

# A study of the influence of Mandarin Chinese on Spoken Manchu\*

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This paper aims to investigate the influence of Mandarin Chinese on the Manchu language by analyzing the meaning and distribution of the nominalizer *-niŋ(ŋə)* and the past participle *-xə*, in light of the meaning and the structure of Mandarin Chinese equivalents in the questionnaire used for Kim et al. (2008). From the mid-eighteenth century, the Manchu people began to speak Mandarin Chinese more actively than their own language. Consequently, their language has been heavily influenced by Mandarin Chinese in all linguistic aspects.

I tried to reveal some morphological influences of Mandarin Chinese on the language by clarifying the distribution patterns of the nominalizer *-niŋ(ŋə)* related to the past participle *-xə* and comparing it with Mandarin Chinese grammar.

I suggested that the Spoken Manchu grammar was highly influenced by the serial verb construction of Mandarin Chinese. And then, I also suggested that the Manchu nominalizer has been interpreted as an equivalent of the Mandarin Chinese particle *de* (的).

**Keywords:** Spoken Manchu, Written Manchu, Mandarin Chinese, language contact, subordinate clause, participle, nominalizer

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## 1. Introduction

This paper investigates the influence of Mandarin Chinese on Manchu language by analyzing examples of Spoken Manchu sentences from Kim et al. (2008), which were collected from linguistic elicitation using a questionnaire in Mandarin Chinese. Specifically, I focused on the distribution of the past participle and the nominalizer.

In Written Manchu, there are three types of nominalizer: *-ngge*, *-ningge* and *-ba*. Among them, the *-ngge* and the *-ningge* are mainly related to the discussion of the present paper.<sup>1)</sup> The *-ngge* plays the biggest role as a nominalizer. Attached to the participles, the *-ngge* plays various roles. According to Gorelova (2002: 263-264), it may denote the following meanings:

- (1) The function of the nominalizer *-ngge* attached to participles (Gorelova 2002: 263-264)
  - a. An abstract notion about an action and can be translated as abstract substantives: *aliburangge* “presentation of a document to a superior;” *bairengge* “an application submitted to a superior”
  - b. An object which may be of material or immaterial nature: *minde buhengge* “what was given to me,” “present,” “what you have done,” “a deed,”
  - c. A subject of the action of the participle: “one who says, thinks, etc.,” “those who say, think, etc.”

When added to a noun, the genitive suffix *-(n)i* is added between the nominalizer *-ngge* and the noun to which the nominalizer is attached to form *(n)ingge*. As a result, the *-(n)ingge* results in substantivization of the noun

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1) The *ba* is a nominalizer used to substantivize participles. (Gorelova 2002: 266). By adding this element to a participial phrase, the phrase can become a subject of the whole sentence:

<i>manju</i>	<i>bithe-de</i>	<i>untuhun</i>	<i>hergen</i>	<i>baitala-ra</i>
Manchu	book-DL	empty	letter	use-IPFV.PTCP
<i>ba</i>	<i>umesi</i>	<i>labdu</i>		
SBSTR	very	many		

‘As far as auxiliary participles are concerned, in Manchu books there are many of (them)’ (Gorelova 2002: 419)

(Gorelova 2002: 153-154). An important point related to the subject of this paper is that the distribution and function of *-ngge* and *-ningge* are different, unlike the Spoken Manchu language.

In Spoken Manchu, a nominalizer *-niŋ(ŋə)* is attested.<sup>2)</sup> It seems that the *-niŋ(ŋə)* is a reflex of the Written Manchu *-ningge* while there is no instance of morpheme corresponding to *-ngge* found in Kim et al. (2008). The *-niŋ(ŋə)* seems to cover the distribution of *-ngge* in the Written Manchu as well as the distribution of the *-ningge*:

(2) Examples of *-niŋ(ŋə)* from Kim et al. (2008: 194-195)

- a. *bi*                      *in*                      *agə*                      *dili*  
 1SG.NOM                3SG.GEN                elder.brother        ABL  
*tači-xə-niŋ*                                      *sajŋ.*  
 study-PFV.PTCP-NMLZ                      good  
 ‘I make a better record than his elder brother (lit. I am better than his brother (in terms of) what studied).’
- b. *təli*                      *amə-niŋ*                      *nimkun*                      *baxə-mə*                      *biči-xə.*  
 3SG.GEN                father-NMLZ                      illness                      get-CVB                      die-PFV.PTCP  
 ‘His father died of an illness (lit. The one who is his father got illness and died).’

In the example (2a), the nominalizer *-niŋ* is added to a participle *tači-xə* to represent what was studied by the speaker. In the example (2b), the same nominalizer is added to a noun *amə* to give the noun additional meaning. With the addition of the nominalizer, the meaning of it *amə* is now defined in relation to its modifier *təli*. This is somewhat similar to a possessive marker typical of Tungusic languages in that it denotes the existence of a possessor. However, unlike the Tungusic possessive marker, the *-niŋ(ŋə)* differs in that its function is not limited to the marking of possessive relation between two nouns and its realization is not mandatory.

