program resolutions and implementation reports.

This part of my study presents merely the theoretical part of the resettlement matter represented through official governmental concepts and implementation adjustments. However, lacking a description of implementation

on site and of the actual impact of these policies on the society of Tibetan nomads and grassland environment, it does not give a general picture of the whole complex of problems connected to the resettlement issue. Only if we know the theoretical policy outlines, is it possible to compare and observe regional differences in program execution and how these have been readjusted to suit the needs of the nomads or to benefit the implementing officials.

Brief summary of the sedentarization process in Qinghai Province

The sedentarization efforts in Tibetan nomadic areas have become obvious mainly during the last two to five years. Nevertheless, the settlement process had started already some decades ago, with the Central Government interfering in the traditional nomadic way of life, trying to re-educate the nomads (see Gruschke 2006). After the collapse of the communes in 1981, new measures were taken to ease the sedentarization of Tibetan nomads. The *Household responsibility system,* with its poverty alleviation approach of land distribution followed by fencing, was a 'step into a transition from a rural "nomadic" lifestyle towards the increased sedentarization of a people' (Foggin 2008, p. 28), resulting in numerous re-settlement[1] sites that are spreading through the grassland. With each household owning use rights for its particular part of pastureland, fences had to be introduced (see Ptackova 2010). Pastureland previously owned by a commune or, before that, by a community of villages and tribes, was no longer existent. Instead, after the land was divided, there were groups of families or even single households with their own piece of land. To stress the division of the pastureland and to avoid the uncontrolled movement of livestock, fencing was thought of as being the only possible solution. With defined winter grassland property it was easier for the nomads to erect permanent houses.[2] This was strongly supported by the government through the *Project to increase living comfort* (Chin: 温饱工程wenbao gongcheng)

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1) The term 're-settlement' is used in this article as general word for both resettlement and settlement. Resettlement applies usually to a relocation away from the original place in which the nomads used to live. This can be a relocation within the same county or in some cases even to another province. Settlement usually applies to an urban spot constructed at or nearby the original location of affected nomads. This article distinguishes between the two terms if it is clear to which above-mentioned form the re-settlement belongs or if one of the terms appears as part of the official Chinese name of an implemented program.

2) In some areas the nomads used to construct permanent houses on winter grassland even before the adoption of the Central government reforms (see also Gruschke 2005).

introduced in 1978 and the subsequent *Four improvements* project (Chin: 四配套 sipeitao) of the 1990's (ADGM IV).

The *Four improvements* modernization program, successor to the *Project to increase living comfort* for the high plateau, was introduced in 1990 and reached the southern part of Qinghai Province in 1991. The purely nomadic southern part of Qinghai includes Yul-shul (Chin: 玉树 Yushu), mGo-log (Chin: 果洛 Guoluo) Prefectures, Yul-rgan-nyin (Chin: 河南 Henan) and rTse-khog (Chin: 泽库 Zeku) Counties of the rMa-lho (Chin: 黄南 Huang-nan) Prefecture, gDa-pa-sum-mdo (Chin: 同德 Tongde) and rTse-gor-thang (Chin: 兴海 Xinghai) Counties of mTsho-lho (Chin: 海南 Hainan) Prefecture and gDang-la (Chin: 唐古拉 Tanggula) Township of mTsho-nub (Chin: 海西 Haixi) Prefecture (ADGM IV). According to the government, the focus of this program was on improvement of living conditions of people in rural areas. Its major goals besides solid house construction included government support to erect fences, plant grass, and build animal sheds on the winter pasture of each household (ADGM V). After the beginning of the *Opening of the West* (Chin: xibu da kaifa 西部大开发) development strategy in the year 2000, the Chinese government included also environmental protection within this large development project. In Qinghai Province the *Three River Source National Nature Reserve* (SNNR) (Chin: sanjiangyuan guojia ji ziran baohu qu 三江源国家级自然保护区)³ was established. The SNNR domiciles the springs of the Yangtze, Yellow and Mekong rivers which supply most of mainland China with water. For this reason, within the SNNR area environmental protection is particularly stressed. According to the Minority Cultural Committee of Qinghai Province in 2007, due to grassland degradation in the

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3) The *Three River Source National Nature Reserve* attained national status in January 2003 (Foggin 2005). The reserve refers to the sources of the Yangtze river, Yellow river and Mekong river and the area of their tributaries. It is situated in the south of Qinghai Province and covers an area of 152 300 square kilometers (GJZBQM 2005) and is the second largest nature reserve in the world. All rivers within the borders of Qinghai Province flow into one of these three big streams and their catchment area is about 320 000 square kilometers. Therefore, the region of these three rivers is much bigger than just the area of the *Three River Source National Nature Reserve*. This area is the so-called water tower (Chin: 中华水塔 zhonghua shuita) of the whole of China. From the 1990s Chinese policy makers started to make grassland degradation on the Qinghai-Tibetan Plateau responsible for the natural disasters that occurred downstream (Harris, 2010) and raised the environmental protection of the grasslands on the high plateau to a national issue. An important part of grassland protection is restoration of degraded pastureland, which results in massive re-settlement of the Tibetan nomads who inhabit these areas.

SNNR region only about 58% of the grassland could still be used for herding.[4] Grassland fencing, being part of several governmental programs for grassland protection, was deployed here on a large scale (Heath 2005, p. 31). The Central Government made it compulsory for the nomads to participate and cooperate in the fencing program.

However, measures like fencing and the erection of permanent houses do not only ease the life of the nomads, they also restrain their mobility and limit their flexibility. Nowadays most nomads only move two to three times a year to the same places between winter and summer pasture. Also, it is impossible to modify the location of a house in the event of need in contrast to a flexible tent. The reduction of living space of nomads and livestock that results from the implementation of the above-mentioned governmental programs might also be one reason for the rapid worsening of the condition of the grassland (see Bedunah, Harris 2002). Furthermore, during times of natural disaster nomads have no choice but to move to their fenced pastureland and cannot seek a place with better weather conditions as in former times. This insufficient flexibility with its role in increasing grassland degradation can also cause a worsening of living conditions through loss of livestock due to natural disasters. This eventuality leads to further need to re-settle Tibetan pastoralists.

The Minority Cultures Committee of Qinghai Province further stated that recently the capacity of the grassland to carry animals has been in annual decline. As a result, about 20% of the nomadic families in the SNNR area became households with no or few livestock. The implementation of *Ecological Resettlement* (Chin: shengtai yimin 生态移民) was therefore the governmental solution for the problem of a worsening environment. By 2007, 4,965 households (24,000 people) had already been resettled. After the program is completed the total number of resettled households will be 10,165 (56,000 people).[5]

The Qinghai Institute of Public Administration said that since the establishment of the SNNR in 2003, more than 15,000 Tibetan nomads had been already moved to immigrant points by the end of 2009. Additionally, within the implementation of the *Turning pastureland into grassland* (Chin: tui mu huan cao 退牧还草) program since 2003, more than 30 local immigrant communities have been built to accommodate relocated herdsmen. By the end of 2009, within the SNNR area, more than 6,800 households of herdsmen had

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4) According to an interview with a member of the Minority Cultural Committee of Qinghai Province, May 2007.
5) According to an interview with member of the Minority Cultural Committee of Qinghai Province, May 2007.

