

# Aspects of writing Manchu in Hangeul in Joseon Dynasty

KO Dongho  
Chonbuk National University, Korea

## 1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to review the methods and characteristics of writing Manchu in Hangeul in the Manchu books used in Sayeokwon, the bureau of translation in the Joseon Dynasty. Aside from the texts discussed here there are other books in which Manchu is written in Hangeul, including *Bangeon jibseok* (方言集釋), *Cheonghageum* (清學音), and *Haneocho* (漢語抄). But the former two being manuscripts and the latter being a selective copy of *Hancheong mungam* (漢清文鑑) made after the late 18th century (Kishida 1994), they are excluded from this study.

It is common to distinguish transcription and transliteration, but in actuality it is difficult to draw the line. This is especially true of the process of transferring written documents into characters that clearly correspond to phonemes such as Hangeul. Taking this into account, here *writing* will be used as a cover term for both *transcription* and *transliteration* which will be

used only when necessary. The term *correspondence* will also appear to describe the process of transfer from the Manchu script to Hangeul.

Much research has already been conducted on the methods, states and linguistic implications of writing Manchu in Hangeul in Ikegami (1950, 1954, 1962, 1990), Kim (1973), Seong (1984). Therefore here I will attempt to put this previous research together and summarize it in a point of view of my own to the ends mentioned above. Kim (1973) and Seong (1984) examined aspects of writing Manchu in Hangeul by using Manchu characters as a reference point, however, I will do so by using Hangeul as a reference point. Through this process I will show the usage of Hangeul to write down other languages, and present some problems for future research in written Manchu.

## 2. Manchu books

First I will give a brief overview of the history of Sayeokwon, which used Manchu books as study material, and descriptions of the kinds of extant Manchu books.

Sayeokwon, formerly named Tongmungwan, which was the institution in charge of the interpretation of foreign languages was established in 1276.<sup>1</sup> In 1393, the next year after the foundation of the Joseon dynasty, Sayeokwon once again came into being. The term *Yejinhak* (= study of Jurchen, 女眞學) appears for the first time in 1451 in a memorial in the Annals of the Choson Dynasty (朝鮮王朝實錄). This *Yejinhak* changes its name to *Cheonghak* (= the study of Manchu, 清學) in 1667, and ascends

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1 For a general history of Sayeokwon, see Ch. 2-4 of Kang (2000), Ch. 1 of Song (1981~1982/2001). For information on the study of Jurchen and Manchu, see Ch. 6 and 8 of Ogura (1964) and Song (2000).

to a higher level of recognition than *Monghak* (= the study of Mongol, 蒙學) by 1765.

Sayeokwon published many books for the study of Jurchen and also for Manchu in order to train government officials of interpretation, but the extant books are the six listed below.<sup>2</sup> Of these (1) and (6) are dictionaries, and the rest are readers.

(1) *Dongmun yuhae* (同文類解)

*Dongmun yuhae* is a Chinese-Korean-Manchu dictionary, published in 1748 by Ungak (芸閣), that takes its material from dictionaries such as *Han i araha manju gisun i buleku bithe* (御製清文鑑), *Daqing quanshu* (大清全書), *Tongwen guanghai quanshu* (同文廣彙全書). This dictionary has around 5,500 entries of vocabulary or phrases. It is in two volumes and two books, and was printed with wooden blocks. Here Manchu is written only in Korean, and diacritical marks are used to distinguish various Manchu characters. This book was revised by Hyeon Munhang (玄文恒) and corrected and edited by Kim Jinha (金振夏). It is part of the collections of Seoul National University's Kyujanggak (奎章閣), Seoul National University Library's Ilsa (一簣) collections, and France's Bibliothèque Nationale.

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2 Extant Manchu books have been photoprinted as follows. Cf. Fig. 1-6 in appendix.

- (1) *Palsea, Soaron, Samyeok chonghae, Dongmun yuhae*, Institute of Oriental Studies, Yeon-heui University, Seoul, 1956.
- (2) *Han Hancheong mungam* (韓漢清文鑑), Institute of Oriental Studies, Yeon-heui University, Seoul, 1956.
- (3) *Cheongeo nogeoldae, Inmun gwahak* vol. 11, 12, Yonsei University, Seoul, 1964.
- (4) *Dongmun yuhae*, Hongmungak, 1995.
- (5) *Samyeok chonghae* (Palsea, Soaron, Dongmun yuhae Habbon), Hongmungak, 1995.
- (6) *Hancheong mungam*, Yonsei Daehaggyo Gughak yeonguwon, 1998.
- (7) *Cheongeo nogeoldae*, Hongmungak, 1998.
- (8) *Cheongeo nogeoldae sinseok*, Taehaksa, 1998.

(2) *Sinseok Cheongeo nogeoldae* (新釋清語老乞大)

*Cheongeo nogeoldae* (清語老乞大) was a Manchu adaptation of the Chinese textbook *Laoqida* (老乞大). *Sinseok Cheongeo nogeoldae* was a revision of it by Kim Jinha and published by Giyeong (箕營) in 1765. It is a woodblock print of 8 volumes and 8 books. The book consists of conversations carried out in the course of a Goryeo merchant's travels from Goryeo's Wanggyeong (王京) to Beijing (北京). It is part of the collection at France's Bibliothèque de l'École Nationale de Langue Orientale Vivantes, The British Library, and the Araasi (濯足) collections at Komazawa (駒澤) University in Japan.

(3) *Junggan Samyeok chonghae* (重刊三譯總解)

*Junggan Samyeok chonghae* was published by Sayeokwon in 1774, a revision of *Samyeok chonghae* by Kim Jinha which was published in 1704 (?) from a manuscript of a text. It is a woodblock print of 10 volumes and 10 books. The source book of this book is *Ilan gurun i bithe* (= *Manwen Sanguozhi* 滿文三國志), translated by Kicungge and published in 1650, and it was corrected in part with reference to *Sanguozhi in Chinese* (漢文本三國志) (Kishida 1990). This book is part of the collection at Seoul National University's Kyujanggak (奎章閣), the Araasi (濯足) collections of Komazawa (駒澤) University, and the British Library.

