GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTIONS IN MANCHU GRAMMAR BOOKS FROM THE QING DYNASTY

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Abstract

In this paper, we analyse features of the grammatical descriptions in Manchu grammar books from the Qing Dynasty. Manchu grammar books exemplify how Chinese scholars gave Chinese names to grammatical concepts in Manchu such as case, conjugation, and derivation which exist in agglutinating languages but not in isolating languages. A thorough examination reveals that Chinese scholarly understanding of Manchu grammar at the time had attained a high degree of sophistication. We conclude that the reason they did not apply modern grammatical concepts until the end of the 19th century was not a lack of ability but because the object of their grammatical descriptions was Chinese, a typical isolating language.

Résumé

Dans cet article, nous analysons les descriptions du mandchou des grammaires de la dynastie Qing. Ces grammaires du mandchou nous montrent les termes choisis par les lettrés Chinois pour rendre dans leur langue les concepts grammaticaux du mandchou tels que le cas, la conjugaison et la dérivation, qui existent dans les langues agglutinantes mais pas dans les langues isolantes. Un examen approfondi de ces ouvrages révèle que les Chinois avaient atteint un haut degré de sophistication dans leur compréhension linguistique de la grammaire mandchoue. Nous en concluons que si ceux-ci n'ont pas appliqué au chinois les concepts grammaticaux modernes jusqu'à la fin du xxᵉ siècle, ce n'est pas parce qu'ils n'en étaient pas capables, mais parce que leurs descriptions grammaticales portaient sur le chinois, une langue typiquement isolante.

Keywords

Manchu grammar, the Qing Dynasty, agglutinating languages, isolating languages, exegetics

Mots-clés

Grammaire du mandchou, dynastie Qing, langues agglutinantes, langues isolantes, exégèse

1 PREFACE

Descriptions of Chinese are divided into three types: (a) descriptions of Chinese by Chinese; (b) descriptions of Chinese by non-Chinese; (c) descriptions of non-Chinese languages by Chinese. Descriptions in (a) are well known as *xiǎoxué* 小學, and they include a vast body of materials on phonology (*yīnyùn* 音韻), grammatology (*wénzì* 文字), and exegetics (*xùngǔ* 訓詁) after the Han 漢 Dynasty (BCE 206–CE 220). Those in (b) comprise so-called 'outer sources', which

include, in addition to the earliest examples of the materials in inner Asian languages like Tibetan discovered at Dūnhuáng 敦煌[1], various materials such as Korean, Japanese, and Western sources[2].

The representative materials of (c) are a group of *yìyǔ* 譯語 'translation words', specifically the *Zhìyuán yìyǔ* 至元譯語 [Translation words of the Zhìyuán period] in the Yuan 元 Dynasty and *Huáyí yìyǔ* 華夷譯語 [Translation words between China and the Barbarians] in the Ming 明 Dynasty. These groups consist of the following:

1 *Zhìyuán yìyǔ* 至元譯語: phonetic transcriptions of foreign words with Chinese characters and their Chinese translations.

2 *Huáyí yìyǔ* 華夷譯語, Type A: *zázì* 雜字, phonetic transcriptions of foreign words with Chinese characters and their Chinese translations; *láiwén* 來文, phonetic transcriptions of sentences in foreign languages with Chinese characters and their Chinese translations.

3 *Huáyí yìyǔ* 華夷譯語, Type B: *zázì*, foreign words in their native script, phonetic transcriptions with Chinese characters, and their Chinese translations; *láiwén*, sentences in foreign languages in their native script and their Chinese translations.

4 *Huáyí yìyǔ* 華夷譯語, Type C: phonetic transcriptions of foreign words with Chinese characters and their Chinese translations.

The *Zhìyuán Yìyǔ*, alias the *Měnggǔ Yiyǔ* 蒙古譯語 [Translation words in Mongolian], is a Mongolian-Chinese bilingual vocabulary book composed in the Zhìyuán 至元 period (1264–1274) during the Yuan Dynasty, which belongs to an encyclopaedia, the *Shìlín Guǎngjì* 事林廣記 [Extensive description of various things]. This book contains Mongolian words written in phonetic transcription with Chinese characters. The *Huáyí Yìyǔ* are divided into three types[3]. Type A includes Mongolian-Chinese bilingual textbooks composed in the Hóngwǔ 洪武 period (1368–1398) during the Ming Dynasty, divided into two groups: (1) *zázì* 雜字, Mongolian words written in phonetic transcription with Chinese characters corresponding to Chinese words; and (2) *láiwén* 來文, Mongolian decrees written

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1 For representative studies, see Luo 1933 and Takata 1988.

2 Korean sources were mostly composed in the Sayeogwon 司譯院 where interpreters were trained from the 14th to the 19th century, its representative materials being the Chinese conversation books *Lǎoqǐdà* 老乞大 and *Piáotōngshì* 朴通事; Japanese sources, the Tōwa 唐話 materials, composed in Nagasaki 長崎 Province from the 18th to the 19th century, its representative materials being the Chinese phrase and conversation books *Tōwa San'yō* 唐話纂要 and *Tōwa Bin'yō* 唐話便用 by Okajima Kanzan 岡島冠山 (1674–1728); and the Western sources, mainly composed by Christian missionaries from the 17th to 19th centuries, its representative materials being the Chinese rhyme table *Xīrú Ěrmùzī* 西儒耳目資 (1626) by Nicolas Trigault (1577–1628) and the grammar *Arte de la lengua Mandarina* (1703) by Francisco Varo (1627–1687).

3 This classification is from Ishida 1931. Ishida called these three types Jiǎ 甲, Yǐ 乙, and Bǐng 丙.

in phonetic transcription with Chinese characters and two kinds of Chinese translation – literal and free. Type B includes bilingual textbooks used in the Sìyíguǎn 四夷館, which managed the translation of diplomatic documents, established in the Yǒnglè 永樂 period (1403–1424)[4], containing the original characters of each language in both *zázì* and *láiwén*. Type C is bilingual vocabulary books used in the Huìtóngguǎn 會同館, which had been established in the Hóngzhì 弘治 period (1488–1505)[5] to manage the entertainment of the diplomatic corps of foreign countries; the style of these books is similar to that of the *Zhìyuán Yìyǔ*.

These *yìyǔ* primarily comprise *zázì*, i.e. vocabulary, and *láiwén,* i.e. example sentences. The transcriptions with Chinese characters belong to the academic field of phonology, so descriptions of non-Chinese languages by Chinese scholars before the Ming Dynasty remain at the stage of phonology, vocabulary, and examples, with no descriptions of 'grammar'.

