SAKSAHA

A REVIEW OF MANCHU STUDIES

Contents

SAKSAHA

****

Getuken, a native Sibe from the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region of China and a well known expert in Manchu and Sibe language and culture.

Views expressed in the articles appearing in *Saksaha* are those of the individual authors and are not necessarily those of the editors or editorial board.

ERRATA:

Professor Mark Elliott's name is spelled with two "t"s (cover page, content page, page 7, page 25)

page 25, for "centruy" read "century"

page 25, for "instution" read "institution"

ERRATA:

Professor Mark Elliott's name is spelled with two "t"s (cover page, content page, page 7, page 25)

page 25, for "centruy" read "century"

page 25, for "instution" read "institution"

ERRATA:

Professor Mark Elliott's name is spelled with two "t"s (cover page, content page, page 7, page 25)

page 25, for "centruy" read "century"

page 25, for "instution" read "institution"

ERRATA:

Professor Mark Elliott's name is spelled with two "t"s (cover page, content page, page 7, page 25)

page 25, for "centruy" read "century"

page 25, for "instution" read "institution"

ERRATA:

Professor Mark Elliott's name is spelled with two "t"s (cover page, content page, page 7, page 25)

page 25, for "centruy" read "century"

page 25, for "instution" read "institution"

On Some Manchu Etymologies

Jerry Norman
University of Washington

With the publication of the monumental *Sravnitel'nyj slovar' tunguso-man'chzhurskix jazykov* by the late V. I. Cincius and her colleagues in 1975 (volume two in 1977), a new era in the comparative study of the Tungusic languages began. Not only can the etymological roots of many hundreds of forms be traced within the Tungusic family itself, the Altaic connections of more and more Tungusic forms are becoming clear. The present paper, which attempts to delve into the origins and connections of several Manchu words, is heavily indebted to the TMS (the editors' suggested abbreviation of the *Sravnitel'nyj slovar'*) and to the other writings of the late Professor Cincius. Manchu forms and their meanings are based on Norman (1978).

1. *jancuhū n* 'sweet, pleasant, agreeable'; *jancuhū kan* 'rather sweet'; *jancuhū nje* 'sugar cane'; *jancuhū ri orho* 'licorice'.

Jancuhū n is the primary form of this set of forms; *jancuhū kan* is a regular diminutive formation. The forms *jancuhū nje* and *jancuhū ri orho* represent neologisms coined to translate Chinese words referring to things originally unknown to the Manchus. These formations are all too transparent to reveal anything further about the origin of the word *jancuhū n* 'sweet'.

The word itself clearly consists of a root *jancu-* plus a suffix *-hū n*. This suffix, which has the harmonic variants *-hun* and *-hon*, is perhaps the single most common adjectival suffix in Manchu. The following words are all formed by means of this suffix: *banuhū n* 'lazy' (cf. *ban-* 'to be lazy'), *fulahū n* 'pink, reddish' (cf. *fulara-* 'to turn red'), *getuhun* 'awake' (cf. *gete-* 'to awaken'), *milahū n* 'wide open' (cf. *mila* 'open, wide open'), *sohon* 'deep yellow' (cf. *soro-* 'to turn yellow').

Roots ending in voiced consonants often devoice when they occur before a suffix beginning with the consonant *h* as the following examples illustrate: *waci-hiya-* 'to complete' (cf. *waji-* 'to finish'), *fonto-ho* 'small hole' (cf. *fondo-lo-* 'to pierce, make a hole'), *yafa-han* 'on foot' (cf. *yabu-* 'to walk'), *tofo-hon* 'fifteen' (cf. Mongolian *tabun* 'five'), *ufu-hi* 'part, share' (cf. *ubu* 'portion, share'), *afa-ha* 'sheet (of paper)' (cf. *abdaha* 'leaf')[1], *fecu-hun* 'low, base' (cf. *fejergi* 'underneath').

Another fact that is important in the present case is that the second vowel in a Manchu trisyllabic word is inherently weak and is easily altered under the influence of the vowel of the following syllable beginning with a velar or uvular: *gete-* 'to wake up', *getuhun* 'awake (adj.)'; *ete-* 'to overcome', *etuhun* 'strong'; *hala-* 'to be hot', *halukan* 'warm'; *hatan* 'pungent, strong tasting', *hatuhan* 'salty'; *seri* 'sparse', *seruken* 'rather

---

[1] The fact that *b* alternates with *f* in these forms suggests that intervocalic *b* had a fricative pronunciation in Manchu as it does in Sibe: Manchu *yabu-*, Sibe *yav-*.

sparse'; *tafa-* 'to ascend', *tafukū* ≈ *tafakū* 'steps'; *jus&e-* 'to be sour', *juš uhun* 'sour (adj.)'. Note that in all the cases cited above the vowel preceding the suffix in the derived form is a *u*. In view of the two tendencies described above, it is clearly justified to think that the original root of the word *jancuhū n* was **janji-* and not *jancu-*, since both the change of *j* > *c* and the change of *i* > *u* are well attested in many other forms in Manchu.

From the comparative work of Cincius (1949) and Benzing (1955) it is well known that a proto-Tungusic **l* becomes *n* in Manchu before a dental or alveopalatal consonant: Evk. *baldĩ -* 'to be born', Ma. *banji-* 'id.'; this fact can also be seen internally in Manchu itself: *ulu* 'empty, unfertilized (of an egg)', *untuhun* (< *ul-tu-hun*) 'empty'. Moreover, Manchu *ji* and *ci* in many cases regularly derive from earlier **di* and **ti* respectively (Cincius 1949: 184, 188; Benzing 1955: 979, 980). Hence, it is possible to see our hypothetical **janji* coming from an earlier **jaldi*. We are now in a position to see the origin of *jancuhū n*. The following two Evenki forms, attested in different dialects, are glossed as 'tasty, sweet': *daldi* (Sakhalin and Kachug dialects) and *dalli* (Sakhalin and Ayan dialects). The standard Even form is *dalra* with dialectal variants *dalda* and *dalci* with the same meaning; Negidal has a comparable form *daligdi* (TMS 1.13a). The Evenki and Even forms can be derived from a proto-Tungusic form **daldi*. The evolution of the Manchu form can be plotted hypothetically as follows: **daldi* > **dalji* > **danji* > **janji*. The shift of initial **d* > **j* is an assimilatory change, apparently sporadic, seen also in the word *jabjan* 'python, large snake', cf. Evenki. *jabdar*, Even *jabda* 'snake'.[2]

Does our proto-Tungusic **daldi* have any further Altaic connections? It is tempting to see a link between proto-Tungusic **daldi* and Early Written Turkic (EWT hereafter) *tatlïg*, Turkish *tatlï*, Modern Uyghur *tatliq* 'sweet, tasty'. These forms derive from a root *tat* '(good) flavor' plus the common adjectival suffix *-lïg* (or its dialectal counterpart).[3] But what about *tat* itself? Might it not somehow be related to **daldi*? The loss of the final vowel presents no problem since this is a regular feature of Turkic development (Poppe 1960: 117). Altaic **d* ordinarily becomes Turkic *y* (Ramstedt 1957: 38, Poppe 1960: 22) but there are also a significant number of cases where Mongolian and Tungusic *d* corresponds to Turkic *t*: Mongolian *dörben* 'four', Evenki *digin* 'id.', EWT *tört* 'id.'; Evenki *doNoto-* 'to freeze over", EWT *toN-* 'to freeze', Nanai *dalan-* 'to overflow', EWT *taš -* 'id.'; Evenki *dulin* 'middle', Mongolian *düli* 'half, middle, noon', EWT *tüš* 'noon'. This shows that Altaic **d* may actually represent two different proto-correspondences, one yielding Turkic *y*, the other *t*. Since Turkic languages do not allow two consonants at the end of a root, the original **l* would have regularly dropped out, giving the following hypothetical development: **daldi* > **tald* > **tā d* > **tā t*. The long vowel in Common Turkic is indicated by Turkmen *dā t* (Sevortjan 1980: 162); is this long vowel not perhaps due to a compensatory lengthening which occurred with the loss of the **l*? Compare the following forms: Evenki *alga* 'net', Turkmen (dialectal) *ā q* 'id.',

---

[2] These cases of assimilation at a distance brought about by the presence of alveopalatals in the same stem may be related to the change of proto-Tungusic **t* to Manchu *s* in stems containing a *j* in the second syllable; see Norman (1972). In the *Sino-Jurchen vocabulary of the bureau of interpreters* studied by Daniel Kane (1989), the word for 'sweet' in Jurchen is given as **dancu*.

[3] In various Turkic languages *tat-* is also a verbal root meaning 'to taste": EWT *tat-*, Chuvash *tutan-* (Skvorcov 1985: 499).

Mongolian *aldar* 'name (honorific), fame', Turkmen *ā t* 'name'; Mongolian *elde-* 'to dress a hide, curry, soften, knead', Modern Uyghur *ät-* 'to make, do, knead (dough), EWT *etik* 'a soft shoe made of leather', Kazakh *etik* 'boot', Turkmen *ē tik* 'id.' (Räsänen 1969: 52).[4]

  To sum up, I propose that Manchu *jancuhū n* 'sweet' derives from proto-Tungusic **daldï* meaning 'tasty, sweet' and this form is in turn comparable to Common Turkic **tā t*.

2. *farhū n* 'dark, obscure, confused, dim, muddled'. *farhū da-* 'to act in a muddled way'.

  The verb *farhū da-* is a derivative of *farhū n* formed with the common denominal verb suffix *-da* which generally has the sense of 'to act in such and such a way'; *farhū n* itself is composed of a root *far-* and the common suffix *-hū n* (described in the previous section). The root *far-* appears in a number of other words which together form an extensive word family in Manchu: 1) *farfa-* 'to be confused', probably best viewed as a semireduplicate 2) *farila-* 'become dark'; a derivative of *fari* (see below) and the common denominal verb suffix *-la* (≈ *le* ≈ *lo*) 3) *geri fari* 'indistinct, dim'; a binome formed from the roots seen in *gere-* 'to become bright, to dawn' and the *far-* seen in *farhū n*. The above three forms clearly reflect a meaning 'dim, dark, indistinct, muddled, confused'.   It is likely that *fara-* 'to faint, lose consciousness' also belongs to this word family.

  The Manchu root *far-* is comparable to a number of Tungusic forms: Evenki *harū -* 'to grow dim (of the eyes), feel dizzy, feel drunk', *harū n-* 'to grow dark, to become intoxicated'; Even *hā ru-* 'to be dizzy, lose consciousness'; Nanai *pargan* 'muddled, stupid', *pargā ci-* 'to act in a muddled or stupid manner'.   Here once more we encounter the notions of 'dim, dark, confused, muddled, and faint'. There is an interesting semantic parallel with the Chinese word   *hū n* which means 'dark, dim, confused, muddled'. On the basis of the forms cited above, we can reconstruct a proto-Tungusic **pā r-*.

  I propose that the following Turkic forms are related: EWT *az-* 'to get lost, lose one's way, go astray', Turkish. *az-* 'to go astray', Turkmen *ā z-* 'id.', Khalaj *hā z-* 'id.', Modern Uyghur *az-* 'id.'. From these forms one can infer a Common Turkic **hā z-* which derives from an earlier proto-Altaic **pāŕ -*.