been resettled to such immigrant spots. However, the whole project area of SNNR concerns 42, 300 households and about 200,000 people. The re-settlement programs will affect over 80% of local nomads. In Qinghai Province, the overall re-settlement program shall be completed by the year 2014. By then 134,300 households, more than 500,000 nomads, will have found a new house in the new urban areas.[6]

Besides the environmental and socio-economic background, the new re-settlements also represent development brought to western China by the *Opening of the West* development strategy. These new urban spots fit into the overall construction projects that symbolize modernization and at least visually suggest that the life of the Tibetan pastoralists is being developed with the help of the government and that their lifestyle and living standard is approximating to that of the rest of China's inhabitants. Michael Zukosky (2007, p. 119) explains why the re-settlements are an important part of China's developing activities in the west:

"While advocating reform, the official legitimating ideology was that without broader administrative or political changes, the pastoral economy would revert to subsistence level and prevent local citizens from developing. Settlement ideologies were based on the idea that pastoral households would become 'scattered and dispersed', making it difficult and even impossible for the state to govern. This spatial distribution of pastoral nomadic households was envisioned as points chaotically scattered throughout an abstract political plane. Pastoral households, in a decentralized spatial formation, would produce only for their own basic needs and thus become isolated from broader networks of market and general social change. Settlement, as a way of making society visible and enabling its control, was seen as the solution so that the state could improve, develop and engineer pastoral society."

Accumulating nomads in re-settlements also facilitates better political control of the area. These new urban spots are easy to reach and each of them contains also a small police station on-site. The presence of police members might ensure better security for the inhabitants of a re-settlement and the participation of state law representatives in solving disputes among the nomads. On the other hand, the close control of nomads relocated into re-settlements can also be seen as an aggressive new turn of policy in Tibetan areas (HRW 2007, p. 6).

Since the introduction of the *Opening of the West* development strategy, government activities in western China have increased significantly. The two major issues on which the government concentrates are the worsening

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6) According to a conference paper of a member of the Qinghai Institute of Public Administration, Halle, December 2009

environment and the statistically bad socio-economic situation of the nomads. To improve these two central points, various programs were introduced during the 10th and particularly during the 11th Five-Year-Plan of 2006–2010, supported by high investment by the Central Government.

The programs to protect the environment (for example the *Turning pastureland into grassland* program) and to improve the livelihood of the nomads, such as the poverty alleviation program and the re-settlement program, are supervised and implemented by different offices, which often do not interact. Each responsible office promotes the implementation of its own program and pursues its goals, without taking into account the short- or long-term consequences that might be related to other issues or even causes, such as fencing or re-settlement, as will be discussed below. For this reason it does happen that in some places the socio-economic situation improves at the expense of the environment and vice versa. For example, the economic development approach to increasing the number of livestock remains contrary to the environmental one that promotes livestock reduction in order to preserve the balance of the ecosystem (Fox, Mathiesen, Yangzom, Naess, Xu 2002). In the case of re-settlement efforts, in order to release pressure on grassland the nomadic households are moved into completely new living space literally overnight, without having enough time to adapt to the new environment and create a sufficient income base to make a living in the re-settlements, which again might have a negative influence on their socio-economic situation.

Both, environmental and socio-economic programs include re-settlement.

The major programs implemented in Qinghai Province during the last decade are: the *Turning pastureland into grassland* adopted in 2003, *Ecological resettlement* adopted in 2004 and *Nomadic settlement* (Chin: 游牧民定居 you mumin dingju) adopted in 2009.

TURNING PASTURELAND INTO GRASSLAND

Picture 2. *Turning pastureland into grassland* fencing and water and road constructions, rMa-chen County, 2009.

Unlike the deforestation process, which started with the industrialization poli-cies of the Great Leap Forward and continued with the quasi-privatization of the 1980's,[7] in the year 2000 the programs *Turning farmland into forest* (Chin: 退耕还林tui geng huan lin) and *Turning farmland into grassland* (Chin: 退耕还草 tui geng huan cao) (also called *Grain for green*) were designed by the government. Within these programs the farmers have to plant trees or grass instead of planting crops. Usually the farmers can decide voluntarily how much of their land they will allow for this. Only in cases where the fields are on slopes with a gradient of 25% or more is participation obligatory. For each *mu*[8] used to plant trees or grass the farmers obtain a set compensation

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7) "When the land was given over to individual households in 1982, another period of dra-matic forest-cutting ensued, brought on by worries that the new land contracts might be short-lived (Shapiro 2001, p. 10). Farmers rushed to cut the trees on their own lands to sell them in the emerging markets." (Flower 2009, p. 42)

8) 1 *mu* equals 0.0667 hectares.

in cash or in grain from the government. For the year 2000 the plan was to implement this policy on 343,505 hectares (ADGM X, p. 83) of land in the west of China. In the nomadic areas, *Turning pastureland into grassland* and *Turning pastureland into forest* are the equivalents of the *Turning farmland into forest or grassland* programs. To protect the environment and strengthen ecological constructions in the west of China, these programs were designed as a part of the *Opening of the West* development strategy (ADGM VIII, p. 2) aiming to restore "100 million *mu* of pasture to grassland as one of fourteen 'key projects' for the western region".[9] The *Turning pastureland into grassland* program is managed by the provincial Agricultural and Animal Husbandry office and concentrates on the restoration of grassland where it is in a poor condition. This policy is designed for the whole of the grassland areas of western China and does not apply only in the SNNR region. The first pilot project of *Turning pastureland into grassland* was carried out in Qinghai Province, already in the year 2000. One of the test sites was Dar-lag (Chin: 达日 Dari) County in mGo-log Prefecture, where during that time 70% of the grassland was labelled as degraded with 16% suffering from the worst grade measuring deterioration and being completely unusable for herding. As a result of serious grassland damage, many local households had to rent pastureland from neighbouring counties and take their livestock there. Even if grazing on the degraded pasture was banned, resettlement of nomads was not part of the pilot project. The area was relatively small and the nomads could swerve to the rented land (Yeh 2005, pp. 17–21). The *Turning pastureland into grassland* program was designed to improve the grassland ecosystem and solve the situation of herders inhabiting places with insufficient grassland capacity. The large-scale implementation of this program started in the year 2003 in eight provinces and autonomous regions; Inner Mongolia, Sichuan, Yunnan; TAR, Ningxia, Xinjiang, Gansu and Qinghai (ADGM VIII, p. 16). The rules are similar to the *Turning farmland into grassland* policy. The nomads have to allocate a part of their pastureland to planting grass and obtain compensation in money or grain per *mu* of land[10] exclosed from herding by fences.

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9) 'Western regions launched 14 key projects.' Beijing 2003 (Yeh 2005, p. 10).

10) According to an interview with a member of Guinan Office for nature preservation from 15th of July 2007, in Mang-ra (Chin: 贵南 Guinan County), Mtsho-lho Prefecture, Qinghai Province, which is inhabited mainly by Tibetan farmers, semi-nomads and nomads, the local people decide for themselves the size of the area over which to implement the *Pastureland/Farmland to Grassland* policy. The annual compensation consists of 20 RMB and 200 kilograms of grain per *mu* of farmland and of 160 RMB per *mu* of pastureland. The pastureland must remain unused for at least eight years before it can be used for herding again.

The content of the *Turning pastureland into grassland* program includes pastureland resting, a grazing ban exclosure fencing, grazing ban resettlement, planting grass, reducing livestock numbers and fodder and grain subsidies for the nomadic households involved (ADGM IX, p. 117).

