

On the Verb Form in *-cina* in Script Manchu

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1. On the meaning of a conjugational form of verb with ending *-cina* quite a number of explanations have been made since the middle of K'ang-hsi 康熙 era, as cited below, both in various Manchu-Chinese manuals and in grammars written by western scholars.

- a) 「清文備考」 (with the preface of 康熙 61 [1722]), 卷 I, 「虛字講約」 9b.

... 其 *cina* 亦令人之詞, 其詞直, 兼有罷字口氣, 大約對下等人說, 有催迫之意也, ...

- b) 「滿漢類書」 (with the preface of 康熙 庚辰 29, [1700]), 卷 32. *genecina* 此婉令之意, ...

- c) 「滿漢字清文啓蒙」 (with the preface of 雍正 庚戌 [8, 1730]), 卷 3. 「清文助語虛字」 31a.

是呢字。罷字。在字尾聯用。乃使令他人之詞。此字向尊長言說不得。

- d) 「清文彙書」 (the first ed. appeared in 乾隆 16 [1751]).

genecina 去是呢 *geneci genecina* 若去就去是呢。

- e) 「三合便覽」 (with the preface of 乾隆 庚子 [45, 1780]), 「清文指要」 23b.

cina 是呢口氣 乃婉令其然之詞也 較 *kini* 柔和

- f) Ibid. 「蒙文指要」 20b.

cina 繙 *sai* 係是呢口氣如云

ubade tecina. kemumi jicina.

ende sayusai. örgülji iresei.

- g) 「蒙古文晰義」 (with preface of 道光 28 [1814]), 卷 3. 9b.

alacina kelese

- h) 「重刻清文虛字指南編」 (with the preface of 光緒 20 [1894]), 下 .8.

-cina -kini 講是呢 口氣頓硬要明白

-cina 本是自然句 -kini 使令口氣多

i) 「字法舉一歌」 with the preface of 光緒乙酉 [11, 1885]), 28a.

cina 使令與 kini 做。罷咱是呢 帶商酌。

j) Kaulen, F., *Linguae Mandshuricae institutiones quas conscripsit, indicibus ornavit chrestomathia et vocabulario auxiliâ Franciscus Kaulen.* Ratisbonae, 1856. p. 44.

Syllaba *na* Conditionalis affixa invitandi atque cohortandi potestatem efficit, *genetsina*, eat. (the rest is omitted)

k) Gabelentz, H.C. von der, "Beiträge zur mandshuischen Conjugationslehre," (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. XVIII. Leipzig 1864. pp. 202-219). p. 207.

IV. Concessivform *cina*, *cun*.

l) Adam, Lucien, *Grammaire de la langue mandchou.* Paris, 1873.

§ 161. Mode impératif.

On supplée aux première et troisième personnes par l'optatif suffixé de *-ni*,—*genekini*, qu'il aille, ou par le subjonctif suffixé de *-na*,—*gencina*, qu'il aille, aille, allez, allons.

m) Zaxarov, Ivan, *Grammatika man'čžurskago jazyka.* Sankt-Peterburg, 1879. § 150.

5) tak kak forma: *kini* vyražæet preimuščestvenno prikazanie k niššemu, to dlja smjagčeniya povelitel'nago i rešitel'nago tona pri otdavanii prikazaniya 2-mu i 3-mu licam, ili tože neopredelenno bez ukazaniya lica, kotoromu daetsya prikazanie. v Man'čžur. jazyke upotrebitel'no povelitel'noe s napraščeniem k kornju slova okončaniya: *cina* kotoroe po Kitajski perevoditsya slovami, ozančajučšimi Russkie oboroty: tak li? ne pravda li? pust' tak! puskaj! požaluj! požalujsta! pust'—ka! (the rest is omitted).

n) Hoffmann, Giovanni, *Grammatica Mancese.* Firenze, 1883. §§ 118, 126, 170.

o) Harlez, C. de, *Manuel de la langue mandchoue*. Paris, 1884. § 94.

On en outres les formes dissyllabiques *cina* et *kini* qui constituent la première un concessif (qu'il fasse s'il veut) et le seconde un optatif, bien qu'elles prennent aussi le sens jussif. . . (omitted) . . . Les formes en *cina* et *kini* suppléent à celles qui manquent à l'impératif. (the rest is omitted)

p) Möllendorff, P.G. von, *A Manchu Grammar, with analysed texts*. Shanghai, 1892. p. 9.

14. *Cina* forming a Concessive: *ara-cina* may he write if he likes, may he write what he likes. (the rest it omitted)

q) Peeters, Hermes, *Manjurische Grammatik* (reprint fr. *Monumenta Serica*. Vol. V.). Peking, 1940.

