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Venjukov's [1858] 1862/1868 Nanai materials¹

The goal of this paper is to offer a philological analysis of the so-called “Nanai word-list” by M. I. Venjukov, published in the mid-19th century in two language versions, in French and Russian. Most descriptions (usually based on Kotwicz’s pioneering studies) agree that both lists are identical. I aim to demonstrate that (a) the two versions differ on some crucial points and, more importantly, (b) Venjukov’s lists hide the materials of both the Kilen and Kili languages (formerly the Sungari-Bikin and Kur-Urmi sub-dialects of the Upper Amur Nanai dialect), as happens to be the case with sources gathered in the Ussuri region.

I. Introduction

The goal of this paper is to offer a linguistic analysis of the Nanai word-list by M. I. Venjukov, published in the mid-19th century in two language versions (French and Russian). Most descriptions of this word-list – which are usually based on Kotwicz’s brief report – agree that both language versions are identical. I aim (a) to demonstrate that the two versions differ on some crucial points and, more importantly, (b) to establish the languages or dialects represented in Venjukov’s word-list and to integrate the results with the general picture of Nanai dialectology and Tungusic historical and comparative linguistics.

Most old sources containing valuable material for the description of Common Tungusic languages² remain insufficiently studied. There are a few notable exceptions to this general statement. We have at our disposal several critical editions of all the pre-professional linguistic descriptions known to us of Solon (Northern Tungusic): Ligeti (1959), Kałużyński (1971a, 1971b), Aalto (1976, 1977) and Lie (1978). These sources assist us in improving our knowledge of both Solon and Tungusic historical and comparative linguistics.

As far as Nanai is concerned, there are numerous sources of the 19th century and earlier which await linguistic scrutiny, some of which were analysed by Gerhard Doerfer. However, Doerfer gave attention only to those which could shed some light on the question of the independent language status of the Kur-Urmi Nanai dialect. Since Doerfer never aimed to carry out an exhaustive analysis of all the available old sources, he chose to ignore some of them, among others Venjukov’s word-list. Although Venjukov’s materials may seem to have little appeal (for example, as we shall see both language versions contain more or less the same 150 words), it is my

1 I would like to express my deep gratitude to the anonymous reviewers and the editor of the journal. Their remarks have improved the overall quality of this paper contributing many valuable suggestions and corrections. Any remaining errors are, of course, my own responsibility.

2 I use the label “Common Tungusic” to refer to those Tungusic languages which do not belong to the Jurchenic branch, i.e. Jurchen, Manchu and Sibe.

understanding that they deserve the same amount of attention, especially if we take into account that (a) Venjukov is the oldest source after Maak's 1855 glossary (published in 1859) and (b) later authors seemingly did not bother to consult it. In fact, the word-lists of Venjukov and Maak complement each other very well; Maak's materials *grosso modo* cover the Central and Lower Amur dialectal zones, while Venjukov's materials cover the Upper Amur zone. As is well known, the Upper Amur dialectal zone, the one with which Doerfer was more concerned, is defined by those Nanai varieties mainly spoken in the basins of the Kur, Urmi and Sungari rivers (here, Lower Amur and Sungari should be understood according to Smoljak 1975, *pace* Ikegami 1989: 123). Doerfer concluded that these varieties are not dialects of Nanai, but rather full-fledged languages. In that context, Kili and Kilen are the names traditionally used to designate the Kur-Urmi and Sungari dialects, respectively (however, Kilen is commonly referred as "Hezhe(n)" in Chinese and Japanese works, see for example An 1986). We must bear in mind, however, that Doerfer's proposal is not commonly accepted, and many authors still prefer to regard all these varieties as dialects of Nanai.

In §2 I shall briefly sketch Venjukov's life and main occupations. In §3 the description of both word-lists will be presented from a formal viewpoint. I will briefly mention the most distinctive features of the Nanai dialects in §4 so that they can be later compared with those detected in Venjukov's materials. The contents of both word-lists are integrally reproduced in §5 and a commentary is provided in §6. I shall identify the precedence and dialectal nature of Venjukov's materials in the discussion and conclusions offered in §7–8, respectively.

2. Venjukov's word lists: background

Mikhail Ivanovič Venjukov (Михаил Иванович Венюков; Nikitinski (НИКИТИНСКИЙ), 1832–Paris, 1901) was a Russian traveller and geographer who retired from a military career with the rank of Major General, conferred upon him in 1876. Venjukov belonged to highly prestigious geographic societies, among others Paris, Geneva and London, and many of his travelogues and other descriptions of the places which he visited and studied were published and very often even translated into English (see *inter alia* Venjukov 1872 and Michell & Michell 1865: 239–291). He travelled extensively in Asia, Africa and America, and spent the last part of his life in Switzerland and France, though he never lost contact with his native Russia (for further details, see his extensive memoirs in Venjukov 1895–1901).

During an expedition to the region of the Ussuri basin in 1858, Venjukov managed to collect a brief vocabulary of the Nanai language which he would publish twice. The first version (French version or "F") was published in 1862 in *Petermann's Geographische Mittheilungen*, a journal devoted mainly to geographic as well as cartographic issues. Venjukov's contribution occupies only one page (109). The Nanai materials are presented in two columns (half left column, full right column). The paper is signed by "Stabskapitän Venukoff" (German *Stabskapitän* corresponds to Russian *штабс-капитан* or English *staff captain*, a middle rank within the military

hierarchy). There is a six-line German prologue, obviously not written by Venjukov but rather by the editor of the journal. The second version (Russian version or “R”) appeared as the second appendix to the first chapter of Venjukov’s expedition diaries published in 1868, the word-list occupying three pages (from 103 to 105, full right and left columns). This version has a four-line Russian prologue, this time undoubtedly from Venjukov’s own pen.

Venjukov informs the reader that the contents of his word-list differ from Brylkin’s. Brylkin’s materials, gathered in 1859 and published two years later in Maak’s second monograph, offered at the time the most extensive information on the Nanai language because the author not only gathered a vocabulary of more than 800 terms, but he also produced a brief grammatical description. The work of Brylkin gained much attention and it was widely used by other travellers, anthropologists and linguists until the publication of P. Protodjakonov’s dictionary in 1901. Therefore, Venjukov’s disclaimer is somewhat justified. Venjukov could have benefited only from Maak’s 1855 word-list (published in 1859: i–xix), but as we shall see later, that is not the case. This fact naturally increases the value of Venjukov’s word-list and the origin of its contents.

3. Formal characteristics

The differences between F and R are few in number. For starters, F contains four words which do not appear in R, namely <Gassan> ‘village’, <Guissouri> ‘to speak’, <Nouvou> ‘sister’, <oumoun> ‘one’. There are cases of “lexical pairs”, i.e. two different Nanai forms with the same meaning, in both versions. Since one of these lexical pairs in F involves <Nouvou>, R only has two of these lexical pairs (‘water’, ‘sea’), instead of the three to be identified in F (‘sister’, ‘water’, ‘sea’). It is hard to tell why those words are absent from R. Two of them are Tungusic in origin, while the other two are of unknown origin, at least to me. Secondly, Venjukov indicates the stressed syllable by means of the sign <_> only in R, e.g. F <aïa> vs. RV <aя>, cf. LN <aя> *aya* [a'ya] ‘good’ (if necessary, I provide an impressionistic transliteration, following Janhunen 1996: xiii–xiv, and the IPA transcription). The position of the stress sign in Venjukov’s materials seems to agree with the general rule that in Nanai the last syllable is always stressed, even when occupied by an enclitic (see Avrorin 1959: 62–63 for LN or Sem 1976: 34 for the Upper Nanai dialects). However, there are numerous instances showing that other syllables may be the locus of stress, e.g. F <Drabra> vs. <Дзábза>, cf. LN <дябдян> *jabjan* [zab'zã] ‘snake’. Most old sources of Nanai do not provide information on the placement of the stress, with the notable exception of Brylkin (1961: 4 §2) and Skurlatov (1899). Unfortunately, stress is not indicated for many words in Venjukov’s R word-list, even when they contain more than two syllables. Table 1 summarizes the number of accented and unaccented instances (I have counted Janhunen’s diphthongoids [1985] as disyllables since Venjukov’s practice is to accent those too; syllabification is based on F, since in R some orthographical devices, e.g. the use of <я> for the diphthongoid [ya], might make the count difficult).

Number of syllables	Accented	Unaccented
1	0	7
2	73	36
3 or more	25	12
Total: 153	98	55

Table 1. Accented vs. unaccented instances according to number of syllables.

Thirdly, F has 145 lexical items arranged in orthographical order according to French spelling conventions. In fact, French spelling conventions are systematically applied to the Nanai materials throughout the word-list. Thus, we have mute final unaccented <e> after consonants (as expected, <ъ> has an identical function in R), <é> for /e/, <ou> for /u/, <ï> for the glide /y/, <-ss-> for /-s-/, <gu> for /g/, etc. Every word is capitalized. Numerals, not capitalized and arranged in increasing order from one to ten as well as 50 and 100, follow the vocabulary in a separate section. R has 153 lexical items and although it seems that they are arranged in orthographical order according to Russian spelling, in reality the position of many words has been altered so that it is not easy to find them at first sight.