There are two types of participles in Written Manchu: *-rA* and *-HA*.<sup>3)</sup> It can

2) From the material I used in this research, I was not able to find any instance of the *ba* used as a nominalizer. There are several instances of the *ba* used as a nominalizer in Enghebatu (1995), which is the collection of fieldwork data gathered around 1960s. I speculate here that the productivity of the *ba* might have been weakened in the 50 years that exist between the two sources.

3) The capital letter shows the segment is variable. *-rA* can take three different forms: *-ra*, *-re*, *-ro* according to the vowel harmony; *-HA* is realized in six different

simply serve as a predicate, attributes in attributive construction, or it can be a predicate of subordinate clauses.

(3) The function of Written Manchu participles<sup>4)</sup>

a. Predicates (*Cheong-eo Nogeoldae* 1:1a)

*amba*    *age,*        *si*            *aibi-ci*        *ji-he?*  
big        brother    2SG.NOM    where-from    come-PFV.PTCP  
'Elder brother, where did you come from?'

b. Attributes or predicates in attributive constructions (Gorelova 2002:253)

*bi*            *sin-de*        *yandu-ha*        *baita*        *be*  
1SG.NOM    2SG-DAT     request-PFV.PTCP    matter        ACC  
*si*            *te-de*        *hendu-hebi-o?*  
2SG.NOM    3SG-DAT     speak-PST-INT

'Did you speak to him about the matter which I requested of you?'

c. Predicates in subordinate clauses (Gorelova 2002: 500)

*amaga*    *inenggi*    *ai*        *de*        *isina-ra*        *be*  
future     day        what    DAT     reach-IPFV.PTCP    ACC  
*sa-rkū*  
know-PTCP(NEG)

'It is hard to predict what you will achieve in future.'

In (3a), the participle *ji-he* is used as a predicate of the main clause while in (3b), the participle *yandu-ha* serves as modifier of the object *baita*. Finally, in (3c), the participle *isina-ra* is the predicate of the clause *amaga inenggi ai de isina-ra*, which eventually serves as the object of the whole sentence.

The two types of participles in Written Manchu are also found in contemporary Spoken Manchu: *-la*, *-xə*. There are few literature clarifying the meaning and function of two participles due to the scarcity and the inaccessibility of sufficient data. To my knowledge, only Kim et al. (2008) gave a section devoted to the grammatical analysis of the language<sup>5)</sup>. They pointed out that the participles can serve as verbal and nominal and

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forms, the initial consonant according to the verbal stem, and the subsequent vowel according to the vowel harmony: *-ha*, *-he*, *-ho* *-ka*, *-ke*, *-ko*.

4) In this paper, Written Manchu was transliterated according to the Möllendorff system. The spoken Manchu data, the main data for this study, were transcribed according to the system used in Kim et al. (2008).  
5) Zikmundová (2013) can be considered as a study on the Spoken Manchu dialect, if we classify the Sibe language as a dialect of the Manchu proper.

the meaning carried by each participle vary in aspect: imperfective and perfective respectively.

(4) Examples of *-lə* from Kim et al. (2008: 42-43)<sup>6</sup>

a. *owu*                      *də*                      *bisəl*  
 here                              DL                              be.IPFV.PTCP  
 ‘Let’s stay here.’ (C132)<sup>7</sup>

b. *ənjə*              *amə*              *i-m*              *jawu-lə*              *bə*              *čiako*  
 mother              father              3SG-ACC              go-IPFV.PTCP              ACC              like.NEG  
 ‘My parents don’t like the fact that he will go.’ (C298)

(5) Examples of *-xə* from Kim et al. (2008: 41-42)

a. *bi*                      *ələ*                      *əm*                      *bitkə*                      *bə*  
 1SG.NOM              this                      one                      book                      ACC  
*in-də*                      *bu-xo*  
 3SG-DL                      give-PFV.PTCP  
 ‘I gave him this book.’ (G4)

b. *sin*                      *banji-xə*                      *iniŋ*  
 2SG.GEN              birth-PFV.PTCP              day  
 ‘Your birthday (*lit.* The day you were born)’ (G96)

(4) and (5) show examples of *-lə* and *-xə* respectively. In the example (4), *-lə* denotes events that have not yet been completed or started and thus represent an imperfective meaning. On the other hand, *-xə* in example (5) shows that the events represented by the participle are already finished thus conveys perfective meaning.

The fieldwork for this research was conducted from 2005 to 2006 in Qiqihar city by recording consultants from nearby Sanjiazhi village, Heilongjiang province, People’s Republic of China. Kim et al. (2008) contains raw language materials, as well as phonological, morphological, and syntactic analysis of the language. What is important here is, it provides not only Spoken Manchu expressions, but also Mandarin Chinese equivalents which were used during the fieldwork. Here is an example:

6) Kim et al. (2008) only gives free translation and does not give glossary. The glossaries were added by the author.