N. 80. ii Imperativ: reiner Stamm (nur für die 2. Person Sing.) Stamm mit *cina*: (oder *cun*): eine mildere Form für die anderen Personen.

N. 144. -cina

Die Form auf -*cina* darf Oben gegenüber nicht gebraucht werden.

2. Rather independent of the descriptions cited above, and based mostly on a good deal of examples collected from *Gin-ping-mei bithe*⁽¹⁾, *Tongki fuka sindaha hergen -i dangse*⁽²⁾, and other sources⁽³⁾, the following sememe⁽⁴⁾ is to be assumed to the form in question:

“THE SPEAKER'S WISH TOWARD THE REALIZATION OF SOMETHING THAT HAS NOT BEEN DONE YET AND IN THE FUTURE, TOO, WILL BE CONSIDERABLY HARD TO BE DONE.”

Among descriptions on -*cina* cited in § 1., the ones of 蒙文指要 and 蒙古文晰義 are here worthy of note. Both of them refer -*cina* to the Mongol

(1) Manchu translation of Chin-p'ing-mei 金瓶梅 with the preface dated the 47 year of K'an-hsi 康熙 (1708). (abbrev. G.)

(2) A copy of so-called Man-wen-lao-tang 滿文老檔, revised in the 43 year of Ch'ien-lung 乾隆 (1778). (abbrev. 太祖 to T., 太宗天聰 to TS., 太宗崇德 to S.)

(3) See footnotes.

(4) On the definition of the word *sememe* used in this paper, see the following article: Hattori, Shiro, “On the Description of Meaning” (GENGO KENKYU, Journal of the Linguistic Society of Japan, Nos. 22/23, 1953. pp. 21-40). p. 28. f.

ending *-sai~sei*, to which we might assume a sememe with much resemblance to the one of the former.

For reference, we quote here a couple of descriptions on the Mongol ending from the reliable works of Mongolists.

Professor Shiro Hattori says in his "A Lecture on the Grammar of the Mongolian Written Language⁽¹⁾," as follows: (trans. by K.Y.):

(7) Forms with suffixes *-gāsai~gēsei; -āsai~ēsei; -sai~sei*.

They denote the speaker's wish that he himself or someone else could do an action (which is, not seldom, hard to be realized).

In Professor N. Poppe's *Khalkha-Mongolische Grammatik*⁽²⁾, description is made as follows:

§ 151. Der Optativ wird durch *-āsai -āsā (-ēsē, -ōsoi, -ōsö)* gebildet. Bedeutung: ein Wunsch, gewöhnlich ein unerfüllbarer, und daher drückt diese Form auch ein gewisse Bedauern aus ("wenn es doch wäre!"). Sie bezieht sich auf alle Personen.

ündör ülün baigāsā, dēren garād xarxasandā 'wenn doch ein hoher Berg da wäre. Ich würde hinaufsteigen und mich umschauen!' von *bai-* 'sein.'

ūxese bolōsoi 'wäre er doch gestorben' von *bol-* 'werden.'

Conjugational forms with ending *-cina* in the following examples⁽³⁾ denote the contextual meanings which are approximately the same as the sememe of *-cina* assumed above.

Ex.: (1) *juse bayan urse gemu eimeme gasambi, meni juse haji niyalma de,*

(1) TOYOGO KENKYU (Oriental Language Studies). Tokyo Bunkyo, I. (1946), pp. 79-84; III. (1947), pp. 1-8; IV. (1947), pp. 1-31.

(2) Wiesbaden 1951. s. 78.

(3) English translation was made in such a way as to give the general idea of the context as much as possible, and we did not follow always the word-order of the Manchu language.

In the parenthesis () we put the literal translation and right before, the free one is given.

In the brackets [] we put the word or a phrase which explains the context any better.

emke *bicina* seci, aba, ... (T.M.⁽¹⁾ I-34b) "people who are blessed with children, they all become disgusted and are annoyed. Though we think (say), 'Would even one be for us who are full of love for children!', where is he?!"

(2) deo beile anggai dubede, dule ere banjire ai tangsu, *bucecina* seme hendumbihe, ... (T.I.-14a) "[Han's] younger brother, Beile (pei-lê 貝勒), on his tip of tongue (mouth), 'Essentially, [for] this life (living) why [should I have] affection! *I wish myself dead!*,' used to say."

(3) dain de genehe musei cooha, Ula de *gidabucina*, gidabuha de ama be deote be bi hoton de halburakû ... (T. III-9b) "*I wish* our troops that went to war *were defeated* by Ula [troops]! Were they defeated, I would not let my father and younger brothers return (shelter) to the castle."