There is some confusion about the exact number of words contained in both versions. The first recount surely belongs to Kotwicz (1909: 211–212) who says that R contains 153 words. He does not mention, however, that there are two lexical pairs ('water', 'sea') and one question, namely *Анда, Думань-бира горó?* '(My) friend, where is the Duman' river?', which actually does not contain any new words (*anda* 'friend', *bira* 'river' and *goro* 'far (away)' are already glossed in the word-list) except for the name of the river Duman'. In a footnote, Kotwicz does mention that there is a previous version which had been published several years earlier in French (1909: 212 footnote 1). Avrorin (1959: 8–14) repeats Kotwicz's statement. Sem (1976: 14), who relies on Kotwicz, claims that the number of words is 143. Since he does not specify what version he consulted, one must assume that Sem had in mind F after subsuming the lexical pairs for 'water' and 'sister' (this could be so because each member of these lexical pairs are presented in contiguous order, but the two members of the lexical pair for 'sea' are distributed in orthographic, and therefore non-contiguous, order) and ignoring numerals altogether. We could also speculate that actually Sem was referring to R, but in this case we must assume a typo in 143 instead of 153. Regardless of these counts, it is obvious that neither Kotwicz nor Sem (or any other later researchers) took the time to compare both lists in detail.

The distribution of the features noted above are presented in the following table:

F	R
157 words (11 numerals, three pairs)	153 words (11 numerals, two pairs)
Orthographical order (numerals aside)	Disrupted orthographical order (numerals occupy no special place)
	One question (= extra material)
	Comments on the location where a given word was recorded or on semantics

Table 2. Comparison of formal features in F and R.

4. Brief survey of Nanai dialectology

Sources containing materials gathered in the Ussuri region arguably reflect a mixture of different known Nanai dialects. The status of some of these dialects has been challenged in recent decades by Gerhard Doerfer, Juha Janhunen and also by tungusologists from China and Japan. These authors consider that the Sungari and Kur-Urmi dialects should be treated as full-fledged languages, thus referred to by the terms Kilen and Kili, respectively. Janhunen even speaks of a Nanaic group within the Southern Tungusic branch which would encompass Nanai, Kili, Kilen and also Ulcha and Orok (see for example Janhunen 1996: 59–64, 2005). The use of labels such as “dialect” and “language” are commonly associated with non-linguistic issues. However, it is my understanding that those authors who endorse the language status of the Sungari and Kur-Urmi dialects are actually seeking a way to underline the differences between the variants strictly from a linguistic (historical and comparative) viewpoint: just as Solon, Negidal and Ewenki are languages, so too are Kili, Kilen and Nanai.

Be that as it may, in the following table I summarize the main correspondences between these two schools of thinking:

Nanai dialectology		Nanaic dialectology
Upper Amur	(= Sungari, Bikin)	Kilen (≈ Hezhen) language
	(= Kur-Urmi)	Kili language
Central Amur	(= Najxin, Sikači-Aljan)	Nanai proper (or Najxin <Найхин> Nanai = Literary Nanai)
Lower Amur	(= Gorin, Bolon)	

Table 3. Nanai vs. Nanaic dialectology.

I have tabulated the main phonological features of Literary Nanai, Sungari Nanai and Kur-Urmi Nanai in the following chart (based on Sem 1976: 26–34, Sunik 1958: 52–54 and Doerfer 1973, especially 572–578; 1977: 56; 1978: 8–18; 1984):

	Literary Nanai (= Central Amur)	Sungari Nanai (= Kilen)	Kur-Urmi Nanai (= Kili)
I	/-w-/ <i>cowo</i> ‘thief’	Ø <i>coo</i>	Ø <i>coo</i>
II	/aCi/ <i>aysi(n)</i> ‘gold’	/aCa/ <i>aysa(n)</i>	/aCi/ <i>aysiⁿ</i>
III	PT */ü/ > /u/ <i>tugdä</i> ‘rain’	PT */ü/ > /u/ <i>tugdä</i>	PT */ü/ > /i/ <i>tigdä</i>
IV	/-V ₁ r#/ <i>kamor</i> ‘together’	/-V ₁ rV ₁ #/ <i>kamürü</i>	/-V ₁ r#/ <i>kamür</i>
V	NO <i>ama</i> ‘father’	apocope <i>ama</i> ~ <i>am</i>	NO <i>ama</i>
VI	NO <i>nämdäkän</i> ‘thin’	syncope <i>nämtkääkä</i>	syncope <i>nämkuⁿ</i>
VII	NO <i>boa</i> ‘place’	monophthongization <i>baa</i>	monophthongization <i>baa</i>
VIII	PT */p(-)/ > /p(-)/ <i>palan</i> ‘floor’ <i>mapa</i> ‘old man’	PT */p(-)/ > /f(-)/ <i>fala</i> <i>mafa</i>	PT */p(-)/ > /f(-)/ <i>falaⁿ</i> <i>mafa</i>
IX	/ŋ-/ <i>ŋala</i> ‘hand’	/n-/ <i>nana</i>	/ŋ-/ <i>ŋala</i>
X	/wä-/ <i>wäcän</i> ‘dog (female)’	/(w)u-/ <i>(w)ucä</i>	/wä-/ <i>wäcä</i>
XI	/-ŋm-/, /-gb-/, /-kp-/ <i>aŋma</i> ‘mouth’ <i>sogbo</i> ‘fish skin’ <i>tukpä</i> ‘nail’	/-mŋ-/, /-bg-/, /-fk-/ <i>amŋa</i> <i>sogbo</i> <i>tufkä</i>	/-mŋ-/, /-bg-/, /-pk-/ <i>amŋa</i> <i>sogbo</i> <i>tipkä</i>
XII	PT */p-/ > /p-/ <i>paa</i> ‘liver’	PT */p-/ > /x-/ <i>xakī</i>	PT */p-/ > /x-/ <i>xakīⁿ</i>
XIII	/n’/ <i>n’oani</i> ‘he’	/j/ ~ /n’/ <i>jan’i</i> ~ <i>n’anī</i>	/n’/ <i>n’aani</i>
XIV	Ø <i>muä</i> ‘water’	/-k-/ <i>mukä</i>	/-k-/ <i>mukä</i>
XV	PT */-ti-/, /-di-/ > /-ci-/, /-ji-/ <i>gocisii</i> ‘bitter’ <i>agji</i> ‘thunderbolt’	PT */-ti-/, /-di-/ > /-ci-/, /-d’i-/ <i>gocisī</i> <i>agd’i</i>	PT */-ti-/, /-di-/ > /-ti-/, /-d ^(’) i-/ <i>gotisi</i> <i>agdi</i>
XVI	PT */rC/ > /yC/ <i>xuygu</i> ‘tail’	PT */rC/ > /yC/ <i>xuygu</i>	PT */-rC-/ > /-d’C-/ <i>id’gi</i>
XVII	/-ar#/ <i>saŋar</i> ‘hole’	/-aa#/ <i>saŋaa</i>	/-a#/ <i>saŋa</i>

Table 4. Main dialectal features of the Nanai dialects.

In Kazama's contribution on the genealogical position of Hezhen (\approx Kilen), Features III ($> /i/$), VIII ($> /x-/$), XIV ($> \emptyset$) and XVI ($> /-rC-/$) are also highlighted with additional instances (1996: 120–125; English translation in Kazama 1998). They show that the variety described by Kazama seems to occupy an intermediate position between Sunik's Kur-Urmi Nanai (= Kili) and Sem's Sungari (Bikin) Nanai.

I have selected those features which will be of some relevance for the later discussion. Among other things, this means that only phonological features shall be taken into account, since we cannot directly observe any morphological particularities in Venjukov's word-list (see Tsumagari 1997: 179–180 for some morphosyntactic differences between Literary Nanai and Sungari Nanai with further bibliography). Needless to say, Lower Amur Nanai dialects (Gorin, Bolon, etc.) do not play any role in this discussion.

5. Venjukov's word-list

The content of both R and F word-lists are reproduced in Table 5 with the corresponding comparative materials from Najxin Nanai or Literary Nanai (after Onenko 1980), Sungari Nanai or Kilen (after Sem 1976) and Kur-Urmi Nanai or Kili (after Sunik 1958). Phonological transcriptions of the Cyrillic-based orthographies are merely impressionistic (again, see Janhunen 1996: xiii–xiv). The French and Russian original translations will be mentioned only if necessary, otherwise I provide only the English translation. In case a word in R does not occupy the place that it apparently would have to according to the Russian alphabetical order, I indicate the page and column (lower case, square brackets) so that it can be easily found.