7) When presenting items from Kim et al. (2008), the Roman alphabet precedes the number of the item indicates the category in the questionnaire used during the fieldwork: G for grammar and C for conversation.

## (6) An example of the items contained in raw language material

They went together with us. (他们和我们一起去离开了.)

*tasə məm maŋŋə əmbadə fakjixə.*

Kim et al. (2008: 186)

Here, a Spoken Manchu expression is presented under the English translation along with Mandarin Chinese equivalent in the parentheses. Since the English expression precedes the Mandarin Chinese expression presented in parentheses, it seems as if the English is the main item in the questionnaire and the Mandarin Chinese is supplementary. In fact, however, it is the Mandarin Chinese one which is really important here. Because what was really asked to the consultants during the fieldwork was Mandarin Chinese. In other words, the consultant listened to Mandarin Chinese expression and translated it into the Spoken Manchu.

First of all, I will describe the distribution of the participle *-xə* and the nominalizer *-niŋ(ŋə)*. Secondly, I will compare the distribution of the nominalizer *-niŋŋə* in relation to the participle *-xə* with the distribution of the Written Manchu equivalents. Finally, I will explain the difference between two varieties in light of the Mandarin Chinese items presented in Kim et al. (2008). A total of 259 items were used in the analysis.

## 2. Manchu language

The Manchu language is one of Manchu-Tungusic language family and thought to be a direct descendant of the Jurchen (女真) language, whose speakers founded Jin (金) dynasty of China around 12th century. After the Jin dynasty collapsed, the Jurchen people maintained several tribes in the present northeastern China until they finally reestablished their new country in 17th century. The new country initially used the same name as the country of their ancestors, but soon changed its name to Qing (清). Also, the ethnic name was changed to Manju (Manchu, 滿洲).

From this period, the rise and fall of the Manchu language has been well documented. Nurhaci, the first emperor of the Qing dynasty, ordered the creation of Manchu script by adopting and improving the Mongolian script. Creating their own writing system, they began to produce a vast amount of documents. As a result, we can see how long the Manchu people kept their own language and when they began to lose it. In 1643, Qing seized Beijing

and made it their new capital city. At that time, Manchu people seemed to be well aware of their inferiority to the Han Chinese in the new capital and to try not to lose their language by being pushed out of numbers.

At first several decades, the rulers of the Qing dynasty tried to flourish and maintain the vitality of their language. The publication of *Yuzhi Qingwenjian* (御製清文鑑,<sup>8)</sup> 1708) and the compilation of *Siku Quanshu* (四庫全書) in the 18th century were the most definite cases. *Yuzhi Qingwenjian* was published by the order of the Kangxi (康熙) Emperor and attempted to give the meanings of Manchu words in their own language. *Siku Quanshu* was a vast compilation of Chinese literature created by the order of the Qianlong (乾隆) Emperor. His intention was to improve the level of Manchu literatures and promote the development of the language by translating all Chinese texts that existed until the era. As a result, we still have access to a wealth of Manchu language literature.

However, contrary to the apparent achievements, the decline of the language already began at this time. By the mid-eighteenth century, Mandarin Chinese became the language dominantly spoken by the Manchus (Li 2000: 14). There are historical records of the Qing Dynasty at this time which testify the decline of the Manchu language. For example, there is a record showing Qianlong Emperor's shock to the depreciation of Manchu language.

*“On the day of Bingyin (the Emperor) ordered, “Today, I examined new officers under the supervision of the Ministry of Personnel, but Golmin, a bithesi of Ministry of Revenue, sent from the Ministry of War in Shengjing [=Shenyang], did not understand at all when I asked him in Qing [=Manchu] language other than his history. Golmin is a bithesi selected through examination and was born in Shengjing. He must be fluent in Manchu, but he doesn't understand at all, which is really surprising. Shengjing is the original land of Manchu people. Since the tradition has been declining day by day and has reached this point, how can it be tolerated? ..... Let the Manchurian learn Manchu language and thereby restore the Manchu nature. If this situation is neglected as it is, (the tradition) will fade from day to day and (this) will never be forgiven.”*

— The first record of May 21 40th year of Qianlong (1775), *Gaozung Chun*

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8) The Chinese title of the document was later added in light of the title of a later document called *Yuzhi Zengding Qingwenjian* (御製增訂清文鑑, 1773). The original title was only in Manchu, *Han i araha Manju gisun i buleku bithe*, which means ‘the mirror book of Manchu language made by the King (Choe 2016: 3).

*Huangdi Shilu [The Veritable Record of the Emperor Gaozung Chun] Vol. 983<sup>9)</sup>*

From this record, we can infer that the Manchu language was already in a serious situation. Shengjing (盛京, today's Shenyang) was a former capital city of the Qing dynasty before Beijing era and a place where Manchu people considered as their ethnic homeland. Therefore, most of the inhabitants were ethnic Manchu people. Moreover, ethnic Han Chinese people were not allowed to migrate to Manchuria until the end of 18th century. Nevertheless, the fact that even a Manchurian from Shengjing was not fluent in Manchu language demonstrates that Manchu language may not have been used routinely even in Shengjing at this time.

