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Source: *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol. 58, No. 1-2, The Manchus and “Tartar” Identity in the Chinese Empire (2015), pp. 155-168

Published by: [Harrassowitz Verlag](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.13173/centasiaj.58.1-2.0155>

Accessed: 18-09-2015 21:01 UTC

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The Wedding Song of Shamaness Nisin – An Unknown Fragment of a Well-Known Tale

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A characteristic feature of the Sibe culture is the cult of the first shamaness. This character, called by Krotkov *U Siyan*¹, and today *Isanju*, is pictured as *mama*, the goddess who looks after the shamans. And it was she who would bestow a shaman with his gift. In the past, this was done during the *cakūr tafara* ceremony, which – albeit not performed for years – lives on in collective imagination². As commonly known, the Sibe who nowadays live in Xinjiang originate from the north of Manchuria. We might thus expect that the first shamaness would be well known in that very region, since the Manchus belong to the same ancestral group as the Sibe and speak a highly similar language. And this is indeed the case, despite the character being perceived somewhat differently by the Manchus, namely chiefly as a literary character. If she ever was worshipped, it would have to be a long time ago and in a different way compared to the Sibe.

The story of the first shamaness holds a staple position in Manchu folk literature. It is also known to some other peoples of Manchuria, like the Hezhens, southern Evenks and even the (Mongolic) Daur. Altogether, almost twenty versions have been located, the most well-known being the Manchu version published in 1961 by the Soviet scholar M. P. Volkova³. In this version, the story begins with the tragedy of a magnate whose only son, Sergudai, dies. A mysterious guest consoles the father: “Why don’t you turn to Nishan?”, he asks. “She will resurrect the dead.” The Father fetches the shamaness and she gets started on the job. She falls into a trance, goes down to the hell realms, and from there brings back the boy’s soul. Sergudai comes back to life. The grateful magnate rewards the shamaness generously, but she

1 N. N. Krotkov, “Kratkie zametki o sovremennom sostojanii šamanstva u sibo živuščich v ilijskoj oblasti i Tarbagatae”, ZVOIRAO, XXI/2–3, pp. 117–136. See also the German translation by Stary (1985).

2 *Cakūr tafara* – ‘climbing the cakūr’, that is a ladder of swords. According to my information, the last time this spectacular ritual happened was in 1955. The Sibe shaman Yungturi Fuceng, whom I met in 1989, did not complete it, but in his opinion this was not a deplorable fact at all. The most important thing being, as he assured me, that he was in a constant personal contact with *mama*.

3 M. P. Volkova [ed.], *Nišan’ samani bitche (predanie o nišanskoj šamanke)*, Pamjatniki literatury narodov Vostoka. Teksty. Malaja serija, Moscow 1961.

does not enjoy the riches for long. She is accused by her mother-in-law of not providing help to her own deceased husband, judged in a court of law, and sentenced to death.

Other versions also speak about the journey to hell, but give different details of it, the reason for the protagonist's tragic death, her name – Nisin, Nizan, Nioidan – and the “ideological tendency” of the story.⁴ The version summarised here reveals the influence of Buddhism, and ends in Nishan being condemned, whereas some other versions contain an apotheosis of the shamaness. Particularly noteworthy is the Manchu version published in 1992 by K. S. Jachontov.⁵ Here, the shamaness has the name of Nisan, and does not die at all. In the final scene we meet her as a guest at the wedding reception of the resurrected youth striking up a song for the newlyweds:

<i>kungci kungci</i>	<i>se baihangge-be gūnici senggime banin-be deribu</i>
<i>kungci kungci</i>	<i>urgun-de hūlara ucun ungga donjire gisun</i>
<i>kungci kungci</i>	<i>šanyan meihe-i fuha sabingga kumun-de acabuki</i>
<i>kungci kungci</i>	<i>abka na-i banjibuha juru holbon acafi nio lang j'i</i>
	<i>nioi-i gese</i>
<i>kungci kungci</i>	<i>haji hūwaliyasun ofi sabingga todolo acabufi</i>
<i>kungci kungci</i>	<i>eigen sargan enteheme saikan banjifi</i>
<i>kungci kungci</i>	<i>amha emhe-be hiyoošulame jurgan giyan-be dahame</i>
<i>kungci kungci</i>	<i>hesebun todolo isinjire-be jalbarime</i>
<i>kungci kungci</i>	<i>unenggi gūnin-be tebu ice-be jiramila</i>
<i>kungci kungci</i>	<i>abkai kesi-de saman mini beye jifi</i>
<i>kungci kungci</i>	<i>serguwedei fiyanggū-be yarume yang-ni jalan-de isibuha</i>
<i>kungci kungci</i>	<i>ereci amasi serguwedei fiyanggū sunja juse ilan sargan</i>
	<i>jui ujifi</i>
<i>kungci kungci</i>	<i>se jalgan uyunju sede isinafi jalan halame enen juse</i>
	<i>lakcarakū bayan wesihun-be alime banjikini</i>

