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Professor Jiro IKEGAMI from Hokkaido University

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(\* = In Japanese with English Summary.)

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## Long Vowels in Manchu

### Loanwords of Dagur

KARA György

Questions concerning the primary and secondary length of vowels in different languages of the Altaic group, for a long time were in the focus of attention of those who investigate the phonetic history of these languages. These questions proved to be especially delicate in the case of the Manchu-Tungus branch, the monuments of which are rather uneven, their writing systems are mostly unfit for marking vowel length, and the scholarly records show considerable discrepancies.

Among the languages of this branch Manchu has the longest written history, but the Manchu alphabet has no direct way for recording vowel length except the digraph *oo* which renders a round low velar long partly derived from a diphthong<sup>1)</sup>. Genuine spoken Manchu materials are scarce and only partly reliable: e. g., in contrast to Yamamoto's Spoken Manchu which must be fairly exact<sup>2)</sup>, Muromski's Sibe records seem to be inconsequent in marking long vowels.

1) Cf. also the problem of *o*: Ikegami, *Tō-yōgakuhō* 33 (1950), pp. 113 sq., Ligeti, *AOH* II (1952), pp. 255, 282-284 (note 23), 285-286 (note 27) and 286 (note 28), de Jong, *Vowel harmony in Manchu*, etc.

2) Yamamoto's Sibe records show a dialect different from that which was the source of the Manchu elements in Dagur, see e. g. Dagur *-buu-* ~ SibeY *-və-* ~ Manchu *-bu-* (here 2°, 3°, 14°, 34°, 53°, cf. also *-buun*, here 7°, 29°, 34°), or Dagur *-šyē-* ~ SibeY *~-še-* ~ Manchu *-ša-* (here 5°, 12°, 20°, 28°, 49°). SibeY and Dagur long vowels coincide e. g. in Manchu *ilya* "flower", *χōda* "price" and *jīxa* "money, cash" (Dagur *ilgaa*, *xudaa*, *jīgaa*), while SibeY *bataa* ~ Dagur *baataa* ~ Manchu *bata* "enemy" and SibeY *vesixun* ~ Dagur *wegsgun* ~ Manchu *wesixun* "respectable", etc. Further, for Sibe monophthongs of non-first and non-final syllables Yamamoto

marks at least three grades of vowel-length: long (only in open syllables, e. g. in *'agee*[ʔagə:] "elder brother", Manchu *age*), not-reduced short (see e. g. in the second syllable of *jaquvju* [dʒaqundʒw] "eighty" or *'imahə* [(ʔ)jimaχ] "insect, worm", Manchu *umiyaxa*), and reduced short vowels (in closed and open syllables, e. g. in *'efe*v [ʔəfəŋ] "bread" or *siumuxun* [ʃymwʃun] "finger", also unstressed *ə* alternating with zero: *galə* [gal] "hand" or *'afəqaa* [ʔafqa:] "heaven"; cf. also *mederi* [mədə:rj] "sea"). In several cases his not-reduced short vowels of non-first syllables correspond to Dagur and probably to Manchu long vowels like in *'irəxevun* [j'ɪrəvun] "song, poem" ~ Dagur *irgeə-buun*, or SibeY *məda*v, *mudav* [mədan, mudan] "time(s)" ~ Dagur *mudaan*, *madan*; SibeY *-iv* ~ Dagur *-yən* (here 13°, 17°, 42°), corresponding partly to Manchu *-in*, partly to Manchu *-iyan*.

Dagur, the isolated Mongolian idiom of the Nonni Valley and of its larger environment, can be cited in evidence. This language makes a clear distinction between long and short vowels, and at the same time it is full of Manchu and Solon (Ewenki) loanwords. Among the records of this Mongolian language which are available, Nicholas Poppe's Hailar materials, Samuel Martin's Nonni (Naun) texts and vocabulary and a number of Inner Mongolian publications in Cyrillic script, which represent the Qiqihar dialect, are the most important and the most reliable for a Dagur-Manchu vowel-length comparison<sup>3</sup>. With the aim of making such a comparison, Dagur words mostly from the latter group of sources will be confronted here with their Manchu parallels. These Dagur-Manchu parallels were part of the work I carried out during my stay in Sapporo, in the autumn of 1982, at the University of Hokkaidō, where I enjoyed the friendly guidance of my Japanese colleagues, and primarily the advice of Professor Jirō Ikegami, who is most versed in Manchu and Tungus studies<sup>4</sup>.

1. *aabkyē* "fly-whisk" DU 23 *jiyaa bodooč utaač arga uwei bolji nek aabkyē ukusen* "the old fortune-teller could not help giving him a fly-whisk"; Dagur of Nemer *ārabkyē*, DagIv. *abki* (36), SolIv. *abki*, (Manegir) *arpukū* id., Manegir-Maak *arpuki* "opachalo", etc. (Iv. 17), Manchu *arfuqô* "Fliegenwedel, Pferdenschweif" (Hauer).