Table 5. Venjukov's materials from F and R, with Najxin, Kilen, Kili and Brylkin's corresponding forms:

Venjukov			English meaning	Literary Nanai (= Najxin Nanai)
Nr	F	R		
1	Aba	Аба́	not	<i>aba</i> _[22b]
2	Adime	Ади́мъ	big sturgeon	<i>ajin</i> _[29b]
3	Agai	Агай	brother	<i>aga</i> _[25a]
4	Aia	Ая́	good	<i>aya</i> _[52b]
5	Aïssa	Айсá	golden	<i>aysin</i> _[31a]
6	Ama	Ама́	father	<i>amaa</i> _[35b]
7	Amira	Амиро́	grandfather	—
8	Anda	Анда́	friend	<i>anda</i> _[42b]
9	Apou	Апу́	hat	<i>aapon</i> _[46a]
10	Balana	Балана́	long time ago	<i>balana</i> _[58b]
11	Balapti	Балапти	ancient	<i>balapci</i> _[58b]
12	Baran	Бара́нь	much	—
13	Bi	Би	to be (locative, copulative)	<i>bi-</i> _[64b]
14	Bia	Бя	moon	<i>bia</i> _[65a]
15	Bira	Бира́	river	<i>biraan</i> _[67b]
16	Bitza	Бита́	branch of a river	—
17	Botzin	Боце́нь	island	<i>boacaan</i> _[69b]
18	Bouda	Буда́	millet	—
19	Bougdy	Бы́гды	leg, foot	<i>bägi</i> _[84a]
20	Bouié	Бы́э	man	<i>bäyä</i> _[84b]
21	Boussou	Бусу́	a k. of fabric	<i>busui</i> _[83b]
22	Boutcha	Быча́	roe	<i>bocan</i> _[77b]
23	Chia	Шя _[105b]	ear	<i>sian</i> _[357b]
24	Chiro	Широ _[105b]	sand	<i>siyaan</i> _[370a]
25	Daé	Даé	big	<i>daay</i> _[133a]
26	Daï	Дай	pipe	<i>day</i> _[133a]
27	Daouri	Даури	to cross	<i>daaori</i> _[138a]
28	Dérin	Дэре́нь	river's source	<i>därään</i> _[84a]
29	diguine	Дигинь	four	<i>duin</i> _[162a]
30	Dilé	Дилэ́	head	<i>jili</i> _[154a]
31	dja	Джа	ten	<i>joan</i> _[146a]
32	djarcou	Джабкú	eight	<i>jiakpon</i> _[177b]
33	Djangué	Чжангэ _[105b]	pole	—
34	Djanguine	Чжангинь _[105b]	master	—
35	Djantchi	Чжанчи _[105b]	sheet	<i>jansa</i> _[542b]
36	Djikda	Джикда _[103b]	bread (flour)	<i>caagian</i> _[496b]
37	djour	Джурь	two	<i>juär</i> _[175a]
38	Dolbo	Долбо	night	<i>dolbo</i> _[158b]
39	Drabra	Дза́бза	snake	<i>jabjan</i> _[176a]
40	Dyré	Дырэ́	face	<i>däräl</i> _[172a]
41	Eleki	Элэ́кй	to drink	<i>älä-</i> _[527b]
42	Eryn	Эрынъ	bread	<i>äpän</i> _[283b]
43	Er-inin	Эръ-иненъ	today	<i>äyniä</i> _[524b]
44	Esso	Эсо	eyes	<i>nasal</i> _[284a]
45	Foulgué	Фульгэ́	sheet	—
46	Foulou	Фулу́	aspen	<i>polo</i> _[334b]
47	Fouro	Фуро́ _[1,04b]	mountain	<i>xurään</i> _[483b]
48	Foutatcha	Футача́	bag	<i>pootacaan</i> _[338a]
49	Gakhara	Гахара́	shirt	—
50	Gao	Гао́	pole	—
51	Gassan	—	village	—

Sungari Nanai (= Kilen)	Kur-Urmi Nanai (= Kili)	Brylkin
<i>aab(a)</i> _[135a]	<i>aba</i> _[163a]	[a]bà _[11a]
<i>ad'i(n)</i> _[136b]	<i>ajin</i> _[163b]	адзин'ъ ~ адзи _[11a]
<i>aaga</i> _[136a]	<i>aga</i> _[163a]	аgà _[11a]
<i>ay(ad)</i> _[136b]	<i>aya</i> _[164b]	—
<i>ays'an</i> ~ <i>ays'in</i> _[136b]	<i>aysin</i> _[163b]	айсэн'ъ _[11a]
<i>ama</i> _[137b]	<i>ama</i> _[164a]	амà _[11a]
—	—	—
<i>anda</i> _[138b]	—	андà _[11b]
<i>aafo(n)</i> ~ <i>aafu(n)</i> _[139b]	<i>afun</i> _[165b]	афон'ъ _[11a]
<i>baalan(a)</i> _[141a]	<i>balana</i> _[166a]	—
<i>balafcee</i> ~ <i>balafci</i> _[141a]	<i>balapti</i> _[166a]	—
—	—	—
<i>bi-</i> _[142a]	—	би-мэ _[12a]
<i>b'ëë</i> _[142a]	<i>bia</i> _[166b]	бjà _[12a]
<i>b'irä</i> _[142a]	<i>birä</i> _[166b]	бирä _[12a]
—	—	—
<i>booca(n)</i> _[143b]	—	бачà ~ бацà _[11b]
—	—	—
<i>bägd'i</i> _[144a]	<i>bugd'i</i> _[167a]	бэкдыль _[11b]
<i>bäyä</i> _[144b]	<i>bäyä</i> _[167b]	—
<i>busu</i> _[144a]	—	босò _[12a]
<i>boca(n)</i> _[143b]	—	—
<i>s'ëë(n)</i> _[181a]	<i>s'an</i> ~ <i>sean</i> _[188a]	сjàн'ъ _[17a]
<i>s'iro(n)</i> _[182b]	<i>seron</i> _[189a]	—
<i>daay</i> _[150a]	—	дàй ~ дajè _[12b]
—	<i>day</i> _[170a]	даjи _[13a]
<i>dao-</i> _[151b]	<i>dao-u-ri</i> _[171a]	—
<i>därä(n)</i> _[155b]	<i>därän</i> _[172b]	дырэ-ни _[13b]
<i>duuy(n)</i> _[153b]	<i>duin</i> _[24]	дуин'ъ _[13b]
<i>d'il'i</i> _[152b]	<i>d'ili</i> _[171b]	джели ~ дэли _[13a]
<i>joan</i> _[174b]	<i>juan</i> _[24]	джуан'ъ ~ джуан'ъ _[13b]
<i>jaŋkò(n)</i> ~ <i>jaŋku(n)</i> _[156b]	<i>jakun</i> _[173b]	джэпкòн'ъ _[13a]
—	—	—
<i>janjëë(n)</i> _[156a]	<i>jaŋg'an</i> _[173b]	джан'гин'ъ _[13a]
<i>jansa</i> _[156a]	<i>janci</i> _[173b]	—
<i>caagjaa(n)</i> _[206a]	<i>cagjan</i> _[202b]	чакджан'ъ _[20b]
<i>juu</i> ~ <i>juuärä</i> _[157a]	<i>juu(r)</i> ~ <i>juru</i> _[175a]	джур'ъ _[13b]
<i>dolbo</i> _[153a]	<i>dolbo</i> _[171b]	дольбò _[13b]
<i>jabja(n)</i> _[155a]	<i>jabjan</i> _[173a]	—
<i>därä</i> _[155a]	—	дыри _[13b]
<i>älä-</i> _[210a]	<i>älä-u-ri</i> _[205b]	—
<i>äfu(n)</i> _[211b]	<i>äfän</i> _[206b]	—
<i>äyn'ä</i> ~ <i>äyin'i</i> _[210a]	<i>äynäŋi</i> _[205a]	эйни _[13b]
<i>(n')isala</i> _[159b]	<i>nasal</i> ~ <i>esal</i> _[184b]	—
—	—	—
<i>folo</i> _[196b]	—	—
<i>xurä(n)</i> _[204b]	<i>furän</i> _[198b]	—
<i>footacaa(n)</i> _[197b]	<i>focatkan</i> _[198b]	—
<i>gaxara</i> _[146b]	<i>gaxara</i> _[168b]	гaxарà _[12a]
<i>gao</i> _[146a]	—	—
<i>gas'a(n)</i> _[146b]	<i>gas'an</i> _[168b]	—