Reflecting this historical situation, Manchurian language today barely maintains its name in Heilongjiang Province, far north of the original Manchurian homeland. Sanjiazi village is the most popular place for preserving spoken Manchu language. There were several reports on the spoken Manchu in Heilongjiang province. Kono (1944/1979) reported list of several Manchu words. The first intensive research on the language was conducted by a research team from Inner Mongolia University in 1961 (Qinggeltai 1982). Enghebatu (1995) not only analyzed Spoken Manchu phonologically, but also included conversational lists, folk tales, and an extensive list of words and examples, which are very useful for examining the current situation of spoken manchu. Kim et al. (2008) is a part of the results of a series of language documentation projects conducted by Seoul National University research team since the early 2000s. There are also some other reports of spoken Manchu in other regions in Heilongjiang province other than Sanjiazi village (Wang 1984, 2005; Ji et al. 1989; Zhao 1989; Zhao & Chao 2001).

The current situation of spoken Manchu language is desperate. In 2007, there were only about 10 speakers over 70 years old (Kim et al. 2008: 3).<sup>10)</sup>

9) The original text of this record is as following:

“○丙寅諭、今日吏部帶領引見之盛京兵部、送到指缺補放戶部筆帖式果爾敏、除履歷外、詢以清語。全然不能。果爾敏、係考取筆帖式。又係盛京本地之人。清語自當熟練。乃至全然不能。實出意外。盛京乃滿洲根本之地。風氣日下。至於此極。尚可問乎。…令滿洲等學習清語。以復滿洲本業。若仍任其如此。日就廢弛。斷不姑貸。” — 高宗純皇帝實錄 卷之九百八十三 乾隆四十年 五月 二十日

10) Currently, the number of Manchu-speaking speakers registered with the Chinese government has increased from 2007. In 2018 as a member of research team of Seoul National University, I visited Sanjiazi village in Heilongjiang province,



Moreover, not all speakers were fluent in their language because they had been using Mandarin Chinese in daily life for more than several decades, since no one else could understand their language.

This implies that we must use our knowledge of Mandarin Chinese in order to understand the grammar of the spoken Manchu language. Manchu people have been highly affected by the Chinese culture since the occupation of Beijing by Qing dynasty. The history of bilingualism by the Manchu people has already started in the year of Yongzheng (雍正) in 1722 (Zhao 2000: 27). This indicates that the Manchu people have already been exposed to Chinese language for nearly 300 years now, and therefore Manchu language must have been greatly influenced by Mandarin Chinese. Consequently, we need to analyze the Chinese equivalent as well as Manchu expressions, if we have them.

### 3. The distribution of the nominalizer and the participle

Like Written Manchu participle *-hA*, the Spoken Manchu participle *-xə* takes a role of a predicate of a main clause or attributes in attributive constructions:

#### (7) Functions of *-xə*

##### a. Predicates

<i>ʃo</i>	<i>njam</i>	<i>ʃi-xə</i>			
two	person	<u>come-PFV.PTCP</u>			
'Two people <u>came</u> (来了两个人).' (G79)					
<i>bo</i>	<i>əl-əm</i>	<i>bitki</i>	<i>bə</i>	<i>čən-də</i>	
1PL.EXCL.NOM	this-one	book	ACC	3PL-DL	
	<i><u>bu-xo</u></i>				
	<u>give-PFV.PTCP</u>				

'We gave them this book (我们给了他们这本书).' (G10)

##### b. Attributes or predicates in attributive constructions

<i>fenči-xə</i>	<i>jali</i>	<i>hai</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>no?</i>
<u>be left over-PFV.PTCP</u>	meat	yet	be	Q

where most Manchu speakers live. There, a relative of one of the consultants of Kim et al. (2008) told us that even those who did not speak Manchu language were learning and registering with the local government because the government subsidized the registered Manchu speakers. However, not all of these people speak Spoken Manchu as their mother tongue, the number of people who can be considered as fluent is likely to have decreased further to less than 10.

‘Is there meat left (lit. is there left meat) (有剩下的肉吗)?’ (C213)

However, while Written Manchu *-hA* can serve directly as a predicate of subordinate clauses, *-xə* needs a nominalizer *-niŋ(ŋə)* in most cases:

(8) Examples of *-xə* used as a predicate of subordinate clauses

a. A case of *-xə* used in the dative

<i>bi</i>	<i>čičikal</i>	<i>də</i>	<i>bi-xə</i>	<i>də</i>
1SG.NOM	Qiqihar	DL	<u>be-IPFV.PTCP</u>	DL
<i>si</i>	<i>min-də</i>		<i>ajšələ-m</i>	
2SG.NOM	1SG-DL		help-IPFV	

‘You used to help me when I stayed in Qiqihar (谢谢你当我在齐齐哈尔的时候帮助我).’ (G114)

b. A case of *-xə* used as a predicate of subordinate clauses serves as a subject or an object of the main clause