2. *ačbuu-* "to bring into harmony, to fit" DU 01 *Ēne urgili dwatar deęę dwari sanaa ĵurgaandaa ul ĵugigu, abil dolgon gajir oliši uwei bei beiteleę ačbuuĵ terširkeęseneę č kurelčisen uwei gajir bas učęęk uwei* "In these tales there are surely (some) heterogeneous passages, improper in their ideas and imperfect, moreover, many passages could not have been properly arranged or

3) Words quoted from Cyrillic Written Dagur are given here in transliteration (long vowels are rendered by double letters if they are marked so in the original). Cyrillic Dagur orthography is nearly phonemic, except the characters *я, е, ё* (*ya, ye, yo*) which are polyphonous (like in Cyrillic Written Khalkha, although in a different way): they render long vowels preceded by a *yod-glide* in non-first syllables, i. e. *yā* (see Martin's *iaa*), *yē* (mostly in velar words) or *yę* (in palatal words only), and *yō*, see e. g. *Daur xergenü juuguu xiigu durun*, pp. 3, 5, 6: *taryē* (Mong. *tariyan*), *xoryē* (Mong. *qoriyan*), *xęlyē* (!) "one's own tongue" (Acc. from *xelu* + Subject Possessive marker, Mong. *kele-ben*), *keęęęęęę* "one's own cat" (Acc., *keękeęę* "cat"), *xariyā* "let's return" (Mong. *qariya* < *qa-*

*ri-*), *xoyōloo* (Mong. *qoyaγula-ban*), but *yuo = yoo* (Mong. *yaγun*), etc. — Cyrillic *ы* is transliterated by *i*; according to *Durun* (p. 3), it marks *āi, ēi, ői*, like in *ami*, Gen. or Acc. from *am* "rice" (Mong. *amu*) or from *am* "mouth" (Mong. *aman*). Both *и* and *й* are represented by *i* (otherwise *й* occurs only as a second element in a digraph recording a diphthong, e. g. *aiduu* "very", but never after a long vowel or a diphthong, e. g. *mooi* "of the tree" = *mōi*). — "Soft sign" *ь* is rendered by *ı* (see e. g. *Durun*, p. 6: *golı* "flour", *berı* "daughter-in-law", Mong. *γuril, beri*). "Hard sign" *ъ* is substituted by *ı*.

4) I am also greatly indebted to those Dagurs and Mongols who kindly helped me in my studies of this fascinating language.

adapted." DagMur. and SibeMur. *ačabu-*, Manchu *ačabu-* "zusammenbringen, ...; zusammenpassen; ... entsprechen; ..." (Hauer) Kařuž., SibeY 1703° *'acav-əmə* "to put together; to meet (one's expectation)", cf. also Cincius SrSl. I 52-53, s. v. Ewk. *arča*.

3. *aitbuu-* "to save" DU 22 *Minii amii aitbuugu ul aitbuugu xoo mergen šyenšin međbeišyē!* "To save or not to save my life – it is only you, wise gentleman who knows that." DagMur. *aitubu-*, *aitəbu-* "helfen" < Manchu *ayitubu-* "erretten, retten, erlösen", SibeMur. *ait(a)bu-*, *aitubu-*, *ütubu-* "retten" Kařuž., SibeY 748° *'a'itəvumə*, *'aitəvumə* "to bring back to life, to revive".

4. *akanbuu-* "to honour" DU 42 *Taa bas sardyē jyanjuntii auljyēsaa dor tačini gethun akanbuuŋ sain usugeer tafultug!* "When you meet the old general, pay him your greatest respect and warn him with good words!"; Manchu *aqōmbu-* "prilagaju vsé vozmožnyja popečeniya (o roditeljach), upotrebljaju staranie, ..." (Zacharov 19, cf. Cincius SrSl. I 11b; Hauer ignores this meaning).

5. *al's'ē-* "skučat', toskovat'", Mong. *aljiya-* Poppe 1930. For phonetical and semantical reasons the supposed Mongolian origin is difficult to accept: Mong. *aljiya-* means "to be tired", Middle Mong. "to err", cf. also Manchu *alja-*, Cincius SrSl. I 32. The Dagur word remounts to Manchu *ališa-* "bedrückt sein, niedergeschlagen sein" (Hauer), SibeMur. id. Kařuž., SibeY 1871° *'aliišəmə* [ʔali'šəm] "to miss someone, to be lonely for someone, to be anxious about". Cf. also Cincius SrSl. I 32.

6. *alyē-* "to grieve, to sorrow" DU I *Yooninī xunduree? Yooninī bogoni? Yoondo baisbei? Yoondo alyēbei?* "What (of it) is high? What (of it) is low? At what does one rejoice? At what does one sorrow?". Manchu *aliya-* "Reue empfinden, bereuen" (Hauer). Cincius SrSl. connects this verb with *ališa-*, see above.

7. *arbuun* "exterior, air, form" DU I *Eng ugin: "Taa yoo xiiŋ yawjaabei-taa?" elji xasoosanda, "Baa Begejin kotondo šeusai šimeličjaawaa" elji dir arbuuntiiyar jaasan.* "As this girl asked them, what they were going to do, they told her, with an air of importance, that they were going to sit for the examination of the *xiucaī* 秀才 degree in the town of Beijing." SibeMur. *arbu(n)*, *arwun*, *arwin*, *arwŋ* "Aussehen, Zustand, Wesen, Eigenart" Kařuž., SibeY 2342° *'arəvən*, *'arəvun* [ʔarvən, ʔarvun] "appearance, form", Manchu *arbuun* "Erscheinungsform, Aussehen, Ausseres, Gestalt, Bild; Zustand, Wesen, Eigenart" etc. (Hauer). Manchu *-buun* is usually long in Dagur, but short in Sibe.