(4) *Sinseok Soaron* (新釋小兒論)

*Soaron* (小兒論) is thought to have been originally written in Jurchen, but was adapted to Manchu in 1639 and published in woodblock print in 1703. *Sinseok Soaron* (新釋小兒論) is a revision of this book by Kim Jinha, published in woodblock print by Sayeokwon in 1777. It is made up of one volume, one book. The book can be found in Seoul National University's Kyujanggak (奎章閣), the Araasi (濯足) collections of Komazawa (駒澤) University, and the British Library.

(5) *Sinseok Palsea* (新釋八歲兒)

*Sinseok Palsea* (新釋八歲兒) is printed from woodblocks and is made up of one volume, one book. The overall publication process is identical to (4) above. The book can be found in Kyujanggak (奎章閣), the Araasi (濯足) collections of Komazawa (駒澤) University, the British Library, and the Bibliothèque Nationale Paris.

(6) *Hancheong mungam* (漢清文鑑)

*Hancheong mungam* (漢清文鑑) is a Chinese-Korean-Manchu dictionary adapted from *Yuzhi zengding qingwenjian* (御製增訂清文鑑, prefaced in 1771) by Yi Dam (李湛), Kim Jinha et al. and published by Sayeokwon. The date of publication is thought to be 1779 (Minn 1956). It is in woodblock print, and is made up of 15 volumes, 15 books, 36 sections, 292 categories, 23 supplement categories, and around 13,640 entries. It is housed by the Ogura Shinpei (小倉進平) collections of the Tokyo (東京) University Library, and the Bibliothèque de l'École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes of France. In Tokyo (東京) University's Libraries of Graduate Schools for Law and Politics / Faculty of Law (法學部研究室圖書室), the dictionary can be found of which volume 1, 2, 10, 12, 13, and 15 are proof sheets. Also, Korea (高麗) University Library possesses the dictionary which lacks volume 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 15.

### 3. Writing Manchu

Written forms of Manchu in Hangeul in the Manchu books of Sayeokwon can be divided into two types, Hangeul-only and Hangeul-Manchu script juxtaposition. Hangeul-only uses only Hangeul, without any Manchu characters, and excepting the headwords of *Hancheong mungam*, was used

only in dictionaries.<sup>3</sup> Juxtaposition of Korean-Manchu scripts put Manchu to the left and Hangeul to the right in parallel, and was used in Manchu readers. Hangeul-only writing implements narrow writing with diacritical marks, but Hangeul-Manchu juxtaposition has the characteristics of broad writing without such markings.

### 3.1 Types and usage of diacritical marks

In Hangeul-only writings of Manchu were used three types of diacritical marks, the circle, point, and right angle bracket.

#### 3.1.1 The circle (°)

The circle (°) was used in various ways to distinguish separate characters or different uses of the same characters.

- (1) 쥬스° (HA 9:64) cf. ju sy 쥬스 (HH 9:64), 스°슈 (四書) 빈허 (D 1:42), 스° (詩) 빈허 (D 1:42)
- (2) 아°시샤븨비 (aššabumbi)<sup>4</sup> (HH 7:44), 나 아°스삼비 (aššambi) (D1:6)

In dictionaries, the sy, šī in Chinese are written as 스° in HA and D, the first š in šš is written as 스° in HA and as 시° in D. This makes a distinction between 스°, 시° and 스, 시 without the circle which are used to write se and si, respectively. Cf. 히스 (hise) (D 1:14) and 아하시 (ahasi) (D1:14).

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<sup>3</sup> For convenience, the following contractions will be used forthwith. HH: headwords in *Hancheong mungam*, HA: annotations in *Hancheong mungam*, D: *Dongmun yuhae*, S: *Junggan Samyeok chonghae*, C: *Sinseok Cheongeo nogeuldae*, P: *Sinseok Palsea*, So: *Sinseok Soaron*.

<sup>4</sup> Manchu characters s is used for writing Chinese apical [s], and š for writing Chinese retroflex [ʃ] (Seong 1977). In this paper, ways of romanization suggested by Seong (1977) for special Manchu characters for Chinese sounds, and those of Möllendorff's for general Manchu characters, will be used. Cf. Table 1-2 in appendix. Additional information will be given in parenthesis.

- (3) 이° (驛) 청 (D 1:38), 치° (筴) (D 2:30), 지° (知) 한 (D: 2:38)  
 (4) 귀 이 (i) 바루 (HA 8:57), 귀 날.마 버 조리며 현뎡비허더 이° (i)  
 슴비 (HA 8:58)

The function of | ° seems to be different in D and HA. This is obvious from the fact that the word *i* is written as 이° in HA but as 이 (D 2:51) without the circle in D. It can be said that the function of | ° is to write a Chinese sound in D as (3), and is to write an independent character *i* in HA which is a final *i* but is written in separation. If the characters for Chinese sounds *ji*, *cy* were written as 지 and 치, respectively, they would be the same as those for native Manchu sounds *ji*, *ci*.

- (5) °구룬 (gurun) (HA 9:20), °구룬 (gurun) (D 1:40, °구°쿠허 (gukuhe)  
 (D 1:46), °후°훈 (huhun) (D 1:16), °두°쿠 (tūku) (D 2:1)

In dictionaries, when a circle is added to a syllable including the vowel ㅏ, the Manchu character corresponding to the vowel and the preceding consonant changes according to the consonant. For example, °구, °쿠, and °후 is written for *gu*, *ku*, and *hu*, and °두 stands for *tū*. In this way, the circle added to these syllables helps to differentiate between both consonants and vowels. But °후 in ‘너°후 (*nehū*) (D 1:14)’ has a circle though the vowel of it corresponds to *ū*. It is not clear that this is due to the form in source book or to errors in compiling the book.

- (6) °워런<sup>1</sup> (ūlen) (HA 9:67), °워런<sup>1</sup> (ūlet) (HA 2:17), °워런 (ūren) (HA 9:1), 워°런 (D 2:11)

In dictionaries, 워° and °워 appear only in word-initial position, both standing for *ū*.<sup>5</sup> As a result, 워°, °워 are different from the 워 written for

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<sup>5</sup> The position of the circle is irrelevant to its function.

we. A circle was not added in 위 of 위련<sup>1</sup> (D 1:34), which is a mistake of 위<sup>o</sup> (Seong 1984, footnote 30).

