Reading Jakdan’s Poetry: An Exploration of Literary Manchu Phonology

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Submitted to the Committee on Regional Studies—East Asia

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the A.M. degree in Regional Studies—East Asia

Harvard University

September 27, 2007
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The purpose of this paper is to reconstruct, as precisely as possible, the phonological aspects of the language of a set of unique poems, composed in the Manchu language by a translator named Jakdan, at some time early in the 19th century. Drawing on both Asian and European sources contemporary to the poet, I will create an initial outline of Manchu phonology, including the inventory of phonemes, major allophonic variations, diphthongs, triphthongs, syllable stress, and syllable quantity. I will then use meter and rhyme in Jakdan’s poetry to prove and refine my description of Manchu pronunciation.

Through reconstructing the phonology of an idiolect—the language of an individual—I hope to add to our understanding of the phonology of Literary Manchu overall, including the ways in which it has changed over time, and the relationships between the language of the Manchu court and the surviving spoken Manchu dialects. I will begin by reviewing the history of the study of Manchu phonology, and outlining the relationships between important scholars of the Manchu language and the spoken language of the court. I will argue that each scholar should be considered an expert on a particular phase or dialect of the language, but that a single scholar’s statements can’t be expected to hold for all dialects and all phases of the language. I will choose a set of sources that I consider to be closest to the language of Jakdan’s poetry, and then, through a detailed analysis of rhyme, meter, and alliteration, refine my description of the pronunciation of Jakdan’s poetry, and finally discuss the linguistic implications of my conclusions.
1. The History of Manchu Phonology

Literary Manchu phonology is a topic on which much has been written, though for many purposes, and from many points of view. The earliest accounts of Manchu phonology, written by Jesuit missionaries as well as Chinese, Korean and Manchu authors, focused on the language of the court in Beijing. These accounts were driven by the essential need to speak the language of official interaction correctly, a requirement that was especially acute for those who had audiences with the emperor, or other high Manchu officials. Once Manchu ceased to be used by Europeans as a spoken language at the court, the next generation of European scholars learned Manchu as a primarily literary language through Chinese sources, which gave their descriptions of Manchu pronunciation a distinctive Chinese character. Modern scholarship has tended to focus on the surviving dialects of spoken Manchu, which, while very valuable, are both geographically and historically distant from the language of the court in the 17th and 18th centuries. Simultaneous with this, modern scholars of Literary Manchu preserve several academic traditions of pronunciation, traditions that are informed by elements found throughout the long history of Manchu scholarship.

In this paper, I will treat the early Jesuit missionaries as describing the language of everyday transactions in the court in Beijing. The earliest European source upon which I draw is a treatise titled Elementa Linguae Tartaricae, now shown to have been composed by Ferdinand Verbiest, though earlier attributed to Jean-François Gerbillon.¹

¹ The identification of the Elementa with Verbiest was made both by Pelliot (1922:367-386) and Jaegher (1925:64-66). Verbiest (1623-1688), together with Joachim Bouvet (1656-1730), Jean-François Gerbillon (1654-1707), and Thoma Pereira (1645-1708), were advisors to the Kangxi emperor on a variety of mathematical and scientific subjects.
Verbiest, in addition to tutoring the Kangxi emperor on a number of scientific subjects, and acting as a translator for a Russian legation, is thought to have begun a translation of Euclid into Manchu from Chinese. Among the Jesuits who followed Verbiest was Dominique Parrenin, who was sent to China in 1697, and was said to be fluent in both Chinese and Manchu. Parrenin’s knowledge of the language was sufficient for him to compose a handbook on anatomy in the Manchu language from European sources, but the only phonological item that survives from him is an anecdote related by his biographer, Jean-Baptiste du Halde.

A third great Jesuit scholar was Jean Joseph-Marie Amyot (or Amiot), who was sent to China in 1750 and died in Beijing in 1794. Amyot published a French translation of a Manchu-Chinese dictionary (with the assistance of Louis Langlès) in 1789, in which he gives the pronunciations of words as they were spoken at court. I treat anything that Louis Langlès has to say about the Manchu language as coming from Amyot, his primary informant, except in certain cases where it is clear that Langlès has imposed his own interpretation on the information he received from Amyot, or else when he cites another informant.

According to Bouvet, they instructed the emperor “sometimes in the Chinese, sometimes in the Tartarian language” (Bouvet 1699:52).


3 One manuscript copy of this is in the Bibliothèque Nationale. C.f. Catalogue du Fonds Mandchou (Puyraimond 1979), item no. 289.

4 Amyot 1789. The following note is at the beginning of the dictionary, before the title page. “...les mots chinois et mantchoux y sont écrits comme on les prononce à la cour.... Il contient tous les mots de la langue tartare-manchou jusqu’à la douzième année (du regne) de Kien-long.”
These Jesuit scholars represent over a century of interaction with the imperial court in the Manchu language, from a time when most Manchus would have spoken Manchu as their first (and sometimes only) language, to a time when first-language acquisition of Manchu in court circles became a rarity. During this period, several other works were written which convey to us some idea of the phonology of court Manchu. In 1702, a Manchu textbook was published with the title *Manju nikan fe gisun be jofoho acabuha bithe* (“Interlinear text in the original languages of the Manchus and the Chinese,” hereafter MNFG), with several pages of prefatory discussion on Manchu phonology, this notably written in the Manchu language (and not translated into Chinese), providing us with a small inventory of early Manchu grammatical and phonological terms, and detailed descriptions of places and manners of articulation.

Beginning in 1730, several editions of a textbook titled *Qīngwén qíméng* (清文啓蒙, hereafter QQ) were published, with the intention of teaching a Chinese audience to speak and write Manchu. As a source for precise phonological data, the QQ is less than ideal, because our knowledge of the intended pronunciations of the characters is limited, but even without knowing the precise pronunciations there are certain conclusions we can draw on the basis of whether the same or different characters are used to represent sounds in various environments. Where I assign specific readings to characters from the QQ, I

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5 The Chinese title is *Mǎn Hàn chéngyǔ duìdài*, 滿漢成語對待. I am not entirely certain of the date of publication, but a date of 1702 is given in Takekoshi 2006:22.

6 The 1761 edition of this work was also apparently intended to help Manchus to learn Chinese, c.f. Coblin 2003:198.

7 For example, we cannot be certain whether the characters in the 1730 edition were intended to be read with a Southern or Northern guanhua pronunciation.
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give the Beijing guanhua readings from Williams’ 1874 Syllabic Dictionary of Chinese, in Williams’ original transcription.

In addition to these Chinese and Manchu language sources, in this paper I will draw on the 1781 Korean polyglot lexicon titled Pangŏn Chipsŏk (方言集釋, hereafter PC), which records Manchu words in the phonemic Korean script. I make the assumption, with this source, that the Korean script is meant to be read in a way that is similar to Modern Standard Korean.

These sources together represent what I will call Court Manchu, a spoken and written language used to transact business in the Manchu court in the 17th and 18th centuries. Throughout the 18th century, Manchu gradually lost ground to Chinese as the most important spoken language of official business at court, though it retained its important status as the national language. At the same time, in garrisons in the Chinese provinces, Manchu was disappearing as the spoken language of common bannermen.\(^8\) This inaugurated a second period of the development of Literary Manchu, when a number of phonological changes took place as a result of its being learned and used by officials whose first language was Chinese. Most notable among these was the advancement of the palatalization of velars before high front vowels, such that the syllables \(ki\) and \(ci\) were pronounced the same, as were \(gi\) and \(ji\).\(^9\) These phonological changes were faithfully

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\(^8\) C.f. Elliott’s detailed description of language policy through this period, and the cultural impact of the decline of Manchu (Elliott 2001:290-304).

\(^9\) This claim is made by Gabelenz (1832:18), Harlez (1884:15), and Möllendorff (1892:1). While Gabelenz and Harlez studied Manchu in Europe, Möllendorff studied it in China, so we cannot hold that this was merely an artifact of European misinterpretation. No mention of this sound change is made by Verbiest (1696), Amyot (1784) or Langlès (1807).
Russian scholarship on Manchu represents a second European tradition, different from that of the Jesuits and their heirs. The Russian colonial enterprise in Central Asia brought Russian imperial subjects into direct contact (and conflict) with the Manchu empire at its inception. Despite close interaction between Russians and Manchus in Asia, however, Russian study of Manchu language was slow to develop. In negotiating the 1689 Treaty of Nerchinsk, the Russians relied on the Jesuits as translators, and as late as 1726 the Russians requested that Latin be the language of official correspondence between the two empires, because translators skilled in Manchu and Chinese were lacking in St. Petersburg.\(^\text{10}\) Two schools were established in the 18\(^{\text{th}}\) century in Beijing for the purpose of teaching Russian to the Manchus, and for teaching Manchu and Chinese to Russians,\(^{11}\) and during the 18\(^{\text{th}}\) century the Russians had begun to distinguish themselves as translators for the Lifan yuan. Within Russian academic circles, however, the French and Jesuits were considered the authorities on China, and very little of what Russian scholars had to say on China, much less the Manchu language, was ever published.\(^\text{12}\) It wasn’t until 1821 that the Russian Academy of Sciences became aware that it might have scholars of its own that could rival those of the French school.\(^\text{13}\)

\(^{10}\) Widmer 1976:103-104.

\(^{11}\) For a history of these two institutions, called the Éluósī wén guǎn (俄羅斯文館) and Éluósī xué (俄羅斯學), see Widmer 1976:103-114.

\(^{12}\) Widmer recounts the careers of the most significant of these Russian scholars who labored in obscurity (1976:157-167). The majority of their numerous translations, as well as a dictionary and a few textbooks, remain in manuscript form only in the archives of the Academy of Sciences.
In the 19th century, not only did Russians come to recognize the value of their own scholarship on Asia, but their study of Manchu gained new ground through contact with the Sibe, the descendants of a Manchu-speaking group from Northeast China who had been sent to garrison the Ili river valley in 1764. From this contact came a generation of Russian scholars who learned Manchu from the Sibe, including Vasiliĭ Vasil’evich Radlov and Ivan Il’ich Zakharov. The direct contact between the Russians and Manchus lent increased authority to the Russian tradition, and in time, Russian scholarship eclipsed the school begun by the Jesuits and their European followers, to the point that Jesuit works are now almost never cited in discussions of Manchu linguistics.

In the 20th century, the Sibe dialect continued to be among the most studied and best known of the Manchu dialects, a situation that is understandable given the large number of living Sibe speakers. In Northeast China, Chinese linguists recorded the existence of at least three dialects of spoken Manchu, though of these only the Sanjiazi dialect still seems to retain any native speakers, and these are all of the oldest generation. As a result, 20th century scholarship has focused on Manchu dialects from the periphery of the Qing world, either from the Sibe garrison at Ili, or else from isolated pockets in what was formerly the Manchu homeland. These spoken languages represent yet another source of information on the pronunciation of literary Manchu, which must be understood in light of the historical and geographic distance that separate them from the 17th and 18th century court.


14 Shimunek 2002:49.
My final source for this project is the author of the poetry I intend to analyze, a Manchu translator named Jakdan, from the Plain Red Manchu Banner (gulu fulgiyan i manju gusta). According to research done by Bosson and Toh,\(^{15}\) he was most likely born in the 1780s, though we do not know where. In 1826, when he was in his forties, he passed the translation examination for the Metropolitan Graduate, and was assigned to the post of Second Class Secretary of the Board of Works in Mukden (present-day Shenyang, the old Manchu capital). He is most well known for having translated the Liaozhai zhi yi into Manchu, something he worked on in the years from 1826 to 1848, completing it when he was nearing the age of seventy.

At some point, probably later in his career, he compiled a small book titled Jabduha ucuri amtanggae baita ("Pleasant matters for idle time," hereafter JU\(^{16}\)). The JU is composed of eight fascicles, the first seven of which contain 345 poems translated from Chinese into Manchu. Though I have not researched these translated poems extensively, I have in passing discovered that at least one of them is a type of zîdishû (子弟書) that was sung to the accompaniment of the eight-cornered drum (bâ jiâo gū, 八角鼓).\(^{17}\) This style of song became popular among Manchu bannermen in the Beijing during Qianlong’s reign.\(^{18}\)

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\(^{16}\) The Chinese title is Xián zhōng jiā qù, 閒中佳趣.

\(^{17}\) This song is titled 秋聲賦曲, and it is found, with the same title and lyrics, in Gui 1989:121.

\(^{18}\) For a history of the eight cornered drum songs, c.f. Gui 1989, pp. 4-7.
While the first seven fascicles are translations from Chinese into Manchu, the eighth fascicle contains 21 poems in Manchu, as well as two mixed-language poems, which are different in composition from the mixed-language poems previously discussed by Stary. The eighth fascicle also bears its own title, *Manju gisun i yobo maktara sarkiyan*, which Bosson and Toh translate as “Joking Around in Manchu” (hereafter YM). These poems appear to have been composed in Manchu, rather than merely translated from Chinese, and therefore follow rules of versification that reveal a great deal of detail about the structure of Jakdan’s Manchu. It is for this reason that I have taken these poems as my object of analysis.

What scarce information we have on Jakdan seems to place him near the mainstream of Manchu literary society—a society about which we know only a little. He was a metropolitan graduate, held a respectable government post, and was famed as a translator. His decision to translate *zǐdīshū* from Chinese into Manchu may reflect his pride in his Manchu heritage, and might even be seen as a project aimed at reclaiming the essential Manchu character of such a song from its Chinese vernacular medium, returning it to its “native” Manchu context. The fact that these popular songs were actually sung in Chinese instead of Manchu likewise attests to the linguistic milieu in which he lived, in which Manchu had already ceded important cultural territory to Chinese as a spoken language.

Chronologically, Jakdan is on the cusp of the transition I described above, between Manchu being the dominant spoken of courtly business, and its survival as a

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19 Jakdan’s mixed-language poems consist of alternating lines in Manchu and Chinese, whereas the poems Stary describes (Stary 1985:203-209) contain a formulaic combination of Manchu and Chinese words within each line.
literary language at court. Outside the capital, the status of spoken Manchu in the 19th century is less clear. Since small communities of Manchu speakers were still in existence in China’s Northeast in the 20th century, it is quite plausible that spoken Manchu retained a significant vitality in those areas at the beginning of the 19th century.\(^{20}\) Since we do not know where Jakdan was raised, it is possible that he learned Manchu as either a first or second language. In any case, his place at this particular point in the history of the Manchu language, and his placement near the center of Manchu intellectual life, dictate which of the sources available will be most useful to reconstructing the language of his poetry.

I will make primary use of the Jesuit authors, as well as the 18th century Manchu, Chinese and Korean works that I outlined above, taking these as describing the language in the generations leading up to Jakdan’s. I will attempt to make appropriate use of the later European authors, being careful of the ways in which their descriptions of Manchu pronunciation may have been affected by the Chinese medium of transmission, but also aware that Jakdan lived during the period in which Chinese influence on Manchu phonology was beginning to take root. Lastly, I will make use of modern information on spoken Manchu dialects (including late 19th century Russian accounts of Sibe pronunciation) in a comparative way, bearing in mind possible historical changes that

\(^{20}\) James (1888:107), who journeyed through Manchuria in 1886, speculated that a maximum of 10% of around one million Manchus in China still spoke Manchu. This is a startlingly high number for those who are accustomed to thinking of Manchu as having died out in the 18th century. Several Western accounts also indicate that spoken Manchu survived in the garrison at Fuzhou into the mid-19th century. Smith (1847:298), who visited the consular cities of China in 1844-1846, indicates that the Manchus of Fuzhou “could all speak the Mandarin dialect, but, when speaking among themselves, employed the Manchoo language.” About twenty years later, Doolittle (1865:22) indicated that at the same garrison there were still some who understood Manchu.
might have occurred to separate them from the language of the 17\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th} century court. This approach makes my phonological analysis different from most other modern discussions of Manchu phonology, which rely most heavily on the later European authors and on the surviving Sibe dialect.

Having established the relative value of these sources to my project, I will now turn to a reconstruction of the phonology of Manchu around the time of Jakdan’s youth, as far as the sources available describe it.

2. The Phonology of Court Manchu in the 18\textsuperscript{th} Century

In this section, I will outline what was recorded about the phonology of Written Manchu outside of evidence gathered from Jakdan’s poetry. I have previously said that I will use the term Court Manchu to indicate the spoken and written language of court business in the 17\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th} centuries. I will use the term Late Manchu to refer to the primarily literary, somewhat sinified language of the 18\textsuperscript{th} and 19\textsuperscript{th} centuries. In addition to these phases, I will sometimes refer to the state of the language at the time that Manchu orthography was fixed as Old Manchu. Old Manchu may be something of an idealized language, but since the available sources describe a number of sound changes that took effect in the 17\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th} centuries, Old Manchu becomes a useful term to refer to the state of the language of the court before these sound changes took place.

Prior to Old Manchu, we have written sources attesting to two other periods of language development that deserve to be mentioned. The earliest of these is Jin Jurchen, the national language of the Jin dynasty (金, 1115-1234), which was written in a script based on one of the earlier Khitan writing systems. The same script was used to write
Ming Jurchen, the language used in Jurchen memorials submitted to the Ming as late as 1526.\(^\text{21}\) The Jin and Ming Jurchen dialects can be clearly distinguished from the later Manchu dialects on the basis of both phonology and vocabulary.

In the following analysis, I will begin by discussing the pronunciation of the written vowels and their allophonic variants, followed by the consonants and their allophonic variants. Lastly, I will discuss the related topics of diphthongs, triphthongs, and prosody. Throughout this section, I will attempt to establish rules by which phonemic and phonetic transcriptions of Court Manchu words can generally be derived from Written Manchu. The results of this analysis should be treated with caution, however, because Written Manchu is not entirely phonemic—or at least is not entirely phonemically representative of Court Manchu. The correct pronunciation of Court Manchu is clouded by some minor ambiguities in the script, as well as occasional cases of etymological spelling, and a few instances of Old Manchu spellings that were apparently never reformed.

An example of etymological spelling is the word *giyai*, “street,” which was apparently always pronounced as though it were spelled *giya*. Kiyose gives the Ming Jurchen form of this word as *giya*, and it appears in Yamamoto’s Sibe data as /gĩa/, and Enkhbat’s Sanjiazi data as /gia/. In the mixed-language *zidishū* analyzed by Wadley, the rhyming words of the first song are all Manchu and Chinese words ending in -a, except that *giyai* also appears as a rhyming word, implying that it was pronounced *giya* in

\(^{21}\) Kiyose 1977:151. The 1526 memorial is found on page 163.
Beijing Manchu as well.\textsuperscript{22} It is likely that the spelling *giyai* is an etymological spelling, reflecting the origin of this word in Chinese *jie*, 街, which should ordinarily be transcribed *giyei* in Manchu script. There are no doubt other examples of etymological spelling.

A possible example of unreformed Old Manchu spelling is the word *sindambi*, “to place, to let loose,” which may have been pronounced as though it were spelled *šendambi*. We find in Amyot that this word is given the transcription *chéndambi*, instead of the expected *sindambi*. In addition, it appears in Enkhbat’s Sanjiazi data as [šundam], instead of the expected *[cindam]. It is possible that the spelling *sindambi* was made canonical before the script was modified to differentiate between *s* and š, and the syllable *sin*, with its palatalized *s*, was considered to be closer to the intended pronunciation of *šen* than was the alternate spelling of *sen*. However Yamamoto’s Sibe data has both the anomalous [šndam] and the expected [ʃndam], indicating that there may have been two competing pronunciations. In either case, the standardization of the orthography conceals a more complex linguistic situation underneath.

Other orthographic exceptions are noted in a special section of the QQ, as well, some of which I will discuss in this paper. Until someone has an opportunity to comb through Amyot’s *Dictionnaire* and the QQ, and to compare orthographic exceptions in these works to the surviving Manchu dialects, any attempt to reconstruct the pronunciation of Court Manchu should be understood as an approximation. In the

\textsuperscript{22} Wadley 1991. The rhyming lines are on pp. 12 (*tehengge* 不遠就在 *amba giyai*) and 40 (*出門就是* giyai).
sections that follow, I will attempt to render the best approximation that I can using primary sources from the 17th and 18th centuries.

2.1 The Cardinal Vowels

Vowels are one of the more disputed topics of Manchu phonology. In part, this is no doubt due to the fact that vowels exist in a more flexible, less discrete phonological space than consonants. Whereas place of articulation for consonants is a linear range from the uvula to the lips, interrupted by such prominent features as the alveolar ridge and the teeth, and manner of articulation is neatly divided into categories such as plosives, nasals and fricatives, the vowels are formed in a two dimensional space, varying by the position of the tongue and the roundness of the lips. It is customary, in this sort of reconstruction, to look at the ways in which vowels were represented by the different authors describing the language, and to speculate on the basis of these representations where the vowel may fall on a vowel chart in terms of height, frontedness, and roundness. In this paper, I will do no differently, but I will accompany my speculations with graphical depictions on a traditional vowel chart, showing how I have arrived at my conclusions.

For the discussion on vowels, the following chart of vowel symbols in the IPA may be a useful aid.
For those who are not familiar with the IPA system of vowels, the symbols on the chart are essentially landmarks, and do not represent discrete and universally recognized sounds. In reality, the vowels of a language may be realized anywhere in this space, and it is customary to choose the nearest “landmark” to represent the vowel. For more detailed information on the IPA, I recommend the *Handbook of the International Phonetic Association*.

For the purposes of reconstructing the vowels, I have taken a geometric approach. Using three authors, writing in three languages, I have divided the vowel chart into regions, every point of which is closer to an allophone of one vowel in the author’s language than any other. I then take each author’s descriptions of a Manchu vowel and overlay the corresponding regions of the vowel chart, concluding that the vowel being described is realized somewhere near the area of the chart where all three regions overlap.
Beginning with Verbiest, my earliest source, who wrote in Latin, I have used Canepari’s description of the vowel system of Church Latin\textsuperscript{23} to arrive at the following division of the phonological space of Verbiest’s vowels. In this and other charts, a gray circle represents a round vowel, and a gray square represents an unrounded vowel. Note that $e$ and $o$ have three different allophones each in Church Latin:

![Figure 2.1: Vowels in Church Latin](image)

What I intend to convey with this vowel chart is that each letter of Church Latin represented a range of possible vowels when used to transcribe Manchu. Thus, for example, the vowel Verbiest calls $e$ could have represented a wide range of vowels corresponding to the IPA points /e/, /æ/, /ɛ/, /ʌ/, /ɒ/, and even potentially their rounded equivalents. In delineating areas of this chart, I have created areas of points that are all

\textsuperscript{23} Canepari 2005a:443.
closer to one of the allophones of a given vowel than to any allophone of any other vowel, in terms of height and frontedness.

For Korean, I have constructed a similar chart based on modern Korean standard pronunciation. Note that long and short vowels are articulated in different places, but I assume that the author of the *Pangôn chipsŏk* would have transcribed Manchu vowels according to whatever Korean vowel was closest, regardless of vowel length.

![Pure Vowels in Modern Korean](image)

Figure 2.2: Pure Vowels in Modern Korean

As with the chart I constructed for Verbiest’s Latin, this chart is intended to convey, roughly, areas of the vowel chart that are closest to the vowels represented by vowel symbols in the Korean *jamo* script. This chart doesn’t take into account vowel changes that might have happened between 1781 and the present day, certainly an area in

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which some improvement could be made, but since it is meant only as a rough guide, it will suffice for the needs of this paper.

For French, the language in which Amyot and Langlès wrote, I have composed a vowel chart according to Canepari’s detailed description of Modern Neutral French. Again, like the Korean vowel chart, this doesn’t reflect vowel changes that may have occurred since the time of Amyot and Langlès, but a review of the vowel changes in French as documented by Joly shows that in most respects the French of the 17th century was fairly close to Modern French. Note that, in French, the nasalized vowels do not appear in the same place as their non-nasalized counterparts. In this chart, I have not distinguished between the nasalized and non-nasalized forms of each vowel, so, for example, both /o/ and /õ/ fall in the range I have labeled as /o/. The nasalized vowels in French tend to be realized closer to the center than the non-nasalized ones.

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On the basis of these maps of the vowel space, I will now undertake to isolate the general areas in which the Manchu vowels were realized. In each case, I have overlaid three gray areas representing the vowels in Korean, Latin and French that were used to represent a single Manchu vowel. The darkest area on each chart is the area where I project the Manchu vowel to have been.

2.1.1 The Vowel A

The vowel a is transcribed by Verbiest and Amyot as a, and in the PC with the characterㅏ, corresponding to IPA /a/. On the vowel charts provided above, the areas represented by these three symbols nearly overlap, as follows:
Since the location of this vowel in this general area of the vowel chart is without much contention, I’ll represent it phonemically as /a/.

2.1.2 The Raised A

Verbiest observes that, in the syllable yan, the vowel a is pronounced like e, or like something halfway between a and e. He also notes that the word yali, “meat,” should be pronounced yeli, but doesn’t render ya as ye in other environments. Amyot is also consistent in transcribing yan as yen, and gives the word yali as yenli (!). In the QQ the transcription given for the word yali is 烏哩 (Williams yen li), raising the question of whether an unwritten /n/ might have existed in this word. I have observed, however, that in spoken Sibe the word is pronounced [jɛl], consistent with an earlier /jeli/, but not with */jenuity/. In any case, we should not take the raising of this vowel to apply to all cases where ya appears, but at most to instances of ya in closed syllables, and possibly only to the syllable yan and the word yali.

The formal rule representing the realization of this allophone is:

\[ /a/ > [ɛ] / jɛnli \]

27 Verbiest 1696:6.
2.1.3 The Vowel E

The vowel e is usually transcribed by Verbiest, Amyot and Langlès as e. In the PC, the vowel e is almost always transcribed using the character ē, representing /ʌ/. Importantly, the e of Verbiest’s Latin and the e of Langlès and Amyot’s French were not quite the same sound. Furthermore, Langlès gives a much more detailed description of this vowel, saying that the sound has something of the closed é and the open è, something of the o, and in some regards is like the French diphthong eu. This latter description could correspond either to IPA /ø/, as in the French word heureux, /øʁø/, or else to /œ/, as in the French word seul, /sœl/. These accounts may seem difficult to reconcile, especially since the Korean /ʌ/ and Latin /e/ come from opposite sides of the vowel chart, but there is an area in which they overlap, as can be seen in the chart below.

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28 Langlès 1807:138. “La prononciation de cette voyelle tient à-la-fois de celle de notre é fermé et de notre è ouvert; on croiroit même y reconnoître quelque chose de l’o: c’est, à certains égards, notre diphthongue eu, comme plusieurs personnes prononcent l’exclamation eh mon ami! Ainsi, émé [mère], prononcez eumeu.”
By assigning the vowel *e* to darkest shaded area on this chart, I am essentially saying that Verbiest could not distinguish between a central and front vowel, because such a distinction didn’t exist in Church Latin, and that Langlès assigned it a value of *eu* because the allophones of that vowel in French are more central than other vowels. The Korean author of the PC, on the other hand, assigned it the sound of */ʌ/*, because the long version of this vowel is realized higher and more to the center than any nearer vowel in Korean. This assignment is very nearly in agreement with Yamamoto’s assessment of the Sibe equivalent of this vowel, which he transcribed as a central, open-mid, unrounded vowel */ə/, a vowel which would appear just below the darkest area on the chart. It also fits the description projected by Norman, of *e* as a “central or back unrounded vowel,”\(^{29}\) a conclusion also reached by Coblin.\(^{30}\)

It is conventional to represent this vowel as a schwa */ə/ in modern linguistic works that make use of Written Manchu examples.\(^{31}\) This representation is less than ideal, because the schwa is often used to represent an unstressed, toneless, neutral vowel, which may or may not be a mid-central vowel, and it has no rounded counterpart in the IPA. However, I will follow tradition and use the schwa, since I don’t see what will be

\(^{29}\) Norman 2000:41.

\(^{30}\) Coblin 2005:403.

\(^{31}\) See, for example, the works of Dresher and Zhang on Manchu vowel harmony.
gained by making the distinction between /ə/ and the other mid central vowels, when Manchu doesn’t distinguish between them.

It should be noted that the Sanjiazi realization of this vowel (according to Enkhbat) is /u/, essentially an unrounded /u/, both higher and further back than the Sibe and Court Manchu realizations of this vowel.

2.1.4 The Front E

Verbiest observes that, in certain words, the vowel e is pronounced like i. The examples he gives of this are the words ejen, “lord,” and ujen, “heavy,” which are to be pronounced ejin and ujin.32 All that Verbiest has to say about the environment of this change is that it happens sometimes in the middle of a word, but in his few examples it happens after a post-alveolar consonant. A clearer idea of the precise environment can be found by looking at the QQ fanqie transcriptions for syllables ending in e. In most cases, for syllables ending in e, the character representing the syllable coda is 哥 (Williams ngō33), apparently representing the central vowel. After the alveolar and post-alveolar initials s, š, j, c and y, however, the character representing the syllable coda is 嘀.