Venjukov			English meaning	Literary Nanai (= Najxin Nanai)
Nr	F	R		
52	Gorbini	Горбѣни	to call	<i>gärbu</i> _[128b]
53	Goro	Горó	far away	<i>goro</i> _[115a]
54	Gouchi	Гушѣ	uncle	<i>gusiñ</i> _[122a]
55	Gouissé	Гуйсэ́	crate	<i>guysá</i> _[119b]
56	Guiou	Гѣу́	copper	<i>gion</i> _[106b]
57	Guissouri	—	to speak	<i>gisurá-</i> _[108a]
58	Guivou	Гуву́	goat	<i>giu</i> _[108b]
59	Nadar	Хадаръ	rock, escarpée	<i>kadar</i> _[202b]
60	Haï	Хай	what? which?	<i>xay</i> _[443a]
61	Haïla	Хайла	turtle	<i>kaylan</i> _[203a]
62	Halta	Халта	side	<i>kaltaa</i> _[205b]
63	Hamela	Хамелá	behind	<i>xamila</i> _[450b]
64	Harmakté	Гармактé	midge	<i>garmatka</i> _[99b]
65	Hatza	Хацá	scissors	<i>xaja</i> _[439b]
66	Hédou	Хэду	wind	<i>xädün</i> _[486b]
67	Honi	Хóни	how	<i>xoni</i> _[468b]
68	Hotchou	Хочу	walnut	<i>kocoa</i> _[230b]
69	Hotone	Хóтонъ	town	<i>xoton</i> _[474b]
70	Houi-manga	Хы́н-мангá	very quick(ly)	—
71	Hounia	Хуня́	spoon	<i>xon'aan</i> _[470b]
72	houioun	Хуонъ	nine	<i>xuyun</i> _[485b]
73	Houunké	Хы́нкэ	cucumber	<i>xoanngoan</i> _[461b]
74	Ikha	Ихá	cow	<i>ixan</i> _[200a]
75	ilan	Ила́нь	three	<i>ilaan</i> _[190a]
76	Imakha	Имакá	fish	<i>imaxá</i> _[193a]
77	Ini	Ини́	mother	<i>än'ä ~ änin</i> _[531b]
78	Inin	Иненъ	day	<i>ini</i> _[195a]
79	Ityrké	Итыркэ́	lighter, burner (Fr. le briquet, R. огниво)	—
80	Jafou	Жафу́	felt	—
81	Jaï	Жай	a k. of boat made of birch	<i>jay</i> _[176b]
82	Jolo	Жоло́	stone	<i>jolo</i> _[148b]
83	Kaltchi	Кальчѣ	near	<i>kalci</i> _[206a]
84	Karto	Картó	carp	—
85	Kira	Кира́	edge	<i>kira</i> _[219a]
86	Kirpou	Кирпу́	sturgeon	<i>kirpu</i> _[219b]
87	Kokto	Коктó	cork	<i>kookton</i> _[223a]
88	Kouldou	Кулдú	cedar	<i>koldon</i> _[223a]
89	Koulou	Кулу́	squirrel	<i>xulu</i> _[478b]
90	Kourmé	Курмэ́	needle	<i>xurma</i> _[483a]
91	Kourmikté	Курминтé	midge	<i>purmiktá</i> _[344a]
92	Kouta	Кутá	cup	—
93	Koutré	Куцэ́	knife	<i>kucään</i> _[236a]
94	La	Ла	candle	<i>laa</i> _[243b]
95	Lamou	Ламу	sea	—
96	Lamouka	Ламукá	navy	—
97	Ma	Ма	come on!	<i>maa</i> _[254a]
98	Mafa	Мафá	old man	<i>mapa</i> _[118b]
99	Manga	Мангá	wrong, awkward	<i>maná</i> _[256b]
100	Mapa	Мапá	bear	= 98
101	Méoutchan	Меуцáнь	rifle	<i>miocaan</i> _[263a]
102	Mindou	Мендú	hello	—
103	Mo	Мо	wood	<i>moo</i> _[263b]

Sungari Nanai (= Kilen)	Kur-Urmi Nanai (= Kili)	Brylkin
<i>gärb'i</i> _[146a]	—	<i>герби</i> ~ <i>гербу</i> _[12a]
<i>goro</i> _[148b]	<i>goro</i> _[169b]	<i>горò</i> _[12b]
<i>gus'i(n)</i> _[149b]	—	—
—	—	<i>гуйсà</i> _[12b]
—	—	—
<i>g'isurä-</i> _[147b]	—	<i>гисурэ-мэ</i> _[12b]
<i>g'iu</i> _[147b]	—	<i>г'юн'ъ</i> _[12b]
<i>kadaa</i> _[161a]	—	—
<i>xay</i> _[200a]	—	<i>хай</i> _[19a]
<i>kayla(n)</i> _[161b]	<i>kayla</i> ⁿ _[177a]	<i>кайла</i> _[14b]
<i>kalta</i> _[162a]	<i>kalta</i> _[177a]	<i>кальта</i> _[14b]
<i>xam'ila</i> _[200b]	—	—
<i>garmatka</i> ~	<i>garmatka</i> _[168b]	<i>гармактà</i> _[12a]
<i>garmaxka</i> _[146b]	—	—
<i>xaja</i> _[199b]	<i>xaja</i> _[199a]	<i>хадзà</i> _[19a]
<i>xädu(n)</i> _[205a]	<i>ädin</i> _[205a]	<i>хыду</i> _[19b]
<i>xon('i)</i> _[203b]	<i>oon</i> ~ <i>ooni</i> _[186b]	<i>хонjë</i> _[19b]
<i>koco(a)</i> _[166a]	<i>koceka</i> _[179b]	<i>коцò</i> _[15a]
<i>xoto(n)</i> _[203a]	<i>xoton</i> _[201b]	<i>хотон'ъ</i> _[20a]
—	—	—
<i>xon'a(n)</i> _[203a]	—	<i>хун'гэ</i> _[20a]
<i>xuyu(n)</i> _[204a]	<i>(x)uyun</i> _[24, 82]	<i>хуюн'ъ</i> _[20a]
—	—	<i>хын'ка</i> _[19b]
<i>ixa(n) ~ jaxa(n)</i> _[159b]	<i>exan</i> _[173b]	<i>эха</i> _[14a]
<i>ila(n)</i> _[158a]	<i>elan</i> _[173a]	<i>илан'ъ</i> _[14a]
<i>im(a)xa</i> _[159a]	—	<i>эмахà</i> _[14a]
—	<i>än'ä</i> _[206a]	<i>энэ</i> _[14a]
<i>in('i)</i> _[160a]	<i>inäj</i> _[175b]	<i>ини</i> _[14a]
<i>yatar'ko</i> ~ <i>yatar'ku</i> _[161b]	—	<i>јатаркò</i> _[13a]
'кресало'	—	—
<i>jafo</i> _[156b]	—	—
<i>jay</i> _[155a]	<i>jay</i> _[173a]	<i>дэжàи</i> _[13a]
—	—	—
<i>jolo</i> _[156b]	<i>jolo</i> _[174b]	<i>дэжолò</i> _[13a]
<i>kalc'i</i> _[162a]	<i>kalc'i</i> _[177b]	<i>кальци</i> ~ <i>кальчй</i> _[14b]
—	—	<i>хартхò</i> _[19a]
<i>k'ira</i> ~ <i>k'ara</i> _[164a]	—	<i>кирà</i> _[14b]
<i>kirfo</i> ~ <i>kirfu</i> _[164b]	<i>kirfu</i> _[178b]	<i>кирфу</i> _[14b]
<i>koxto</i> _[166a]	<i>kokton</i> _[178bb]	<i>кохтон'ъ</i> _[15a]
<i>kol'do</i> _[165a]	<i>koldo</i> ⁿ _[178b]	<i>кольдòн'ъ</i> _[14b]
<i>xulu</i> _[204b]	—	<i>хулу</i> _[20a]
<i>xurmä</i> _[204b]	—	<i>хурма</i> _[20a]
<i>xurm'iktä</i> ~ <i>xurm'ixtä</i> _[204b]	<i>xurmäktä</i> _[201b]	<i>хурмиктà</i> _[20a]
—	—	—
<i>kucä(n)</i> _[167a]	—	<i>куцэн'ъ</i> _[15a]
<i>la</i> _[168a]	<i>la</i> _[180a]	—
<i>lamo</i> ~ <i>lamu</i> _[169a]	<i>lamu</i> _[180b]	<i>ламу</i> _[15a]
—	—	—
<i>ma</i> _[171a]	<i>ma</i> _[181a]	—
<i>maja</i> _[172a]	<i>maja</i> _[182a]	<i>мафà</i> _[15a]
<i>maŋga</i> _[171a]	<i>maŋa</i> _[182a]	—
= 98	= 98	—
<i>m'öcca(n)</i> _[173a]	<i>meocan</i> _[182a]	<i>мјаочà</i> _[15a]
—	—	—
<i>moo</i> ~ <i>muu</i> _[172a]	—	<i>мо</i> _[15b]