- (7) °귀스 (guise) (HA 11:31), °귀러<sup>1</sup>°쿠 (kuileku) (HA 11:26), °귀분 (guifun) (D 1:54), 盥子 °귀러<sup>1</sup>°쿠 (kuileku) (D 2:17)

In dictionaries, °귀, °귀 written with a circle stand for *gui*, *kui*, 귀, 귀 without the circle stand for *gūi*, *kūi*. In cosequence, the oppositions of *gu* vs. *gū*, *ku* vs. *kū* can be seen whether or not the circle exists. No °휘 appears in dictionaries because the sequence of *hui* does not exist.

- (8) °뇨혼 (niohon) (HA 7:6), °뉴<sup>o</sup>혼 (niohun) (HA 10:65), °냥간 (niowanggiyan) (HA 10:65) °묘시혼 miosihon (HA 8:48), °관 (giowan) (HA 10:44), 乙 뇨<sup>o</sup>혼 (niohon) (D 1:5), 水桶 °후뉴<sup>o</sup> hunio (D 2:14), 甲 °냥간 (niowanggiyan) (D 1:5)  
(9) °장권 (jiyanggiyūn) (HA 3:47), 錢糧 °차량<sup>1</sup> (cialiyang) (D 1:38)

In dictionaries, all instances of °ㄱ, °ㅍ and °ㅍ written with a circle appear after consonants, and each of these stands for *io* and *iowa*. In the same environment, ㄱ and ㅍ without the circles stand for *iyō*. In contrast, °차 and °차 stand for *jiya* and *cia*, respectively. It is not clear why functions of the circle differ according to the preceding consonants. But it is noticeable that both words in (9) are from Chinese. It is important to note that, there is no circle in 묘시혼 (D 2:33) of D, unlike HA. The reason for this seems that there is no word beginning with *miyo* in D, though there is such a word as ‘ㅁ오찬 (miyoocan) (D 1:49)’ which begins with *miyoo* (Seong 1984).

- (10) °혹탐비 (HA 1:28), °혹탐븨비 (D 1:58), °꺅 (kek) (HA 6:56) (D 1:20), °국선°국선 (guksen guksen) (HA 1:9) (D 1:2)

In dictionaries, ◦ㄱ in syllable coda corresponds to feminine character *k*, and ㄱ without the circle to masculine character *k*. The usage of feminine character *k* is as follows: ① *k* after *ū*, ② *k* after *e*, excepting *tek*, ③ *k* after *u*, as in *kuk*, *guk*, *huk*, ④ *k'* after *a*, as in *k'ak*, *g'ak*, *h'ak*. Feminine character *k*'s in the examples in (7) can be found in *hūktambumbi* (HH 12:55), *kek sembi* (HH 6:56), *guksen guksen agambi* (HH 1:11)

(11) 일.하 (ilha) (HA 1:43), 花 일.하 (ilha) (D 2:45)

In dictionaries, ㄹ. which appears in syllable coda stands for *l*, distinguished from ㄹ which corresponds to *r* and ㄹ' which corresponds to *l*, in syllable onset of non-word-initial position.

### 3.1.2 The dot (.)

In *Hancheong mungam*, .연 and .전 where a dot is added next to ㄹ in syllable coda are found, but no example is found in D.

.연, .전 (HA 7:42)

The introductory remarks of the *Hancheong mungam* explain that the dots next to seven characters of 한 산 잔 관 전 양 은 are written according to the ways of writings in *Yuzhi qingwenjian*.<sup>6</sup> However, as in the case of ‘筵宴 양 .양 (HH 3:31)’, sometimes the same sounds are written both with a dot and without. From this fact, the dots are thought to be related with Chinese sound. The origin of these dots seems to have been from efforts to distinguish Manchu from Chinese in materials without circles and

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<sup>6</sup> This fact was already mentioned by Imanishi (1958) and Minn (1956). Notably the case of ‘.양’, not found among the ‘seven characters’, was pointed out by Imanishi (1958).

dots, but further research is necessary to ascertain their true meanings (Seong 1984).

### 3.1.3 The right angle bracket (𐮎)

‘𐮎’ which is ㄹ with a right angle bracket and appearing in non-word-initial positions preceding a vowel stands for *l* in dictionaries. That is, the right angle bracket (𐮎) performs a function to distinguish *l* and *r*. Since Manchu does not have a word-initial *r*, the word-initial *l* was written simply as ‘ㄹ’ in dictionaries as well.

투랄기 (HA 3:14) 투러리 (tuleri) (D 1:9) cf. 랄긴 (HA 6:24), 랄긴 (largin) (D 2:57)

## 3.2 Correspondence between Hangeul and Manchu

With Hangeul as a reference point, the correspondences between Hangeul and the Manchu script can be grouped into three types. Since the writing with diacritical marks was examined above, only the usages without them will be treated here. Hangeul for writing Manchu and the Manchu characters are best understood in terms of character-to-character correspondence. Looking at *Shi er zi tou* (十二字頭), a kind of syllabary of Manchu, it can be seen that Manchu speakers understood Manchu script as basically a syllabic one. However, if Hangeul and Manchu characters match up with a syllable as a unit, the numbers of correspondences grow so many that it is difficult to figure out their meanings. In cases where it is difficult to match with a character as a unit, however, units involving groups of characters will occasionally be used.

### 3.2.1 Group of Characters Correspondence

Corresponding with group of characters as a unit is broadly divided into two categories. One is the case where a syllabograph of Hangeul is

analyzed as a unit, and the other is the case where a sequence of Manchu characters is written with two Hangeul characters. (1) below belongs to the first category, and (2) to the second.

- (1) šun 순 (HH 1:2), jaka 자카 (HH 8:57), koko 초코 (HH 1:19), aššabure  
 아샤샤부러 (S 3:23), aššaburakū 아샤샤부라쿠 (C 5:16), aššambi  
 아시삼비 (HH 7:44)

Examples in (1) are those writing the vowels after palatal *š, j, c*<sup>7</sup> as ㅟ, ㅟ, ㅟ, ㅟ, ㅟ, or the first *š* in the sequence *šš* as ㅟ, ㅟ. This helps to draw a line between them and ㅟ, ㅟ, ㅟ which stand for *sa, dza, tsa* respectively. But in the eighteenth century, ㅟ, ㅟ were already palatals in Korean. Accordingly, ㅟ, ㅟ... are examples where the methods for writing a foreign language differ from those for Korean.<sup>8</sup> In S and C, the first *š* in the sequence *šš* is written as ㅟ, and in HH as ㅟ.