The government decides locally, depending on the level of grassland deterioration, which kind of protection to apply. It identified various protection zones. In locations with less severe degradation the pastureland resting is implemented. This measure means that selected parts of the grassland are fenced and within these enclosures livestock herding is prohibited either during the spring and autumn period or during the whole period of herbage growth. This correlates with zones for rotational grazing or seasonal bans. In areas with high degradation grade, a complete grazing ban measure is implemented. This means a whole year of grazing prohibition in places that are separated off by fences. The grazing ban areas are further divided into zones of complete or temporary grazing bans (Yeh 2005, p. 16).

Nomads that inhabit the grazing ban areas cannot use the pastures any more and have to be resettled at least for the period of the grazing ban. This is the so-called *Grazing ban resettlement* (Chin: 搬迁禁牧banqian jinmu). The duration of both, pastureland resting and grazing ban is scheduled for 10 years. During this period, affected nomadic households obtain fodder and grain subsidies from the government. The fodder and grain subsidy fee norm is 3,000 RMB per year per household involved in grazing ban exclosures. Households involved in the *Grazing ban resettlement* program in Yul-shul and mGo-log Prefectures get 6,000 RMB p.a.. In rMa-lho and mTsho-lho Prefectures the annual subsidy amounts to only 3,000 RMB per household. In Yul-shul and mGo-log Prefectures the Agricultural and Animal Husbandry department announced clear rules for subsidy distribution for both the *Turning pastureland into grassland* and *Ecological resettlement* programs. The forage and grain subsidies for the households involved in the *Turning pastureland into grassland* and *Ecological resettlement* programs are managed by the prefecture and county Agricultural and Animal Husbandry departments and Finance departments. For the subsidy money there must be a special account and a qualified person in charge of it.

The subsidy amount for each program in each county must be approved individually by the Prefecture's Agricultural and Animal Husbandry department. Then the County agricultural department distributes the money to selected townships where these programs have been implemented. The money provided is distributed according to the definition of the prefecture department (ADGM I, pp. 112–113).

Grazing ban resettlement is designed to be combined with *Ecological resettlement* and is carried on only in areas with a total grazing prohibition. Nevertheless, according to the policy outlines a resettlement is arranged only after the exclosed grassland proves unable to restore itself after a short period of time. One exception is grassland areas located in the province border region. There, only an exclosure of selected pastureland with a grazing prohibition is enforced, without a resettlement of the relevant nomads (ADGM IX, p. 117).

Additionally, households located in the *Turning pastureland into grassland* area have an obligation to reduce the numbers of their livestock. Nomadic households that inhabit the grassland will be aware of grassland capacity rules and adjust the number of animals to the grassland capacity. As a result, a balance between livestock and grassland shall be achieved. Livestock that overburden the grassland must be sold during the same year in which the *Turning pastureland into grassland* program is implemented. Grazing ban households that remain in the grassland must optimize the number of livestock to match the grassland capacity and reduce excessive numbers of animals. Households that participate in *Grazing ban resettlement* must reduce the livestock burden on the environment and dispose of the whole herd (ADGM VII, p. 142). Only households with real economical difficulties can enjoy a longer deadline, but still must accomplish the assignment of livestock reduction and grazing ban implementation within two years. The forage and grain subsidy supplied by the government must correlate with the livestock reduction quota and with the implementation of the grazing ban. During the whole period when subsidies were available from the *Turning pastureland into grassland* and *Ecological resettlement*, programmes, the responsible government representative must check each year the livestock reduction quota and size of pastureland exclosed from grazing in each household concerned. It must be clear too, which household has been approved for participation in the resettlement programme and which has not. Each household is approved individually. The subsidy obtained must be certified and registered on a subsidy card by the responsible governmental representative (ADGM I, pp. 112–113).

A further obligation of *Grazing ban resettlement* households, besides exclusion from over-used pastureland, is participation in grassland protection and grassland constructions, which include further fencing and planting grass. During the whole pastureland exclosure and grazing ban period the nomads are not allowed to return to the grassland to continue herding or other activities. An exception to this rule applies to households which live at the provincial border and also households from rTse-gor-thang gDa-pa-sum-mdo, Chab-cha (Chin: 共和 Gonghe), Mang-ra (Chin: 贵南Guinan),

Yul-rgan-nyin and rTse-khog Counties. Also in counties where the transfer of grassland use rights according to law is allowed, during the whole exclosure period it is forbidden to go back to the grassland and practice animal husbandry, etc. It is prohibited to rent out or sell the pastureland and it is prohibited to sell or damage the fences financed by the government and constructed for grassland protection.

Households involved in *Grazing ban resettlement* which do practise herding on excluded land against management regulations will be taken out of the *Turning pastureland into grassland* forage and grain subsidy program administered by the township government (ADGM VI, p. 135).

In reality at some places the nomads do let livestock graze within areas excluded by the grazing ban exclosures, especially if these are in remote areas, where responsible officials only seldom check, or during bank holidays, when governmental representatives will not be coming to check. On the other hand there are also nomads who claim not to let the livestock graze there, even if the grassland conditions in their area are relatively good and partial use of the exclosed grassland is permitted. Moreover, the program implementation is not uniform and varies from place to place, depending on the local officials in charge.

The areas fenced off by the *Turning pastureland into grassland* program are usually chosen by responsible officials and the nomads are required to follow the regulations. The land to be exclosed is chosen according the official level of deterioration of the pastureland. Following this rule, not all households would have grassland exclosure on the land contracted to them. Some households would have their own part left fallow, but there also might be a group of households sharing one exclosed area. Nevertheless there are also exceptions to this rule. At least until the year 2007 in mTsho-lho Prefecture the nomads were free to decide individually about the size of pastureland they would leave fallow.[11]

The size of pastureland enclosed by fences in the *Turning pastureland into grassland* program and exclosed from herding is increasing every year. In order to lower the grazing pressure the nomads are pushed to reduce the number of their livestock according to the capacity of the diminishing pastureland. Through this, the fundamentals of their livelihood are vanishing and they have to rely on government subsidy, find other sources of income and move to the urban re-settlement areas.

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11) According to an interview with a member of Guinan Office for nature preservation from 15th of July 2007.

The grassland conditions have been worsening during the last decades. The reasons for this have not been clearly defined yet. (Harris 2010; Richard, Yan, Du 2006). The Chinese government plan to protect this ecosystem by releasing grazing pressure might be an option. It allows the grassland to restore itself, but the grassland quality improves only for a short time. In the long term, this approach might have negative consequences for the grassland ecosystem. The older nomads in particular worry about these measures involving resting grassland for long periods.[12] They claim that if the land is not regularly grazed by livestock and left fallow for several years, the whole vegetation structure will change. Later such land will not be suitable for animal husbandry any more and a new ecosystem will develop.[13]

If the grass resting period of ten years, scheduled in the *Turning pastureland into grassland* program outlines, is kept to, there might be no pastureland suitable for herding left, to which the nomads could return from the temporary re-settlements of the grazing ban program.

The *Turning pastureland into grassland* program was primarily designed to restore grassland damaged through excessive use by nomads and their herds,[14] climate changes, etc. Nevertheless this program also has to take care of the nomads inhabiting the grassland which has deteriorated and the program therefore has socio-economic components as well. Furthermore, there might be political motivation behind the implementation of this program. Emily Yeh (2005, p. 24) suggests:

> "By deepening state control over territory through *tuimu huancao* [*Turning pastureland into grassland*],…both types of threats…[that downstream areas – China's major population centres – will suffer from ecological danger; and at the same time, 'underdeveloped' pastoral peoples will continue to pose a threat to national social development]…are to be mitigated. In this sense, *tuimu huancao* suggests the emergence of green governmentality. It makes local herders visible and accountable for their purportedly degradation-inducing range practices. Once visible, they are subject to a package of 'improvements' including resettlement."