There are Manchu grammar books published in Beijing dating from the Qing 清 Dynasty including materials that systematically describe non-Chinese grammar in pre-modern China. These consist of several Manchu textbooks written by Chinese scholars which were published for the Manchu Eight Banners, many of whose members had lost their mother tongue — Manchu — and spoke Chinese as their native language after the Manchu court made Beijing the capital of the Qing Dynasty (1644)[6]. Most authors of these books were considered bilingual in Chinese and Manchu. According to our survey, more than 10 grammar books were published in the Qing Dynasty as follows[7]:

    (I) *Fānqīng Xūzì Jiǎngyuē* 翻清虛字講約 [Translation rules of Manchu function words], the third part of *Qīngshū Zhǐnán* 清書指南 [Handbook of the Manchu language]: the author is Shén Jǐliàng 沈啓亮 (1645–1693); there is an afterword dated Kāngxī 康熙 21 (1682).

    (II) *Zìwěi Lèi* 字尾類 [the part of suffixes], the 32nd part of the *Mǎnhàn Lèishū* 滿漢類書 [Encyclopaedia of Manchu and Chinese]: the author is Sāng'é 桑額 (?–1712); there is a preface dated Kāngxī 39 (1700).

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4 There are 10 textbooks belonging to Type B: Nǚzhēn 女真 (Jurchen), Dádá 韃靼 (Mongolian), Gāochāng 高昌 (Uyghur), Xiānluó 暹羅 (Thai), Bǎiyí 百夷 (Pai-i), Bābǎi 八百 (Lao), Miǎndiàn 緬甸 (Burmese), Xīfān 西番 (Tibetan), Xītiān 西天 (Sanskrit), and Huíhuí 回回 (Persian).

5 These are 13 vocabulary books belonging to Type C: Rìběn 日本 (Japanese), Liúqiú 琉球 (Ryukyuan), Cháoxiān 朝鮮 (Korean), Nǚzhēn女真 (Jurchen), Dádá 韃靼 (Mongolian), Wèiwū'ér 畏兀児 (Uyghur), 安南Ānnán (Vietnamese), Xiānluó 暹羅 (Thai), Bǎiyí 百夷 (Pai-i), Zhànchéng 占城 (Cham), 滿剌加 Mǎnlàjiā (Malay), Xīfān 西番 (Tibetan), and Huíhuí 回回 (Persian).

6 On the overall situation of the Manchu people and their language in the Qing Dynasty, see Miyazaki 1947, Ji 1993, Ji 2004–2005, and Elliott 2001.

7 The following grammar books are listed with reference to Ikegami 1955 and Yamamoto 1955. On the extant materials of each grammar book, see Stary 2005 and Endo and Takekoshi 2011.

(III) *XūzìJiǎngyuē* 虛字講約 [Rules of function words], the first part of the *Qīngwén Bèikǎo* 清文備考 [Remarks on Manchu]: the author is Zàigǔ 載 穀 (years of birth and death are unknown); there is a preface dated Kāngxī 61 (1722).

(IV) *Qīngwén ZhùyǔXūzì* 清文助語虛字 [Function words of the Manchu language], the third part of *MǎnhànzìQīngwén Qǐméng* 滿漢字清文啓蒙 [Essentials of the Manchu language with Manchu-Chinese bilingual style]: the author is Wǔgé舞格 (years of birth and death are unknown); there is a preface dated Yōngzhèng 雍正8 (1730).

(V) *QīngyǔYìyán* 清語易言 [Easy speaking of the Manchu language]: The author is Bóhè 博赫 (years of birth and death are unknown); there is a preface dated Qiānlóng 乾隆 31 (1766).

(VI) *Qīngwén Zhǐyào* 清文指要 [Principles of the Manchu language],[8] the first part of *SānhéBiànlǎn* 三合便覽 [Handbook in trilingual contrast style]: the author is Fùjùn 富俊 (1749–1834); there is a preface dated Qiānlóng 45 (1780).

(VII) *Měngwén Fǎchéng* 蒙文法程 [Rules of the Mongolian language], the third part of *Měngwén Xīyì* 蒙文晰義 [Analysis of the Mongolian language]: the author is Sàishàng'ā 賽尚阿 (1794?–1875); there is a preface dated Dàoguāng 道光 28 (1848).[9]

(VIII) *Qīngwén Jiēzì* 清文接字 [Function words of the Manchu language]: the author is Sōng Luòfēng 嵩洛峰 (years of birth and death are unknown); there is an afterword dated Tóngzhì 同治 5 (1866).[10]

(IX) *Qīngwén XūzìZhǐnánbiān* 清文虛字指南編 [Handbook of Manchu function words]: the author of this book is Wànfú 萬福 (years of birth and death are unknown); there is a preface dated Guāngxù 光緒 10 (1884).[11]

(X) *ZìfǎJǔyīgē* 字法舉一歌 [A song of rules on words]: the author is Xú Lóngtài 徐隆泰 (years of birth and death are unknown); there is a preface dated Guāngxù 11 (1885).

The books listed above all refer to Manchu function words named *xūzì* 虛字, *zhùyǔ* 助語, or *jiēzì* 接字. In this paper, we analyse features of the grammatical descriptions of Manchu grammar from the Qing Dynasty. Chinese, which belongs to the Sino-Tibetan language family, is a typical isolating language. In contrast,

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8 This book is different from the Manchu-Chinese bilingual conversation book *Qīngwén Zhǐyào* 清文指要 (1789).

9 This book is a trilingual textbook of Manchu, Mongolian, and Chinese.

10 The second version, named *Xīnyǔ Qīngwén Jiēzì* 新語清文接字, was published in Guāngxù 14 (1866).

11 The second version, named *Chóngkè Qīngwén Xūzì Zhǐnánbiān* 重刻清文虛字指南編, was published in Guāngxù 20 (1894).

Manchu belongs to the Altaic language family and is a typical agglutinating language. Manchu grammars indicate how people in Beijing who were bilingual in Chinese and Manchu gave Chinese terms to grammatical concepts in Manchu such as case, conjugation, and derivation, which exist in agglutinating languages but not in isolating languages.

2 THE TEXTS

We focus on two grammar books as materials reflecting the grammatical description of the Manchu language in the early period: (I) *Fānqīng Xūzì Jiǎngyuē* (abbr. *FXJ*), and (IV) *Qīngwén Zhùyǔ Xūzì* (abbr. *QZX*)[12]. The following is a brief introduction to these two books:

2.1 *Fānqīng Xūzì Jiǎngyuē (FXJ)*

Qīngshū Zhǐnán, the Manchu name is *Manju bithe i jy nan*[13]. The author is Shén Jǐliàng 沈啓亮 (1645–1693); there is an afterword dated Kāngxī 康熙 21 (1682) at the end of the book[14]. In several texts, this book has a Manchu-Chinese dictionary appendix *Dàqīng Quánshū* 大清全書 [Complete book of the Great Qing] (1683) by the same author[15].