- (2) tuwa 투와 (HH 1:18), tuwai 투왜 (HH 5:12), juwe 주위 (HH 4:25),  
 towa 토와 (S 7-23)

(2) are examples where *uwa, uwai, uwe, and owa* after a consonant are written as two separate syllables. As will be mentioned below the principle for these writings is that *uwa* is written as ㅟ, *uwe* as ㅟ.<sup>9</sup> These two kinds of Hangeul writings were pre-determined for each word, and they are consistently written. This reflects that there is a phonological difference between them, and that they are the one-syllable and two-syllable words,

<sup>7</sup> Ikegami (1986-1987) assumes eighteenth century Manchu *j, c* were retroflexes, whereas Seong (1975) transcribes *š, j, c* as [ʃ], [ʃ], [ʃ].

<sup>8</sup> See Lee K-M (1977: 9). I will abbreviate it to ‘the uniqueness in the ways of writing foreign languages.’

<sup>9</sup> *nioweri* is written as ㅟ ㅟ리 in HH (10:66) which is a general way of writing, but as ㅟ리 in D (181). Examples in which *uwai* or *owa* after a consonant are written as one-syllable in Hangeul are not easily found.

respectively (Ikegami 1950, 1962). Kim (1974) assumed these disparities reflected the prosodic features or process of contraction, and Seong (1984) pointed out *kūwa*, *gūwa*, *hūwa*, *kuwe*, *guwe*, and *huwe* which appear frequently the most were not divided into two syllables of Hangeul.

### 3.2.2 One-to-One Correspondence

#### 3.2.2.1 Consonants

(1)-(2) below are examples where one Hangeul consonant character corresponds to one Manchu consonant character.

- (1) na 나 (HH 1:33), mama 마마 (HH 5:36), babe 바버 (HH 8:68),  
acangga 아창가 (HH 4:7b), kaka 카카 (HH 5:60b), tatambi 타탐비  
(HH 4:41b), haha 하하 (5:35b)
- (2) 하반 (HH 2:24) (HA 2:6) (D 1:37) cf. hafan 하판 (So 2) (S 4:8) (C 2:17),  
zu △ 卍 (儒) (S 1:10)

The correspondence (2) appears in dictionaries, and *f* is written ㅍ as *p* in readers. Despite HH using the same method as writings in readers in principle, it is extraordinary that the *f* is rendered ㅎ as in dictionaries. △ only occurring in proper noun writings in S, is peculiar in that 卍 always corresponds to *u*. ㅎ and △ above do not appear in Korean literature in eighteenth century when Manchu books were published. Thus, this is an example of the uniqueness in the ways of writing foreign languages.

#### 3.2.2.2 vowels

Among one-to-one character correspondence, only ㅏ and ㅑ in (1) show the correspondence in simple vowels.

- (1) aga 아가 (HH 1:11) (S 7:2), ehe 어히 (HH 4:8a) (S 1:9)

Examples in (2) below are those showing one-to-one correspondence of complex vowels. ㅞ, ㅟ, ㅠ, and ㅡ of syllable nuclei in them are not only consistent with the way Korean characters combine, but furthermore they might even have had the same phonetic value as those for writing Korean at that time. After ㅠ disappeared from the phonological system, ㅞ (/aj/) and ㅟ (/əj/) changed to /ɛ/ and /e/ respectively, and the loss of ㅠ was decisively reflected in *Hancheong mungam* (Lee 1972: 200-201).

- (2) ai 애 (HH 6:36) (C 1:2) boihon 비혼 (HH 1:18) (C 2:11) wa 와 (HH 12:58) (C 6:8) wai 왜 (HH 9:76) (C 3:20)

(3) and (4) are other examples showing one-to-one correspondence of complex vowels. (3) and (4) are those of ㅢ, ㅣ, ㅤ and ㅥ, ㅦ, ㅧ respectively. Syllable nuclei of these are not consistent with the way the Korean characters combine. Accordingly (3) and (4) are examples of the uniqueness in the ways of writing foreign languages. Among these, *ooi* in (3) is remarkable in that despite not being defined as a constituent of a syllable in *Qingwen qimeng* (清文啓蒙), they are written as one syllable nuclei.<sup>10</sup> ㅢ in (3) mainly appears in Chinese loan words in D, the same *ao* sequence also written as ㅣ (Cf. 3.2.3.2). At present, we can generalize that ㅢ is rendered before ㅣ or ㅤ, otherwise ㅢ is written from the examples, 거르ㅢ (閣老) (D 1:37), ㅣㅢ요 (膏藥) (D 2:9), ㅤㅢ (曹) (D 2:31), ㅦㅢ (趙) (D 2:32); ㅧㅢ스 (告示) 받혀 D (1:42), 르ㅢ여 (老爺) (D 1:37).

- (3) 르ㅢ여 (lao ye, 老爺) (D 1:37); liyoodoung 르ㅢ둥 (C 1:15); ㅣㅢ (moo, 樹) (D 2:43) moo ㅣㅢ (C 1:4) (S 5:17) (HH 1:18) (HA 1:2)

<sup>10</sup> It is already pointed out by Seong (1984) that Hangeul syllabographs in Manchu books are inconsistent with syllables defined in *Shi er zi tou*. See Ikegame (1999: 182-205) for further discussion on syllable types in *Qingwen qimeng*.

- (4) mooi ㅁㅂ | (C 1:4) (HH 5:32) (HA 5:32), booi ㅂㅂ | (S 6:5),  
木理 ㅁㅂ | 준 (mooi jun) (D 2:44); iowai ㅇㅂ (越) (S 3:10);  
hūwaitambi ㅎ꺄탐비 (HH 12:13) hūwaita ㅎ꺄타 (C 2:21a) hūwaitafi  
ㅎ꺄타피 (S 4:13) hūwai ㅎ꺄 (HA 1:43b) 絳着 ㅎ꺄탐비 (hūwaitambi)  
(D 2:53)

### 3.2.3 One-to-Many Correspondence

#### 3.2.3.1 Consonants

Writings in which one Korean consonant character corresponds to more than one Manchu consonant character are examined here.