Putting aside the meaningless refrain *kungci kungci*, this fragment can be translated in the following way:

You, who are of age, prepare yourselves for family life. [And you] older, listen to the song sung in glee! [Here are its] words: The circle of white vipers! Let us sing along to this well-wishing music! [You,] the couple born of Heaven and Earth [who has just] entered into a relationship be like Nio Lang [and] J'i Nioi,⁶ concordant and loving [and] implementing the auspicious prophecy, always lead the exemplary life of husband and wife. Respect your

4 As commonly known, the story plots “[...] the conflict between transcendence and immanence – more precisely, between a powerful religious figure who happens to be a woman, on the one hand, and, on the other, the cultural definition of the female role.” (Durrant 1979).

5 K. S. Jachontov [ed.], *Kniga o šamanke Nisan*, St. Petersburg Centre for Oriental Studies 1992.

6 Niú-láng 牛郎 (‘Herder’) and Zhī-nǚ 織女 (‘Weaver’), a pair of famous lovers in ancient mythology, and the stars Altair and Vega in Chinese cosmology.

parents-in-law, act according to customary law [and] while praying for fulfilling of your auspicious fortune live in truth [?][and] multiply all that is new. By Heaven's dispensation, I, the shamaness, have come [right on time] and, leading Serguwedei Fiyanggū⁷, I brought him [back] to the world of the living. [And now may] Serguwedei Fiyanggū beget five sons and three daughters and live till the age of ninety and may his descendants in each generation enjoy wealth and respect.⁸

As is also the case with other discoveries, several scholars claim to have come across the *Nishan* text first. Generally, it is ascribed to A. V. Grebenščikov⁹, who one hundred years ago obtained three Manchu versions. However, his claim to fame is questionable: not only did this scholar not publish his texts – the first of these came out in 1961, due to M. P. Volkova's efforts¹⁰ –, but there was a predecessor, namely A. O. Ivanovskij's chrestomathy.¹¹ And it is in this very chrestomathy, in a chapter entitled "Songs",¹² that we encounter a text beginning with the words *Nisin saman*.

How is it possible that with all the interest surrounding the *Nishan* text today, this fragment has been overlooked in the chrestomathy which has been known for years? Actually, this is not that unusual. When publishing the text taken from some collection of manuscripts, Ivanovskij took the line of least resistance: he did not attach any commentary, nor think of giving the work a title or even including it in the contents. Thus, one could come across it only by accident. But even once encountered, it is not easy to recognise it as a myth about a shamaness. Her name – Nisin – is mentioned in it only once.

And I myself probably would not have delved into this fragment had it not been for Jachontov's publication. Having found in it the above quoted song, I concluded that I knew it from somewhere – and then I remembered Ivanovskij. I guess the recollection was right – his text is also about a wedding reception, it also contains wishes for the newlyweds and a request for silence to listeners, it even has the

7 Serguwedei – Sergudai in Volkova's text – a derivative of the word *serguwen* ~ *seruken* 'quite cool, fresh' (cf. Mong. *serigūken* id. < *serigūn* 'cool, fresh'. As for the word *fiyanggū*, it means 'the youngest'. The boy thus named is actually the only child, however, according to the text, he was born second after his elder brother had passed away.

8 K. S. Jachontov 1992, pp. 65, 92, 127–128.

9 Those interested in the history of the discovery of this text shall refer to the above mentioned works of Volkova and Jachontov, and particularly to G. Stary's publication (see Bibliography).

10 *Vide supra*.

11 A. O. Ivanovskij, *Man'čžurskaja chrestomatija*, St Petersburg 1893. In this work, the author published two types of materials: his own, obtained in 1889–1891 in Manchuria, and texts brought by V. Radlov. The latter, in transcribed form, originate from the Sibe region.