<i>iniŋ</i>	<i>banji-xə-niŋ</i>	<i>gjak</i>	<i>xodun</i>
day	<u>live-PFV.PTCP-NMLZ</u>	very	fast

‘How fast the time flies (lit. that the day living is very fast) (时间过的真快啊)!’ (C283)

<i>bo</i>	<i>su-n</i>	<i>ajšələ-xə-niŋŋə</i>
we.EXCL.NOM	2PL-GEN	<u>help-PFV.PTCP-NMLZ</u>
<i>gjak</i>	<i>lod</i>	<i>baxə</i>
very	much	take.PFV.PTCP

‘We received a great help from you (lit. We received that you helped) (我们得到了你们很大的帮助).’ (G46)

The above examples show cases similar to the construction in which the participle becomes the predicate of the subordinate clauses which serve as the argument of the main clause in Written Manchu language. The example (8a) shows that the spoken Manchu participle *-xə* can be followed by the dative-locative marker *-də* and denotes that the action represented by the participle precedes the action of the predicate of the main clause. Here, the participle can be governed by the dative case without any addition of suffix. On the contrary, as shown in (8b), the participles require a nominalizer in order to serve as a subject or an object.

In Written Manchu, participles can be directly followed by markers of the oblique cases. The dative case marker after the participle means that an action represented by the participle takes place before the action of the main predicate and the accusative case marker means that the participle, which

is characterized as an action itself or a person who performs the action, is a direct object of the main clause (Gorelova 2002: 257-258). Consider following examples:

(9) Examples of Written Manchu *-hA* used as predicates of subordinate clauses

a. A case of *-hA* used in the dative

<i>muse</i>	<i>ere</i>	<i>wakšam-be</i>	<i>geli</i>	<i>wa-ha</i>	<i>de</i>
1PL.INCL.NOM	this	frog-ACC	also	kill-PFV.PTCP	DAT
<i>muke</i>	<i>iningdari</i>	<i>lakcarakū</i>		<i>eye-mbi</i>	
water	every_day	uninterruptedly		flow-IPFV	

‘After we kill these frogs water will flow uninterruptedly.’ (Gorelova 2002: 257-258)

b. A case of *-hA* used in the accusative

<i>ere</i>	<i>bithe</i>	<i>ara-fi</i>	<i>deiji-he</i>	<i>be,</i>	
this	letter	make-CVB	burn-PFV.PTCP	ACC	
<i>atanggi</i>	<i>bi-cibe</i>	<i>han</i>	<i>donji-mbi</i>	<i>dere,</i>	
when	be-CVB	khan	hear-IPFV	likely	
<i>donji-ha</i>	<i>manggi,</i>	<i>mim-be</i>	<i>geren I</i>	<i>juleri</i>	<i>wa-mbi,</i>
hear-PART	after	1SG-ACC	many GEN	in_front_of	kill-IPFV

‘Someday Khan will hear I wrote this and burnt it. If he knows (this), he will kill me in front of many.’ (MLTZ 3:9b)

b'. *labtai* *sin-i* *gese* *niyalma* *min-de* *akūn,*  
*labtai* 2SG-GEN like person 1SG-DL lack.Q  
*sin-i* *yordo-ho-ngge* *be* *tašan* *se-mbi = o,*  
 2SG-GEN shoot-PFV.PTCP-NMLZ ACC false say-IPFV = Q  
 ‘Labtai, isn’t there anyone like you to me? Are you saying your shooting with an arrow is lie?’ (MLTZ 2:11a)

c. *hehe* *haha* *be* *hala-me* *takūra-ha-ngge*  
 woman man ACC exchange-CVB send-PFV.PTCP-NMLZ  
*orin* *mudan* *funce-he,*  
 twenty time be\_in\_excess-PFV.PTCP  
 ‘It has been over twenty times that men and women have been sent alternately (lit. that someone sent men and women alternatively has been over twenty times)’ (MLTZ 12:20b)

In (9a), the dative case marker means that the killing precedes flowing. In (9b), the accusative marker specifies that the act of the speaker burning the letter becomes the direct object of the Khan’s act of listening. (9b’) proves that not only participles without a nominalizer, but also participles with it can be an object of the main clause, thus followed by an accusative marker.

In (9c), the participle needs a nominalizer in order to serve as a predicate of the subordinate clause that is the subject of the main clause.

As can be seen previously, unlike Spoken Manchu, the Written Manchu participle can be a predicate of object clauses either with or without a nominalizer. To my knowledge, the difference in the meaning of participles in such a context regarding the presence or absence of nominalizers is not yet clear. Previous studies have given their opinions on the function of the nominalizer, but at least in this case, no studies have clarified the semantic role of the nominalizer regarding participles.<sup>11)</sup> What is certain, however, is that in Written Manchu, the participle can be used as a predicate of an object clause with or without a nominalizer.