Venjukov			English meaning	Literary Nanai (= Najxin Nanai)
Nr	F	R		
104	Mou	Му	water	<i>muä</i> _[274a]
105	Mouca	мука	= 104	—
106	Moudou	Муду́	otter	—
107	Moungou	Мынгú	silver	<i>mängun</i> _[277b]
108	Mouni	Муни	our	—
109	Mouré	Мурэ	horse	<i>morin</i> _[269a]
110	Mourin-pocto	Мурень-покто́	horse-path	—
111	Nadan	Наданъ	seven	<i>nadaan</i> _[279b]
112	Nakchi	Накшй	to beat	—
113	Nala	Нала	hand	<i>ḡaala</i> _[284b]
114	N'amou	Наму	sea	<i>namo</i> _[281b]
115	ningou	Нингú	six	<i>n'uḡun</i> _[296a]
116	Noucté	Нуктэ	hair	<i>nuktä</i> _[296a]
117	Noutchi	Нючи	small	<i>nuuch</i> _[296b]
118	Nouvou	—	sister	—
119	Nyvou	Ныву	= 118	—
120	Orké	Оркэ	horrible, lame	<i>orki</i> _[314a]
121	Ouchicta	Ушикта	star	<i>xosikta</i> ~ <i>xosakta</i> _[474a]
122	Oufourou	Уфуру	nose	<i>oporo</i> _[313b]
123	Oukda	Укда́	boat	<i>ogda</i> _[306a]
124	Ouktou	Уктú	powder	<i>okto</i> _[308b]
125	Oulé	Улэ́	good	<i>uläa</i> _[429a]
126	Oulicsé	Уликсэ́	meat	<i>uliksä</i> _[429a]
127	oumoun	—	one	<i>ämun</i> _[529b]
128	Ouni	Уни	cup, dish	—
129	Pocto	Покто́	track, path	<i>pokto</i> _[334b]
130	Pouli	Пули́	to walk	<i>pulsi</i> _[342a]
131	Salia	Саля	smoke	—
132	Séfa	Сэфа	sable	<i>sääpä</i> _[385b]
133	Si	Си	thou	<i>sii</i> _[356b]
134	Singui	Синги	he	—
135	Siou	Сиу	sun	<i>siun</i> _[369a]
136	Sou	Су	you	<i>suä</i> _[381b]
137	Soukda	Сукда́	a k. of fish	<i>sogdata</i> _[371b]
138	Sounta	Сунта	deep	<i>soḡta</i> _[374b]
139	soussaï	Сусай	fifty	<i>sosii</i> _[377b]
140	tangou	Тангú	hundred	<i>taḡo</i> _[392b]
141	Taoussou	Таусú	salt	<i>daoson</i> _[139a]
142	Tava	Таво	fire	<i>tawa</i> _[388b]
143	Tchektchuri	Чекчюри	(it's) cold	—
144	Tchicou	Чикú	chicken	<i>ciko</i> _[503b]
145	Tchikymé	Чикымá	velvet	—
146	Tchoulou	Чулу	glass	—
147	Timana	Тиманá	tomorrow	<i>cimana</i> _[505b]
148	Toudosa	Тудóза	potato	<i>duduusa</i> _[485b]
149	Tougdé	Тугдэ	rain	<i>tugdä</i> _[408a]
150	Tougoulgou	Тугулгу	lead	<i>tuḡu</i> _[408b]
151	tounga	Тунгá	five	<i>toḡḡa</i> _[401a]
152	Tourgué	Тургэ	quickly	<i>turgän</i> _[412a]
153	Tourguendji	Тургенъджи	very fast	<i>turgändi</i> _[412a]
154	Tzahara	Цахарá _[105b]	pebble	<i>jaxar</i> _[182b]
155	Vaksa	Ваксá _[103a]	nose	<i>waaksa</i> _[89b]
156	Vassou	Васú _[103a]	stockings	—
157	Zoulouli	Зулули	in front of	<i>julilä</i> _[173b]

Sungari Nanai (= Kilen)	Kur-Urmi Nanai (= Kili)	Brylkin
—	—	—
<i>mukä</i> _[173b]	<i>mukä</i> _[183a]	<i>мукä</i> _[15b]
—	—	—
<i>mänu(n)</i> _[174a]	<i>mäjün</i> _[183b]	<i>мун'зунь</i> _[15b]
—	—	—
<i>mor'i(n)</i> _[173a]	<i>morin</i> _[182b]	<i>моринь</i> _[15a]
—	—	—
<i>nada(n)</i> _[174a]	<i>nadan</i> _[184a]	<i>надань</i> _[15b]
—	—	—
<i>nana</i> _[175a] = 95	<i>ηala</i> _[185a] = 95	<i>нанä</i> _[15b]
—	—	—
<i>n'iŋgu</i> _[176b]	<i>n'iŋgun</i> _[185a]	<i>нин'зунь</i> _[16b]
<i>niktä ~ nixtä</i> _[175a]	<i>niruktä</i> _[184b]	<i>нукта</i> _[16a]
<i>nuuci</i> _[175b]	—	<i>нучи</i> _[16a]
—	—	—
—	—	—
<i>orki(n)</i> _[178b]	—	<i>орки</i> _[16b]
<i>os'ikta ~ os'ixta</i> _[179a]	<i>osiakta</i> _[187b]	—
—	—	—
<i>oforo</i> _[179b]	<i>oforo</i> _[187b]	<i>офорò</i> _[16b]
<i>ogda</i> _[177a]	<i>ogda</i> _[186a]	<i>o[ɣ]dä</i> _[16a]
<i>okto ~ oxto</i> _[177a]	<i>okto</i> _[186a]	<i>октò</i> _[16b]
<i>ulä(n)</i> _[193b]	<i>ulä</i> _[196a]	<i>улен'ь</i> _[18a]
<i>uläksä</i> _[193b]	—	<i>уликсä</i> _[18a]
<i>äm ~ ämu(n)</i> _[210a]	<i>äm ~ ämu(n)</i> _[205b]	<i>омунь ~ Омунь</i> _[16b]
—	—	—
<i>un'i</i> _[193b]	<i>fokto</i> _[197b]	—
<i>fokto ~ foxto</i> _[196b]	<i>fuli-u-ri</i> _[198b]	<i>фули-мэ</i> _[19a]
<i>ful'i</i> _[198a]	—	—
—	—	—
<i>sääfä</i> _[187b]	—	<i>сефä</i> _[17a]
<i>s'i</i> _[182b]	<i>si</i> _[189a]	<i>си</i> _[17a]
—	—	—
<i>s'iu(n)</i> _[183b]	<i>siun</i> _[189b]	<i>сјун'ь</i> _[17a]
<i>suu</i> _[185b]	<i>suu</i> _[191b]	<i>су</i> _[17b]
—	<i>sogjana</i> _[189b]	<i>сүгдäтä</i> _[17b]
<i>soŋta</i> _[185a]	<i>soŋta</i> _[190a]	<i>сунктä</i> _[17b]
<i>soosay</i> _[185a]	<i>sosay</i> _[190b]	<i>сүсäй</i> _[17b]
<i>taŋgu ~ taŋgo</i> _[192b]	<i>taŋgu</i> _[192b]	<i>тан'зү</i> _[17b]
<i>daosu(n) ~ daoso(n)</i> _[152b]	<i>daosun</i> _[171a]	<i>даусун'ь</i> _[13a]
<i>tao</i> _[188b]	<i>too</i> _[194b]	<i>тавä</i> _[17b]
—	—	—
<i>ciko</i> _[208b]	—	—
—	—	—
—	—	—
<i>cim(a)na</i> _[209a]	<i>temaki</i> _[193a]	<i>тсимаксä</i> _[18a]
—	—	<i>тудуза</i> _[18a]
<i>tugdä</i> _[190b]	—	<i>тугдä</i> _[18a]
<i>tugu</i> _[190b]	—	—
<i>toyŋga</i> _[189b]	<i>toyŋa ~ ton'ŋa</i> _[189b]	<i>төн'гä</i> _[17b]
<i>turgä(n)</i> _[191a]	<i>turgän</i> _[194b]	<i>тургань</i> _[18a]
—	—	—
<i>jaxara</i> _[156b]	<i>jaxar</i> _[174a]	—
—	—	—
—	—	—
<i>jul'ilä</i> _[157b]	—	—

6. Comments

Since the main goal of the etymological comments below is to establish the degree of closeness or remoteness between Venjukov's materials and the other Nanai dialects (as we shall see later, this sometimes requires quoting additional forms for example from Ewenki or Udihe), they will not be exhaustive. The interested reader is referred to auxiliary tools such as SSTMJa, Benzing 1956, Rozycki 1994 or Doerfer 1985, 2004 for full quotations and deeper insights on etymology. For the sake of abbreviation, LN refers to both Literary Nanai (i.e. the Najxin dialect) and Central Amur Nanai by extension.