(4) etuku usihici usihikini aina, hetefi ainambi, abalaki *yabucina* seme ceni cisui jendu gisurere be ... (T. IV-23b) "when [they] talk in whispers, according their own ways, 'When clothes get wet [with snow], let them get wet. What's the matter [with him]? Tucking up [his clothes], what is he going to do? [Out with it!] Let's go hunting! *We wish we could go* [at once]!' "

(5) i emu tanggu juwe tanggu aniya *ocina* sehengge, ... (G. XXX-8b) "she who said, 'Would it be a hundred years or two, [till I would meet with him again],?'"

(6) Si jai majige erdeken *jihe bicina*, simbe inu tede tuwabure bihe. (G. XLVI-30a) "*Had you come* just a little earlier! [We] would cause him [gui (kuei 龜), a fortuneteller, in this case] to tell (see) your fortune (on you), too."

(1) *Tanggu Meyen*. The first edition is said to have been published in 15 year of Ch'ien-lung 乾隆 (1750). On the copies of different editions see: Yamamoto, K., "An attempt of assuming the sememe; In the case of a Manchu converb," (GENGO KENKYU. Journal of the Linguistic Society of Japan. Vol. 25. (1954) pp. 1-18). footnote (7).

(7) aja si hûdukan yebe *ocina* . . . (G. LXII-12b) “Madame (Mother), may you get well sooner!”

(8) Si-men-king beye-i fejile senggi bisire be inu tuwarakû, juwe galai terei dere be hafirafi, dere be nikebufi, aitubuci ojurakû gege gosingga jurgangga mujilen sain gege, ainu mimbe waliyafi genehe, Si-men-king bi *bucehe bicina*. Bi inu jalan de goidame banjirakû oho, ergen silemi bai bi banjifi ainambi seme . . . (G. LXII-36b) “Hsi-men-ching did not mind (see) even that blood stuck (is) under her body, held her face between (with) hands, leaned his face [to hers and said], ‘Sister whom we cannot bring to life! Very affectionate, sincere and good-tempered sister! Why have you gone (went) leaving me behind? *Would I, Hsi-men-ching, have died!* I feel that I too, will not live on long in this world. Does it mean anything to live a lingering life without any purpose?’”

(9) bi niyalma seme ainu banjihã ni, akûci alin-i moo *banjihã bicina*, . . . (TS. XXX-3b) “Why was I born as a human being?! *Had I rather been born* as a tree on (of) a mountain!”

(11) jai tere hehe be okdoko bade han gaiha manggi, Amin beile geli mimbe gaji seme Namtai fujiyang be takûraha bihe, Namtai tere takûraha inenggi alahakû, jai inenggi han de alahabi, han hendume, sikse inenggi *alaha bicina*, te gaji seci, bi emgeri beye acafi adarame bure sehebi, . . . (TS. XXX-9a) “then, after Han had taken that woman [as wife] at the place where he had gone out to meet her, Amin beile, still, to ask [Han] for her, had sent Namtai fujiyang (fu-chiang 副將). Namtai, having not told [Han] on the day he had [been] sent, but had told Han the next day. Han said, ‘*Had he told* [me] yesterday! Now, even if he say to give [her to him], how could I give her after I had already been united with her.’”

(11) guculehe be dahame ambulakan *banjihã bicina* . . . (TS. LVIII-20b) “As [we] had been friends, *would* [he] *have lived* to a good old age! . . .”

3. There is also a habit of using this form when the speaker's wish is addressed to the hearer in any case of pressing, request, recommendation and invitation.

This usage is to be explained easily from the sememe of the form mentioned above. The only difference between two cases is whether or not the speaker's concept of mind, that is, his wish, is addressed to the hearer as facts actually to be done.

(1) si sikse emu dobonio joboho. Abka geli tulhun. Jai majige *amgacina*. Ekšeme ilifi ainambi. Enenggi yamun de generakû oci inu ombikai. (G. LXVII-2a) "Yesterday you have taken pains all night. It is not light enough (dim) yet. *You had better sleep* a little more. What are you going to do, getting up so hasty? Today, you don't have to go to the office. Do you?"

(2) Li-ping-el cekui mukdeke be sabufi, gar seme hûlame hendume, efu si mimbe inu *benecina*. (G. XXV-4a) "Li-p'ing-rh, seeing the swing rose high, shouted for [him] and said, 'Brother-in-law (sister's husband), *will you push* (send) my swing (me), too?'"

(3) Abkai giyan be geli majige *bodocina*. (G. XXVI-8a) "[You] *should*, even a little, *think over* the rule of Heaven."