- gakda 각다 (HH 8:15) 각다 (gakda) (HA 1:34) g'ao tang ㄱ고탕 (高唐) (C 1:17b) jug'oliyang 쥬고량 (諸葛亮) (S 4:2a)

ㄱ corresponds to *g* in syllable onset, *k* and *g* in syllable coda, and to special character *g'* in Chinese loan words.

- dade 다더 (HH 1:20) (S 6:1) (C 5:8), 다더 (dade) (HA 7:6) (D 2:46); bithe  
빚히 (HH 4:1) (S 4:8a) (C 1:3), 빚히 (bithe) (HA 2:5) (D 1:42)

ㄷ corresponds mainly to *d* in syllable onset, *t* and *d* in syllable coda. However, ㄷ corresponds to *t* exceptionally in stem of *tū-* and its derivatives.

- juleri 쥬리리 (HH 1:51) (S 4:5) (C 1:3)

ㄹ sometimes corresponds to *l*, sometimes to *r*.

- seshembi 셋힘비 (HH 7:49) sesheme 셋허머 (HA 6:66) (C 2:2b); 셋허  
sishe (HA 3:43) (D 1:58); šilgiyan 실간 (HH 1:6) cf. šilgiyan °실간. (HA 1:7)

ㅅ corresponds to *s* in syllable coda and *ʃ* of syllable onset.<sup>11</sup> Writing ㅅ to stand for *s* in syllable coda is an example of the uniqueness in the ways of writing foreign languages, since in Korean literature at that time syllable coda ㅅ represented /t/. In addition, various vowels appear after *s* but if *ʃ* and its following vowel correspond to Hangeul consonant and vowel respectively, *ʃ* is always followed by *i* and *ʃi* is written as 시.

- (1) dzy jing 즈징 (子敬) (S 4:1) tsai dzung 채중 (蔡中) (S 5:3) k'an dze 간저 (闕澤) (S 6:1) mengdzy 명즈 (孟子) (C 1:3) suwen dzao lin 원즈고린 (酸棗林) (C 2:16) dzo jeo 조즈코 (涿州) (6:7a); jojin 조진 (HH 5:25) (S 3:6b), 조진 (jojin) (HH 5:25)
- (2) tsootsoo 츠츠츠츠 (曹操) (S 4:1) tsai moo 채모고 (蔡瑁) (S 5:3) tsan jiyūn 찬즈피니 (參軍) (S 5:23); cecike 쳐치커 (HH 13:55), acaci 아차치 (S 4:2), 쳐치커 (cecike) (HA 4:57)

ㅈ and ㅊ correspond to *dz* and *j*, *ts* and *c* respectively. In Manchu literature, *dz* and *ts* are used for Chinese sound, and *j* and *c* for native Manchu, but this distinction disappears in the ways of writing Manchu with Hangeul. However, using the following vowels as a reference point, the two ㅈ's corresponding to *z* and *j* are complementarily distributed, and so are the ㅊ's corresponding to *ts* and *c*. In other words, ㅈ, ㅊ corresponding to *dz*, *ts* respectively are followed by ㅏ, ㅑ, ㅓ, ㅕ, and ㅗ, whereas ㅉ, ㅊ corresponding to *j* and *c* is followed only by ㅓ.<sup>12</sup>

pingguri 핑구리 (HH 13:1) 핑구리 (pingguri) (HA 7:22) 탐파 (taimpa) (D 2:41); fafun 파푼 (S 4:8), ufa 우파 (C 1:12)

ㅍ corresponds to *p* and *f* appearing only in syllable onset.

<sup>11</sup> In 3.2.1, *ʃ* before vowels other than *i* or in syllable coda was discussed.

<sup>12</sup> Other diphthongs preceded by *j* and *c* were discussed in 3.2.1.

3.2.3.2 vowels

(1)-(4) below are Hangeul characters for vowels corresponding to more than one Manchu character. (1)-(3) are the examples in which the characters were used in Korean literature of the time. But those characters for vowels in (4) were not used at that time.

- (1) a. omolo 오모로 (HH 5:39a) 오모로<sup>1</sup> (omolo) (HA 5:38) (D 1:11); sūna 소나 (HH 4:57)
- b. udu 우두 (HH 6:37) (D 2:49) (HA 1:24) (S 4:7) (C 1:6); hūdun 후둔 (HH 7:42) (HA 1:45) (C 3:4) (S 4:14); tūku 두쿠 (HH 10:7) °두°쿠 (tūku) (HA 10:6), mūnggu 몽구 (HH 12:37)
- c. dere 드러 (HH 8:20) (S 5:13) (C 2:17), 드러 (dere) (D 2:49); bederembi 버드럼비 (HH 3:15), 버드럼비 (bederembi) (HA 1:51) (D 1:51), bedereki 버드러키 (S 4:15), bederebuci 버드러부치 (C 6:2); °귀스 (guise, 櫃子) (D 2:13) (HA 11:31) guise 귀스 (HH 11:31); mengdzy 명즈 (孟子) (C 1:3)
- d. ici 이치 (HH 1:51) (S 5:5) (C 2:25), 이치 (ici) (HA 2:26) (D 1:9); lii 리 (李) (C 5:4)

Examples in (1) have the characters which stand for simple vowels in Korean. Those vowels, ㅏ, ㅓ, ㅗ, ㅣ in principle correspond to *o*, *u* and *ū*, *e*, *i* respectively. Manchu *sūna* is the only word in which ㅏ corresponds to *ū*. ㅓ corresponds to *ū* in it's most frequent position, that is, after *k*, *g*, *h*.

ㅗ following ㅅ or ㅈ mainly corresponds to *e*. Manchu words containing ㅅ, ㅈ in word-initial position are particles or function words,<sup>13</sup> or words of Chinese origin. And ㅅ, ㅈ in second syllable are related to the weakening of the syllable in native Manchu words (Seong 1984), but not in the words of Chinese origin.

Lastly, in Chinese words, ㅓ also corresponds to *y*, and rarely appearing ㅣ corresponds to *ü*.

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<sup>13</sup> There are some exceptions.