It is currently unknown what motivated the Spoken Manchu to abandon a participle without a nominalizer as a predicate of object clauses. Here, I will only point out the fact that this change has occurred from the Written Manchu to the Spoken Manchu.

#### 4. Influence of Mandarin Chinese to Spoken Manchu

In Mandarin Chinese, there is a syntactic phenomenon known as serial verb construction, where two or more verbs or verb phrases are used in a single clause without any morphological modification. Consider the the following example:

(10) An example of the serial verb construction in Mandarin Chinese

wǒ      qù      túshūguǎn      kàn      hànyǔ      shū  
 1SG    go      library      read      Chinese    book  
 ‘I will go to the library to read Chinese books.’

11) For general function of the nominalizer on participles, Gorelova (2002:263-266) argues that the nominalizer allows the participle to function as the subject or object of a sentence. Her explanation of the function of nominalizer well describes the case where the participle is a predicate of the subject clauses, but requires additional explanations if it is in the object clauses. In response, she claims that the nominalizer has the following semantic function: an abstract concept of action, an object to which the action is applied, and a person of the action. On the other hand, Do (2020) claims that the nominalizer has a function of topicalization when it is attached to a participle in non-argument components of a sentence.

In (10), we can see that the second verb follows the first one without any morphological device, or subordinating conjunction. Here, since the two verbs are not morphologically distinct, the event structure produced by the two verbs is determined by their successive relationship.

Here are some examples found in Kim et al. (2008) that might be influenced by the Chinese serial verb construction. Consider following examples:

(11) Manchu expressions possibly influenced by the Chinese serial verb construction

a.

Ma.	<i>bi</i>	<i>sajn</i>	<u><i>ulgun</i></u>	<i>si</i>	<i>owu</i>	<i>də</i>	<u><i>ǰi-xə</i></u>
	1SG.NOM	very	<u>happy</u>	2SG.NOM	here	DL	<u>come-PFV.PTCP</u>
Ch.	<i>wǒ</i>	<i>hěn</i>	<u><i>gāoxìng</i></u>	<i>nǐ</i>	<u><i>lái</i></u>	<i>zhè'r</i>	
	1SG	very	<u>happy</u>	2SG	<u>come</u>	here	

‘I am happy that you came here (我很高兴你来这儿).’ (G230)

b.

Ma.	<i>bi</i>	<i>ǰak</i>	<i>wəncə-l</i>	<i>ba</i>	<u><i>jo-xo</i></u>	
	1SG.NOM	thing	sell-IPFV.PTCP	place	<u>go-PFV.PTCP</u>	
	<i>alki</i>		<u><i>uda-xə</i></u>			
	alcoholic_drink		<u>buy-PFV.PTCP</u>			
Ch.	<i>wǒ</i>	<u><i>qù</i></u>	<i>shāngdiàn</i>	<u><i>mǎi</i></u>	<i>jiǔ</i>	<i>le</i>
	1SG	<u>go</u>	store	<u>buy</u>	alcoholic_drink	PFV

‘I went to a shop to buy a bottle of liquor (我去商店买酒了).’  
(G289)

The examples in (11) lack sufficient elements needed for linking main predicate and subordinate predicate in typical Manchu construction. Aside from the word order, (11a) needs *ǰalin də* ‘because of’ after the participle, and (11b) needs converbal form *uda-m* rather than the participle form *uda-xə*. However, in the light of the Chinese equivalents juxtaposed with the Manchu expressions, we can see that if the Chinese equivalents is translated as it is, the suggested Manchu expression can come out since in Chinese equivalents, there is no morphological difference between the main predicates and the subordinate predicates.

There are other cases suspected as a result of language contact:

## (12) Examples of the sentences with SVO word order

a.

Ma. *bi*                      *dunji-xə-nin*                      *si*                      *siskə*  
 1SG.NOM                      hear-IPFV.PTCP-NMLZ                      2SG.NOM                      yesterday  
*owu də*                      *ji-xə*  
 here DL                      come-PFV.PTCP

Ch. *wǒ*                      *tīngshuō*                      *nǐ*                      *zuótiān*                      *lái*                      *zhè'r le*  
 1SG                      hear it said that                      2SG                      yesterday                      come                      here PFV  
 'I heard the news that you came here yesterday (我听说你昨天来这儿了)' (G229)<sup>12)</sup>

b.

Ma *bi*                      *uda-xə*                      *bi*                      *tači-m*                      *gə-m*                      *bitkə*  
 1SG.NOM buy-PFV.PTCP                      1SG.NOM read-CVB say-CVB book  
 Ch. *wǒ*                      *mǎi le*                      *wǒ*                      *yào*                      *dú*                      *dě*                      *shū*  
 1SG                      buy PFV                      1SG                      want                      read                      de                      book  
 'I bought a book that I will study (我买了我要读的书)' (G235)

In (12), I showed examples of sentences with Mandarin Chinese word order. Unlike other sentences with SOV word order, these examples demonstrate SVO word order. Moreover, the peculiarity of these sentences is not limited to word order. In (12a), the subordinate clause lacks either nominalizer or accusative marker. As mentioned above, subordinate clauses in Written Manchu require a nominalizer or an accusative marker, in order to function as the object of sentence. Consequently, even if we make the subordinate clause precede the main predicate, the new sentence is still unacceptable according to the Written Manchu grammar.<sup>13)14)</sup> However, in Mandarin Chinese, the

12) Although the English glossary is given as the one above, there is no equivalent meaning 'news'. Therefore, the better translation for what was said would be 'I heard that you came here yesterday'.