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32 Verbiest 1696:6. I have rewritten Verbiest’s original transcriptions from egin and ugin to ejin and ujin, respectively.

33 Williams gives the pronunciation of ö as equivalent to the sound in German könig, so IPA /ø/. 
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(Williams ye\textsuperscript{34}). While Verbiest has judged this allophone of $e$ to be the high front vowel $i$, the QQ notably does not use the highest front vowel available, that of 衣 (Williams $i$), but rather a lower front vowel.

Amyot distinguishes between three allophones of $e$. In his Dictionnaire, the $e$ is most commonly represented as a simple $e$, but after $y$ it usually becomes é. Thus, for example, Amyot transcribes the word ebeniye-, “to steep something” as epenié, with the simple $e$ in the first two syllables, but using the fronted vowel é after the $y$.

In the PC, most Manchu vowels are represented as descending diphthongs when they occur after the post-alveolar consonants, so the vowel $e$ is represented by ɬ, corresponding to /jɪˈ/ in IPA. The diphthong /jɪˈ/ would trace a path across the vowel chart from the upper left corner to some position in the lower right quarter, and the intended vowel might be anywhere along that route. Based on these descriptions, I’ll argue that the intended vowel was higher than Verbiest’s $e$, but low enough that the author of the QQ chose to represent it in fanqie with the lower front vowel ɴ, instead of the higher front vowel 衣. The simplest explanation for all of this is that the vowel /ɬ/ was simply moved slightly up and forward because of the position of the tongue at the roof of the mouth when pronouncing the preceding consonant, and we can represent this front allophone as [i].

The formal rule representing the realization of this allophone is:

\footnote{Williams gives the pronunciation of é as equivalent to the sound in English say or grey, so IPA /ɛɪ/. Williams describes this as a pure vowel, however, so the reading /ɛ/ is more likely.}
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\[ /\sigma/ > [i] / [alveolar, post-alveolar]_\]

2.1.5 *The Raised E*

Amyot gives three allophones for *e*, of which I have already discussed *e* and *é*. The third allophone of *e* is written *ê*, and most commonly occurs after word-final intervocalic *s*, though also occasionally in other environments. For example, Amyot gives the word *maise*, “wheat” as *maisê*, and *mase*, “pockmarks” as *masê*. These words are loanwords from Chinese, and the *-se* corresponds to the Chinese syllable 子 (Williams *ts*). In the QQ there are several words ending in *-se* that are transcribed with the character 子, making it clearer that the pronunciation of this suffix was probably close to the pronunciation of this character. This becomes even more evident when one considers that the intervocalic *s* of the suffix *-se* should be pronounced as a *z* (see 2.2.7, below).

In the CP, the same vowel apparently appears in the word *cuse moo*, where it is transcribed using the symbol ṭ, representing the high, back, unrounded IPA vowel /u/. In modern Korean pronunciation, the transcription for *cuse*, ṭˀveedor, is pronounced almost like /tuːz/, with the final vowel being so brief and close as to almost be inaudible. In Enkhbat’s Sanjiazi data, this suffix has disappeared entirely, such that *maise* has become [maiz], *mase* has become [maːz], and *cuse moo*, “bamboo” has become [tuːz maː].

Based on the etymological relationship between the suffix *-se* and the Chinese character 子, the vowel of which is also nearly inaudible, taken together with the way this sound is rendered in the Korean example, and the way in which it has evolved (or rather,
disappeared) in the Sanjiazi dialect, I believe this allophone of \( e \) was either very brief, very close, or both. I will represent it phonetically with a vowel that is higher than /æ/, but no more to the front or the back, using the IPA symbol [i].

Amyot also uses the vowel ê in other entries, such as aikabade, aika ohode, and akame gecehe, which he gives as aikapadê, aika ohotê, and akamê ketchhe. I am not certain how he intended these words to be read, but I assume he meant to indicate a brief, indistinct vowel in these cases also.

2.1.6 \( E \rightarrow O \) after Labial Consonants?

In the QQ, the only contemporary source I have found attesting to this sound change, the same transcription is always used for syllables beginning with a labial consonant and ending with either the vowels \( e \) or \( o \). Thus, for example, the syllables be and bo are both represented by 播 (Williams poh), fe and fo by 佛 (Williams fo), and so on. This seems to imply that the vowel /æ/ became rounded and moved to the back, becoming /ɒ/ (or a similar vowel) after a labial consonant. I am wary of this conclusion, however, because it not supported in the other contemporary sources I have consulted. I believe that what has happened in this case is that the author of the QQ was simply unable to accurately represent the distinction between \( e \) and \( o \) after labial consonants, because a similar distinction didn’t exist in the guanhua dialect upon which he based his transcriptions.

In Williams, the distinction between the QQ transcriptions given for Manchu \( o \) and \( e \) very often corresponds to a distinction between \( o \) and \( ò \). For example, the syllable
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de was transcribed in the QQ as 得, which Williams gives as dö, while the Manchu syllable do was transcribed as 多, which Williams gives as do. We would expect, then, that in the case of the labial initials, characters to which Williams would assign the readings *mö, *pö, *p’ö, or *fö would be used to transcribe the syllable me, be, pe and fe. Williams, however, lists no such characters, implying that the sound distinction between o and ö, while it apparently existed after other consonants, did not exist after the labials in the Beijing guanhua of the 19th century, and so perhaps also in the 18th century. For this reason, I think the appearance of a rounded allophone of e is largely a product of the system of transcription used in the QQ.

References to this sound change in other sources are rare. Möllendorff says that e was pronounced either ä or ö, but he doesn’t provide any further details on the context. Separately, be says that the word beye was pronounced bëö, 35 but in this example it appears the e after the labial consonant is not rounded, but the word-final e is rounded. This is more likely an instance of the sound change I’ll discuss in the next section, where word-final e is pronounced as o. Roth Li mentions that e is pronounced as o after labials in her description of the approximate pronunciation of Manchu, which she says was generally agreed-upon by earlier Western scholars of Manchu. 36 I have not come across this particular description in an earlier Western work, but I don’t doubt its existence in the literature. I would hazard that any Western scholar following Wylie’s 1855 translation of the QQ could reach this same conclusion based on the Chinese readings of the characters.

35 Möllendorff 1892:1.

36 Roth Li 2000:17.
2.1.7 $E > O$ In Final Syllables

According to the periodization I outlined above, this sound change really belongs to the Late Manchu period, rather than the Court Manchu period, because it is directly attested only by Gabelentz and later authors. Of it, Gabelentz says simply that the final $e$ was pronounced as a short $o$, and he does not say that this is conditioned by the preceding consonant. 37 This sound change is also supported by poetic evidence from two sources. There is ample evidence from Jakdan’s poetry, which I discuss in much more detail below, that words ending in $e$ and $o$ rhymed, regardless of what consonant preceded the $e$. I have also found, and include as appendix C to this paper, an anonymous, undated, bilingual didactic poem in which Manchu words ending in $e$ and $o$ rhyme with Chinese words ending in /ə/ . The evidence for this sound change is fairly strong, though it is more likely to have occurred later rather than earlier.

The rhyme data is only conclusive with regard to the final syllables of words, so it’s reasonable to wonder whether this change occurred only in word-final syllables, or in other syllables as well. In addition to the assertions of Gabelentz and Harlez that the sound change only occurred in the last syllable of the word, it is also the case that significant problems would have emerged as a result of overall merging of $e$ and $o$, such as the creation of homophones from words with importantly different meanings, like $dele$, “on top,” and $dolo$, “inside.” Thus, I argue that this sound change only occurred in the final syllable of the word, and the formal notation for it would be as follows:

37 Gabelentz 1832:18.
2.1.8 $E > \alpha$ Before Word-Final $N$?

This is the only piece of phonetic data that I actually have from Parrenin, and it comes through his biographer du Halde, in the form of an anecdote, which is reprinted in Gabelentz. One interpretation of this anecdote seems to have gained currency among later French scholars, so I will discuss it here. According to du Halde, Parrenin was once in a conversation with the Manchu crown prince, who was then 35 years old. The Manchu prince criticized the Latin language and script, saying they were inferior to Chinese and Manchu in expressiveness and clarity. Parrenin responded by pointing out that the Manchu script too was deficient, in that “in Manchu you always write and pronounce the \(e\) open: you do not pronounce the \(e\) mute except at the ends of some words that finish in \(n\),” but this distinction was not made in the orthography.

Adam and Harlez have understood this comment to mean that the \(e\) is pronounced as \(e\) muet (i.e. as a schwa-like sound, [\(\alpha\)] or [\(\varkappa\)]) in certain words, but they don’t give any

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38 Parrenin arrived in Beijing in 1698, during the reign of the Kangxi emperor, and was supposed to have had this conversation with the fils aîné of the emperor. This would probably have been Yinreng, not the emperor’s eldest son, but his long-time favorite and declared successor. In that case, the conversation would have occurred around 1709.

39 Gabelentz 1832:191. “D’ailleurs, poursuivis-je, vous prononcez et écrivez la voyelle \(e\) toujours ouverte: vous ne prononcez l’\(e\) muet qu’à la fin de quelques mots qui finissent par \(n\).”
examples, or say in which words this occurs.40 I am fairly certain that both of these scholars studied Manchu academically in Europe, and didn’t encounter spoken Manchu first-hand, so they would not have had the opportunity to verify this interpretation, or to supplement it with observations of their own. Their remarks on this sound change apparently come exclusively from having read this anecdote in Gabelentz.

I believe there is another interpretation for Parrenin’s comment, hinging on a slightly different reading of the phrase “vous ne prononcez l’ê muet.” Where Adam and Harlez have understood this to mean, “you do not pronounce the e as a schwa,” I believe the correct interpretation may be “you do not pronounce the schwa.” The important difference here is that, as Adam and Harlez understand it, this sound-change applies to words ending in -en, whereas I believe it applies to words ending in -n where an unwritten schwa is pronounced before the n. In section 2.3.1, on ascending diphthongs, I will show that ascending diphthongs followed by word-final -n were pronounced with an unwritten vowel before the word-final -n, adding an extra syllable. I believe this is the phenomenon to which Parrenin was referring, and that the phenomenon described by the later writers Adam and Harlez did not exist—at least in Court Manchu.

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40 Adam 1873:11, “e a la valeur de notre è ouvert, sauf dans la dernière syllabe de quelque-uns des mots terminés en n, où il est muet.” Harlez 1884:15, “e est ouvert au commencement et au milieu des mots, et sourd dans les syllabes finales en e ou en; c’est alors un o bref très sourd.”
2.1.9 The Vowel I

The vowel \( i \) is transcribed by Verbiest and Amyot as \( i \), and in the PC with the character \( \dagger \), corresponding to IPA /i/. Like the vowel \( a \), this is not very problematic, and the overlapping area is as follows:

![Vowel Chart](image)

Figure 2.6: The Location of the Vowel I

Since the location of this vowel in this general area of the vowel chart is without much contention, I’ll represent it phonemically as /i/.

2.1.10 \( i \rightarrow i \) After S

I discuss this sound change in detail in section 2.2.7, where I cover the pronunciation of the consonant \( s \). To summarize here, in rapid speech, especially in non-initial syllables, the syllable \( si \) was pronounced [\( \check{s}i \)], resulting in the vowel moving more to the center.
2.1.11 The Vowel O

The vowel $o$ is transcribed by Verbiest and Amyot as $o$, and in the PC with the character $\tfrac{1}{2}$, corresponding to IPA /o/. Like the vowels $a$ and $i$, this is not very problematic, and the overlapping area is as follows:

![Figure 2.7: The Location of the Vowel O](image)

The shaded area in this diagram is a little higher than /ơ/, the corresponding vowel in both the Sibe and Sanjiazi dialects. However, since Korean (unlike French and Latin) distinguishes between rounded and unrounded back vowels, it’s possible that the transcriber of the PC chose the round vowel $\tfrac{1}{2}$ to represent the slightly lower /ơ/ because the only other symbol available was $\tfrac{1}{2}$, representing the unrounded /ơ/. I will assume this is the case, and so transcribe the vowel as /ơ/.
2.1.12 The Vowel U

The vowel $u$ is transcribed by Verbiest as $u$, and Amyot as $ou$, corresponding to IPA /u/, and in the PC with the character ‘$\ddot{u}$’, also corresponding to IPA /u/. Like the vowels $a$ and $i$, this is not very problematic, and the overlapping area is as follows:

Since this vowel is very clearly placed in the vicinity of IPA /u/, I will use that symbol to represent it phonemically.

2.1.13 The Vowel $\ddot{u}$

This vowel has been a matter of contention for centuries. Verbiest said that Manchu only had the five vowels of Latin, and in his alphabet treats $\ddot{u}$ was the same as $u$, 
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but he is inconsistent about how he transcribes ͜u in his sample words. In discussing weak
syllables, he gives as examples the words fusihun, “downward, westward, low” and
wasihun, “downward, westward” which he says were pronounced fushun and vashun,
transcribing ͜u as u. However, later, when he writes the word isirakū, “does not reach to,”
he gives it as isiraco, with an o instead of a u.

Amyot transcribed this vowel as ou, just as he transcribed the vowel u. Langlès,
for reasons that are not entirely clear, declared that this vowel was pronounced as a very
long o, and so transcribed it as ō—though he noted that Raux gives it the sound of u.41 It
is possible that Langlès based his claim on an unrecorded communication from Amyot on
the pronunciation of ͜u, but however it came about, it became the standard convention
among European scholars to represent ͜u as ō. Möllendorff disagreed with this tradition,
saying it was pronounced u, and thus we have it today in Norman’s system of
transcription as ͜u.

The QQ, in listing out the syllables of Manchu, seems to support Langlès and the
later French scholars, always giving the same character for syllables with o as it does for
syllables with ͜u (except for tū, which was pronounced du). The Korean author of the PC,
on the other hand, transcribed ͜u with the symbol ת, the same symbol as is used to
transcribe u.

These accounts seem to disagree with each other, but only as long as one assumes
that the realization of each IPA vowel was exactly the same in each language. As was the

41 Langlès 1807, pg. 140: “Cette lettre a le son d’un o très-prolongé, plutôt encore que
celui de l’ō marqué d’un accent circonflexe; M. Raux lui donne le son d’ou.” I think “M.
Raux” must be Nicolas Raux (1754-1801), a Jesuit missionary who was sent to Beijing in
1773 with Jean Ghislain.
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case with the vowel $e$, the exact realization of $o$ in each of the source languages is different. Given the vowel areas I have outlined above, there is a small area that Verbiest and Langlès would represent as $o$, but in Korean would fall in the same space as $u$:

This location for the vowel $\ddot{u}$ fits very closely with that suggested by Norman when discussing its complementary distribution with $u$, that “It is doubtful that $u$ and $\ddot{u}$ were ever phonemically distinct, although it is probable that the $u$ found after velars and the $\ddot{u}$ found after uvulars were phonetically different, the latter having a more retracted and perhaps somewhat lower articulation.”42 It is also worth noting that the QQ contains a confirmation of another claim Norman makes in the same article. Norman notes that the words $t\ddot{u}mbi$, “to pound,” and $but\ddot{u}n$, “large jar,” have alternate spellings of $dumbi$ and

42 Norman 2000:41.
*budun*, and were probably pronounced like the latter. In fact, according to the QQ, the
syllable *tū* is a special case, being pronounced exactly like the syllable *du*, as 都.

Given that ǔ appears to be slightly lower than *u*, but that they are probably
allophones, I will represent both phonemically as /u/, but I will represent ǔ phonetically
as [ɔ].

### 2.1.14 The Whole Picture

Having assigned locations on the vowel chart to all of the vowels, I can now
present a single chart containing all of the cardinal Manchu vowel sounds for the Court
Manchu period (in black), together with allophones (in gray).

![Figure 2.10: The Court Manchu Vowels](image)

One of the notable features of this chart is its symmetry. It is a general (though
not universal) rule that the vowel systems of languages with few vowels demonstrate
symmetry (as was the case with the Church Latin vowels), while those with many vowels tend to show an even distribution across the vowel chart (as was the case with Korean and French). Whether one considers Manchu to be a language with few vowels or with many, without the raised and fronted allophones of \( a \) and \( e \), there would be a significant and statistically anomalous open space on the left side of the chart.

2.2 Consonants

While the vowels are arranged in a fairly free space, and are therefore somewhat difficult to pin down, the consonants are a much easier set of sounds, and there is much more concrete data on them. I’ll address the graphemic consonants in order according to their place of articulation, proceeding from the front of the mouth to the back.

2.2.1 The Consonants B and P

Verbiest, Amyot and Langlès all assigned the consonant \( b \) a primary value of \( p \), and Langlès notes than in medial position it was “softened” to \( b \). Langlès is actually most specific on this point, though his terminology in his *Alphabet Mantchou* is somewhat confusing.\(^{43}\) According to Langlès, initial \( b \) was voiceless but not aspirated (IPA [\( p \)]), while medial \( b \) was voiced (IPA [\( b \)]). In both positions, \( p \) was the aspirated equivalent of \( b \), so initially \( p \) was realized as [\( p^b \)], and medially as [\( b^h \)]. I find the reading of medial \( p \) as [\( b^h \)] difficult to accept, because that would make it the only consonant in

\(^{43}\) Langlès seems to have wanted to take the Manchu diacritical dot (\( tongki \)) as a marker of “softness,” meaning voicing, but in the case of syllables beginning with \( b \), it actually changes the vowel. He was aware of this distinction, but didn’t seem to be able to reconcile it in his terminology.
the entire inventory that is both aspirated and voiced. Instead, I will assume that this is an error introduced by Langlès, as a result of his over-zealous attempt to compare the Manchu script to the Bengali script, which possesses a grapheme for this sound.

Phonemically, I’ll represent  \( b \) as /b/, and  \( p \) as /p/, and I’ll use these same values for these phonemes as they are phonetically realized in medial position. In initial position, I’ll represent them as [p] and [pʰ]. Thus, for example, the word *bicibe*, “though it is,” would be represented as /biʃibə/ phonemically, but [piʃibə] phonetically.

In word-final position,  \( b \) seems to have been a voiceless consonant, given the transcription of syllables ending in -\( b \) in the QQ. The syllable *ab*, for example, is transcribed 阿鋪 (Williams ö p’u).

### 2.2.2 The Consonant M

This consonant is universally agreed upon to represent the bilabial nasal /m/.

### 2.2.3 The Consonant F

All European authors assign to this consonant a value of  \( f \), presumably representing a labio-dental (rather than a bilabial) fricative, since none of the European authors note anything unusual about it. Intervocally, it apparently could be voiced, though the distinction between the voiced and unvoiced variants was not phonemic. Verbiest writes the word *bahafi*, “having gotten,” as *pagavi*, and Amyot transcribes the word *oforo*, “nose,” as *ovoro*. Langlès notes that the -\( fi \) converbial suffix is pronounced either -\( fi \) or -\( vi \), giving as an example *bufi*, “having given,” which he says could either be
pronounced *poufi* or *pouvi*. Phonemically, I’ll represent this as */f/*, but intervocally I’ll give it the phonetic value of [v], so *bufi* will be */bufi/* phonemically, but [puvi] phonetically.

Interestingly, the suffix *-fi* was written in Old Manchu as *-bi*, but while various script reforms were being implemented in the early 17th century, there was a brief period during which this suffix was written in a new way, using the letter *-b-* with a circle (*fuka*) to the right of it.\(^{44}\) The circle is elsewhere placed to the right of the letters for */k/* and */q/*, to indicate the sounds */k*/* and */q*/*, which share the same place of articulation as */k/* and */q/*, but are continuants rather than stops. The creator of this ultimately unsuccessful grapheme apparently felt the existing letters *f* and *b* were not adequately suited to the sound of the suffix *-fi*, and so a new letter was called for. If we take the circle as indicating the continuant version of a stop, then the *b* with a circle next to it would indicate the sound [v], or possibly [β].

### 2.2.4 The Consonant *W*

Verbiest shows this grapheme as *w* in his list of the letters of the Manchu alphabet, but he transcribes it as *v* word-initially, though Amyot consistently transcribed it as *ou*. At the start of a word, it is most likely that it could be realized as either [v] or [w] without making an important difference. Intervocally, the *w* is almost always part of a diphthong, and was thus not pronounced as a *v*, meaning there would be no confusion between it and the intervocalic *f*, realized as [v]. The existence of small number of non-

\(^{44}\) Examples of this rare symbol can be found in the *Guoli gugong bowuguan* facsimile of the MWYD, volume 7, pp. 140-141.
Manchu names in the MBRT with intervocalic w not acting as part of a diphthong implies that intervocally it could be used to represent a sound that was different from the sound of f in the same environment—so probably /w/—but that this was a foreign sound. Thus, I’ll say that w was realized both phonetically and phonemically as /w/, though initially it could also be realized as [v].

2.2.5 The Consonants D and T

As with b, Verbiest and Amyot agree that d was unvoiced in initial position. As with p, Langlès specifies that initial t was aspirated. Following a parallel system to that which I used with b and p, I’ll represent t phonemically as /t/, though initially as [tʰ], while I’ll represent d as /d/ phonemically, though initially as [t]. Thus, for example, tubade, “at that place”, would be represented as /tubade/ phonemically, but [tʰubade] phonetically.

Graphemically, the Manchu script distinguishes between what might be called front and back t and d, a distinction that only appeared with the reform of the Manchu script, and was not present in Old Manchu. It is not unreasonable to suppose that these represented different sounds, and the fact that no European author noted a difference between them should not be considered proof against such an idea. However, there are two strong arguments to be made on the basis of the Manchu script in favor of there being only a single series of alveolar stops.

First, consider the fact that the Manchus were careful to invent new letters for writing Chinese sounds that were unnatural in Manchu. Thus we have, for example, the special letters transcribed as k’, g’ and h’, which represent the Manchu front k, g and h
sounds when they occur before a back vowel in a Chinese word. By means of this device, the Manchus were able to distinguish their own syllables ka, ga, and ha (/qa/, /γa/, /χa/) from the similar-sounding Chinese syllables k’a, g’a, and h’a (/ka/, /ga/, /xa/). Yet no similar attempt was ever made to distinguish between the Manchu and Chinese t and d in any environment. The syllable da could as easily represent the Manchu word for “base, origin” as it could the Chinese word 達, and there was no orthographic difference between the Manchu locative de and the transcription of the Chinese character 德. This implies that the authors of the Manchu script reform didn’t perceive a difference between the Chinese t and d and the Manchu t and d, and that there was no more of a difference between the back and front series in Manchu than there was in Chinese.

In addition to this, while front and back k, g, and h are given separate places in the organization of the Manchu script, front and back t and d are listed together in the same series. It is my conclusion from this that the distinction between the front and back t and d was a graphemic device only, and didn’t represent a phonetic distinction.

2.2.6 The Consonant N

In most cases, this consonant is agreed to represent the dental nasal /n/. Before i, Langlès says this consonant was realized like the French gn, IPA [ŋ]. This is how it is realized in the Sibe and Sanjiazi dialects in the same environment, so it seems reasonable to accept Langlès on this.

Langlès also makes a second claim that deserves a brief discussion. The letter n in Manchu script is normally written with a dot to the left side when it is at the start of a
sylabe, and with no dot when it is at the end of a syllable. According to Langlès, the \( n \) with no dot (i.e. the syllable-final \( n \)) was a marker of nasalization, which he compares to the Bengali *anusvara*.\(^{45}\) I have yet to find a corroboration of this claim, but Li notes that word-final /n/ in Sibe is realized as a nasalization of the vowel.\(^{46}\) Adam specifically refutes this claim of Langlès on the basis of what he has heard from missionaries, saying that word-final -\( n \) was pronounced as in German.\(^{47}\)

2.2.7 *The Consonants S and Š*

These letters are transcribed as \( s \) and \( x \) by Verbiest, and as \( s \) and \( ch \) by Amyot and Langlès, so IPA /s/ and /ʃ/, respectively. In Enkhbat’s Sanjiazi data and Yamamoto’s Sibe data, the \( š \) is usually transcribed as \([s] \). Since the consonants [ʃ] and [ʃ] are not contrastive either in Manchu or the European languages in question, it is probably not important which I use, so I will bend towards the data from modern dialects and transcribe \( š \) phonemically as /ʃ/. Both consonants are vocalized intervocally, so Langlès tells us that *yasa*, “eye,” is pronounced *yaza*, and *aisin* is pronounced *aigen*, etc. Phonetically, I’ll use the corresponding voiced consonants [z] and [ʒ] in intervocalic position.

\(^{45}\) Langlès 1807:142. This is a faulty comparison, because the *anusvara*, while it represents nasalization in many Indian scripts, is actually pronounced as [ŋ] in Bengali.

\(^{46}\) Li 1982:8. “n 出现在词末，使前面的元音鼻化。”

\(^{47}\) Adam 1873:12. “Langlès a cru pouvoir assimiler l’\( n \) non pointée à l’anouswara sanscrit, mais les missionnaires nous apprennent que cette \( n \) se prononce comme dans les mots allemands ‘angenehm, verderben’. Elle n’est donc pas un signe de nasalisation.”
According to Amyot and Langlès, $s$ becomes palatalized before $i$, and they transcribe the resulting syllable in French orthography as che or ge, though they are inconsistent about this. For example, Amyot transcribes the word usin, “field,” as ousin in the main entry in his lexicon for this word, but in several compound words he indicates the voiced and palatalized allophone, transcribing usin $i$ ujan, “boundary of a field,” for example, as ougen $ni$ outchan. Similarly, Langlès tells us that the correct pronunciation of the name of the ruling Manchu clan, Aisin Gioro, is Aigen Kioro. In each of these cases, it seems that not only does the consonant change, but the vowel changes as well.

The QQ indicates that there is a difference in the pronunciation of the syllable $si$ between when it appears as the first syllable of a word and when it appears in any other position. For example, for the syllable $si$ it gives 西 (Williams $si$) as the appropriate transcription, but notes that in non-initial syllables it should be read 詩 (Williams $sh’$). Likewise, for the syllable $sin$, the QQ gives 心 (Williams $sin$) as the correct pronunciation at the beginning of a word, but specifies 身 (Williams $shăn$) as the appropriate reading in all other syllables. In addition, the QQ also allows for the syllable $sin$ to be read either way when it occurs word-initially.

There are two issues to address with the combination $si$, the first being the consonant, and the second being the vowel. The consonant of $si$ is phonetically distinct from both the usual $s$ and $ʃ$ sounds in both Sibe and Sanjiazi data, so that in Sibe it is usually realized as $ʃ$, and in Sanjiazi as $ɕ$. This seems to parallel the pronunciation in Modern Standard Mandarin, where the sibilant sound before $i$ in 西 and 心 is pronounced $ɕ$, and so it might be argued that this is a case of Mandarin phonology influencing the modern Manchu dialects. However, the absence of the combination $ɕi$ in native Written
Manchu words hints at $sì$ and $ši$ being pronounced the same early on, and spellings such as $siun$ for $šun$, “sun” in the MWYD indicate that there was probably some kind of palatalization of the $s$ even at the earliest stages of Old Manchu. Indeed, one of the sound changes that distinguishes Ming Jurchen from Old Manchu is the palatalization of dentals before $i$, a phenomenon of which the palatalization of $s$ before $i$ might be seen as one manifestation. The only remaining question is how, precisely, the resulting consonant and vowel were realized.

I am inclined to see all of this as follows: in Old Manchu, $s$ before $i$ was palatalized to [ɕ], so $sì$ was read [ɕi]. In careful speech, it remained this way, especially in initial syllables, which were probably pronounced more clearly than other syllables. In rapid speech and non-initial syllables, however, the place of articulation of both the $s$ and the $i$ changed, resulting in a syllable more like [ɕi]. Thus, in Amyot’s entry for $usìn$, he gives us an approximation of the careful pronunciation of the word, writing $ousìn$ for [uçin]. In the compound $usìn i ujan$, however, he gives us the same word as it would be pronounced in rapid speech, writing $ougen ni outchan$ for [uçini užan].

When transcribing Chinese words, which are always monosyllabic, the syllable $sì$ would have been best fitted to render words like 西, because the word-initial pronunciation of this syllable was [ɕi]. Standing alone, this syllable could not ordinarily represent either the consonant or vowel sound in words like 詩, so the artificial combination $ši$ was used to transcribe these characters.

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48 For example, Kiyose gives Ming Jurchen $tiko$ for “chicken,” which became Manchu $coko$ through palatalization of the $t$ before $i$. 
2.2.8 *The Consonant R*

Verbiest makes no special comment on this consonant, and Langlès says it is the same \( r \) as found in French and other languages (implying, interestingly, that Langlès did not pronounce the \( r \) as a uvular). The QQ gives a detailed description of what must be a trilled \( r \), describing the mode of articulation as a “rolling tongue.”\(^{49}\) Both phonemically and phonetically I’ll represent this with the IPA symbol /ɾ/. 

