Jurchen (Jürçen) is a language very close to Manchu and can be regarded either as the older form of Manchu or as a dialect very close to Old Manchu. The speakers of Jurchen appeared in history in A.D. 1115, and their dynasty bearing the name of Chin ruled over Northern China until 1234. The oldest available monument of the Jurchen language is an inscription of 1185 which was followed by a number of other steles, but the most important source is the collection of materials, i.e. documents and a glossary, known as Hua-i i-yü, which contains, inter alia, a petition of 1526.

Jurchen has been studied little. The first investigation of Jurchen was published by Grube which remained the only one until the appearance of Ligeti's articles. There is also a brief description of Jurchen by Menges. The most recent edition of Jurchen linguistic material is that by Kiyose cited in note 3. The present article is based on it.

As mentioned above, the Jurchen appeared in history in the twelfth century, i.e. at the end of the Ancient Mongolian period or at the beginning of the Middle Mongolian period. However, their contacts with the Mongols or the ancestors of the latter began at a still earlier time. As it will be seen below, some Mongolian elements in Jurchen go back to Ancient Mongolian.

Ligeti has discussed the old Mongolian elements in Manchu and found that a number of such words already occurred in Jurchen. It is true there are AMo loan words in Manchu which, for chronological reasons, cannot be regarded as direct borrowings from Mongolian but must have been inherited from Jurchen.

Being close to Manchu, Jurchen has, however, preserved many features which are considerably older than the respective developments in Manchu. Thus Jurchen still had t before *t, whereas in Manchu the affricate ç corresponds, e.g., J 805 tatiburu 'to study' = Ma taçibu- 'to teach.' Some words in Jurchen have preserved the second syllable which has disappeared in Manchu, e.g., J 209 fa'a 'window' = Ma fa id. etc. Consequently, one should expect Jurchen, a language much more archaic than Manchu, to be an important source for the study of Ancient Mongolian. Indeed, as it will be seen shortly, Jurchen has preserved a number of the oldest reconstructable forms of Mongolian words.

Before we proceed to the discussion of AMo loan words in Jurchen, let it be said that the Mong. elements in Jurchen can be divided into two main groups. The first group is composed of such words which lack features characteristic of any particular stage of language development. Thus, J nayacu 'the brother of the mother' is a Written Mongolian form, cf. Mo nayacu 'maternal uncle' which is identical with MMo nayacu id., but, on the other hand, almost identical with Ord naga'tsi 'maternal relative.' Another example is J jasa- 'to rule, order, decree' which is identical with Mo and MMo jasa-, and Ord Džasa- (phonetically the same as Jasa- id.). If it had been unknown that the
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J forms in question are attested in the J section of the Hua-i i-yü, the words in question could not be regarded as old borrowings from Mongolian. It goes without saying that such J words as ırgene 'people,' arki 'liquor,' jasa- 'to rule,' nayasu 'maternal uncle,' and xuriqan 'lamb' do not contribute anything to historical phonology of Mongolian, and are important only as proof that they existed at that time in the forms attested in the Hua-i i-yü.

The other group of Mong loan words in Jurchei comprises words which display features characteristic of particular periods of language history. Thus, ıgal 'sea otter' is certainly a MMo form, cf. MMo qalı'un 'beaver,' Mo qalıyan 'otter' etc. This is a rather new form which might have penetrated into Jurchei no earlier than in the twelfth or thirteenth century. Another MMo form is J ı70 jir morin 'stallion,' cf. Mo ajırga, MMo ajırja id. As for the AMo form of this word, it is adirya attested as a borrowing in Solon. A MMo form is also J ı57 dauli- in daulimei 'to snatch,' cf. SH da'uli- 'to plunder, capture,' H da'uli- 'to plunder,' L daulın 'enemy raid,' Mo tayuli- 'to chase, attack, seize.'

The above examples demonstrate that Jurchei was under Mong influence both in AMo and MMo periods. No wonder that Manchu, the continuation of Jurchei or its closest relative, has also many old and new Mong loan words. It is surprising, however, that Mongolian does not have borrowings which could be regarded with certainty as taken from Jurchei, although one would have expected to find such loan words in view of Jurchei’s importance at a time when the consolidation of the Mongolian tribes was in its very initial stage. This might be another proof that the reason for borrowing of words is not the political or cultural inferiority of the speakers of the borrowing language. The most convincing other examples are Russian and Persian, both of them possessing a large number of Turkic loan words, notwithstanding the fact that both of them were culturally and otherwise considerably superior to the Turkic tribes.

After these preliminary remarks, we proceed to the AMo loan words in Jurchei.