12 *Op. cit.*, pp. 109–118. In the otherwise meticulously commented bibliography for a Manchu chrestomathy, Walravens (1982: 96–98) missed the *Nishan* fragment and consequently did not include it in the index of Ivanovskij's work.

puzzling mention of vipers. What generally distinguishes it from Jachontov's text is its greater length and more artistic form. Of course, after realising what work I was dealing with, I immediately decided to re-publish it, but I soon found out it was not that easy. Not only was it a ritual song, full of not always clear allusions, but additionally, the text was far from faultless. Even though Ivanovskij introduced corrections,¹³ he still did not manage to remove all the errors. Among them such odd mistakes as *sure* 'wise' instead of *suru* 'grey' (of a horse), or *muduri* 'dragon' instead of *mederi* 'sea'. At times they obscured the work's meaning so much that its translation became impossible.

Did this mean that I had to give up the idea of sharing the discovery? I hoped not, it just took me quite some time to find a way of presenting such a difficult piece.¹⁴ But first of all, more about the peculiarities of Ivanovskij's book. In that book, and more precisely in this particular chapter, each page is divided into two sections: upper and lower. Following our first impulse, we attempt to read them one by one, only to discover in time that the lines are actually arranged in a zigzag fashion: the first upper line is followed by the first lower line, then upper again, and so on. This arrangement seems to suggest that the work is composed of couplets – which also turns out not to be true. In fact, what we have here are fragments structured with stanzas occasionally intertwined with short prose sections.

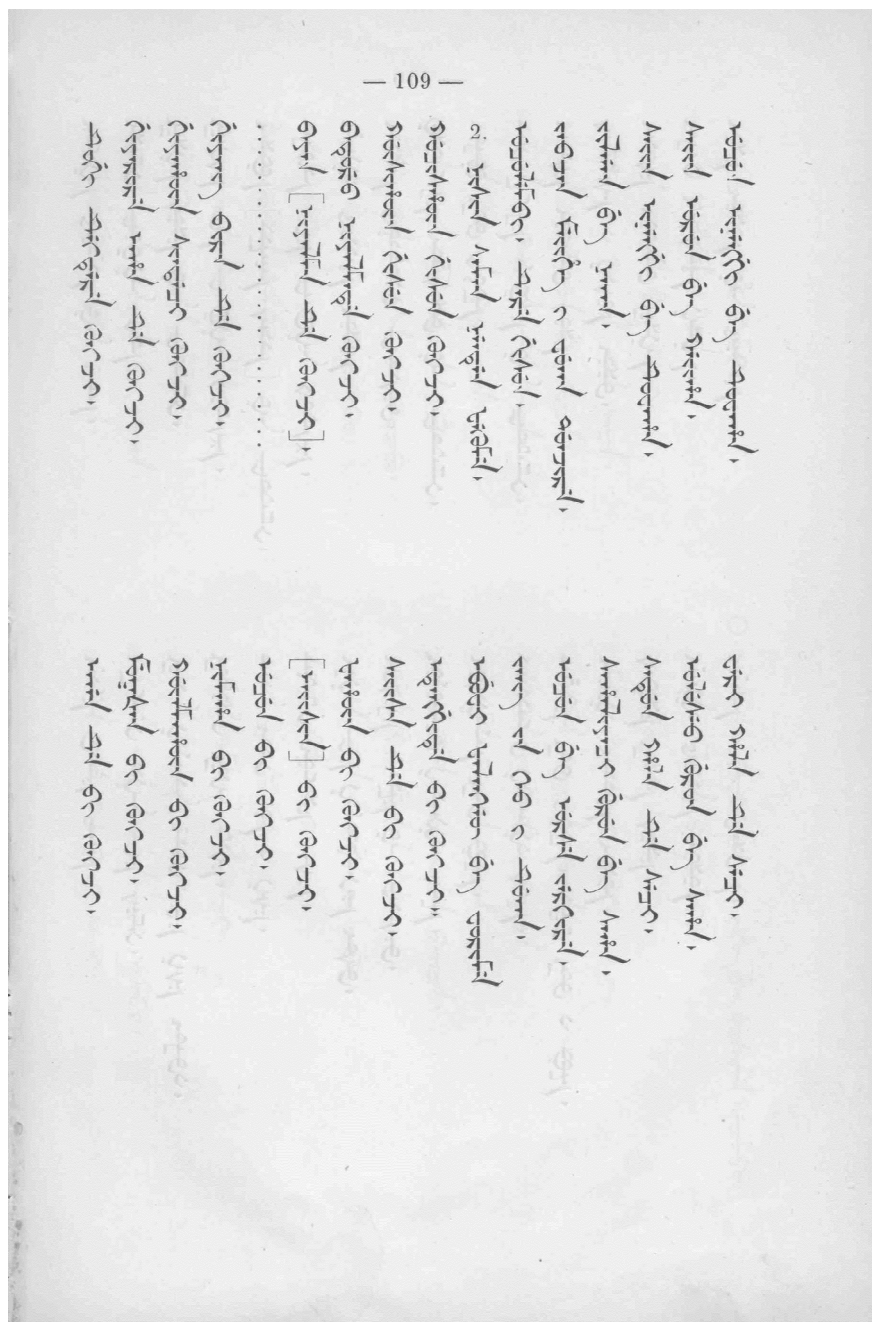
A question instantly comes to mind: is it a text built of one piece? This does not seem likely: Ivanovskij himself divided it into two parts (1 and 2), and a closer look at these reveals that the latter also contains certain minor fragments. Here, we are interested in the first fragment of the second part (rendered here as 2^a), as it is there that the shamaness appears. Its relation to fragment 2^b and to a text marked in the book with the numeral one remains to be clarified. They both may have something in common with it: text 2^b contains instructions addressed to the bride and text number 1 has the refrain *kungji* (cf. *kungci kungci* in Jachontov). But that does not have to mean anything. Actually, neither of these texts mentions the shamaness, and the first text also remains oblivious about the wedding reception.