- [2] Brylkin adds '(Acipenser orientalis)' (from Maak 1859: ii-a, s.v. <азѣ>, Central Amur). The notation <m> for /-m#/ instead of /-n#/ is well known in older and more recent sources. The alternation is due to the ambiguous realization of certain phonemes in absolute *Auslaut* position, the so-called "archiphonemes". Since Venjukov devised other spelling conventions to represent /j/ (see discussion in [93]), I assume that by writing F <di> vs. R <ди> he intended to render a different phoneme. Sem (1976: 31) discusses the opposition between LN /ji/ <ди> and SN /d'i/ (= Brylkin's <дз>; note that Brylkin's grapheme <ù> is his personal typographical solution for <ÿ>, i.e. stressed /i/). Here Feature XV does not apply because both forms go back to PT */ajin/ id., cf. SSTMJa I: 16b.
- [3] LN, SN, KUN, and Brylkin's vocabulary have 'older brother'. Venjukov's form reads *aga-ï* with the final <-ï> corresponding to the 1SG.POSS marker (Avrorin 1959: 131–133). This form literally means 'my/the (older) brother'.
- [5] A typical SN form, reflecting Feature II (vowel assimilation). Brylkin's form is closer to SN (diagnostic feature: <-э->, see Feature II).
- [7] F <-a> vs. R <-ó> is a very suspicious correspondence. Venjukov may have pronounced this word with "Russian accent", i.e. not stressing the last syllable, despite the fact that the Nanai accent falls on the last syllable as a rule of thumb. If this is the case, then one should assume *akanye* (/a/ for unstressed /o/ in Russian pronunciation), cf. [142] and Brylkin's form in [17]. This hypothesis implies that the original form could be †*amiro*, but this cannot be demonstrated since the word is attested nowhere else. Of course, we can also assume a typo originally in F which Venjukov noticed and corrected later in R.
- [9] Lack of the class marker /-n/ is a diagnostic feature of SN, but the presence of /p/ instead of /f/ is characteristic only of LN. It has been claimed that KUN shows a heavy influence from Ewenic (the group formed by Ewenki, Ewen, Negidal, Arman, Oroqen and Solon according to Janhunen's terminology). In this context, it may be pertinent to bring into the discussion forms like Ewenki (Ayan = Eastern dialect) *apsa* 'hunter's bag', (Ilimpi, Erbogachen = Northern dialects & Upper Lena = Southern dialects) *aptu* 'cotton (жилъная) thread' (Vasilevič 1958: 33b), cf. Maak's Central Amur <awsa, auwsa> 'birch-box' and Lower Amur <afun> 'birch-hat' (1859: ii-a). This is an excellent instance illustrating the differences between Venjukov and Brylkin's materials in the sense that Venjukov definitely

did not copy from Brylkin. Cf. Skurlatov's Sungari <ауһъ> id. (1899: 253b), where the chain /f/ > /w/ > Ø seems to result from the combination of Features I and VIII.

- [11] No accent in R. A typical KUN form.
- [12] Cf. SSTMJJa I: 73, see inter alia Literary Ewen *baran* 'capacious', Literary Manchu *baran* 'many', Orok *bara* 'many'.
- [13] Brylkin's form contains the infinitive marker (<-мэ>), cf. [57].
- [14] Unless we are open to accepting the presence of Central Amur forms in Venjukov's word-list, something which is highly unlikely, we have no choice but to assume that this is a KUN form.
- [17] A typical SN form. Brylkin's form may reflect *akanye* (/a/ for unstressed /o/ in Russian pronunciation) or a sort of "Ulchism", for only in Ulcha do we find /a/, i.e. *baaca(n)* id., see SSTMJJa I: 104a.
- [18] Cf. Yakut region Ewenki *budan* 'measles, rubella' (Romanova & Myreeva 1968: 29a). Cross-linguistically, 'grain' and 'spot, pimple' are sometimes expressed by the same word, e.g. Spanish *grano* 'grain; spot, pimple'.
- [19] On phonological grounds (vocalism and preservation of */-di/), this form should be considered KUN. See Northern Tungusic words such as Literary Ewenki *bägdä* id. etc., cf. SSTMJJa I: 118b–119a.
- [22] Venjukov renders /ä/ by <ы> when surrounded by vowels other than /a/ & /ä/ (otherwise they commonly use <э>), see inter alia [36?, 40, 73, 107], as some other authors did, cf. Brylkin's forms in [28, 66], although they are not always consistent.
- [23] Cf. [14].
- [24] No accent in R.
- [25] Also in KUN according to SSMTJJa I: 190a.
- [26] No accent in R. Since we already have instances like [25, 60, 81], the lack of accent here may be due to a clerical error.
- [27] A typical KUN form, this must be analysed as *dao-u-ri*, with the passive/causative marker *-u-* and the aorist tense marker *-ri* (Sunik 1958: 91–92). It is impossible to decide to which Venjukov's form corresponds, since the suffix *-u-* is also used in SN.
- [28] Brylkin's form contains most likely the 3SG.POSS ending *-ni* (otherwise we would have to assume a misprint of <һ'ъ> = /-n#/).
- [29] No accent in R. This is a pure Northern Tungusic form, cf. Literary Ewenki, Ewen, Negidal *digin* id. (SSTMJJa I: 204a–205a), cf. [12].
- [30] No accent in R. It is worth noting Brylkin's use of the digraph <дж> vs. <дз> as happens in [2] among others.
- [31] Behind Venjukov's form may be hiding [aa], that is, a long vowel resulting from the monophthongization of an original [oa]. Monophthongization is a very typical feature of SN (see under VII), e.g. *baa* vs. LN *boa* 'land' (Sem 1976: 27). However, the existence of Northern Tungusic forms like Literary Ewenki *jaan* id. (cf. SSTMJJa I: 248a–b) leaves some room to claim KUN pedigree.

- [32] This is a typical Northern Tungusic form, cf. Literary Ewenki *japkun* id. etc., see SSTMJJa I: 251a–252a, so it can be tentatively ascribed to KUN.
- [33] No accent in R. Cf. Yakut region Ewenki *cääŋgääy* ‘a k. of stick attached to the reindeer’s neck to avoid that he moves far away’ (Romanova & Myreeve 1968: 205a).
- [34] No accent in R. In all languages ‘leader, manager, head’.
- [35] No accent in R. In all languages ‘cloth’.
- [36] No accent in R. In F ‘wheat, flour’, in R ‘bread (flour)’. In LN *caagjan* is used in the expression *saxarin / caagjan xleb (äpän)* ‘black / white bread’ (Onenko 1986: 283b). Venjukov mistakenly interpreted the word *caagjan* as ‘flour’ instead of ‘white’, cf. *caagjan opa* ‘white flour’ (Onenko 1980: 496a). Could this word be a Para-Mongolism (cf. Monguor & Dagur *cigaan* < **cagagan* ‘white’)? See also [79] on *ikanye*.
- [38] No accent in R.
- [39] No accent in R.
- [40] SN ‘front side, outward (of materials, clothes)’.
- [41] SN ‘to be thirsty’. The element *-ki* might correspond to the past participle marker of the III class verb stems (for verb stems ending in consonant, e.g. LN *un-* & SN *uN-* ‘to say’ → *un-kiⁿ* & *uŋ-k’i* ‘said, saying’, see Avrorin 1961: 13–15, 67–70, Sem 1976: 63, 78–79), though *älä-* ‘to drink’ does not belong to this class.
- [42] No accent in R. In R Venjukov added ‘baked bread’.
- [43] It seems that Venjukov is the only researcher who has recorded the pre-contraction form of the word for ‘today’ in the Tungusic languages, only self-evident in Kilen *äyin’i*. I wonder whether Venjukov did not work it out after Russian *сегодня* ‘today’, in origin the fusion of the genitive forms of the ancient demonstrative */сѣ/ ‘this’ and the word for ‘day’ (cf. Polish *tego roku* ‘in this year’ etc.). Be that as it may, LN, SN and KUN *äy* is the expected outcome of PT */är/ ‘this’ (SSTMJa II: 460a–462a s.v. *är*). Thus, in theory Venjukov’s form cannot belong to any Nanai dialect. Cf. Literary Ewenki *ärääw inäŋu* ‘today’, lit. ‘this day’, already in Maak (1859: i-a) s.v. <ar inäŋi> ‘today’ (Manegir). Cf. [24] (= Feature XVI) for another instance with /y/ instead of /r/. This sound change is common, especially when /r/ is surrounded by palatal vowels, e.g. PT */xürgü/ ‘tail’ > LN *xuygu* id., SN *xuygu* (204a), KUN *id’gi* id. (175a), but Literary Ewenki *irgi* id. (SSTMJa I: 325a s.v. *irgi*) and it has been extensively used in the discussion about the language status of KUN and SN, see inter alia Doerfer (1973: 591).
- [44] No accent in R. Venjukov’s form is curious because it has no plural marker /-l/ (see the extensive cognate list quoted in SSTMJJa I: 291–292, from which one can deduce that PL /-l/ is almost fossilized). Venjukov’s /o/ instead of /a/ may be due to some kind of *okanye* (/o/ for unstressed /o/ in Russian pronunciation), perhaps due to hypercorrection? See Doerfer (1973: 573) for a discussion of this item taking into account other forms mentioned in old sources.