  Clearly the Turkic sense of 'go astray' comes from the notion of 'confused' which is well attested in the Tungusic forms. This connection is further strengthened by several other Turkic forms derived from this root: Tksh. *azgïn* 'astray', Uyg. *azVaq* 'easily confused' and Uyg. *azVin* 'confused, perplexed, at a loss'.

  Among the Tungusic languages Manchu seems to be alone in using the root **pāŕ -* in the meaning 'dark'. The more usual Tungusic root is illustrated by the following forms: Evenki *haktirā -* 'dark', Even *hā tar-* 'id.', Nanai *pakcï* 'id.'. These forms are from

---

4   It would appear that EWT *etük* and related froms in other Turkic languages are deverbal nouns from *et-*; this shows that *et-* at an earlier time must have had a meaning similar to Mongolian *elde-*. The now widely attested meaning of 'to make, to do' in all liklihood derives from this earlier and more concrete sense. It is interesting to note that English *make* and German *machen* are thought to be related to Greek *magis* 'dough' and *massein* (for an earlier **magsein*) 'to knead (dough)' (Partridge 1958: 373).

a root **pak-* also seen in Nanai *pakala* 'dark'. Manchu has a perfect cognate in *fahala* 'dark purple, thick, viscous, opaque (of liquids, specifically wine or swill)'.

Finally, I would like to point out that an alloharmonic variant exists for Manchu *fara-* 'to lose consciousness', namely, *fere-* 'to become giddy, become dizzy'. Other cases of such alloharmonic pairs can be found in Manchu and other Altaic languages: Manchu: *ulan* 'ditch', *ulen* 'irrigation ditch'; *fiyele-* 'dry oneself by a fire', *fiyala-* 'dry by a fire'; *makara-* 'become decrepit', *mekere-* 'id.'; *saci-* 'chop off', *seci-* 'cut away' or 'chop off'; *baš a-* 'chase away', *boš o-* 'id.'. Mongolian: *dorgi-/dörgi-* 'tremble, shake'; *Vatul-/getül-* 'cross a river'; *dabsi-/debsi-* 'advance'; *qabta/kebte* 'lying flat'; *ulbayi-/ülbeyi-* 'become flabby'.

Now we are in a position to examine the Mongolian reflexes of the Tungusic and Turkic forms cited above. For the back vocalic variant **pāŕ* we have Mo. *argi-* 'speak in a muddled way, talk nonsense (of old people)'. For the alloharmonic variant **pēŕ* - we can cite Mo. *ergigüü* 'foolish, muddled, stupid'. Finally we should cite the following relevant form from the *Secret history of the Mongols: herü baru* 'darkness, twilight' (Haenisch 1962: 75).

3. *gefehe* 'butterfly'. No derivatives.

This word consists of a root *gefe-* plus the common noun suffix *-he* ($\approx$ *-ha* $\approx$ *-ho*) which occurs in scores of nouns: *fodoho* 'willow', *fulha* 'poplar', *saksaha* 'magpie', *niyehe* 'duck', *usiha* 'star', etc. Manchu *f* in almost all cases derives from an earlier pTg. **p*, so *gefe-* must go back to an earlier **gepe*. The only Tungusic cognate recorded for this Manchu word is Udehe *gepte* 'a kind of butterfly' (TMS I.180b). I suspect that *gepte* is a contracted from **gepe-kte* where *-kte* is a collective suffix referring to things occurring in large numbers (Benzing 1955: 72, 80).

The following Turkic forms can be compared to proto-Tungusic **gepe-*: EWT *kepäli* 'moth' , Modern Uyghur *kepinäk* 'butterfly', Khirgiz *köpölök* 'id.', Kazakh *köbelek* 'id.', Salar *kegelex* 'id.', Turkish *kepenek* 'moth', Chuvash *kewe* 'id.'.[5]

4. *fer seme* 'fluttering, floating', *fer far seme* 'fluttering like a butterfly in flight', *ferehe singgeri* 'bat'.

The first and second forms are examples of a very large number of descriptive adjectives and adverbs in Manchu which are formed with a root plus a form of the verb *se-* 'to say (usually the converb *seme* or the participle *sere*). The second form, *fer far seme*, can be considered a semireduplicate, for which numerous similar examples can be cited. The term for 'bat', *ferehe singgeri*, contains the word *singgeri* 'mouse' (cf. German *Fledermaus*) plus *ferehe* which must be the specific form referring to 'bat'. This latter form consists of the same suffix *-he* discussed above and a root *fere-* which I believe is related to the notion of 'fluttering' found in the two forms *fer seme* and *fer far seme*.

---

[5] Sources for the Turkic forms are as follows: Early Written Turkish -- Nadeljaev et al. (1969), Modern Uyghur -- Xĭ njiā ng Dàxué (1982), Khirghiz -- Hú (1968), Kazakh -- Jĭ n (1979), Salar -- Lín (1985), Turkish -- Alderson and Iz (1959), Chuvash -- Skvorcov (1985).

Related to the Manchu root *fer(e)* are Evenki *perē* 'to flit (of birds)' and possibly Nanai *pē r* 'lightly (leaping)'. For proto-Tungusic we can reconstruct a form **pē r(e)* 'fluttering, flitting about' (TMS II.48a, Onenko 1980: 347).

Related to this proto-Tungusic root are a number of Monglian forms: *erbelje-* 'to flit, flutter', *erbegen* 'flitting back and forth, floating', *erbegci* 'small butterfly', *erbekei* 'butterfly'.

That these forms derive from forms with an earlier initial **p* can be seen from the Middle Mongolian form for 'butterfly' preserved in the dictionary of Makaddimat Al-Adab, *herbegei* (Poppe 1938: 184).

The root of the Mongolic forms goes back to a proto-Altaic root **pē r* 'flit, flutter'. That the following syllables of the cited forms are all separate morphemes can be seen from the following comparisons:

darbayi-	'be wide, gape'
darbagar	'wide open'
darbalja-	'move (of something wide open)'
kelbeyi-	'be inclined, list'
kelbeger	'crooked, bent'
kelbelje-	'list, be out of balance'

With this information we are in a position to analyze the Mongolian word for 'butterfly', *erbegekei*. The common noun suffix *-kei* (≈ *-qai*) generally has a diminutive meaning (Ramstedt 1952: 207). In Ramstedt (1912: 68 ff.) a suffix *-ba* (≈ *-ma*) is identified; although it is of uncertain meaning, Ramstedt notes that it generally has an intransitive or middle function. The element *-ge(n)* (≈ *-ga(n)*) is in origin a deverbal noun or adjective suffix (Poppe 1927: 97, 98).

References

Alderson, A. D. and Fahir Iz. 1959. *The concise Oxford Turkish dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Benzing, Johannes. 1955. *Die tungusischen Sprachen: Versuch einer vergleichenden Grammatik*. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1955, nr. II. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Cincius, V. I. 1949. *Sravnitel'naja fonetika tunguso-man'čž urskix jazykov*. Leningrad: Nauka.

Cincius, V. I. et al. 1975-77. *Sravnitel'nyj slovar' tunguso-man'čž urskix jazykov*. 2 vols. Leningrad: Nauka.

Haenisch, Erich. 1962. *Manghol un niuca tobca'an*. Teil II, Wörterbuch. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Hú Zhènhuá. 1986. *Ke'erkèziyu jiǎ nzhì*. Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe.

Jī n Bǐ ngzhé et al. 1979. *Hǎ -Hàn cídiǎ n*. Urumqi: Xinjiang Renmin Chubanshe.

Kane, Daniel. 1989. *The Sino-Jurchen vocabulary of the bureau of interpreters*. Uralic and Altaic series, vol. 153. Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies.

Lessing, Ferdinand D., et al. 1960. *Monglian-English dictionary*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lín Liányún. 1985. *Sā lā yu& jiǎ nzhì*. Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe.

Nadeljaev, V. M., et al. 1969. *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'* . Leningrad: Nauka.

Norman, Jerry. 1972. The evolution of Proto-Tungusic *t to Manchu s. *Central Asiatic Journal* 21: 229-233.

Norman, Jerry. 1978. *A concise Manchu-English lexicon*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Onenko, S. N. 1980. *Nanajsko-Russkij slovar'*. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Russkij Jazyk".

Partridge, Eric. 1958. *Origins, a short etymological dictionary of modern English*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.

Poppe, N. 1927. Die Nominalstammbildungssuffixe im Mongolischen. *Keleti Szemle* 20: 89-126.

Poppe, Nicholas. 1938. *Mongol'skij slovar' Mukaddimat Al-Adab*. C&ast' I-II. Trudy Instituta Vostokovedenija. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR.

Poppe, Nikolaus. 1960. *Vergleichende Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen, Teil I, Vergleichende Lautlehre*. Porta Linguarum Orientalium, neue Serie IV. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Ramstedt, G. J. 1912. Zur Verbalstammbildungslehre der Mongolischen-Türkischen sprachen. *Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne* 28: 1-86.

Ramstedt, G. J. 1952. *Einführung in die altaischen Sprachwissenschaft. Formenlehre*. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.

Ramstadt, G. J. 1957. *Einführung in die altaischen Sprachwissenschaft. Lautlehre*. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.

Räsänen, Martti. 1969. *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen*. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.

Sevortjan, E. V. 1980. *Ètimolgic&eskij slovar' tjurkskix jazykov*: *obS&c&etjurkskie i meZ&tjurskie osnovy na bukvy "B" i "D"*. Moscow: Nauka.

Skvorcov, M. I. 1985. *C̆ uvaS&ko-Russkij slovar'*. Moscow: Russkij Jazyk.

Xī njiā ng Dàxué. 1982. *Wéi-Hàn cídiǎ n*. Urumqi: Xinjiang Renmin Chubanshe.

Vocabulary Notes from the Manchu Archives

Mark Elliott

Unversity of California, Santa Barbara

In researching the history of bannermen in the eighteenth century, one frequently encounters complaints regarding "slippage" in the Eight Banners. "Slippage" -- the English term is suggested by the Manchu *eyembi*, which, in its various forms, often appears in this context -- refers to the loss of Manchu language skills, a decline in martial ability, and the tendency to lead an extravagant lifestyle of ostentation and dissipation. Members of the court and leaders in the banners tried to combat these pernicious trends in a number of ways, perhaps most notably through the appeal to preserve the "Old Manchu Way" (*Manju i fe doro*).[1] The preservation of traditional ways (or at least of what were portrayed as traditional ways) was important to many thoughtful Manchus of the early and mid-1700's because those ways were linked to the maintenance of a distinct Manchu identity, and implicitly thereby to the maintenance of the power of the Eight Banners as well as, ultimately, the authority and legitimacy of the Qing dynasty. More than just cultural conservatism, therefore, the preoccupation with the *fe doro* was at heart also a political concern, and was applied to those in the Mongol, as well as the Manchu, Eight Banners. It is a concern that can be found, for instance, many places in the writings of the Yongzheng (r. 1723-1735) and Qianlong (r. 1736-1795) emperors, including both formal edicts and their more informal rescripts, as well as in memorials submitted to the throne by Manchu officials in the civil and military bureaucracies.

While fears over slippage and the degradation of the "Old Manchu Way" come out in many documents from the Qing period, both those written in Manchu and those in Chinese, the focus here is on the vocabulary used in this connection in the Manchu documents, and specifically on the word *hulen*. *Hulen* is one of the terms that emerges most commonly in Manchu edicts, rescripts, and memorials in reference to derogate bannermen:

Example 1.