The QQ implies that, in certain situations, the \( r \) might be dropped. For the words *cargi, “over there,” ergi, “side,”* and *emgeri, “once; already,”* the QQ gives a note saying, “this word does not roll the \( r \)” (字不濤舌), and give readings that seem to be missing the \( r \) altogether. The reading 鈐甄 (Williams *ch’ai chi*) is given for *cargi*, and 【惡衣切】甄 (Williams *öh+i chi*) for *ergi*, though no specific reading is given for *emgeri*. In the case of *cargi* and *ergi*, it seems as though the \( r \) has either disappeared or become /j/ before the palatalized \( g \) (c.f. 2.2.12, below). In the case of *emgeri*, we are left guessing what the comment means.

None of these changes appear in Sanjiazi or Sibe, which preserve the \( r \) in all of these words, but orthographic variations in the MWYD hint that dropping the \( r \) in this position could have been a feature of Jianzhou Jurchen as early as the beginning 17\(^{th}\) century. One commonly finds, for example, the word *julergi, “in front; south,”* spelled *julegi* in the Old Manchu original text of the MWYD, though it has been corrected to *julergi* in the MBRT.

\(^{49}\) QQ: 滾舌者。舌尖上貼。用氣吹動舌尖也。 “For the rolling tongue, stick the tip of the tongue up, and use the breath to move it.”
There is no need to propose a phonological rule to account for most of these cases, however, since they all involve the same morpheme, a clitic form of the word \textit{ergi}, “side.” The simplest explanation for these cases is that \textit{ergi}, in clitic form, simply became \textit{-gi} in Jianzhou Jurchen, and therefore Court Manchu, while it was retained in a fuller form as \textit{-rgi} in the other spoken Manchu dialects.

2.2.9 The Consonant \textit{L}

Verbiest, Langlès and Amyot make no special comment on this consonant, and the QQ transcribes it using characters whose Mandarin pronunciations begin with /l/. It seems unproblematic to assign it a phonemic and phonetic value of /l/.

2.2.10 The Consonants \textit{J} and \textit{C}

Verbiest gives these as \textit{ch} and \textit{ch’}, in his listing of the Manchu alphabet, and says that they are to be pronounced as \textit{ts} before \textit{i}, such that \textit{j} was pronounced as a “gentle” \textit{ts} and \textit{c} is pronounced as an aspirated \textit{ts}, though both are voiced intervocally.\textsuperscript{50} Amyot usually transcribes both as \textit{ts} before \textit{i}, and \textit{tch} before all other vowels. Langlès says that, as with the pairs [\textit{b, p}] and [\textit{d, t}], the \textit{c} is voiceless and aspirated at the beginning of a word, and voiceless and unaspirated in the middle of a word, while \textit{j} is voiceless and unaspirated at the beginning of a word, and voiced in the middle of a word.

\textsuperscript{50} Verbiest 1696:5. “[I]tem in prima classe syllabam \textit{chi’}, & \textit{chi}, utramque, hoc est tam aspiratam quàm non aspiratam, pronunciari ut \textit{ci}, vel \textit{si}, multus ut \textit{tsi}, cum hoc tamen discrimine, quòd ubi aspirata exprimenda est, dices \textit{tsi} cum aspiratione; ubi verò non aspiratam exprimere voles, dices \textit{tsi}, sed leniter, imò hanc ipsam in medio vocis pronunciabis, ut \textit{gi}. v.g. scribis \textit{cochimi}, pronunciabis \textit{cogimi}.”
Comparison with the modern Sibe and Sanjiazi dialects reveals that these consonants may originally have represented two different series of sounds. In most cases, $j$ and $c$ correspond to [dz] and [ts] in both Yamamoto’s Sibe data and Enkhbat’s Sanjiazi data. Before $i$, these consonants are usually realized as [d$\text{z}$] and [t$\text{s}$] in Sibe, and [dz] and [tc] in Sanjiazi. However, there are a small number of words where $j$ and $c$ are realized as the latter set of sounds in environments other than before $i$. For example, the word *jasigan*, “letter,” is realized as [d$\text{ez}$j$\text{a}$n] in Sanjiazi and [d$\text{z}$e$\text{f}$$\chi$]n] in Sibe, instead of the expected *[d$\text{z}$a$\text{z}$n] and *[d$\text{z}$a$\text{f}$]n]. Other similar words are *jalin*, “reason,” *jailambi*, “to avoid,” and *jui*, “child.” It may be that, prior to the Old Manchu period, these words were really */d$\text{z}$jasigan/, */d$\text{z}$jalin/, */d$\text{z}$ajlambi/, and */d$\text{z}$uji/, and the front semivowel $i/\text{l}$ caused the initial consonant and following vowel to change, but then was subsequently lost. The resulting initial syllables, */d$\text{z}e$/ and */d$\text{z}$y$/, though now phonemically different from the more common /d$\text{z}$a/ and /d$\text{z}$u/, were nonetheless similar enough to be spelled the same way, as *ja* and *ju*.

Whether this latter distinction was present in Court Manchu is not entirely clear. The European authors don’t generally show a distinction here, but Amyot notably uses the unusual spelling *kiu* for the word *jui*, indicating that he may have heard the post-alveolar [dz] and taken it as the palatal [j] (for which, see section 2.2.12). Likewise, in the section of the QQ where the Manchu syllabary is presented, the transcription for the

51 I reconstruct *jui* as */d$\text{z}$uji/* partly on the basis of Kiyose’s reconstruction of Ming Jurchen *juwii*, transcribed as 遠一. By the Old Manchu period, I suggest it was pronounced */d$\text{zy}$i/*, where /y/ represents a high rounded front semivowel.
syllable *jui* is given as 追, though a later note gives the pronunciation of the word *jui*, “child,” as 拘. This latter character is usually transcribed in Manchu as *gioi*, implying a pronunciation like [jyi] or [dzyi]. That the initial consonant of the word *jui*, “child,” is etymologically neither a simple /g/ nor /dz/ can be seen in its Sibe and Sanjiazi forms, where it appears as [dʒ'l] and [dze], respectively.\(^{52}\)

If it is true that the orthographic consonants *j* and *c* represented two phonemically different series of sounds, then extensive comparisons between Sibe and Sanjiazi would be necessary to ascertain all of the words in which the less common sounds [dʒ] and [tʃ] appear. However, since these words are likely to be rare, in most cases I’ll represent *j* phonemically as /dʒ/ and *c* as /tʃ/, as they appear in most cases in both Sibe and Sanjiazi. Phonetically, I’ll represent the allophones of these as they appear word-initially as [tʃ] and [tʃʰ], respectively. Before *i*, I’ll represent their allophones as [tʃ] and [tʃʰ] word-initially, and [dʒ] and [tʃ] medially.

By analogy with the syllable *si*, we should expect the syllables *ji* and *ci* to become [dʒi] and [tʃi] in unstressed syllables and rapid speech. Evidence for this pronunciation appears in the QQ, where the word *tucike*, “went out,” is transcribed as 禿吃磕, (Williams *t'u ch'i h k'ö*), instead of the more careful *禿七磕*, (Williams *t'u ch'i k'ö*).

\(^{52}\) I was unable to find an entry in Enkhbat specifically for the word *jui*, so I extracted the form [dze] from the entry for *haha jui*, “son,” [χaʁadze].
2.2.11 The Consonant Y

Verbiest represents this as $y$, and says it is articulated the same as $i$ in diphthongs. Amyot and Langlès likewise represent it as $y$, and so it seems unproblematic to represent it phonemically and phonetically as $/\acute{y}/$. Its exact phonetic realization may have been very close, since it sometimes alternates with the palatal nasal $/\grave{n}/$. Thus, for example, Langlès gives the pronunciation for the word $sain$, “good,” which should be phonemically $/sajin/$, as $sagnin$, i.e. $[sa\acute{n}in]$. This means, from his account, that it rhymed with the word $banin$, “form,” for which he gives the pronunciation $bagnin$, i.e. $[ba\acute{n}in]$. The same alternation between $/\acute{y}/$ and $/\grave{n}/$ may underlie the seemingly capricious appearance and disappearance of $n$ in word-initial $ni$- between Manchu dialects. For example, Kiyose reconstructs the Jurchen word for “snow” as $imagi$, and the word for “oil” as $imengi$, but these appear in Manchu as $nimanggi$ and $nimenggi$, respectively, presumably because the word-initial $i$- was originally preceded by a non-phonemic $/\acute{y}/$, which became $/\grave{n}/$. Likewise, the transformation of Manchu $\acute{sanyan}$ (i.e. $/\acute{s}a\acute{n}an/$), “white,” into Literary Sibe $\acute{s}ayan$, can be explained as this same process working in reverse.

2.2.12 The Consonants $G$ and $K$

These letters actually represent two different sets of phonemic consonants, one velar, and the other uvular. I have grouped them together in because this distinction was not made by most of the early European authors, and is not made in the standard

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53 Verbiest 1696:5, “sic etiam diphthongum $y$ à vocali $i$ differre solum in scribendi modo, non in pronunciationis sono”
transcription of Manchu words. That a difference exists is clearly indicated in the
MNFG, which says that $k\ddot{u}$ and $ka$ are formed in the throat, while $ku$ and $k'a$ are formed
on the palate.\(^{54}\) Ligeti, having read Schmidt’s translation of this passage, interprets
“palate” (Manchu heheri) to refer to the same area of the mouth where the palatal
consonants are formed, and so he understood the front series of consonants as palatals,\(^{55}\)
but it is more likely that heheri was not nearly so specific a term, and referred to the
entire soft palate. Thus, the appropriate phonemic representations of these characters
should be /k/ and /g/ for the velars, and /q/ and /q\#/ for the uvulars, as Schmidt
concluded.\(^{56}\)

There does, however, seem to have been a pair of more palatalized allophones for
/k/ and /g/ when they appear before $i$. After describing the difference between $k\ddot{u}$, $ka$ and
$ku$, $k'a$ as being a difference of the throat and the palate, the MNFG goes on to say that $ki$
and $gi$ are formed with the “body” of the tongue (ilenggu i beye) on the palate, where the
body of the tongue is presumably between the root of the tongue (ilenggu i da) and the tip
of the tongue (ilenggu i dube). It is not, however, so far forward as to become identical
with $ji$ and $ci$, which the MNFG says are formed with the tip of the tongue near the teeth.
The QQ confirms this place of articulation, with a special note for the syllables $ki$, $gi$ and

\(^{54}\) MNFG: duibuleci, $k\ddot{u}$ ka sere juwe hergen, mudan i urgen ujen, bilha de wajirengge.
hergen mudan be weihuken i gamame gisureci, terei tob be teni bahaci ombi. Heheri de
guribu fi cira gisureci ku k’a ombi. “For example, consider the syllables $k\ddot{u}$ and $ka$, which
are heavy in length and pronounced in the throat. If you speak the sounds lightly, only
then can you get them right. If you move them to the palate and pronounce them strictly,
then they become $ku$ and $k’a$."

\(^{55}\) Ligeti 1952:248.

\(^{56}\) Schmidt 1932:581.
Reading Jakdan’s Poetry

hi, saying “keep the tip of the tongue down and the root of the tongue up.” 57 Two possible representations for these allophones suggest themselves. First, they could represent the palatal plosives proper, [c] and [ʃ], close to the sounds represented in Hungarian as ty and gy. Alternately, they could represent sounds like the “soft” k and g in Russian, [kʲ] and [gʲ], in which “the back of the tongue is raised somewhat further forward in the mouth…and a good portion of the middle of the tongue touches or approaches the roof of the mouth.” 58

In Late Manchu the pronunciation of ki and gi apparently became identical to that of ci and ji. The first author to describe this was Gabelentz in 1832, and this claim was repeated by Harlez in 1884. According to Möllendorff, k and g were palatalized not only before i but also before e, implying that the environment in which palatalization occurred had broadened. I am convinced that the merging of ki and gi with ci and ji is a change that belongs exclusively to the Late Manchu period, however, since there are scarcely any instances of spelling variations where these series of consonants have been interchanged. 59 The existence of this latest stage of sound change implies a gradual frontward movement along the lines of /kj/ > [kʲ] > [c] > [t̚]. In this paper, I will use the

57 QQ: 咬字者。舌尖下貼。舌根上貼也。


59 Coblin notes that, in the 1761 edition of the QQ, these series are used somewhat interchangeably in transcribing Chinese words. He concludes that the Manchu velars had palatalized, and that the two series of initials had merged (Coblin 2003:207-209). I agree that the velars had palatalized, and that in time they merged, but I believe they were still phonetically distinct until the 19th century.
symbols [c] and [j] to represent the palatalized allophones of [k] and [g], recognizing that they may instead have been pronounced [kʰ] and [gʰ].

One last observation to make is that non-initial g was probably pronounced as a continuant. One of the most frequent forms of variant orthography that one encounters in Manchu is the alternation between non-initial g and h. Additional evidence for reading the resulting vowel as a continuant instead of a stop is found in the QQ, where, for example, temgetu, “emblem,” is transcribed 忒模呵禌 (Williams t’ö mu hö t’u), i.e. [tʰəmyətu]. Thus, we should take non-initial /g/ as being phonetically realized as [γ], and non-initial /g/ as [ŋ]. Given the palatal forms of /k/ and /g/ before i, we should expect that the resulting continuant should be realized as the palatal equivalent [j] in the same environment, though this sound is really nothing more than an emphatic [j], and was probably indistinguishable from the latter. This is confirmed in the QQ, where the transcription of the word nemgiyen, “affectionate,” is given as 諾摸陰 (Williams noh mu yin), i.e. [nəmjìn] or [nəmjìn].

2.2.13 The Consonants NG and NGG

Verbiest describes the syllable-final consonant ng as a “Lusitanian m, the ng of the Germans and other nations.” By “Lusitanian m” he presumably means a sound from Portuguese, or a Portuguese dialect, but as far as I have been able to determine, the m in Modern Portuguese is only realized as either /m/ or as a nasalization of the preceding vowel. However, given that other European authors of the same period customarily
recorded Chinese word-final /ŋ/ with an m, it seems likely that there was a common understanding that the “Lusitanian m” was pronounced as /ŋ/.

Verbiest is clear that ngg was not pronounced */ŋɡ/, but rather as /ŋ/. This is also apparent from the QQ, which lists a series of special readings for the syllables ga, ge, gi, go, gu, and gū when they appear after ng, saying they are to be pronounced as a, e, i, o, u, and ũ—i.e. they are to be pronounced without the g. In section 2.2.15 below, I will discuss the origin of the cluster ngg in more detail, but in summary it seems to originate from Jurchen /ŋɡ/, and following a general sound change (see 2.2.15) became /ŋŋ/, which in rapid speech is realized as [ŋ].

Like the consonants /k/ and /ɡ/, the consonant /ŋ/ could be palatalized before i. Thus, Verbiest gives the pronunciation for manggi, “after,” as being ma-gni, a spelling identical to the familiar Latin word magni (gen. sg. or nom. pl. of magnus), pronounced [māni], and the pronunciation for onggimbi as on-gnimi, [õni].60 Transcriptions in the QQ imply that, in careful speech, the first consonant of /ŋŋ/ was preserved, and only the second one was palatalized, yielding /ŋŋ/. In rapid speech, however, this would most likely have become simply /ŋ/, as in Verbiest’s transcriptions. This means, among other things, that in this environment nggi could be pronounced identically with ni. Thus, the orthographically different words šanggiyan, “white, smoke,” and šanyan, “white,” were probably originally two different spellings of the same word, [šanŋiën], which in rapid speech was pronounced [šañiën]. Note also the Literary Sibe variant of this word, šayan,

60 I have been unable to find a word onggimbi in any of the lexicons available to me.
which may have come about because of the closeness between \[j\] and \[œ\], which I mention in section 2.2.11.

This palatalization of \(/ŋ/\) to \([œ]\) before \(/i/\) may also be what underlies the rule that the genitive suffix \(-i\) is written as \(ni\) after words ending in \(-ng\).

### 2.2.14 The Consonant \(H\)

Like \(k\) and \(g\), the consonant transcribed as \(h\) was written in two different ways, and certainly had two different places of articulation. The front form of this consonant would have been the velar \(/x/\), and the back form would have been the uvular \(/χ/\). Like the continuants \(s\) and \(f\), this consonant seems to have been voiced intervocalically. Verbiest indicates this when he says that intervocalic \(h\) was pronounced \(g\), giving as an example the word \(bahafi\), “having gotten,” pronounced \(pagavi\). I have noted above, in section 2.2.12, that this is the same sound as intervocalic \(g\), so intervocalic \(/x/\) should be realized phonetically as \([ɣ]\), except before \(i\), where it should be realized as \(/j/\), and intervocalic \(/χ/\) should be realized as \([χ]\). Likewise, just as \(/k/\) and \(/g/\) are palatalized before \(i\), in initial position \(/xi/\) should become phonetically \([çi]\).

### 2.2.15 \(-MBI > -mi, and Similar Changes\)

It is universally agreed, in the earlier literature, that the verbal suffix \(-mbi\) was often or usually pronounced \(-mi\). Verbiest makes a note of this, and in his transcriptions
prefers to use -mi.¹ C.f. Verbiest 1696:12 et seq. Langlès makes the same observation, and in the QQ, the character used to transcribe this syllable is 嘿 (Williams mi). It is possible that this reading for this particular morpheme is simply a unique case, but there is also evidence that it might be part of a broader sound change, where voiced stops are dropped after nasals, a change that presumably occurred most often in rapid speech.

I have already mentioned that n̥g was pronounced /ŋ/ or /ȵ/, and not */ŋg/. It seems that in Ming Jurchen, however, that this cluster was pronounced /ŋg/, as can be seen in a few examples from Kiyose. We find, for example, that the antecedent of Manchu minggan, “thousand,” was transcribed in Ming Jurchen as 皿千 (Kiyose mingan), and anggal, “white,” was transcribed as 上江 (Kiyose anggal). The change from Ming Jurchen /ŋg/ to Court Manchu /ŋ/ could be seen as part of the same process that caused -mbi to become -mi, a process wherein a nasal consonant followed by a voiced plosive was reduced to a doubling of the nasal consonant.

In addition to these examples, among the full Manchu words for which we are provided transcriptions in the QQ, we find several others in which a similar change has taken place. The word henduhe, “spoke; spoken,” for example, is transcribed as 呵奴呵 (Williams hō nu hō), or alternately as 【呵因切】奴呵 (Williams hō+n nu hō), leading to a reconstruction like [xɒnxə] or [xɒnxə]. This word in Ming Jurchen, as well as in the Manchu orthography, seems to have originally had a consonant cluster -nd-, so we...

¹ Langlès 1807:164-165. “Le présent de l’indicatif, qui sert à désigner le verb, comme en français l’infinitif, est terminé en mpi, qui se prononce ordinairement mbi ou mi, comme poumbi ou poumi...”
can’t simply say that the spelling *nd* was an orthographic convention intended to represent */nn/*. Kiyose gives us the Ming Jurchen form of *hendure*, “speaking,” as 恨都魯 (which he reconstructs as *henduru*), and there is nothing in the QQ transcription system that would prevent the author from representing the *d* similarly if it were pronounced. Instead, it seems the consonant cluster *-nd-* was reduced to *-nn-* or *-n-* in these examples, which probably represent rapid speech.

Another example from the QQ shows that this sound change could happen for the palatals as well. The word *donjiha*, “heard,” is given in transcription as either 端饥哈 (Williams *twan chi hö*) or as 端呢哈 (Williams *twan ni hö*), the first probably being a careful pronunciation, and the second a more natural pronunciation. From this, we should conclude that the careful pronunciation [dɔŋdzi̯a] could be realized phonetically as [dɔŋni̯a] or [dɔŋi̯a] in rapid speech.

Formally, this sound change can be expressed with the following formula:

\[
[+\text{voice}, +\text{stop}] > [+ \text{nasal}] / [+\text{nasal}]_-
\]

or

\[
[+\text{voice}, +\text{stop}] > \emptyset / [+\text{nasal}]_-
\]

2.2.16 The Whole Picture

We are now able to present a complete chart of consonants for Court Manchu, as we did with the vowels. In this chart, I have marked the cardinal consonants in black, and their allophones in gray.
2.3 Diphthongs and Triphthongs

Manchu has both rising and descending diphthongs, as well as triphthongs. The rising diphthongs, those ending in \(o\) or \(i\), were incorporated into the earliest organization of the Manchu script into twelve \(uju\), or syllable classes, and they are noted by Verbiest (who treats the diphthongs ending in \(o\) as though they ended in \(u\).) However, the organization of the QQ shows that the original system of twelve \(uju\) was extended to include a set of diphthong and triphthong syllables specifically for Manchu (\(manju acan mudan i hergen\)) as well as a set of similar syllables for additional solitary syllables, primarily Chinese loan words (\(manju tulergi emteli hergen\)). Thus, according to the organization of the QQ, we can assemble a complete set of diphthongs and triphthongs for Court Manchu, divided into four groups. The first group are the rising diphthongs ending in \(-i\) from the second \(uju\), and the second group are those ending in \(-o\) from the tenth \(uju\). The third group contains the additional Manchu diphthongs from the QQ, and the fourth group contains one additional diphthong used in Chinese words. I have listed these below, marking with an asterisk those that are not commonly attested in native
Manchu words. I have not made a distinction in this list between $u$ and $\bar{u}$, since I have previously argued that they are allophones of the same vowel.

I. $ai, ei, *ii, oi, ui$

II. $*ao, eo, io, oo, uo$

III. $uwa, iya, iye, iyo, iowa, iowe, uwe, uuai, iyai, uwei, iyei, iowe, iyoo$

IV. $*ioi$

The system of diphthongs and triphthongs represented here is actually fairly simple. Each diphthong has a nucleus consisting of one of the five cardinal vowels. The vowel may be preceded by iy, uw, or iow, in which case it is a descending diphthong. Alternately, the vowel may be followed by either i or o, in which case it is an ascending diphthong. If it combines both, then it is a triphthong. Not all of these combinations actually appear in Manchu.

2.3.1 Ascending Diphthongs

In the case of the ascending diphthongs—those which end with the tongue closer to the top of the mouth—I will classify the semivowel as an approximant, either /j/ or /w/, because it acts like a consonant as far as Manchu syllable structure is concerned. This requires a little explanation.

In Manchu, a syllable may only begin with one consonant and end with one consonant, so the possible syllable structures are V, CV, VC, CVC. The consequence of this is that Manchu words may only begin and end with one consonant, and may only
have clusters of at most two consonants within the word. Syllables that contain ascending diphthongs are normally not followed by more than one consonant, indicating that the semivowel counts as a consonant itself. So, for example, we cannot have Manchu words like *toolkan, *gaindan, *boon, because these would create syllables ending in two consonants, i.e. */tɔwl-kan/, */gajn-dan/, */bɔwn/. Though there may seem to be exceptions to this, they are accounted for in the QQ, either as cases where the pair of vowels really represents two syllables, or else the pair of consonants is really only pronounced as one consonant. The most common exception is an ascending diphthong followed by -mbi, and the second-most common exception is an ascending diphthong ending in -n, as in the words sain, “good,” dain, “war,” and duin, “four.”

These specific exceptions are listed in the QQ in a group of “extra Manchu words” (manju tulergi holboho hergen), which includes miscellaneous words that don’t fit the usual rules of syllabification. From this list, we learn that the words ending in -mbi, such as gaimbi, “to take,” doombi, “to cross,” baimbi, “to seek,” etc. are all pronounced as two syllables, with the -mbi being pronounced as -mi (which has already been discussed above). It seems likely that the reduction of the suffix -mbi to -mi is what makes it possible to have a rising diphthong in the first syllable, since, without the b, a cluster of three consonants is not created.

The words sain, dain and duin are all transcribed as having two syllables, with the final syllable being 音 (Williams in), leading us to read them as /sajin/, /dajin/ and /dujin/, respectively. In Jakdan’s poetry, these words count for two syllables as far as meter is

---

63 The term holboho hergen, Chinese 聯字, literally means “linked word”, but is the term used in the QQ to refer to a whole written Manchu word, as opposed to a single syllable (hergen).
concerned, adding further weight to this interpretation. Similarly, *suingga*, “wicked,” is apparently meant to be read /sujìn̂ŋa/, *baingge*, “of a certain place,” as /bajìŋŋa/, and other examples are to be understood in a similar way.

The most interesting consequence of this interpretation is that the much-contested cluster *oo* turns out not to be a geminate vowel, as is often assumed, but a diphthong, [ɔw].

### 2.3.2 Descending Diphthongs

The descending diphthongs are those which begin orthographically either with *uw* or *iy*. In this case, the semivowel is a true semivowel, and not an approximant, as far as Manchu syllable structure goes. Thus, while we cannot have a word like *toolkan*, because it would result in a three-consonant cluster, */towlkan/, we can nonetheless have words like *talkiyan*, “lightning,” which has two consonants and a semivowel at the start of a descending diphthong. Since the semivowels act differently in the descending diphthongs than in the rising ones, I will represent them differently, using /ɨ/ and /ʉ/. Thus, *talkiyan* is represented phonemically as /talkiyan/ (and phonetically as [tʰalciːən]).

One final set of the diphthongs begins with *iow*. These diphthongs only occur after initials which can become palatalized, so *k, g, h* and *n*. As far as these are concerned, I believe they represent a combination of a palatalization of the preceding consonant, followed by the semivowel /ʊ/, which is probably realized as a high, front, [i̯].

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64 In the QQ, the syllable *liowei* is also listed in this group, but it refers to the Chinese syllable *lüe*, so we need not believe that the *l* was ordinarily palatalized in Manchu.
rounded allophone of [ʊ], which I will write as [y]. Thus, the word *niowanggiyan, “green” should be realized phonetically as [ɲyɛŋ] or [ɲyɛŋ]. For comparison, this word in Sibe is given by Yamamoto as [ɲyɛŋ] or [ɲyɛŋ].

2.3.3 Summary of Diphthongs and Triphthongs

The following table lists the orthographic spellings of diphthongs and triphthongs in Norman’s system of romanization, according to the phonemic system I’ve outlined so far. Again, I’ve marked with asterisks the diphthongs that are rare or absent in native Manchu words.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Onset</th>
<th>Nucleus</th>
<th>Coda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>œ</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>eo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>*ii</td>
<td>io</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>œ</td>
<td>oi</td>
<td>oo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>ui</td>
<td>uo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ů</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>iya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>œ</td>
<td>iye</td>
<td>iyei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>œ</td>
<td>iyo</td>
<td>iyoí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ů</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>uwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>œ</td>
<td>uwe</td>
<td>uwei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ui*65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

65 Orthographically, it would have been impossible in Manchu to write *uwi, because the grapheme for w represented the sound f when written before i. Thus, it is possible that ui could have been used to represent the diphthong /uː/ as well as /uj/. In fact, based on rhymes in Jakdan’s poetry, it seems that the word jui was phonemically /dʒyːi/, and not */dzui*, because it has an i-rhyme.
As for the precise quality of the vowels in these diphthongs, there are a few observations to be made. Verbiest says that the diphthong *io* was pronounced like *eo*, but this isn’t precisely reflected in the transcriptions in the QQ. In the QQ, for example, we have *deo* transcribed as ㄋ (Williams *teu*, MSM /tɤu/), while *dio* is transcribed as ㄭ (Williams *tiu*, MSM /tiɤu/). The author of the QQ seems to have felt that they were nearly the same sound, but that *io* preserved the high front semivowel at the beginning. This seems to be the stance that Amyot takes when he transcribes words like *bonio*, “monkey” as *ponieou*, and *iole-*, “to oil” as *yeoule*, while elsewhere transcribing *eo* as *eou*. Because of this, phonetically I’ll represent *io* as a triphthong in most cases, [ɪəʊ], beginning with the high front semivowel followed by the diphthong *eo*, [əʊ].

66 Like *ui*, above, it is possible that this letter combination represented both the ascending diphthong /ʊə/ and the descending diphthong /ʊə/. However, it is also possible that /ʊə/ was represented by the diphthong *uwe*.