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- (2) a. biya  $\text{ㅂ}$ 야 (HH 1:3) (S 5:12) (C 1:1),  $\text{ㅂ}$ 야 (biya) (HA 1:3) (D 1:1); ya  $\text{ㅇ}$ 야 (HH 1:16) (C 1:7),  $\text{ㅇ}$ 야 (ya) (HA 6:36)
- b. fiyelen  $\text{ㅂ}$ 키린 (HH 4:5),  $\text{ㅂ}$ 키린<sup>1</sup> (fiyelen) (HA 6:36); yehe  $\text{ㅇ}$ 허 (HH 5:1),  $\text{ㅇ}$ 허 (yehe) (HA 5:7) (D 2:46)
- c. giyolo  $\text{교}$ 로 (HH 5:48),  $\text{교}$ 로<sup>1</sup> (giyolo) (HA 5:48) (D 1:14); foyoro  $\text{ㅂ}$ ㅅ요로 (HH 13:2) (C 7:5),  $\text{ㅂ}$ ㅅ요로 foyoro (HA 15:24) (D 2:5); fioha  $\text{ㅂ}$ ㅅ하 (HH 14:15)
- d. kiongguhe  $\text{ㅋ}$ 구허 (HH 13:54), yuyumbi  $\text{유}$ 움비 (HH 6:65) yuyure (C 3:11)

(2) are examples which contain characters for Korean rising-diphthongs beginning with *j*-. As can be seen in (2), in principle,  $\text{ㅂ}$  corresponds to *ya* or *iya*,  $\text{ㅇ}$  to *ye* or *ie*,  $\text{ㅇ}$  to *yo* or *io*,  $\text{ㅍ}$  to *yu* or (*iyu*). These two sets of correspondence show a complementary distribution: the former appears at syllables beginning with vowel, and the latter with consonant. Sequences of *iya*, *ie*, *io*, (*iyu*) could have been written  $\text{ㅇ}$ 야,  $\text{ㅇ}$ 여,  $\text{ㅇ}$ 요,  $\text{ㅇ}$ 유, but are in fact always written in one syllable. This might be due to the provision in *Shi er zi tou* which prescribed *iya*, *ie*, *io* respectively as a constituent of one syllable.<sup>14</sup>

As in (2c) and (2d), both  $\text{ㅇ}$  and  $\text{ㅍ}$  correspond to *io*.<sup>15</sup>  $\text{ㅍ}$  of the two corresponds to it in case of the preceding consonant being  $\text{ㅋ}$  or  $\text{ㄴ}$ . The correspondence of  $\text{ㅍ}$  to *nio* is primarily explained by vowel harmony (Ikegami 1954). In other words, if there is not *a*, *o* in adjacent syllable,  $\text{ㅍ}$  corresponds to *nio*, otherwise  $\text{ㄴ}$ . But, there are also some examples such as *niokan*  $\text{ㅍ}$ 칸 (HH 125d) which cannot be explained by the vowel

<sup>14</sup> Only *niyaniyun* and its derivatives in *Yuzhi zengding qingwenjian* (御製增訂清文鑑) have the sequence *iyu*. It might be due to the this that *iyu* preceded by a consonant is not prescribed as a constituent of one syllable.

<sup>15</sup> The fact that  $\text{ㅍ}$  and  $\text{ㅇ}$  also correspond to *io* is discussed in 3.2.4. But the diverging condition of  $\text{ㅍ} \sim \text{ㅇ}/\text{ㅍ}$ ,  $\text{ㅇ} \sim \text{ㅇ}$  is difficult to be found.

harmony. Since ㅍ corresponds to both *iyō* and *io*, for example, *niyombi* and *niombi* are all written as ‘뉘뵈.’

- (3) a. *ūren* 워런 (HH 9:1), °워런 (*ūren*) (HA 9:1); *we* 워 (HH 8:59) (S 5:3) (C 1:5), 워 (*we*) (HA 8:59), *suwe* 쉬 (HH 8:58) (C 1:23), 쉬 (*suwe*) (HA 9:14) (D 2:51)
- b. *guigu* 귀구 (HH 5:43), *suihe* 쉬허 (HH 10:4), 쉬허 (*suihe*) (HA 10:4) (D 2:1); *gūi gūi* 귀귀 (HH 4:53), *hūi* 휘 (HH 5:24) *fulhūi* 풀휘 (C 5:21), 휘 *hūi* (HA 8:4); *uihe* 위허 (HH 14:10); 위허 (*uihe*) (HA 3:56), 웨허 (*uihe*) (D 2:38)
- c. *weile* 웨러 (HH 3:10) (S 4:2) (C 1:6), 웨러<sup>ㅍ</sup> (*weile*) (HA 2:44) (D 1:29); *yerguwei* 열케 (S 6:2)

Examples in (3) are those having *w*-initial diph- or triphthongs in Korean. ㅍ is generally written as *we* or *uwe* in (3a). *We* and *uwe* are also distributed complementarily in Manchu literature as *ya* and *iya* above; *we* is used in syllables beginning with a vowel, and *uwe* with a consonant. Therefore there is no room for confusion to the extent that *we* and *uwe* corresponding to ㅍ. In word-initial position, *ū* occurs in a small number of Manchu words, and the phonetic value of it is assumed to be [ö] (Ikegami 1950, 1954). Since this *ū* is written as ㅍ, ㅍ corresponds to both *ū* and *we*.

In (3b) ㅍ corresponds to *ui* or *ūi*. In Manchu, *ūi* occurs only after *g* and *h*, and *h* does not appear before *ui*. Thus, ㅍ in 귀 corresponds to both *ui* and *ūi*, ㅍ in 휘 only to *ūi*, ㅍ in the other circumstances only to *ui*. 웨허 (*uihe*) (D 2:38) is exceptional in that *ui* of the first syllable was written as 웨, distinguished from other examples.

In (3c) ㅍ corresponds to *wei* and *uwei*, and these two correspondences are in complementary distribution as ㅍ. That is, 웨 corresponds to *wei*, whereas ㅍ corresponds to *uwei* preceded by a consonant.