8. *ašaktaa* "young man, lad" DB 13 *Dagyē udur nar gargu erinde mangyē weeryē nek saaral eiggeen onoor, nek saikan ašaktaa bolji irsen.* "Next

day at sunrise the ogre himself arrived in the form of a beautiful young man riding a grey donkey." SibeMur. *ašta, aš'ta* "junger Mann" Kažuz., Sibe Y 841° *'ašihatə* [ʔaʃyat] "young man", Manchu *asiχata* pl. zu *asiχan* "jung, klein" (Hauer). Cf. further Sibe forms in Cincius SrSl. I 56: *ašixta*, etc.

9. *baataa* "enemy" DB 4 *nek l madan baataatii alalčigudaa* "once when (I) fought against the enemy", D 41 *baataa gurunī ejin* "the Emperor of the alien country"; DagMur. *bata* "Feind", SolMur., SibeMur. id., Manchu *bata* id. Kažuz., SibeY 952° *bataa* id. Cincius SrSl. I 75 connects this word with Manchu *bačila* "the other side of a river" etc. (*\*bargi°*) and *baqčila-* "to fight against, to oppose", *baqčin* "enemy" etc., but *bata* seems to be independent from these stems.

10. *bančibuu-* "to let be, to raise, to produce" DU 32 *Akaa bergen! Deutaanī bi emeg awwei, naad xer čig nek doloo yamboo bančibuuč ukue!* "Sister-in-law! I, your younger brother, shall take a wife; anyhow, give me seven (silver) ingots!" SibeMur. *bančibu-* "leben machen (lassen), ..." Kažuz., Manchu *bančibu-* "in die Erscheinung treten lassen, leben machen, ...; hervorbringen, herstellen, ..." (Hauer).

11. *barigyē-* "to gather" DB 33 *baatur jyanjun bas čwagaa barigyēč gerīdee xarīsan* "the brave general, too, gathered his army and returned home"; DagMur. *barg'a-* "einsammeln" Kažuz., SibeY 1559° *biarixim* [bierjrim] "to put back; to harvest", Manchu *bargiya-* "einsammeln, einheimsen, ernten; einhalten, zurückbehalten; aufheben, aufbewahren; bewahren, hüten" (Hauer).

12. *daišyē-* "to trouble, to disturb" DU 56 *Kuctooi gyaa kurčini daišyēbei elji jinij jinij yawalgaasan* "saying that Kučtoo disturbs the whole street (i. e. market), (the people) expelled him beating and beating"; Manchu *dayiša-* "ganz toll sein, sich wie ein Verrückter benehmen" (Hauer). Cf. Cincius SrSl. I 190, s. v. *dāiraji-*.

13. *debtelyēn* "book; volume" DB sub-title: *xig olordo čendeč sorgaagu debtelyēn* "a text-book for the masses", SibeY 1335° *defətəlin* [dʒftəlin] "volume", Manchu *debtelin* "Heft; Kapitel, Buch" (Hauer), cf. also SolMur. *debteli* "Heft" Kažuz.

14. *derbuu-* "to begin, to start, to initiate" DU 11 *Eng sogor šyenšin gerii olori gub wantasan xwaina xwalgi sanaa derbuuč* "After everybody, the inmates of the house were asleep, this blind gentleman thought to steal ...", SolMur., SibeMur. *deribu-* Kažuz., SibeY 1755° *diurivəmə, diurivumə* [dīyriwəm, dīyriwum] "to begin, to start, to open, to commence", Manchu *deribu-* "anfangen, beginnen" (Hauer 198 *deri-*: read *deribu-*).

15. *dubeč-* "to (come to an) end" GGU 43 *Męemęę bei dubeč gwaidsan č uwei, deuminī tasagad arčirdasan.* "It is not long ago that (our) mother

died, and (now) my younger sister is taken away by a tiger." Manchu *dube-* "ein Ende nehmen, aufhören" (Hauer), cf. SibeY 2604° *duwə, duvu* [dʊv, dʊvw] "tip, point, end", Dagur *dubei* "the last" Poppe 1930, SolMur. *dube* "Ende", Manchu *dube* id., etc. Kaʒuz.

16. *duleg-* "to pass (away, through)" DU 01 *uildegč irgeni dulegeseni amidaalag* "the life lived by the working people", DagIv. *duləso* "ušel (=he is gone)", DagMartin *dule-* "use up the whole (night), exhaust (the night), stay up (all night); stay awake through (the night), keep a vigil", SibeY 2672° *duləmə, dulumə* [dʊləm, dʊlum] "to elapse, to pass", SibeMur. *dule-*, *dulu-* "vorübergehen, passieren, vergehen" Kaʒuz., Manchu *dule-* "vorübergehen, passieren, vergehen" (Hauer); Martin's Dagur verb corresponds to Manchu *duli-* "die Nacht durchwachen/durcharbeiten" (Hauer) which remounts to Mong. *dūli-* id. Cf. also Cincius SrSl. 223, s. v. *dule-*.