67 Verbiest 1696:5. He wrote these diphthongs as *iu* and *eu*, respectively, since he considered the syllables of the tenth *uju* to be diphthongs ending in *u*, not *o*. I have rewritten them in Norman’s system of romanization as *io* and *eo*. 
Langlès tells us that the diphthong oo was used to represent the sound ò in Manchu words, and the sound ao in Chinese words. Amyot seems to have understood something similar to be the case, and he transcribes the native Manchu word boo, “house,” as po or poou, but the Chinese loan word poo, “cannon” as p’hao. When Amyot transcribes oo as oou in native Manchu words, this transcription reflects very closely my reading of oo as a diphthong [œw]. There are some words, however, where Amyot transcribes oo as ouo, implying a descending diphthong like [údo]. For example, he gives cooha, “army,” as tchouoha, and toodambi, “to repay” as touotambi. In the case of cooha, the Sibe cognate of this word is pronounced with a descending diphthong, and Yamamoto gives the resulting word as [tʃœαχ̃]. For this reason, I think it is possible that the combination oo represented at least two possible diphthongs in Manchu, and a third when used to write Chinese words. This is an issue that can only really be resolved though comparative analysis of Amyot’s Dictionnaire, together with data from the modern Sibe and Sanjiazi dialects.

A serious question of vowel harmony remains, however, if we take reading of oo to be [œw]. Manchu words containing the vowel [o] typically demonstrate rounding harmony within both the root of the word and applicable derivational and inflectional suffixes. So, for example, if a root word contains o in the first syllable, it usually contains o in the subsequent syllables of the root, and suffixes that would otherwise carry a vowel of e or a instead carry the vowel o. This kind of rounding never happens with

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68 Langlès 1807:141. “ainsi l’on écrit...pô [maison] avec deux oo. Quelquefois le premier de ces deux o prens le son de l’A, sur-tout quand il est employé pour rendre des mots Chinois, comme dans poo, prononcez p’hao [canon en mantchou et en chinois].”
words containing \textit{oo}, however, raising the question of whether the vowel is indeed [ɔ], or another vowel. Perhaps the Sibe custom of reading these words with the diphthong [aw] reflects a more accurate rendition of the original sound, and perhaps this is why \textit{oo} was used to represent [aw] in Chinese words.

In the case of the diphthong \textit{uwe}, I’ve previously argued against the idea that \textit{e} became [ə] after labial consonants, but it may be that in this particular diphthong \textit{e} was pronounced as [ə]. This conclusion is implied by Amyot’s transcriptions, where the word \textit{guwelke}, “attentive,” is given as \textit{kouolke}, and \textit{juwe}, “two,” is given as \textit{tchouo}. Without a second source to corroborate this reading, however, it remains questionable.

2.4 Prosody

Manchu prosody is perhaps the most mysterious topic that I need to cover in order to reconstruct Jakdan’s poetry. Bosson and Toh note that the subtlety of Manchu prosody is praised by a number of Chinese and Manchu authors,\textsuperscript{69} but the details of that subtlety are elusive. Smith, who heard the language spoken in the garrison at Fuzhou in the 1840s said that it “abounds with extraordinary intonations and inharmonious sounds.”\textsuperscript{70} On this topic, Verbiest has little to say, Amyot nothing, and Langlès gives us hints at its complexity, but no actual details. Langlès tells us, in the earlier 1789 edition of his \textit{Alphabet Mantchou}:

\textsuperscript{69} C.f. Bosson and Toh 2006:23-24, n. 16.

\textsuperscript{70} Smith 1847:298.
I had thought that it might be useful to attach to my alphabet a treatise on Manchu accents, made after my own observations, for no missionary has discussed it; but that should not frighten the beginner. As long as one knows the alphabet well, a single day should suffice to grasp the ligatures and the accents. One could print them by means of my punches, which amount to no more than fifty-five. It is true that the different accents would force one to resort to eighty dies, but those who are accustomed to working with oriental languages would not consider this number excessive.

Regrettably, no such treatise ever appeared in his later edition of the Alphabet Mantchou either. The MNFG likewise hints at the complexity of Manchu prosody, and even devises a system of notation by which the student can add marks to a text in order to remember precisely how words are pronounced, but the meanings of the terms used are not immediately enlightening. A triangle is supposed to indicate a syllable that is “hurried, folded up while riding double” (sundalaha jibšbufi hūdun i hahilambi), while a circle indicates a syllable that is pronounced “evenly and uniformly in order” (sirame

---

71 A punch (French poinçon) is the piece of moveable type on which a letter or character is engraved, and a die (French matrice) is the setting into which punches are placed. It seems Langlès wants to say that there are eighty possible ways to arrange letters and diacritical marks in order to accurately represent Manchu accents, but I doubt whether we can deduce anything specific from this number.

72 “J’ai cru qu’il seroit utile de joindre à mon alphabet un traité des accents mantchoux, fait d’après mes propres observations, car aucun missionaire grammairien n’en a parlé; mais cela ne doit pas effrayer les commençants. Lorsqu’ou saura bien l’alphabet, une journée suffira pour apprendre les ligatures et les accents. On pourra les imprimer pour le moyen de mes poinçons, qui ne se montent qu’à cinquante-cinq. Il est vrai que les différents accents ont forcé de frapper près de quatre-vingt matrices. Ceux qui sont habitués à travailler sur les langues orientales ne regarderont point le nombre comme excessif.”
Reading Jakdan’s Poetry

\(faidafi elhei neigenjemi\). Other symbols indicate high sounds, formed in the nose, low sounds, formed in the throat, and evenly formed sounds. It would be a pleasant surprise to find a text that has been marked up in this way, but thus far I do not know of one.

Beginning, however, with a careful examination of what Verbiest has to say about prosody, we can learn a little about this subtle and mysterious system. Verbiest tells us that, in prosody, the Manchus adhere to one of two rules, which I paraphrase below:

I. In words of three or more syllables, the penult is always weakened, whether or not it is before two consonants.\(^{73}\) The exceptions to this are words like \(sambime\) and \(sembime\), and other words ending in \(-bime\).\(^{74}\)

II. In many words, primarily those having \(i\) in the penultimate syllable, the penult is pronounced so quickly that the vowel becomes “absorbed” and can hardly be heard. These were marked in the (no-longer extant?) Latin-Manchu dictionary with a \(V\), for \(vix\) (“scarcely”).\(^{75}\)

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\(^{73}\) In Latin prosody, the poetic length of the vowel is determined in part by whether it is in a closed syllable or not, i.e. whether it is followed by two consonants. What Verbiest intends here is that, unlike Latin, Manchu vowels may be shortened even if they are in closed syllables (where they would be poetically long in Latin.)

\(^{74}\) Verbiest 1696:6, “In vocibus trium vel plurium syllabarum penultima semper corripitur, sive vocales sint, ante duas consonantes, sive non. Excipitur ab hac regula \(sambime\), id est, scienter (ut ita loquor) sive sciens et volens, atque alia paucissima, quae cum \(pime\) componentur.” I believe the comma after \(sint\) is a mistake.

\(^{75}\) Verbiest 1696:6, “Sunt quædam voces, et plurium syllabarum et illæ quidem non paucæ, præsertim quæ habent vocalem \(i\) in penultima syllaba, quas Tartari inter pronunciandum tam raptim quasi absorbent, ut vix vel ne vix quidem aure percipiatur, ex quibus aliquest híc affero, reliquas in Dictionario Latino-Tartarico notâ \(V\) posperitâ distinguâ.”

69
Verbiest provides us with a list of examples that illustrate the rules he is explaining, which I repeat below. In this list I have rewritten the left column according to Norman’s system of romanization, but I have left the right column, showing words as they were ostensibly pronounced, exactly as it was printed. I have also underlined the vowels in the left column which have been weakened. A quick look at this list indicates one way in which Verbiest’s rules do not match his data: The syllable that is weakened, or which disappears, is not the penult, but the second syllable. These two definitions coincide in words of three syllables, but in the four-syllable words it is very clearly the second syllable which disappears, and not the third.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sic scribut</th>
<th>Pronunciat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>usiha</td>
<td>vusha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tofohon</td>
<td>tofho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fusihun</td>
<td>fushun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wasihûn</td>
<td>vashun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asíhan</td>
<td>ashan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wacíhiyame</td>
<td>vahiame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hûsutuleme</td>
<td>houstuleme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>getúkeleme</td>
<td>ketholeme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esúkiyeme</td>
<td>eskieme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hacihiyame</td>
<td>hotschime</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbiest’s two rules seem to be saying much the same thing, that a certain syllable of a word of three or more syllables—apparently the second syllable, though he

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76 The original had “honçutuleme”, but I couldn’t find any similar word. Based on the transcription given, it is most likely supposed to be hûsutuleme, “doing something with power,” miscopied from an original *housutuleme. This is one of several indications that the Elementa was set to print from a handwritten copy, and was not proofed before it was printed. Another indication of this is the word abka, which is always printed abea, presumably a mistake from an original *abca. These mistakes are no doubt due to its having been printed in Europe more than a decade after the author’s death in Beijing.
calls it the penult—is weakened, even to the point that the vowel disappears entirely. This is confirmed both in common orthographic variations, as well as in some transcriptions in the QQ. As an example, in the Manchu text of the *Bewitched Corpse* cycle, the word *burulaha*, “fled” is almost always written *burlaha*, with the second syllable missing entirely. In the QQ, the transcription for *burulaha* is given as 不尔拉哈 (Williams *pu’rh la hö*), again with the second syllable missing. In fact, the historical existence of this prosodic rule seems to have affected the development of words in the spoken Manchu dialects, where the weakened syllables have often disappeared entirely. For example, *usiha*, “star,” appears in Yamamoto’s Sibe data as *[uʃa]*, and in Enkhbat’s Sanjiazi data as *[uʃa]*, with the second syllable entirely elided.

The fact that this prosodic rule has led to a loss of syllables leads me to mention some of the excellent scholarship that has been done on the prosody of modern Manchu dialects, but also to note why conclusions regarding modern Manchu aren’t immediately applicable to the classical Manchu data. Cinggeltai formulated a set of rules for stress and vowel length in spoken Manchu,77 which Seong attempted to show were at work in Written Manchu on the basis of the distribution of the “geminate vowel” *oo* (which I have called a diphthong).78 Di Cosmo showed that Cinggeltai’s rules work well for Sibe, and that Zakharov’s (1879) rules for accent in Written Manchu do not explain the Sibe data at all.79 Naturally, one would be tempted to apply the rules of stress and vowel

77 Cinggeltai 1982:22-73.

78 Seong 1989.

length from modern spoken Manchu to Written Manchu, but that cannot be done so easily.

Taking as an example the word usiha, Di Cosmo reaches the conclusion that words of three syllables are accented on the first syllable if they end in -kū or -hū, on the second syllable if the last syllable is a suffix or it is a “normal” trisyllabic word, and on the third syllable if it ends in -n. From this, we should conclude that usiha was accented on the second syllable—exactly the opposite conclusion from the one we reached by looking at Verbiest, and a conclusion that does not explain the later disappearance of the second syllable from this word in spoken Manchu. Many other such examples exist, making it clear that the relationship between accent in Written Manchu and in the modern dialects is not a simple one.

Another source of information on Court Manchu prosody comes from the shamanic songs that were performed at ceremonies held in the imperial palace. The melodies to these songs can be found in Aixinjueluo (2004), transcribed into jianpu musical notation. Each note of the main melody almost always corresponds to a single syllable of the lyrics, and by looking at how long and short notes correspond to syllables within words, a pattern emerges that confirms the general rule of the weakening of the second syllable, and adds some additional detail.

In one-syllable words, the assignment of a note to the syllable tells us very little. In the vast majority of two-syllable words, however, the first and second syllables are assigned notes of the same length. The words sefu, “teacher,” and beye, “body; self,” are

80 Di Cosmo 1987:15.

only assigned a single note each, which implies that they may have been pronounced as single syllables.\footnote{Möllendorff says that \textit{beye} is pronounced as a single syllable, \textit{bēō} (1892:1), implying that \textit{eye} might have been some kind of diphthong in Late Manchu. I have found that the word \textit{sefu} is pronounced as a single syllable in the spoken Sibe dialect, as [səf].}

The three-syllable words are a more interesting group, and I list the most frequent of them here according to the pattern of notes assigned to each one. I am using a form of notation based on classical scansion to indicate the pattern of notes, where the \textit{ictus} (/) indicates a long note, and the \textit{breve} (˘) indicates a short note. Where notes of three different lengths have been used, I have used a reverse \textit{ictus} (\) to indicate the note of middle length. Where all of the notes are the same length, I’ve marked them all with an \textit{ictus}.

\begin{align*}
/ / / & \text{osokon, weihuri, monggolo, ambula, sakdambu} \\
/ / ˘ & \text{ambula} \\
/ \˘/ & \text{ersheme, ambula} \\
/ \˘˘/ & \text{gingnembi, wasika, tucike, huturi, monggolo, weceku, enduri, eršeme,} \\
& \text{jilame, sišame, gingnere} \\
\˘/ / & \text{ambula} \\
\˘/ / & \text{ukufi, fehufi, dalime, alime, wehiyeme} \\
\˘˘/ / & \text{julefun, juleri, amala, acabu, šarambu, sorombu, fulehe, enduri, weceku,} \\
& \text{ambula, muriha, fulebe, ulebu, abdaha, wesimbu, wehiyeme, bayambu,} \\
& \text{husiki, amtangga, debsime, tebuﬁ, huturi, šufaﬁ, gosime, gocifi, bahafi,} \\
& \text{omosi, bahafi}
\end{align*}
The most common pattern for three-syllable words is [ ˘ ~ / ], though these same words may also appear as [ / ~ ] or as [ / / ]. Leaving aside *ambula*, which can apparently be fitted to any three notes, we can say of all of the other words that only one syllable is ever paired with a note that is longer than the rest, and that syllable is usually the last syllable, less commonly the first syllable, and never the second syllable. This means that of the eight possible stress patterns that can be derived from combinations of three long or short notes, only three are common. Outside of the fact that the second syllable cannot be paired with a long note, the choice of which syllable to pair with a long note seems to be stylistic. In the following examples, the words *eršeme*, *endurí*, and *weceku* carry a long note on different syllables, and in the case of the word *eršeme* it happens in exactly the same context:

ěndůrí ěršěmě, wěcěků wěhīyěmě Éndürí ěršěmě, wěcěků wěhīyěmě84
“waiting on the gods, watching after the spirits” (same as the above)
ěndůrí wěcěků85
“gods and spirits”

Four-syllable words are far less frequent, though they do occur. In most cases, the four syllable words are made up of two-syllable verb stems with a causative suffix -

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83 Aixinjueluo 2004:855.
84 Aixinjueluo 2004:878.
85 Aixinjueluo 2004:871.
bu followed by the optative suffix -ki. These words are almost exclusively assigned a long note on the last syllable, and occasionally on the first syllable as well. Of the four-syllable words, there was only one case where I found a word whose second syllable was assigned a long note, the word nanggišame, “alluring with one’s charms,” which was fitted to two long notes followed by two short notes, [ // ˘ ˘ ]. I don’t feel the data on four-syllable words from this source is sufficient to draw any general conclusions, but it does point in the direction that the weakening of the second syllable holds for four-syllables words as well as three-syllable words.

Zakharov and other scholars of Late Manchu do not directly mention the weakening of the second syllable, and do not always to agree with each other on how accent worked. Möllendorff notes several cases where vowels were dropped within words, and in each case the vowel is dropped from the second syllable, though Möllendorff doesn’t explicitly comment on this. He also says that accent tended to fall on the last syllable, as in Mongol. Zakharov held that stress didn’t follow established rules, though he gives several examples where stress fell on the last syllable, and the first syllable or syllables were lengthened, according to an interesting set of rules summarized by Gorelova. A comparison between the Court Manchu rules of accent and the Late Manchu patterns described by Möllendorff and Zakharov will have to wait till section 4.5, when I have established more solid data on prosody from Jakdan’s poetry.

To summarize what we know from the earlier sources, Court Manchu prosody is driven by the basic rule that the second syllable is weakened in words of three or more

86 Möllendorff 1892:1-3.
syllables. If we can take the lengths of notes in the shamanic ritual songs as corresponding to word accent, then we can say that two-syllable words don’t tend to carry any kind of accent that would distinguish one of the two syllables from the other. In three syllable words, however, the last syllable is usually accented, though for stylistic purposes the accent can be transferred to the first syllable. Jakdan’s poetry will furnish more detail on this topic. Having established a groundwork in phonology and prosody, we can now turn to looking at Jakdan’s poetry itself.

3. Rhyme in Jakdan’s Poetry

In the preface to the JU, a rhyme is called urangga i wajima, or “echoing end”. The word for “echo,” uran, is used in small notes that follow the titles of some of the poems in the eighth fascicle, in a formula that runs X sere uran, “a rhyme in X” (or, more literally, “an echo saying X”). There is a second type of formula as well, that runs X sere yongkiyan mudan, “completing sound in X,” and this seems to refer to rhyme as well.

Every one of Jakdan’s poems uses some type of rhyme, and the rhymes fall into two schemes. In the first scheme, the poem is arranged into couplets, and the last line of each couplet carries the same rhyme as the couplets before and after it, often rhyming with the theme of the poem. In the second rhyme scheme, the poem is organized into stanzas of four lines each, with an AABA rhyme scheme. Sometimes the two schemes are mixed, so that a poem may consist largely of one type of verse, interrupted by the other type of verse.

The value of the rhyme, from a linguistic standpoint, is that it can give us additional clues as to what syllable codas sounded the same in Jakdan’s dialect. There
are nine different rhymes in Jakdan’s poetry, identifiable as distinct groups of final
syllables that can rhyme with each other. There appears to be no type of syllable that
belongs to more than one rhyme-group, but many rhyme-groups contain more than one
type of syllable. I will discuss each rhyme-group individually, and attempt to explain the
types of syllables that fall into the rhyme group.

3.1  **A-Rhyme**

The words in the *a*-rhyme group present a very simple case. This group consists
only of words that end in *a*, implying that the sound of this vowel has not merged with
the sounds of other vowels. In addition, words ending in *a* never appear in other groups,
implying that there has been no divergence of the original *a* phoneme. Lastly, it does not
seem to matter whether the words in the rhyme are monosyllabic or polysyllabic, and it
does not matter what consonant precedes the *a*, implying that the vowel has not evolved
differently in these environments. It is the most common rhyme, occurring in many
stanzas from poems 4, 8, 10 and 18, as well as being the sole rhyme of poems 7, 14, 19,
20 and 21.

3.2  **E-Rhyme**

*E*-rhyme is fairly common, occuring in a number of stanzas in poems 4, 8, 10 and
18, and being the sole rhyme in poems 13 and 16. This group consists of both
monosyllabic and polysyllabic words ending in *e* or *o*, implying that these two vowels
have merged, at least in the last syllable of the word. This is explained by the sound change described in section 2.1.10, where e becomes o at the end of a word.

3.3 \( i \)-Rhyme

This is apparently as simple a case as \( a \)-rhyme. The only words that fall into this rhyme-group are monosyllabic and polysyllabic words ending in \( i \), implying that the vowel \( i \) in final position has neither diverged on the basis of syllable stress, nor merged with other vowels. Many of the rhyming words end in \(-si\), meaning that the sound change discussed in 2.1.12 is not taking place in the final syllable. In section 2.1.12, I noted several sources that indicate that the syllable \( si \) is pronounced \( [\text{çi}] \) in careful speech, but can be pronounced \( [\text{şi}] \) in rapid speech. In Jakdan’s poetry, the careful pronunciation seems to be preferred. These rhymes appear in stanzas scattered throughout poems 4, 18, 10 and 18. In addition, \( i \)-rhyme is the sole rhyme of poem 12.

3.4 \( u \)-Rhyme

This rhyme-group consists of words ending in \( u \) and \( ā \). There are stanzas containing this rhyme in poems 4, 8, 10 and 18, and it is the sole rhyme of poems 5 and 15. I have argued in section 2.1.6 that the graphemic vowel \( ā \) is a slightly lower allophone of \( u \), and Jakdan seems to have felt the two vowels were close enough in sound to rhyme. There is no case where Jakdan has used \( ā \) to rhyme with \( o \), the other nearby vowel. This is interesting because \( ā \) and \( o \) were apparently close enough from the
perspective of Chinese phonology that they were treated as being identical in the QQ. This would seem to be a non-Chinese feature of Jakdan’s pronunciation.

3.5 *AI-Rhyme*

Three stanzas contain an *ai*-rhyme, one each in poems 4, 8 and 10. These consist of both monosyllabic and polysyllabic words ending in *ai*, implying that no sound change has taken part that would differentiate stressed and unstressed syllables, and that no merging or divergence of this diphthong has occurred.

3.6 *EN-Rhyme and AN-Rhyme*

All words that end in -*n* seem to fall into one of these two rhyme groups. The *en*-rhyme consists of the words ending in -*en*, -*in*, -*un* and -*ūn*, while the *an*-rhyme consists of words ending in -*an* and -*on*. The *en*-rhyme is found in stanzas in poems 4, 8, 10 and 18, and is the sole rhyme in poems 2, 11 and 17. The *an*-rhyme is found in many stanzas of poems 4, 8 and 10, and is the sole rhyme of poems 1, 3 and 6.

The division of all -*n* final words into these two rhyme groups is difficult to explain phonologically. It is clear that the vowel takes some part in the rhyme, but it seems extreme to suggest that a broad phonological change has occurred to reduce all vowels in word-final closed syllables to two simple vowels. There is no secondary evidence for any such phonological change, and to suggest a broad phonological merging in this case would also imply that the same merging occurred in Jakdan’s spoken Chinese, because many of the rhyming words are Chinese syllables.
One promising explanation for this is to suggest that these rhyme groups are conventional, based on Chinese rhyme groups such as those found in the 1324 *Zhōngyuán yīnyùn* (中原音韻). In Hsueh’s reconstruction of Old Mandarin, which is based on the *Zhōngyuán yīnyùn*, there is a set of syllables ending in /in/, which all develop in later Mandarin into words that the Manchus would transcribe with -in, -en, -un, and -ūn.\(^8\) For example, the character 溫 is used in the QQ to transcribe Manchu wen, and reconstructed by Hsueh as /win/; the character 春 is used to transcribe Manchu cun, and reconstructed by Hsueh as /crhywin/; and the character 親 is used to transcribe Manchu cin, and reconstructed by Hsueh as /chyn/. The fact that these words rhymed in the *Zhōngyuán yīnyùn*, and would also rhyme in Jakdan’s poetry, is too great of a coincidence to ignore. To account for this, we would say that these types of syllables rhymed in Old Mandarin, and were still considered to rhyme conventionally long after the actual sounds of the syllables had changed. This rhyming convention, then, would have been applied cross-linguistically by Jakdan to his Manchu poetry.

However, while an appeal to Yuan dynasty rhymes can explain the *en*-rhymes, it can’t necessarily explain the *an*-rhymes. In the QQ, Manchu syllables ending in -on are transcribed either the same as syllables ending in -un, or else using a *fanqie* to construct a syllable that doesn’t exist in Chinese, such as 【說因切】for the syllable ṣon. This is most likely because the Mandarin of the QQ, like Modern Standard Mandarin, does not have syllables ending in -on. Thus, while there is a similarity between one of Jakdan’s rhyme groups and the contemporary reading of Chinese syllables that evolved from

another rhyme group in the Yuan, to say that the two rhymes are related invokes a complex argument that doesn’t account for all of the evidence.

A more compelling explanation for these rhyme groups lies in the Manchus’ own understanding of their language. Manchu discourse on their native language very often makes note of the yin and yang properties of the language, referring to the operation of vowel harmony, and perhaps also to the operation of weak and strong syllables. Bosson and Toh note that Jakdan himself has praised this aspect of Manchu phonology in the preface to the Liyoo jai jy i bithe, where he says of the Manchu language that “in terms of its form, it accords with yang and yin, in terms of its prosody, it connects with the yang-lü and yin-lü pitches.”

The Manchu words for yin and yang are a and e, vowels which are contrastive in terms of front/back vowel harmony. If we identify the cardinal vowels as front or back on the basis of whether they may follow the uvular /q/ or the velar /k/, then the vowels a, and o are back vowels, and the vowels e, and i are front vowels. The vowel u, with its allophone ù, may occur after either /k/ or /q/. We know from the existence of the u-rhyme (section 3.4) that Jakdan allowed u and ù to rhyme with each other, and so he may have considered both vowels to belong to the same group. I propose, as an explanation of the an and en rhyme groups, that Jakdan considered the vowels a and o to be yang vowels, and the remaining vowels to be yin vowels, and that they were conventionally considered

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89 My translation is slightly different from Bosson and Toh (2006:23). The Manchu original reads “terei dursun oci, a e de acanahabi, terei mudan oci, aloi eloi de hafunahabi.” Bosson and Toh’s translation reads, “Its pattern accords with the yin-yang 陰陽 tones (reflects Ch. 協于陰陽) and its prosody corresponds to the liu-lu 律呂 pitches (reflects Ch. 通平律呂).” I have differed with Bosson and Toh in my translation only because Manchu does not have tones, and so I take a e to refer to vowel harmony.
to rhyme before word-final -n. As it happens, according to this definition of yin and yang vowels, all of the yin vowels are higher on the vowel chart than the yang vowels.

Conventional rhyme of this type might be compared to the so-called “eye-rhyme” in English, in which words like “slaughter” and “laughter” are made to rhyme on the basis of their spelling, instead of their current pronunciation.

3.7  **ING-Rhyme**

There is only one stanza that demonstrates the ing-rhyme, and that is the first stanza of poem 18, where the words ling, jing and teng rhyme. Given the small amount of data, it is hard to come to any solid conclusions about the phonological properties of this rhyme. The simplest explanation would be that the ing-rhyme acts like the en-rhyme, and consists of a yin vowel (as defined in section 3.6) followed by word-final -ng.

3.8  **IO-Rhyme**

This rhyme-group consists of words ending in eo, io or uo, including words with the clitic interrogative suffix -o. There are only three stanzas with this rhyme, two in poem 4, and one in poem 8. Based on the syllable-count of each of these stanzas (each line should have seven syllables), we can conclude that each of these vowel combinations represents the coda of a single syllable, and not two distinct vowels. This is consistent with my interpretation of these vowel sequences as ascending diphthongs in section 2.3.2, and in that section I argued that the syllable-final -o represented a consonant, from the perspective of Manchu syllable structure.
It is, perhaps, surprising that words like bio, inuo, and semeo should be analyzed as ending in ascending diphthongs. These words are composed of the stems bi, inu and seme followed by the clitic interrogative particle o, and so one might expect the clitic o to be sounded independently, as bi-o, inu-o, and seme-o. The syllable counts of these lines do not allow this reading, however. One might then expect that the words were meant to be pronounced *[bɨ时间内], *[inु时间内] and *[sε时间内], but they are not made to rhyme with other words in the e-rhyme group, which contains all of the other rhyming words ending in -o. We must treat the -o in this case as [w].

I’ve previously argued that eo and io were very similar in sound, the first being realized as [ꠡw], and the second as [ꠝw]. If we can understand uo as operating on the same principle, and read it as [ꠡꠡw], then we have explained this rhyme group.

Alternately, it is possible that this rhyme group simply follows the same yin-yang rules as the en-rhyme and ing-rhyme, in which case the word inuo rhymes with semeo and bio simply because all three end in a [w] preceded by a yin vowel. There is not enough evidence to adjudicate between these explanations. If we use Occam’s razor, we will throw out the hypothetical phonemic change that transforms [inu+时间内] into [inु时间内w], and instead take this to be another yin-yang rhyme.

3.9 Discussion

All of the rhyme groups in Jakdan’s poetry can be accounted for either by the phonology of Court Manchu, as we have reconstructed it from early sources, or else by means of a hypothetical yin-yang rhyme system. To summarize, the rhyme of a Manchu
word is determined as follows: If the last syllable of the word is open (i.e. it ends in a vowel, not a consonant or an ascending diphthong), then the rhyme is the vowel at the end of the word. In all other cases, the rhyme consists of the last consonant of the word, together with the conventional yin or yang attribute of the last vowel. For the purposes of rhyme, the yang vowels are a and o, and the yin vowels are all other vowels.

The yin-yang system of rhyme appears also in one verse of another 19th century poem, titled Ba na i ucun, “The Song of Place and Land,” which commemorates the Sibe migration to the Ili valley. While most of the stanzas in this poem have rhyming words that end in vowels, and so conform to the simpler rule of rhyme, one of the stanzas ends in what is very clearly an en-rhyme, with an AABA rhyme scheme (though without Jakdan’s usual seven syllables per line):

Ba na i ucun, Stanza 25

feksire gurgu i fekun  
ferguwecuke saisa i mujin  
gasame songgoro jilgan de seci  
furdan i tule fudere gosihūn

“the leaping of capering beasts  
the wondrous minds of scholars  
as for the sounds of lamenting and weeping  
it is the bitterness of accompanying them beyond the pass”

From this, it would appear that the hypothetical yin-yang rhyme may have been a convention that was used in other Manchu poetry as well.