- (4) a. *g'ao tang* ㅍ고탕 (C 1:18) *coohiyan* 초한 (C 1:1)

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- b. yooni 온니 (HH 8:55) (C 1:6), 온니 (yooni) (HA 1:25), fiyoo 룬 (HH 3:56), 룬 fiyoo (HA 9:65), hiyoošungga 훈승가 (C 7:12), jangliyoo 장료 (S 4:17)
- c. guwafu 귀부 (HH 11:34), 귀<sup>o</sup>부 (guwafu) (HA 3:53); gūwa 귀 (HH 8:60), (S 4:6), (C 1:7), 귀 (gūwa) (HA 4:11) (D 2:51)
- d. yargiyūn 알권 (C 8:3), yūn nan 윤난 (雲南) (C 7:20)
- e. doroi giyūn wang 도뢰 권 왕 (多羅郡王) (HH 2:2), 도뢰 권 왕 (doroi giyūn wang) (HA 2:2), jiyangjiyūn 장권 (S 4:1), jang yūn 장원 (張允) (S 4:1), nioweri 뉘리 (HH 10:66)
- f. yowen 윈 (S 7:9)

ㄱ in (4a) corresponds to *ao* or *oo*. Words containing this *oo* are of Chinese origin. When ㄱ corresponds to *ao*, words which have *ao* could be either Chinese or native Manchu ones. If the latter, *o* of *ao* is an interrogative particle. ㅍ in (4b) corresponds either to *yoo* or *iyoo*, and the distribution is complementary as ㅏ, ㅑ, ㅓ, ㅕ above: ㅇㅍ corresponds to *yoo* and ㅍ after a consonant to *iyoo*.

ㅑ in (4c), occurring only after a consonant, corresponds either to *uwa* or *ūwa*. It can be predicted according to the preceding consonant whether ㅑ corresponds to *uwa* or *ūwa* except ㅑㅑ. The consonants other than *k*, *g*, *h* can not precede *ūwa*, and *k* and *h* can not precede *uwa*.

In (4d) and (4e), ㅑ corresponds to *iyū* and *yū* in HH and S. ㅑ, occurring in C, corresponds to *iyū* and *yū*, just like ㅑ. It is hard to say why the two books are different from each other in the ways of writing. But, as previous examples of glide + vowel, ㅇㅑ, ㅇㅑ correspond to *yū*, and ㅑ, ㅑ preceded by a consonant correspond to *iyū*, distributing complementarily. ㅑ also corresponds to *iowe* in HH, and this sequence is assumed to be occur only after a consonant. *yowe* which is not preceded by a consonant is written as ㅑㅑ in S.

### 3.2.4 Many-to-One Correspondence

The following examples are those in which one Manchu character is written by more than one Hangeul character. In (1) and (2), *e* of *ei* and *eo*

generally written as ㅍ, but if words containing the *ei* and *eo* are included in categories of ㅍ and *e* correspondence mentioned in 3.2.3.2, they are written as ㅍ or ㅍ, ㅍ. But in such examples as *musei* in (1), one and the same syllable may be written as ㅍ or ㅍ.

- (1) *musei* 무ㅍ (C 1:14); *musei* 무ㅍ (S 5:12), *jusei* 주ㅍ (C 1:9)
- (2) a. *ebiheo* 어ㅍ (C 3:10), *heoledeci* 현러더ㅍ (S 5:18); *elheo* (D 1:31) *heoledembi* 현뎡ㅍ (HH 8:36) (D 1:23), *heoledeme* (HA 8:36)
- b. *heo* 호 (侯) (S 5:4); *heo* 후 (候) (HH 2:24), *hūwangheo* 황후 (皇后) (HH 2:3), *황후* *hūwangheo* (皇后) (D 1:36)
- (3) *jiu* (jio) (D 1:27) (HA 6:42), *giogin arambi* (giogin arambi) (D 2:11) *giogin arambi* 귀긴 아람ㅍ (HH 9:3), *bio* (bio) (D 2:51) (HA 6:42); *sambio* 삼ㅍ (S 4:1), *jio* 조 (C 2:12), *bio* 보 (C 2:12)
- (4) *niowanggiyan* 냥간 (So 10b) (C 6:16) *냥간* *niowanggiyan* (D 2:26); *niowanggiyan* 냥간 (HH 1:18), *냥간* *niowanggiyan* (HA 1:18)
- (5) *alioi* 아뤼 (HH 3:47), *elioi* 어뤼 (HH 3:47), *hionghioi* 흥회 (HH 13:55)

The other examples are related to the ways of writing *o*. In (2), ㅍ and ㅍ occurs in readers, and ㅍ and ㅍ in dictionaries.<sup>16</sup> It has not been clearly examined why these two kinds of books are different in the way of writing. As can be seen in (3) Manchu character *io* corresponds either to ㅍ or ㅍ. This disparity also stems from Manchu books. In other words, in readers, ㅍ mainly corresponds to *io*, whereas in dictionaries so does ㅍ. *Iowa* in (4) is written either as ㅍ or ㅍ, and this also seems to be determined according to Manchu books on the whole. Put it differently, while the nucleus of the first syllable in the same word is written as ㅍ in So, C, and D, ㅍ in HH and HA. But the reason has not been revealed yet. The second syllable of *아뤼* in (5) is different from that of *어뤼*, though they are writings of the same sequence *ioi* in HH. Ikegami (1950) interprets that

<sup>16</sup> HH belongs to the dictionaries concerning this writing.

this is due to the fact that they are transcriptions of Chinese 律 and 鵠 respectively.

#### 4. Conclusion

This paper was concerned with the aspects of writings Manchu with Hangeul in Manchu books by the Sayeokwon. Although, in some writings, Hangeul and Manchu character systematically corresponds, in other writings the correspondence systems are not easily grasped. There left such problems for further as something in common and difference between annotations in *Hancheong mungam* and entries in *Dongmun yuhae*.

But such criticisms should be eschewed that these writings contain the editor's mistake or lack of the knowledge on the Manchu language. For example, although *uwa* is written both ㅍㅏ and ㅍㅏㅏ, it should be noted that this writing prevails in all Manchu books by the Sayeokwon. Furthermore, we can guess from the fact below, Kim Jinha was so fluent in Manchu that he had played an important role in compilation of all the Manchu books by the Sayeokwon for thirty years.