1. Preservation of AMo *i in the second syllable

In many cases the original *i in the second syllable was assimilated to the vowel of the initial syllable as early as in Ancient Mongolian. Cf. Mo gedeen < AMo *gedelstin ~ *gedilsin 'intestines' but Mo gudige < AMo *gudigê, cf. Ev gudíye 'peritoneum' < AMo; Mo gede < AMo *gede ~ *gedi 'occiput, nape,' cf. Mo gëdige < AMo *gedikê 'queue.'

Jurchei has preserved AMo *i in the following words: J ı83 medige < AMo *medigê 'tidings,' cf. Mo medege < *medigê 'information,' J ı83, ı89, ı76 dirgula- 'to take pleasure, enjoy, be cheerful' < AMo *dirga- > Mo jirga- 'to be happy, be joyful,' cf. Yak stırqa- 'to enjoy food' (a later borrowing from Mong); J ı88 ı83 medige 'tidings' < AMo *medigê > Mo medege, Kh mèdeę
'information,' cf. the younger loan word Ma medege ~ medexe 'information, news' id.; J 228 hudila 'crupper' < AMo *kudirkiž id., Ma qudurza id. and Ev kudurja id. being new borrowings from Mong.38

However, there occur also two typical MMo forms with J < *d which are to be regarded as later borrowings taken at the end of the Jurchen period. These are J 225 ažir ažil 'deed' < MMo, Mo ažil < AMo *adil 'work,' and J 170 ažir morin 'stallion' (see above).

3. Preservation of AMo *f-

Ancient Mongolian had the strong stop *p or the bilabial voiceless fricative *f at the onset of many words.39 It developed into h in Middle Mongolian,40 and is still preserved as x in some Mongolian languages.

Jurchen has at least one AMo loan word with *f-, cf. J 410 fute- in futemei 'to see off' < AMo *phute- (or *phide-) id., MMo (H) hüde-, Mo hüde- id. This word occurs also in Manchu-Tungus languages, cf. Ul pudgi- 'to expel ('see off') an evil spirit,' Nan pude- ~ fude- id., Ma fude- 'to see off.' It occurs in the Northern Tungus languages only as a new borrowing from Mongolian, cf. üde-.42

The other Jurchen word with *f- is J 243 fiila 'dish,' but this is certainly not an AMo loan word because Mo has bila 'dish, bowl' which is a borrowing from Turkic, cf. Osm, Crm piyalâ 'bowl, mug,' Uzb piyala 'tea cup,' Cum piala 'goblet,' Kaz piyala < Pers pydla.43 Therefore J fiila is to be regarded as a word of Pers origin but borrowed via Turkic together with such words as Ma gindana 'prison' < Pers zindân etc.50

4. Initial AMo *k

The initial *k has developed into J h /x/ in most cases both before back and front vowels, cf. J 393 halabî 'to alter' = Ma xala- 'to change, exchange, alter,' Neg kala- 'to replace,' Ud kala- 'to replace, change,' etc.; J 467 hendû 'to say' = Ma xendû- 'to speak, explain,' Or kerm- 'to speak, converse,' etc.; J 508 hefuî 'abdomen' = Ma xefeli id., Ev xebel 'stomach,' cf. Mo kebeli < AMo *kepeli 'belly.'47 On the other hand, there are very few Jurchen words with k-.

There are the following AMo loan words with initial h: J 272 hagan (hagann genitive) 'emperor,' cf. Mo qayan, MMo qa'an ~ qan id., cf. Ev kagan etc.; J 92 halqun 'hot' < AMo, cf. Mo qalayun, MMo qala'un id.; J 112 hudila 'crupper' < AMo, cf. Mo qudurza id.; J 336 hulâhai niyarma 'burglar' < AMo, cf. Mo qulagai id.; J 258 hütuha 'cupid' < AMo, cf. MMo quduqa, cf. Mu quduya 'pitcher;' J 144 honi 'sheep' < AMo *konin, MMo Mo qonin id., cf. Ma çonin, Ev konin 'sheep,' Ud xuani 'ram,' etc.50 < Mong; J huo-li-han /xurixan/ or /quriqan/ < AMo, cf. MMo (H) quriqan 'lamb,' Mo quroqan, Bur xurigan id.

An exceptional development *k- > Zero is found in J 655 orin 'twenty' which also occurs in Manchu and most Manchu-Tungus languages without a consonant at the onset, the consonant having been preserved only in Ul, Or, and Nan.53 Tsintsius reconstructs a deep velar stop in cases like this.54

5. The medial AMo *k

The medial *k is likewise represented by h in Jurchen, cf. J 336 andahai (in
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andahai niyarm) 'guest' < AMo *andakai, cf. Mo andagai 'oath, sworn statement,' Kh andagaj id., cf. Ma anda 'friend,' Nan andawa 'guest,' Neg andawa 'guest, a good fellow,' all < Mong; J 547 mahilā < AMO *maltail, cf. MMO (Mu) maqalai 'cap,' Kalm mačıl id., Mo malagai id., cf. Ma maşalı id. < Mong; J 519 turha 'lean' < AMO *turka(n) 'lean, emaciated,' MMO (Mu) turkan id., cf. Ma turça id. < Mong.