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90 The Manchu text of this poem, with introductory notes and translation, is presented in Stary 1981.
4. Meter in Jakdan’s Poetry

There are two main metrical schemes in Jakdan’s poetry. In the first scheme, every line has seven syllables. Those poems which are organized into four-line stanzas with an AABA rhyme scheme almost always have lines of seven syllable each. In the second scheme, every line is part of a symmetrical couplet, the total number of syllables of which is variable. Poems 5, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 represent a hybrid of the two schemes, being composed almost entirely of couplets, each of which shares the same rhyme, each line of which has seven syllables. Each of these metrical styles provides us with a different opportunity to gather linguistic data. I’ll discuss each one in turn, and then discuss the different kinds of linguistic data that can be gathered from metrical analysis.

4.1 Fujurun: Poems of Symmetrical Couplets

The fujurun seems to be a Manchu innovation based on the Chinese style of poem called fù 赋, conventionally translated as “rhapsody”. The name fujurun is apparently a blend of the Chinese word fù and the Manchu word juru, “pair,” indicating both its cultural affinity and its structure. Derived from the word fujurun, we also have fujurungga, “fine, elegant,” perhaps indicating that the fujurun was considered to be a refined and elegant form. Though the point may be argued, I suggest that the Manchu fujurun was more technically complex than the fù, because Manchu was a polysyllabic language, and the rules of prosody were more involved than Chinese. The ideal couplet in a fujurun had not only the same number of syllables per line, but also the same number of words per line, the same pattern of syllables per word, and often the same pattern of
open and closed syllables. The following is an example of this type of couplet, from Poem 1:

Poem 1, Couplet 64

cusilei muru gilta gilta boljon
inggahai boco niowari nioweri niolmon

“crystalline waves glittering,
downy moss of bright green”

In this couplet, the most obvious parallel is that each line has five words. Moreover, the number of syllables in each word is the same as the word it is paired with, so cusilei, “crystal+GEN” has the same number of syllables as inggahai, “down+GEN,” muru, “form,” as boco, “complexion,” and so on. On a linguistic level, the symmetry goes much deeper. The first word of each line is a noun composed of three open syllables terminated by the genitive suffix. The second word is a noun composed of two open syllables with round vowels. The third and fourth words are an onomatopoetic pair, and the fifth word is a noun composed of two closed syllables, the first of which ends in $l$ and the second of which ends in $n$. Not all couplets display this level of sophistication, but many do.

The $fù$ may be a Chinese style of poem, but the highly symmetrical couplet can’t be said to be entirely Chinese. Since Chinese has no polysyllabic words, many of the features of these couplets cannot have their parallels in the Chinese $fù$. Stary identified several such couplets of “deliberately counted syllables” in the shaman ritual prayers of
the Aisin Gioro clan, but no long poems comparable to the ones Jakdan composed.

Possible single couplets may also be found in the MBRT, among the sometimes enigmatic quotes attributed to Nurhaci, like the following:

MBRT, vol. 1, pg. 21, lines 4-5

alha futa be saci, horonggo meihe gese günimb, cilcin muke be saci, mederi mukei gese günimb

“when you see a colorful rope, you think it must be a poisonous snake, when you see rising waters, you think it must be the ocean.”

MBRT, vol. 1, pg. 50, lines 11-12

dain de jamaram jilgan tucici, bata serembi, abade jamaram jilgan tucici, alin urambi gurgu genembi

“If there is commotion and noise in battle, the enemy will become aware, if there is commotion and noise in the hunt, the mountains will echo and the beasts will flee”

Other symmetrical couplets can be found among the Manchu maxims published by Rochet (1875), such as the following:

Maxim 5:

\[ julgei tacirengge, beyei jalin \\
\[ te i tacirengge, niyalmai jalin \\

“Those who study ancient times do it for themselves, those who study the present do it for others”

Maxim 59:

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91 Stary 1985:197.
Reading Jakdan’s Poetry


ure be komsonon i omi,
baita be fulukan i ulhi

“drink a little less wine,
understand things a little better”

Maxim 99:

niyalma de emu ihan be bahaci,
niyalma de emu morin be toodabu

“If you get an ox from someone,
pay that person back a horse”

At the risk of reaching far beyond the scope of this paper, I cannot help but point out that the oldest Central Asian couplet known to us, the so-called Xiongnu couplet, adheres to this style as well. According to the Jin Shu (晉書), in the year 329, the Buddhist monk Fo Tudeng uttered a prophetic couplet in the Xiongnu language, with two rhyming lines of two words and five syllables each. Bazin presents the couplet using Karlgren’s reconstructions of the characters as follows: 92

Xiongnu Couplet

siōg.tjēg  t’iei.ljëd.kāng
b’uok.kuk  g’ju.t’uk.,tāng’

This couplet displays all of the types of symmetry found in Jakdan’s most technical symmetrical couplets. Each line has two words, the first of which has two closed syllables, and the second of which has an open syllable and two closed syllables.

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92 Bazin 1948:209. I’ve inserted periods to delimit separate syllables that, according to the Jin Shu, belonged to the same word. I have divided the words where the Jin Shu indicates they should be divided, as opposed to where Bazin has concluded they should be divided.
In addition to the potentially interesting historical implications of Jakdan’s use of this style, these couplets provide us with a source of useful prosodic information. If we assume, as seems reasonable, that the meter of one line of the couplet is the same as the meter of the other line, then we can use these couplets to identify words that shared the same accent patterns. In some cases, this forces us to re-evaluate how we pronounce certain Manchu words.

4.2 Seven-syllable Lines

The seven-syllable metrical foot is identified by Stary as one of the characteristic bases of Manchu-Chinese “mixed” poetry,\(^\text{93}\) and it is really very reminiscent of Chinese poetry. From a linguistic standpoint, the seven syllable poems provide us with accurate confirmation of syllable counts, which can help to confirm our proposed definitions of diphthongs. Part of their usefulness, when compared with the symmetrical couplets, is that they do not match each other perfectly. While we can use the symmetrical couplets to argue that certain words share the same metrical features as other words, the seven-syllable lines allow us to make broader generalizations about meter. I will argue that most seven-syllable lines shared a common meter, and on the basis of that meter we can make some inferences about the workings of syllable stress in Jakdan’s Manchu.

\(^{93}\) Stary 1985, pp. 203-206.
4.3 Syllables and Diphthongs

In reconstructing the pronunciation of Court Manchu, I relied primarily on the organization of the QQ to argue for the existence of certain diphthongs, and it is a welcome discovery that syllable counts in Jakdan’s poetry confirm the properties of Manchu diphthongs as I have reconstructed them. This is informative, because the question of diphthongs has been a matter of much disagreement among scholars in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Part of the discussion is confused by a difference in precise meaning between the word *diphthongue* in 19th century French writings, and the word *diphthong* in modern linguistics. To the older French authors, a diphthong was a group of vowels which, when written together, represented a new, pure vowel sound that was different from the vowels with which it was written. So, for example, French *eu* doesn’t represent an /e/ sound followed by a /u/ sound, but rather a different vowel altogether, which has the roundness of /u/ and the approximate height of /e/. This is why Harlez tells us there were no diphthongs at all in Manchu,94 and Adam says there were no “true diphthongs,” but only syllables containing two vowels formed into a single syllabic unit.95 In modern linguistic usage, however, diphthongs and triphthongs are precisely that kind of unit, composed of two or three vowel sounds in a single syllable.

94 Harlez 1884:13, “Le Mandchou n’a pas de diphthongue, les voyelles qui se suivent, se prononcent séparément.”

95 Adam 1873:12, “Il parait qu’il n’ya pas en mandchou de véritables diphtongues, bien que les syllabaires présentent des groupes terminés par deux voyelles, comme formant autant d’unités syllabiques.”
According to Gorelova, traditional Russian scholarship only recognized the existence of four diphthongs, ai, ei, oi and ui. By examining Yamamoto’s Sibe data, Gorelova adds to the list the diphthongs iya, iye, io, uwa, and uwe. Möllendorff represents the other end of the spectrum, giving very nearly the same list of diphthongs and triphthongs as I have reconstructed.

As a demonstration of the way in which Jakdan’s poetry confirms my definitions of Manchu diphthongs, I provide below one of Jakdan’s shorter poems, Poem 18, which consists of lines of seven syllables each. In the transcription below I have delimited syllables with a period, and underlined graphemic sequences which I have previously identified as diphthongs. It cannot be coincidence that every line of this poem has seven syllables when analyzed in this way.

Poem 18, entire

fu cun a.lin yan dzy ling,
te wel.miye.re ka.ran jing,
ni.nggun biya i fur.de.he,
ji.lan be.ki tuwa.kiyan teng,

5 han gu.run i han guwang u,
siyan şeng i.ni fe gu.cu,
c.eu e.rin ki.du.fi,
we.re.še.hei šuwe a.kü,

96 Gorelova 2002:80-81. Gorelova identifies io as a rising diphthong, and gives as examples the words niohon, “dark green” and fiyoose, “dipper.” In my reconstruction, the diphthong /iɔ/ is written iyo, not io. I believe the io in niohon is intended to indicate a palatalization of the n followed by o, so [ŋiɔn], though this could have originated as /iɔ/. Yamamoto gives this as [ŋio'xɔn] in Sibe. I have also taken iyoo as a triphthong, so I reconstruct fiyoose as [fiowzi]. Yamamoto gives this word as [fios] in Sibe.

97 Möllendorff 1892:3.
The first diphthong we encounter in this poem is *iye*, in line 2. If *welmiyere* were read as having four syllables, *wel.mi.ye.re*, then we would end up with eight syllables in this line instead of seven. The second diphthong is the similar *iya* in *biya*, which must be read as a single syllable in order to arrive at seven syllables in line 3. Line 4 has another descending diphthong, *uwa*, in the word *tuwakiyan*, and line 8 has the similar diphthong *uwe*. The diphthong *ai* can be found in lines 12 and 17, and *oi* in line 21.

Lines 10 and 24 contain the word *sain*, which I previously argued should have two syllables, instead of one, and in this poem this word must be read as having two syllables in order to achieve seven syllables per line. Another example of a non-diphthongic word is *duin*, which should be read as two syllables, [tujin], instead of one. This is illustrated in Poem 6, line 9, where the first line of a couplet contains the word *duin*, and the second line of the couplet contains two other instances of the diphthong *ui*.
In order for the two lines of the couplet to match, *duin* must be read as a two-syllable word, and the other two instances of *ui* must be read as one syllable each:

Poem 6, Line 9:

```
  du.in er.gi yen a.kū,
  ye.rui do.lo bu.tui on,
```

It is not clear from this example whether the diphthong *ui* was meant to be read /ui/ or /ïi/. In the following case, however, of a stanza with an AABA rhyme scheme, the descending diphthong is clearly indicated by the rhyme:

Poem 10, Lines 21-24:

```
  gurung gege i dorgi,
  emu bonggo sargan jui,
  han i kesi tebuhei,
  kimun gaiki sembini,
```

In this stanza, in order for the AABA rhyme scheme to be preserved, the word *jui* must be read as ending in the vowel [i], instead of the approximant [j]. I’ve previously argued, in section 2.2.10, that *jui* was originally */dʒuij/,* but had become /dzyi/ by the Old Manchu period. This previous reconstruction is supported by the rhyme in this stanza.

Another claim that I made in discussing diphthongs was that *oo* usually represents an ascending diphthong. In this claim, I am at odds with Gorelova and Seong, both of whom take *oo* to be a geminate (i.e. phonetically long) vowel.98 I have also made the

claim that ascending diphthongs act like closed syllables (i.e. they act as though they end in a consonant, not a vowel). Syllabic evidence from Jakdan’s poetry can be brought to bear on this question.

In Jakdan’s poetry, oo always counts for one syllable. If oo represented a geminate vowel, then we might expect it to count for two syllables. The fact that it does not count for two syllables does not invalidate the idea that it is a geminate vowel, but it does weaken that argument. Certainly from a poetic perspective, oo is no longer than any other vowel or diphthong, because it only counts for one syllable. The following couplet, from a poem whose lines have seven syllables each, demonstrates this. (Note that šoo is a Chinese word, so in that case oo becomes [aw]).

Poem 13, Line 2

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{šoo k’ang jiyei i te.he } & \text{boo,} \\
& \text{be.yei a.ra.ha co.lo}
\end{align*}
\]

In addition to showing that oo occupies only a single syllable, Jakdan’s poetry also provides evidence that oo is an ascending diphthong, at least in the words boo and moo. If oo were a pure vowel or a descending diphthong, then we would expect it to form a diphthong or triphthong when joined to the genitive marker i. A diphthong is formed, for example, with the word omo+i, “lake+GEN” in the following couplet from a poem with seven syllables per line:

Poem 17, Line 12

\[
\begin{align*}
e.re & \text{ il.hai fa.ya.nyga,} \\
yoo & \text{cy o.moi en.du.rin,}
\end{align*}
\]
Throughout Jakdan’s poetry, the genitive marker will sometimes be written attached to the stem before it, and sometimes written separately. The difference is poetically important, because whenever Jakdan writes it separately, it almost always needs to carry its own syllable in order for the meter of the line to work out. The genitive forms of the words *boo and *moo, however, are written *booi and *mooi, yet they must count for two syllables whenever they appear. This means they do not form a diphthong with the attached *i, and that implies that they do not end in pure vowels. Instead, they must be ascending diphthongs, whose syllable-final [w] acts as a consonant, yielding bisyllabic words *[pɔwi] and *[mɔwi], instead of monosyllabic words *[pɔj] and *[mɔj], or *[pɔ̃j] and *[mɔ̃j]. This can be seen, for example, in the following couplet, whose lines are symmetrical in terms of syllables per word, and which have seven syllables per line:

Poem 5, Line 27
i.ni boo.i a.ha.si,
ge.mu dem.bei i.ca.kū,

4.4 Prohibition on word-final -b

One of the interesting things that syllable counts reveal about Jakdan’s dialect is that it doesn’t really allow word-final -b, even though this was apparently allowed in Jianzhou Jurchen. In every line that contains a word with word-final -b, the line appears to have one fewer syllables than it ought to. In addition, in symmetrical couplets, the

99 In contrast, the spoken Sibe forms of *booi and *mooi are pronounced as single syllables, [bɔj] and [mɔj]. Examples of these can be found in Li 1982:22, where they are transcribed (in Li’s system) as boy and moy.
word with word-final -b is paired with another word that has one more syllable. The strong implication here is that the word-final -b was given its own syllable. The following lines show the words tob and g’alab as examples of this phenomenon. In the first two examples, tob is paired in symmetrical couplets with tondo and nomhon.

Poem 2, Line 59
  ton.do do.ro,
  to.b_ ha.cin

Poem 21, Line 20
  ya ge.li gu.lu nom.hon,
  ya ge.li ton.do to.b_

In the last example above, the poem itself has an u-rhyme. This implies not only that tob should be read as two syllables, but specifically as [tʰɔbu]. In the following additional set of examples, the words tob and g’alab appear in lines that should contain seven syllables, but only six syllables are explicitly written, implying the existence of a seventh, unwritten syllable.

Poem 4, Line 110
  to.b_ se.me ab.kai giyan

Poem 4, Line 21
  g’a.la.b_ ton i.si.ka

Thus, tob should probably be read [tʰɔbu], and g’alab should presumably be read [kalabu]. This is surprising, because there is no indication that Jianzhou Jurchen had any prohibition on word-final b, and no similar problem seems to appear with words ending in -r, -s or -k. There are some indications that syllable final -b in the middle of a word
could be read as its own syllable for stylistic reasons, but the evidence for this isn’t extensive enough to mount a strong argument.\textsuperscript{100}

4.5 Prosody in the Seven Syllable Poems

The question naturally arises, in the case of the poems with seven-syllable lines, of whether a consistent meter applies across the entire poem, or across all such poems. If this could be shown, it would become an ideal source of information about accent and prosody. In fact, there is evidence that a consistent meter might apply to some seven-syllable poems, and that the meter in these poems accords with the basic rules of prosody outlined in section 2.4. I will begin with an analysis of Poem 16, titled \textit{Nenden ilha be irgebuhe ucun}, “A Song of Plum Flowers.” This poem is composed of 41 couplets, each line of which has seven-syllables. For the moment, I will ignore the small number of Chinese syllables in the poem, and determine their stress patterns once I have demonstrated the meter for the rest of the poem.

In section 2.4 I argued that the basic rule of Manchu prosody is the weakening of the second syllable in words of three or more syllables. If such a rule applies in Jakdan’s poetry, then we should expect to find the three and four-syllable words distributed in such a way that the weak syllables always fall on the same beats of each line. Indeed, the distribution of three-syllable words is strictly limited, such that they are found only to

\textsuperscript{100} For example, \textit{labdu} is almost always read as having two syllables. In Poem 13, Line 50, however, it should apparently be read /labudu/ in order to fill the line out to seven syllables. This reading is not without problems, though, since \textit{labdu} is symmetrically paired with \textit{komso} in that couplet, and we would then have to read \textit{komso} as /kɔmɔsɔ/. I think this is most likely how it was intended, but without more examples it is hard to prove.
begin on the first, third and fifth beats. Four-syllable words are even more limited in
their distribution, only ever occurring as the first word of a line. This means that the
weak second syllable always falls on the second, fourth, or sixth beat of a line—the even
beats.

This leaves the one and two-syllable words to be accounted for. Neither of these
types of words is supposed to exhibit syllable weakening, but their distribution also
seems to fit a pattern. Looking at two-syllable words, the vast majority of them begin on
the first, third, or sixth beats. This hints at another rule of meter governing the
distribution of two-syllable words, which I will discuss below. As for one-syllable words,
if we ignore the Chinese monosyllables and the case markers, the remaining content-
bearing one-syllable words all fall on beats three, five and seven, with the majority falling
on beat five. This implies that, even though the rule of weak syllables doesn’t apply to
one-syllable content bearing words, the one-syllable content-bearing words tend not to
act like weak syllables.

I show the distribution of words graphically in the following chart, where each
string of X’s represents a type of word, with the X’s representing syllables, and the
Roman numerals I-VII indicate the beat of the line on such words can be found to start.
The small subscript number after the representation of each word indicates the total
number of that type of word found to begin on the specified beat. Thus, for example,
where I have [X X]39 under columns III and IV, it means that there are 39 two-syllable
words beginning on the third beat (end ending on the fourth). I have counted as one-
syllable words only content-bearing Manchu words, so I have excluded case markers and
Chinese monosyllables.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One-syllable words</td>
<td>[X]₂</td>
<td></td>
<td>[X]₇</td>
<td></td>
<td>[X]₂</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two-syllable words</td>
<td>[X X]₆₁</td>
<td>[X X]₃₉</td>
<td>[X X]₃</td>
<td>[X X]₅</td>
<td>[X X]₄₂</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three-syllable words</td>
<td>[X X X]₅</td>
<td>[X X X]₃₅</td>
<td>[X X X]₃₅</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four-syllable words</td>
<td>[X X X X]₁₀</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.1: Distribution of words by syllable count

It is clear that the strongest rule that drives the meter in this poem is that the weak syllables should fall on the even beats. In addition, we can say that the majority of words begin on odd beats—including those words that do not have weak syllables. The only glaring exception to this is the two-syllable words that begin on the sixth beat, which I will discuss in more detail below. The fact that the first syllable of a word rarely falls on a beat where weak syllables also fall implies that the first syllables of words might be accented in some way. In section 2.2.7, I mentioned that the syllable *si* seemed to be pronounced more clearly in the first syllable of a word than in the other syllables (on the basis of notes on pronunciation from the QQ), which would seem to support this idea. In addition, I also noted in section 2.4 that three-syllable words in the imperial shaman songs tended to have a longer note assigned to the third syllable by default—though the longer note could also be assigned to the first syllable.
I propose, as an explanation for these phenomena, that Court Manchu had two types of accent. One type of accent occurred on all words, usually on the first syllable, and resulted in that syllable being pronounced more clearly than the other syllables. The other type of accent usually fell on the third syllable of three-syllable words, often resulting in the assignment of a longer note to those syllables when the words were put to music. I will propose that the first type of accent is syllable stress, and the second type is vowel length. Thus, a single-syllable content-bearing word like *te* “now,” would be accented *té* ['tə], while most two syllables words, like *usin* “field,” would be accented *úsin* ['uʒən]. The default stress pattern for three-syllable words like *usiha* “star,” would be *úsihá* ['uʒə:ə], with stress on the first syllable, and the third syllable lengthened.

As for the two-syllable words that begin on the sixth beat, I can only suggest that the seven-syllable metrical foot of these poems could be filled out in two different ways in the last two syllables, either with an accented syllable followed by an unaccented syllable, or the reverse. In poems 12, 13, 14, 16 and 17, in most cases a line ending in a two-syllable word is paired with another line ending in a two-syllable word in the same couplet, and neighboring lines often share a similar stress pattern.

The resulting poetic meter, then, is one in which there are two types of lines:

Meter type 1:   / ˘ / ˘ / ˘ / ˘ /

Meter type 2:   / ˘ / ˘ / ˘ / ˘ /

When I began analysis of this poem, I left the case-markers and Chinese monosyllables to be analyzed last. We now have enough information to propose rules of
stress for these morpheme types as well. The case markers, interestingly, act as though they extend the word to which they are suffixed. Thus, a one-syllable word will almost always begin on an accented beat, and the case marker will fall on an unaccented beat, giving the resulting inflected word the same stress pattern as a two-syllable word. A two-syllable word will almost always begin on an accented beat, and its case-marker too will fall on an accented beat, giving the result the same stress pattern as a three-syllable word. The Chinese monosyllables in this poem are no more difficult to describe. They always occur in pairs, always as the first two syllables of a line, and so each pair of Chinese monosyllables acts like a single two-syllable word.

I have not said much about four-syllable words in this discussion, aside from the fact that they always begin on the first beat in poem 16. In fact, across all of the poems 12, 13, 14, 16 and 17, there are 50 four-syllable words, and 46 of them begin on the first beat of the line, while the other four begin on the third beat. The general stress pattern of these words, then, should be [ / ˘ / ˘ ]. Presumably the first syllable should usually be stressed, and the third syllable should be long.

4.6 Prosody in the fujurun

If the complex rules of stress that I have outlined so far really did apply in Court Manchu, then that could provide explain the phenomenon of symmetrical couplets in the fujurun. In order to reproduce the same pattern of stressed and long syllables in two lines, one would usually need exactly the same pattern of syllables per word. Most of the fujurun have lines of varying lengths, usually starting short and growing longer, probably indicating a gradual increase of tempo throughout the poem. It would be interesting if
rules could be identified that governed the increase and decrease in tempo, but I have not had the leisure to pursue this possibility in this paper.

4.7 Discussion

In this section, I have made use of both symmetrical couplets and seven-syllable lines to argue for the existence and quality of certain diphthongs in Jakdan's Manchu, as well as for rules of accentuation and basic rules of meter. In general, such features as the two-syllable readings for sain and duin, and the meticulous pronunciation of weakened syllables, indicate an affinity between Jakdan’s poetry and the formal language of the Qing court. Metrical analysis has also revealed certain unexpected features, such as a prohibition on word-final -b in Jakdan’s Manchu, which may indicate the beginnings of sinification (since word-final -b is also prohibited in Chinese), though it is not accompanied by other expected prohibitions on word-final -k, -r or -s. The metrical formulae in use in Jakdan’s poetry are very advanced, and involve distinctly non-Chinese features. Further investigation into the metrical conventions of other Inner and Central Asian cultures may help clarify whether Jakdan’s poetry represents a uniquely Manchu innovation on the theme of the Chinese fù, or whether it has other non-Chinese affinities.

5. Conclusions

In this paper I have attempted to construct a new and detailed view of the phonology of the Manchu language as it was spoken at the Qing court, and to apply that
phonology to Jakdan’s poetry. I have shown that, if analyzed according to the system of phonology that I have outlined, Jakdan’s poetry reveals complex devices of rhyme and meter. In reconstructing the phonology of Court Manchu, I have drawn on sources that are rarely used in modern linguistic scholarship on the Manchu language. Just as the work of the Dominican scholar Francisco Varo is yielding new insights into the phonology of the Southern guanhua, so I believe the work of Amyot and Verbiest can yet give us insights into the phonology of Court Manchu. Likewise, the analysis of poetry has proven to be indispensable in the reconstruction of pre-modern Chinese dialects, and I expect it to prove so in the long run with Manchu.

If, in this paper, I can do nothing more valuable than to draw attention to these sources, and to invite a new examination of the primary Chinese and Manchu sources, then I think I will have done well enough. I believe there is much more to be accomplished in the reconstruction of Court Manchu phonology, and there are no doubt more sources to be sought out. It may be that one of the Latin-Manchu dictionaries in the Bibliothèque Nationale is the one Verbiest referred to, which was supposed to indicate weak syllables with a V. for vix. It is also possible that some copy of the MNFG will be discovered in which a student has written in the prosodic marks described in the Gisun i kooli. Likewise, other revealing notes and annotations may be found in the many students’ notebooks that exist in the Yenching and other rare books collections.

While I have often thought of material on the early Manchu language as being disappointingly scarce, in the course of writing this paper I have found it to be surprisingly abundant. Future directions of research seem clear to me. In terms of

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linguistics, using Sibe and Sanjiazi data, together with a careful reexamination of Amyot’s *Dictionnaire*, it should be possible to reconstruct the early pronunciation of Manchu with some accuracy. In terms of poetry, I feel I have only scratched the surface of the metrical complexity of Jakdan’s *fujurun*. I do not doubt that further analysis will reveal more subtle metrical rules among those prose poems.
Bibliography

Primary Sources

CMC  [Chōoběn mǎnwén cè 鈔本滿文冊]. This is an untitled handwritten fascicle containing a student’s notes on the Manchu language. It contains, at the end, a didactic poem consisting of mnemonics on writing in Manchu. It is available in the Harvard Yenching rare books collection under the call number TMA 5806.09 0622, or on microfilm as FC9231. I have appended a transcription of the entire poem as Appendix C to this paper.

JU  Jabduha ucuri amtaggai baita (Tasty Reads in your Spare Time). Jakdan (author and translator) and Haiyu (translator). The Chinese title is Xián zhēng jiā qù 閒中佳趣. Its call number in the Harvard Yenching rare books collection is TMA 5237 4147.

MBRT  Manbun roto 滿文老檔 (Old Manchu Archives). This is a later redaction of the MWYD compiled under Qianlong, following the original in most respects, though orthographically it has been standardized. A transcription of this into Norman’s system of romanization is available online through Harvard’s Manchu Studies website, at http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~mnch210a/mbrt.cgi.

MNFG  Manju nikan fe gisun be jofo ho acabuha bithe (Matching Points of the Original Languages of the Manchus and Chinese). The Chinese title is Mǎn Hàn chēngyǔ duìdài 滿漢成語對待. I am not entirely certain of the date of publication, but a date of 1702 is given in Takekoshi 2006:22. The Harvard
Yenching library has a print copy and a manuscript copy of this work, and the manuscript copy seems to be the better of the two (e.g. the print copy is missing the last page of the *Gisun i kooli*). The manuscript is available under call number TMA 5806.09 5022, and the print copy is TMA 5806.09 5021. I have appended a transcription and translation of the *Gisun i kooli* as Appendix B to this paper.

**MWYD**  *Manwen yuan dang* 滿文原檔 (Original Manchu Records). This is the set of Old Manchu records on which the MBRT is based. It is available in a full color facsimile as: 滿文原檔, Taibei: Guoli Gugong Bowuguan, 2005.

**PC**  *Pango chipsōk* 方言集釋 (Collected Explanations of Regional Languages). Sŏ Myŏng-ŭng (author), consisting of volumes 24-25 of the author’s *Pomanjae inggan* 保晚齋剩簡. Printed ca. 1781. Available on microfilm at the Harvard Yenching library under call number FK694.


**YM**  *Manju gisun i yobo maktara* (Joking Around in the Manchu Language). Jakdan (author). This is the eighth fascicle of the JU (see above). I have appended a complete transcription of this fascicle, except for the two mixed-language poems, as Appendix B to this paper.

**Secondary Sources**

Reading Jakdan’s Poetry


Williams, Samuel Wells. *A Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language; Arranged According to the Wu-Fang Yuen Yin, with the Pronunciation of the Characters as heard in Peking, Canton, Amoy and Shanghai*. Shanghai, 1874.


Appendix A: Transliterations of the YM

In these transliterations I have not made any attempt to preserve the formatting of the original, except for sections not in verse. The translations of the titles provided come from Bosson and Toh (2003), though the transliterations (and therefore any errors) are my own. The title of each poem is in bold, and notes such as the name of the rhyme are in italics. I have also used italics to distinguish certain interjected comments within the poems, which conform to neither the meter nor the rhyme, and seem to be directed at the reader. For poems that are organized in couplets, I have listed the two lines of each couplet on the same line, and the numbering on the left-hand side counts couplets, not lines.

Poem 1: Ballad in a drunken ramble

This is a *fujurun* with an *an*-rhyme throughout. The Manchu title identifies it as being sung “in sing-song fashion” (*gingsiha*), but whether that comment relates to the technical style of the poem is not certain. The note accompanying the title says “perfect *an*-rhyme”. I’m not certain what difference there is between the terms *mudan* and *uran*, both of which apparently mean rhyme.