- [47] KUN 'taiga, thick forest'. This interesting instance reflects the sound change /p-/ > /x-/ > /f-/ (realization [β-]), the latter stage especially frequent after back vowels. Doerfer (1973: 573–574) devotes a few lines to this important diagnostic feature, see under XII above.
- [48] KUN 'bag made of fish skin', after metathesis.
- [50] Cf. Poniatowski (1923: 5a) ss.vv. <gao> and <geol> 'paddle', see also Brylkin's <геоль> id. [12b].
- [51] Not in R, which would have had something like *<Гасан> (with or without accent). Folkloric term in KUN. Cf. SSTMJa I: 143a–b, e.g. Negidal *gasin*, Oroch *gasa*, Ulcha *gasa(n)*, Orok *gas(s)a*, Manchu *gašan* id.
- [52] Venjukov's *gorbi-ni* contains †*gorbi* 'name' and the 3SG.POSS ending *-ni*, hence 'his/the name'. SSTMJa I: 180b–181b mixes two different words under 'name': on one side, LN *gärbu* id., on the other LN *gäbu* 'authority' (123b), SN *gäbää* id. (150a) and KUN *gäbu* id. (170b), doubtlessly a Manchu loanword.
- [54] Cf. KUN *guskä* id. (149b).
- [55] Cf. SN *g'ëësa* 'hedge' (147a).
- [56] Cf. SN *giwan* id. (169a), but the preservation of /-w-/ is irregular.
- [57] Not in R, which would have had something like *<Гисури> (with or without accent).
- [58] LN 'roe deer', see KUN *giakso* 'skin of seal' (169b), plus SSTMJa I: 148b, vid. i.a. Negidal *giwu* '(skin of) seal', Orok *geoksa* id. The correspondence F /i/ vs. R /u/ is unique, but it may hide a real isogloss (see under III).
- [59] Preservation of final /-r#/ is a typical feature of Northern Tungusic, hence Literary Ewenki *kadar*, Ewen *kadaar* id. However, Negidal as well as SN and sometimes KUN lose it, producing Negidal and SN *kadaa* id. (see SSTMJa I: 360a–b, Benzing 1956: 49 §59[d]). The use of <x-> instead of <к-> for Nanai /k-/ is a common device in old sources (not restricted to the Tungusic domain!) in order to try to grasp the particularities of the uvular(ized) allophone [q-] of /k-/ after the back vowels /a o i/, see among others Avrorin (1959: 36). Cf. inter alia [61–62, 68]
- [62] No accent in R. Cf. additionally [61] for /x-/.
- [64] Could it be that Venjukov corrected the F version (/g-/ instead of /h-/) after having had access to Brylkin's materials?
- [66] Cf. Skurlatov's Sungari <едунь> id. (252a).
- [67] Brylkin 'how many'.
- [68] No accent in R.
- [69] KUN is most likely a loanword, since /x-/ should be Ø. Given the meaning of the word, it is easy to assume here a *Kulturwort*.
- [70] R adds 'about the current of the river'. The first segment is most likely related to onomatopoeic forms like LN *kuäx-kuäx* (236b), SN *kuil-kuil* ~ *kujäl-kujäl* (166b), KUN *kuän-kuän* (179b), it is usually uttered to express quick, repetitive actions or about the bigness, deepness or toughness of an object or situation. As for the second, see LN *maŋga* 'high, hard, strong' (256b; also KUN 182a, SN 171b).

- [72] No accent in R.
- [73] No accent in R. Clearly a Chinese loanword, cf. 黄瓜 *huángguā* id. Monophthongization points to a SN source.
- [74] Brylkin's form contrasts notably with [75]. Number 'five' is closer to SN, while number 'four' is closer to KUN.
- [76] Venjukov mentions it originally as an instance of the lexical pairs one may notice while researching in the Amur and Upper Ussuri regions (1868: 87). In this case, Venjukov labelled it "Upper Ussuri". It can be safely identified as a typical SN form. See also Doerfer (1973: 572) or Sem (1976: 16). Curiously enough, Venjukov's word-list includes also the "pair" *sukda* (cf. [137]) and it is labelled "Lower Ussuri".
- [78] No accent in R.
- [79] No accent in R. Cf. LN *yaxarako* 'stove-lid' (544b). It is likely that reduction of /ja/ (= Russian Cyrillic orthography <я>) to /i/ is a typical case of *ikanye* (/i/ for unstressed /je/, /jo/ and /ja/, i.e. <e>, <ë> and <я>, respectively, in Russian pronunciation).
- [80] SN only in the expression *jafo afu(n)*, cf. *jaf(a) säftäxu(n)* 'mattress' (156a). Cf. Brylkin's <джафагди> 'glove' [13a].
- [86] Cf. Literary Manchu *kirfu* id. (Norman 1978: 176b), plus SSTMJJa I: 399a.
- [87] KUN 'pipe (to smoke)'.
- [88] Confusion of /o/ with /u/ is a typical feature of SN. See [9] or the example under Feature IV.
- [90] No accent in R.
- [91] There is a typo in R, with <-n-> instead of F <-k->.
- [92] Cf. SSTMJJa I: 439b, s.v. *kuta* 'clay'.
- [93] No accent in R. R <ц> vs. F <tz>, *pace* [65] where R <ц> vs. F <tr>.
- [94] A Chinese loanword, cf. SSTMJJa I: 485a.
- [95] No accent in R.
- [96] LN *namokaan* 'the Udihe' (281b), SN *lamka nayn'i* id. (169a), KUN *lamukan* id. (180b), Brylkin's <ламукà, намукà> 'the Oroch' (15a, 16a). Note that the element *-ka* is segmentable (see *-ka(n)* in Avrorin 1959: 108–109). In the case of the lexical pair *mu* ~ *mukä*, the segment /kä/ belongs to the root (Venjukov had to gather *mu* and *mukä* from two speakers of different dialects).
- [98] Onenko (1986: 256a) contains both meanings: *mapa* 'bear; old man'. This is a well-known instance of religious usage. It is my understanding that Brylkin's translation 'медвѣдь старый' actually contains a misprint for †'медвѣдь; старый', i.e. with a semicolon between one and another meaning, so he also provides both meanings, otherwise we would have to assume a case of anomalous syntax. Cf. Brylkin's <мафа-най> 'старикъ' (15a), lit. 'old man'.
- [99] LN, SN, and KUN 'difficulty, hard, tough'.
- [102] F 'bon jour' and R 'здравствуй'. Cf. SSTMJJa I: 568a, s.v. *mändu* id. (Ewenki).
- [104] As happened in [14], it is highly dubious that we have here a LN word. Rather, we can assume a KUN form which has been heavily influenced by the Northern

- Tungusic languages, e.g. Literary Ewenki *muu* id. (cf. SSTMJa I: 548a–549a). See the discussion in §7 for the assessment of this influence by some scholars.
- [105] Not capitalized in R (contrary to the case of “Lamu, Namu”).
- [106] Cf. SSTMJa II: 550b, s.v. *mudur* ‘dragon’ < PT */mudu.ri/ (from a root meaning ‘to bite’, perhaps created after a Chinese model).
- [108] This is the common form for the possessive of the inclusive 1PL: LN *bu.ä* ‘we’ → *bu.n-i* ‘our(s)’, SN *buu* → *muu.n-i*, (54, 56), KUN *muu* → *mu.n-i* (84), cf. Brylkin’s <муни> id. (15b).
- [109] No accent in R. The difference between this word and [110] may be better understood as one between dialectological forms, since the lack of the noun class /-n/ is typical of SN, but not of LN or KUN.
- [111] No accent in R.
- [112] Most likely unrelated to forms like Literary Ewenki *n’äcuu-* ‘to hit’, Orok *nätu-* id. or Literary Manchu *neci-* ‘to annoy’ (Norman 1978: 210a, cf. SSTMJa I: 655b).
- [114] No accent in R. No corresponding form in Brylkin’s materials. The origin of this word can be only ascribed to SN, cf. Udihe *namu* vs. Pan-Ewenki *laamu* id.
- [116] R and F translations seem to try to reflect the collective marker *-ktä*. The existence of such forms as Udihe *n’uuktä* id. (Kormušin 1998: 270b) leaves this form closer to SN.
- [118] Not in R, which would have had something like *[Hyvy] (with or without accent). There is a strange resemblance between Venjukov’s form and a pair of well-known kinship terms attested in almost every Nanai dialect, on one side LN *näku* ‘youngest brother or sister’ (298a), KUN *näkun* (185b) or SN *näku* (175b) ‘younger brother or sister’, on the other LN *näu-* ‘youngest brother or sister’ (510b), KUN *näu-faŋgu* ‘the youngest child’ (185b) or SN *näu* ‘son of brothers and sisters and their younger children’ (176a), cf. Brylkin’s <нэу> ‘youngest brother’ (16a). Note that */-k-/ and */-w-/ are phonemes which tend to disappear in the history of LN and KUN. However, it is not easy to formulate a scenario without falling into the trap of endless speculation.
- [119] No accent in R.
- [121] No accent in R. This is a good parallel of /x-/ > Ø for [67].
- [122] No accent in R.
- [123] Brylkin’s form <оддà> must be amended to <огдà>. Brylkin also includes in his vocabulary <огда чоони> ‘днище лодки’.
- [124] LN, SN, and KUN ‘medicine’. We can assume that Venjukov’s translation derives from the fact that he observed a sort of medicament in powder form. As happened in [36], Venjukov just assigned an incorrect meaning.
- [126] KUN has no trace of the suffix *-ksä*.
- [127] Not in R, which would have had something like *[Ymyh] (with or without accent). This form seems to reflect a sort of vowel assimilation, very similar to the one attested in SN, e.g. SN *buyu* vs. LN *bäyun* ‘wild animal’. However, SN has *äm* ~ *ämu* id. This form may tentatively be identified as KUN, since