6. Preservation of AMO -*g-

Intervocalic *g has been preserved in Mongolian before an original short vowel (strong position), but it has disappeared before an original long vowel (weak position).57

In Ancient Mongolian -g- was still preserved in all cases.58

Jurchen has preserved -*g-, cf. J 146 bugu 'deer' < AMO *bugu (strong position) id., MMO buyu (cf. Ma buguyin turul 'fawn,' lit. 'the calf of a deer'). Mo bugu id., Kh bug id.; J 92 halg’un 'hot' < AMO *kalga(n) (weak position) > MMO qal’un, Mo qalun, Mog qalun id., Dag xal id.; J 94 dulgan 'warm' < AMO *dulgan < Mo dulvan, Kh dulgan id., cf. Ev *důl- 'to warm,' důl 'warm'; J 93 serg’un 'cool' < AMO *serigun > Mo serigun, Kalm serin id. Cf. Ma serqwen, Ul seurlui, Nan serqvé id. < Mong; J 137 temge 'atmeal' < AMO temegən, Mo temegen, Kh temee id., cf. Sol temegə, Ma temege id. < Mong; J 597 jegun 'left' (in the glossary incorrectly translated as 'right') < AMO *jejīn, Mo jegīn, Kalm adın id. Cf. Ev jejīn 'left,' Neg tjirndegde 'left side,' Nan jegun 'left-handed,' possibly all < Mong; J 287 degun 'younger brother' < AMO *degū > MMO de’n, Dag dw, Mog dūw, Mo deguł, Kalm dū id., cf. Ma deo id. < MMO; J 523 badgai 'meal' (probably a genitive) < AMO *budaga 'grain, cereal, millet, gruel' > Mo budaya(n), Kh budaa id. Cf. Neg buda 'millet,' UL 'millet, gruel,' Nan boda 'gruel,' Ma buda

7. Syllable- and word-final r in AMO

The syllable-final r in Mong loan words in Jurchen has been preserved: J 83 erte 'early' < AMO erte, Mo erte id.; J 483 dirga- 'to take pleasure' < AMO *dirga- > Mo jirga- 'to be happy, to enjoy,' J 649 durhon 'fourteen' < AMO *dbr- (in *dbr-ben 'four') + *hon 'ten,' cf. AT on 'ten'; J 648 gorhon 'thirteen' < AMO *gur- (in *gur-ben 'three') + *hon 'ten'; J 843 inge-be 'populace' (acc.) < AMO *irge(n) > MMO (Mu), Mo irgen 'people'; J 519 turha 'lean' < AMO *turka(n) > MMO, Mo turkan id.

The word-final r has been preserved only in J 329 nekur 'friend,' cf. Mo nōkūr, Kalm nᵒkř id., cf. however, J 800 nekulma 'to keep company,' cf. Mo nōkūr- 'to befriend, to be friends with someone.' Otherwise, word-final r has been replaced by n as in all Tungus languages, cf. Ev hirg’en 'blessing, benediction' < AMO *pirg’ěn. An example in Jurchen is J 187 žinkoan 'falcon' < AMO *sinkor, Mo *söngor, Kh *sonxor id. This word was borrowed from Jurchen into Manchu, cf. Ma *söngon 'peregrine falcon.'

The substitution of n for r is also found in medial position in J 641 ninqu 'six' < *jirgu, cf. Mo jirguvyan < *jir-gu-ben 'six' which has undergone the same development in all Manchu-Tungus languages, cf. Neg, Ev huvun, Lam huvun, etc. < *jirgu < Mong.

It is obvious that *r > Zero, *r > n, and the preservation of -r as such date from different times. It is possible that the words with the final n were
borrowed from Ancient Mongolian, i.e., J $inkoan < AMo $inkor 'falcon.' The words with final r in Jurchen must have been borrowed later, i.e., from Middle Mongolian, i.e., J nekur 'friend' < MMo. As for nekulemai 'to keep company,' this goes back to *nekürle-, the cluster rü having lost its first component. In J ningu the medial *r has developed into n/n/ under the influence of the initial n, and was assimilated (velarised) to the following g, i.e., *jirgu > *nirgu > ningu /ningu/.