> *jai Monggosoi muru be tuwaci. Dzungjab i jobobuha dade. ai jergi gisun i* *hʋ@limbume selgiyehe babe. aha bi. yargiyalame donjihakʋ@ ofi. gelhun* *akʋ@ wesimbuhekʋ@. damu Monggoso neneheci **hulen** calgari oho gese.* ("Also, considering the condition of the Mongols, in addition to what Dzungjab has testified, as I have really not heard the kind of talk [he has] misleadingly spread, I have not dared to memorialize. But it does seem that, more than before, the Mongols have become *hulen* and disorganized.")[2]

---

[1] The term *fe doro* appears first in an early 1736 rescript by the Qianlong emperor.

[2] Memorial of Nian Gengyao, YZ 3.3.24 (Yongzheng Manwen zhupi zouzhe [hereafter cited as YZMaZPZZ, packet 97).

Example 2.

> *bi gu@nici. ing ku@waran eyehe. cooha urse i* **hulen** *banuhu@n i tacin. aikabade harangga kadalara hafasa unenggi yargiyan i gu@nin i teksileme dasatame tacibume urebure oci. udu biyai sidende. uthai halaci ombi.* ("On reflection, I think that the garrison has slipped. If the supervising officers responsible really and with true intent put things in order and trained [them], then the *hulen*, lazy practices of the soldiers would, in the space of a few months, be changed.")[3]

Example 3.

> *jai gu@wa goloi fusembure menggun i dorgide. erei adali fulu tucinjihengge labdu ofi. da beye menggun be afabuki serengge bici. inu wesimbufi afabukini. damu aika da icihiyangge moco* **hulen**. ("Also, there have been many cases of extracting this much surplus from out of the interest-bearing silver of other provinces. If the order came to surrender the seed capital, it would be surrendered. But managing the capital like this [would be] stupid and *hulen*.")[4]

Hulen is often combined in the documents with another word, *sula*, as in the following examples:

Example 4.

> *te inenggi biya goidara jakade.* **hulen sula** *ofi. feniyen acafi arki nure omire jiha efiyere be aku@ seci ojoraku@.* ("Now that days and months have stretched long, [the soldiers] have become *hulen sula*, and it cannot be said that they are not meeting in groups to drink and gamble.")[5]

Example 5.

> *saha. sini hing seme fassaki sere gu@nin be bi teksime sambi. giyang ning golo coohai tacin* **hulen sula** *nenehe tusan i ambasa umai kadalaraku@ tuwancihiyaraku@ goidaha.* ("Acknowledged. I am well aware of your intent to dedicate yourself [to your duties]. That the practices of the provincial [garrison] troops in Jiangning [Nanjing] are *hulen sula* [is because] formerly the officers in that post long failed to supervise them and put things in order.")[6]

Example 6.

> *ejen afabuha baita de. heni tusa ojoro seme. inenggi dobori aku@ hing seme gu@nimbi. ai gelhun aku@ fafun sajin be* **hulen sula** *obume. buya fusihu@n ulhicun aku@ urse i gu@nin de acabume yabumbi.* ("In the matters entrusted [to me] by my lord, even concerning a minor

---

[3] Rescript quoted in memorial of Unaha, QL 1.8.2 (Gongzhong Manwen zajian 5).

[4] Memorial of Ayangga, QL 2.4.28 (QLMaZPZZ 61).

[5] Memorial of Bootai, YZ 1.9.26 (YZMaZPZZ 15).

[6] Memorial of Ilibu, YZ4.10.4 (YZMaZPZZ 434).

improvement, I consider it thoroughly day and night. How should I dare cause the laws and teachings [of the emperor] to become *hulen sula*, and handle matters according to the desires of petty, dull, and stupid people?")[7]

Example 7.

*mini beye elhe. donjici. cooha ureburede sini beye nikenifi tuwara bade sitabumbi. ere ojorakʊ@. si an i cooha **hulen sula** nofi inenggi goidaha. labdu hʊ@sutulerakʊ@ ainame ainame alban kame yabuci. mini akdafi baitalaha be urgedehekai. kice.* ("I am fine. I am informed that in their training, you, upon whom the soldiers rely personally for supervision are causing them to fall behind. This will not do. For a long time now the soldiers at Xi'an have been *hulen sula* people. They do not exert themselves when they perform their public duties. Are you betraying my trust in you? Work hard!")[8]

Example 8.

*te geli enduringge ejen i tacibume wasimbuha hese be gingguleme dahafi. hing seme gʊ@nin be tebufi. hafan cooha be hʊ@sutuleme urebume. ainaha seme **hulen sula** oburakʊ@. urunakʊ@ sain tacin de isibure . . . .* ("Now, reverently obeying another of my sacred lord's instructive edicts, I have earnestly set my purpose to diligently train the officers and men. No matter what, I will not let them become *hulen sula*, but will definitely [see that they] achieve good practices . . . .")[9]

Example 9.

*gung diyan i hʊ@wa. harangga kadalaha hafasa. giyan i dosire tucire niyalma be kimcire baicaci acambi. hesei fafulaha baita be umai ciralame baicarakʊ@. dahame yabubume goidahakʊ@ de uthai **hulen sula** ofi. turihe irgen be ududu jergi duka be dosimbufi yabubuhangge ambula acahakʊ@bi.* ("It would be proper for the officials concerned with managing the courtyards of the palace to check on the people entering and leaving the halls. They do not strictly inspect imperially-ordered matters at all. In so doing, in a short time they have thus become *hulen sula*: allowing the free passage several times through [palace] gates by hired commoners is highly inappropriate.")[10]

Thus far I have deliberately left untranslated the word *hulen* and the compound *hulen sula*. The reason for this is simple: *hulen* does not appear in any of the standard lexicographical references. Neither Hauer, Norman, or Haneda list the word; it is also absent from Qing-period Manchu-Chinese dictionaries such as the *Yuzhi wuti Qingwen*

---

[7] Memorial of Yansin, YZ4.5.11 (YZMaZPZZ 110).
[8] Memorial of Yansin YZ4.10.2 (YZMaZPZZ 110).
[9] Memorial of Yansin, YZ4.12.15 (YZMaZPZZ 480)
[10]Rescript quoted in memorial of Samboo, YZ12.6.16 (YZMaZPZZ 235).

jian and the *Qingwen zonghui*, as well as the newer *Jianming Man-Han cidian*.[11] Its meaning, therefore, awaits definition. The remainder of this article takes up this problem.

Several possible meanings suggest themselves. Given that *hulen* usually appeared together with words such as "lazy," "stupid," and "disorganized," we should expect that, as an adjective, *hulen* also carried negative connotations. The especially frequent pairing of *hulen* with *sula* (defined in dictionaries as "loose, idle, free," often with the meaning of "unemployed") makes it clear that the meaning of *hulen* was hardly complimentary. This is further confirmed by the contexts cited above of gambling, drinking, and, in particular, the failure to perform one's duties in the proper way. Based on an evaluation of the examples gathered above, the tentative definition I propose here for *hulen* is "careless," "inattentive," or "lax," depending on the context.

Using this definition, a complete translation of Example 2 above reads: "On reflection, I think that the garrison has slipped. If the supervising officers responsible really and with true intent put things in order and trained [them], then the careless, lazy practices of the soldiers would, in the space of a few months, be changed." The compound *hulen sula*, accordingly, might be translated as "careless and idle," as in Example 4: "Now that days and months have stretched long, [the soldiers] have become careless and idle and it cannot be said that they are not meeting in groups to drink and gamble."

We can further test the suitability of this definition by seeing how well it fits a related word, *huledembi* (sometimes also written *huledumbi*, causative *huledebumbi*), that is almost certainly the verbalized form of *hulen*. *Huledembi* is also absent from the manjurist's usual dictionaries, but appears in eighteenth-century Manchu documents. Some examples of these lexical items:

Example 10.

> *suwe meni meni afabuha alban be saikan ginggule kice. ume* **huledere**.
> ("Respect and perform well the various official duties assigned to you. Do not slack off.")[12]

Example 11.

> *ere durun i aniya goidame morisa be* **huledehekʉ@** *belhehe turgun de. neneme utala mudan cooha yabuci umai tookanjahakʉ@ngge gemu morin i hʉ@sun de akdafi yabuhabi.* ("Because for many years in this way the horses have been prepared and not neglected, if the same number of soldiers as before were riding, they have been able to ride, relying on the strength of each horse, with none having gotten skinny.")[13]

Example 12.

---

[11] Erich Hauer, *Handwörterbuch der Mandschusprache* (Wiesbaden, 1952-55); Jerry Norman, *A Concise Manchu-English Lexicon* (Seattle, 1978); Haneda Tôru, *Manwa jiten* (Kyoto, 1937); *Yuzhi wuti Qingwen jian* (Beijing reprint, 1957); *Qingwen zonghui* (Beijing, 1897); *Jianming Man-Han cidian* (Zhengzhou, 1987). *Hulen* also does not appear in either of the two most recent dictionaries, *Xin Man-Han da cidian* (Urumchi, 1994) and *Man-Han da cidian* (Shenyang, 1993).

[12] Rescript quoted in memorial of Siju, KX47.8.29 (KXMaZPZZ 469).

[13] Memorial of Siju, KX51.4.6 (KXMaZPZZ 469).

te enduringge ejen i ferguwecuke dasan horon huᴗ@turi de. abkai fejergi umesi taifin. tangguᴗ@ minggan aniya baita akuᴗ@ bicibe. sansi de jecen i ergi be seremseme tebuhe cooha be dahame. coohai belhen be emu inenggi seme **huledeci** *ojorakuᴗ@.* ("Presently, owing to the wonderful rule, majesty, and auspiciousness of my sacred lord, all is tranquil under heaven. [Still,] even if everything were to be uneventful for a million years, as the garrison troops in Shaanxi guard the border, it would be wrong to neglect military preparations [here] for even one day.")[14]

Example 13.

jai ere jergingge baci. uthai jafafi wesimbu. uttu ohode bireme ulhibume selgiye. ambasa aika derencume **huledefi** *minde nambuci harangga kadalaha urse. ambasa be suwaliyame weile gisurebumbi.* ("In addition, report to the throne afterward about this sort of thing. In that way, everything will be announced and made clear. If I catch any officials shamelessly slacking off, I will have [that and] the offenses of the responsible supervising people and officials reported together.")[15]

Example 14.

ere dorgi niyalma ojoro bithede sain ningge baci. sini bithesi oron tucici dahabume wesimbuci inu ombi. damu encu juguᴗ@n Nikasa i oron be temseci ojorakuᴗ@. jai de jabsara be tuwame ceni jingkini fassara juguᴗ@n be **huledembi**. ("In cases where among these there are people who can write well, it is fine to put them forward in memorials for positions as your *bithesi*. But it is not permitted [for them] to compete for openings belonging to Chinese in other routes. Moreover, in looking out for ways to obtain advantages, they neglect their straight and true path of hard work.")[16]

Example 15

cooha urse be **huledebume** *sula obure tacin. labdu holbobuhabi. ba umesi amba. urunakuᴗ@ mini hese be dahame kice*. ("The matter of the soldiers being made careless and their skills empty, is very important. The land is large, [so] you must work hard according to my edicts.")[17]

Example 16.

ede dursuki akuᴗ@ urse. aikabade alban boobe **huledeme** *balai garlara tuhebure de isiburengge bici. meni meni guᴗ@sai ambasa. baicame tucibufi hafan oci wakalame wesimbufi ujeleme weile arabuki [. . .] uttu ohode. boo tehe niyalma fafun de geleme. gelhun akuᴗ@* **hulederakuᴗ@** *bime. boo inu ainaha seme tuhere efujere de isinarakuᴗ@ ombi.* ("As for unreliable people, if it gets to the point that they neglect the public housing [given

---

[14] Loc. cit.