Qīngshū Zhǐnán contains three volumes: the first volume consists of the *Shí'èr Zìtóu* 十二字頭 [Twelve characters] and the *Zhùyì Déxǐ Wūzhū* 註義德喜烏朱 [Commentary on 40 sentences]; the second volume is the *Mǎnzhōu Záhuà* 滿洲雜 話 [Conversations in Manchu]; and the third volume is the *FXJ*. The *Shí'èr Zìtóu* is a Manchu syllable table, the *Zhùyì Déxǐ Wūzhū* is a commentary on 40 short Manchu sentences[16], and the *Mǎnzhōu Záhuà* contains Manchu conversations[17].

The Manchu name of the *FXJ* is *Bithe ubaliyambure be de i hergen be giyangnara oyonggo*, containing 14 pages, and the author explains the following 67 Manchu 'function words' *xūzì* 虚字:

> (1) -be; (2) -de; (3) -i, -ni; (4) -ra, -re, -ro; (5) -la, -le, -lo; (6) -ka, -ha, -ke, -he, -ko, -ho; (7) -me; (8) -fi; (9) -pi; (10) bi; (11) bifi, bici, bisire; (12) bihe; (13) bihe bici; (14) bihebi; (15) ombi; (16) -mbi; (17) -o; (18) ume; (19) -ci; (20) se; (21) -ki; (22) -kini; (23) -bu; (24) -mbu; (25) -so, -su, -cina, -fu, -nu; (26) -ša, -še, -ja, -je, -šo; (27) -kiya, -hiya, -kiye, -hiye; (28) -ca, -ce, -du, -nu, -cu, -ne; (29) unggi,

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12 We chose these two books because (II) *Zìwěi Lèi* only contains descriptions of Manchu verbal conjugation, and the author of (III) *Xūzì Jiǎngyuē* completely copied the contents of (I) *Fānqīng Xūzì Jiǎngyuē*.

13 The Manchu transcription system in this paper is based on Möllendorff 1892.

14 The text this paper is based on is the Wǎnyǔzhāi Lǐbólóng Shūfáng 宛羽齋李伯龍書坊 version published in Kāngxī 康熙22 (1683), which is in the holdings of the Tenri Library 天 理圖書館, Japan.

15 On the overall situation of the *Dàqīng Quánshū*, see Ji 1990 and Hayata and Teramura 2004.

16 *Déxǐ wūzhū* is a transliteration of Manchu *dehi uju* 'forty'.

17 On the overall situation of the *Qīngshū Zhǐnán*, see Imanishi 1956.

> *tuwanggi, bonggi, gonggi*; (30) *manggi*; (31) *ohode*; (32) *jakade*; (33) *-na, -ne, -ji*; (34) *-reo*; (35) *-mbio, -bio, -kao, -hao, -keo, -heo, -nio*; (36) *-rangge, -rengge, -rongge, -kangge, -hangge, -hūngge, -kengge, -hengge*; (37) *-rakū, -kakū, -hakū, -kekū, -hekū*; (38) *-rahū, ayoo*; (39) *-sa*; (40) *-te*; (41) *-da*; (42) *kai*; (43) *-ken, -kan, -hei, -hai, -hoi, -pi, -kon*; (44) *aikabade*; (45) *udu seme, udu bicibe, udu cibe*; (46) *hono bade*; (47) *tere anggala*; (48) *tere dade*; (49) *dere*; (50) *dabala, gojime*; (51) *nememe*; (52) *-tala, -tele, -tolo*; (53) *-gala, -gele*; (54) *maka*; (55) *aika*; (56) *aise*; (57) *mene*; (58) *jaci*; (59) *eitereci*; (60) *tetendere*; (61) *ere*; (62) *ainci*; (63) *eici*; (64) *-cuka, -cuke*; (65) *uttu*; (66) *tuttu*; (67) *esi*.

Because the Manchu language has vowel harmony, several suffixes have variants like (4) *-ra*, *-re* and *-ro*; each section includes these variants.

Each section contains explanations of the meaning, usage, and orthography of each Manchu word and examples of its use. For example, the beginning part of the section on Manchu accusative case suffix *-be* is as follows:

> *be*: Xūzì jiě, jí hànwén jiāng zì, bǎ zì; shízì jiě, wǒděng, quèshí'ěr, guǐ. 虚字解, 即漢文將字, 把字實字解, 我等, 雀食餌, 軏. [If we explain it as a function word, it is the Chinese words 'jiang', 'ba'; if we explain it as a substantive word, it means 'we', 'feed of sparrow', and 'spoke'.]
> Rú yún bǎ cǐ wù rúhé, jí yún, 如云把此物如何, 即云, [For example, 'what to do this thing', we say,] *ere jaka be*[18].
> Jiāng cǐ rén rúhé, jí yún, 將此人如何, 即云, ['What to do this person', we say,] *ere niyalma be*[19]. (*FXJ* 1a3–4)

In the above quote, the author first explains the meaning of Manchu *be* as a function word *xūzì* 虚字 or as a content word *shízì* 實字, and then gives several examples using the morpheme *-be* and its Chinese translation after the phrase *rú yún* 如云[20].

2.2 *Qīngwén Zhùyǔ Xūzì (QZX)*

The *Mǎnhànzì Qīngwén Qǐméng*, named *Manju nikan hergen i cing wen ki meng bithe* in Manchu, was the most famous and most widely-used Manchu textbook in the Qing Dynasty because it contained the widest variety of texts among similar Manchu textbooks[21]. Prominent Orientalists of the 19th century such as J. P. Abel-Rémusat (1788–1832), J. H. Klaproth (1783–1835), and G. von der Gabelentz (1840–1893) studied the Manchu language with this book[22].

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18 Manchu *ere* is a demonstrative pronoun meaning 'this'; *jaka* is a noun meaning 'thing'; and *-be* is the accusative case suffix.
19 Manchu *niyalma* is a noun which means 'person'.
20 The transcription and translation of this book is contained in Takekoshi 2007.
21 Regarding different types of *Mǎnhànzì Qīngwén Qǐméng* texts and the provenance of each text, see Ikegami 1962 and Takekoshi 2016.
22 See the preface of the English translation of *Mǎnhànzì Qīngwén Qǐméng*, Wylie 1855.

The author of this book is Wǔgé舞格 (years of birth and death are unknown), and it contains a preface dated Yōngzhèng 雍正8 (1730) written by Chéng Míngyuǎn 程明遠[23]. This textbook contains four volumes: The first covers Manchu characters and phonology, like the *Mǎnzhōu Shí'èr Zìtóu Dānzì Liánzì Zhǐnán*滿洲十二字頭單字聯字指南 [Handbook of the single and combined usage of 12 Manchu characters], *Qiēyùn Qīngzì*切韻清字 [Phonological analysis of Manchu characters], etc.; the second, conversation, *Jiānhàn Mǎnzhōu Tàohuà* 兼漢滿洲套話 [Manchu conversation with Chinese translation]; the third, grammar, *QZX*; and the fourth, synonyms and similar characters, *Qīngzì Biànsì* 清字辨似 [Similar Manchu characters] and *Qīngyǔ Jiěsì* 清語解似 [Manchu synonyms]. This book was well prepared, making it easy to study the Manchu language.