Due to these difficulties and complications, the manner of publication turned out to be rather complex. It begins with the facsimile of the fragment called here 2^a. Next, I include its transcription and translation. In transcribing it, I do not repeat the form given to it by Ivanovskij, but I attempt to recreate it in its original form: I mark out the narrator's text and the words of the shamaness as a quotation, and among these prose and poetic fragments, which I divide into stanzas. Numbers accompanying the text are given by myself, while square brackets and dots denoting gaps are provided by Ivanovskij. The translation is accompanied by a commentary in which I attempt to investigate the meaning of a given fragment. The transcription follows the original text, while all corrections are given in the footnotes.

13 See especially pp. 112–117.

14 I did mention this in my *Folklor ludów tunguskich* (p. 76), but very briefly.

Facsimile



Transcription, Translation and Commentary

I.

nisin saman nendeme fekume ebuŋi falanggû-be forime uculembi. tere gisun.

Fragment of the author's text preceding the shamaness's words. Proposed translation: "Shamaness Nisin is the first to jump down, claps her hands and sings. [She sings] these words":

II.

*jang ja keo-i duka.
jabjan meihe-i fuka
donjire ucun-be urse jerkire jilgan-be naka.*

This is the beginning of a quotation from the shamaness's speech. The sentence written in prose contains an order: 'People! Listen to the song! Stop chattering!' Then, the first part is a rhymed and alliterated couplet:

*Gates of Zhangjiakou,
circle of vipers and snakes.*

We find it also in its abridged form ('circle of white vipers') in Jachontov, who sees in it an allusion to the Snake Year¹⁵. Whether this is correct or whether it is for the sake of attracting the attention of the audience is open to conjecture.

III.

*sahaliyaci gurun-be saha.
sain inenggi-be tuwaha.
sadun hala-de seci.
sain urun-be gaiha.*

*ulusu gurun-be saha.
ucun inenggi-be tuwaha.
weri hala-de seci.
uru urun-be gaiha.*

*anara ... terkin.
amai faššaha hergen.
enenggi gaiha urun.
aise uttu mergen.*

¹⁵ K. S. Jachontov, op. cit. p. 140.

*saburu morin sure*¹⁶.
sakdasa-i gisun uru.
enenggi gaiha urun.
aise uttu sure.

jakdan moo hūla.
jamu moo-i bula.
janggaljame yabure-be tuwaci.
jakūnju giranggi sula.

umpu moo hūla.
usihyan moo bula.
gurinjeme oksoro-be tuwaci.
uyunju giranggi sula.