17. *elgyēn* "rich, abundant" DU 10 *bensentii tuwaačın bog suwaaı bolgo xaulji, erčuu xengerini elgyēn saikan idej wantasan* "the talented cook skinned at once (lit. the whole) deer (lit. stag and deer), and he had an abundant meal from its chest (lit. breast and chest), then he fell asleep"; SibeMur. *elgeñ* "reichlich" Kaʒuz., SibeY 1164° *'elixin* [ʔɜljɣin] "good harvest, good year; easily fitting", Manchu *elgiyen* "reichlich". Cf. Cincius SrSl. 448.

18. *eryē* "alas!", SibeMur. *erē* "Ausruf des Schmerzes" etc. Kaʒuz., SibeY 3053° *'eri'ee* [ʔərɛ'ɛ] "Ouch! Alas!", cf. also Cincius SrSl. 466, s. v. *erey*.

19. *furdaan* "gate of a city-wall" A 33; Dag Poppe AM *furdāy* "Schlagbaum"; Manchu *furdan* "Querstich; Schlagbaum, Sperre; Talsperre, Zollschranke, Engpass, Top der Grossen Mauer; (Hieb)wunde, Schmiss" (Hauer), Cincius SrSl. I 303<sup>5)</sup>.

20. *gidaašyē-* "to oppress" DU 40 *neḡ baataa gurun bosoḡ, geren irgeni gidaašyēj* "an alien country attacked (this country) and oppressed its entire people, and ..."; SibeMur. *gidaša-* "hintergehen; bedrücken, schlecht behandeln" Kaʒuz., SibeY 1503° *gidašəmə* [gidašəm] "to oppress, to insult", Manchu *gidaša-* "bedrücken" etc. (Hauer).

21. *ginčigyēn* "bright, immaculate, perfect" DB 11 *Uginini časaas bas čigaan šartii, namari osoos xoo gegeḡken nidtii, unḡereḡ ginčigyēn saikan tursen ugin* "His daughter's face (was) whiter than the snow, her eyes (were) much brighter than the autumn waters, she (was) indeed a girl born with a perfect beauty." SibeY 2551° *gincixian* [gintʃxian] "chaste, incorrupt", Manchu *ginčixian* "blank, glatt, glänzend" (Hauer).

22. *gungeen* "merit" D 40 *gungeen xigtii baatur kyenkyēn yuanšuai* "a hero of great merit, a powerful commander of army", DB 19 *baatur gungeen*

5) Cf. also Doerfer, *Tungusica* I, p. 109.

"brave deeds, valiancy"; Manchu *gungge* "Leistung, Verdienst, erfolgreiches Werk, Grosstat; verdienstvoll" (Hauer).

23. *gweɛbuu-* "to forgive, to pardon" DB 39 *Šogol sardyēngyē namī gweɛbuu dge* "Forgive me (who am) a silly old man!" Cf. SibeY 1530° *gυwəmə, gυvumə* [gυwəm, gυvum] "to forgive, to pardon", Manchu *guwe-* "vergeben, verziehen" etc. (Hauer); the Dagur word remounts to Manchu *guwebu-* "vergeben lassen; ausnehmen, erlassen, amnestieren; begnadigt werden" (Hauer).

24. *gyaa* "street, shopping street" DU 55 *gyaad tulerdesen tulyēi xunsu aiduu xudaatyiini ši xer meɛɛwweišyē* "How is it that you don't know that the ashes of burnt firewood are very expensive on the market?" DagMartin *gīaa* "downtown (streets)", SolMur. *g'a* "Strasse", SibeMur. *g'a* "Strasse in der Stadt" Kafuß., SibeY 1019° *gīaa* [gīa'] "street", Manchu *giyai* (chin. 街) "Strasse in der Stadt" (Hauer).

25. *gyaagut* "beggar" DU 32 *badaa goigu doloo gyaagut ireed* "seven beggars came who begged food, and ..", GGU 129 *gyaagutlaa-* "to beg, to be a beggar", DagMur. *g'ahut* "Bettler", SolMur. *g'ahutu, g'ahuut* "bettelarm, elend", SibeMur. *g'aχutu* "Bettler", etc., see Kafuß., Sibe pp. 173, 174; SibeY 1123. *gīahata, gīahatu* [gīaχt, gīaχtw] "beggar, mendicant", Manchu *gioχoto* "Bettler, Schnorrer" < *gioχo-* or *gioχa-* "betteln" (Hauer).

26. *gyaan* "reason, intention" DU 41 *Tigeesēē ši xer gyaantii irsenēē usguljiŋ uŋjyē!* "If so, try to tell (us), what was the reason you came!", DagMartin *gian* "meaning; reason, reasonableness; moderation, good sense, sensibleness", SibeMur. *g'an* "Vernunft, Recht, Ordnung, Ursache, ..." ~ *g'an'* Kafuß., SibeY 2504°, 2963° *gian* [gīn] "reason, reasonableness", Manchu *giyan* (Chin. 見) "Ansicht, Vernunft, Recht, Ordnung; geziemend, ..." (Hauer).

27. *xaali* "deep valley, ravine, gorge" DU 39 *aul xaalii amsaraas orsoston čosi xwargad čungurelgeeŋ waralgaasan* "(He) let the blood which streamed out from the mouth of the mountain gorge flow into a brook." Manchu *χali* "unpflugbares Marschland, Moor, Luch; Brachland, Ödland, Heideland" (Hauer). Cf. Cincius SrSl. 461, s. v. *χālči*.