[15] Memorial of Yentai, YZ1.5.9 (YZMaZPZZ 2).

[16] Memorial of Nomin, YZ2.R4.9 (YZMaZPZZ 113).

[17] Rescript to memorial of Yansin, YZ4.5.11 (YZMaZPZZ 110).

them] by wantonly destroying and ruining it, the different banner officials will investigate, and if [the offenders are] officers, send memorials indicting [them] of serious crimes. [. . .] In that way, people living in the houses will fear the law, they will not dare to be neglectful, and the houses will surely not end up being wrecked and ruined."[18]

From these examples, it would seem that a definition of *huledembi* meaning "to neglect," "to be lax," "to be careless" would fit well.

Final confirmation that the tentative definitions given above are, in fact, reasonably close to the actual meaning of *hulen/huledembi* is found in a rare manuscript Russian-Manchu dictionary, compiled in 1890 by V.N. Ladygin, then Russian consul in Kuldja (Ili).[19] There we find *hulen* listed under the entry *bespechnyi*, which Russian-English dictionaries define as "light-hearted," "untroubled," "without care," or "carefree." If we are justified in concluding that, semantically, these meanings of *bespechnyi* stem not from philosophical resignation or irrepressible joie de vivre, but from the absence of worry where worry ought to be present (*bes* = "without," *pecha* = "care," "concern"), it is not difficult to connect these meanings and the meanings proposed here for the word *hulen*. We conclude that *hulen* was used to describe the behavior of someone who was "carefree," someone who was unburdened by conscience or worries over job performance, a slacker, in modern parlance. By extension, *huledembi* meant to behave in such a way -- irresponsibly, negligently, carelessly. The decline in martial standards within the Eight Banners during the eighteenth century unfortunately meant that these words received a lot of use. It is strange, indeed, that they were not included in contemporary dictionaries.

*   *   *

Words such as *hulen* and *huledembi* are but a couple of examples of the sort of lexicographical novelty -- and difficulty -- one encounters when reading Manchu archival documents. Especially in the case of items from the first half of the Qing period, when the language was in common daily use and subject to genuine, popular creative forces, one frequently runs into words or word usages that are not explained in dictionaries. Finding a native speaker of Manchu to consult on problem words is usually out of the question. The reader is then forced to decide: Either fall victim to troublesome words by ignoring the phrases or even the documents in which they appear, or rise to the challenge by keeping a record of the appearance of strange words, comparing and evaluating the contexts in which they appears, and arriving at an educated guess as to their meaning. As this brief research note has shown, the latter is the more interesting and, for all interested in Manchu studies, the more profitable choice.

---

[18] Memorial of Yarhûda, YZ7.R7.11 (YZMaZPZZ 168).

[19] This bibliographical curiosity is part of the Kotwicz Collection, held in the Section of Mongol Studies, Oriental Institute, Warsaw University. I am grateful to Prof. Jerzy Tulisow for the opportunity of examining this dictionary.

Labial Harmony in Written Manchu[*]

Xi Zhang & B. Elan Dresher
University of Toronto

0. Introduction

Manchu is a Tungusic language (Vovin 1993), one of a number of related languages spoken in northern China and in the former Soviet Union. Written Manchu (WM), also known as Classical Manchu, refers to the language of the Manchu court from the late sixteenth to the early twentieth century (Ard 1984). Since it is a written language, its phonetic system, and hence its phonology, must be reconstructed from the orthography. The correspondence between orthography and phonetics is particularly problematic in WM, and this has misled some students of its phonology. We will provide evidence for a particular interpretation of certain aspects of the WM vowel system.

WM exhibits two different harmony processes. The first process, with which we will not be concerned here, has been interpreted in different ways by different linguists: some are proponents of some version of coronal harmony, involving a distinction between front and back vowels (Vago 1973, Odden 1978, Walker 1993b); some assume instead that it involves relative height (Hayata 1980, Ard 1984); Zhang (1994) proposes an analysis in which the relevant feature is RTR, distinguishing vowels with retracted vs. advanced tongue root. This harmony process has been much discussed, but we will not say more about it here.

We will be concerned with another harmony process in WM, namely labial harmony. With respect to this type of harmony, most writers are in agreement that it involves the feature LABIAL, or ROUND (depending on one's feature system). Nevertheless, our account of labial harmony in WM is new with respect to explaining the conditions under which it occurs.

It has sometimes been assumed that whether a vowel is transparent or opaque to vowel harmony is a consequence of its featural representation, which is determined partially by the contrasts that it enters into (a number of examples of such an account are presented below). WM appears to counterexemplify this assumption in terms of labial harmony. However, we will argue that vowels in WM appear to be opaque to harmony for an independent reason. We will show that labial harmony in WM is subject to a condition which has not been observed before in vowel harmony, to our knowledge. We will further support our analysis by showing that the same condition holds on labial harmony in the modern Tungusic language Oroqen.

1. Labial harmony in Khalkha and Standard Evenki

Before looking at WM, we will begin by considering two other languages, Khalkha Mongolian and Evenki Tungus. According to van der Hulst and Smith (1988), these two form a 'minimal pair' in terms of labial harmony: both languages have a similar process of labial harmony, but differ with respect to what vowels may intervene.

Labial harmony in Khalkha affects only underlyingly low vowels. The round high vowels /u/ and /U/ are opaque, but /i/ is transparent to labial harmony. The transparency of /i/ to labial harmony in Khalkha is shown in (1); the suffix *-AAs* rounds to *-OOs*, where the harmony appears to skip over the intervening high vowel /i/:

(1) /i/ is transparent to labial harmony in Khalkha (van der Hulst & Smith 1988)

Stem	Ablative suff.	Output	Gloss
mOrin	-AAs	mOrin-OOs	*horse*

Standard Evenki shares the opacity of /u/ to labial harmony. However, unlike Khalkha, /i/ in Evenki is opaque to labial harmony, as shown in (2), where the /i/ of *-iglA* appears to block the spread of rounding to the suffix vowel /A/:

(2) /i/ is opaque to labial harmony in Evenki (van der Hulst & Smith 1988)

Stem	Destinative suff.	Output	Gloss
OrOr	-(i)glA	OrOr-igla	*deer*

Van der Hulst and Smith explain the different behaviours of /i/ in Khalkha and Evenki with respect to labial harmony in terms of the contrasts of the vowel systems of these two languages. Their vowel systems are shown in (3) and (4), respectively:

(3) Vowel inventory of Khalkha Mongolian (based on van der Hulst & Smith 1988)

Nonlabial		Labial		
i	e	o	u	ATR
	a	O	U	Non-ATR

(4) Vowel system of Standard Evenki (based on van der Hulst & Smith 1988)

Front	Central	Labial	
i	´ u	ATR	
E	a	O	Non-ATR

The basic claim of van der Hulst & Smith (1988), translating from their formalism, is that in (3), the positively specified features are Labial, Low, and ATR. /i/ is not Labial or Low, and is not specified for ATR due to its lack of a non-ATR counterpart. /i/ is, therefore, not specified for any relevant feature and so is transparent to labial harmony in Khalkha. In Standard Evenki (4), Front must also be specified, though the ATR value of front and round vowels is predictable. /i/ is Front; since /i/ has a feature, it is opaque to labial harmony in Standard Evenki, according to the theory of van der Hulst & Smith.

However, the contrastive specification of vowel systems alone is not sufficient to explain the opacity of /i/ to labial harmony in WM, which is genetically close and geographically contiguous to Khalkha Mongolian and Evenki Tungus.

2. Labial harmony facts in written Manchu

The vowel inventory of WM is shown in (5):

(5) Vowel inventory of written Manchu (Zhang 1994)

Nonlabial		Labial		
i	´<e>		u	ATR
	a		o Ü<û>	Non-ATR

As in Khalkha and Evenki, (6) shows that in WM the trigger and target are both Low in labial harmony:

(6) **o-o(-o)** in stems (Norman 1978)

boco	*colour*	boco-nggo	*coloured*
dobon	*offering*	dobo-no-	*go to offer*
dorolon	*rite*	dorolo-no-	*go to salute*
foholon	*short*	foholo-kon	*rather short*
monggo	*Mongolian*	monggo-ro-	*speak Mongolian*
okson	*step*	okson-jo-	*make small steps*
oshon	*cruel*	osho-do-	*be cruel*
osoho	*claw*	osoho-nggo	*having claws*
osohon	*small*	osoho-kon	*rather small*

As we expect, given (5) and the hypothesis of van der Hulst & Smith, the high vowel /u/ is opaque to labial harmony because it is specified for Labial. This is shown in (7), where rounding does not spread across /u/:

(7) **o-u** in stems (Norman 1978)[1]

nomun	*scripture*	nomu-la-	*preach*
bofun (boofun)	*a wrapper*	bofu-la-	*wrap*

However, we would also expect, given (5), that /i/ ought to be transparent to labial harmony in WM. This is because /i/ is not Labial or Low, and does not need to be specified for ATR, due to the lack of a contrasting non-ATR counterpart. The position of /i/ in the WM inventory (5) is similar to that of /i/ in Khalkha (3) with respect to contrasts; however, it behaves like /i/ in Evenki (4) in being opaque to labial harmony, as shown in (8):

---

[1] Words with the structure in (2b) are rare in WM.

(8) **o-i** in stems (Norman 1978)

doksin	*cruel*	doksi-ra-	*act cruelly*
donji-	*hear*	donji-ha-	*heard*
dosi-	*enter*	dosi-na-	*go to enter*
golmin	*long*	golmi-kan	*rather long*
gosin	*pity, mercy*	gosi-ngga	*loving,compassionate*
jorin	*aim*	jori-ngga	*theme*
monji-	*rub*	monji-ra-	*wring the hand*
morin	*horse*	mori-ngga	*pertaining to a horse*
		mori-la-	*go by horse*
nonggi-	*add to*	nonggi-na-	*go to add*
soli-	*invite*	soli-na-	*go to invite*
yohi	*complete*	yohi-ngga	*entire, whole*
yokcin	*impressive*	yokci-ngga	*have a good looking*

The opacity of /i/ to labial harmony in WM is difficult to explain from the point of view of contrastive specifications.

The problem goes further than just the status of /i/. Based on what has been said to now, there is no reason why labial harmony is blocked in (9a-b), where there are no intervening high vowels at all:

(9) a. **o-a (oo-a)** in stems (Norman 1978)

booha	*side dish*	booha-la-	*eat side dish*
boolan	*report*	boola-na-	*go to report*
coban	*a lever*	coba-la-	*lift with a lever*
cooha	*troops*	cooha-la-	*send troops*

b. **o (oo)** in stems (Norman 1978)

do-	*alight* (of birds)	do-na-	*alight in swarm*
doo-	*cross* (a river)	doo-na-	*go to cross*
go-	*break a promise*	go-ha-	perfective
non	*younger sister*	no-ta	pl.
ton	*number*	to-ngga	*few, rare*
yo (yoo) *go, walk*		yo-ha-	perfective
yoo	*sore*	yoo-na-	*form a sore*

Any explanation which attributes the failure of labial harmony in (7) and (8) to the presence of an intervening high vowel will have to account for the failure of harmony in (9) by some other means, perhaps by labeling these forms as exceptions to labial harmony. We shall argue, however, that the forms in (9) are not exceptional, but fall under a simple generalization.