*eiten hūhuri teisu*¹⁷.
ekšeme weile-be baisu.
enenggi gaiha urun.
emhe-de hiyoosunga oso.

*jampin-de tebuhe šuwaze*¹⁸.
*jafafi ujire*¹⁹ *ize*²⁰.
*arbun [jilgan sain]*²¹ *-be tuwaci.*
jang ioi cun-i gese.

*mengse-de tebuhe šuwaze*²².
*muduri*²³ *muke fise.*
mergen sure-be tuwaci.
meng giyang nioi-de gese ombi.

16 For *suru* ('grey')?

17 I assume that in fact this is the verb *teisule-* 'to become involved, to become ensnared' (Yamamoto) or alternately 'to be engaged, urgently look for'. The reason for changing *teisule-* for *teisu* is clear: the noun is shorter and ends with *su*, which allows for having something resembling rhyme.

18 For *šuwaze*?

19 It means 'to raise, raised, of raising', which combined with *ise* 'arm-chair' would sound rather strange. The word *unure* 'carried, born' would be more suitable here. Both words differ only in one syllable, which may constitute the source of the mistake.

20 For *ise*?

21 As earlier, words in square brackets were inserted by Ivanovskij. Usually, these are corrected forms used in the text, but here this is probably not the case: *jilgan sain* 'beauty ("goodness") of voice' is different from *arbun* 'looks'. I am not sure what to do with this insertion.

22 For *šuwaze*?

23 For *mederi* ('sea')?

Text of the song with a strophe structure: There are nine stanzas, each with four lines. Rhyme of the *aaba* type. Alliteration is also present, but less regular. It is noteworthy that (as in the whole work) there are no exclamations (like *kungci*), characteristic for Manchu and Tungus songs. In stanzas 3–6, 8 and 9, the initial two lines are songs loosely connected with the rest of the text.

Proposed translation:

You saw all the black-headed ones,
you have chosen an auspicious day.
From a kin clan (lit. “in the clan of the in-laws”)
you have taken a good bride.

You saw all people,
you have chosen a [good] day for songs.
From the others’ clan
you have taken the right bride.

Movable ... stairs,
a sign enumerating father’s merits.
This bride taken today
– how wise she is!

An ambling grey horse,
wise words of the elders.
This bride taken today
– how clever she is!

A goblet of pine tree wood,
thorns of a wild rose.
If you look how she struts
(you will see that her) “80 bones” are supple.

A goblet of dogwood timber,
thorns of a wet tree.
If you look how she paces
(you will see that her) “90 bones” are supple.

May you find all luck,
[you just] urgently look for some work.
Bride that has been taken today,
respect your mother-in-law.

Veil's tassels,
a sedan-chair to be carried.
Her looks (and voice)
are like those of *Jang Ioi-cun*.

Curtain's tassels,
the backrest [like?] sea water.²⁴
And she with her wisdom
brings to mind *Meng Giyang-nioi*.

The general meaning of the song is obvious. It tells about the successful search for a bride (stanzas 1, 2), about her intellectual (3, 4) and physical qualities (5, 6), and briefly about her future obligations (7). The final two stanzas (8, 9) contain a complimentary comparison of the girl to legendary Chinese heroines²⁵. Only details raise doubts. In which grammatical person should we translate verbs in the first two stanzas? In the second, as I did it, or in some other? Does *giranggi* 'bone', appearing in stanzas 5 and 6, really mean 'body, limbs'? I am not totally sure of that.

There is one more problem. As I have already mentioned, it is the second part of each stanza that is essential, and the rest of them, except for the beginnings of stanzas 1, 2, and 7, may be left out when summarising the song. Even though most of those "extra" lines have some connection to the wedding reception – they talk about the carts and other elements of the wedding procession –, they mention them as if in passing, just to present the festive atmosphere. In two stanzas – 5 and 6 –, the initial pairs of lines do not bring any association with the wedding reception – they are ornaments, or, like the shamaness's exclamation about the snakes, are simply meant to draw attention. To someone who grew up on the banks of the Vistula, this will surely remind of Polish folk songs in which half of a stanza talks about e.g. an apple and the other half about a girl, but of course the singer only has the girl on his mind.²⁶

²⁴ The translation is uncertain.