The Manchu name of the *QZX* is *Manju bithei gisun de aisilara mudan i hergen*. It contains 60 pages in which the author explains 99 Manchu function words, *zhùyǔ xūzì* 助語虛字 in Chinese, and it contains 152 common expressions and their Chinese translations[24]. The Manchu function words in this book are:

(1) *-de*; (2) *-deo*; (3) *-be*; (4) *-beo*; (5) *-i*; (6) *-ni*; (7) *-nio*; (8) *-ga, -go, -ge*; (9) *-ningge, -ingge*; (10) *kai*; (11) *-me*; (12) *-ki*; (13) *-ci*; (14) *-deri*; (15) *aikabade*; (16) *aika*; (17) *-fi*; (18) *ofi*; (19) *-pi*; (20) *-ka, -ha, -ko, -ho, -ke, -he*; (21) *-kao, -hao, -koo, -hoo, -keo, -heo*; (22) *-kangge, -hangge, -kongge, -hongge, -kengge, -hengge*; (23) *-kanggeo, -hanggeo, -konggeo, -honggeo, -kenggeo, -henggeo*; (24) *bi*; (25) *-kabi, -habi, -kobi, -hobi, -kebi, -hebi*; (26) *-ra, -re, -ro*; (27) *-reo, -roo*; (28) *-range, -rengge, -rongge*; (29) *-ranggeo, -renggeo, -ronggeo*; (30) *-mbi*; (31) *-mbio, bio*; (32) *-rakū*; (33) *-rakūn*; (34) *-rakūngge*; (35) *-rakūnggeo*; (36) *-kakū, -hakū, -kekū, -hekū*; (37) *-kakūn, -hakūn, -kekūn, -hekūn*; (38) *-kakūngge, -hakūngge, -kekūngge, -hekūngge*; (39) *-kakūnggeo, -hakūnggeo, -kekūnggeo, -hekūnggeo*; (40) *-gala, -gele*; (41) *doigonde*; (42) *onggolo*; (43) *na, ne, no, ya*; (44) *-kini*; (45) *-cina*; (46) *-nu, -so, -su, -fu*; (47) *-ju*; (48) *-sa, -se, -si, -ta, -te*; (49) *-hori, -hūri, -huri*; (50) *-la, -le*; (51) *-ta, -te, -to*; (52) *mudan, mari*; (53) *-dari*; (54) *-geri*; (55) *tome*; (56) *jiya, jiye*; (57) *-hai, -hoi, -hei*; (58) *-hai, -tai, -tei*; (59) *bai*; (60) *baibi*; (61) *-cun*; (62) *-hon, -hūn, -hun*; (63) *-cibe*; (64) *udu*; (65) *gojime*; (66) *eitereme*; (67) *eiterecibe*; (68) *-tala, -tele, -tolo*; (69) *-rahū, ayoo*; (70) *-kan, -kon, -ken, -si, -liyan, -shūn, -shun*; (71) *jaka, saka*; (72) *unggi, bonggi, gonggi, tuwanggi*; (73) *be dahame*; (74) *tetendere*; (75) *manggi*; (76) *nakū*; (77) *-cuka, -cuke*; (78) *-cukangga, -cukengge*; (79) *teile*; (80) *ebsihe*; (81) *dule*; (82) *ainci*; (83) *aise*; (84) *dere*; (85) *dabala*; (86) *wajiha*; (87) *hono*; (88) *bade*; (89) *ai hendure*; (90) *anggala*; (91) *tere anggala*; (92) *sere anggala*; (93) *-na, -ne, -no*; (94) *-ji*; (95) *-nu, -du, -ca, -ce, -co*; (96) *-bu*; (97) *-ša, -še, -šo, -mi, -ce, -ja, -je, -jo*; (98) *-ša, -še, -ta, -da, -te, -de, -do, -tu, -la, -le, -lo, -mi, -je, -ra, -re, -ro, -niye, -kiya, -giya, -kiye, -hiya, -hiye*; (99) *-je, -jo*.

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23 The text this paper is based on is the Sānhuáitáng Shūfáng三槐堂書坊 version held by the Toyo Bunko 東洋文庫, Japan.

24 In Wylie 1855, the author states that there are 100 function words and 154 common expressions, but his count is questionable; see Takekoshi 2016.

Each section contains explanations regarding the meaning, usage, and orthography of each Manchu word, as in the *FXJ*, besides the function words in each example are literal Chinese translations. For example, the beginning part of the section on Manchu accusative case suffix *-be* is as follows

> *-be*: Bǎ zì, jiāng zì, yě zì; yòu yǐ zì, yòng zì; yòu shǐ zì, lìng zì, jiào zì. Liányòng dānyòng jù kě. Shí jiě wǒmen, yúshí, niǎoshí, niúchē yuántóu héngmù. 把字, 將字, 也字又以字, 用字又使字, 令字, 教字。聯用單用俱可。實解我們, 魚食, 鳥食, 牛車轅頭橫木。[It is the words *bǎ, jiāng, yě*; or the words *yǐ, yòng*; or the words *shǐ, lìng, jiào*. It can be use together or single. Substantive meanings of this word are: 'we', 'fish food', 'bird feed', and 'steering bar of an ox carriage'.] Rú yún, 如云, [For example,]
> *terebe gaifi gene*[25]. Jiāng tā lǐngle qù. 將他領了去。[Take it and go.]
> *tere be gaju*[26]. Bǎ nàgè nálái. 把那個拿來。[Bring it.] (QZX 6a3–5)

In the above quote, the author at first explains the meaning of Manchu *-be* as a function word and notes regarding the orthography: *liányòng* 聯用 means the morpheme is written connected to the end of the preceding word; *dānyòng* 單用 means it is written separately from the preceding word. In the examples after *rú yún* 如云, there are literal Chinese translations such as *jiāng zì* 將字 'the word *jiāng*' or *bǎ zì* 把字 'the word *bǎ*' beside the *-be*. We can understand that *terebe* is *liányòng* and *tere be* is *dānyòng*[27].