Before proceeding to discover what this generalization is, we need to clarify the phonetic and phonological status of the sound written with double *oo*. There is a dispute among scholars as to the phonetic value of this symbol and whether it is phonemically a long vowel or a short vowel. Maddison (1984: 283) describes the WM vowel system as having six short vowels and one long vowel, namely, *oo*. Against this view, Seong (1989), among others, argues that *oo* is an allographeme of *o*. Thus, it is very often the case that words with *oo* can be found to be represented also with *o* in WM, as seen in (10a):

(10) a. variation of **oo** and **o** (Norman 1978; Seong 1989)

coocara-/cocara-	*to act carelessly*
coola-/cola-	*to fry*
coolgon/colgon/colhon	*peak*
cooman/coman	*goblet*
dooran/doran	*virgin land*
doosida-/dosida-	*to covert*
joola-/jola-	*to join the hands as greeting*
ooron/oron	*vacant post*
poojan/pojan	*firecracker*
yoohan/yohan	*cotton*

b. 'Minimal pairs' (Seong 1989)

doo-	*to cross (a river)*		do-	*to alight (of birds)*
doosi	*greedy*	dosi	*to the inside*	
ooha	*river perch*		oha	*obedient; river perch*
oori	*essence, spirit*		ori	*glass beads; essence, spirit*

Seong (1989) notices that *oo* occurs mainly in the initial syllable of a word; words with *oo* in the noninitial syllable are rare, and almost all of them are compounds (e.g. *taiboo* 'Grand Guardian'). He points out that, just as the words in (10a) are due to orthographic fluctuation, so similarly the apparent minimal pairs in (10b) are not true phonemic minimal pairs. Thus, the word for 'river perch' can be found written with *oo* and also with *o*, though the word for 'obedient' is found only with *o*.; presumably, the contrast found in the last two words in (10b) is accidental, and not phonologically significant.

There is a class of words written only with *oo* which never varies with *o*. As pointed out by Seong (1989), these are usually Manchu loan words borrowed from Chinese, in which *oo* represents a sound pronounced [au] in Chinese, as shown in (11):

(11) **oo** in words borrowed from Chinese (Norman 1978; Seong 1989)

Loanwords in WM	Chinese Pinyin	Gloss
doocang	daochang	*a Buddist rite*
doose	daoshi	*a Taoist priest*
jooli	zhaoli	*ladle for lifting things from water*
loo	lao	*prison*
loo loo	lao lao	*maternal grandmother*

| poo | pao | *cannon* |
| yoose | yaoshi | *lock* |

That *oo* represents Chinese /au/ is also confirmed by the fact that there is no diphthong /au/ in the diphthong system of WM.[2] It appears, then, that *oo* is the graphemic representation of the Chinese diphthong /au/ in these borrowed words. Thus, we follow Seong (1989) in regarding *oo* as an orthographical variant of *o*, and not as a counterpart of *o* in length. As we shall see, *oo*- patterns with a single *o* and not with a sequence of two short *o*s in labial harmony.

3. Mechanism of labial harmony in written Manchu

Since we have claimed that *o* and *oo* are neither phonetically nor phonologically distinctive in terms of vowel length, all the forms in (6)-(9) can be schematically represented in (12), where C stands for any consonant:

(12) schematic representation of labial harmony in WM

    a. C o C o (C o) - C o   a'. *C o C o (C o) - C a
    b. C o C u - C a   b'. *C o C u - C o
    c. C o C i - C a   c'. *C o C i - C o
    d. C o C a - C a   d'. *C o C a - C o
    e. C o - C a   e'. *C o - C o

As we have seen, labial harmony in WM occurs only in (12a), but never in (12b-e).

Next, we will discuss how labial harmony in WM has been explained in previous work, looking in particular at accounts by Odden (1978), Hayata (1980), and Walker (1993b).

Odden (1978) formulates the rule of rounding assimilation shown in (13):

(13) rounding assimilation (Odden 1978)

$$e \longrightarrow o \, / \, o \, C_0 \underline{\hspace{1cm}}$$

    (a front mid vowel becomes back when preceded immediately by *o*)

The harmony rule in (13) is problematic in several ways. We note first that it is based on the assumption that the underlying suffix vowel in WM is /e/, an assumption we do not accept. However, we will not enter into this issue here. For even if we accept this assumption, the rule in (13), while accounting for the forms in (12a-c), fails to explain the forms in (12d-e), where no high vowels intervene between the mid vowels.
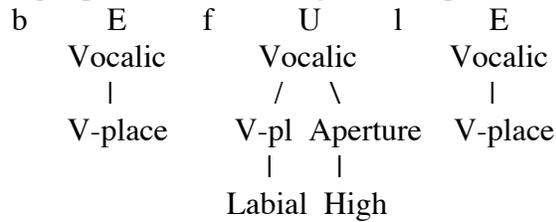
---

[2] Written Manchu has the following diphthongs (Zhang 1994):

| Roman letter: | ai | ei | eo | iya | iye | iyo (io) | oi | uwa | uwe | ui |
| phoneme: | /ai/ | /ʹi/ | /ʹu/ | /ia/ | /iʹ/ | /io/ | /oi/ | /ua/ | /uʹ/ | /ui/ |

Walker (1993b) claims that [Labial] is a morpheme-domain feature for low vowels, but a segment-domain feature for high vowels. In other words, low vowels spread the feature [Labial], but high vowels do not.

For example, the underlying representations and the result of labial association of the forms in (12b-c) can be shown using the words *bofu-la* 'wrap' and *gosi-ngga* 'affectionate' in (14a-b) and (15a-b), respectively:

(14) a. underlying representation for *bofu-la* 'wrap'
```
       b     E     f     U     l     E
          Vocalic     Vocalic     Vocalic
             |         /  \          |
          V-place   V-pl Aperture  V-place
                      |    |
                    Labial High
```

Morpheme domain: Labial   Association rule: Link labial Anchor: Vocalic
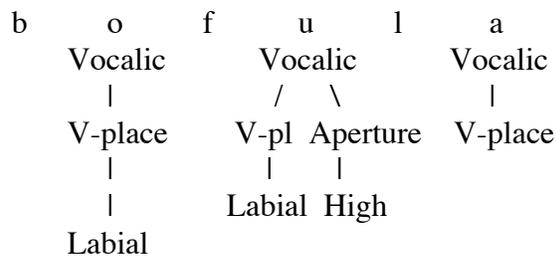
b. association of Labial
```
       b     o     f     u     l     a
          Vocalic     Vocalic     Vocalic
             |         /  \          |
          V-place   V-pl Aperture  V-place
             |        |    |
             |      Labial High
          Labial
```
(15) a. underlying representation for *gosi-ngga* 'affectionate'
```
       g     E     s     i     ngg   E
          Vocalic     Vocalic     Vocalic
             |           |           |
          V-place     Aperture    V-place
                         |
                       High
```

Morpheme domain: Labial   Association rule: Link labial Anchor: Vocalic

b. association of Labial
```
       g     o     s     i     ngg   a
          Vocalic     Vocalic     Vocalic
             |           |           |
          V-place     Aperture    V-place
             |           |
             |         High
          Labial
```

(14) shows that the morpheme feature [Labial] cannot link to the high round vowel /U/ because the segment already has [Labial] underlyingly. The association of the morpheme feature [Labial] cannot cross /U/ wit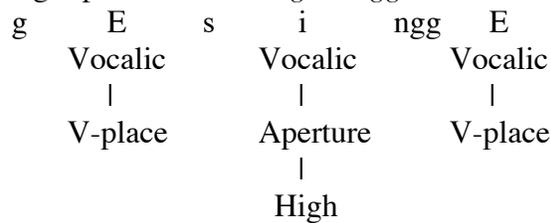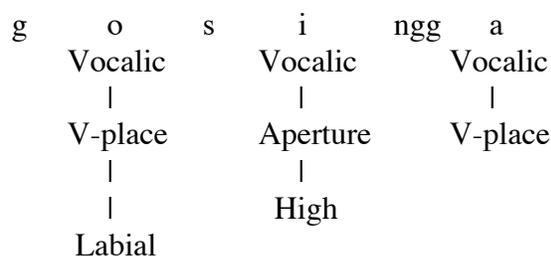hout violating locality. This analysis is similar to that of Van der Hulst & Smith which we discussed earlier, in that the presence of a feature on the high round vowel causes it to be opaque to labial harmony.

What about the high front vowel /i/? Recall that in terms of contrastive specifications, /i/ does not need to be specified for V-place, and this causes a problem for Van der Hulst & Smith's theory, since we would expect /i/ to be transparent to labial harmony. Walker (1993a,b) also adopts a theory of contrastive specification, and thus assumes that /i/ has no V-place node, as shown in (15a). Since it has no V-place node, [Labial] cannot link to /i/. But why then can the harmony not cross over the /i/ to the following low vowel? Walker proposes that in labial harmony, the anchor and the target for Labial association are different: although the target is V-place, the anchor is Vocalic. According to Walker, this is the marked option; the default is that the target and anchor are the same. If the anchor for labial harmony is Vocalic, then [Labial] cannot pass over the /i/ to associate to /E/ because doing so would violate locality, for the high vowel h as a Vocalic anchor.

Walker's analysis offers an account for the forms in (12b-c). However, we note that the decision to make the anchor Vocalic does not follow from any principle, but is a stipulation designed to allow /i/ to be opaque. Also, like Odden's, Walker's analysis does not give any explanation for the forms in (12d-e).

Finally, the labial harmony rule for WM given by Hayata (1980) is shown in (16):

(16) rounding assimilation rule (Hayata 1980)

$$V \longrightarrow [\text{+round}]/\ V\ C_1\quad V\quad +\ C_1 \underline{\hspace{2cm}}$$
$$[\text{+round}]$$
$$[\text{+low}]$$

(a suffix vowel is converted into *o* when preceded by a polysyllabic stem ending in *o*)

The rule in (16) must be amended in a number of ways. First, the vowel which is the target of the harmony must be specified to be a low vowel. Second, the target vowel is not necessarily a suffix vowel: since WM has stems with three low round vowels, such as in (6) *dorolon, foholon*, etc., but no stems with two *o*s followed by *a*, it follows that harmony is obligatory also within a stem in the context of (16). With these revisions, the rule accounts for all the harmony facts represented in (12).

However, the rule lacks explanatory adequacy in a number of ways. First, it simply stipulates that labial harmony can affect only immediately adjacent vowels; thus, Hayata does not deal with the question of why the high vowels are opaque to labial harmony. The second problem is more subtle. As the rule is written, the first V in the environment may be any vowel, and the second vowel must be /o/. In fact, there is no *o* in the second syllable of a stem in WM unless there is an *o* in the first syllable. Therefore, the generality of rule (16) is somewhat misleading, and, in our view, actually conceals an important generalization about WM labial harmony.

Given the harmonic and disharmonic forms in (12), it is obvious that labial harmony in WM has something to do with the number of low vowels in a stem. We, therefore, propose the syllable condition on labial harmony in WM given in (17):

(17) <u>syllable condition on labial harmony in written Manchu:</u>
[Labial] has to be linked to two adjacent syllables of low vowels in a morpheme in order to spread.