28. *xebšyelči-* "to confer with each other" DU 9 *Ei udur suni negeeldeer degudee doloo guč bangaltaŋ xebšyelčibeŋi* "Being thus pursued day and night, the seven friends gather and confer with each other", cf. SibeMur. *xepse-* "beratschlagen, (sich) beraten" Kafuß., SibeY 1296° *xefəšəm* [xɜfʃəm] "to consult, to debate", Manchu *xebesē-* "beratschlagen" (Hauer).

29. *xesbuun* "destiny, fate, (good) luck" DB 12 *Eteegu xigeer balsaŋ terende, xesbuuntii eleer ugingemul mangyēd ukuer yawalgaasan*. "The old man was very glad of that, he said it was (a) lucky (fate), and he gave his daughter to the ogre, letting her go (with him)." SibeMur. *χesebu* "Geschick, Ver-



hängnis, Los, Bestimmung" Kaṭuž., Manchu *xesebun* "Geschick, Verhängnis, Los; Fügung, Bestimmung, Vorsehung" (Hauer).

30. *xwalyāsun* "harmony; harmonious" DU 42 *Minii irsen jorinmini aagaa-saa nekdeerde jau xali irgen gaslanda teiselguəsini aiḵ, dagyēd maani xoir guruni xwalyāsun jugilčij aaguini twalda irsenbyē* "What about the purpose of my arrival, firstly I came because I am afraid that the people of the hundred clans will be afflicted by bitterness, secondly (I came) to establish harmony between our two countries." Manchu *χōwalyasun* "Einklang, Übereinstimmung, Einvernehmen, Eintracht, Harmonie; harmonisch, eintrachtig, mild, lind" (Hauer).

31. *ibaagan* "imp, sprite, demon" DU 60 *ibaagansuli kulii yarinī waaḵ ukuḵ* "(the woman) washed the wounds on the feet of the demons, ..."; Sol. *ibāgā, iwāḡā* "čort, d'javol" Poppe 1931, SibeMur. *ibahan* "Kobold, böser Geist, unsauberer Geist" ~ *ibagan*, °n Kaṭuž., SibeY 780° 'ivahən [jivavən] "bogey", Manchu *ibaḡan* "Kobold; leichtsinniger, toller Mensch; unheil kündendes Phänomen, üble Wundererscheinung, unsauberer Geist", plur. *ibaḡasa; ibaḡan* ~ *ibaḡan* (Hauer), cf. also Cincius SrSl. I 294.

32. *ilegtuul-* "to make known, to announce" DU 01 .. *jergi ilegtuulji šadsan urgilsuli baraan baraan ačbuugaar* "compiling many tales which can announce (different values) like ..."; SibeMur. *iletule-* "offenkundig machen, offenbaren" Kaṭuž., SibeY 2946° 'iletu [jɪlɪstu] "clearly, plainly", Manchu *iletu* "sichtbar, offen (kundig)" etc., *iletule-* "offenkundig machen, offenbaren" (Hauer). Cf. Cincius SrSl. I 311-312.

33. *ilgaa* "flower; (flower) pattern, embroidery" DU 6 *ilgaa oigu* "to embroider", DagMur. *ilha, jilha* "Blume", Poppe 1930 *ilgā* "Blume, Zeichnung, Muster", Poppe AM "Blume, Ohrmuschel", DagMartin *ilegaa* "flower", SolMur. *ilga, itga*, SolPoppe *ilgā*, SibeMur. *ilha* etc. Kaṭuž., SibeY 2139° 'ilāhaa [jilva:] "flower", cf. also SolKami. *ilega* Hiu Lie 148; Manchu *ilḡa, ilḡa* "Blume, Blüte" etc. and *ilḡangḡa* "blumenverziert, bunt gemustert" etc. (Hauer). Cf. Cincius SrSl. I 304.

34. *irgeebu-* "to compose a song, a poem", *irgeebuun* "song, poem" D 1 *bi taandaa irgeebuun irgeebuḵ ukuyā* "I tell you a poem"; SibeMur. *irgebu(n)* "Gedicht" Kaṭuž., SibeY 1339° 'irəxevəmə [jɪrɪɜvəmə] "to write a poem" 1338° 'irəxevən, °vun [jɪrɪɜvən, °vun] "song, poem", Manchu *irgebu-* "Lieder machen, Versen machen, dichten", *irgebun* "Lied, Gedicht" (Hauer).

35. *iškyē-* in *yas i*. "to bury, to take part in a funeral ceremony" DU 10 *yas iškyējaagu walan xuu* "the crowd (lit. numerous persons) taking part in the funerals", cf. SolPoppe 1931 *iš'igē-* "stradat', pečalit'sja", DagMur. *ičx'a-* "verbessern, ausbessern, in Ordnung bringen", SolMur., SibeMur. id.,

Manchu *ičixiya-* “aufräumen, in Ordnung bringen, besorgen, erledigen” (Hauer) Kaṭuž., also SibeY 1754° *'icixiamə* [ʔitʃxiam] “to dispose of”; the Dagur expression is similar to Mong. *yasun bari-* “to bury”, the Manchu stem itself figures also in a funeral term: *ičixiyara etuku* “Totenkleid” (Hauer).