2.3 *The relationship between the two books*

Since the contents of Manchu function words in *FXJ* are all covered in *QZX*, and the descriptions of their meanings and usages in these books provide a certain degree of commonality, as we shall observe later, we can at least agree that the latter book refers to the former. However, there are several differences between *FXJ* and *QZX* as follows: (a) there is less content in the *FXJ* than in the *QZX* and the latter is more subdivided than the former; (b) the examples in these books have almost no similarity and those in the latter are more colloquial than the former; (c) the explanation style in the *QZX* is more sophisticated than in the *FXJ*. We infer that the author of the *QZX* significantly supplemented and revised the *FXJ* to make it more practical and easier to understand.

FXJ and *QZX* seem to be the most representative and influential Manchu grammar books in the early Qing Dynasty, because these two books provided sources for the description in the *Orokhae* 語録解, which was the section on

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25 Manchu *tere* is a demonstrative pronoun which means 'that/it'; *gai-* is a verb which means 'take'; *-fi* is a perfective converb suffix; *gene-* is a verb which means 'go', and the bare root is the imperative form.

26 Manchu *gaji-* is a verb which means 'bring' with imperative form *gaju*.

27 The transcription and translation of this book appear in Takekoshi 2007 and 2016.

Manchu grammar in the Manchu-Korean dictionary *Dongmun Yuhae* 同文類解 (1748) used in the Sayeogwon 司譯院, the institution that trained interpreters in the Chosun Dynasty[28].

   We will highlight the following two features of the descriptions of Manchu grammar in the *FXJ* and *QZX*: (1) descriptions of grammatical meaning and (2) contrasts in arrangement of examples. (1) is common to both books, while (2) is primarily observed in *QZX*.

3 DESCRIPTIONS OF GRAMMATICAL MEANING

Manchu affixes can be divided into case, verbal, and derivational suffixes. As mentioned above, Manchu grammar books from the Qing Dynasty contain explanations and examples of various affixes of Manchu, with a difference between the descriptions of case and verbal suffixes in these books.

3.1 Case suffixes

The Manchu language has nominative, genitive, dative-locative, accusative, instrumental, ablative, and prolative cases[29]. The descriptions of the case suffixes besides the nominative[30] in these books are as follows[31]:

> (1) Genitive and instrumental case suffix: *-i, -ni* [32]
> (1a) *-i, -ni*: Jí hànwén yǐ zì, zhī zì. 即漢文以字, 之字。 [It is the Chinese words *yǐ*, *zhī*.] (*FXJ* 2a5)
> (1b) *-i*: De zì, zhī zì; yòu yǐ zì, yòng zì. 的字, 之字又以字, 用字。 [It is the words *de*, *zhī*; or the words *yǐ*, *yòng*.] (*QZX* 7a5)
> (1c) *-ni*: De zì, zhī zì; yòu yǐ zì, yòng zì. 的字, 之字又以字, 用字。 [It is the words *de, zhī*; or the words *yǐ, yòng*.] (*QZX* 8a5)
> (2) Accusative case suffix: *-be*
> (2a) *-be*: Jí hànwén jiāng zì, bǎ zì. 即漢文將字, 把字。 [It is the Chinese words *jiāng*, *bǎ*.] (*FXJ* 1a3)
> (2b) *-be*: Bǎ zì, jiāng zì, yě zì; yòu yǐ zì, yòng zì; yòu shǐ zì, lìng zì, jiào zì. 把字, 將字, 也字又以字, 用字又使字, 令字, 教字。 [It is the words *bǎ*, *jiāng*, *yě*; or the words *yǐ*, *yòng*; or the words *shǐ*, *lìng*, *jiào*.] (*QZX* 6a3)
> (3) Dative-locative case suffix: *-de*
> (3a) *-de*: Zhí jiù mǒushì mǒuwù shàng shuō yě. Zuò yú zì yì, zuò chù zìyì, zuò shíhòu zìyì, zuò dìfāng zìyì, zuò zài zìyì, zuò ér zìyì. 直就某事某物上説也。作於字意, 作處字意, 作時候字意, 作地方字意, 作在字意, 作而字意。 [It directly states something about certain events or objects. It would be the meaning of the words *yú*, *chù*, *shíhòu*, *dìfāng*, *zài*, and *ér*.] (*FXJ* 1b5)

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28 On the specific source of the *Orokhae*, see Park 1970.
29 The prolative case has the basic meaning of 'by way of' or 'via'.
30 The nominative case has no suffix in Manchu.
31 The Manchu grammatical terms in this paper rely on Kawachi 1996.
32 The suffix *-ni* is only affixed to nouns ending in *-ng*.

(3b) *-de*: Shíhòu zì; yòu dìfāng zì, chù zì, wǎng zì; yòu gěi zì, yǔ zì; yòu lǐtóu zì, shàngtóu zì, zài zì, yú zì. Nǎi zhuǎn xià shēnmíng yǔ 時候字又地方字, 處字, 往字又給字, 與字又裡頭字, 上頭字, 在字, 於字。乃轉下申明語。 [It is the word *shíhòu*; or the words *dìfāng*, *chù*, *wǎng*; or the words *gěi*, *yǔ*; or the words *lǐtóu*, *shàngtóu*, *zài*, and *yú*. These words convert and declare something.] (*QZX* 1a5–6)

(4) Ablative case suffix: *-ci*

(4a) *-ci*: Hànwén yóu zì, zì zì, cóng zì, bǐ zì. 漢文由字, 自字, 從字, 比字。 [It is the Chinese words *yóu*, *zì*, *cóng*, and *bǐ*.] (*FXJ* 6a6)

(4b) *-ci*: ... Yòu zì zì, cóng zì, yóu zì;… yòu lí zì; yòu bǐ zì… 又自字, 從字, 由字……又離字又比字。 [... Or the words *zì*, *cóng*, and *yóu*; ... or the word *lí*; ... or the word *bǐ*.] (*QZX* 13a5)

(5) Prolative case suffix: *-deri*

(5a) *-deri*: Zì zì, cóng zì, yóu zì... Bǐ *ci* zì cí yì shízài. 自字, 從字, 由字……比*ci*字詞義實在。 [It is the word *zì*, *cóng*, and *yóu*... The meaning of this word is more substantial than *-ci*.] (*QZX* 15b6)

As we can see above, the descriptions of case suffixes in these two books are quite simple, except for a few like *Zhí jiù mǒushì mǒuwù shàng shuō yě* 直就某事某物上説也, or *Nǎi zhuǎn xià shēnmíng yǔ* 乃轉下申明語. Only the corresponding Chinese words (most of these are prepositions) are mentioned, like ...*zì* 字 or ...*zì yì* 字意.