With (17), all the forms in (12) can be well accounted for. (12a) is expected to exhibit labial harmony in the suffix because [Labial] is linked to two syllables in the stem underlyingly. Similarly, labial harmony should spread to a third stem low vowel. In these cases, labial harmony is obligatory, for no forms of the type (12a') are found. When [Labial] is linked to only one syllable in a stem, it cannot spread to any subsequent syllables, no matter whether high vowels intervene, as in (12b-c), or not , as in (12d-e).

The labial harmony mechanism for some Manchu words is shown in (18)-(20):

(18) a. underlying representation for *monggo-ro* 'speak Mongolian'[3]

$$\sigma \qquad \sigma$$

m   o   ngg   o   r   E

\\   /
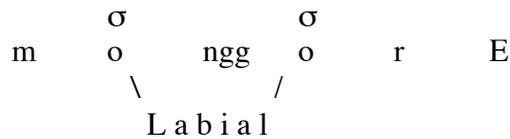
L a b i a l

b. Labial spreading

$$\sigma \qquad \sigma \qquad \sigma$$

m   o   ngg   o   r   o

| /

---
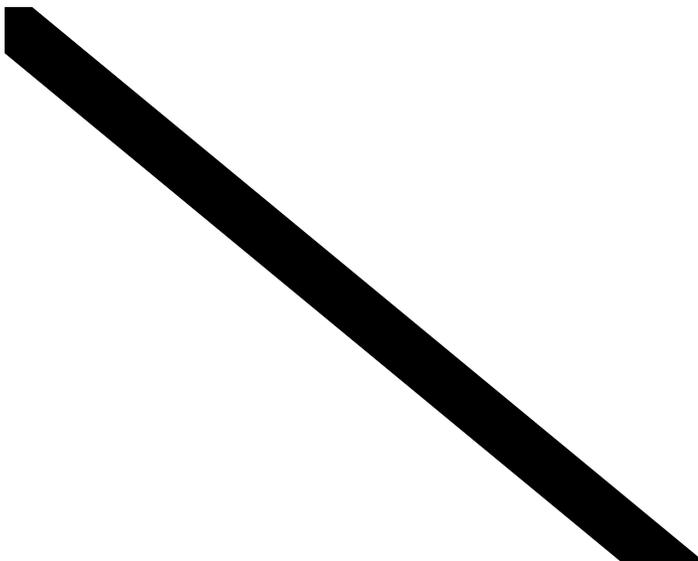
[3] The velar-uvular alternation in WM is ignored here.

L a b i a l

In (18), [Labial] spreads to a low vowel because it is linked to two syllables underlyingly; in (19) and (20), [Labial] cannot spread because it is linked to a single syllable underlyingly:

(19) a. underlying representation for *golmi-kan* 'rather long'

```
        σ              σ        σ
g   o   l   m   i   k   E   n
    |
    Labial
```

b. Labial is linked to one syllable and cannot spread; default realization

```
        σ              σ        σ
g   o   l   m   i   k   a   n
    |
    Labial
```

(20) a. underlying representation for *coba-la* 'to lift with a lever'

```
        σ          σ          σ
c   o   b   E   l   E
    |
    Labial
```

b. Labial is linked to one syllable and cannot spread; default realization

```
        σ          σ          σ
c   o   b   a   l   a
    |
    Labial
```

It follows, then, that the failure of harmony in cases (12b) and (12c) is not due to the presence of the high vowel at all. We have thus almost solved the problem of why the vowel /i/ is opaque to labial harmony in WM, even though its position in the vowel system would lead us to expect it to be transparent. The answer is that labial harmony fails before /i/ for an independent reason. This, however, is only a partial answer, because of forms like those in (21):

(21) **o-o-i** in stems (Norman 1978)

godori	*leaping up siddenly*	godori-la-	*to leap up*
hoshori	*curly (hair)*	hoshori-la-	*to curl*
kofori	*hollow*	kofori-na-	*to become hollow*
oktosi	*doctor*	oktosi-la-	*to cure*
otori	*a small scale battue in spring-time*	otori-la	*to hunt (on a battue) in spring-time*

In (21) we list stems which have two round low vowels followed by /i/. When a suffix with a low vowel is added to these stems, the low vowel does not undergo labial harmony, even though [Labial] is associated with two syllables in the stem. These cases show that the high vowel /i/ blocks the spread of labial harmony in WM. Therefore, like some of the other analyses we have discussed, we also have to limit labial harmony so that it does not skip any syllables. Recall that Walker achieved this result by stipulating that the anchor for labial harmony is the feature [Vocalic]. Although we cannot dispense with such a condition, we may now be able to see why it exists. Notice that the condition in (17) requires that [Labial] be associated to two adjacent syllables. That is, the rule of labial harmony must in any case check the syllable tier in order to permit the harmony to occur. We propose that this adjacency condition must remain in force and apply to the spreading of [Labial] as well.

The syllable condition on labial harmony in WM is not an isolated phenomenon. The same condition on labial harmony is also found in other Manchu-Tungusic languages in China. We will demonstrate this by looking briefly at labial harmony in the Oroqen language.

4. Labial harmony in Oroqen

Oroqen [OrO'tCEn] is a Tungusic language spoken in the northeast of China with about 2,000 speakers at present. The Oroqen data reported in this paper is from Zhang's fieldwork (Zhang 1989; 1995b).

Oroqen has the vowel inventory shown in (22):

(22) vowel inventory of Oroqen (Zhang 1989; 1995b)

	Neutral	RTR				Non-RTR			
High	i ii	y			Ü ÜÜ				u uu
Low			EE	a aa	O OO		ee	´ ˝	o oo

Unlike WM, Oroqen has both short and long vowels. In Oroqen, the feature [Labial] may occur on a low vowel only if it is associated with the first two moras of a stem as its domain. The two moras may be associated with either two short vowels or one long vowel, or a short vowel plus a long vowel, as shown in (23):

(23) [Labial] has to be linked to two moras within a morpheme (Zhang 1995a)

a. [Labial] linked to two short vowels

	RTR		Non-RTR	
kOrO	*terrible*	mowon		*silver*
tOrOki	*boar*	toNgorin		*round*

b. [Labial] linked to one short vowel and one long vowel

	RTR		Non-RTR	
tONOOr	*span*		oNkoo	*rain heavily*
mONgOO		*boat*	boodo	*kitchen*

knife

c. [Labial] linked to one long vowel

RTR		Non-RTR	
mOO	*tree*	doo-	*mince* (meat)
nOOdaa-	*throw*	koorg´	*bridge*
nOOdÜ	*before*	kooxun	*empty*
OOkii	*how many*	oorin	*all*

d. [Labial] is not allowed to be linked to just one short low rounded vowel

RTR	Non-RTR
*CO-	*Co-
*COCi-	*CoCi-
*COCÜ-	*CoCu-

[Labial] has to be linked to two syllables (not two moras) in order to spread. A long vowel by itself does not trigger labial harmony:

(24) [Labial] has to be linked to two syllables in order to spread (Zhang 1995b)

a. [Labial] is linked to two short vowels; [Labial] spreads (*COCO-Ca, *CoCo-C´)

RTR		Non-RTR	
OlO-wO	*fish* (obj.)	tçoNko-wo	*window* (obj.)

b. [Labial] is linked to a short vowel plus a long vowel; [Labial] spreads

RTR		Non-RTR	
OlgOO-rOn	*to dry*	oloo-ron	*to boil*

c. [Labial] is linked to a long vowel plus a short vowel; [Labial] spreads

RTR		Non-RTR	
mOOtçOn-mO	*difficulty* (obj.)	mooro-ron	*to moan*

d. [Labial] is linked to one long vowel; [Labial] does not spread (*COO-CO, *Coo-Co)

RTR		Non-RTR	
mOO-wa	*tree*(obj.)	doo-r´n	*to mince*

A brief comparison of labial harmony in WM and in Oroqen is given in (25). We find that the conditions on labial harmony in these two languages are the same: both languages require that [Labial] be linked to two syllables in order to spread. In Oroqen, [labial] must have two moras as its domain in a morpheme; in WM, [Labial] can have one syllable as its domain in a morpheme. This difference is evidently due to the existence of long vowels in Oroqen but not in WM.

(25) comparison of labial harmony in WM and in Oroqen[4]

Short vowels

<u>Written Manchu</u>   <u>Oroqen</u>

CoCo-Co	boco-nggo	*coloured*	CoCo-Co	tçoNko-wo	*window*
*CoCo-Ca			*CoCo-Cʹ		
CoCi-Ca	golmi-kan	*rather long*	*CoCi		
CoCu-Ca	bofu-la	*wrapper*	*CoCu		
CoCoCi-Ca	kofori-na-	*become hollow*	CoCoCi-Cʹ	toNgorin-tçʹrʹ	*rounder*
CoCoCu (?)			CoCoCu-Cʹ	ˆoˆoxu-wʹ	*bear*

Long vowels

<u>Written Manchu</u>   <u>Oroqen</u>

Do not exist			CooCi	oorin	*all*
			CooCu-Cʹ	kooxun-tçʹrʹ	*more*
				empty	
			CooCʹ-Cʹ	koorgʹ-wʹ	*bridge*
			Coo-Cʹ	doo-rʹn	*to mince*
			*Coo-Co		

Short & long vowel co-occurrence

<u>Written Manchu</u>   <u>Oroqen</u>

Do not exist			CoCoo-Co	oloo-ron	*to boil*
			CooCo-Co	mooro-ron	*to moan*

Domain

<u>Written Manchu</u>   <u>Oroqen</u>
[Labial] has one syllable (mora)   [Labial] has two moras

Spreading

<u>Written Manchu</u>   <u>Oroqen</u>
[Labial] has to be linked to two syllables [Labial] has to be linked to two syllables

5. Conclusion

The syllable condition on labial harmony in written Manchu has never been described in the Chinese and western literatures available to us. That this is a genuine condition governing labial harmony and not just an accident of the data is supported by the existence of the same condition in Oroqen (Hu 1986; Zhang et al 1989).[5] It appears that the syllable condition on labial harmony is a characteristic of the Manchu-Tungus languages in China.

---

[4] Only examples with non-RTR vowels are given here for Oroqen.

[5] Ewenki, another Tungusic language in China, has been noted to have a similar condition on labial harmony to Oroqen (Hu & Zork 1986).

We would like to conclude with two observations. The first concerns the syllable condition itself. Such conditions are rare in harmony systems, but they are more common in stress systems. For example, it is common to find a condition whereby a metrical foot must have at least two moras, or two syllables. It may be that the syllable condition on labial harmony has a basis in the prosody of the Manchu-Tungus languages; however, we have not yet found independent evidence for this hypothesis.

The second observation concerns the status of neutral vowels in harmony systems. We have seen that a number of approaches, such as those of Van der Hulst & Smith and of Walker, have attempted to predict whether neutral vowels will be transparent or opaque to vowel harmony on the basis of the system of contrasts found in the language. Written Manchu appears at first to be a counterexample to such analyses; but we have shown that the opacity of the high vowel /i/ to labial harmony in this language may indeed be predictable, once we take into account the syllable condition. Some recent analyses of vowel harmony, such as that of Cole & Kisseberth (1994) in the framework of Optimality Theory, have given up on the idea that transparency or opacity of neutral vowels can be predicted. Rather, the required result is derived by language-particular rankings of constraints, or by other stipulations. Our investigation suggests, however, that it may be too early to give up on the search for general principles governing the behaviour of neutral vowels in vowel harmony.