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12) According to interviewed nomads over 60 from rMa-chen County in mGo-log Prefecture and rKa-khog (Chin: 红原 Hongyuan) County in rNga-ba (Chin: 阿坝 Aba) Prefecture (Sichuan Province) in October 2009.

13) The Animal Husbandry office of rKa-khog County in Sichuan Province reached the same conclusion, after evaluation of grassland enclosure test results. According to the office, the maximum land resting period should not exceed five years. After this period the ecosystem might change irreparably. This is based on an interview with former member of Hongyuan Agriculture and Animal Husbandry department (8th of October, 2009).

14) The Chinese government claims that the main reasons for grassland degradation are overgrazing and pika mice. For other suggestions see, for example, Miller or Foggin.

As for the lowering of grazing pressure and for coping with the livelihood problem of herders from areas with insufficient grassland capacity and from places where a grazing ban has been implemented, re-settlement seems to be a suitable solution. In Qinghai Province in particular re-settlement, as a part of the *Turning pastureland into grassland* program, is stressed more than in other provinces. The reason for this is the location of the sources of three most important Chinese rivers within Qinghai Province, which makes it number one for national ecological protection. Selected zones within the SNNR should stay free from any herding activities. This also means free from any pastoralists. By the year 2004 the grazing ban had already been implemented on 17 million *mu* of land and 7,366 households (33,567 herders) had been re-settled in Qinghai Province (Yeh 2005, p. 23). In terms of its implementation, *Grazing ban resettlement* is closely linked with *Ecological resettlement*.

ECOLOGICAL RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM
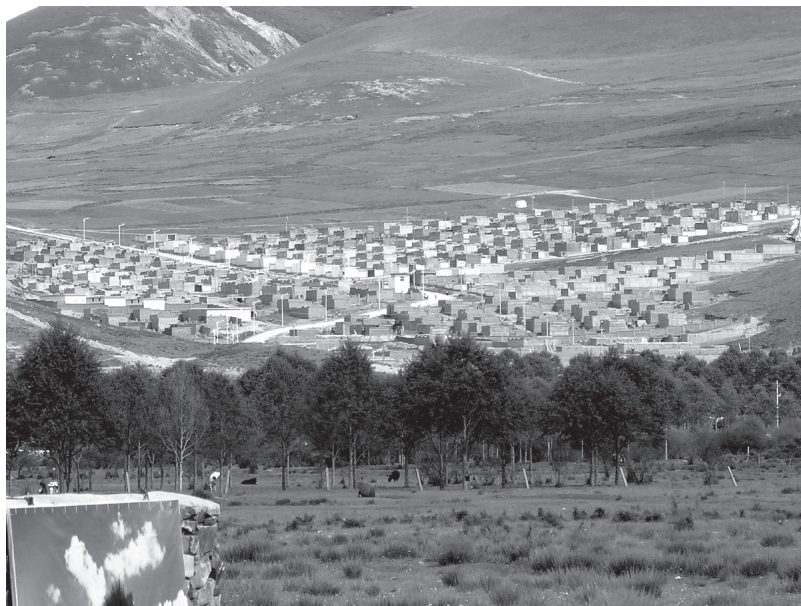
Picture 3. *Ecological resettlement* in Yushu, 2007.

Shengtai yimin, translated also as *Ecological migration,* existed already in the 1980s. As a part of the national poverty alleviation program, in 1982 residents from places affected by serious degradation in Ningxia were resettled to a different location. The relocation concept continued during the *Eight-Seven Poverty Alleviation Reinforcement Plan* (Chin: 八七扶贫攻坚计划baqi fupin gongjian jihua) of 1994–2000. In order to alleviate poverty and protect the ecological environment many people were resettled during the implementation period of this policy. After 2000, the *Opening of the West* development strategy adopted the relocation concept and implemented it on an even larger scale. In one of the relocation centres, in the region of the Three River Sources in Qinghai Province, nearly 80,000 herders, mostly Tibetans, had been resettled by the end of the year 2005 in order to relieve the pressure of population on the ecological environment and/or improve their socio-economic situation (Du 2006, pp. 45–46).

Ecological resettlement as a part of the *Opening of the West* development strategy is managed by the SNNR office belonging to the Development and Reform Committee of Qinghai Province and its aim is the development of western regions through poverty alleviation and improvement of the socio-economic situation of nomadic households. In order to help nomadic households from regions with severe grassland degradation and to let the grassland ecosystem restore itself, this program resettles households from affected regions in newly constructed settlements, which might be in the same county or village, but are sometimes located even in a different province.

As with the *Turning pastureland into grassland* program, the *Ecological resettlement* policy is a complex matter that serves both socio-economic and environmental improvement through removing pastoralists from affected areas. However, it is also important to keep in mind that the relocation act will have a significant influence on those affected, in this case Tibetan nomads. It radically changes their daily life and these changes will reflect on the whole culture of this people that is based on animal husbandry. Cf. Du (2006, p. 48):

"Ecological migration is a rather complex process that requires consideration in terms of ecological and environmental issues as well as social and cultural issues. Since China's ecological migration is mainly in western areas that are home to many ethnic minorities, the implementation of migration needs to take into account both the need for environmental protection and biological diversity as well as cultural diversity. The continued degradation of the ecological environment will lead to the disappearance of traditional knowledge. Therefore, ecological migration itself is a kind of economic behaviour, but contains cultural meaning."

In Qinghai Province, in the SNNR area, the implementation of the *Ecological resettlement* program started in 2004. At that time the plan was to relocate 2,066 households (11,000 people) from the core zone areas of the SNNR. Already by the end of 2005 this plan had been carried out and 1,756 households (11,373 people) had been resettled (ADGM XII, p. 143).

According to the Chinese authorities, life in urban settlements will bring advantages to the nomads such as accessible medical treatment and easier access to schools for children of school age. Also the closely supervised obligatory school attendance procedure, adopted in Qinghai Province in 2007, brought many nomadic households to the resettlement step. Through easier access to towns from the re-settled areas, the nomads have better access to the job market and with new occupations can increase their income easily. This is at least the plan of the Central Government, but the reality is often different. The lack of education and work qualification and experience makes it difficult for the former nomads to find a new occupation. The only possibility is usually a low-wage and physically demanding work on government construction sites. Also the shops in some of the re-settlements are usually run by local people from nearby villages, instead of by the resettled nomads. The majority of nomads stay dependent on government benefits or income from the annual caterpillar fungus collection. The latter became an even more important part of nomadic income after the implementation of re-settlement and livestock reduction.[15] *Ecological resettlement* has also an ecological background. Resettled households have to sell all their livestock before moving into a new house. This should reduce the grazing pressure on the grassland and stop the degradation process (ADGM XII, p. 143). However, the government resettlement programme is announced as one of voluntary participation. Therefore households that take part are mostly poor ones with almost no livestock. They are unable to survive on the grassland and have to seek refuge in the new government program. The resettlement of such households might have a positive socio-economic effect for the affected participants, but cannot have a significant influence on the relieving of grazing pressure on the grassland, as such households do not possess many animals whose number could be reduced.