(4) hoton -i niyalma be *dahacina* seme hûlame gisureci, hoton -i niyalma afaki, gese haha kai, mende gala bikai, afafi gese bucembi dere seme hendume... (T. XII-3a) "Though they uttered cries toward men in the castle, '[We advise you to] surrender,' men in the castle saying, 'Let us fight! [We] are men [of honor], too. [We] have arms with us. [We are going to] fight and die,'..."

(5) Li-ping-el hendume, goidaha, si *deducina*, Si-men-king hendume, bi amgarakû oho, simbe tuwakiyame biki. (G. LXII-34a) "'It is getting late. *You had better go to bed.*' Hsi-mên-ching said, 'I don't feel sleepy. I want to be sitting up (watching) with you.'"

(6) si geren de *fonjicina*. (G. LXXV-44b). "You just *try and ask* anybody (folks)."

(7) Ere ucuri si geli aibide šodonoho, mudan talude mini jakade inu majige *feliyecina*, ainu sini dere yasa oron sabuhakû, . . . (T.M.I-5b) "In these days (this occasion) where the blazes have you been bustling about? At times, [you] *might come and visit* my place, too, a little more. Why I have never seen you (your face and eyes)?"

(8) jui majige yebeo, haha juse be takûrafi, daifu *ganabucina*, . . . (G. XXXIII-1b) "Is my little son any better? You *had better cause* our young man-servant *to go and fetch* a doctor."

(9) agu haji, si yamun de *genecina*. Siden-i baita sartaburahû, (G. LXII-2a) "Darling [*I think*] *you should go* to the office. I am afraid [your] official business will be left undone."

(11) age ubade emu dobori dedufi, cimari jai *genicina*, joo bai cimari boode baita bi, generakû oci ojarahû uttû waka bihe bici, uthai sini boode emu dobori indembihe, (CWKM⁽¹⁾. II-45a) "Brother, *why don't you* stop overnight (sleep one night) here and *go home* tomorrow? No, thank you. Tomorrow I have something to do at home. [So,] I have to go home. If not so, I would surely put up for the night in your home."

(11) U-yuwei-niyang dahûn dahûn-i bibume hendume, aša jai emu dobori indefi cimari *genecina*. (G. XLIV-1b) "Wu-yüeh-niang detained her over and over again and said, 'Sister-in-law (elder brother's wife), *how would you like to* spend one more night and *be back* tomorrow?'"

(12) Juwan ilan de, han hendume, jeku akû niyalma be bata kimun seme *gûnicina*, tere muse de ai gucu, . . . (T. LXI-4b) "On the thirteenth, Han said, '*You should treat (think)* people who have run out provisions, as bitter enemies. Why could they be friends for us?'"

(1) 「滿漢字清文啓蒙」(v. § 1. c). 卷 3. 「兼漢滿套語」*Nikan gisun kamciha man-jurara fiyelen -i gisun*.

- (13) sini ahûn be tafulame *henducina*, yabure jurgan fudasihûn kai, (TS. XXX-6b) “*I think you ought to admonish* your brother. [His] conduct (way of doing) is in disorder.”
- (14) ere gese sain uyan buda be, si jai majige *jecina*, ... (G. LXII-7b) “*I advise you to have* such nice rice-gruel some more.”
- (15) Tubade genefi majige te manggi uthai *jecina* ... (G. XXI-24b) “*Why don't you go over there and sitting a little while, then come back directly?*”
- (16) *jocina*, si kemuni mimbe holtombio, sini morongge be jembime, mucen -i dorgingge be sara gûnin be mimbe sarkû sembio. (G. LXXII-29a) “*Don't!* You still deceive me? Do you think (say) I don't know such idea of yours that you, eating something in a bowl, look at something in a pot?”
- (17) nure omime genere be *nakacina*. (G. XL-7a) “*You had better give up the idea* of going for drinking.”
- (18) te Jo-el-jiyei mujakû nimembi, si nure komsokon *omicina*. (G. I-12a) “Now Cho-êrh-chieh is seriously ill. *I advise you to be moderate in drinking (drink moderately).*”
- (19) amba niyalma eldengge etuku be *sucina*. (G. LXXI-3b) “Sir, Please take off your court (dazzling) dress [and make yourself comfortable.]”
- (20) mini takûrsara sargan jui nio. si *tantacina*, ... (G. LXXV-37b) “Isn't [she] my maidservant ([She is] the girl [whom I] set to work. Isn't [she].)? *You might hit* [her].”
- (21) boode dosifi *tecina*, i boode akû. Ts'ai-fung ni boode etuku ganame genehebi, uthai jimbi (G. LI-18a) “Come in and *sit, will you?* He is not at home. [He] has just gone to fetch clothes to a tailoring shop. [He] will be back soon.”
- (22) looye uba beikuwen, si dorgi boode dosifi *tecina*, ... (G. LXXV-4a)

“THE SPEARER’S VOLITION TOWARD THE REALIZATION OF AN ACTION.”