3.2 Verbal suffixes

Conversely, the descriptions of verbal suffixes are more detailed, describing their grammatical meanings rather than giving Chinese translations. Manchu verbal suffixes are divided into finite, participial, and converbal; the descriptions of representative suffixes related to tense and aspect are as follows:

(6) Non-perfective finite suffix *-mbi*

(6a) *-mbi*: Shì hànwén wèirán zhī cí; jié shā yǔ. 是漢文未然之詞結煞語。 [This Chinese word means *what is not yet so*; this word can end a sentence.] (*FXJ* 5b2)

(6b) *-mbi*: Nǎi jiāngrán wèirán, shā wěi zhī yǔ; bǐ *ra*, *re*, *ro* děng zì, cíyì shízài. 乃將然未然, 煞尾之語比 *ra*, *re*, *ro* 等字, 詞義實在。 [This word means *what will soon be so* or *is not yet so*, and it can end a sentence; the meaning of this word is more significant than the words *-ra*, *-re*, *-ro* etc.] (*QZX* 25a1)

(7) Perfective finite suffix *-habi/-hebi/-hobi*

(7a) *-habi*, *-hebi*, *-hobi*: Cǐ yòng *bi* zì shā jiǎo zhě, nǎi yíshì zhī yǐ wán yě. 此用*bi*字煞脚者, 乃一事之已完也。 [This word can end a sentence with *-bi*; it means that an event has already finished.] (*FXJ* 3a6)

(7b) *-kabi*, *-habi*, *-kobi*, *-hobi*, *-kebi*, *-hebi*: Yǐliǎo zì, yǐ zì, yě zì; Nǎi yíshì yǐ bì, yòng cǐ shà wěi, lìng xù bié qíng; yǐrán zhī yǔ. 已了字, 矣字, 也字乃一事已畢, 用此煞尾, 另敍別情已然之語。 [These are the words *yǐliǎo*, *yǐ*, and *yě*; these words mean that an event has already finished and mentions another event by using this as the end of a sentence; these mean *what has already been so*.] (*QZX* 21a5–6)

(8) Non-perfective participle suffix -ra/-re/-ro

(8a) -ra, -re, -ro: Cǐ sān zì, yòng yú zìmò, jiē chéng shàng jiē xià; jiāngrán wèirán zhī yǔ. 此三字, 用於字末, 皆承上接下將然未然之語。 [These three are used at the end of a word. All connect both above and below; these mean *what will soon be so* or *is not yet so*.] (*FXJ* 2b2)

(8b) -ra, -re, -ro: Nǎi jié shàng jiē xià, wèirán zhī yǔ; yì kě shā wěi yòng, bǐ *mbi* zì, yǔqì qīnghuó; jù zhōng yì yǒu jiě zuò zhī zì, de zì zhě. 乃結上接下, 未然之語亦可煞尾用, 比mbi字, 語氣輕活句中亦有解作之字, 的字者。 [These words connect both above and below, meaning *what is not yet so*; these also can end a sentence, in this case the mood is lighter than the word *-mbi*; these also can be considered as *zhī* and *de* in several sentences.] (*QZX* 22a5–6)

(9) Perfective participle suffix -ha/-he/-ho, -ka/-ke/-ko[33]

(9a) -ka, -ha, -ko, -ho, -ke, -he: Cǐ liù zì, jiē yǐrán zhī cí, hànwén yǐ zì, yě zì. 此六字, 皆已然之詞漢文矣字, 也字。 [These six words mean *what has already been so*; these are the Chinese words *yǐ* and *yě*.] (*FXJ* 3a3)

(9b) -ka, -ha, -ko, -ho, -ke, -he: Liǎo zì, yǐ zì, yě zì; zài zì wěi lián yòng, nǎi yǐrán zhī cí; jù zhōng yì yǒu jiě zuò zhī zì, de zì zhě. 了字, 矣字, 也字在字尾聯用, 乃已然之詞句中亦有解作之字, 的字者。 [These are the words *liǎo*, *yǐ*, and *yě*; they are used together at the end of a word, meaning *what has already been so*; these also can be considered as *zhī* and *de* in several sentences.] (*QZX* 18a3)

(10) Non-perfective converb suffix -me

(10a) -me: Nǎi chéng shàng jiē xià, lián yíshì ér jí zhuǎn zhī cí; …yòu rú hànwén píngxù kǒuwěn, rú zháo zì zhī xū zìyǎn, nǎi yíjù zhōng zhī guò wén jiē mài zìyǎn yě. 乃承上接下, 連一事而急轉之詞……又如漢文平叙口吻, 如着字之虛字眼, 乃一句中之過文接脉字眼也。 [This word connects both above and below, links an event, and converts it suddenly; or in the case of Chinese declarative style, this word is like a functional expression of *zháo*; it is the expression that connects context in a sentence.] (*FXJ* 3a8–3b1)

(10b) -me: Zháo zì; zài zìwěi liányòng, nǎi jié shàng jiē xià, jiāngrán wèirán zhī yǔ; jù zhōng huò yǒu liányòng jǐ *me* zì zhě, yì bìng tóng; zǒngjiē duàshābudé. 着字在字尾聯用, 乃結上接下, 將然未然之語句中或有連用幾me字者, 義並同總皆斷煞不得。 [It is the word *zháo*; this is used together at the end of a word, it means *what will soon be so* or *is not yet so*; although several *-me* are used continuously in a sentence, the meaning is the same; it is impossible to end the sentence in all cases.] (*QZX* 10a6–10b1)

(11) Perfective converb suffix -fi

(11a) -fi: Yǔ *me* zì yǔqì xiāngsì ér shí bùtóng; *me* zhě yíshì ér yì xiānglián, *fi* zhě yíshì shuōwán, yǔqì wèi duàn, xià fù gèng duān. 與me字語氣相似而實不同me者一事而意相連, fi者一事説完, 語氣未斷, 下復更端。 [The sense of this word is similar to *-me* but actually different; the meaning of *-me* is continued in an event, but in the case of *-fi*, although we finished discussing an event, the mood is not disconnected, and we change topics below.] (*FXJ* 3b4)

(11b) -fi: Shàng bàn jù de liǎo zì, yòu yīn zì yì; zài zìwěi liányòng, nǎi jié shàng jiē xià, jiāngrán yǐrán, cíyì wèi duàn zhī yǔ; jù zhōng yì yǒu lián yòng jǐ *fi* zì zhě, yì bìng tóng; zǒng wèi bànjù, duànshābudé. 上半句的了字, 又因字意在字尾聯

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33 As a perfective participle, the suffixes -ha/-he/-ho are used generally; the suffixes -ka/-ke/-ko appear only with certain verbs.

用, 乃結上接下, 将然已然, 詞義未斷之語句中亦有連用幾*fi*字者, 義並同總
為半句, 斷煞不得。 [This is the word *liǎo* in the previous clause, or the
meaning of *yīn*; it is used together at the end of the word and means *what will
soon be so* or *has already been so*, the meaning of this word is not disconnected.
Although several *-fi* are used continuously, the meaning is the same; it always
becomes the previous clause, is impossible at the end of the sentence.] (*QZX*
16b3–4)

In the above examples, the terms *jiéshā* 結煞, *shājiǎo* 煞脚, *shāwěi* 煞尾, and
duànshā 斷煞 actually mean 'the finite form'. The expression *zài zìwěi liányòng*在
字尾聯用 is a note on orthography.