References

Ard, J. 1984. Vowel Harmony in Manchu: A Critical Overview. *Journal of Linguistics* 20: 57-80.

Cole, J. & C. W. Kisseberth. 1994. An Optimal Domains Theory of Harmony. *Cognitive Science Technical Report UIUC-BI-CS-94-02 (Language Series)*. Urbana IL: The Beckman Institute, University of Illinois.

Hayata, T. 1980. Non-abstract Vowel Harmony in Manchu. *Gengo Kenkyu* 77: 59-79.

Hu, Z. & Zork. 1986. *Ewenkeyu Jianzhi* [*A Brief Introduction to the Ewenki Language*]. Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe.

Hu, Z. 1986. *Erlunchunyu Jianzhi* [*A Brief Introduction to the Oroqen Language*]. Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe.

Hulst, H. van der & N. Smith. 1988. Tungusic and Mongolian Vowel Harmony: A Minimal Pair. In P. Coopmans & A. Hulk (eds.), *Linguistics in the Netherlands*. Dordrecht: Foris. 79-88.

Maddieson, I. 1984. *Patterns of Sounds*. Cambridge University Press.

Norman, J. 1978. *A Concise Manchu-English Lexicon*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.

Odden, D. 1978. Abstract Vowel Harmony in Manchu. *Linguistic Analysis* 4: 149-165.

Seong, B. 1989. Vowel Length in Manchu. *Proceedings of the XXVIII Permanent International Altaistic Conference* in Venice, 8-14 July, 1985. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. pp. 195-216.

Vago, R. M. 1973. Abstract Vowel Harmony Systems in Uralic and Altaic Languages. *Language* 49: 579-605.

Vovin, A. 1993. Towards a New Classification of Tungusic Languages. *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 65: 99-113.

Walker, R. 1993a. Contrastive Specification and Vowel Harmony Mechanisms in the Altaic Languages. Forum paper. University of Toronto.

Walker, R. 1993b. Manchu Vowel Harmony. Ms. University of Toronto.

Zhang, X. 1994. Vowel Harmony in the Manchu-Tungus Languages in China. Ms. University of Toronto.

Zhang, X. 1995a. Vowel Harmony in Oroqen (Tungus). *Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics* 14: 161-174.

Zhang, X. 1995b. Oroqen Fieldwork Notes. University of Toronto.

Zhang, Y., B. Li & X. Zhang. 1989. *The Oroqen Language*. Changchun: Jilin University Press.

Directed Marriage (*zhi-hun*) and the Eight-Banner Household Registration System Among the Manchus

Ding Yizhuang
Institute of History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
(Translated by Mark Elliott)

From the time the Manchus rose to power in China's Northeast in the early seventeenth century until the reign of Hung Taiji, the second Manchu khan (r. 1626-1643), the land they lived in remained sparsely populated. It is widely recognized that in pre-modern societies with limited abilities of production, the strength of the state is closely related to the size of the population. Rulers of such states see it in their best interests to increase the population under their control, and do not shy away from drastic means of doing so, such as taking "prisoner" large numbers of people and bringing them under their authority. Such was the case with the early Manchu state. In establishing the so-called Eight Banners (*ba qi*), Nurhaci, the first Manchu khan (d. 1626), created an organization into which he was able to incorporate not only all of his own followers, but entire surrendered or captured populations, regardless of ethnicity or tribal affiliation. Thus, during the Qing period, the label 'bannerman' (*qiren*) became nearly synonymous with the label 'Manchu' (*Manzhou*).   The Eight Banners included not only the descendants of the Jianzhou and Haixi Jurchen groups under the Ming, but also a huge number of Han Chinese, Mongols, Koreans, and other tribal peoples from the Northeast and North. Such a complex demographic make-up, much of which was the result of conquest, stands out as a defining feature of the Manchu community.

In the process of conquering and capturing other populations to integrate into their own, the Manchu rulers also took special care to protect and develop their original population. Beginning in 1621, when they entered the Liaoxi region, until they initiated the conquest of China proper in 1644, the Manchus found themselves surrounded by a sea of Han Chinese, their own population being vastly outnumbered. Apart from winning the empire through superior military force, the Qing state could not but pay great attention to the life-and-death matter of maintaining and enlarging their population, if for no other reason, than at least for the immediate purpose of seizing and consolidating political power. Hence, even though as early as the reign of Hung Taiji the Manchus had made a clear decision to adopt feudal Chinese methods of governance as their model, and at the same time tried every means to distance themselves from their "barbarian" reputation in the presence of the Chinese and foster instead a more "civilized" image, they continued to support certain "old usages" of the Manchus when it came to the question of developing the population. Some of these traditional practices lasted until the end of the dynasty. Of these, directed marriage was one of the most characteristic. The following discussion constitutes a preliminary study of the origin and nature of Manchu directed marriage and its role in developing the Manchu population.

1. What is 'directed marriage'?

Most people would say that directed marriage (*zhi-hun*, also referred to in Chinese as *shuan-hun*, "forced-marriage") was a marriage custom peculiar to the Eight Banner population. In fact, it is more accurate to regard this as an institution rather than a custom. As early as 1644, when Qing armies made their way past the Great Wall, a Chinese literatus, Tan Qian, took notice of this particular marriage pattern of the Manchus. He noted: "Children born within the banners have their spouses decided for them by their elders, with no room for individual choice whatsoever" (Tan 1981: vol. 1).

The bannerman Zhen-jun described directed marriage more accurately when he wrote that, "When Eight Banner families give birth to children, they must report them as a rule to the company captain (*niu-lu zuoling*), who registers births. People must register again when they grow up and marry. In addition, when a man and a woman marry, the captains of their respective companies must produce stamped documents, which they refer to as 'picture cards' (*tupian*). Every three years a census is taken, each soldier being made to write down the names of all family members, which are then written down in a file called a *cedang*. When someone passes away, their name is removed from the file. Hence, household registration cannot be changed at will, nor may family and personal names be altered, with the result that military organization as a whole is enforced" (Zhen 1907: vol. 10). In this passage, the close realtionship between directed marriage and Eight-Banner registration has been laid out. We can see that directed marriage was an indspensable element in the household registration system in the Eight Banners, its underlying spirit being that the state, that is to say, the Eight Banner organization, reserved the authority to manage the marriages of all under the banners.

In early Manchu society, everyone, man and woman alike, belonged to a patriarchal family in which the patriarch decided everything for them, including, of course, marriage. The state established by Nurhaci, organized under the Eight Banner system, carried with it these same strong patriarchal overtones, except that in the banner system, banner chiefs (Manchu *gûsai ejen*) replaced individual family patriarchs and bannermen became the personal belongings of the banner chiefs. This arrangement was the basis underlying the *zhi-hun* system. The Eight Banner system was further perfected under Hung Taiji, and control over banner marriages was similarly improved at that time. Royal offspring were the first to be affected. In the sixth lunar month of 1630, Hung Taiji gathered together all the Jurchen princes (*beile*) and charged one of the most powerful, Amin, with a variety of offenses. One of the accusations was that Amin had failed to report to the court his daughter's marriage to the Mongolian prince Setele, in direct contravention of a regulation agreed upon by the khan and the *beile*, that "all princes and ministers who are to get married or wish to marry their daughters out must report to the khan" (Kanda et al. 1957-63: Tiancong 4.6/vol. 30). Clearly, by the late 1620's at the latest, it had been decided that Manchu princes and ministers must not make decisions of their own with regard to marriage. Apart from Amin, other officials who were members of the imperial lineage were also executed for violating this regulation, including the head of the Court of Colonial Affairs, Nikan, who, as a high minister, was found guilty of unauthorized exercise of power by having let the Wu-ying prince marry the daughter of the Mongol Khorchin prince, Bingtu, without reporting the marriage to the khan or attempting to stop it.

Years later, Hung Taiji extended the regulation on a wider scale. In 1635, as khan, he ordered that "daughters and widows of all secretaries (*janggin*) and their

brothers, all subordinates of the *beile*, banner lieutenants (*juwan-i da*), members of the vanguard (*bayara*), and corporals (*fende bosokû*) [who wish to marry] must first register, and the unit concerned should in turn then communicate with the princes responsible before giving permission to marry. If not, [and the contracting parties] marry privately, this is a crime. As for the daughters and widows of commoners, they must gain permission for marriage in advance from their respective company captains (*nirui janggin*) . . . . The same is required of those managing banner companies and those registered within banner companies" (First Historical Archives of China 1989, vol 1: 155.)

This is the earliest special regulation dealing with the administration of banner marriages that has yet come to light. From that time on, the administration of marriages became fixed according to the following system. Decisions regarding the marriages of daughters of imperial and princely houses were taken by the emperor and empress dowager, while for the daughters of banner officials, such decisions were taken care of by the responsible *beile*. The daughters of ordinary bannermen could marry only after having secured permissions from their company captains. Thus within the Eight Banners, directed marriage meant that marriage at all levels was regulated by the state. Neither parents nor the intended spouses had any rights of decision-making in this regard. In the materials dating from the early Qing period that have come down to us we can easily find instances of violations of the *zhi-hun* regulations, infractions which were treated as crimes.

With the Qing conquest, the *zhi-hun* system was brought inside the Great Wall. In his famous decree allowing Manchu-Han intermarriage in 1648, the Shunzhi emperor (r. 1644-1661) reminded his subjects that "the daughters of Manchu officials who wish to marry Han Chinese must first report the matter" (*Da Qing lichao shilu*: *Shizu chao*/5.8 *ren-zi*). The system for selecting palace maidens (*xuan xiu-nu*) in fact represented the continuation of the directed marriage institution. Through the Ministry of Revenue, every three years the court contacted the offices of all banner heads of the Manchu, Mongol, and Han-martial Eight Banners, together with the banner garrisons in the metropolitan area and the provinces and all Manchu officials serving outside the capital. Apart from young women who, because of physical handicap, were exempted from the selection (their condition having been reported beforehand), all were required to have their daughters register at the appropriate level for possible selection by the emperor for entry into palace service. Those not chosen for palace service might be selected for marriage to princes or other nobles and their sons. If a young woman somehow eluded this selection and married illicitly without prior registration, punishment was ordered for everyone from the banner commander down to the parents involved (*Qing huidian shili*: vol. 1114). Later on, the scope of this imperial selection was narrowed, so that only the daughters of senior officers in the capital were qualified to take part in the selection. Despite their ineligibility for service in the palace, however, lower-ranking 'daughters of the regiment' still had their nuptials arranged for them by the captain of their banner company, who approved all matches. This practice was maintained until the end of the Qing period.

In sum, the *zhi-hun* system was the product of the Manchus' traditional patriarchy with the strict registration system instituted under the Eight Banner system -- a feature shared by a great many other Qing institutions.

2. Directed marriage and population

Looking back, the reason that the Qing court decided that daughters born into imperial and noble lineages should not be allowed to decide independently who they would marry certainly reflected the court's desire to use them as pawns in political maneuvering. In the early stages of intertribal fighting among the Jurchens, 'political marriage' (*lianyin*) was commonly employed by the heads of all tribes as a manipulative medium. It became Qing 'state policy' after the dynasty was established, principally for the purpose of cementing alliances with the elite of Mongol or other ethnic groups. However, even though the same rules applied to them, political motives could hardly have applied to the daughters of common banner families. One can adduce three possible reasons for the court's desire to control their marriages:

a. To keep marriages within the banners to prevent population loss.