36. *jigaa* “money” DU 17 *Kuč yawji xedən xoon bolson xwaina ulin jigaa xulkeḡḡḡ šadsan uwei deḡreḡ xalgaaḡ ul bargu xartii baraan ur tatsan.* “After some years spent in service, he could not gain property or money, moreover, he ran into debt so much that he never could aquit.” DagMur. *jihā* (j=dz) Kaṭuž., DagIv. *jigá, jaḡá* “čoch” (55, 56), DagMartin *jihaa* “money”, SolMur. *jaḡa*, SolIv. *jagá* Kaṭuž., SibeMur. *jiḡa* (= °ā) Kaṭuž., SibeY 1412° *jihaa* [dʒɪʰaː] “money, bronze coin”, Manchu *jiḡa* “Kupfermünze, Käsč” (Hauer), cf. also Cincius SrSl. I 242.

37. *jinjilaa-* “to carry on a shoulder-pole”, DagMartin; DU 60 *osoo jinjilaaḡi* “carrying water (in buckets hung) on a shoulder-pole”, cf. Manchu *jingji* “gewichtig, schwer” and *damjala-* “mittels der Tragstange auf der Schulter tragen” (Hauer)?

38. *jurgaan* “line, row; righteousness” DU 01 *jurgaantii baiti saišyēḡ, ḡč uwei jurgaan uwei baiti moošyēson* . “... which approved what is righteous or reproved what is against righteousness”; SibeMur. *jurgan* “Reihe, Zeile; Pflicht, Verpflichtung” Kaṭuž., SibeY 1041° *jurəhan* [dʒurɣan] “ministry; justice, righteousness”, Manchu *jurḡan* “Reihe, Zeile; Pflichtbewusstsein, etc.; Ministerium” (Hauer).

39. *kyaaj* “box” DU 63 *Yookyē č yawsan uwei bejyē, neḡ kyaaj ujirdesən.* “He hardly went forth when there appeared a box.” – *kyaas* “basket” DU 65 *neḡ kyaas sijimi neḡ kyaas naryēmtii korkuḡ* “mixing one basket of coarse rice and one basket of millet”, cf. SolMur. *χes* “Schachtel” Kaṭuž., SolIv. *k'éja* “korobka”, SibeY 650° *kiasə, xiasə* [kias, xias] “box, case”. All these words, together with Manchu *xiyase* “Schachtel, Kasten” etc. (Hauer) which is the direct source of the forms with *s*, remount to Chin. 匣子 *xiázi* (cf. Hauer); the form with *ḡ* is perhaps an earlier loanword.

40. *kyaanči* “chess” DB 10 *kyaanči talıḡu* “chess-playing”, answer to the riddle *Aul uwei ḡajir, / Os uwei xwarga, / Sunsū uwei noin / Xunsū uwei čerel, / Čos uwei alalčín.* “(On) a mountainless land, (at) a waterless brook, soulless lord(s) (and) foodless soldier(s) kill each other bloodlessly.” Manchu *xiyangči* “Schachspiel”, Chin. 象棋 *xiàngqí* (Hauer).

41. *kyenkyēn* “strong, valiant”, DU 01 *baatur kyenkyēn yawdal* “valiancy”, DU 11 *abgar kyenkyēn bišin sogor šyenšini anii učḡḡ ul ḡuḡeḡenən* “They don’t have pity at all for the sick, weak and blind gentleman.” Manchu *kiyangkiyan*

“kraftstrotzend, heldenhaft, stark, überlegen”, Chin. 強健 *qiángjiàn* (Hauer).

42. *largyēn* “troublesome” DB 38 *xig largyēn bait tatsanbyē* “(I) caused great trouble”, SolMur. *larg'en* “Verwirrung, Hast”, SibeMur. *larg'an'* “verwirrt, verwickelt, beschwerlich, kompliziert” (< Manchu) Kařuz., SibeY 2003° *liarixin* [lierjin] “troublesome, complicated”, Manchu *largin* “in unbequemer Menge, lästig, beschwerlich, zahlreich und verwickelt; Unordnung, Verwirrung” (Hauer).

43. *mangyē* DU 02, 12, DagPoppe 1930 *mang'ē* “čudovišče” = “ogre”, Manchu *manggiyan* “Geist, der in den Schamanen fährt und ihn tanzen lässt, wenn er den Tigergott (老虎神) beschwört” (Hauer), cf. also SolMur. *mangas*, DagMur. *maņas* Kařuz., Mong. *mangrus*, *marus*.

44. *meitege-* “to cut, to reduce” DB 71 *xoir sari jigaaišini meitegewei* “(I) shall cut your money for two months”; SibeMur. *meite-* “abschneiden, abtrennen” Kařuz., SibeY 1731° *mitimə* [mitim] “to lop off”, Manchu *meyite-* “abschneiden, abtrennen” (Hauer).

45. *moglyēn* in *pau moglyēn* DB 4 “cannon-ball”, DagMur. *mohalan* “Kugel”, SolMur. *mořol yomo* “Kugel, Ball”, SolMur. and SibeMur. *muxalan* Kařuz., SolPoppe *muxali*; SolKami. *mohole*, *muhori* “Edelstein, Juwel; Ball, Kugel” Hiu Lie; SibeY 826° *muhalin* [moxalin] “bullet” (cf. 2349° *muxeli*, *muxuli* [mυřlin, mυřwlin] “round”), GoldGrube *moxalē*, Manchu *muxaliyan* “Kugel; Ball; Pille, Armbrustkugel, Kanonen- u. Gewehrkuugel, Kugel des Rosenkranzes; runder Haufen, Kloss” (Hauer).