8. On some Jurchen numerals

The Jurchen numerals 11 through 19 are of interest for two reasons. First of all, some of their components are of Mongolian origin and second, the numerals in question display a non-Altaic order of components. The Jurchen numerals were investigated for the first time by Laufer,\(^3\) and from the Altaistic point of view by Miller.\(^4\)

The numerals in question are:

J 646 amso 'eleven' = Ma omson (in Ma omson biya 'the 11th month')
J 647 jirhon 'twelve' = Ma jörgon (in jörgon biya 'the 12th month')
J 648 gorhon 'thirteen' < AMo gur (in gür-bän) 'three' + *hon 'ten'
J 649 durhon 'fourteen' < AMo dör (in dör-bän) 'four' + *hon
J 650 tobohon 'fifteen' < AMo tabu (in tabu-n) 'five' + *hon
J 651 nilhun /nirhun/ 'sixteen' < AMo jir (in jir-gu-bän) 'six' + *hon
J 652 darhon 'seventeen' < AMo dal (in dal-u-bän > Mo doluyan 'seven' + *hon
J 653 niyuhun 'eighteen' < AMo nai (in nai-bän > Mo naiman) 'eight' + *hon
J 654 oniyohon 'nineteen' < Juyan 'nine' + *hon

Of these numerals nilhun 'sixteen' is of interest because it has preserved the syllable-final *r (nilhun stands for *nirhun) whereas J ningu 'six' is an assimilated form.

The other interesting form is 652 darhon (probably /dalhon/) 'seventeen.' It corroborates our reconstruction of Mo doluyan 'seven' as *dal-u-bän.\(^5\)

On the other hand, the numerals mentioned are interesting because of the order of the components, namely, the smaller numbers precede the numeral ten as in English or Latin, an order quite unusual in the Altaic languages.

The general conclusion from the above discussion is that Jurchen is an important source for the study of the history of the Mongolian languages in that it has preserved a large body of AMo forms. On the other hand, Mongolian data can be useful for the reconstruction of Jurchen and other Manchu-Tungus forms.

Notes

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(Yuan-ch'ao pi-shi), Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen (Wiesbaden, 1962), p. 179. The same name occurs also in Rasid ad-Dīn's work written in the first decade of the fourteenth century; see Rasid ad-Dīn, Sbornik letopisej, Tom I, kniga vtoraja, Perevod s persidskogo O. I. Smirnovoj et al. (Moskva-Leningrad, 1952), pp. 76-77.


5. Grube, op. cit.


7. See note 1.


10. Abbreviations:

AMo — Ancient Mongolian
AT — Ancient Turkic
Bur — Buriat
Crm — Crimean Turkic
Cum — Cuman
Dag — Dagur
Ev — Evenki
H — Hua-i i-yü
J — Jurchen, the number being that under which the word is listed in Kiyose, pp. 96 ff.
Kalm — Kalmuck
Kaz — Kazakh
Kh — Khalkha
L — Leiden Manuscript
Lam — Lamut (Even)
Ma — Manchu
MMo — Middle Mongolian
Mo — Written Mongolian (Script Mongolian)
Mog — Moghol
Mong — Mongolian
MT — Middle Turkic
Mu — Muqaddir al-Adab
Nan — Nanai (Goldi)
Neg — Negidal
Or — Oroki
Ord — Ordos Mongolian
Osm — Osman (Turkish)
Pers — Persian
SH — Secret History
Sol — Solon
Ud — Udehe
UL -- Ulcha
Uzb -- Uzbek
Yak -- Yakut

18. Mostaert, p. 188.
22. Poppe, Mongol'skij, p. 97.
24. Haenisch, p. 32.
27. In view of the ancient forms with d-, Mo tañulï- and Kh ñauulï- can be regarded as the results of incorrect pronunciation of this old word.
30. Ibid., p. 177.
32. Ligeti, L.c., reconstructs this as ñudira which is close enough to AMo *kudàrkâ. However, ñudila is not impossible by analogy with *yielda, cf. Ma *kùdàla 'bridle.'
35. Sraamítel'nyj slovar', t.I, p. 259. The Yak form sìrîâ- is not mentioned there. Instead, the word sargi 'fate' is given which does not belong here. Yak sìrîâ- is also missing in the index to Stanisław Kaużyński's Mongolische Elemente in der jakutischen Sprache (Prace Orientalistyczne, tom X) (Warszawa 1962).
37. For the last two examples see section 1.
41. Mostaert, Matériel mongol, p. 61.
46. Ibid., p. 448.
49. Poppe, Mongol'skij slovar' Mukaddimat al-Adab, p. 312.
52. Mostaert, Matériel mongol, p. 92.
55. *Srnvitiľ'nyj slovar', tom I, p. 42-43.
56. Ibid., p. 522.
60. Ibid., p. 282.
61. Ibid., p. 102.