Finally, the establishment of fencing on the grassland will gradually lead to major changes in the traditional manner of animal husbandry. The government plans to modernise the old ways to match the development efforts in

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15) According to interviewed nomads from re-settlements in rMalho and mGo-log Prefectures in 2007 and 2008.

the China's west (ADGM III). The book *Sanjiangyuan ziran baohu qu sheng-tai baohu yu jianshe* (Ecological Preservation and Constructions in the Protected Area of the Three River Sources; ADGM XII) describes two ways of resettling nomadic households. First, there is the so-called 'appropriate settlement concentration', which means the concentration of nomadic households of one region in a settlement situated in their original area. It focuses on the scattered housing of nomads within the protected area. These new settlements are inhabited by nomads with poor living and production conditions that have not settled down yet. The programme includes livestock reduction and implementation of a rotatory grazing system for all remaining animals and of course the construction of settlements. These are either regions with little vegetation, where through implementation of livestock reduction, elimination of pika mice and fencing measures grassland degradation can be stopped and grassland ecosystem restored within a relatively short period of time or nomadic regions on the provincial borders, where the re-settlement efforts happen in the same place.

The second method is so-called 'supra-regional relocation'. This means resettlement away from the original place of living, beyond the county or even district boundaries. This happens in places with severe desertification and degradation levels, where rapid ecosystem restoration is impossible (ADGM XII, p. 144).

According to re-settlement policy outlines, the place selected for re-settlement must fulfil the following requirements. It must have access to drink water, transportation, electricity and educational and medical care. It must be suitable for further industrial development, offer convenient living and be easy to administer. There must be enough space for potential population growth. The houses must have enough light, air and access to hygienic facilities and green spaces. They must conform to the expectations of the nomads and levels of available investment. The areas for re-settlement can be either near the original location of affected nomadic households, or at a place with sufficient natural resources and state-owned agricultural land, or near the township or county town (ADGM XII, p. 146).

The re-settlements usually consist of one of the following two types of houses. Either they are two-storey houses with a commercial part that can serve as store in the basement and a residential part on the first floor, or bungalows with a small yard to plant vegetables.

Those households which participate in the *Ecological resettlement* program also obtain a subsidy from the government. The subsidy is temporary and helps these households to cover their daily expenses during the resettlement

period or at least at the beginning. However they are not high and hardly cover the costs of basic needs, which rose enormously after the nomads gave up their livestock.

Additionally, these households are relieved from paying any taxes for a period of three to five years (ADGM XII, p. 147).

For the nomads involved, there remains the possibility of return to their grassland, but only after certain period of time, defined in the resettlement contract, and only after additional governmental approval which confirms sufficient recovery levels of local grassland.

Linked to the *Ecological resettlement* program is the *Small town* (Chin. 小城镇 xiao cheng zhen) project. This project aims to widen and enlarge small urbanization centres in the SNNR. The population growth of small towns in the grassland area would stimulate development of local industry, business, culture, education, etc and strengthen the administrative control of the area. In order to relieve the pressure on the grassland, the population of pastoralists will be reduced by shifting these people to the urban locations of small towns within the protected area. The number affected by this measure is scheduled to be 55,774 people, which corresponds to 13.65 % of the population inhabiting the core zones and partly buffer zones of the SNNR (ADGM XII, pp. 148–155).

The program design and implementation rules of *Ecological resettlement* are remarkably similar to the outlines of the *Turning pastureland into grassland* program. These two programs are usually implemented in combination with each other. According to the Minority Cultures Committee of Qinghai, these two programs are actually identical. The reason for placing them under different names within the jurisdiction of two different institutions is the access thereby to a double budget from Central Government. With double the financial resources twice as many nomads can be re-settled during the administration period of one year. The local implementation of these two programs overlaps as well. Often it is difficult to distinguish under which label the re-settlement site has been built. The nomads know usually nothing about the background to a particular project implementation and are not familiar with the policy rules and program names. Also in numerous governmental reports the numbers of participants involved in one or another program elapse into a final amount, which makes it difficult to estimate the exact number of affected nomads.

NOMADIC SETTLEMENTS

Picture 4. *Nomadic settlement* construction site in rTse-kog County, 2009.

The last, recently implemented program that includes settlement construction, is the so-called *Nomadic settlement* project, implemented in Tibetan areas. At least in the Tibetan areas of Qinghai Province, this program might be seen as the fulfilment of all previous settlement efforts, as it concerns all remaining Tibetan nomadic 'households without a permanent house or with an unsteady house in danger of collapse' (Chin: 无房户和危房户 wu fang hu he weifang hu). The *Nomadic settlement* project is based on experiences collected during the implementation of earlier programs such as *Turning pastureland into grassland* or *Ecological resettlement* and should complete them.

   Unlike previous re-settlement programs, within the *Nomadic settlement* project the centre of everyday life of a household is not shifted away from its original focus on animal husbandry or at least it has not been shifted away yet. So far the affected households have continued their life on the grassland and animal husbandry and additionally they obtain either a governmental grant to build a new house or a ready-made house constructed by the government.

The *Nomadic settlement* project was designed to complete the efforts to balance ecology and animal husbandry started by the *Turning pastureland into grassland* and *Ecological resettlement* policies. In addition to house building, the project should help to complete the animal sheds, erect grassland fencing, plant grass, establish a water pipe system for livestock and humans, build roads and construct solar and methane gas energy facilities. In a way it seems to be a continuation of the *Four improvements* policy implemented earlier.

The *Nomadic settlement* project implemented in Qinghai Province in 2009 is managed by the provincial Agricultural and Animal Husbandry office. In Qinghai it concerns 31 counties of six prefectures, mTsho-byang (Chin: 海北 Haibei), mTsho-lho, rMa-lho, Yul-shul, mGo-log and mTsho-nub. All places affected are Tibetan areas. For the year 2009 Qinghai Province scheduled construction of 25,710 houses with a total investment of 1,225,872,000 RMB. The money provided for this program comes from different administrative levels. The costs are shared by Central Government, the province, prefectures and counties and the nomads themselves. According to the plan of 2009, the nomads should provide 13.8 % of the total costs (ADGM XI, pp. 1–2). The nomad's share of settlement construction costs is a statistical statement. In reality the local governmental institution in charge decides about the manner of implementation in the area under its jurisdiction, according to the financial resources supplied by the government and the number of households designated to participate in the *Nomadic settlement* project on-site. Depending on the manner of implementation on-site, the nomads have to pay a fixed share for government construction work or they obtain a fixed level of financial support from the government and are responsible for the house construction themselves. Modern material such as bricks, concrete, metal and wood for pillars will be used for the construction of new dwelling houses. To meet all the needs of one household (no matter how many family members it has), the size of a house must be at least 60 square meters (ADGM XI, p. 9).

Not all targeted nomadic households can get involved in the program at the same time. The *Nomadic settlement* project is scheduled to continue over the years to come until the settlement constructions are completed. The number of houses built in one year depends primarily upon the annual investment of the Central Government which supplies over 50% of all expenses.

As was mentioned above the *Nomadic settlement* project targets all Tibetan nomadic households without a permanent house or with an unstable house in danger of collapse. In the project plan this is defined as a house made of earth and wood that has not been repaired for a long time. Additional rules include no involvement in any other kind of resettlement or settlement program

implemented within the *Turning pastureland into grassland* or *Ecological re-settlement* policy. One household must have at least two family members and it must be a minimum of two years since these family members separated from another household unit (ADGM XI, pp. 5–6). At least during the implementation of *Ecological resettlement*, splitting up a household was a popular method among nomads in order to get a new house without relinquishing their pastureland and livestock. The grandparents were said to be a separate household and sent to inhabit the new house in the re-settlement. In this manner, one household was able to keep a pastoralist base on the grassland and at the same time obtain a house situated near good communications, where the children had better access to schools.