Unlike the descriptions of case suffixes, there are descriptions of grammatical
meanings like ...*yǔ*語 or ...*cí*詞 for verbal suffixes. These books also explain the
tense and aspect system of the Manchu language using grammatical terms like
yǐrán 已然 'what has already been so', *wèirán* 未然 'what is not yet so', and
jiāngrán 將然 'what will soon be so'[34]. This may be because Chinese words
corresponding to the Manchu verbal suffixes do not exist, so the author of these
textbooks had to describe them in a completely different way.

4 CONTRASTS IN THE ARRANGEMENT OF EXAMPLES

4.1 Perfective and non-perfective

There is certain system apparent in the sections of the *QZX* displaying examples of
Manchu grammar. In the section on the perfective participle suffixes *-ha/-he/-ho*
etc. and non-perfective participle suffixes *-ra/-re/-ro*[35], the examples are arranged
in contrast with other suffixes following the explanations we observed above as
follows:

(12) Perfective participle suffix *-ka, -ha, -ko, -ho, -ke, -he*
ala-mbi: Gàosu. 告訴。 [(I) tell.] *ala-ha*: Gàosu liǎo. 告訴了。 [I have told.]
ere-mbi: Zhǐwàng. 指望。 [(I) wish.] *ere-he*: Zhǐwàng zháo liǎo. 指望着了。
[(I) have wished.]
obo-mbi: Xǐ. 洗。 [(I) wash.] *obo-ho*: Xǐ liǎo. 洗了。 [(I) have washed.]
hafu-mbi: Tōngdá. 通達。 [(I) understand.] *hafu-ka*: Tōngdá liǎo. 通達了。 [(I)
have understood.]
gere-mbi: Tiān liàng. 天亮。 [The sky becomes bright.] *gere-ke*: Tiān liàng liǎo.
天亮了。 [The sky has become bright.]
fodoro-mbi: Máo dàojuǎn. 毛倒捲。 [The hair stands upright.] *fodoro-ko*: Máo
dàojuǎn liǎo. 毛倒捲了. [The hair has stood upright.] (*QZX* 18a3–18b3)
(13) Non-perfective participle suffix *-ra, -re, -ro*
bi urunakū ana-mbi: Wǒ bìdìng tuī. 我必定推。 [I absolutely push.]

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34 Although these three words *yǐrán*, *wèirán*, and *jiāngrán* appeared early in Chinese, they had
    never been used as grammatical terms.
35 These two kinds of suffixes have two usages: participial and finite. The examples covered here
    are both finite forms: *-ra/-re/-ro* are prospective finite and *-ha/-he/-ho* etc. are perfective finite.

bi uthai ana-ra: Wǒ jiù tuī ya. 我就推呀。 [I would press.]

bi urunakū eri-mbi: Wǒ bìrán sǎo. 我必然掃。 [I absolutely clean.]

bi uthai eri-re: Wǒ jiù sǎo ya. 我就掃呀。 [I would clean.]

bi urunakū obono-mbi: Wǒ bìdìng qù xǐ. 我必定去洗。 [I absolutely go to wash.]

bi uthai obono-ro: Wǒ jiù qù xǐ a. 我就去洗啊。 [I would go to wash.] (*QZX* 22a5–22b5)

The examples in (12) include the Chinese literal translation *liǎo zì* 了字 'the word *liǎo*' besides suffixes such as *-ha/-he/-ho* etc. Note that both suffixes are explained in contrast with the non-perfective finite form *-mbi*. These facts suggest that in this textbook the author considered the suffix *-mbi* the 'unmarked' form and the suffixes *-ra/-re/-ro* and *-ha/-he/-ho* etc. the 'marked' forms.

4.2 Derivational suffixes

Additionally, there are contrasts in the arrangement of examples in the section on derivational suffixes in *QZX*. The explanation and examples presented below concern the passive-causative verbal suffix *-bu*:

> (14) Passive-Causative verbal suffix: *-bu*
> Zài zìzhōng liányòng; rú shàng yǒu *be* zì zhàoyìng, shì zhuǎnyù shǐlìng, jiàolìng zì; rú shàng yǒu *de* zì zhàoyìng, shì bèi tārén zì; …Fán yù qīnghuà zìwěi, wú lián xūzì zhě, shì dāngmiàn shǐlìng zhī cí; rú yòu wú *de, be* èr zì, zhǐyǒu *bu* zì zhě, yì yǔ yǒu *de, be* èr zì zhě yì bìng tóng. Jīn rú dāngmiàn lìng rén yún, 在字中聯用如上有*be*字照應, 是轉諭使令, 教令字如上有*de*字照應, 是被他人字……凡遇清話字尾, 無聯虛字者, 是當面使令之詞如又無*de, be*二字, 只有*bu*字者, 亦與有*de, be*二字者義並同。今如當面令人云, [This is used together in the middle of the word; if it responds to *-be* above, it means to let others do or suggest others do instead; if it responds to *-de* above, it means to be done by others; …if there is no suffix at the end of the Manchu word, it means to order directly; even if there are neither *-de* nor *-be* words and only *-bu*, the meaning remains the same as when there are *-de* or *-be*. Now if we let others do directly, we say,]
> *si gene*: Nǐ qù ba. 你去罷。 [You go.]
> Rú zhuǎnyù lìng rén yún, 如轉諭令人云, [If we let others do instead, we say,]
> *terebe gene-bu*: Lìng tā qù. 令他去。 [Let him go.]
> Rú dāngmiàn lìng rén yún, 如當面令人云, [If we let others do directly, we say,]
> *si yabu*: Nǐ zǒu ba. 你走罷。 [You depart.]
> Rú zhuǎnyù lìng rén yún, 如轉諭令人云, [If we let others do instead, we say,]
> *terebe yabu-bu*: Jiào tā zǒu. 教他走。 [Let him depart.]
> Rú wú *de, be* èr zì yún, 如無*de, be*二字云, [If there is neither −*de* nor −*be*, we say,]
> *gisure-bu-mbi*: Bèi rén shuō; yòu lìng tā shuō. 被人説又令他説。 [Spoken by others; or let him speak.]
> *tanta-bu-mbi*: Bèi rén dǎ; yòu jiào rén dǎ. 被人打又教人打。 [Beaten by others; or let him beat.] (*QZX* 50b4–51a5)

The literal Chinese translations attached aside each example are as follows: the words *gene* and *yabu* are *miànlìng* 面令; the words *genebu* and *yabubu* are *zhuǎnlìng* 轉令; and the words *gisurebumbi* and *tantabumbi* are *bèizì zhuǎnlìng* 被字轉令.