46. *ooli-* in *ooliši uwei* “surely, necessarily” DU 01, see here 2°, s.v. *ačbuu-*; Manchu *oola-* “ausweichen, zur Seite treten, Platz machen” (Hauer).

47. *patagšyē-*, *patigšyē-* “to lose heart, to be disheartened, dispirited, desperate” DU 62 *Enę forgondo, duni dwatar ajaagu keku madan uwei patagšyēj pančij soojaabei*. “This time the boy in the cave is sitting endlessly disheartened and desperate.” GGU 5 *Ei xiigud naryēminī elii aagaar elii jyerin bolji, čyegini sagigu čwag c elii aagaar elii aij patigšyēgu bolson*. “Thus making, the more the millet was gradually reduced to its half, the more the soldiers watching the granary lose heart”. Manchu *fatχača-* and *fatχaša-* “verzagt sein, niedergeschlagen sein” (Hauer).

48. *pičaanku* “flute” GGU 2 *učikersul yami čikeeřen kočij xweeři naada j, pičaanku xuuljaabei*. “Children stand round him enjoying themselves and play the flute.” DagMur. *pičak* “Flöte”, SolMur. *fičak* id. < Manchu *fičaqō* id. Kařuz., SibeY 1372° *fičaqe* [fičsaq] “flute, pipe, piccolo”.

49. *sargušyē-* “to go on excursion, for pleasure” DU 6 *Neķ udur, kekuini taartiiyā xoyōl begidee garji naada j sargušyē jaagu dwandaa, neķ uginī wačirsan*. “One day the boy went out with his play-mate (*taar* “a cousin or a

nephew")<sup>6)</sup>, and while they walked amusing themselves, they met a girl." DagMur. *sargaša-*, SibeMur. *sarhaša-*, *sargaša-*, Manchu *sarγaša-* "lustwandeln, spazieren gehen, Ausflüge machen" (Hauer) Kařuž., SibeY 1208° *sarəhešəmə* [sarɤʃəmə] "to go sightseeing".

50. *sasaglaa-* "to hit, to flap" DB 46 *Xalooi čikiini sain. Ĵaus seulyereę sasaglaagu dauini č moodi larčiini wanagu dauini č ul aldan sonsoj olbei.* "The otter's ears are sharp. They do not miss hearing the plashing of the water beaten by a fishtail or the swishing of a falling tree-leaf." SibeY 1489° *sasəhələmə* [sasxələmə] "to slap" (read perhaps [sasχələmə]); Manchu *šasiχala-* "Ohrfeigen versetzen, ohrfeigen" (Hauer).

51. *sawuun* "elephant" DB 80 *Nid sogor bišin aagud aasaa sawuuni ujięu aasan* "If we were not blind, we could see the elephant." Cf. SibeY 2213° *suwan, sufan* [suwan, sufan] "elephant", Manchu *sufan* id.; the Dagur has a metathetic form like Jarut *mandoo* for Mong. *mundaγa* "withers". Cf. Cincius SrSl. II 112, s. v. Nanai (Gold) *sopā*.

52. *sujaalaa-* "to support, to hold up, to prop up" DB 51 *Bi myaučanaaa sujaalaaĵ barĵi* "having propped up my rifle"; cf. Manchu *suĵa-* "(sich) entgegenstemmen, ... stützen, ..., etwas unterlegen (unter den Fuss eines wackelnden Tisches); .." (Hauer), SibeY 1642° *suĵamə* [sudžam] "to support, to hold up", SibeMur., SolMur. *suĵa-* Kařuž. — The same Manchu stem is found in the following Manchu loanword of Dagur: *suĵaanku* "support, prop", Manchu *suĵaqō* "entgegengestemmtes Stützholz" (Hauer), as for the nasal, see above *pičaanku*.

53. *suntubuu-* "to exterminate" DB 61 *ibaagansuli alĵi suntubuugeę* "after having exterminated the demons", SibeMur. *suntu-* "vernichten, vertilgen" Kařuž., Manchu *sunta-*, *sunte-* "vertilgen, ausrotten, vernichten", *suntabu-*, *suntebu-* "vertilgen lassen; vertilgt werden" (Hauer), cf. Mong. *sönö-* and hence *sönöge-*, Turk. *sön-* and *söndür-*, Hung. *szün-* and *szüntet-*.

54. *sureę* "clever, wise" DU 28 *sureę beři* "the wise daughter-in-law", DU 01 *serte sureę arga* "a clever and wise means"; SibeMur. *sure* "Klug, hellhörig, weise" Kařuž., SibeY 1991° *surə* [sur] "wise", Manchu *sure* "hellhörig, klug" (Hauer). Is it an emphatical length in Dagur?

55. *šweę* "direct, straight" GGU 156 *šweę xuurtu šigyei ĵur derdeę* "(it) flew away straight to the forest", DagMur. 'u "direkt" and DagMartin *shoote* "directly, straight", SibeMur. *šu* (\*šū) "direkt, gerade" are connected with Mong. *siγud* (see DagMur. Kařuž), cf. also SibeY *šuu* [šu'] "most ..., absolutely; altogether, completely", although *uu* is mostly palatal; our Dagur

6) This term, *taar*, denotes the descendants of a paternal aunt or a maternal uncle, cf. also Vreeland, p. 336.

word (like Radloff's Sibe *šue*, see SibeMur, s.v. *šu*, Kafuß.) corresponds to Manchu *šuwe* "gerade, direkt" etc. (Hauer).