**Soktorolame gingsiha ucun**

*an sere yongkiyan mudan*

bi seci,  
be bengsen,  
ya sure,  
fiyen miyamin,  
5 ubaliyambrei gebu,  
boo geli yadañün,  
gancuha beye,  
ya sijigiyian, hūsibure hūhūba,  
fanihiyan oci, šasun geli fan,  
10 kunakū funtuñun jun,  
selela fon emu juwe,  
onggolo bai kete kata,  
aι oyonggo hergen,  
koro baliya waliyan,  
15 šarapi salu,  
šeyen noho soncoho,  
boigon hecen,  
menggun jiha atanggi tui tui,

ai hihan,  
bai baran,  
šuwe ongton,  
moo šolon,  
oyombokū ulan,  
se inu fulukan,  
untuñun nujan,  
ya encehen, yamulaci yafagan,  
oboko oci, yonggan abai giowan,  
tuwa aibi šahürun suwan,  
joboro ba uyun juwan,  
tetele ai funcen daban,  
ton arara alban,  
aïnur buran taran,  
horoki şufan,  
sukū canggi alajan,  
kingken lakiyan,  
juku bele kemuni son son,
Reading Jakdan’s Poetry

damtun damtulaci yaka dangpuli,  bekdun edeleci aide madagan,
usaka joo,  museke hon,
teisulen uttunge,  hesebun toktohon,
gasacibe fangga ai,  kirikini teisu giyan,
tentekengge ohode,  banjinjiha bayakan,

20  
tuttu bahafr tere gese,  iletu tušan,
ambakan hafan,  dalaha doron,
aliah tooose,  

tese gemu hoošan fi,  
ne yiwan šu šungkei manjuk nikan, ese yooni miyoocan poo tungken can,
ben bonggoi gabtan niyamniyan,  bithe bakši coohai kiyangkiyan,

30  
ede teni  
katak sere sejen kiyoo,  kunggur sere jugún on,
fei leolen arbušaci fiyangga fiyan,  ai giyangna, gisureci giyangna giyan,
juju baja, boigon hethe,  kuri kari, juse sargan,

35  
kutule ĩdamu,  guweleku hocikon,
mıyamirengge yebbcungge,  eturengge gincıhiyan,
tecerengge karan taktu,  yaburengge deyen hargasın,
wenjebuci wenjengge giyalan,  serguwešeci serguwen sihiyan,
fangšarangge sur sere wangga,  jeterengge kek sere amtan,
ler sere günin mujin,  kob sehe ulin nadan,
yaka eden,  yooni imiyan,

duibuleci,  tafakı secı banjitai wan,
tongkiki secı beleni bon,  

eri inu  
icišara erin fon,  acabuha forgon ton,

45  
suhe dacun i ildun sacihai, uthai  
arbu šehun šahün,  dursun ayan suwayan,

40  
ne je  
niongnio deji  
ne je  

damu bi  
gi yovan  
sui tuwahai,  ya mohon,
dolori merkiheı,  ilgabun tomorhon,

50  
cohotoi  
muten moco  
banin ganggan,
kekei juse,  hüsun yadan,
inu damu somitahai,  manggai uttu gocimeliyan,
yala ni mufuyen,  waka kai oilohon,
Reading Jakdan’s Poetry

buyeme tuwarangge, tala bigan, cihanggai terengge, tokso gašan,
muke juce, alin bujan,
šeri wehe, suman jaksan,

60


turgun ai
alin oci huwejehe huwejen, bira oci oboro oton,
weren oci niohokon i durdun, hada oci yacikan i šošon,
cusilei muru gilda gilda boljion, inggahai boco niowari nioweri niolmon,
65
ele mila nimahai arbun, jijing jangjang cecikei jilgan,
hacinggai ilha alha bulha, hahůnggai fodoho\textsuperscript{102} sersen sarsan,
feniyen feniyelere hibsu ejen, juru jurulere gefehe dondon,
guvecibe cibin urhu haihû, kilahûn niyehe elhe nuhan,
saikan canggi, hojo anan,
70
irgebun i tuwabun nirugan i baran,
absi tuwaci absi yangsangga, ele šaci ele amuran,
fuhali peng lai alin, ineku lang yuwan yafan,
ere ci tulgiyen, geli ai yargiyan,
eici hütüru jobolon, eici jirgacun gosihon,

75

biretei
honggonoho holo tališara tašan,
julgeci tetele, tolgirei bajikan,
abka na i dolo emu dedun tatan,
jalan jalan, siran siran,
80
teisu teisu, isan isan,

imata
wali efin jucun karan,
dulekengge wajima, jiderengge tuktan,
daruhai urkuji, atanggi lakcan,
85
hafume tuwahade, naranggi ai amtan,

unenggingge damu
abkaï hergin niyalmai ciktan,
tondo hiyošun, doro jurgan,
beïy ubu, hanja jalan,
90
hing sere günin, teng sere tuwakiyan,
geï sere notho, hûwai sere funiyagan,
ya giyalabun, ai fasilan,
yaya hahasí, musei ahûn deo, eiten hehesi, beyei eyun non,
haji halhûn, aikan faikan,
95
ya geli aldangga, ya geli hancikan,
ya geli icangga, ya geli fudaran,

\textsuperscript{102} In order for fodoho to pair with ilha it must be contracted, presumably realized phonetically as [f$t\chi\theta$], with the weakened syllable elided.
Reading Jakdan’s Poetry

yaka kenggehun fudehun,
abai ŋosiki ŋofoyon,
damu fakjin,
dembei oyonggon,
nenden ilhai ciktan,
cuse mooi darhůwan,
nantuhůrame muterakū gu,
iyarabucı ojorakū g’an,
eitereme kai sui,
dubentele fe an,

uttu ohode
fu kūwaran,
boó falan,
ninggun acan
juwe gıyalan,
105 mini etuku tugi jaksan,
mini hašagan suman talman,
mini umiyesun sunggari nioron,
mini saracan usiha oron,
śun fiyakiyaci mini hiya
biya fosoci mini dengjan,
ebsihei elehun,
sulfanggai sulakan,
erihe hen,
debure hiyan,
110 bithe juru deretu,
ilha emu mônggocon
muwa caida udu moro,
an arki ilan coman,
sogi nasan,
booha janggūwan,
a gûwancihiyan,
du bolokon,
edun ilha nimanggi biyai huwekiyen jing tumin,
gungge gebu bayan wesihun i seolen hon nitan,
hoo an kerkeri,
behe doholon,
fi mohori,
yuwăn nuhaliyan,
ereni irgebucı enteke yendenggei yenden,
ereni soktohode antaka amtaggai amtan,
irgebun i jilgan giyalang,
acinggiyaha alin colhon,
bethe i elden darang,
gabtabuha demtu niohan,
120 joocina, mujin dzung kiyo,
oihori, hican ioi cuwan,
hoo hio sere yabun,
teng tang sere gaman,
suihuhe kuwang ke,
gingsire lang siyan,
aimaka lo tiyan,
fuhalı too kiyan,
murhu farhůn lio ling,
tekte takta ji diyan,
125 na i sishe,
abka i jampin,

103 Note that juwe has two syllables here, to parallel ninggun. Ordinarily it would have only one syllable.

104 hiya should have two syllables, to parallel dengjan, while biya has one, to parallel śun.

105 Spelled mônggocon, but it should be read mônggocon to fit the rhyme. Norman lists both as variants.

106 gabtabuha must lose a syllable to parallel bithe i. The lost syllable is probably not the second syllable, since that would create an unacceptable three-consonant cluster, rather it should be the third syllable, so [cabtabyə].
Reading Jakdan’s Poetry

anan šukin okini,  
sahangge hesebun,  
enduri wei guwanta,  
daruhai urgun sebjen,  

130 agusa takambio,  
bī ai gelhun akū,  
asuru encu akū,  
te i fon,  
erer erin i balama ūwan ji,  

135 hafan i doloi baisin,  
tušan bisire gi šu ye,  
aiseme g’an mu duwan,  
banjibure šu wang jung siowan bime su moo ciowan,  
amgara ton hiyoo siyan bayan bime si ai tuwan,  

140 cingkai encu siyang guwan,  
daburakūngge wang hūwan,  
encungge tsoo tsan,  
ere colo weci,  
inene mene sulfakan,  
joocina foyodon,  
fucīhi bai dobon,  
atanggi bekten baktan,  
śoro fiyoose i¹⁰⁸ yan dzy yuwan,  
ne bai arbun baran,  
majige adaliliyan,  
jalgei fon,  
te i forgon i kokima fan dan,  
yamun i doloi hūwašan,  
hafan ojoro liyang be luwan,  
tebuhei gan ing piyan,  
emuso songko lio kuwan,  
kundulerengge kioi yuwan,  
gesengge hoo źan,  
kulkun alin haihan.

¹⁰⁷ abka i should be pronounced as two syllables: ab.kai. This is a rare departure from Jakdan’s usual system of joining the genitive to its stem when he intends it to form a diphthong.

¹⁰⁸ fiyoose i should be pronounced as two syllables: fiyoo.sei
Poem 2: A dream when walking in my sleep

This is a *fujurun* with an *in*-rhyme throughout. The note accompanying the title says “perfect *in*-rhyme”.

**Tolgiralame orire uculen**  
*in sere yongkiyan mudan*

```plaintext
bi seci,  
banjitaï  
ya yargiyé,  
egeb ha-su-tai,  
5  
gisun yalanggi,  
mekele kicen húsun,  
muten eberi,  
manju nikan ū shú cinggiya,  
aibide híhi defehi,  
bai elgin,  
banin mufuyen,  
yabun sijihun,  
aibini tacin fonjin,  
bengsen ekiyehun,  
 gabtan niyamniyan ben eden,  
biretei acun de cacun,  
5  
burgin bargain,  
ušan fañan,  
tacin ci jurcenjehei,  
fudaran kai fon forgon,  
hethe abá nenehe mafa,  
morin tarin,  
ishun cashún,  
baita de murtashín,  
kokima ni boo boigon,  
uşabun erí amága enen,  
10  
teyerakú kekte kakta,  
gúnin mujin ambakan,  
jalan tuwakiyan wesi-hun,  
gurun i bodon,  
dasaki seci ai toose,  
waji-rakú bekdu-n gakdu-n,  
gungge gebu ajigen,  
hafan tušan fusihun,  
irgesei banjín,  
bodoki seheı ya hergeı,  
baïetakú gosin,  
aï niyecen,  
ду́rui yaxin,  
aï dalji taifin façu-hun,  
erin yangse hojo durun,  
tenteke cira neme-ye-n,  
tese gali mergen,  
tere sanin húnci-hin,  
yaya ci wenjehun,  
furdehe weihuken,  
ildunggai ildun,  
aḥa kutule ge-ren,  
da-hacarangge tacin tacin-un,  
tangkan wesi-hun,  
tongga kesi juken,  
ajaja dosorakú seshen,  
35  
eyoro, hamirakú doshon,  
```
Reading Jakdan’s Poetry

tuttu
fondoloho fa hoošan, hūwalatala hū butūn,

ede
walıyaha ju∪uhun banju, hohoko gosihon misun,
naracun hican, buyenin duyen,
beye ginčihiyan, weri basucun,
geren i geise, gisun i fesin,
joobai naka, terei teisulen,
damu jabdugan, ele elehun,
abai ruchi, taka endurin,
eici alın yen, eici mukei ton,
eici birai tan, eici jugūn yun,
abka bolgo, tugi gelfiyen,
aga halukan, edun nesuken,
seruken i luku bujan, bolokon i necin dalin,
güli gali gūlin, jiji jaja cibin,
šeśempei boco suwayan aisin, gefehei giru šeyeken gecen,
kuri kari ijaršara ilha fuhali junggin,

jangjing jangjang jorgindere gasha aimaka kumun,
aga i simekei orhoi fiyan gilta gilta, edun i danjiha ilhai wa guksen guksen,
ici kani nimaha, ele mila kilahūn,
saikan ni, hojo ten,
ya haran, wei jalin,
ici giyan, amba wen,
tondo doro, tob hacin,

tuwa mahanggai tuwabun, donjicukai donjin,
geterilehe yasa, sidarambuha gūnin,
sabuhale sabugan, selacuka selabun,

ere niyalma i
abka na i emgi, uhei sebjen urgun,
ere ci tulgiyen, tere guwa hacin,
unengginge beyei ubu, oyonggongge tondo hiyoošun,
niyyam in bali šumin, ejen i r e uj e n,
sefu i ulan gaihasu, gucu i falıngga entehen,
hing sere akdun, tang sere fakjin,

olhobe ginggun, fili jekdun,
tucici baıtalan ojoro tusa, somici fulehe bisire taçı n,
amban okini ai derengge, baisin bicibe ya girucun,
baitalaci muduri i saniyan, waliyabuci iniyya i ikūn,
duin mederi emu tatan, tanggū halangga emu mukūn,

elebuhektūngge gosin mujilen, oyomburakūngge taka teisulen,
geodeburakūngge aisi buyen i geoden,
soktorni de subuhūn getuhun, yaruburakūngge hafan tušan i yarun,

118
Reading Jakdan’s Poetry

jalan i sesheri yooni karan i jucun, geren i eimeburu manggai wali i efin,

*a i dabufi*

80 buran tarań

cici goci

aguse tuwaci,

hirhai fithe,

fiyakiyan silmen,

85 honggo dartai,

erde sence,

yala hahi,

tüwaci, tanggū sei siden,

talkiyi float, sanggag melken,

tolgin nergin, yamji mooyen,

dembei hūdun,

*ede geli*

ebdelerengge oori simen, kokirarangge senggi sukduń,

90 beye kimulerengge beyei jalaľun ergen,

urui adali,

isaci uthai tanggın,

eyeci uthai bira,

faidaci uthai genggen,

bireci uthai ganggan,

wesineci uthai tugi suman,

95 wenjebuci uthai halukan,

mukiyeubući uthai šahūrın, hūcin de bici uthai muheliyen,

omo de bici uthai hošonggo,

yohoron de bici uthai hafirahün,

mederi de bici uthai deserepi,

dergi baru ohongge, uthai gurirakū i mujin, nantuhün i nantuhüraci ineku bolokon,

nuhaliyan i ici ohongge, uthai gocishün i muru,

100 ya geli golo,

ya geli gemun,

ya geli bigan,

ya geli hecen,

ya geli gukdu gakda,

ya geli šehun necin,

ya geli niyo,

ya geli halhūn,

ya geli giyalun,

ya geli beikuwen,

ya geli giyalun,

ya geli daniyan,

ya geli tuweri nimanggi gecen,

ya geli jafaha juhe,

ya geli wenehe eyen,

abkai emu fukjin da,

minggan hala tumen wen,

absi ocibe elehun ojoraŋkungge akū, ambasa saisa uthai ere durun,

110 *tuttu ofi*

banjicibe notho holo tašan, bucekini sukduń yargiyan unenggin,

*uthai hūi*

joboshūn bime suilashūn, manashūn dade hoilashūn,

geli ai

115 gasacun dade akacun, gusucun bime gingkacun,
Reading Jakdan’s Poetry

**ede teni**

abka na i aisilan,
minggaan jalan i gebu,
a e i adali entehen,
banjin wen i teheren,
emu erin i yabun,
šun biya i sasari taksin,

usiha sunggari i murui gehun,
todolo biretei tucin,
sirahangle wei ulan,
colgorokoi coho,
wajima akū i duben,
ulanaheai tuhen,

un biya i sasari taksin,
nimanggi silenggi i gesei genggiyen,
ferguwecuken ferguwen,
geli ai sektefun,

120 abka uthai jampan,
doroloni bargiyatara giogiyen,
funiyagan baktambuha lergiyen,
tondo akdun i akdacun,
gocien juken i elgiyen,
geli ai lempen,
geli ai baksan fulmiyen,

tal unhai sishe,
ulanaheai tuhen,
egeli ai lempen,
geli ai baksan fulmiyen,

125 abka uthai jampan,
doroloni bargiyatara giogiyen,
funiyagan baktambuha lergiyen,
tondo akdun i akdacun,
gocien juken i elgiyen,
geli ai lempen,
geli ai baksan fulmiyen,

ainahai tojin daipun, iletu garudai gerudei,
ainahai kulun giluk, iletu sabintu sabitun,
ainahai ūngkeri fungkeri, fuhali nenden ilhai gubsu,
ainahai filingga anahūn, fuhali cuse mooi cikten,

130 doro tuwancihiyaci,
jalgan dubembuci,
arbun sukdun i cisu nitan,
banin doro i amtan tumin,
geli ai kulun,
geli ai kurdun,

135 omire yenden, arki emu tampin,
ainahai tojin daipun, iletu garudai gerudei,
ainahai kulun giluk, iletu sabintu sabitun,
ainahai ūngkeri fungkeri, fuhali nenden ilhai gubsu,
ainahai filingga anahūn, fuhali cuse mooi cikten,

omire yenden, arki emu tampin,
arara huwekiyen, bithe udu fiyelen,
ergocien juken i elgiyen,
geli ai buda efen,

140 emgeri jewebul aho jerggar sere urkin,
ai kušun,
a jelen,
ai usun,

145 ai kimun,
ya hafun,
ya yaksin,
ya ekiyeniyen,
tuwancihiyahangge gulu muyahūn,

150 giyan emu,
duin arbun juwe muru,
wen tumen,
hošo jakūn, jeo uyun,

erei teile,
bonggo emhun,

ilang erdemu,
emu uh etun,

ai ai,

150 te akū ohobi,
bi wede irgebun.
Poem 3: The dream of Handan

This poem has an explanatory preface (sutucin) that is not in verse. In this case, I have retained the line breaks (or rather, column breaks) of the original, since there is no poetic structure to reveal. This poem itself is a fujurun with an an-rhyme throughout, except the last five couplets, which have an in-rhyme. The note accompanying the title of the poem (as opposed to the title of the preface) says “an-rhyme”.

Han dan tolgin i fujurun
manju gisun sutucin kamcihabi

seibeni lu šeng serengge bi, hafan baire jalin gemun
hecen de genere jugūn i andala, han dan de ba i tatar
boode tataha fonde, loi dzu be lakdari ucarabufi, imbe
tuwaci endurin ojoro giru bifi, terebe cirku de cirubu nakū,
5 ajaja, yaya niyalmai jalan i buyecuke selacuka elengge, ginin de
acaburakungge akū, jing sebjeleme bitele, holkonde getefi
tuwaci, tatar booi boigoji i bujuha suwayne lala, kemuni
urere unde ni, ede dule holo tolgin nikai seme
gaihari ulhihe turgunde, teci uthai alin de dosinafi,
10 doro be tacihai adarame dubembuhe be sahakūbi, tuttu
erere h’an dan meng sembime geli hüwang liyang meng sembihe,
kemuni kuwang ling ni araha irgebun de, amba tolgin onggolo
getehengge weci, beye dubentele mini emhun sahabi sehe, jai
tai be araha irgebun de, banjire jalan amba tolgin i
15 gese, beyei banin suilarangge ai yokto sehebe tuwaci, emu tolgin
aimaka niyalma banin, niyalmai banin ineku emu tolgin, yaya
tolgin bisirengge niyalma inu seci, yaka niyalmai banjirengge
tolgin waka biheni, julgeci tetele, daruha tolgire tolgin
akū be dahame, urunakū goidapi banjire banin akū ombi,
20 taka bisire banin, manggai amgara tolgin, banin emu jalan,
tolgin emu erin, niyalma tome bisire tolgin, ba aname
amgara nergin, yaya tolgin oci geteraküngge akū, eiten
banin anan, wajiraküngge binio, untuhun tolgin be ainara,
mekele banin de wajimbio, ede urunakū emu niyalma i
25 koolingai banin be, tumen niyalma i banin i kooli obure,
emu jalan i durunggai tolgin be, minggan jalan i tolgin i
durun obure, weri i buruhun i banin be, aname getukun
obure, geren i ehe tolgin be biretei sain obure ohode,
ere teni untuhun banin waka bime, unenggi tolgin seci
30 ombi, ereci duibulen i songkoi araha fujurun i gisun.

fujurun
Reading Jakdan’s Poetry

an sere uran,

h’an dan ba i tolgin,

h’an dan i baningge geren,
tolgin fon i h’an dan,

getuhide uthai endurin,
lu šeng ni gesengge hihan,

endurin oci antaka elehun,
amgarade uthai ten tušan,

lehun fonde icangga,
ten tušan oci, enteke sulakan,

juwe hacin i selabun,
sulakan erin ginchiiyan,
saikan ten,
emu beye i ucaraan,
terei banin ai eden,
hojo hon,
gûnhâkû seng sehede,
inî tolgin hon yongkiyan,

teike šehun sahûn,
baibisaka holo tašan,
jaka hono wenjehun,

teniken hon urgun,
bajî ome mongniohon,
gesei aniya i yenden,
banjime ai amtan,
ede gaihari,
udu gemu i andan,

5 jiwe hacin i selabun,
yala giltukan,
emu beye i ucaran,
eni tolgin hon yongkiyan,

salgabun emte emte,
baijâ ome mongniohon,
jalan jalan i fon,
banjime ai amtan,
murhu farhin i yabušan,
udu gemu i andan,

10 teike sehehun sahûn,
yala giltukan,
jaka hono wenjehun,


teniken hon urgun,
baijâ ome mongniohon,
gesei aniya i yenden,
baijâ ome mongniohon,
ede gaihari,
udu gemu i andan,

15 lu šeng teile enteke dabala,
yala giltukan,
hała hacin hacingga,

salgabun emte emte,
ba na tome utala gaisilan,
jalan jalan i fon,

murhu farhûn i ya bultahûn,
ba na tome utala gaisilan,

we ya getuken,

10 gesei aniya i yenden,
abî yabsi i ai toktohon,

20 teike sehehun sahûn,
abî yabsi i ai toktohon,
lu šeng teile enteke dabala,

salgabun emte emte,


agu tuwa

ememungge fusihûn buya,

ememungge weshûn bayan,

ememungge sula baisin,

ememungge hafan amban,

ememungge usisi faksi,

ememungge baksi mainan,

ememungge ulin ekiyehun,

ememungge boigon fulukan,

ememungge jirgacun sulfangga,

ememungge suilacun gosihan,

ememungge jiyanggiyûn yuwanšuwaï, data cooša,


30 eici golo hoton,

ememungge lama doose huuwašan,

ememungge hafan amban,

ememungge mainan,

ememungge boigon fulukan,

ememungge suilacun gosihan,

ememungge lama doose huuwašan,

ere gemu tolgin i baran,

35 eici golo hoton,

embici abkai hergen,

eici šuwa bujan,

embici sunja feten,

eici alin dabagan,

embici duin109 dere,

eici koco daniyan,

embici edun aga silenggi110 akjan,

embici nyalmai ciktan,

embici edun aga silenggi110 akjan,

embici ndadan dasan,

embici gecen bono tugi jaksan,

---

109 duin has two syllables

110 silenggi has two syllables
Reading Jakdan’s Poetry

embici nimanggi talman talkiyan nioron,
40 embici ilha orho hali munggan,
embici si bi ai ce be suwe,
embici sunggaru usiha111 oron suman,
embici fu jeo hiyan yen ton on,
embici gung heo be di da h’an,

ere tolgin i dorgi kūbulin jai sabugan, aika
abka na oci, tolgin i uhei kūwaran,
jujge te oci, geren tolgin i giyalabun,
jalgan se oci, emte tolgin i bilagan,

45 aniya biya inenggi erin oci, tolgin i buya ejebun,
ikiengge acan forgon jalan oci, tolgin i amba šošohon,
elhe sulfa kekte kakte oci, tolgin i meimeni tuwali,
gasha gurgu umiyaha nimaha oci, tolgin i uheri tatan,
ere yooni tolgin i faksalan,
tere wen wang ni tolgin fei hiong,
jeng gurun i ba i tolgin hui lan,

50 fi de ilha ilara tolgin lli be,
ugehe ume ubaliyara tolgin juwang jeo,
tereci bitubuha gūwa,
ere tolgin i dorgi kūbulin jai sabugan, aika

110 silenngi akjan || tugi jaksan
111 The weak syllable of usiha must be elided, in order to parallel talman.
112 Note that the rhyme here turns from an to in
Poem 4: On reading the book *Hukou yusheng*

This poem consists fairly consistently of stanzas of four seven-syllable lines with an AABA rhyme scheme. At two points in the poem, however, we have symmetrical couplets instead, with their usual ABCB rhyme scheme. The symmetrical couplets are identified both by the change in rhyme scheme and the change in syllable count per line.

**Hū keo ioi šeng sere bithe be hūlara ucun**

```
tasha kai tasha,
dembei eshun gurgui da,
terei angga terei angga,
    saibuha de adada,

aike tede nambuci,
giyen i bucure niyalma,
jabšan banjiki seci,
yala akū i baita,

anggai dolo ašukai,

5 nunggerakū turgun ai,
an i juliyaha bihe,
jabšan dade jabšan kai,

ere duibulen inuo,
tere gesengge binio,

10 tentekengge we seci,
ling gurun i biyan da šeo,

da Šeo mi cy hiyan debi,
tušan hiyan i saraci,
teng sere fakjin filingga,

20 hoo sere sukduń fafuri.

g’alab ton isika,
ibagan de banjiha,
lii cen amba fudaran,
ubašaha abka na.

25 emu hiyan i saraci,
hūłha sujara aibi,
güninjahai seolehei
    sain arga baha ni,
```
Reading Jakdan’s Poetry

lii cen ini mafa da,
aiberemuiktaka,
manggai eifu išenggin,
jing etuhun dabala.

hiyan dabure kanagan,
genereŋge hũdukan,
35
ini eifu feteci,
šenggin seme bai waliya,
aika fetembihede,
uthai wajiha dere,
imbe forgon gaibuci,
inu amban i tondo,
40
gaire urse ududu,
ini eifu baihanu,
jenduken i genefi,
sara niyalma šuwe akū,
eifu hũwalafituwana,
ara ere ainaha,
burgašara suman ai,
musen dolo sumaka,
50
cincilame tuwarade,
dedure meihe emke,
juruyasa gadahũn,
gubci beyei funiyeye,
culuk seme kalime,
tomon tuciki sere,
55
geren sasa tantahai,
arkan seme bucehe,
šenggin edelakcaha,
hũlhai forgon wasika,
eitereme daišahai,
tuhentele ai baita.
60
han i jalin ujen,
hũlhai kimun šumin,
weihe saipi seyehei,
baidalara ten erun.
65
hasa hũdun jafaha,
yabure jugūn andala,
daicing gurun jio nakū,
lii cen teci ukaka,

morin ilan niyalma juwe,
biyan da šeo be acime,
farganame isifi,
kimun gaici ai šolo,

ukarangge hahiba,
gaiha weilengge niyalma,

ušaburāhū seme,
ne je imbe sindaha,

yala yala banjire giyan,
hūlhai coohasai jilan,
tasha saibure gese,
beye muyahūn da an.

daicing cooha yabume,
uksa imbe okdoko,
getuken i fonjifi,
elemangga wesike.

boode marinjiha de,
besulahai non eme,
weihun niyalma serakū,
hutu seme goloro.

duka neifi tuwanggala,
yala banjire niyalma,
baibi menekesakai,
songgombime salahā.

erē gesengge ganio,
julgeci tetele bio,
enteke sain bodon,
merengge waka semeo.

ejen i gurun encu,
seolen šumin,
arga faksi,
kimun be gaifi,

daci tebuhe günin,
daiming gurun i jalin,
te jai hafan oho de,
inu dembei girucun.

105  ede tušan maraha,
joobai naka usaka,
egebu hala somitai,
emu jalan šuwe waliya.

tondoi sain karulan,
110  tob seme abkai giyan,
tere fon ci tetele,
amba mukūn hala biyan.

gungge gebu ambula,
jalan jalan gincihiyani,
115  juse omosì fengšen,
kurarangge giyan fıyàn.

*aguse tuwacina*,
tondo jai hiyoošun,
yasa tuwahai bucembi,
120  yaka enteke seci,
emu erin sainggeo,
yaya amban ohongge,

hūturi amba,
egeren dahūme bahā,
da šeo gebu biyan hala,
mingga jalan algingga,
urui imbe alhūda.
Poem 5: A ballad on Lin Xiangru’s returning the jade intact to the Zhao country

This poem consists of seven-syllable symmetrical couplets with an u-rhyme throughout.