²⁵ At least I assume so. One of the mentioned characters is definitely female – Lady Meng Jiang (孟姜女; Mèng Jiāng Nǚ), the protagonist of a well-known romantic story. But who was Jang Ioi-cun? Here, only chieftain Chang Yuchun (常遇春; Cháng Yùchūn; 1330–1369) comes to mind, but, apart from anything else, he was a man!

²⁶ Shortly after writing this article I had the opportunity to discuss it with Tatjana A. Pang. This outstanding researcher of Manchu literature suggested that the couplet with vipers and other parts of the text which had been treated rather lightly by myself, actually carry deep meaning. Vipers and pythons, she argued, are a shaman's helpers, while the goblet appears in shamanic hymns, and Zhāngjiākǒu may symbolise the border on which the Kingdom of the Dead lies. The whole song, according to T. A. Pang, is a shamanic invocation aimed at guaranteeing happiness to the bride. The readers may evaluate these arguments themselves; I am rather sceptical about them. I put aside the goblet, which is of minor importance – in the text, T. A. Pang pointed to *Saman kūwaran-i bithe*, its context is not clear – however, the whole scene has nothing to do with the shamanic ritual. The shamaness does not put herself in trance, does not

IV

ereci dubehe ton.

Fragment of the author's text following the shamaness's words. How did *ton* 'number' get in here – I do not know, perhaps the text has been distorted in this fragment.²⁷ The remaining two words mean 'this is how she finished'.

Glossary

<i>aise</i>	'as if, really?', <i>aise uttu mergen</i> 'how wise she is!', <i>aise uttu sure</i> 'how clever she is!' (in both cases I translate following the context)
<i>ama</i>	'father', <i>amai</i> Genet.
<i>ana-</i>	'to push', <i>anara</i> Nom. imperf.
<i>arbun</i>	'appearance, form'
<i>bai-</i>	'to ask, to beseech, to beg, to seek, to look for', <i>baisu</i> Imperat.
<i>bula</i>	'prick, thorn'
<i>donji-</i>	'to hear, to listen', <i>donjire</i> Nom. imperf.
<i>dube-</i>	'to finish, to take end', <i>dubehe</i> Nom. perf.
<i>duka</i>	'gate'
<i>ebu-</i>	'to go down', <i>ebuŋi</i> Conv. perf.
<i>eiten</i>	'each, and every, every last [one], every single, all'
<i>ekše-</i>	'to hurry, to hasten', <i>ekšeme</i> Conv. imperf.
<i>emhe</i>	'mother-in-law'
<i>enenggi</i>	'today'
<i>ere</i>	'this', <i>ereci</i> Abl.
<i>falanggū</i>	'palm of the hand', <i>falanggū fori-</i> 'to clap one's hands'
<i>fašša-</i>	'to attempt, to toil', <i>faššaha</i> Nom. perf.
<i>feku-</i>	'to jump', <i>fekume</i> Conv. imperf.
<i>fise</i>	'upper portion of the back, back of a chair, bench etc'
<i>fori-</i>	'to pound, to beat, to clap', <i>forime</i> Conv. imperf.
<i>fuka</i>	'circle'
<i>gai-</i>	'to take, to be given, to get, to receive', <i>gaiha</i> Nom. perf.
<i>gese</i>	'as much as'
<i>giranggi</i>	'bone'
<i>gisun</i>	'language, word'

play the drum, she is a guest at the wedding reception, and in this role she gives compliments to the newlyweds. The fact that her "toast" has shamanic overtones does not prove anything – in the culture of Tungus, to which the Manchus belong, the shamanic and "secular" folklore inspire each other. Hence, having accepted my learned colleague's remarks with gratefulness, I intend to stick to my opinion.

27 José Andrés Alonso de la Fuente provided me with another explanation, namely that *ton* means here '(life) account' after the version by Volkova (see Nowak/Durrant 1979: 42–43, Manchu text: 122).