56. *tulgyēn* "besides, except" DB 36 *teregege tulgyēn* "beside that, moreover", SibeMur. *tulg'an* "anders, fremd" etc. Kafuß., SibeY 3028° *tiulixiN* [tiyljyin] "other than, besides, except", Manchu *tulgiyen* "ausßen, draußen, ausserhalb" etc. (Hauer).

57. *waa* in *waatii* "smelly" DU 13 *minii myagmini waatiiini ul meden'iyē* "Don't you know that my flesh is smelly?"; DagMur. *va*, DagIv. *wá* in *petkunúr wáte* "von" (41), DagPoppe 1930 *wəa*, DagMartin *uaa*, SibeMur *wa* (*wā*) "Geruch, Duft" Kafuß., SibeY 2456° *vaa* [va'] "smell, odor, scent", Manchu *wa*, cf. Cincius SrSl. I 663-664, s.v. Evenki *γō*.

58. *wegšgun* "honourable, respectable" DU 18 *wegšgun xuu, jigaišini bajaaž šadsan uweibyē* "Gentleman, I could not refund your money"; DagMur. *vešxun* "hoch; Sie", SolMur. *vešxun* "hoch", *wesiχun*, SibeMur. *wesixun* "aufwärts, vornehmen, hochstehend" etc. Kafuß., SibeY 1116°, 2582°, 2875° *wesixun* [vəʃxun] "superior, noble", *vesəxun* [vəʃxun] "further up", Manchu *wesixun* "aufwärts, nach oben, oben; Ehreseite, obenan; hochstehend, vornehm, geehrt; Vornehmer" etc. (Hauer). — Further Manchu loanwords with the same stem: *weešimbu-* "to let know, to report, to tell (to somebody of higher rank)", SibeMur. *weešimbu-* and *vešimbu-* "aufsteigen lassen, ... den Kaiser vorlegen" etc. Kafuß., Manchu *wesimbu-* "aufsteigen lassen, befördern; hochstellen, ...; dem Kaiser vorlegen, an den Thron berichten" etc. (Hauer); *wegširdē-* "to be promoted" DU 42 *Kaucinaas aasan xig yuanšuaayini gungeenege-ree enē wegširdesen čenšyānde dengegeue xeesen*. "The great commander who was (in charge) earlier could not (lit. ceased to) be a match for this (newly) promoted minister (丞相 *chéngxiàng*).". Cf. SibeMur. *vesi-*, *wesi-* "hinaufgehen, steigen, sich heben" Kafuß., Manchu *wesi-* "hinaufgehen, steigen; aufsteigen im Amte" etc. (Hauer). Cf. also Cincius SrSl. II 245-246, s.v. Ewenki *uyi*.

59. *yaag* "charcoal" (A), DU 55 *yaag durbei elji* "aiming to sell charcoal"; DagMartin *iaahe* "charcoal", SolKami. *ya-ga* "(Stein) kohle" Hiu Lie, Manchu *yaxa* "Kohle" (Hauer), SibeY 495° *mooi yahə* [mɔ'i jaχ] "charcoal, snuffed-out coals", cf. also Cincius SrSl. II 289-290, s.v. Ewenki *älla* (not all data enumerated under this Tungus form belong to its morphological family, e.g. Orok or Uilta *selta*, Nanai or Gold *sialbi*, SolIv. and DagIv. *il'ci* etc., Schmidt's Chinese etymology for Manchu *yaxa* is not acceptable).

60. *yamboo* "silver ingot" DU 25 *Unč'in keku xorin yambooyā murleež geride žub žub xajirsan*. "The orphan boy shouldered his twenty ingots and went home at once.", *ibid.* *En lweesmini aasaa nek udur nek yamboo baabei*. "As for this mule of mine, it produces one silver ingot daily." Both *lwees* and

*yambo* are Sino-Manchu words, for the latter see Manchu *yüwan boo* "Silberbarren von 50 Unzen", Chin. 元宝 *yuánbǎo* (Hauer), cf. also Dag. *baubei* "jewel" < Manchu *boobei* < Chin.



Some of these Dagur words of Manchu and Sino-Manchu origin may have secondary long vowels due to the prosodic differences of these languages (the two vowel systems at least look very similar, but little is known e.g. about the nature and rules of Manchu stress)<sup>7)</sup>, nevertheless the evidence of Dagur proves to be affirming or revealing in several cases. And this is only a symbolic choice of Dagur-Manchu parallels pointing to a source so far mostly unexplored.

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7) According to Janhunen (*JSFOu*. 77: 8, p. 211) "... the accent (probably better termed "prominence") in Modern Manchu appears to lie on the last syllable", see, however, Yamamoto's examples (para. 3,

pp. 28-30) with a more complicated pattern. Shaariibuu guar's Manchu iambs may also be compared with a modern Mongolian mode of chanting verses.

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- SibeY = Yamamoto's Sibe material, see below.
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- SolonMur. = Muromski's material, see Kałużyński, *Solonisches*.
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