Lin siyang zu i gu be muyahun i joo gurun de bederebuhe be irgebuhe ucun,

lin siyang zu kai lin siyang zu,  
bithi hafan dabala,  
cin gurun jing etenggi,  
tasha niohe i gesengge,  5  
aika imbe necici,  
geli fatai koimali,  
bai bi bai da bai da,  
hoton tofohon bufi,  
lin siyang zu i 113 aduru,  
tasan ningge jafame,  
sunja okson i dolo,  
monggon senggi fosokoi,  
gisun gisurelame,  
cira boco nioropi,  10  
cin gurun i wang sabuci,  
uthai inu je sehei,  
hoton cin gurun de an,  
hulašara doro bio,  
cin gurun jai joo gurun,  
cin joo gurun ereci,  
uttu henduhe manggi,  
joo gurun de marafi,  
liyan pu ede fancahai,  
dere acambihede,  15  
buccci bucekini,  
siyang zu jugün jai lahai,  
in booi ahasi,  
meni looye ainaha,  
terei baru cendeki,  
siyang zu gisun donjifi,  
cin gurun jai liyan jiyanggiyün,  
emke oci emteli haha i hüsün,  
tasha niohe i cin gurun,  
liyan jiyanggiyün de uttungge,  20  
bi jai tere liyan looye,

dembei fili baturu,  
aide horonggo tuttu,  
joo gurun jing dahasu,  
cooha morin hon labdu,  
gurun gukuburahu,  
jali arga bušuku,  
štwe serire šerinju,  
hulašara boobai gu,  
gu be cingkai burakü,  10  
sehehun turai baru,  
wang ni sasa bucenu,  
berten wang ni etuku,  
yasai faha štwe jamu,  
ergen šelere muru,  
mujilen ci niyambulu,  
siyan šeng jai ume uttu,  
gu joo gurun ineku,  
ere bai štwe akü,  
sain banjire gucu,  25  
urui hülwaliyasun yabu,  
siyang zu teni gaihasu,  
gungge fungnehe fulu,  
inci dabaha ubu,  
imbe bocihe tuwabu,  
kirime muterakü,  
tere mudan ududu,  
gemu dembei icakü,  
miyan jiyanggiyün de gelesu,  
meke ceke bolgobu,  30  
suweni geren hülhitu,  
ye eberi ya fulu,  
emke oci gubci gurun i uju,  
bi hono gelehekü,  
erei turgun suwe sarkü,  
joo gurun i dalikü,  

113 This i has a tooth, so it represents the Chinese syllable yi
cin gurun i sengguwecun,  
becunure tasha juwe,  
tesu gurun de koro,  
tondoi gurun i jalin,  
40  
liyan po gisun donjici,  
tere yekengge haha,  
hendume wajinggala,  
saihūwada be unufi,  
gashūure falingga,  
45  
emu erin i baita,  
onco lergiyen seci,  
senngi banin ningge,  
gemu amban nikai,  

damu meni juwe kiyangdu,  
urui kokira emu,  
bata gurun heo sanggū,  
aι dabure girutu,  
40  
yerterengge ba akū,  
liyan po buya albatu,  
yasai muke tuhenju,  
waka alime gaisu,  
monggon faitatai gucu,  
45  
minggan jalan i tuwakū,  
lin siyang żu bonggo,  
liyan jiyanggiyūn inu,  
tuwacina agu.
Poem 6: Verses on Taohua Yuan

This poem consists of symmetrical couplets with an an-rhyme throughout.

Too hūwa yuwan be irgebuhe ucun
an sere uran

too hūwa yuwan ya falan, sahangge yaka
nimahašara nyalma, wangga edun danjihai,
jUe dalin i toro moo, tuhenjie fiyentehe,
tuwame seme yabuhai, olhon bade tuwanakū,
duin ergi yen akū, too hū wa yu wan ya fal an, u ling bai114 hon daniyan,
sahangge yaka jin gurun i fon,
imahašara nyalma baturanara birgan,
wangga edun danjihai siran siran ai lakcan,
jUe dalin i toro moo ilhai bujan ginchiiyihon,
tuhnenjie fiyentehe eyenere gorokon,
tuwame seme yabuhai mukei sekiyen de mo hon,
olhon bade tuwanakū emu alin cokcohon,
duin ergi yen akū yaru dolo butui on,
too hūwa yuwan ya falan, too hūwa yuwan ya falan,
sahangge yaka jin gurun i fon,
imahašara nyalma baturanara birgan,
wangga edun danjihai siran siran ai lakcan,
jUe dalin i toro moo ilhai bu jan ginchii yihon,
tuhnenjie fiyentehe eyenere gorokon,
tuwame seme yabuhai mukei sekiyen de mo hon,
olhon bade tuwanakū emu alin cokcohon,
duin ergi yen akū yaru dolo butui on,
too hūwa yuwan ya falan, too hūwa yuwan ya falan,
sahangge yaka jin gurun i fon,
imahašara nyalma baturanara birgan,
wangga edun danjihai siran siran ai lakcan,
jUe dalin i toro moo ilhai bu jan ginchii yihon,
tuhnenjie fiyentehe eyenere gorokon,
tuwame seme yabuhai mukei sekiyen de mo hon,
olhon bade tuwanakū emu alin cokcohon,
duin ergi yen akū yaru dolo butui on,
too hūwa yuwan ya falan, too hūwa yuwan ya falan,
sahangge yaka jin gurun i fon,
imahašara nyalma baturanara birgan,
wangga edun danjihai siran siran ai lakcan,
jUe dalin i toro moo ilhai bu jan ginchii yihon,
tuhnenjie fiyentehe eyenere gorokon,
tuwame seme yabuhai mukei sekiyen de mo hon,
olhon bade tuwanakū emu alin cokcohon,
duin ergi yen akū yaru dolo butui on,
too hūwa yuwan ya falan, too hūwa yuwan ya falan,
sahangge yaka jin gurun i fon,
imahašara nyalma baturanara birgan,
wangga edun danjihai siran siran ai lakcan,
jUe dalin i toro moo ilhai bu jan ginchii yihon,
tuhnenjie fiyentehe eyenere gorokon,
tuwame seme yabuhai mukei sekiyen de mo hon,
o lhon bade tuwanakū emu alin cokcohon,
duin ergi yen akū yaru dolo butui on,
too hūwa yuwan ya falan, too hūwa yuwan ya falan,
sahangge yaka jin gurun i fon,
imahašara nyalma baturanara birgan,
wangga edun danjihai siran siran ai lakcan,
jUe dalin i toro moo ilhai bu jan ginchii yihon,
tuhnenjie fiyentehe eyenere gorokon,
tuwame seme yabuhai mukei sekiyen de mo hon,
o lhon bade tuwanakū emu alin cokcohon,
duin ergi yen akū yaru dolo butui on,
too hūwa yuwan ya falan, too hūwa yuwan ya falan,
sahangge yaka jin gurun i fon,
imahašara nyalma baturanara birgan,
wangga edun danjihai siran siran ai lakcan,
jUe dalin i toro moo ilhai bu jan ginchii yihon,
tuhnenjie fiyentehe eyenere gorokon,
tuwame seme yabuhai mukei sekiyen de mo hon,
o lhon bade tuwanakū emu alin cokcohon,
duin ergi yen akū yaru dolo butui on,
too hūwa yuwan ya falan, too hūwa yuwan ya falan,
sahangge yaka jin gurun i fon,
imahašara nyalma baturanara birgan,
wangga edun danjihai siran siran ai lakcan,
jUe dalin i toro moo ilhai bu jan ginchii yihon,
tuhnenjie fiyentehe eyenere gorokon,
tuwame seme yabuhai mukei sekiyen de mo hon,
o lhon bade tuwanakū emu alin cokcohon,
duin ergi yen akū yaru dolo butui on,
too hūwa yuwan ya falan, too hūwa yuwan ya falan,
sahangge yaka jin gurun i fon,
imahašara nyalma baturanara birgan,
wangga edun danjihai siran siran ai lakcan,
jUe dalin i toro moo ilhai bu jan ginchii yihon,
tuhnenjie fiyentehe eyenere gorokon,
tuwame seme yabuhai mukei sekiyen de mo hon,
o lhon bade tuwanakū emu alin cokcohon,
duin ergi yen akū yaru dolo butui on,
too hūwa yuwan ya falan, too hūwa yuwan ya falan,
sahangge yaka jin gurun i fon,
imahašara nyalma baturanara birgan,
wangga edun danjihai siran siran ai lakcan,
jUe dalin i toro moo ilhai bu jan ginchii yihon,
tuhnenjie fiyentehe eyenere gorokon,
tuwame seme yabuhai mukei sekiyen de mo hon,
o lhon bade tuwanakū emu alin cokcohon,
duin ergi yen akū yaru dolo butui on,
too hūwa yuwan ya falan, too hūwa yuwan ya falan,
sahangge yaka jin gurun i fon,
imahašara nyalma baturanara birgan,
wangga edun danjihai siran siran ai lakcan,
jUe dalin i toro moo ilhai bu jan ginchii yihon,
tuhnenjie fiyentehe eyenere gorokon,
tuwame seme yabuhai mukei sekiyen de mo hon,
o lhon bade tuwanakū emu alin cokcohon,
duin ergi yen akū yaru dolo butui on,
too hūwa yuwan ya falan, too hūwa yuwan ya falan,
sahangge yaka jin gurun i fon,
imahašara nyalma baturanara birgan,
wangga edun danjihai siran siran ai lakcan,
jUe dalin i toro moo ilhai bu jan ginchii yihon,
tuhnenjie fiyentehe eyenere gorokon,
tuwame seme yabuhai mukei sekiyen de mo hon,
o lhon bade tuwanakū emu alin cokcohon,
duin ergi yen akū yaru dolo butui on,
too hūwa yuwan ya falan, too hūwa yuwan ya falan,
sahangge yaka jin gurun i fon,
imahašara nyalma baturanara birgan,
wangga edun danjihai siran siran ai lakcan,
jUe dalin i toro moo ilhai bu jan ginchii yihon,
tuhnenjie fiyentehe eyenere gorokon,
tuwame seme yabuhai mukei sekiyen de mo hon,
o lhon bade tuwanakū emu alin cokcohon,
duin ergi yen akū yaru dolo butui on,
too hūwa yuwan ya falan, too hūwa yuwan ya falan,
sahangge yaka jin gurun i fon,
imahašara nyalma baturanara birgan,
wangga edun danjihai siran siran ai lakcan,
jUe dalin i toro moo ilhai bu jan ginchii yihon,
tuhnenjie fiyentehe eyenere gorokon,
tuwame seme yabuhai mukei sekiyen de mo hon,
o lhon bade tuwanakū emu alin cokcohon,
duin ergi yen akū yaru dolo butui on,

114 bai pronounced ba.i?
erin oci selabun,  günin cihai sarašan,
 julge akū te akū,  yaka gurun ya jalan,
tuwara donjirelengge  tuwabun sabugan anan,
adarem bahafi  musei tenere gašan,
40  bai gisure dabala,  too gung ejebun tašan,
 manjurame arafi  yasai juleri giyan fiyan.
Poem 7: A ballad for banishing boredom in times of rain

This poem consists of symmetrical couplets with an $a$-rhyme throughout. I’m not certain how to scan the first five lines, since they don’t seem to be symmetrical.

Agara nerginde aliṣara be tookabure leyecun

niyalmai hendure balama,  
abka i cihai hesebun i gama,  
era gisun mujangga,  
damu jalan i urse,  
ubabe sahangge yaka,

banin teisu buruhun,  
getuken šetuken seri,  
esa hahi cahi,  
uba ebuhu sabuhū,  
ede cici goci,

kicerengge urui ulin fulu hafan amba,  
aisi buyen on,  
kekta kakta i yen,  
dubede,  
butarangge ubui ubu,

julgeci tetele  
mohon hafu jabšaki ufaraki i erin,  
derengge girucun wesihun fusihun niyalma,  
sain ehe jobolon hūturi i forgon,

abka ci jurcerengge we,  
šakini,  
eyoyo,  
šu šungge wa wangga,  

naranggi ainara  
funchehengge duha du,  
bahangge aibi,  
sukdun senggi koro,  
beyebe beye  
bi oci  
jooki bai,  
tenteke jusei efin buju baja,

biretei
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godebure geoden,  

argadara arga,

_{ilata}_

hülimbure hūbin,  

jalidara jala,

_{bi gemu}_

35 tengkime safī,  
hafume tuwaha,  
erdeken i gociffī  
gorokon i jaiłaha,  
ekšere fon ton,  
hacihiyara[^115] ūn biya,  
bi elehun,  
ce hahiba,  
ce largin  
bi sulfa,

40 yaya ai ai okini,  
eiten je je wajiha,  
miningge bi tuwakiya,  
suweningge suwe icihiya,  
hūi inemene,  
hon ele mila,  
enduri fucihi  
wesihun bayasa,  
meimeni meimeningge,  
wede wei guwanta.

[^115]: hacihiyara presumably [χateʃara], with weakening of the second syllable
Poem 8: Pondering the past of Lousang village

This poem consists fairly consistently of stanzas of four seven-syllable lines with an AABA rhyme scheme. Two of the stanzas seem to have six lines instead of four, with an AABACA and an AABAAA rhyme scheme, and one stanza seems to consist only of two lines. It ends with eleven symmetrical couplets with an a-rhyme.

Leo sang gašan i julgeningge be ġunihangge
*manju gisun*

leo sang tsun, leo sang tsun,
gebulehe ya erin,
gurun jalan i sasa,
ulanjihai entehen,

5 manggai buyakan gašan,
aide daruhai ulan,
sain sukdun iktakai,
hūwašubuha ejen han,

ejen han kai we seci,
10 han gurun i joo liyei di,
sula uksun i beye,
si cuwan ejen oho ni,

han ojoro onggolo,
er gašan de bihe,
15 niyalmai jalin ba ujen,
tuttu uba gebungge,

boode niyalma moo fe,
sabi ferguwen todolo,
luku fisin suhin den,
20 deyen taktu i yangse.

mujin amba ben fulu,
damu encehen akū,
ambarame yabuci
sejilehei bai uktu,

25 banjinjifi mujingga,
koro fusihūn buya,
sabu uncara maiaman,
derhi jodoro haha,
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hüwang gin hülha ambula,
facuhürara baba,
nećihiyeki sembime,
tušan hergen te aba,
bai tuwarade ai jempi,
toose akű ainara,

35 hoton hanci isinju,
aī tuwabungga iletu,
cincilame tuwahade,
saisa bairengge inu,
günin gaitai aššan,
günihakü ucara,
teni kolaki seci,
udunggeri tathünjan,
dambai niyalma de jilgan,
jing yekengge hahai fiyan,

40 mujin bici yabuna,
aín uttu bai nasa.
agu hala gebu ai,
yūn cang ni de sembi kai,
too yūwan dolo gashūfi,
gucu monggon faitatai,
ere ilan ahūn deo
falingga jai geli bio,
te de gemu enduri,
hihanakü gung wang heo,

50 ere cinggiya gisuren,
erе žumín gunicun,
ba na hono de an i,
erin baita buruhun,

55 joo liyei hüwangdi ne aba,
leo sang gašan fe en jen,
gašan falan hono da,
niyalma irgen fe waka,

60 uttu tuwame ohode,
amtan akű mujangga,
goidatala jalan fon,
taka banin hahiba,
niyalma seme banjifi
emu tolgin dabala,
eitereme okini
aika yargiyan unenggi,
inggan jalan niyarakū,
jaide gosingga jilan,

eyooni untuhusaka,
egbu elgin tutaha,
damu tondo hiyoošungga,
enteheme ulara,

70
jalan baitai kübulin,
damu hoo sere sukdun
lii ma po jai ba jen tu,
agu akdarakū oci,

neore tugi wajima,
abka goidarai sasa,
ne jing hocikosaka,
leo sang tsun be tuwacina.
Essay 9: A speech on the love of Chrysanthemums

This is not verse, and so I have numbered the lines as they were in the original.

Bojiri be buyere gisuren

*manju gisun*

te bici dosin moo i sukdun fuseme tucinjifi, hacinggai
ilha moo ome banjibuhangge, hacin aname tuwamgahangge bime
niyalma tome urgunjecuke be dahame, maka abka na i
soninggai boco, niyalmai jalan i saikan tuwakü waka semeo,
tuttu seme niyengniyeri juwari ilha i hairacuka buyecukengge
udu mohon akü bicibe, mini beye damu bolori i bojiri
ilha i sitashün i ilame, amargide fiyanjilame, emhun
ilhai forgon be sirabuhai lakcan akü dade, terei fulehe
šumin bekí, terei jalan fíli mangga, terei banin giru
fujurungga hican, terei arbur muru ekisaka bolgo, terei
ilha fiyangtahün bime albatu akü, terei gargan giyabsahun
bime niyere akü, terei cikten tub tob bime mudan
akü, terei abdaha emke emken bime dábküri akü, terei
fuldun hafirahün akü bime fakcashün akü, terei
boco albatu akü bime goiman akü, arsun arsunarakü
bime siren sirenerakü, ursan fiserakü bime gubsu
kamcirakü, aga silenggi halukan seme coko akü, edun
gecen šahürun seme yada akü, dursun fiyangga seme
oilohon akü, hacin geren seme temšen akü, gurung
dorgi de bicibe wenjehun sereburakü, bigan tokso de
bicibe simeli sereburakü, geren fihecibe subsi sereburakü,
emtelı sindacibe fundehun sereburakü, juru hatan urse
sabuhade nesuken nemeyen ojoro, sesheri eimecuke urse
sabuhade wesihuñ fujurungga ojoro, oilohon balama urse
sabuhade ujen jing-i ojoro, kųwasa bardanggi urse
sabuhade nomhon sain ojoro, horon aisi i urse
sabuhade den genggiyen ojoro, doosi gamji urse
sabuhade hican hanja ojoro jergi babe buyehei bi,
aika tenteke abkai dergi fiyantororo, şün i ergi guilehe
biya i dorgi şunga, jai yoo cy omo i şu ilha i jergi
ilha oci, wesihuñ seci wesihuñ ohobi, saikan seci
saikan ohobi, damu niyalmai jalan de bisirengge waka,
buyere gojime bahafi saburakü ofi, tuttu mini buyerengge
bojiri teile kai, ai, bojiri sere ilha be, yaya
yasa bisirengge we ya buyerakü ni, tuttu seme terei
boco be buyerengge labdu bicibe, terei kalcunggi be buyerengge
komso, terei arbur be buyerengge geren bicibe, terei
jalan be buyerengge tongga, terei kalcunggi terei jalan be
buyeme muterengge ya niyalma seci, damu too gung ni teile

40 wajihabi, agu tuwaki, mini erebe buyerengge too gung ni gesengge
inuo wakao.
Poem 10: On stabbing Yizhihu

This poem consists of stanzas of four lines with an AABA rhyme scheme, but is not as strict about keeping to seven syllables per line. It switches to seven symmetrical seven-syllable couplets at the end with an $a$-rhyme.

$I \text{ jy hū be tokoro ucun}$

i jy hū, i jy hū,
ujui uju baturu,
abkai banjiha ari,
lii cen wang i deo gucu,

5 ubašaha fudaran,
g’alab ton giyan tuttu,
gūbdame daišahai,
hūšahū jai ehetu,

cung jeng dici genggiyen han,
10 gurun fengšen foholon,
yasa tuwahai wajia,
yala dembei hairakan,

mei šan alin i meifehe,
ejen abka wesike,
15 han i emgi gukutei,
damu wang ceng en tondo,

geren hafan jailatai,
amban ujirengge ai,
hūlhai da de dahafì,
20 watai seyecuke kai,

gurung gege i dorgi,
emu bonggo sargan jui,
han i kesi tebuhei,
kimun gaiki sembini,
25 ere gege wei hala,
emu nehu dabala,

---

116 I have followed Bosson and Toh in transcribing this name as $Yizhihu$, though what Chinese characters these represent, and whether it is a Chinese or Manchu name, I am unable to say.
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sesulaha jalan fon,
durgembuhe abka na,
buran tara jing geren,
ini teile elehun,
günin günigan amba,
bodon bodohon šumin,
arga mujakū fulu,
beye arara gungju,
cen wang aika gailhade,
terei ergen be gaisu,
banin wen hojo,
durun fiyan dolo,
yar sere faidan,
der sere dere,
urhu hailhū hailhungga,
elge nuhan yebcungge,
ambalinggū i giru,
fujurungga i yangse,
ara, baliya, ededei ainara,
i jy hū de šangnaha,
heni gosinggai jilan,
tokoro ci ukaka,
i jy hū ni, tenteke kiyakdu,
ere gege enteke niyambulu,
imbe tokoki seci,
yala yala ja akū,
teng serengge jingkini,
hing serengge unenggi,
wajin jili nukcikei,
ten i uthai wahabi,
senggi loho gūcika,
abkai baru hūlara,
koro amba baitalan,
gasihyarangge buya,
arkan fayangga bifi,
sali faitan hahasī,
jabšan bici ibehei,
aiši akū jailaha,
hanja girutu akū,  
tumen jalan otolo,  
ere ucun arafi,  
niyalmai mujilen bici,  
tese waburu waha,  
toore gebu tutara,  
šumin günin baktaka,  
durun obufi giyangga.
Poem 11: A rambling ballad on wealth

The title of this poem, like that of Poem 1, contains the word *gingsimbi*, “to sing in sing-song fashion.” The note also says that it is an *en*-rhyme. I’m not sure how to scan the last seven lines, so I have left them formatted as they were on the page.

**Ulin be gingsire leyecun**

*en sere uran*

ulin kai ulin,
aide uttu dembei ujen,

*cohome*

abka na i sultungga imiyan,  
gurun boo i oyonggo hacin,  
5  
jułge te i ergen sudala,  
jalan fon i oorî simen,

*tuttu*

gurun be bayambure irgen be tesubure amba tusa,  
erdemu be iktambure gungge be ilibure šumin sekiyen,

enduri de hafunacin hutu be takürara an i fangga,  
jalan be aidubure niyalma be weijubure ten i gosin,

*ede ba na seci,*

10  
eici alin šancin,  
eici ula tanggin,  
eici holo hoton,  
eici gemun hecen,  
eici falan falga,  
eici jure yamun,  
eici tecere ülen,  
eici tatara dedun,

*niyalma seci,*

15  
eici faksi hüdacî,  
eici saisa usin,  
eici bithe cooha,  
eici güsa irgen,  
eici hafan hali,  
eici aha jušen,  
eici guçu gargan,  
eici niyaman hünkîhîn,  
eici ilan tacihiyan,  
eici uyun tacin,

*baita seci,*

20  
eici siden baitalan,  
eici cisui fayabun,  
eici banjire were,  
eici şušu gunasun,  
eici bitheï kûwaran,  
eici coohai meyen,  
eici wecen jukten,  
eici cooha erun,

25  
eici cifun alban,  
eici caliyan fulun,

*jaka seci,*

eici nicuhe gu,  
eici aisin menggun,
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eici etuku jeku, eici agūra tetun,
eici usin yafan, eici hethe boigon,
eici fū fajiran, eici boo ülen,

30 yala
ba anan tede nikehei, fon deri erei akdacun,

uttu ofi,
bisirengge bayakan, akū oci yadahūn,
35 bisirengge derengge, akū oci girucun,
bisirengge kumungge, akū oci fundehun,
bisirengge ayan suwayan, akū oci hīhūn budun,
akū oci cici goci, bisirengge šehun šahūn,
akū oci buyasi jibge, bisirengge ambaki lergiyen,
40 akū oci eden dedun, bisirengge elgiyen tumin,
akū oci hir seme jibge, bisirengge ler seme elehun,
akū ci bihede, senggehu n ci teci tulejehe,
bisire ci akūngge, gincihiyen ci teci hoilashūn,
akū ci bihede, suilacun ci uthai jirgacun,
bisire ci akūngge, fiyaktahūn ci uthai giyabsahūn,
45 bisire erin gihi de fehi, akūü fonde acun de cacun,
bisire erin bisirele bade icangga ildunggā,
akūü fonde ucarahale baita fudasihūn murtashūn,
bisire erin ici kani, akūü fonde morin tarin,
bisire erin jiderakūngge ya nofi, akūüü fonde jailarakūnggē ya menen,
bisire erin gala bethe amba, akūüü fonde giru yangse giogiyān,
bisire erin giranggi yali waka bime, giranggi yali ci hajī,
akūüü fonde uksura mukūn inu seme uksura mukūn ci dyen,
50 bisire erin isibuci uthai kesi fulehūn, akūü fonde arbusāci, uthai keike nekeliyen,
bisire erin baibisaka kuturcerengge leksei,
akūü fonde sebkesakai herserengge yamken,
ereci teni
afa tafanara mederi tuwelenerengge tuttu tuttu,

ergen šelere beye maktaranggge feniyan feniyan,
murishūn de muriburengge niša, suilacun de suilaburengge geren,

55 ai ai,
baili de kimun ohongge erei turgūn, hanci de alđangga ohongge, terei jalin,
hajī de gelī dyen ohongge erei jalin, baisin de gaitai hafan ohongge terei turgūn,
tuttu seme bisire akūngge,
gemu teisu teisu i teisulen, inu meni meni i hesebun,
urui jurgan aisi i faksalan, damu tondo cisu i ilgabun,
60 tondo i gamaci, biretei gosingga jilan, cisu i gamaci, fuhali kimungge bakcin,
emhuleci gasacun jabcacun, salabuci simelen fulehūn,
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hala hacin i hacingga, uttu tuttu i kūbulin,
embici jalingga argangga, embici niyeniyehun liyeliyehun,
embici tašan talihūn, embici holo hūlimbun,
tuktan cisui mujilen, sirame doosi buyenin,
amala gūdubuha yabun, dubede burubuha banin,
sain de baitalaci, esi sain i yarubure yarun,
  ehe de baitalaci, ele ehe i geodebure geoden,
uhe i uhelec i urgun sebjen taśin necin,
cisui cisudeci, cooha dain haji yuyun,
minggan hacin tumen demun,
er e tondo tere cis i ulin,
buya kokiran oci, efuyehengge beye i ubu,
amba jobolon oci, jocibuhangge gurun i siren,
hafas i irdse e ubašaburengge cisu,
gūnin be cis u acaburengge ulin,

agusa tuwacina,117 wesi gun jalan i wesi gun oburengge jurgan, wasika jalan i wesi gun oburengge aisi118 sehe gisun, ulin be tondo i giyan de gaine, ulin be cis u i gūnin ci kicerakūngge damu jalan ci tucike jengge endurin, niyalma endurin waka be dahame, ya geli jurgan de ujen, ulin de weihusa, ulin de weihusa ningge be baici, urunakū enduringge jai amba mergen.

---

117 These last few lines don’t seem to be verse. Though there is a couplet embedded embedded in this section, it doesn’t share the rhyme of the poem.

118 These two lines read, “What is esteemed by the noble is justice, what is esteemed by the low is profit.” Compare this to the 42nd Manchu maxim listed in Rochet (1875:48): Ambasa saisā jurgan be sambi, buya niyalma aisi be sambi. “Officials and scholars know justice, petty people know profit.”
Poem 12: In praise of snow

Nimanggi be maktahangge

nimanggi kai nimanggi,
geli ilhai moo akū,
mere juhe nicihe,
beri beri samsitat,
5
buru bara bitele,
ekisakai singkiyan,
tugi sisere manda,
šeyen muduri aise,
maka ekihe huru,

hürgirengge hon garsa,
tuweri erin i ferguwen,
saisa yan ki i dalba,
yaka boode deduhei,
ba na hen i akū,

gehun gahūn bolokon,
acan ninggun giyalan juwe,
niša soninggai tuwabun,
eri muke cai fuifu,
terei jafu nisihai,

murui duibulen hojo,
gubci jalan saišacun,
šumin sahangge fe ya,
tanggū jeku i simen,
jing čak sere šahūyun,

nenden ilha gaibuha,
juhe secen i gucu,
gha bulehen duwali,
a i dolo a weihun,
fuserengge jing luku,

30
ton akū i sain ba,
saiken kai nimanggi.
Poem 13: An ode to the hut of peace and joy

Elhe sebjen i tobo be maktahangge

elhe sebjen i tobo,
šoo k’ang jiyei i tehe boo,
fikatala abka na,
sunja colhon i alin,
5 jakün dere i leli,
ula mederi šumin,
umai tuleri akū,
aika giru de binio,
cisui giyalabun aba,
10 yaka ujen feihuken,
mujin mujilen yala,
gungge faššan untuhun,
urui gosingga jilan,
tuwakiyan memeren beki,
15 geren teisulen wali,
mohon oci ai yadan,
hafan doshon adada,
toose horon ajaja,
emu tolgin getefi,
20 tuwame hafuka manggi,
šehun šahūn ai hala,
tuwabun bici hon saikan,
oori simen ujihai,
gilgan abka genggiyen šun,
25 bolgo edun gehun biya,
hacin hacingga ya ai,
abka geren i niyaman,
eden dedun jadaha,
eici nintuhū kuwaici,
30 eici buktu jai hundu,
eici hiyari cukūlu,
eici coki gunggulu,
arbun meimeni enci,
sasa tecendure boo,
35 maka gurun gewa semu,
nenden amala eyen,
suwaliyata cai fuufu,
ilha orho yooni bi,
meni meni cira fiyan,
40 sakda asihan gucu,
gemu bahaha teisu,
jaka anan i taifin,
elhe sebjen i uju,
sebjen elhe i amala,
yaka fororo hoşo,
yala musei keksengge,
sebjen elhe i dube,
elhe sebjen onggolo,
45
elhe sebjen daruhai,
jalan ambu uhetun,
amba wen i sasari,
etekengge we seci,
sulfa elehun noho,
mini tehe ere boo,
we ce si i\textsuperscript{119} ya be suwe,
50
elhe nuhan labdu,
elhe ineku de an,
eicibe ele mila,
largin lahin komso,
abkai untuhun efin,
sebjen beleni ne je,
eicibe ele mila,
ainame ine mene,
eici nimanggi gecen,
absi kumunggei yobo,
55
eici galaka nioron,
tugi jaksan gincihiyan,
suman talman buruhun,
eici agaha hongko,
saburakû kejine,
dartai andan wajifi,
goidatala ikengge,
oor serenge de an i,
60
era araha ucun,
esi isirakû kai,
ainci adali gese,
maka hamimbi dere.