According to a government investigation, in Qinghai Province there are 134,300 households that satisfy the conditions for benefiting the *Nomadic settlement* project (ADGM XIII, p. 2).

The manner of implementation of the *Nomadic settlement* project varies throughout the affected area. According to a Prefecture Government announcement, in mGo-log Prefecture, in 2009 the government scheduled construction of 5,128 new houses in the nomadic area. These houses were to be built by the nomads themselves. The construction must include a house of at least 60 square meters, a toilet, an animal shed and an animal yard. To build each house unit there were 48,500 RMB.[16] According to nomads interviewed in rMa-chen (Chin: 玛沁 Maqin) County, mGo-log Prefecture any nomadic household could apply to participate in this program. Even households who already possessed a stable concrete house started to build a new one. Most households build their house by themselves. It is possible to hire labourers for construction work, but that would mean additional costs for the nomads. The new houses could be constructed either on winter grassland or in a new village settlement next to the Prefecture town. The nomads from rMa-chen County said that only after a house in Tibetan style, interpreted as a tiled front, and a toilet had been constructed, was the owner authorized to get financial support of 40,000 RMB. Construction of animal sheds was contracted for separately and participant households had to prepay 6,000 RMB to the government in order to obtain a double allocation later. By the end of 2009 this money had still not reached the nomads, even though house and the first stage of animal shed construction had been completed months beforehand.

In rTse-khog County, inhabited mainly by nomads on a low income, in comparison with the nomadic households of the rMa-chen County, the

16) mGo-log Prefecture government announcement from the 14th of September 2009.

government decided to be in charge of all *Nomadic settlement* project house constructions. The nomads merely have to pay 5,000 RMB per household to get a new house. The general project description allows for building houses at the original winter grassland location, but the local County Government office in charge decided to build all houses in uniform settlements near administrative units or at least along the main roads, without consulting the nomads about their preferred area. In this way, the government could save on the high costs of transporting materials to the winter grassland locations.

Conclusion

Government units at different administration levels are responsible for creating the programs to achieve socio-economic and environmental improvement and balance in nomadic areas in the west of China. They calculate the re-settlement quotas for different regions under their jurisdiction. Local government representatives together with village leaders are then responsible for the overall implementation. They have to persuade the nomads of the advantages of the lifestyle change connected to re-settlement. Officially the participation is voluntary, but the set quotas still have to be fulfilled. Therefore usually the nomads are informed in detail about the benefits, but the mediators, i.e. local government representative or a village leader, often say nothing about the political background and eventual disadvantages connected to the abandonment of the pastures.

Poor households with insufficient numbers of livestock are the first to be targeted by the re-settlement policy. Nevertheless, richer nomads also often want to use the advantage of low price house in the urban area of township or county town. In addition the new strict control of children's school attendance in the west of China influences many households to consider re-settlement. The lack of information from government representatives leads to high levels of interest among the nomads and a high number of potential project participants, often more than the number of houses that can be supplied by the government in a given year. In the event that not enough households are ready to move voluntarily, the government representatives often do not forget to stress possible trouble that a lack of cooperativeness might bring those who do not conform later. In this manner the government representatives are able to fulfil the prescribed quota, as the nomads prefer to avoid any trouble with the government. The high quota of nomadic household applications for participation in re-settlement, as mentioned in official

reports, creates an impression of a high level of willingness among the no-
mads to relocate. In many cases this quota was reached through disinforma-
tion and pressure. In reality, only poor households which have lost livestock
re-settle by choice. They seize it as an opportunity to survive. If they have
a choice, other households accept the programs only in the event that they
can keep their pastureland and livestock to secure their living. However, the
conditions connected to participation in a resettlement or settlement pro-
gram remain often unclear until the contract is signed. Moreover, numerous
nomads lack even the knowledge of written Chinese or Tibetan and cannot
read the contract they have to sign. If the conditions in the contract contain
a partial or total loss of grassland, the nomads often try to sell the new house
again, which is illegal, or they simply hope they will not have to give up the
whole of their pastureland.

There are certainly positive factors of life in a re-settlement, which might
include better connection to infrastructure, easier school attendance, access
to water and electricity, a new house that make the hard life of the nomads
more comfortable and a government subsidy for poor households. On the
other hand, in order to fight the environmental problems quickly and remove
livestock and people from the grasslands, the government seems not to have
made enough arrangements for the future life of re-settled nomads. Without
livestock, the daily cash need of a nomadic household increases severely. The
government subsidy is only temporary and is too low to secure the house-
hold's existence. Without sufficient skills and knowledge to integrate them-
selves into the employment market and achieve a satisfactory income to be-
come independent of government support, the future of re-settled Tibetan
nomads remains uncertain. Without having the opportunity to obtain new
qualifications and find a new occupation, the re-settled nomads rely merely
on income from the government and from seasonal collection of caterpil-
lar fungus. Without an occupation, many affected nomads spend their days
drinking and gambling. If this continues, the numerous re-settlement spots
will turn into places full of socially deprived people and centres of crime. In
the long term this could cause even bigger social problems for the Chinese
government than the recent poverty alleviation efforts among the more or
less self-sufficient nomads on the grassland.

To avoid this, it is necessary to consult the Tibetan nomads or their repre-
sentatives during the planning phase of re-settlement and other modernisa-
tion and development policies that concern the Tibetan grassland. It is nec-
essary that affected people obtain enough background information, before
they decide about participation in offered programs and it is necessary to

reconsider whether such a hasty implementation of development programs in the grassland is needed and is actually advantageous for the improvement of the socio-economy of Tibetan nomads and the environment.

Abbreviations

ADGM   Administrative documents concerning grassland management in Qinghai Province
HRW   Human Rights Watch
SNNR   Three River Source National Nature Reserve

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Review Section

Images of Tibet in the 19th and 20th centuries. **Edited by Monika Eposito. Études thématiques 22, II Vols. École française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris 2008, 856 pp.; 100EUR; ISBN 978-2-85539-659-0 – Reviewed by Daniel Berounský**

Some three decades have already passed since the influential text of Edward Said entitled Orientalism[1] stirred the waters of thinking about the East and questioned the category of the "East" itself. The resonance of the text was somewhat unexpected and gave later rise to several more narrowly focused studies within particular strands of so-called "Oriental studies". What concerns the Tibetans, namely the discrepancy between the emotionally underlined expectations on the part of western public on the one hand and the still rather limited knowledge about them, often by the same people, on the other hand, would prove to be a topic worth some detailed attention in terms of the perception of Tibet by Westerners. This topic has inspired some authors who have come up with useful texts, from Bishop's *Dreams of Power*,[2] through D. Lopez's *Prisoners of Shangri-La*[3] and up to the collection of articles *Imagining Tibet.*[4]

Now, suddenly, another publication has appeared, the text under review, which seems to aspire to follow in the footsteps of its aforementioned predecessors. The main question for the potential reader thus might be rather straightforward. Does the text provide new information? Why would it be worth reading?