13) An anonymous reviewer pointed out that the subordinate clause I analyzed as an object in (11a) should be regarded as a complement of the main predicate and sentences with the same apparent structure can be found in Written Manchu texts. However, even if it is analyzed as a complement of the main predicate, it can still be regarded as a result of Mandarin Chinese influence, because in Written Manchu of 17th century, the verb *donji-* requires *seme*, a converbial form of the verb *se-* 'to say, to hearsay', in order to take a subordinate clause as its complement. The reviewer also suggested that there is a possibility to consider the example as a result of the influence from Mandarin Chinese in earlier period, since there are sentences with the same structure attested in the later Written Manchu.

14) I would like to take this opportunity to thank the anonymous review for his/her

subordinate clause becomes the object without any additional morphological device. Therefore, the peculiarity of Manchu language in (12a) should be attributed to the influence of Mandarin Chinese grammar. In (12b), the verb *gə-* is used as an attribute even though it is in converbial form.<sup>15)</sup>

In chapter 3, I pointed out that the nominalizer *-niŋ(ŋə)* behaves differently from the written Manchu equivalent *-ngge*. There is another type of difference in usage between *-niŋ(ŋə)* and *-ngge* when they attached to participles. This can be seen when we investigate the attributive usage of the participle. Consider the following example:

(13) Examples of participles used as attributes in attributive constructions

a.

Ma.	<i>bi</i>		<i>si-m</i>		<u><i>walinji-xə</i></u>	
	1SG.NOM		2SG-ACC		<u>come back-PFV.PTCP</u>	
	<i>jašixanbə</i>		<u><i>donji-xə</i></u>			
	news ACC		<u>hear-PFV.PTCP</u>			
Ch.	<i>wǒ</i>	<u><i>tīng</i></u>	<u><i>dào</i></u>	<i>nǐ</i>	<u><i>huílái</i></u>	<i>de</i>
	1SG	<u>hear</u>	<u>to</u>	2SG	<u>come back</u>	POSS
	<i>xiāoxi le</i>					
	news PFV					
	'I <u>heard</u> the news that he had <u>come back</u> (我听到你回来的消息了).'					
	(G232)					

b.

Ma.	<i>əl</i>	<i>shi</i> <sup>16)</sup>	<i>bi</i>	<u><i>uda-xə-niŋ</i></u>		<i>bitkə</i>
	this	COP	1SG.NOM	<u>buy-PFV.PTCP-NMLZ</u>		book
Ch.	<i>zhè</i>	<i>shì</i>	<i>wǒ</i>	<u><i>mǎi</i></u>	<u><i>dě</i></u>	<i>shū</i>
	this	COP	1SG	<u>buy</u>	<u>POSS</u>	book
	This is a book <u>that I bought</u> (这是我买的书). (G82)					
Ma.	<i>amə</i>	<i>min-də</i>	<u><i>bu-xə-niŋ</i></u>			<i>jak</i>
	father	1SG-DL	give-PFV.PTCP-NMLZ			thing
	<i>gə-m</i>		<i>bəlgi-m</i>		<i>baxə</i>	
	say-CVB		receive-CVB		get.PFV.PTCP	

good advice, and all errors in this article are my own.

15) It is beyond the subject of this paper to provide an explanation for this, but I will only mention that this might be due to the grammaticalization of a complementizer from the verb *gə-*. For more discussion, see Song (1999), which mentions a similar phenomenon in Mongolian.

16) Kim et al. (2008) transcribed Mandarin Chinese loanwords according to the *pinyin* system of the People's Republic of China.

- Ch. *wǒ shōu dào le bàba*  
 1SG receive to PFV father  
*gěi wǒ de lǐwù le*  
 give 1SG POSS gift PFV  
 ‘I received a gift from my father (lit. I received a thing that my father gave me) (我收到了爸爸给我的礼物了)’  
 (G310)

(13a) is the most typical case where a participle takes a role of an attribute in attributive construction. Here, the participle serves as an attribute as it is, without adding any suffix or marker. However, in (13b), the attributive participles are followed by the nominalizer *-niŋ(ŋə)*. In Written Manchu, there is no such case, since the nominalizer inherently presupposes the notion of nominal. Therefore, attaching a nominalizer to the attribute would be redundant. Since the basic word order is different, it would not be an exact analogy but, compared to English, adding a nominalizer to an attribute may render something like ‘The book something that I bought.’