\textsuperscript{119} This \textit{i} has a tooth at the beginning, so it is not the genitive marker \textit{i}, but rather the third person singular pronoun, or else the Chinese syllable \textit{yi}. I'm not sure of the meaning of this line, since it just seems to be a list of pronouns: “Who / they / thou / he / which / we / you”
Poem 14: Verses on Chaisang

Cai sang ba be irgebuhengge

gùnicuka cai sang ba,  ging jiyei siyan šeng ni falga,  
emu tolgin ketuhai,  gulu mujilen yaka,  
han wei gurun onngotai,  g’u tiyan irgen mujangga,  
fikatala hûdai giyai,  ekisakai ilhai hûwa,  
5 bolgosaka alban boo,  encu emu abka na,  
saråšara alin wai,  serumuwešere bujan šuwa,  
hoton buraki aibi,  bigan sabugan niša,  
sohokon i bojiri,  dergi hasha juwe dalba,  
niyengniyeri fiyan niowanggiyakan,  fodo ho sunja da,  
derei bithe kejine,  malui arki jaluka,  
erin tuwabun jing hojo,  gungge gebu ai baita,  
elhe nuhan bi cingkai,  lahnin lampa wei gwanta,  
ebitele jekengge,  juwe erin i muwe buda,  
beleningge etuku,  kubun boso niyancangga,  
sula baisin elehun,  amba hafan faijuma,  
duwali bulehen buhû,  hoki nimaha sampu,  
gûlin cibin i emgi,  coko niyehe i sasa,  
ine mene hûi cihái,  ele mila bai sula,  
niyalmai jalan endurin,  damu somiha saisa,  
10 derei bithe kejine,  esi derenge fiyangga,  
erin tuwabun jing hojo,  dembei girutu hanja,  
elhe nuhan bi cingkai,  kek serenge bigan tala,  
ebitele jekengge,  ler serenge baita tongga,  
beleningge etuku,  abka fonjici mangga,  
sula baisin elehun,  tondo bodohon waliya,  
duwali bulehen buhû,  gûnin banuhûn waka,  
gûlin cibin i emgi,  weri hataci giyangga,  
ine mene hûi cihái,  aisme dede dada,  
niyalmai jalan endurin,  aisme cucu caca,  
20 derei bithe kejine,  atanggi keike buya,  
erin tuwabun jing hojo,  atanggi goci tata,  
elhe nuhan bi cingkai,  daljakûngge amala,  
ebitele jekengge,  wei jalin he fa,  
beleningge etuku,  darakû fe ya,  
sula baisin elehun,  geli ai ge ga,  
duwali bulehen buhû,  bucefi hoo hoo sere fayangga,  
gûlin cibin i emgi,  fulu amtan wa,  
ine mene hûi cihái,  urgun sebjen ambula,  
niyalmai jalan endurin,  icanggai Ŝun biya,  
30 derei bithe kejine,  ondohongge güwa,  
gûlin cibin i emgi,  ondohongge güwa,  
injicûndûn saise,  ondohongge güwa,  
bi uttu kûwai fai,  ondohongge güwa,  
ainame hen tan,  ondohongge güwa,  
damu hoo sere yabin,  ondohongge güwa,  
umrhî Ñem cingkai,  ondohongge güwa,  
35 manggai bai e je,  ongghongge nenehe,  
bai fûtu kûwai fay,  ongghongge nenehe,  
amrhî Ñem cingkai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ébûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
40 manggai bai e je,  ongghongge nenehe,  
bai fûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
amrhî Ñem cingkai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
 dài fûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
45 manggai bai e je,  ongghongge nenehe,  
bai fûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
amrhî Ñem cingkai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
 bai fûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
50 manggai bai e je,  ongghongge nenehe,  
bai fûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
amrhî Ñem cingkai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
 bai fûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
55 manggai bai e je,  ongghongge nenehe,  
bai fûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
amrhî Ñem cingkai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
 bai fûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
60 manggai bai e je,  ongghongge nenehe,  
bai fûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
amrhî Ñem cingkai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
 bai fûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
65 manggai bai e je,  ongghongge nenehe,  
bai fûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
amrhî Ñem cingkai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
 bai fûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
70 manggai bai e je,  ongghongge nenehe,  
bai fûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
amrhî Ñem cingkai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
 bai fûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
75 manggai bai e je,  ongghongge nenehe,  
bai fûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
amrhî Ñem cingkai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
 bai fûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
80 manggai bai e je,  ongghongge nenehe,  
bai fûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
amrhî Ñem cingkai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
 bai fûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
85 manggai bai e je,  ongghongge nenehe,  
bai fûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
amrhî Ñem cingkai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
 bai fûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
90 manggai bai e je,  ongghongge nenehe,  
bai fûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
amrhî Ñem cingkai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
 bai fûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
95 manggai bai e je,  ongghongge nenehe,  
bai fûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
amrhî Ñem cingkai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
 bai fûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
100 manggai bai e je,  ongghongge nenehe,  
bai fûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
amrhî Ñem cingkai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
 bai fûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
105 manggai bai e je,  ongghongge nenehe,  
bai fûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
amrhî Ñem cingkai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  
 bai fûtu kûwai fai,  ongghongge nenehe,  
ainame hen tan,  ongghongge nenehe,  

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oilo ai ai okini,
mujin enteke,
beleni ebsihei elhe,
tentekengge weci,
45 tere babe bahakū,
damu je je wajiha,
kesi antaka,
ineku sulakan sulfa,
too yuwan ming dabala,
yabun songkoi ocina.
Poem 15: Lyrics in praise of tobacco

Dambagu be irgebuhe ucun

dambagu, dambagu, tusanggai ba mujakū,
oilo tondo dolo hafu,
faksalaci sunja feten, acamjafi emu giru,
mooi salgabun tuwai erdemu,
5 boihon i lala aisin i uju,
mukei simen cifenggu, yendere wasire derengdu,
fulgiyere gocire andande, angga de ašuci, kara muduri inu,
femen ci tucici, şanjin garudai wakao, şumin tomin wangga su,
10 niyalmai baru acaci, dembei hüwaliyasun tuttu,
ingga sede tebuci, urui gingguji kundu,
yuyure kangkara be tookabure gungge amba, tookabure gungge amba,
joboro gingkara de andubure ben fulu, andubure ben fulu,
watai hafumburengge, dolo cehun gingkacun, Geli mayamburengge, tule geri ineku,
15 ten sain i baitalan, şu günigan neileku,
musei gurun jing yenden, julgei fonde şuwe akū,
coo yan dambagu goiman, mukei dambagu cisu,
yarsi dambagu oci, ambula kokirakū,
horon okto udafī omirengge hülhitu,
20 darhūwan dulimbi hiyase, doron ajige malu,
fayanga i yarhūdan, dangna buruhun muru,
tuwai agūra waka, inu miyoocan i gebu,
tetun manggici ilan, niyalmai ergen ududu,
oori simen juwan gaihai, senggi sukdun şuwe kumdu,
25 onggolo fon gairengge, coro aniyangga inu,
yala weihun buceli, a i jalan i hutu,
etuhun a nyere, murhu farhūn suihutu,
er e we i wakalan, beyei baiha suisiru,
emuf efeli dolo, horon fiheke jalu,
30 erei cifun gairengge, fafun sehengge ainu,
niyalmai haran waka bai, abkai mujilen uttu,
aiman niyalma i jali, hūbin geoden iletu,
ulin ergen juwe gaфи, butui arga hon kecu,
amba kokiran bime, oron sereburakū,
35 geli wanggiyarangge bi, gebu inu dambagu,
buya tampin tebume, ilhai fangšaha wa su,
oforo de wangkiyaci, şungeri ci ai encu,
teci yacihiyahade, urui gingkacun hafu,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ere inu tusangga,</th>
<th>ilan hacin ci fulu,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>terei teheren seci</td>
<td>jing omire dambagu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ere ucun i gisun,</td>
<td>tusa koro buleku,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>agu erebe tuwafi,</td>
<td>saikan soyome yabu.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Poem 16: A song of plum flowers

Nenden ilha be irgebuhe ucun

nenden ilha ai colo,
tuwari forgon i tuwabun,
abai silenggi aga,
tuwaci hũwantahũn hada,
5      yaya ilha layapi,
      geren bujan niohušun,
butui fangšaha wangga,
gecehengge ten beikuwen,
selei cikten sargiyakan,
simeckua udu de,
egenge gangga simeli,
gaksi manggai bulehen,
buru bara biyai elden,
yadan nimalan hailand,
10      ilan śahũrun gucu,
nimanggi i sasari,
terei da banin kulu,
uii ling antu halukan,
yuwan lu jidun soningga,
ho hiowen dergi asari,
li k’ai mukei jugũn ci,
bayan weshihun hafan,
giru gulu de fulu,
banjita uttu hican,
20      jalan an i asari,
aika niyengniyeri erin,
ũũwaliyambure ŕasigan,
kuri kari hacingga,
manggai erere aga,
edun fulgiyeme jaka,
yasa tuwahai wajija,
tuttu wesihun saisa,
geren wangga gurun de,
uthai yadahũn saisa,
30      taifin erin somitai,
banjinjihai baitangga,
enduri i fon beye,
asibume ebufi,
ede ucun arafi,
erin tuwabun serenggeo,
lo fuo endurin gege,
tumen ilha i bonggo,
iša nimanggi juhe,
šac i olho ho ho,
eiten orho soroko,
erai teile ijehe,
tumin šahũri boci,
ilakangge jing hojo,
šušu dasiha niokso,
dulembuhe aniya fe,
hũwantu ulin i hošo,
emg i yaka cecike,
bolgo micihiyen muke,
niyere toro foyoro,
35      jakdan mailasun cuse,
niyengniyeri be meljere,
teni emhun enteke,
tuttu nenden fushuhe,
gu šan alin gebungge,
inu gebu tucike,
benjihengge hon yobo,
tuwaki seci ai ŕolo,
yangse saikan ci moro,
ainahai tuttu oilo,
saha niyalma geli we,
niyalma tame eyoyo,
terei tebuhe tondo,
yaka šahũrun bongko,
geli gelere bono,
teci biretei mokto,
emu tolgin kumungge,
nenden ilha nioroko,
erai teile encungge,
jalan akdun i gese,
mohon fonde serehe,
tucikede oyonggo,
damu yoo cy i omo,
jalan tuwakũ ojoro,
40      akũmbume henduhe,
šumun mujilen noho,
erei adali oci, yabun hamimbi dere.
Poem 17: Lyrics on lotus

Šu ilha be irgebuhe ucun

ilhai gebu šu sembi, ere yala ai turgun,
ambalingū boco fiyan, fujurungga banin wen,
emte darhūwa emteli, yaka faju ya siren,
cikten emhun ilingga, geli yaka nkebul,
5 niohokon i saracan, abdaha i muheliyen,
fulgiyakan i fiyentehe, jaksan icheh tunin,
nantuhūn ci banjifi, aide hen ni nantuhūn,
usihen de šekhehe, aide hen iusihin,
baihon muke fofofi, aide hen i lalahūn,
10 mukei siden de bifi, abai buraki hukun,
colo ambasa saisa, muke biyā i guwan śi yen,
ere ilhai fayangga, yoo cy omoi endurin,
fusai amaga beye, iceburakū banin,
boihon sahaliyan seme, banjiha de hon śeyen,
15 lifagan ci faššahai, watai baibuha hūsun,
colgoropi ja waka, ten gosihon mujilen,
saisai mujingga gese, ilha gururc ucun,
saike gege kejine, sasa nioboro efīn,
20 hojo ghā inenggi, yala kumunggai tenggin,
geren fucihi tek, suuman dolo getuken,
goro tuwac iohori, hanci šari felehun,
jortai fangga benjhei, yobo arara edun,
šu ilha be jonoci, wajin akū i sain,
25 taka joringga gaifi, manjurara banjibun,
emu tookabure ton, irgebuhe muwa gisun,
gisun cinggiya bicibe günin mujakū šumin,
agu cincilame tuwa, erei baktaka jorin.
Poem 18: Ode to the Fishing Pier

Nimaha welmiyere karan be irgebuhe irgebun
ng u en a e i sere ninggun uran i manju gisun

fu cun alin yan dzy ling,
te welmiyere karan jing,
inggun biya i furdehe,
jilan beki tuwakiyan teng,

5   han gurun i han guwang u,
siyan šeng ini fe gucu,
emu erin kidufi,
werešehei ūwe akū,

arkan acaha erin,
10   amban obuci sain,
canjurame acafi
yaka, baisin ya ejen,

hafan ohongge waka,
yala somiha saisai,
15   emu bade dedufi,
guwelke dzy fei usiha,

aibi gebu ai gungge,
ula tenggin hon hojo,
hanja girutu ujen,
20   bolgo algin tetele,

minggan jalan goidapi,
entekengge hon seri,
ere ucun arafi,
sain durun obuki
Poem 19: On narcissus

Šunggiyada ilha be irgebuhe ucun

šunggiyada šunggiyada, ilha hacin ton waka,
geren wangga gurun de, ujui uju hojo da,
ilhai giru bicibe, endurin i fayangga,
juwan jubki ilan tun, mukei simen hüwašaha,
5 aga silenggi aibi, hukun buraki aba,
yonggan jahari emgi, gecen nimanggi sasa,
userengge inuo, teberengge inuo, orhoi da waka, moo i da waka,
šeyeken i fomoci, niowanggiyakan i garsa, niowanggiyakan i garsa,
gincihiyi i fiyan, bolokon i wa,
10 šanggiyan gu i gubsu, suwayan aisin jilha,
aga ocina tugi ocina, gurun haihara hoton haihara,
siyang fei lo fei unenggi, ioi nioi han nioi mujangga,
muru urhu haihũ, yangse gengge gangga,
arbun ardashũn niyere, dursun ebilun niyada,
15 haihũngga bime yebcungge, buyecuke dade hairacuka,
absi tuwaci absi ailungga.

tenteke
boco biserengge kejine, wangga biserengge hacingga,
tede duibulehede,
20 manggai elbetu fiyan albatu fiyan dabala,
ainhaai erei gese banjitai fujurungga,
tere anggala šahûrun de icingga,
halukan de cihakũ, gecuhun de soningga,
niyengniyeri be temšerakũ, encu hacin tuwamgahangga,
25 nenden ilhai siramengge, šumin günin baktacina,
tuttu ucun arafi,
Poem 20: In praise of fire

Tuwa i maktacun

tuwa tuwa tuwa, tuwa tuwa tuwa, ya ya ya, ya ya ya,
na i juwe, šun i da,
mooi tucin, mukei bata,
e i boo, a i hůwa,
5 dolo butu, oilo fiyangga,
weniyere wembure aisi, bujure boolara tusa,
fulhureci umesi henri, badarakai mujakū amba,
cing cing serengge gidabure ai, hůr hůr serengge mkiriyebuci ja,
aśśan eldehen jijuhan, fulgiyan fulahūn aniyangga,
10 abka de bici, akjan nioron usiha i acabun, niyalma de bici sukdun jili girucun i harangga,
cy bi alin tede sanggü, u fang gurung ede waliya,

tuwa ya adada.
Poem 21: A text of offering to the beard god

Salu enduri be wecere bithe

salu salu,                      gunggei uju,
banjihai                      manggaburu,

mentuhun bi
banin moco,                      yabun gulu,
imata sijihūn                     ainahai ildamu,
ulin de ekiyehun,               erin de icakū,

eres dade
boo yadahūn,                  ben baitakū,
tušan umesi buya,              fulun giyanakū udu,
suingga eri,                  gosihon uttu,
bisire akū                    manggai turga du,
morin kutule,                sejen etuku,
ya hacin bini                biretei akū,
kemuni weshihun fašsaci,       ya emu jukten ufuhu,

aguse gûnime tuwa,
uhe dakū,                       buli butu,
ya geli jurgan giyan,     ya geli bithe šu,
ya geli jalangga,          ya geli girutu,
ya geli jingkini sijihūn,     ya geli doro erdemu,

ya geli gulu nomhon,          ya geli tondo tob¹²⁰,
abai moo i jun,               niša ku i hū,
yala gicuke,                  watai cihakū,
ai, dergi hafan i kesi,        babi urgederede isinarahū,
gurun boo i alban,           geli jailatame muterakū,

jing manggašara nergerinde, jahšan kai, ere šarapi salu ede
sakda fiyan canggi,              aniya se fulu,
duwali ci hihan,              geren ci encu,
dere yasa hatacuka,          giru yangse ubiyaburu,
gucusei basucun,            ambasai injeku,

ede
teni gebu                      bibuhekū,
hojo kai salu,               saikan jiye salu,

¹²⁰ Elsewhere, we know tob should have two syllables. Its appearance here, in rhyming position in a poem with a u-rhyme, implies that it should be pronounced [t̪̪̪̪̄bu].
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mini bailingga agu, mini tusangga gcu,
mini haji anda, mini genggiyen sefu,
35 orho mampicibe muheren ašukini, sini baili be karulame wajirakū,

ereci julesi
beyede ušabun aibi, güninde yertecun akū,
siden de ya ušan fašan, cisu de ai hešu hašu,
y a cecikei sijin, ai nimahai uku,
40 dahūbuha banin teisu, yongkiyahuha beyei ubu,
elhe sulfa i fe doron, ele milā i da giru,
fiyoose emu šoro emu,
sebjen be labdu, sebjen be labdu,
gemu šarapi salu i baili inu.

45 uttu ofi doborongge
emu moro langgū, emu moro miyehu,
emu moro mungi, emu moro umpu,
hiyan i dabukū, sun i oromu,
ten ginggun, jing kundu,
50 bairengge salu si alime gaisu.
Appendix B: *Gisun i kooli*

I present the text of the *Gisun-i kooli* in transliteration below, with my own attempt at a literal translation into English. I submitted this transcription and translation, together with some discussion, to *Saksaha: A Review of Manchu Studies*. The text begins with a brief declaration of a variety of places and manners of articulation, followed by some specific descriptions of pronunciation for a few syllables, and concluding with a system of supplementary diacritics that the student can use as reminders of the correct pronunciation of words.

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**Gisun-i kooli**

**Rules of Speech**

Manjurara de, mudan-i ujen weihuken bisire, jergi ilhi be facuhūrarakū, urgen giyan-i meni meni wajici acara bade wajibuci, terei tob be teni ufarakū ombi.

In speaking Manchu, one will be unerringly correct only if one does not confuse the system of heavy and light sounds, and one pronounces them with the correct lengths, and in the places that are appropriate for their pronunciation.

Hergen mudan bilha de wajirengge bi, heheri de wajirengge bi, weihe de wajirengge bi, kamnifi anggai dolo wajirengge bi, nei fi angga tule wajirengge bi, oforo dolo wajirengge bi, ilenggu-i da de wajirengge bi, ilenggu dubede wajirengge bi.

There are syllables whose sounds are pronounced in the throat, those that are pronounced at the palate, those that are pronounced at the teeth, those that are pronounced in the closed mouth, those that are pronounced outside the open mouth, those that are pronounced in the nose, those that are pronounced with the base of the tongue, those that are pronounced with the middle of the tongue, and those that are pronounced with the tip of the tongue.

Sundalahai jibsibume hūdun-i hahilaci acara babi, ujen be weihuken-i gisureci acara babi, weihuken be cira saifi gisureci acara babi.

There are places where it is appropriate to hurry, folding up while riding double. There are places where it is appropriate to speak heavy sounds as light, and places where it is appropriate to bite light sounds strictly when speaking them.

Duibuleci, kū ka sere juwe hergen, mudan-i urgen ujen, bilha de wajirengge. Hergen mudan be weihuken i gamame gisureci, terei tob be teni bahaci ombi. Heheri de guribufi cira gisureci ku k’a ombi. Gi ki

For example, consider the syllables *kū* and *ka*, which are heavy in length and pronounced in the throat. If you speak the sounds lightly, only then can you get them right. If you move them to the palate and
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sere juwe hergen, mudan-i urgen ilenggu-i beye, heheri de wajirengge. Ilenggu dubede obufi weihe de beneci ji ci ombi.

pronounce them strictly, then they become *ku* and *k’a*. The length of the syllables *gi* and *ki* is the middle of the tongue, and they are formed on the palate. If one makes them with the tip of the tongue, carried to the teeth, then they become *ji* and *ci*.

If one changes their places, and so gets the sounds of the syllables mixed up, then by marking them up with an ink-stick as follows, one can get the manner of pronouncing them exactly right.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mark</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>If one makes this mark that is bent upwards, the sound of the syllable is high, pronounced on the palate or in the nose.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>If pulled downward like this, the sound of the syllable is heavy, pronounced in the throat or at the base of the tongue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>If one draws horizontally like this, the sound of the syllable is pronounced flatly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δ</td>
<td>If one makes a pointed enclosed shape like this, the sound of the syllable is hurried, folded up while riding double.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>If one makes a round enclosed shape like this, the sound of the syllable is pronounced evenly and uniformly in order.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

O Aika ere songkoi jijun temgetu be tuwame jurcerakū tacime gisureci, tumen hacin emu šošombi.

If, following this, one looks at the marks and symbols, and studies them and practices pronouncing them without fail, the ten thousand varieties are brought together as one.
Appendix C: A Mixed-Language Didactic Poem

This anonymous poem appears at the end of an undated student’s notebook, with a headline saying “The Previous [Rules] Joined In Eighty-Eight Lines” (以上共合八十八句). It consists of eighty-eight couplets, most lines of which have seven syllables, and each couplet of which has an e-rhyme. There is a stray half-couplet (a single, seven-syllable, unrhyming line) in the middle of the poem, which interrupts both the structure of the poem and the line-count—meaning there are in fact eighty-eight and one half couplets. The Chinese characters are very clearly written, though the Manchu lettering is a little amateurish, so it was probably copied out by a student already proficient in Chinese, who was beginning to learn Manchu. The purpose of the poem is no doubt to serve as a set of mnemonics for translators translating from Chinese into Manchu.

As with Jakdan’s poetry, the e-rhyme includes Manchu words ending in both -e and -o, though the Chinese rhyming words all end in -o. It is much more difficult to consistently reach seven syllables per line in this poem, perhaps indicating that in the intended Manchu readings weak syllables do not count as syllables at all.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manchu</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>esi</td>
<td>之下用 ci 托</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aika yala unenggi</td>
<td>非 oci 即用 ohode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aikabade 亦如此</td>
<td>掂作如果倘或說</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>相同相似與猶如</td>
<td>不出 adali 與 gese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni 字必承 ainahai</td>
<td>又承 ainu adarame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jakade 上用 ra re</td>
<td>落脚須使 ha he ho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka ke ko 字皆一顛</td>
<td>只當上下文顛奪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetendere 上必用 ci</td>
<td>dahame 上不離 be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>尚且之下有而況</td>
<td>bade be ai hendure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>况且 tere anggala</td>
<td>不但必改 sere anggala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anggala 上惟 re 字</td>
<td>當作與其那樣說</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>下面如有不如字</td>
<td>當有 de isirakū 托</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>不惟不獨與僅字</td>
<td>teile akū 與 teile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>有無當織 bi akū</td>
<td>不拘長短上用 de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>追述己徃未然語</td>
<td>bihe bici 搭 bihe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>因為神情用 ofi</td>
<td>若非整字必用 me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>倘若上文非整字</td>
<td>則用 rengge 與 hangge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>因此及彼言其故</td>
<td>oci 下用 ombi 托</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

121 ohode > [ɔχɔʤ]? Through weakening of the second syllable and rounding of e.

122 adarame > [adramɔ]? Through weakening of the second syllable and rounding of e.
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已然時候使 manggi 163
me 字若接 uthai
urunakū 必定語
me re 是側重語
三字若还歸一致
ofi 下边接 me 字
me 字下面有 fi 字
長章大節 re me 字
功夫說到效駛處
既至不必着力處
bu be 本是把他意
若是被他怎麼說
bu 字亦有自然處
oci ombi 是可以
ainambi 上用 fi 字
oci ome 堅 fi 字
ainci 之下用 dere
恐怕神情 ojorahū

倘若上文是整字 124
又須變換使 ayoo
cacakū 與 acanarakū
tere 之下有 ci 字
ai 字多有貼何字
要性那走是 absi
jabu ala fonji125 字
ao eo io 字皆疑問
kai 字落脚決斷語
dabala 作罷咧說
oki 亦是寧可說
雖字神情用 udu
he ha ke ka 共整字
揣摩語氣看整破
既然如此不能彼
50 canggi 當作純字講

當作 he ha ka ke ko
吾123 氣緊如 mbidere
ainu seci 怎麼說
me 字平平往下說
ra re ro 接 rengge
功夫邊進語還多
不有 mbi 即 ha he
末尾當接 omode
自然而然 be dahame
切記不可用 bu be
又是叫他語氣說
bu 字之上必有 de
只看有 be 與無 be
ci ojorakū 使不得
mutembi 上必有 me
因為可以那樣說
原是猜疑語來着
緊接一定有 seme

123 This character is not clear.
124 This line interrupts the poem.
125 The original had foji, but it should read fonji
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ere dada 是而且  然字一轉  tuttu seme
uttu ofi 是以字   tuttu ofi 是所以說
由功致效推開講  必有  uttu ohode
至字必是  isinambi  不論何處都用  de

遥憶何處  jamaka  waka semeo 不是麼
若是引經或據典  當用  de henduhengge
末尾須托  sehebi  起止界限方明白
若以論斷証古語  長音應用  sehengge
因此由此  turgun  代申其意  sehengge

文氣恐是為此語  ainci erebe henduhebi dere126
使令他人哽口氣  禁止之詞使  ume re
整字必要改破字  ume ofi ojoro
已然可以127與為字  oho ombi obure
開首一叫使  rengge  末尾亦必用  rengge

ofi kai 是倒裝語  turgunde kai 把上托
haran 雖作故作講  字句之中暗用着
述他人說使  sehe  中心所欲  ki seme
勉力人詞  okini  緊皆一定有  seme
整字不足照使令  下边又须用  oho

断然二字有原說  本是  afaha seme
ainara 是怎麼樣  如何可是  ainaici ojoro
ominaci128 ojorakū  不得已而如此說
若是  aide bahafi  汗文必是何由得
ci 字當作從字講  又作自字由字說

缘由則使  turgun  因為則使  ere jalin
文氣若是除此外  當使  reci tulgiyen
baha 之下休用  ha  ra re 之下無  ja na
切記  la le 與  lo lu  千万不可把  de 加
mbi 本是用力字  已然推効無  ra re

126 The prohibition against descending diphthongs followed by two consonants (c.f. section 2.3.1) should yield a three-syllable reading for  ainci  as *[ajintṣi]. However, the QQ lists this word among the exceptions to the usual syllable structure (manju tulergi holboho hergen) and gives a transcription of 安七, from which we should reconstruct [antṣi]. Even given this, however, this line appears to have too many syllables.

127 This character is unclear. It looks as though it was originally written 也, but then amended to 以.

128 There may be a scribal error here. There is an extra tooth after the  m and before the  i of  omi, in addition to which, the meaning seems out of place.  ominaci ojorakū means “it is not OK to go for a drink”.

164
80 總而無警 eitercibe
一事方完一事起
hade hede 與 rede
但只二字使 damu
dolo tule 二字上
85 若講 eitercibe
tala tele dolo 字
既然如此又能彼
裹冇上文托住語

說到事即 he ha
須得 jai 字另起說
順着文氣往下拉
而已矣是 wajiha
切記不可把 de 加
總而言之語氣活
耐長永遠到底學
中間過脉狸使 bime
必使 ci banjihangge