The two volumes reviewed here are a collection of articles by 25 authors covering 856 pages of the larger format of A4. Two articles are in French and the rest is in English. It is thus impossible to deal in detail with each of the contributions and only a rather general overview will be outlined here. The two volumes are divided into the following sections: West (6 contributions on 193 pages), Japan (3 contributions on 59 pages), China (10 contributions

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1) Said, Edward, 1978, *Orientalism*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.
2) Bishop, Peter, 1993, *Dreams of Power. Tibetan Buddhism and the Western Imagination.* Athlone Press, London.
3) Lopez, Donald, 1998, *Prisoners of Shangri-La. Tibetan Buddhism and the West.* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
4) Dodin, Thierry; Räther, Heinz (eds.), 2001, *Imagining Tibet: Perceptions, Projections & Fantasies.* Wisdom Publications, Boston.

on 314 pages) and Tibet (8 contributions on 148 pages). Such dry statistics says little about the content, but still it can reveal something about the character of the books.

To start with the section entitled "West", one does not find any representative summary of the attitude of the West towards Tibet. The texts differ in terms of their content, including the views of Kant, Hegel and Schopenhauer on Tibet (Urs App), an article on the Nazi expedition to Tibet (I. Engelhardt), the views of G. Tucci on Tibet (De Rossi Filibeck), perhaps the most 'orientalism-discourse-inspired' text on the circumstances of the adaptation of Tibetan Buddhism to France (L. Obadia), a survey of Tibetan Studies in Europe (H. Walravens) and Tibetology in the US (D. Lopez).

There are several surprises waiting for the patient reader of this part. Perhaps the most interesting and new information is provided in the article on Kant, Hegel and Schopenhauer (Urs App) through a well written and convincing study with evident detailed research behind it. Another surprise might come from the title mentioned above as "A Survey of Tibetan Studies in Europe" (H. Walravens). It is true that the author tries to do something like a survey, but fortunately he does not lose much time with well-known personalities and focuses more on those omitted in the western literature. Some new observations can also be found in the most "orientalism-inspired" article by L. Obadia, trying to make clear the circumstances surrounding the spread of Tibetan Buddhism, based on information collected mostly in France. The rest of the articles provide some information which is already partly known, but it must be stressed that this is done in a non-repetitive way, either summarizing the scattered information or at least trying to add bits of new information for the reader.

The next part deals with "Japan". As a specialist in the field of Tibetan studies, I must confess that this section was one of the most interesting. All the three articles in this part (N. Okuyama, Sh. Onoda, Y. Fokuda) consider topics related to the historical outline of the reception of Tibet in Japan. This is done in each of the articles with a specific focus or concentrating on some particular historical period. Although there is some overlap, these contributions do not repeat the same information. They add precious knowledge of the development of Buddhology in Japan, and also of the typically changeable attitude towards Tibetans, balancing between extremes of admiration and neglect. These two extremes have, however, strong specific characteristics in Japan.

The following section deals with China. Again, it is a merit of the publication that it devotes much attention to Chinese receptions of Tibetan Buddhism, since very little has been published on the topic so far. The China

section is, however, a rather large-scale enterprise, and it includes a variety of articles concerning the topics and a variety of points of view.

Two interesting contributions are devoted to Tibetan Buddhism in Hong Kong and Taiwan (H. C. H. Shiu, L. Yao), showing that the reception of Tibetan Buddhism has its specifics there. The popularity of initiations among the public points to a perception of Tibetan Buddhism as a magically powerful means for acquiring worldly benefits.

The next article (Q. Chen, X. Wang) represents an overview or a list of Tibetological literature published in Chinese (inconsistently, some texts in Tibetan are also put into the list, one wonders why these were put there). Although it is somewhat unclear what the criterion of selection of the listed works was, it is still of interest, partly for its selective character.

Other articles included in the section of China balance the particular advantages of insiders (a better understanding from the point of view of the Chinese themselves) and outsiders (an advantage in having distance). The Chinese section includes a study of the important Chinese monk Taixu, who at the time of Republican China was inspired by Tibetan tantric traditions (T. Luo). Another rather detailed case study focuses on the Tibeto-Chinese master Fahai, spreading Dzogchen teaching among Han disciples (M. Eposito).

A very useful overview providing a list with commentary of the masters spreading Tibetan tantric teachings in China is then provided (B. Chen). This topic is complemented by a western author (G. Tuttle), who in a well-grounded article demonstrates how the Ninth Panchen Lama attempted to include the rigid Tibetan tradition within the vision of modern China through the teaching of Shambhala.

Another interesting article discusses the misunderstanding of Tibetans in the literary work of Ma Jian, but it is stressed in the text that such a misunderstanding and clichés have a long tradition in China (W. Shen, L. Wang). The next contribution focuses on the tantric deity Vajrabhairava and his perception as protector of Beijing in Republican China and the times preceding it (E. Bianchi). Then follows an article which demonstrates, on the basis of the texts of two Chinese Buddhist masters, the nature of syncretism developed through inspiration by Tibetan Buddhism (F. Wang-Toutain).

Summing up this section on China, it is apparent that a great variety of approaches is presented here. Yet, to my mind, it is at the same time the most detailed collection of texts devoted to the various aspects of Tibetan Buddhism in China available in western languages. As such this must be considered as a pioneering event.

The last section is entitled "Tibet". Again, the variety of topics deserves mention. The first article rightly points out that in the western perception of art some features might overlap with the Chinese view of it as a "cultural relic". The idea of art is no longer connected with living traditions, if we follow the patterns from Ancient Greece and Egypt in the west. In case of Tibet we have to deal with a still living tradition and the idea of "religious art" clashes with the perception of Tibetans themselves (E. Lo Bue).

Then follows an interesting contribution focused on the changes in perception of Mongols by Tibetans. On the basis of the Tibetan sources the author presents how the original fear of barbarians evolved into a more positive relationship following the acceptance of Tibetan Buddhism by the Mongols. On the other hand the Mongols have to date been treated as inferiors by Tibetans (K. Kollmar-Paulenz).

The following article demonstrates that the title of the volumes, "Images of Tibet," could be taken literary in some instances. It is devoted to the woodblock portraits of the series of Panchen Lamas from the 18th century present in the background for important events marking the dealings between China and Tibet since that date (P. Berger).

The next contribution provides a summary of the movements in Kham, which centered around several charismatic masters continuing in the tradition of treasure revelations. They led to the establishment of specific religious centres called "encampment" (*sgar/ chos sgar*), the best known being the Larung Gar (Bla rung sgar) near Serta. It is noteworthy that such a movement attracted a number of Han Chinese disciples (A. Terrone). The following article deals with one of the Khampa Dzogchen masters (Tashi Dorje), who devoted his activity to the spread of this teaching among his Han Chinese followers (S. Ragaini).

The volumes conclude with a text on emerging Tibetan Tibetology in PRC. First it discusses general problems with "nation-logical" disciplines and then focuses on the beginnings of such a secular discipline in PRC. The difficulties are firstly connected with the tension between the living tradition and the critical secular studies of it. Another set of problems surrounds the pressure to use research for propaganda aims (M. Kapstein).