According to Integrated Information System of the figures in Korean History, Gim Jinha, who was born in 1711 and whose family clan was Gimhae Kim, passed examination for recruitment of interpreters as the eighth best when he was 22 ([http://people.aks.ac.kr/front/tabCon/exm/exmView.aks?exmId=EXM\\_J1\\_6JOc\\_1732\\_001270&isEQ=true&kristalSearchArea=true](http://people.aks.ac.kr/front/tabCon/exm/exmView.aks?exmId=EXM_J1_6JOc_1732_001270&isEQ=true&kristalSearchArea=true)). Thus, when he was 37, *Dongmun Yuhae* was published, *Cheonge Nogeoldae* was published when he was 54, *Palsea* and *Soalon* when he was 65 and *Hancheong Mungam* when he was 67. And a memorial in *Yeongjo Sillok* in 1757 also mentioned his good ability to understand the Manchu language.

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	<i>When alone.</i>	<i>In the beginning of a word.</i>	<i>In the middle of a word.</i>	<i>At the end of a word.</i>
a	ᠠ	ᠠ	ᠠ	ᠠ see n
e	ᠡ	ᠡ	ᠡ	ᠡ
i	ᠢ	ᠢ	ᠢ	ᠢ
o	ᠣ	ᠣ	ᠣ	ᠣ see b
u	ᠤ	ᠤ	ᠤ	ᠤ
ū	ᠥ	ᠥ	ᠥ	ᠥ
n	ᠨ	ᠨ	ᠨ	ᠨ like final a, but a vowel preceding shows that it must be n.
k	ᠬ	ᠬ when followed by a, o, ū ᠬ when followed by e, i, u	ᠬ ᠬ	ᠬ
g	ᠭ	ᠭ when followed by a, o, ū ᠭ when followed by e, i, u	ᠭ ᠭ	ᠭ
h	ᠬ	ᠬ when followed by a, o, ū ᠬ when followed by e, i, u	ᠬ ᠬ	ᠬ
b	ᠪ	ᠪ	ᠪ	ᠪ the downstroke is longer than that of o.
p	ᠮ	ᠮ	ᠮ	ᠮ
s	ᠰ	ᠰ	ᠰ	ᠰ
š	ᠱ	ᠱ	ᠱ	ᠱ
t	ᠲ	ᠲ	ᠲ	ᠲ
d	ᠳ	ᠳ foll. by a, ᠳ foll. by e, ᠳ foll. by a, ᠳ foll. by e.	ᠳ ta, ᠳ te, ᠳ after a vowel and before a consonant. ᠳ da, ᠳ de	ᠳ
l	ᠯ	ᠯ	ᠯ	ᠯ
m	ᠮ	ᠮ	ᠮ	ᠮ
c	ᠴ	ᠴ	ᠴ	ᠴ
j	ᠵ	ᠵ	ᠵ	ᠵ
y	ᠶ	ᠶ	ᠶ	ᠶ
r	ᠷ	ᠷ	ᠷ	ᠷ
f	ᠸ	ᠸ foll. by a or e ᠸ ᠸ foll. by other vowels.	ᠸ foll. by a or e, ᠸ ᠸ foll. by other vowels	ᠸ
w	ᠸ	ᠸ foll. by a or e	ᠸ foll. by a or e	ᠸ

Table 2 Möllendorff's romanization of Manchu characters

Aspects of Writing Manchu in Hangeul in Joseon Dynasty

Man.	Ko.	Man.	Ko.	Man.	Ko.	Man.	Ko.
a	ㅏ	io	ㅓ	o	ㅜ	ūi	ㅑ
ai	ㅑ	io	ㅓ	oi	ㅑ	ūwa	ㅑ
ao	ㅓ	io	ㅑ	oo	ㅓ	ūwai	ㅑ
ao	ㅑ	ioi	ㅑ	oo	ㅓ	wa	ㅑ
b	ㅑ	ioi	ㅑ	ooi	ㅓ	wai	ㅑ
d	ㅑ	iowa	ㅑ	owe	ㅑ	we	ㅑ
dz	ㅑ	iowa	ㅑ	p	ㅓ	wei	ㅑ
e	ㅑ	iowai	ㅑ	r	ㅓ	y	ㅑ
e	ㅑ	iowe	ㅑ	s	ㅓ	ya	ㅑ
ei	ㅑ	iya	ㅑ	š	ㅓ	ye	ㅑ
ei	ㅑ	iye	ㅑ	t	ㅑ	yo	ㅑ
eo	ㅑ	iyo	ㅑ	t	ㅓ	yoo	ㅑ
eo	ㅑ	iyoo	ㅓ	ts	ㅓ	yu	ㅓ
eo	ㅓ	iyoo	ㅓ	u	ㅓ	yū	ㅑ
eo	ㅓ	iyu	ㅓ	ui	ㅑ	yū	ㅑ
f	ㅑ	iyū	ㅑ	uwa	ㅑ	z	ㅓ
f	ㅓ	iyū	ㅑ	uwe	ㅑ		
g	ㅑ	k	ㅑ	uwei	ㅑ		
g'	ㅑ	k	ㅑ	ū	ㅓ		
h	ㅑ	l	ㅓ	ū	ㅓ		
i	ㅑ	m	ㅓ	ū	ㅑ		
ii	ㅑ	n	ㅓ	ū	ㅑ		
io	ㅓ	ng	ㅓ	ū	ㅑ		

Table 3 Correspondences of Manchu characters to Hangeul







## Discussion: Aspects of writing Manchu in Hangeul in Joseon Dynasty

CHONG Chemun  
Sunchon National University, Korea

I can understand the ways of writing Manchu in Hangeul, since they are described in detail and to the point in the paper. I have two general questions about Manchu studies which, I am afraid, might be somewhat remote from the presenter's intention.

Firstly, Do you think that it is sufficient and satisfied to write Manchu in Hangeul? For example, is it convenient and accurate, compared to use Möllendorff's method of transcription in table 2 of the appendix?

Secondly, it has been assumed that the sources of *Palsea*, *Soaron* did not exist, but those of *Hancheong mungam*, *Samyeok chonghae*, *Cheongeo nogeoldae* have come to the light, and those of *Dongmun yuhae* are named in preface. What do you think is contribution of these books to the Manchu study, considering their characters?