Ex.: (1) Bici *acaki*. (G. I-47b) “If [she] is elsewhere, [I] *would like to see* [her].”

(2) muse Nikan be *dailaki* dere... (T. IV-9b) “Shall we attack on China? ([I] *wish we attack* on China.)”

(3) ubade *biki* (G. XIV-22b) “[I] *want* [you] *stay* here.”

As for the form in *-kini*, beyond the one mentioned above, we have another to which we can assume the following sememe:

“THE SPEARER’S PERMISSION OR INDIFFERENCE TOWARD THE REALIZATION OF SOMETHING.”

Ex.: (1) terei cihai geneci *genekini* dere. (G. LXXV-3b) “*Let* [him] *go as he pleases*, if he goes.”

(2) jici *jikini*, jiderakûci *bikini* (TS. LVII-21b) “If [he] comes, *let* [him] *come*, if [he] doesn’t come, *let* [him] *stay (be)* [there].”

(3) jugûn de buceci *bucekini* (TS. XIV-13b) “[I] *don’t care if* [I] *die* on [my] way [to there].”

Under similar contextual environment *-cina* can appear as in case of *-kini*. At a view, these two forms are alike, but even in this case we can still explain the difference of the meaning between them by the help of sememes assumed above.

Ex.: (1) si geneci *genecina*, baibi dolori joboşofi ainambi. (LXI-12a) “If you want to go, *why don’t you go* over there? What are you worrying about in vain in your heart?”

(2) i sini boode geneci, si *genecina*. (G. LI-23b) “as he is coming to your room, *I think you ought to go* over there, too.”

(3) hûwaşan hendume, bi genembi, bi genembi, Si-men-king hendume, si geneki seci te uthai *yabucina*, (G. XLIX-17a) “The bonze said, ‘I’ll go, I’ll go.’ Hsi-mên-ching said, ‘If you will go, *how would you like to go* together with me right now?’”

(4) Udaci, emu sain morin *udacina*, . . . , ere gese alašan be hūwaitafi ainambi, (T.T. I-24b) “If you have to buy a horse, *I think you should buy* a good one. What is the use of rearing (tieing) a jade like this?”

(5) meni niyalma jase tucici, suwe jafafi *benjicina*, ainu waha . . . (T. V-5b) “if our people transgress (go beyond) the border, *I think you should* capture them and *send* to us. Why did you kill them?”

5. Finally, we will touch briefly on the form *-cun*, which H.C. von der Gabelenez, (hence C. de Harlez and P. G. von Möllendorff,) treated as a “Nebenform” of *-cina*.

In his paper, cited above (§1. K.), Gabelentz said as follows: “. . . ; allein es kommt eine Nebenform davon auf *cun* vor, die ich nirgends erwähnt finde, und für welche ich hier Beispiele geben will: *Schik*. I. 3, 2. bi julgei niyalma be bahacun. Wenn ich der Alten gedenke, möge ich in Wahrheit meines Herzens Meiseer sein. Ebdas. 4, 3. ambasa saisa sasa sakdacun. Sie möge mit dem Manne zugleich alt werden. Ebdes. II. 2, 4. tumen hôturi tuttu isacun. So möge alles Glück sich (auf euch) häufen! Da diese Form auf *cun* nur in der mir vorliegenden älteren Uebersetzung des Schiking vorkommt⁽¹⁾, ausserdem aber sich in keinem der von mir verglichenen Texte findet, so vermuthe ich, dass sie als veraltet anzusehen, und *cina* jetzt allein noch Gebrauch ist.”

We never saw *-cun* as a conjugational ending, except these 3 examples. Besides, in the Manchu written language we only have *-cun* as a petrified noun-formative suffix added to such verbal stems as *jobo-(cun* “grief”), *kcrso-(cun* “resentment”), *giru-(cun* “shame”), *gasa-(cun* “complaint”), etc.

Though we might suppose existence of the conjugational form with *-cun*, we doubt, at least, the adequacy of comparing *-cun* with *-cina*.

(1) cf. 詩經 (with the preface dated Dec. in 11 year of Shun-chih 順治 [Jan. 1655]). Each example corresponds to the following Chinese originals, respectively: 我思古人, 實獲我心 (國風, 邶); 君子偕老 (國風, 邶); 萬福攸同 (小雅).