Again, this peculiarity can also be explained by the influence of Mandarin Chinese. In this case, the Mandarin Chinese possessive marker *de* (的) gives us a clue for understanding such construction. Unlike Manchu, where participles serve as both an attribute and a predicate, Mandarin Chinese verbs need a particle producing relative construction in order to make an attributive construction.

(14) Attributive construction in Mandarin Chinese

- a. *wǒ mǎi shū*  
 1SG buy book  
 ‘I will buy a book’  
 \* ‘The book that I bought’
- b. *wǒ mǎi de shū*  
 1SG buy de book  
 ‘The book that I bought’

Consequently, when a Spoken Manchu speaker interprets Mandarin Chinese expression into Manchurian equivalent, the following scheme can be assumed:

(15) A scheme of the process of translating Chinese into Manchu

- a. *min-i uda-xə bitkə*  
 1SG-GEN buy-PFV.PTCP book



b. <i>əla</i>	<i>min-i</i>		<u><i>uda-xə</i></u>	<i>bitkə</i>	<i>ino</i>
this	1SG-GEN		<u>buy-PFV.PTCP</u>	book	COP
c. <i>zhè</i>	<i>shì</i>	<i>wǒ</i>	<u><i>mǎi</i></u>	<i>de</i>	<i>shū</i>
this	COP	1SG	<u>buy</u>	<u>POSS</u>	book
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
<i>əl</i>	<i>shi</i>	<i>bi</i>	<u><i>uda-xə</i></u>	<u><i>niŋ</i></u>	<i>bitkə</i>
this	COP	1SG	<u>buy-PFV.PTCP</u>	<u>NMLZ</u>	book

(15a) shows a typical Manchu (including Written Manchu) attributive construction. Here, the participle is used as an attribute as it is and does not need any nominalizer. Consequently, the typical Manchu sentence should be like the sentence presented in (15b). However, in (15c), the bare participle *uda-xə* is assigned to the Mandarin Chinese verb *mǎi* and therefore Mandarin Chinese marker fails to find any Manchu equivalent unless any additional word is employed in the construction. The nominalizer *-niŋ(ŋə)* would be the best choice since it has a function similar to the Chinese *de*. Therefore, *-niŋ* is introduced to the Manchu expression. Note also that the Mandarin Chinese copula *shì* was directly used in the Spoken Manchu expression and the nominative case (which has no case marker) marks the agent of the participle in (15c), while the genitive case marks the same element in the typical attributive construction of spoken Manchu. This also implies that the Spoken Manchu sentence in (15c) would be highly influenced by the Mandarin Chinese grammar of the speaker, which doesn't have any case marker.

As can be seen so far, the peculiar structure in Spoken Manchu shows us that there is a possibility that the language has been highly influenced by the Mandarin Chinese language. However, the fact that this sentence structure appears in the language does not mean that this is the only valid structure in such a context. Actually, in Kim et al. (2008), only two of the seven sentences in which the perfective participle constitutes attributive construction show this structure. Thus, still, the structure in which participles without a nominalizer constitute attributive construction is more common. Nevertheless, the fact that a structure, which at least is not attested at all in Written Manchu, is acceptable, shows the language's influence from Mandarin Chinese.

## 5. Conclusion

In this paper, I described the differences in the distribution of Spoken Manchu nominalizer *-niŋ(ŋə)* and *-xə*, and Written Manchu *-ngge/ningge* and *-hA* and tried to explain the reason from the perspective of the influence of Mandarin Chinese. In the chapter 3, I showed that both participles with and without the nominalizer can be objects of main clauses, whereas in Spoken Manchu only the participles with the nominalizer can be objects of main clauses. In the chapter 4, I presented several types of sentences that might be produced due to the influence of Mandarin Chinese: the SVO word order, and participles accompanying the nominalizer used as attributes in attributive constructions. Although the number of such sentences is less than that of typical Manchu sentences, but the fact that these sentences were at least uttered by the native speaker suggests that his intuition was influenced by Mandarin Chinese compared to his ancestors.

But I also want to point out that there is also a possibility of overestimation. The phenomena discussed here might actually be a kind of noise caused by Mandarin Chinese language, because the data of the source material was spoken in bilingual situation brought about by the context of elicitation. Therefore, the claim that the peculiar sentence structures may be produced by the influence of Mandarin Chinese, requires additional verification. In particular, it is necessary to analyze the spontaneous speech data of native speakers.

### List of abbreviations

1SG	First person singular
2SG	Second person singular
3SG	Third person singular
1PL	First person plural
2PL	Second person plural
3PL	Third person plural
ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
COP	Copula
CVB	Converb

DAT	Dative
DL	Dative-locative
EXCL	Exclusive
GEN	Genitive
IPFV	Imperfect
INCL	Inclusive
MLTZ	<i>Manwen Laodang Taizu</i>
NEG	Negation
NMLZ	Nominalizer
NPST	Non-past
PC	Particle
PFV	Perfective
PRF	Perfect
POSS	Possessive
PST	Past
PTCP	Participle
Q	Question particle/marker

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