- Northern Tungusic languages present very similar, if not identical shapes, e.g. Literary Ewenki *umuun* id., see SSTMJa II: 270a–272a.
- [128] No accent in R. SN ‘big cast-iron container’. Cf. Maak’s Central Amur <una> ‘big container’ (1859: v-a).
- [129] From LN? The result /p-/ for PT */p-/ is restricted to LN (see Feature VIII), Ulcha and Oroch (see further in Benzing 1956: 33 §66), cf. [17].
- [130] From LN? See [129].
- [131] No accent in R. LN *saŋn’an* ‘smoke’ [354a], SN *saŋn’a(n)* (180b), KUN *saŋn’an* (188a), Brylkin <сoмнѣja> (17a). All of these words are probably unrelated to Venjukov’s form, for it is very hard to understand how someone could have misheard /-lya-/ (*vel sim.*) instead of /-ŋn’-/.
- [132] KUN *sefan* ‘catfish’ (189a).
- [134] No accent in R. Venjukov translates ‘he’ in both R and F, but this is obviously wrong, see for instance SN *n’aani* ~ *jaan’i* ‘he’, *n’aaci* ~ *jaaci* ‘they’ (54), or KUN *n’oani* ‘he’, *n’oati* ‘they’ (64). Venjukov’s form suspiciously resembles LN *siŋgi* (365a), SN *s’iŋg’i* (56), KUN *siŋi* ‘your(s)’ (64), etc., where -ŋi- corresponds to the alienable possession marker. This must be Venjukov’s personal interpretation, for Brylkin clearly stated in his grammatical sketch that there is no third person pronoun (6 §7), and therefore Venjukov could not have taken it from Brylkin’s materials.
- [135] No accent in R.
- [137] This form is neither KUN nor SN. Venjukov notes that it was gathered in the Lower Ussuri area. Haplology may explain Venjukov’s testimony. As is well known, one of the most salient features of SN is the syncope of medial vowels in three-syllable words, e.g. SN *gätku* ‘instrument to rumpling skin (Russian *кожемьялка*)’ vs. LN *gäjiku* < */gädiku/ (vid. i.a. Sem 1976: 28), thus one can assume */sugdäta/ > */sugd(t)a/. See a very extensive quotation of materials in SSTMJa II: 118, vid. i.a. Ewenki *sugjanna*, Negidal *sogjana*, Ulcha *sugdata* id.
- [138] No accent in R.
- [139] No accent in R.
- [142] With *akanye* (/a/ for unstressed /o/ in Russian pronunciation). From LN or perhaps a Manchurism (see Norman 1978: 287a s.v. *tuwa* id.)? Northern Tungusic forms reflect /-g-/ as expected, e.g. Literary Ewenki *togo* id., cf. SSTMJa II: 190a–b.
- [143] Cf. LN *cäktäri-* ‘to throw vodka around’. This word also refers to other actions belonging to the folkloric sphere, especially those related to the fire (517b). Could Venjukov have misunderstood this tradition and consequently provided a misguided translation?
- [144] Cf. KUN *tikimä* ‘swift (a k. of bird; Russian *стриж*)’ (193a). It cannot be ruled out that these words are of onomatopoeic (and then not necessarily common) origin.
- [145] F and R do not match, for the last vowel is different, cf. [137].
- [146] No accent in R.

- [147] KUN 'morning, tomorrow' (193a).
 [148] Already Brylkin notes the Chinese origin of this word, cf. Chinese 土豆 *tǔdòu* 'potato'.
 [150] No accent in R. LN and SN 'to go away; to set (the sun)'.
 [152] No accent in R.
 [153] No accent in R.
 [155] Onenko (1980) mentions two different words, namely *woaksa* (92a) and *ŋaaksa* (285a), seemingly dialectal variants. Unfortunately, Onenko does not elaborate further.
 [157] No accent in R. Cf. KUN *juläski* (175a).

7. Discussion

Venjukov's materials seem to agree with what we know about linguistic sources coming from the Ussuri region. They are complicated, if not confusing, but they basically bear witness to the Upper Amur Nanai dialects. The most telling instances are:

- (I) Kur-Urmi Nanai = Kili pedigree: [14, 23] (see under VII), [47] (see under VIII), [11, 147] (see under XV);
 (II) Sungari Nanai = Kilen pedigree: [5] (see under II), [17] (see under VII), [46, 48] (see under VIII), [59] (see under XVII), [154] (see under IV). A very characteristic feature of Venjukov's materials is the absence of final /-n/ (see Vietze 1969 for a general description of this element in the Tungusic and other surrounding languages), with some possible exceptions, e.g. [12, 17, 28, 43, 51?]. This element is very unstable, especially in Kilen, where it appears only in flexional, derivational processes (that's why in Table 5 it always appears between brackets). It is almost certain that the speaker from which Venjukov elicited the numerals is not the one who helped him with the rest of the vocabulary.

I summarize the results of my analysis in the following table (all forms which speculatively might be assigned to LN have been listed in the "Ambiguous and/or unclear" column):

Sungari Nanai (= Kilen)	Kur-Urmi Nanai (= Kili)	Ewenic (\approx Kili)	Ambiguous and/or unclear	Unidentified
5, 15, 17, 24, 34, 42, 46, 48, 50, 52?, 54, 59, 67, 71, 72, 73, 74–76, 78–79, 80?, 91, 115, 116?, 128, 132, 135?, 137?, 157?	11, 14, 19, 23, 30, 35, 37, 44, 47–48, 51, 87, 101, 107, 113?, 126?, 140, 147	9?, 12, 18?, 29, 31, 32?, 33, 43, 58?, 102, 104, 110?, 114, 127	1–4, 6, 8, 10, 15, 17, 20–21, 22?, 24–28, 30, 36, 38–39, 40?, 41, 49, 53, 55, 56?, 57, 60–66, 68–70, 77, 81–86, 88–90, 93–99, 100?, 105, 108–109, 111, 117–125, 129, 130, 133, 136, 138–139, 141–142, 144, 148?, 149–155	7, 16, 45, 56?, 61, 84, 92?, 106?, 112, 131, 134, 143, 145–146, 156

Table 6. Statistical report of Venjukov’s materials according to their dialectal origin.

Instances like [12, 29, 33, 102] point out that Venjukov may have interviewed non-Nanai speakers or that latter researchers working with Nanai failed to record those words. The latter option seems to me highly unlikely. The former, however, actually does not require the presence of other “extra” ethnic groups, since, as many authors have already remarked, the Kur-Urmi and Sungari Nanai dialects present many features in common with the Ewenic (= Ewenki, Ewen, Negidal, Solon, Oroqen, Arman) and Udihe phonologies, on one hand, and with the Nanaic grammar, on the other (vid. i.a. Janhunen 1996: 61–62, 2005: 42, Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001: 24, or Doerfer 1975: 57, 60 §2, and his groups “A = Manchu, Ulcha, Nanai” and “B = Udihe, Ewenki, Kili”). For those like Janhunen or Doerfer, who prefer to talk about languages instead of dialects, Kili and Kilen are mixed languages, a very reasonable conclusion from a historical and comparative viewpoint. According to this hypothesis, the existence of “lexical anomalies”, e.g. [114], seems to make sense, since parallels for those cases above can easily be found in the Ewenic and Udihe languages. In some cases it must be admitted that the degree of intrusion is very surprising, e.g. [12] */dügiⁿ/ ‘four’ (vid. i.a. Janhunen 1993: 174, Doerfer 2004: 29[2592], *pace* Benzing 1956: 101 §114). In this context, it is important to underline the presence of the sound changes */ü/ > /i/ and */-g-/ > Ø, because they are diagnostic of the Southern vs. Northern Tungusic pedigree of a given item (for the relevancy of these sound changes, see Georg 2007).

8. Conclusion

In summary, taking into account the linguistic criteria presented in §4, we can conclude that the language in Venjukov's materials can be identified with the Sungari and Kur-Urmi Nanai dialects (or the Kilen and Kili languages, respectively). Many of the unclear and ambiguous instances detected in Venjukov's word-list seem to reflect typical Ewenic features, which in the context of Nanai dialectology means that they are closer to the Kur-Urmi varieties (= Kili).

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 = 1st, 2nd, 3rd person	PT = Proto-Tungusic
F = French version of Venjukov's word-list	R = Russian version of Venjukov's word-list
KUN = Kur-Urmi Nanai	SG = singular
LT = Literary Nanai (Najxin)	SN = Sungari Nanai
POSS = possessive	

References

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