The system of directed marriage arose in the period between 1627-1635, the very time when the Manchus made their way into the region near present-day Liaoyang and Shenyang. Moving into this area naturally resulted in heightened contact with its many Han Chinese inhabitants. Although Hung Taiji was concerned to pursue a program of institution-building that followed Chinese precedents in many respects, he also devoted much thought to the problem of how to maintain Manchu cultural traits. Marriage was (and is) a very important path for ethnic assimilation. With such a large population of Han Chinese all around them, and given the Manchus' relatively lower stage of social development, the Manchus had to resort to controlling banner marriages so as to preserve the distinctiveness of bannermen and women and retain control over the military power of the Eight Banners. Not least, Hung Taiji reasoned that, in the long term, directed marriage would limit the assimilation of the minority Manchu population. Manchu-Han intermarriage was permitted for only a short period before and after the 1644 conquest, primarily because the motivation behind such a liberal policy was to benefit Manchu political control of the Han-populated hinterland. Once such control was established, Manchu-Han intermarriage was in effect prohibited, and was openly permitted again only later in the Qing dynasty, in the Guangxu reign (1875-1908). The *zhi-hun* system was the best way to reinforce this sort of marriage control.

b. To restrict population movement between different levels within the Eight Banners.

Within the Eight Banners, a strict hierarchy of status applied, depending on degree of relation to the imperial house and time of subordination to the Manchus. Closer branches of the imperial family were distinguished by the yellow waist girdles they were authorized to wear, while more remote branches of the royal family wore red girdles. Outside the imperial lineage, various distinctions were observed within the Eight Banners: between the Manchu, Mongol, and Han-martial banners; between the 'upper three banners' (*shang san qi*) and the lower five banners (*xia wu qi*); and between the capital banners (*jing qi*) and the provincial garrisons (*zhufang ba qi*). The strictest hierarchical boundaries were those between regular bannermen (*zhengshen qiren*) in the 'outer Eight Banners' (*wai ba qi*) and their bondservants (*bao-yi*). After entering China proper, bondservants in the upper three banners were registered in the Imperial Household Department (*neiwufu*), and were further subdivided into companies (*neifu zuoling*) and sub-companies (*guanling*), so that status varied greatly even among slaves.

The livelihood of bannermen was supported by the state and bannermen of different strata received different treatment and salaries. Taking the economic burden alone into consideration, the government could not afford to allow the free movement of population within the banners, not to mention the illicit movement of lower-status bondservants into the ranks of the regular bannermen.

c. To ensure timely marriage

Through the institution of *zhi-hun* and other coordinated efforts, the Qing government tried to limit the number of unmarried persons within the Eight Banners in order to increase the natural growth of their population. On many occasions the Kangxi emperor (r. 1662-1722) issued edicts in which he ordered that all unmarried women of marriageable age in princely households be identified so that he could choose spouses for them himself. If the lack of dowry was the main hindrance, he offered to provide it (*Da Qing lichao shilu*: *Shengzu chao juan* 267/Kangxi 55.3 *jia-yin*). The Qianlong emperor (r. 1736-1795) made a similar offer: "If, among the soldiers and those without positions in the Imperial Household Department, there should be any men and women above the age of twenty-eight who are still unmarried, or anyone who was unable to realize their marriage bond due to financial difficulties, fifteen taels of silver should be granted to each of them to aid their marriage. Able-bodied males within the Imperial Household Department in a similar situation are to each be granted seven taels of silver" (*Da Qing lichao shilu*: *Gaozong chao juan* 39/Qianlong 2.3 *ding-si*). After the Qianlong reign, restrictions on intermarriage between bannermen within the Imperial Household Department and those in the Outer Eight Banners were lifted with an aim to allow bannermen to "marry in time without later bitterness for being single." At the same time, it was ruled that women in the banners who missed the selection for palace maids should give explanations for the delay and either re-enter the selection or be ordered to marry outright in order to avoid a three-year-delay, missing the best time for marriage.

Though directed marriage was without question an oppressive institution, it nonetheless carried with it some positive aspects in the court's willingness to help arrange the marriages of its most loyal subjects and provide economic support if need be. At the same time, the backwardness of the *zhi-hun* system, enforced according to the needs of the ruling class while ignoring the individual rights of women over their own marriages, is apparent. Directed marriage was a yoke forced upon the banner population by the Manchu rulers intended to ensure court control over the personal lives of bannermen, a yoke overthrown only the fall of the Qing government in 1912.

References

Da Qing lichao shilu (Veritable records of the Qing dynasty). Shizu, Shengzu, Gaozong reigns.

First Historical Archives of China (comp.) (1989), *Qingchu nei guoshiyuan Manwen dang'an yibian* (Translated compilation of the Manchu archives of the early Qing inner historical office). 3 vols. Beijing: Guangming ribao chubanshe.

Kanda Nobuo, Matsumura Jun, Okada Hidehiro, et al (1957-63), *Manbun rôtô* (The old Manchu archives). Tokyo: Tôyô bunko.

Qing huidian shili (Collected institutes and precedents of the Qing), Guangxu edition.

Tan Qian (1981), *Bei you lu*. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.

Zhen-jun (1907), *Tianchi ouwen.* Beijing.

The Manchu Academy of Beijing

Laura E. Hess
St. Olaf College

During the latter part of 1984, a group of nine men and women attending a four-month Manchu language course rallied under the leadership of one of their classmates, fifty-five year old Jin Baosen, to work toward the common goal of establishing a Manchu school in Beijing. Jin Baosen, whose original Manchu surname was Aisin Gioro, was a descendant of the Qing ruling house and a history teacher at Beijing's Middle School #24. In the decade since the Manchu Academy was founded in early 1985, he has served as the school's director and chief administrator. The Manchu Academy also has a group of ten advisors which includes such prominent individuals as Dai Yi, China's foremost Qing historian and the former head of the Institute of Qing Historical Studies located at National People's University, and Hu Jieqing, wife of the renowned writer Lao She.

The founders of the academy shared a common concern that the language, culture and history of the Manchu people was falling into oblivion, and they established the school to help rescue and preserve this heritage. At that time, there were only twenty some experts working on the more than one and a half million Qing documents written in Manchu and housed at China's Number One Historical Archives in Beijing. These scholars, trained in the first two decades of the People' s Republic of China, were already middle-aged and it was estimated that at the rate they were working it would take at least several hundred years to finish editing these materials and translating them into Chinese. Yet the documents, which were all hand-written on paper, had already begun to decay, so it was crucial that the pace of work be greatly accelerated if these texts were not going to be lost to posterity.

The founders of the Manchu Academy were also motivated by a concern that the vast majority of Manchus knew little about their own heritage, a phenomenon that was for the most part due to the widespread sinicization of the Manchus in the past few centuries. It was further exacerbated by the fact that after 1911 the government of the Republic of China harshly condemned the non-Han rulers of the Qing dynasty, which led many Manchus to downplay and sometimes even cover up their ethnic origins. Only a small percentage of the approximately 4.3 million ethnic Manchus said to be living in China in 1985 still spoke Manchu.

The founders envisioned that the Manchu Academy would be a place where people from all walks of life could come two evenings a week to study Manchu language and culture and learn about Qing dynasty history. Even though the school was established with only ¥200 and initially lacked a permanent home, its founders insisted that it be an institution where the teachers volunteered their services and the students did not pay tuition. As such, it was and still is the only free part-time school in all of China.

Even though the academy has since then obtained significantly more funding and has a permanent home in Beijing's Middle School #24, its funding is still minimal and finances continue to be a challenge.

The curriculum consists primarily of classes in Manchu language, but there are also lectures on Manchu history and literature, Qing history and reading ancient documents. Although the course of studies was originally designed to be for two years, it was later shortened to one year because it was difficult for students to commit themselves to a part-time school for such a long period of time. Several years, the academy has even offered an advanced class for a select group of students who have completed the initial course of study.

The founders of the school were concerned that they have a first-rate faculty, so they invited researchers from the Institute of Minority Studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the Beijing Research Institute of Culture and History, and the Manchu Division of the Number One Historical Archives to teach the language courses. They also arranged for experts on Qing history from the Institute of Qing Historical Studies and researchers from the Institute of Minority Studies to come lecture on Manchu history and culture.

From the very beginning, the Manchu Academy has had great success in attracting students. Much to the founders' surprise, there was a tremendous response to the announcement of the school's founding and they were forced to create an exam to help them choose ninety students from among the more than one hundred and fifty people who sought to enroll. In the ten years since the academy's establishment in 1985, a group of approximately 40 to 120 students has enrolled each year, the number of students accepted being dependent on the numbers of teachers and classrooms available. Each year, about half of the students have completed the entire course of studies. To date, a total of 376 students have graduated from the Manchu Academy.

In many respects, the students represent a true cross-section of modern-day Beijing. They come from a variety of ethnic groups, including the Manchu, Mongolian, Hui and Han Chinese nationalities (although the majority are Manchus). They range in age from sixteen to seventy-two and in level of education from graduates of junior high school to holders of doctoral degrees. Some are university professors or researchers, while others are college students or workers, and still others are retired professionals, housewives or youths awaiting employment.

Regardless of their different backgrounds, the students are bound together by a common commitment to learn Manchu, whether it be for current or future work needs or, in some cases, out of a desire to understand and embrace their ethnic heritage.

A number of the academy's graduates have gone on to make some real contributions to the field of Manchu Studies. For example, from just the first class of forty some graduates, one student became the first typesetter for Manchu books at the Nationalities Publishing House, another translated a Manchu collection of stories into Chinese and has published one of them in *Manyu yanjiu*, another researched shamanism in Heilongjiang and published two articles on it in *Minzu wenxue yanjiu* and four others assisted researchers at the Institute of Chinese Medicine who were studying early Qing dynasty medicine.

In addition to teaching students Manchu and introducing them to Manchu literature, history and culture, the academy has been involved in a series of other activities aimed at spreading knowledge of Manchu to a wider audience. The school sponsors an annual two and a half hour series of lectures featuring prominent scholars speaking on topics such as the origins of the Manchu people, Manchu customs, Manchu

contributions over the ages, the Manchus of Beijing, and the Qianlong Emperor. Originally limited to the academy's students, the lecture series is now open to the general public and commands an audience of more than seven hundred each year.

Since 1985, the academy has also made some significant contributions in the publishing field. The school recently issued its own textbook, entitled *Manwen jiangyi*. Over the past decade, the academy also reprinted works such as the *Qingwen qimeng*, *Man-Han liubu chengyu*, *Gongwen yongyu*, *Zhezou yongyu*, *Chuxue bidu* and the *Qingwen zonghui*. In addition, members of the school are currently compiling a Chinese-Manchu dictionary which they hope to publish.

The academy has also been active outside of Beijing. It has dispatched teachers numerous times to various locales in the north and northeast of China to teach Manchu and to assist others in setting up Manchu classes. In response to requests from all over the country, the school has also provided inscriptions in Manchu and translations of Manchu writings. It even helped a village in Shandong establish a Manchu museum.

The Manchu Academy of Beijing has clearly made a tremendous contribution to the advancement of Manchu Studies in China. Whereas for a long time the hub of Manchu Studies was not in China, this is no longer the case, in part thanks to the efforts of Jin Baosen and the teachers and students of the Manchu Academy over the past decade.

*****

For further details about the Manchu Academy, see *Manyu yanjiu* (1990.4): 47-50.