<i>gurinje-</i>	‘taking a stroll, walking to and fro’, <i>gurinjeme</i> Conv. imperf.
<i>gurun</i>	‘state, people’
<i>hala</i>	‘clan, clan name’
<i>hergen</i>	‘letter, character, word, pattern, mark’
<i>hiyoošungga</i>	‘respecting one’s parents’
<i>hûla</i>	‘goblet’, cf. Mong. <i>qulu</i> ‘a kind of gourd, a ladle with a long handle’ (Lessing), Khal. <i>chul</i> ‘large wooden cup’ (Luvsandendev)
<i>hûturi</i>	‘luck, auspiciousness’
<i>inenggi</i>	‘day, daytime’
<i>ise</i>	‘chair’
<i>jabjan</i>	‘python’
<i>jafa-</i>	‘to seize, to catch, to take hold of, to hold’, <i>jafafi</i> Conv. perf.
<i>jakdan</i>	‘pine’
<i>jakûnju</i>	‘eighty’
<i>jampin</i>	‘veil, mosquito net’
<i>jamu</i>	‘wild rose’, <i>jamu moo</i> ‘wild rose tree’
<i>jang ioi čun</i>	personal name, cf. note 14
<i>jang ja keo</i>	‘Zhāngjiāköu, Kalgan’
<i>janggalja-</i>	‘to strut’ <i>janggaljame</i> Conv. imperf.
<i>jerk-</i>	most probably ‘to chatter’, cf. Mong. <i>jirge-</i> ‘to tweet, to chirp’, <i>jerkire</i> Nom. imperf.
<i>jilgan</i>	‘voice’
<i>mederi</i>	‘sea, ocean’
<i>meihe</i>	‘snake, serpent’
<i>meng giyang nioi</i>	personal name, cf. note 14
<i>mengse</i>	‘curtain’
<i>mergen</i>	‘clever, wise, sagacious’
<i>moo</i>	‘tree, wood, timber’
<i>morin</i>	‘horse’
<i>muke</i>	‘water’
<i>naka-</i>	‘to stop, to cease, to give up’, <i>naka</i> Imperat.
<i>nende-</i>	‘to go first, to go ahead’ (Yamamoto), <i>nendeme</i> Conv. imperf.
<i>nisin</i>	personal name
<i>okso-</i>	‘to pace’, <i>oksoro</i> Nom. imperf.
<i>o-</i>	‘to become, to grow into’, <i>oso</i> Imperat.
<i>saburu</i>	‘ambling’
<i>sadun</i>	‘in-laws’
<i>sa-</i>	‘to know, to be informed, acquainted’, <i>saha</i> Nom. perf.
<i>sahaliyači</i>	most probably ‘black-headed’, cf. <i>sahaliyan ujungge</i> ‘die Menschen mit schwarzem Kopfhaar’ (Tatjana A. Pang, <i>Die sibe-mandschurische Handschrift “Der Schamanenhof”</i> , pp. 3, 6, 39, 41).

<i>sain</i>	‘good, well’
<i>sakda</i>	‘old man, aged’, <i>sakdasa</i> Plur.
<i>saman</i>	‘shaman’
<i>se-</i>	‘to say’, <i>seci</i> Conv. condit.
<i>sula</i>	‘free, at leisure, loose’, ‘flexible, supple’
<i>sure</i>	‘wise’
<i>suru</i>	‘grey’
<i>šuwase</i>	‘tassel’
<i>tebu-</i>	‘to set, to seat, to put in, to plant’, <i>tebuhe</i> Nom. perf.
<i>teisule-</i>	‘to become involved, to become ensnared’
<i>tere</i>	‘it, that, he, she’
<i>terkin</i>	‘staircase, stairs’
<i>ton</i>	‘number’
<i>tuwa-</i>	‘to see, to take a look, to try’, <i>tuwaci</i> Conv. condit., <i>tuwaha</i> Nom. perf.
<i>učule-</i>	‘to sing’, <i>uculembi</i> Present
<i>učun</i>	‘song’
<i>ulusu</i>	‘the whole’, <i>ulusu gurun</i> ‘all people’
<i>umpu</i>	‘dogwood’, <i>umpu moo</i> ‘dogwood tree’
<i>unu-</i>	‘carry, bear on one’s shoulders’ <i>unure</i> [<i>ujire?</i>] Nom. imperf.
<i>urse</i>	‘people’
<i>uru</i>	‘right, wise’
<i>urun</i>	‘bride, daughter-in-law’
<i>usihyan</i>	‘wet’
<i>uttu</i>	‘in this way’
<i>uyunju</i>	‘ninety’
<i>weile</i>	‘work, task’
<i>weri</i>	‘alien’
<i>yabu-</i>	‘to go away, to walk’ <i>yabure</i> Nom. imperf.

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