In the examples above, the author not only explains that there is no suffix after the stem in the Manchu imperative, but also provides examples of derivational suffixes, contrasting them with the imperative form, and mentioning the difference between the direct imperative (*miànlìng* 面令) and the indirect imperative (*zhuǎnlìng* 轉令) by case domination, or the duality of causative and passive voice.

Here is another example of derivational suffixes in *QZX*, which consist of several verbalizers in Manchu:

> (15) Verbalizer *-ša, -še, -ta, -da, -te, -de, -do, -tu, -la, -le, -lo, -mi, -je, -ra, -re, -ro, -niye, -kiya, -giya, -kiye, -hiya, -hiye*
> Cǐ èrshí'èr zì, jù shì xíngwéi, dòngyòng, lìzuò, kāizhǎn zhī yì. 此二十二字，俱是行爲，動用，力做，開展之意。 [These 23 words all mean 'to perform', 'to move', 'to do with power', and 'to open up'.]
> *hitahūn*: Zhǐjiǎ. 指甲。 [Nail.] *hitahūšambi*: Zhǐjiǎ yā. 指甲壓。 [To push with a nail.]
> *mangga*: Nán. 難。 [Difficult.] *manggašambi*: Zuònán 作難。 [To make difficult.]
> *suwaliyambi*: Chānhuó. 摻和。 [To blend.] *suwaliyatambi*: Chānzá chānhùn摻雜摻混。 [To blend a lot of things.]
> *gohon*: Gōuzi. 鈎子。 [Hook.] *gohorombi*: Máo shāo gōu juǎn毛稍鈎捲。 [To bend like a hook.] ... (*QZX* 52a4–54a3)

The literal Chinese translations for each example are as follows: *hitahūšambi* is *dòngyòng* 動用; *manggašambi* is *xíngwéi* 行爲; *suwaliyatambi* is *lìzuò* 力做; and *gohorombi* is *kāizhǎn* 開展.

We can observe that the author of *QZX* attempts to explain the concept of derivation using original terms such as *xíngwéi* 'to perform', *dòngyòng* 'to move', *lìzuò* 'to put power', and *kāizhǎn* 'to open up'. There are 38 pairs of nouns, adjectives, or verbs and their derived verbs; the classifications of the types in derivation and these terms are: (a) 25 examples from noun to verb: 13 *xíngwéi*, 7 *dòngyòng*, 4 *lìzuò*, and 1 *kāizhǎn*; (b) 9 examples from verb to verb: 4 *lìzuò*, 3 *xíngwéi*, and 2 *kāizhǎn*; (c) 4 examples from adjective to verb: 3 *xíngwéi* and 1 *xíngwéi dòngzuò*.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

According to our extant materials, there was no systematic description of the grammar of a non-Chinese language in China before the Ming Dynasty. The Manchu grammar books written by Chinese scholars and published during the Qing Dynasty can be considered materials reflecting the Chinese view on 'grammar' in non-Chinese languages.

Alexander Wylie (1815–1887), the translator of the *Mǎnhànzì Qīngwén Qǐméng*, introduced the *QZX* in his preface:

> The student having thus made himself master of a large number of phrases, including the pronunciation, the manner of writing, and the meaning, next proceeds by means of the third Book, to decompose the sentences which his memory retains, into their elementary parts. It is not a matter for surprise, that the directions laid down for this purpose, vary greatly from the rules of a western grammatical treatise; were it otherwise, the fact might afford ground for astonishment. An attentive inspection of this part, however, will shew that a certain order is preserved in treating of the various particles. (Wylie 1855, p. lx)

As seen above, the translator emphasized this grammar book as greatly different from the rules of Western grammar, but when we consider the history of grammatical study in China, we note that the appearance of Manchu grammar books in the Qing Dynasty is an epochal event.

The features in grammatical description observed in early Manchu grammar books, such as the *FXJ* and *QZX*, are as follows:

1 The description of the nominal case in Manchu is simple; there is almost no mention of the difference in word order — SVO vs. SOV — while the description of verbal conjugations and various derivations is detailed. This indicates that the description of 'morphology' is more important than that of 'syntax' because the concept of morphology applies to agglutinating languages but not isolating languages[36].

2 These grammar books contain systematic descriptions. For example, the authors explain the tense and aspect system in Manchu using grammatical terms such as *wèirán*, *jiāngrán*, and *yǐrán* and arrange the examples by contrasting 'marked' and 'unmarked' forms. They indicate that Chinese scholars' understanding of Manchu grammar during the Qing Dynasty had attained a high degree of sophistication.

Why does the intention to have a 'system' arise? We infer that it is because traditional thought patterns of exegetics (*xùngǔxué* 訓詁學) in China could not process grammatical concepts such as conjugation or derivation.

Chinese exegetics from the Han Dynasty developed according to the desire to deepen the study of annotations of the Confucian classics, history books, and literary works, the most symbolic materials of exegetics being the dictionaries

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36 Significant interest in Manchu verbal conjugations may be observed in the grammar books. For example: (II) the *Zìwěi Lèi* describes the conjugation of the Manchu verb *gene-* 'to go'; (V) the *Qīngyǔ Yìyán* and (VII) the *Měngwén Fǎchéng* contains a conjugation table for the Manchu verb *ala-* 'to speak'. The latter is in Manchu-Mongolian-Chinese trilingual style. See Chun 2010.

which arrange words by meaning which originated from the *Ěryǎ* 爾雅. The most typical description of exegetics is:

A zhě B yě. A者B也。 / A, B yě. A, B也。 [A is B.]
A, B yě; yòu C yě. A, B也; 又C也。 [A is B; or is C.]

The goal of traditional Chinese exegetics was to consider all the meanings of words in the past and present at the same level and link them to each other, and there were no concepts like the origin, hierarchy, or derivation of meaning, etc. There was no room for a 'stereoscopic' or 'metaphysical' perspective on language.

It is generally agreed on that it was the *Mǎshì Wéntōng* 馬氏文通 (1898) that introduced modern grammatical concepts to China[37]. From our examination of Manchu grammar, we conclude that the reason why people in China did not employ 'modern' grammatical concepts until the end of the 19th century was not a lack of ability but because the object of their grammatical descriptions was Chinese, which is a typical isolating language. These Manchu grammars suggest that Chinese scholars were able to attain modern grammatical concepts when they made grammatical analyses of languages belonging to typologically different langauge families such as the Altaic languages. We cannot neglect the value of studies of Manchu grammar in the history of Chinese epistemology.

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37 Although there are several descriptions of Chinese grammar by Chinese, the knowledge of grammar has limitations and the discussion remains at an elementary level. See Zhèng and Mài 1972 and Peyraube 2001.

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