Summing up, we should return to the two questions asked at the beginning of the review. The contributions have different foci, some of them coming up with new knowledge, others attempting to summarize already published information. In such large volumes it is natural that the quality of the papers varies. However, it must be stressed that none of the contributions could be marked as weak or uninteresting. The editor must be congratulated for the

special focus on China and Japan, since these parts extend considerably our understanding of the image of Tibetans in the world. In the previously published texts there was very little of such information. The two volumes as a whole give an impression of being kaleidoscopically arranged. The title "Images of Tibet" should be understood very loosely. While some contributions do indeed deal with pictures of Tibet in the eyes of others, other texts focus on pictorial description of Tibetans themselves and a considerable number of articles contribute to the creation of an "Image of Tibet" for the reader. The editorial work was undertaken carefully and is of a high level.

For those who are either interested in the topic of the reception of Tibet or more generally in Tibet in the modern world, these two volumes must be warmly recommended. Then the last word to such a reader may be: "Prepare some space for these two rather big and heavy volumes on your bookshelf".

Valentin Ivanovich Rassadin, *Soyotica.* **Ed. by Béla Kempf. Studia Uralo-Altaica 48. University of Szeged, Department of Altaic Studies, Szeged 2010, 229 pp. Paperback, price not stated; ISBN 978-963-306-027-8 – Reviewed by Klára Boumová**

Professor Rassadin's book *Soyotica* presents a complex of rare information on the almost extinct Soyot language, which belongs to the Siberian branch of Turkic languages. The main part of the book is a voluminous Soyot-Buryat-Russian dictionary, in addition to which the book contains a short description of the Soyot people, a grammatical sketch of the Soyot language and a Soyot tale as a specimen of the language.

Valentin Ivanovich Rassadin is a well known Turcologist and Mongolist who lives in Elista in Kalmykia, and who, among other topics, focuses on endangered languages of the Sayan subgroup of the Southern group of the Siberian branch of Turkic languages. He has been studying the Tofalar language since 1964, Soyot since the 1970s and the Dukha (Tsaatan) and Khövsgöl Uryankhay languages since 1989.

As Prof. Rassadin says, these are very close languages of genetically related peoples who have populated the Eastern Sayan region from ancient times and have led a similar way of life as nomadic hunters and reindeer herders to this day. All these languages remained purely oral till recent years. Written languages were created by Prof. Rassadin – for Tofalar in 1986, and for Soyot in 2001. School textbooks were written for both languages and the languages have been taught in the local elementary schools, Tofalar from 1993, Soyot from 2005. The Tofalars and Soyots have always been in contact with each other due to their overlapping population, but their linguistic situation has been different. The Tofalar language was better preserved in everyday life as compared with the Soyot language. The Tofalars, whose number is around 700, were Russified less intensively, in contrast to the speed of Buryatification of the Soyots, whose number is around 2,000 today. Although the Soyot language was recognized as the national language of the Soyots, it is still in the process of revival and has not become the language of communication of all Soyots or even of a part of them. According to the *UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger,* there are only around 40 speakers of Tofa and their language is designated *critically endangered*, which means that "the youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language

partially and infrequently" and the Soyot language is designated *extinct*, because "there are no speakers left".[1]

This book is based on the author's fieldwork in Oka county in Buryatia from the 1970s. The Soyot language was then used actively only by the elderly, because the role of prime language among the Soyots was taken over by the Oka dialect of the Buryat language. During the dialectological expedition approximately five thousand Soyot words and the basics of the grammar of the Soyot language were recorded by the author from Soyot old men and the sound system of the language was clarified. In 2001, at the request of the Soyot people, the writing system for the Soyot language was developed, orthographic rules were worked out and the *Soyot-Buryat-Russian Dictionary* was compiled and published in 2002.[2] As a result of the Soyots' increasing consciousness of their national identity, they were recognized by the Russian Parliament as an independent nation in 2001. The main steps needed in order to avoid the dangerous stage of disappearance and oblivion of the Soyot language were taken. Now the success of its revitalization and preservation depends both on the will and desire of the Soyots themselves and on the degree of state support.

This re-edition of valuable but barely accessible materials about the Soyot language is finally compiled in one book by the editor B. Kempf. All English parts were translated from Russian by him. The book starts with brief general information about the Soyots of Buryatia and their history (pp. 7–9).

The grammatical section of the book has two main parts: phonology (pp. 10–14) and morphology (pp. 15–45). Concerning syntax, it is only mentioned (p. 45) that it is very close to the Old Turkic type. Conjunctions are practically absent and the frequent use of gerunds and participles may be observed. The Soyot lexicon (pp. 45–51) essentially preserves the lexical items of Common Turkic, and a large number of archaic lexical elements are observable. The author underlines that the Soyot language mirrors traditional activities very well, including reindeer breeding, hunting, and the traditional lifestyle and culture. There was a long-lasting influence of Mongolic languages on the Soyot language and the author recognizes three layers of Mongolic lexical elements in Soyot – loanwords from Middle Mongol, from modern Darkhat

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1) Moseley, C., *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger.* 3rd edn. UNESCO Publishing, Paris 2010. Online version: http://www.unesco.org/culture/en/endangeredlanguages/atlas

2) It had been published only in 50 copies that were 'out of print' practically immediately after publication.

and from Buryat. The Mongolic loanwords are not connected to a concrete lexical-semantic group, but have deeply penetrated the Soyot lexicon.

The writing system created for Soyot is based on Russian Cyrillic comple- mented with the following letters: *қ, ғ, ҷ, h, ӊ, ө, ү, ə, i,* to represent all the phonemes of the language (e.g. *қарақ* 'eyes', *доӊган* 'froze', *шағ ҷоқ* 'voice- less', *hам* 'shaman', *hөрəмə* 'clotted cream', *əккі* 'good').

The Soyot tale *Аӊшы кижи* (Hunter) included in the book with a Russian translation (pp. 53–59) has not been published before.

The most extensive part of the volume is the Soyot-Buryat-Russian diction- ary (pp. 62–229) comprising more than 4500 lexical items from the collected material recorded by the author in the 1970s.

It is interesting to note that there is a great similarity between the Soyot and Written Tuvan languages that I could see at several levels.

In **phonology** it is e.g. ***pharyngalization*** (*баъш* 'head', *қаъш* 'how many'), the manner of ***assimilation of vowels and consonants*** (*өг* 'house' → *өө* 'his house', *сағын* 'remember!' (Imp. Sing.2) → *сақтыр* 'he will remember', *оол (<oġul)* 'son' → *оглы* 'his son', *қыъш* 'winter' → *қыъhы ~ қыъшы* 'his winter'), and ***vowel harmony*** (*чарачаӊ* 'sable', *балық* 'fish', *одағ* 'camp ground', *өглəргə* 'to the houses', *үлегер* 'tale', *кірер* 'he will enter', *иъhи* 'two').

In **morphology** we can see great similarity in the forms of ***possessive suf- fixes*** (*ававыс* 'our mother', *аъты* 'his horse', *балыы* 'his fish'), of ***all cases*** except the directive case (нeмгіді 'to the river'), of ***verbal participles*** (*келгəн* '(one) who arrived', *аӊнавааан* '(one) who has not hunted', *туътар* '(one) who catches', *албас* '(one) who does not take') and ***converbs*** (*бери* 'having given', *болып* 'having been', *бербийн* 'having not given', *келгəш* 'after having arrived', *келбəəш* 'after having not arrived') etc.

On the basis of this collected material the author succeeded in restoring the language and developing a practical literacy, which faithfully reflects its spe- cific features. Prof. Rassadin's book is a highly professional philological work which is the keystone of revitalization and preservation of the Soyot language. This re-edition can also be used with profit by Turcologists and other linguists and it can facilitate deeper research into the questions of the Soyot-Buryat linguistic relationship.